THE

SCOTS MAGAZINE.

CONTAINING,

A GENERAL VIEW

OF THE

Religion, Politicks, Entertainment, &c.

IN

GREAT BRITAIN:

And a ſuccinct ACCOUNT of

PUBLICK AFFAIRS

FOREIGN and DOMESTICK.

For the Year MDCCXL.

VOLUME II.

Ne quid falſi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat.

EDINBURGH:

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PREFACE.

THE publication of a *Second Volume* affords us an opportunity of renewing our acknowledgments to the generous encouragers of this work; and we can with pleaſure inform them, that we now in a great meaſure enjoy that ſucceſs we once but faintly hop'd for.

OUR kind correſpondents, by whoſe aſſiſtance we are enabled to preſent our readers with a variety of ingenious and entertaining performances, are likewiſe intitled to our ſincereſt thanks. We hope our conduct with regard to them has been inoffenſive: For as we cannot pretend to be judges of the merit of *every* eſſay we receive, we chuſe to be directed by the opinions of Gentlemen eminent for their knowledge in the different ſubjects treated of.

THESE Gentlemen are ſo well known in the learned world, by the figure ſome of them have already made, and ſtations they ſo deſervedly fill, that the inſerting their names would do us no ſmall honour. But as our correſpondents write, and they vouchſafe to reviſe, not from any ſelfiſh views, but from a principle of pure benevolence, we ſhall not ſo far forget the Obligations we are under, as to treſpaſs on their modeſty, by making publick what they deſire ſhould be concealed. Our readers may, however, be ſatisfied that we offer them nothing till it is carefully reviewed.

BUT we would not wiſh this was conſtructed as if we meant to boggle young writers, or to ſcar even thoſe of a ſecond-rate genius from trying their talents. Tho' the *Latian* Muſes admitted the divine VIRGIL more immediately to their ſhrines, ſeveral others got a place in their temple. Neither did the thundering oratory of DEMOSTHENES keep back a young CICERO from attempting the bar; nor did CICERO, for all his inimitable eloquence, fright the famous POLLIO from pleading the cauſe of innocence. Merit, tho' it is not always ſuffi-

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ſufficiently rewarded, ſeldom paſſes without ſome ſhare of praiſe. The ſubject of oratory is rarely treated, where CICERO is not celebrated almoſt in every page. And

Inſigne mœſtis præſidium reis,
Et conſulenti, Pollio, curiæ,

is one of the characters which HORACE, that matchleſs *Moral-Painter*, draws of C. ASINIUS POLLIO; on whoſe praiſe he at one time beſtows a whole ode.

THERE are ſome, we are ſenſible, who pretend to be of ſo refin'd, or rather ſo foreign a taſte, as to reliſh nothing but what they fancy to be the product of our neighbouring nation. *England*, 'tis true, has many advantages; but *Scotland* has likewiſe produced great men. Not to multiply inſtances, or ſearch the records of antiquity, where many SCOTS names ſhine with uncommon luſtre, may not we, for elegance of ſtile, or ſtrength of reaſoning, appeal to the ſpeeches delivered under the name of L. ÆMILIUS PAULLUS?

OUR great diſtance from the fountain of intelligence, the neceſſity of inſerting the laſt occurrences of the month, and our fondneſs to preſent our readers with every thing new and important, makes us ſometimes exceed the ſtated days of publication. But, notwithſtanding, our *Magazine* may reach the moſt diſtant corners of the kingdom, before the *Engliſh* ones can, in the common way, arrive at this metropolis.

THE nature of the undertaking, and our method of carrying it on, having been fully ſpoke to on former occaſions, we need here only add, that we ſhall give all poſſible attention to any hints offered for the improvement of our deſign, and ſpare neither labour nor expence to merit the continuance of that favour which with the utmoſt gratitude we acknowledge we have hitherto met with.

EDINBURGH, *Dec.* 31.

1740.

N. B. *At the end of this volume there is a Table of the Kings of Scotland, and a Liſt of the Noblemen and Gentlemen whoſe characters the Speakers in the* POLITICAL CLUB *have aſſumed.*

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The SCOTS *Magazine.*

JANUARY, 1740.

A Summary of PUBLICK AFFAIRS *at the beginning of the year* 1740.

BY the general concurrence of a long ſucceſſion of advices, it may now be ſafely affirmed, that the vaſt empire of the EAST-INDIES, under the dominion of *the Great Mogul*, has become a prey to the victorious arms of the Schach Nadir, Sovereign of Perſia, formerly Kouli Kan. This event is, in all its circumſtances, a very extraordinary one, and ſtrongly points out the dangers to which the general prevalence of effeminacy and luxury expoſes the moſt powerful nations. The dominions of the Great Mogul are of a prodigious extent, abounding with all natural benefits; and very populous, as well from their long enjoyment of profound peace, as the practice of polygamy authoriſed in thoſe countries. But how unable is an enervated multitude to oppoſe a handful of men inur'd to hardſhip and fatigue! The troops of Perſia have not known the ſmiles of tranquillity, nor thoſe of the Mogul the dread of hoſtilities, for many years; as the former grew more formidable, the latter became leſs able to defend themſelves. The artifices of the divan at Conſtantinople prevail'd upon the Mogul to make a diverſion on Perſia in favour of the Grand Seignior: When this was complied with, the purpoſes of the Sultan were indeed anſwered, but the *buſy* friends of the Porte were left to the mercy of the enemies they had inadvertently brought upon themſelves; and from a deſire of obliging a moſt perfidious court, the whole empire has fallen a victim to the preſent conqueror of the Eaſt; who has overthrown the government, depos'd its Sovereign, ſack'd ſome of its greateſt cities, and made the whole country ſubject to a crown to which it had long been thought far ſuperior in warlike ſtrength.

The Great Mogul is priſoner in a caſtle near Deli, the uſual ſeat of his reſidence; which rigour is ſaid to have been exercis'd upon him in reſentment for rallying his forces, and trying to diſtreſs his conqueror after his firſt defeat. Kouli Kan has aſſured the European merchants of his protection: and it is ſaid that the Nobility of Indoſtan (the common name of the Mogul empire) are raiſing an army to replace their Sovereign upon his throne, or at leaſt to free themſelves from their new governors. Some of the nations that lie between Perſia and India have endeavour'd to harraſs the ſupplies ſent from Perſia to the army of Kouli Kan; but without any conſiderable ſucceſs.

PERSIA has for ſome time enjoy'd domeſtick tranquillity; the province of *Candahar*, from whence ſprung all the late miſeries of that kingdom, being entirely reduc'd by the arms of the eldeſt ſon of Kouli Kan in the abſence of his father: thoſe rebels having taken that opportunity to renew their violences againſt a government they had ſo often over-run with the moſt ſavage cruelty and devaſtation. With theſe advantages, Perſia again aſſumes ſome of her former luſtre, and is of conſiderable weight in the deliberations at Conſtantinople and Peterſburg.

The TURKISH empire, by aid of counſels from *another court*, has gained conſiderably by the laſt campaign. The acquiſition of Belgrade is an extraordinary advantage to the Porte, to whomſoever ſhe owes it: for it is not generally thought to be obtained ſolely by

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force of arms; extremities being kindly prevented by the pacifick offices of the Marquis de Villeneuve, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Ambaſſador in the Turkiſh camp. The depoſition of the late Grand Vizier, and the exaltation of the preſent, is thought greatly to have facilitated this event. It is ſuppoſed, that the great friendſhip known to ſubſiſt between the Vizier, when Baſhaw of Widdin, and the Baſhaw Count Bonneval, contributed not a little to the ſucceſs of the Turkiſh arms: But, according to a letter ſaid to be written by that General, he has indeed the favour of the Prime Miniſter, but has wholly retir'd from publick buſineſs, and wiſhes nothing ſo much as to ſpend the remainder of his life in a peaceful inaction. —With this ſucceſs, the Porte has not obtained much honour; for the whole diſtrict of Moldavia has been conquer'd by the Ruſſians, under the command of Count Munich, who carried victory where-ever he marched.

The Turkiſh policy has been exercis'd upon ſeveral miniſters of the Porte, who were diſliked by the prevailing faction, and upon ſome Generals who were convicted of inſucceſs. There have alſo been ſome threatnings of an inſurrection againſt the Gr. Seignior's adminiſtration: But, by the ſpreading of ſuch falſe reports as were found neceſſary, and ſome other cautions of the divan, thoſe ſtorms have been appeaſed with the loſs of a little blood; a very common operation upon the body-politick at Conſtantinople, where Fortune herſelf ſeems too capricious to make her favour coveted. Treaties have been concluded between the Porte and Ruſſia; and, in conſequence of one with Vienna, Belgrade was ſurrender'd: But the articles of each of theſe are ſo much contradicted, by advices from courts intereſted in thoſe alliances, that we cannot offer, from ſufficient authority, a copy either of the one or the other. The delivery of Belgrade was attended with many odd circumſtances; and the abandoning of Moldavia with others yet more difficult to account for; as the conqueſt of that fine country was purchaſed with ſuch valour and good conduct, the ſieges and marches managed with ſuch reſolution and ſkill, and at ſo great an expence, as cannot but create ſome ſurpriſe at ſeeing it ſo quickly reſigned. The reports of the forces of the Gr. Seignior being ordered to be in readineſs to act againſt Perſia, ſeem rather the reſult of the peace ſubſiſting on the ſide of Europe, than the effect of any motions made by the Perſians to occaſion ſuch preparations.

The laſt year was a very buſy one at the court of PETERSBURG. The war ſo vigorouſly carried on againſt the Turks and Tartars afforded full employment for the Ruſſian forces under the command of the victorious Counts Munich and Lacy; and the invaſion from Sweden, inſtigated by a certain mediating power, kept the Czarina's council in one continued ferment, till after the death of Major Sinclair, who was carrying important diſpatches from Conſtantinople to Stockholm, that the preparations in Finland were ſuſpended, and both Sweden and Ruſſia became intent upon the motives that had occaſion'd their mutual alarm. Soon after the *French* peace between the Turks and Germans, a treaty was concluded between the Porte and the Czarina; which was the more neceſſary for Ruſſia, as her troops were then in an enemy's country, without hope of aſſiſtance from thoſe forces in whoſe ſupport they had, with ſo much danger, penetrated into the Turkiſh dominions. The reduction of Moldavia, the taking of Choczim, and the victory which followed C. Munich in his extraordinary march, where-ever he appear'd, raiſed the expectations of the Ruſſians far above the articles of peace concluded with the Porte. This diſappointment is attributed to various cauſes: But that which is moſt probably the occaſion of this haſty peace, is the diſcovery of a plot ſaid to have been formed againſt the government of the Czarina; of which the following is the beſt account we have yet received.

The ancient Ruſſian Nobility has, for ſeveral years paſt, ſhown its diſcontent at ſee-

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seeing the empire govern'd by a foreign ministry, which conducts itself altogether by the councils of the court of Vienna. This dissatisfaction has much increased since the commencement of the war with the Turks, which has not only greatly exhausted this country of its treasure, but likewise of its subjects. The Nobility has been constrain'd to suffer its vassals to be taken away by force, and by that means to see its lands lie uncultivated, without having its complaints thereupon heard. To these grievances it adds others, relating as well to the subjection in which they have been kept, as to the preference which has been given to foreigners, in the filling up of posts and employments, which ought to be supplied by none but the natives of the country. The settling the succession to the throne in favour of the Princess of Mecklenburg, to the prejudice of the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Peter I. *has likewise added to the discontent. The peace concluded with the Porte has been suggested by the dissatisfied party, as the most dishonourable step that ever was taken, after the mighty advantages which were reported to have been gained over the Turks, and after having threatned them with carrying the war to the gates of Constantinople. These have been the motives which have induced several of the principal families of the empire, to pursue such measures as to them appeared most proper for shaking off the yoke put upon them by foreigners, and to procure to themselves some advantageous change. The Princes Dolgorucki, Nareskin, Gallickin, and Garagin, had formed a conspiracy, which had no less a tendency than to stir up a general revolt in the empire, and to incite every body that was inclined to their party to take arms. After such an insurrection had been raised, the confederates, by means of the diversion which was to have been made by the Swedes, intended to have seiz'd upon Petersburg, and carried off from thence the Czarina, the Princess of Mecklenburg, the Prince of Wolfenbuttle, and the Duke of Courland. All the Germans were to have been either massacred or imprison'd, and Mr Lierman, the Jew, was likewise to have fallen a sacrifice to the resentments of the people. This Jew is banker to the court, and so great a favourite with the Prince of Courland, who does nothing without consulting him, that he may be said in some degree to govern all Russia. When these things had been executed, the Princess Elizabeth was to have been proclaim'd Empress; who would scarcely then have failed to have sent for one of the Princes Nareskin, who has, in a kind of exile, resided several years in France, and to whom she before promis'd marriage. As this project, in order to its being put in execution, was made known to many people, it at last came to be discover'd to the court; upon which the conspirators were arrested. It was found that the authors of this plot were the Dolgorucki's, six of whom were immediately conducted to Novogrod, where the Prince Dolgorucki, who had been Ambassador in Poland, was broke upon the wheel, and two more were beheaded; the other three were banished to Siberia. It was found necessary to augment the garrison of Novogrod, to prevent the people opposing this execution, and rescuing the Princes. When they came to the scaffold, they cried out,* That it was they that had put her upon the throne, who now caused them to die. *Another conspiracy is talked of, said to be form'd at Moscow; which, perhaps, may be the reason why the court has put off its journey thither. In short, the whole empire seems to be in a ferment; for which reason Count Munich and General Lacy have orders immediately to march with their troops into Russia, lest the Swedes should take advantage of the present circumstances of the empire, and invade the conquered provinces. The Princess Elizabeth lives perfectly retired, and with great circumspection, being sensible that the discovery of this conspiracy, form'd in favour of her, has put her in a very dangerous situation. The Czarina, who is naturally exceeding compassionate, consented with much repugnance to the execution at Novogrod. Count d' Osterman happen'd luckily to be sick all the time this crabbed affair was upon the tapis.*

Affairs in the GERMAN empire have, during the last campaign, taken such a turn as has alarmed the friends and allies of the house of Austria. The loss

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of Belgrade, when that fatal event was ſo little expected, at once check'd the hopes of all who wiſhed ſucceſs to the arms of Chriſtendom againſt the Infidels: And had it not been for the officious intrigues of a Weſtern Envoy, the bravery of the Imperial Generals, and the courage of their ſoldiers would not, probably, have been ſo ſuddenly eclipſed by a ſurrender, which, according to the beſt accounts yet received of it from Vienna, or even from Paris, was become neceſſary neither through aſſault, blockade, breach or ſucceſsful mines, nor the want of a full ſupply of men and proviſions; a ſurrender of a full and healthful garriſon to an enemy who was threatened with being themſelves beſieged by another army: no communication was wanting, nor any danger of being left without regular reinforcements and ſupplies. Count Wallis took upon him the chief command with the general approbation; and the greateſt things were expected from his known prudence and good conduct, and his often-tried courage: And though no material miſconduct has been laid to his charge, he has now ſo far fallen into the misfortunes of the valiant and worthy Count Seckendorf, as to be under arreſt: as is likewiſe the brave Count Neuperg; to whoſe charge nothing has yet been publickly laid, but the concluſion of a peace in virtue of the powers given him for that purpoſe. It is hoped the conduct of both theſe Generals will be found blameleſs; but ſhould it chance to appear otherwiſe, their fault will be the leſs, as they were both out of their proper employment: for however they may have failed in the art of negotiation, the uſe of the ſword was what they have always been allowed thoroughly to underſtand. Had that been the weapon by which a reconciliation had been ſought, it is generally believed the articles would have pretty much varied from the preſent treaty. However, it is with ſome pleaſure that the news of Count Seckendorf's affairs being finiſhed, has been received by all Europe; and his being, after ſo tedious a confinement, declared innocent, gives his furious proſecutors but a bad opportunity to boaſt their behaviour to that brave, that greatly-injured ſoldier, who has been lock'd up from the ſervice of his prince, when his aſſiſtance was moſt wanted. His ſufferings, if they have no other effect, will probably make the buſineſs of the cenſure of the Counts Wallis and Neuperg be proceeded in with more impartiality and diſpatch. The union between the courts of Vienna and Peterſburg appears not at preſent ſo ſtrict as it has been for ſome time paſt: and if the treaty of Belgrade be conſidered, Ruſſia will not be under any extraordinary obligation to his Imperial Majeſty for the care taken of the forces under Count Munich, then in danger of ſuffering greatly from the united forces of the Turks. The battle of Krozka was an action that coſt the Imperialiſts much blood; and the advantage gained by it was very inconſiderable: ſeveral brave men fell in it; and among the wounded was the valiant and worthy Earl of Crawford, who has been long under cure, but is now ſaid to be out of danger. That brave Nobleman was under the ſurgeon's hands in Belgrade when the ſiege was begun, and has borne a ſhare in all the fatigues and alarms of the campaign. He is wiſhed and expected home; but before his return the Emperor has deſired he will viſit Vienna; where probably he will receive an honourable acknowledgment of his valour and ſervice under the Imperial banners. — Now we are engaged in war, how happy would it be for Britain if many more of her ſons had imitated his example! for it is not difficult to conceive, how far preferable ſuch Noblemen muſt be in the field, who have ſeen the *various* ſtratagems and policy of war, who have known the rough clangor of *Bellona*, and have ſeen *Mars* in his moſt tremendous appearance, to the moſt noble of our youth, whoſe ſole knowledge of the art-military is confined to theory and the force of a ſtrong imagination. — This digreſſion will, we hope, be pardoned on account of our preſent alarms: A heart affected with his country's cauſe, is apt to wreſt every occaſion into

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into an opportunity of hinting whatever is desirable to our national success.

The republick of POLAND has suffered greatly by its natural situation, being thereby exposed to the inroads and devastations of the Turks and Tartars on one hand, and the Russians on the other. Count Munich's march through the Polish territories, was loudly complained of by the states of the kingdom: but when we remember the election of his Polish Majesty, we shall not wonder at his silence on this occasion; for the passage of a few troops was no extraordinary return for the siege of Dantzick, and the reduction of the whole kingdom, in order to recognize the present Sovereign's *free* election to his royal dignity. The Polish subjects might indeed complain; but how could their Sovereign say much? — Thus princes oblige each other, when their subjects are at the expence of the compliment.

Several of the Polish Grandees are said to have been concerned in the designs formed against the government of Russia; but as no proof has yet been offered on this head, there is little room for supposing any of them guilty of a crime of which not one of them has been publickly accused. However odious the intrigues of France may have rendered the accession of K. Stanislaus, yet still the natives will consider him as their countryman; as one whose interests are the same as their own, and whose affection to the land of his nativity can never be erased by the honours paid him in France, or any other foreign country. While they are governed by the Elector of Saxony, Poland can only hope to *share* the care of their Sovereign; whereas they imagine, that if Stanislaus reigned, as Poland would terminate his dominions, his care would probably extend no farther. When these considerations are duly weighed, any little rumour of disaffection will be the less surprising. And when the prodigious obligations which the King of Poland lies under to the Emperor and the Czarina are remembred, it must be allowed no argument of the want of address to preserve a neutrality in a war which so nearly concerned those empires, as well as that of the Turks: powerful neighbours, and formidable enemies. Major Sinclair fell in the Polish territories; but it is reported that his assassins were not natives of the country, but subjects of Russia; tho' the Czarina has openly deny'd any knowledge of that murder. But whoever committed it, that Gentleman's dispatches were evidently the cause of his death, *only these* being taken from him when he was killed.

The affairs of ITALY are in no very settled situation. The dukedom of *Tuscany* is in possession of the Duke of Lorrain; but some things look as if the views of Spain were not wholly satisfied. The *Pope*'s life does not seem to be long expected; and some of our waggish politicians have already nominated Don Lewis, Cardinal, and Archbishop of Toledo, for his successor, and converted the ecclesiastical state into an hereditary kingdom to his *nephews* for ever. The reduction of the little independent republick of *St Marino*, has enlarged the papal dominions, but added no reputation to the boisterous Cardinal by whom it was effected. Liberty is dear to all men, and those who enjoy it most, are most affected with others losing it.

The kingdom of *Naples* is yet in the quiet possession of Don Carlos; who has hitherto been permitted to preserve a kind of neutrality in the war between G. Britain and Spain; which, while it is requisit for his interest, may possibly be preserved, but ought not too much to be relied upon by the trading subjects of the British crown.

The fate of CORSICA is not yet determined; though it is generally believed to be intended for Don Philip of Spain, who was lately married to the Mesdame of France. The French troops, under the command of the Marquis de Mallebois, has possession of almost the whole country, and takes the most effectual methods to keep it in subjection, if not in affection, to the arms of France. The natives have been commanded to lay down their arms: Those who have obeyed that order, have been laid under what imposts and exactions the Marquis has

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has pleaſed; and thoſe of the refractory who have fallen into his hands, have by the powerful reaſonings of wheels, halters and gibbets, been convinced of the danger attending their diſobedience. Several of the natives, after a forced declaration of ſubmiſſion to the French ſtrangers, have made their beſt efforts to recover their liberty, by joining thoſe of their countrymen who ſtill keep the field; the eſtates of ſuch have been confiſcated, their ſons enſlaved, and their wives and daughters delivered to the mercy and chaſtity of the French ſoldiers. Several inhabitants of Baſtia, and the other great towns of the iſland where the French are quartered, have been hang'd for being poſſeſſed of arms to defend themſelves; many rich burghers have been executed for ſuſpicion of treaſonable deſigns againſt their officious viſitants; and thoſe who condeſcend to betray their country to the mediating invaders, are the only perſons who obtain the protection of the French. Some violences of the French officers (which a polite people would have looked upon only as gallantry) have been reſented by the Corſicans; but their reſentments, whenever they extended to hurt the aggreſſors, have been puniſhed with death. So that it muſt be confeſſed no means are neglected to reduce this unhappy iſland to a ſtate of perfect tranquillity: for, where to *oppoſe* is death, obedience will ſpread ſwiftly:—But will it be laſting?

The republick of VENICE has preſerved a neutrality between the Turks and Germans, though not without great danger to their dominions; but the ſeverity exerciſed to the Duke of Lorrain, in point of a pretended quarantine, when, with his conſort the Archdutcheſs, he viſited his Italian dominions, was no mark of their attachment to his Imperial Majeſty: though the laſt year was not a fit ſeaſon for the court of Vienna to indulge her reſentments: nor has the Porte had leiſure to obſerve every arrogant punctilio which uſually have perplexed their neareſt neighbours. It has even been reported, that during the late troubles around them, the Venetian dominions have been ſomewhat enlarged: but of that circumſtance we have not ſufficient vouchers.

The King of SARDINIA has paſſed the laſt year without any conſiderable change in his affairs. Some acceſſions which he expected in Italy, he has not yet obtained; and his intereſts are ſo dependent, both upon his Imperial Majeſty and the King of France, that it is no eaſy taſk to preſerve ſuch a neutrality as is agreeable to both thoſe powers: yet hitherto his Sardinian Majeſty has acted with ſafety to his dutchy of Savoy, and the iſland from whence he derives his title has remained free from invaſion.

The King of PRUSSIA, with one of the beſt diſciplin'd armies in Europe, has kept clear of the broils in which his neighbours have been involved. His alliance has been ſought by ſeveral ſtates; but he ſeems to remain ſo independent as to be at full liberty to improve any opportunity that may offer him advantage. The lifting men for Pruſſia in the Hanoverian dominions, continues to give great offence to the regency; and ſome ſevere puniſhments have been inflicted upon perſons detected in that practice. A firm union between the courts of London and Berlin has often been talk'd of, but does not yet appear to be near a concluſion. As the ſituation of the Pruſſian dominions, and the religion there authoriſed, tends greatly to the ſupport of the Proteſtant cauſe, the cloſeſt alliance were certainly to be wiſhed between two powers ſo nearly related by principle and natural relation.

The young Prince of HESSE is ſoon expected in England, to conſummate his nuptials with her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs Mary, fourth daughter of his Britannick Majeſty.

With DENMARK the court of Great Britain continues to preſerve a firm friendſhip; the Daniſh troops in the pay of Britain are ſaid lately to have received orders to replace thoſe of the electorate of Hanover, who are to be employed elſewhere. The preſent alliances of his Daniſh Majeſty tend greatly to the ſecurity of his dominions, from the intrigues of Sweden, or any other northern power. Traffick increaſes through-

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out Denmark; the face of affairs in that kingdom has lately changed much for the advantage of the natives; and it is probable that they reap infinitely more profit by confining themſelves wholly to the intereſts of their country, than any of their neighbours can ever hope for from dancing to a French fiddle.

SWEDEN is at preſent a very divided kingdom, being diſtinguiſhed into three factions; one in the intereſt of their country; one in favour of the German and Ruſſian intereſt, and which has given moſt uneaſineſs to the whole ſtate; another obſequious to the dictates of a certain eminent political Cardinal. After the death of Major Sinclair, affairs at Stockholm ſeem'd to be greatly perplexed, and the preparations on the ſide of Finland have not been proſecuted with much vigour. The reader may not be diſpleaſed, in this place, with the inſcription which his Swediſh Majeſty has cauſed to be written upon the tomb of unfortunate Sinclair, in the church of St Nicholas, in Stralſund. *Here lies Major* MALCOMB SINCLAIR, *a good and faithful ſubject of the kingdom of* Sweden, *born in* 1691, *ſon of the moſt worthy Major-General* Sinclair *and Madam* de Hamilton. *The events of his life were very ſingular and remarkable. He was priſoner of war in* Siberia *from the year* 1709 *to* 1722. *Being charged with a commiſſion to execute ſome affairs of ſtate, he was, on the* 17*th of* June 1739, *in an execrable manner, aſſaſſinated near* Naumbourg *in* Sileſia. *Reader, drop ſome tears upon this tomb, and conſider with thyſelf how incomprehenſible are the deſtinies of poor mortals.*

The houſe of M. Beſtuchef, the Ruſſian miniſter at Stockholm, has been lately violently aſſaulted, by a mob, who committed ſeveral outrages; which will probably lay the miniſtry of Sweden under conſiderable difficulties. In the mean time the King has aſſured the ſaid M. Beſtuchef, that no pains will be wanting to puniſh the authors of that inſult, and to protect him from future abuſe. Surely the *mediating ſpirit* which has ſo remarkably diſplay'd itſelf in Corſica, does not begin to operate in the ſame manner any where elſe!

His PORTUGUESE Majeſty continuing neuter, his ports are of great ſervice to the Britiſh trading ſhips, ſeveral convoys arriving from the rendevous at Liſbon with the utmoſt ſafety: and the care taken for ſome time paſt to ſcour thoſe ſeas by Engliſh men of war, has prevented the Spaniſh privateers from doing any great damage. An Engliſh ſhip, taken within cannon-ſhot of Faro, has been demanded by the King of Portugal's Ambaſſador at Madrid; but no account has yet arrived of her being reſtored.

The conduct of the court of MADRID is too generally known through Europe to require being here repeated. The violences of Spain have at laſt rouſed the warm reſentment of Britain; and the Spaniſh politicks have lately been principally employed to gloſs over her depredations and inſults with a maſk of candour and moderation. But truth is not to be diſguiſed by ſuch notorious daubing; and all the art exerciſed to vindicate the injuries done the ſubjects of Britain, ſerves only to prove the juſtice of their cauſe, and the good grounds they have to expect ſucceſs in a war into which they have been driven by an inſolent and cruel enemy: an enemy equally regardleſs of the force of reaſon and juſtice, and deaf to the voice of humanity.

We ſee, however, that the affairs of her Spaniſh Majeſty's children are at preſent in a flouriſhing condition. Naples bends to Don Carlos; a daughter of France has been given Don Philip, and Corſica is thought to be part of her dowry; Don Lewis enjoys a Cardinal's cap and the archbiſhoprick of Toledo: and it is very poſſible that his poſſeſſions may be more durable than thoſe of his brethren, if it be true, as is reported upon no deſpiſable authority, that in the ſpring 25,000 of the Emperor's troops will form a camp in Lombardy, and that his Sardinian Majeſty ſeems not altogether pacifically diſpoſed. Sir Thomas Fitzgerald, late Plenipotentiary at London, is made one of his Catholick Majeſty's council for the Indies, in reward for his *extraordinary* ſervices.

FRANCE remains a land *of treaty*; and

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PREFACE.

THE publication of a *Second Volume* affords us an opportunity of renewing our acknowledgments to the generous encouragers of this work; and we can with pleaſure inform them, that we now in a great meaſure enjoy that ſucceſs we once but faintly hop'd for.

OUR kind correſpondents, by whoſe aſſiſtance we are enabled to preſent our readers with a variety of ingenious and entertaining performances, are likewiſe intitled to our ſincereſt thanks. We hope our conduct with regard to them has been inoffenſive: For as we cannot pretend to be judges of the merit of *every* eſſay we receive, we chuſe to be directed by the opinions of Gentlemen eminent for their knowledge in the different ſubjects treated of.

THESE Gentlemen are ſo well known in the learned world, by the figure ſome of them have already made, and ſtations they ſo deſervedly fill, that the inſerting their names would do us no ſmall honour. But as our correſpondents write, and they vouchſafe to reviſe, not from any ſelfiſh views, but from a principle of pure benevolence, we ſhall not ſo far forget the Obligations we are under, as to treſpaſs on their modeſty, by making publick what they deſire ſhould be concealed. Our readers may, however, be ſatisfied that we offer them nothing till it is carefully reviewed.

BUT we would not wiſh this was conſtructed as if we meant to boggle young writers, or to ſcar even thoſe of a ſecond-rate genius from trying their talents. Tho' the *Latian* Muſes admitted the divine VIRGIL more immediately to their ſhrines, ſeveral others got a place in their temple. Neither did the thundering oratory of DEMOSTHENES keep back a young CICERO from attempting the bar; nor did CICERO, for all his inimitable eloquence, fright the famous POLLIO from pleading the cauſe of innocence. Merit, tho' it is not always ſuffi-

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and it has been ſaid in ſome of the foreign papers, that ſhe conquers more by *negotiation* under her preſent miniſtry, than ſhe ever obtained by the *ſword*. 'Tis certain, however, that all preparations neceſſary for a war are continued, though peace is daily talked of, and the Earl of Waldegrave in frequent conference with Cardinal Fleury. It will be well if a *French neutrality* prove not more fatal to G. Britain than a union of his Chriſtian Majeſty's force with the arms of Spain: for to a nation dependent upon commerce, the loſs of trade, by its turning into freſh canals, is an injury of the moſt fatal conſequence.

The UNITED PROVINCES have lately been treated with more than ordinary reſpect by the court of Madrid; and out of five ſhips whereof reſtitution was demanded, the King of Spain has graciouſly ordered that two ſhall be reſtored: which equitable diſpoſition is generally attributed to the force of the Britiſh armaments. The French King declared his diſpleaſure at their preparations to defend themſelves at this time of general alarm; but has ſince agreed, by a declaration from his miniſter at the Hague, that he will not be diſpleaſed if they ſhould put their dominions in a poſture of defence!

There is not much room to wonder at the deliberation with which the reſolutions of the States General are proceeded in: a declaration for or againſt the crown of Spain being of the utmoſt conſequence, eſpecially till France declares herſelf.

The alliances formed by G. Britain promiſe all deſirable ſupport to his Majeſty's arms: and the preparations made for the preſent war, give the greateſt room to hope for ſufficient recompence to the numerous injuries and inſults we have ſo long endeavoured to have adjuſted by milder meaſures. Where juſtice and humanity call for the ſword's interpoſition, ſucceſs may be hoped without vanity or arrogance: which gives us room to expect a favourable anſwer when we pray, THAT THE ARMS OF GREAT BRITAIN MAY PROSPER.

CRAFTSMAN, N° 703.

A Place-bill the deſire of the nation, and no alteration in the conſtitution.

I Think the following poſition will not be controverted by any body, either in word or thought; which is, *That* DESTRUCTION *is the ſame, as to conſequences, both with regard to* individuals, *and to* ſtates, *let it come from what hand, or what power it will.* A man is as much dead, who is kill'd by *chance-medley*, as he, who is kill'd by *malice prepenſe*; and the private ſtab of an *acquaintance* will as ſoon ganger, as if it had been given by a *robber*.—The ſame obſervation holds good as to *ſtates*; for the oppreſſion is the ſame, whether it is laid on by the edict of an *abſolute prince*, or as the badge of *foreign conqueſt*, or by the conſent of the *repreſentatives of the people*.

How therefore can mankind guard againſt all events? Muſt every man wear *armour?* Won't *poiſon* deſtroy them? Without ſome confidence in one another, no *commerce* can be carried on; all ſociety muſt be at an end; and, conſequently, with relation to *government*, the *people of a free ſtate* muſt be ſo jealous of their *liberties*, as to reſerve immediately to themſelves the ultimate determination of all publick acts.—*Such conſtitutions* there have been; but they have been all ſubject to confuſion, which hath generally ended in tyranny. To preſerve order therefore in the *ſtate*, when founded upon a true *equilibrium*, (which is the great barrier both to *government* and *liberty*) the *people of England* repoſe a truſt, and yield a certain degree of power to a *ſmall number*, for aſſiſting in, and carrying on, in conjunction with the *other branches of the legiſlature*, the great buſineſs of the nation. And though they have an equal right to juſtice and liberty from the *other branches*, it muſt be imagined that they place the moſt immediate confidence in *their own repreſentatives*, who are inveſted with as high a truſt as a *free people* can be ſuppoſed to delegate; no leſs than the preſervation of the *ſtate* and the protection of *their rights*.—It is therefore eſſential to *liberty*,

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berty, that *theſe delegates* ſhould be ſent up by the free and unpolluted votes of *their principals:* and I conceive it to be as high an offence againſt the *conſtitution*, for a *miniſter* to corrupt the *conſtituents*, or to corrupt the *delegates*, when ſo conſtituted, either by *intimidating*, or by giving them *bribes*, or *places*, to prevail upon a majority to act from *private views* againſt the ſentiments and intereſts of the *people*, as an actual rebellion would be in the *people*; for, during the continuance of *ſuch an undue influence*, the *people* may as much be ſaid to be diveſted of their ſhare in the *legiſlature*, as a *prince* may be ſaid to have loſt his *crown*, when he is dethron'd.

It may, perhaps, appear abſurd to ſuppoſe that an *elected ſenate*, where there are ſuch a number of *conſtituents*, can poſſibly return'd be of different ſentiments from the *people*. But the queſtion is, how ſmall a number of *conſtituents* may be ſufficient to return a *majority of the houſe of Commons?* for tho' there may be *ſome counties*, that have *ſixteen*, or *eighteen thouſand voters*, there are *ſmall boroughs* which return as many members, that have not *half a ſcore of voters*.— I am not at preſent prepared to make an exact computation; but I ſhould think that leſs than *ten thouſand voters* might be ſufficient to return a *majority*. This random calculation cannot be thought ſo much out of the way, when it is conſidered what a number of *ſmall boroughs* there are, and that many people have votes in *ſeveral boroughs*. But however that may be, what I have ſaid is ſufficient to ſhew that it is poſſible for the *little dependent boroughs* to ſend up a *majority of the houſe of Commons*, of different ſentiments from the *majority of the whole conſtituents*; which Bp *Burnet* calls the *rotten part of our conſtitution*.

The people of *G. Britain* are ſuppoſed to be upwards of *ten millions*; and thoſe who have not any votes for *repreſentatives*, as well as thoſe who have, are equally intitled to the protection of their *rights*, *liberties* and *properties*. So that a vote in the *houſe of Commons* may give up the happineſs of *ten millions of people*.

Is it not therefore highly juſtifiable, is it not commendable, may it not be neceſſary, for *larger corporations* (if they apprehend any impending, or growing danger) to inſtruct, to animate their *repreſentatives*, that they may add weight to their *debates* and *counſels*, by ſhewing what are the general ſentiments of the people? This is the only influence, which a *corporation*, compoſed of *thouſands*, can have, more than one, compoſed perhaps of not above the *thouſandth part*.—Though I think it might have been wiſe at firſt, in forming, and afterwards in renewing the *conſtitution*, effectually to have provided againſt *ſmall boroughs*, I would not be thought to propoſe having the privileges of *any corporation* deſtroyed, be it ever ſo ſmall.— Taking away the *temptation* may, I hope, be ſufficient to guard againſt the danger. *Eight* or *ten men*, if they can be kept uncorrupt, may think as juſtly as *ten thouſand*. Could I give names to *corruption*, which would carry a more horrid idea than the *word* itſelf, other words ſhould not be wanting to paint it in the blackeſt colours; and I ſhould think my utmoſt endeavours happily employ'd, could I eradicate both the *vice* and *name* from the memory of the *preſent age*, and the knowledge of *poſterity*.

Let *corruption* come from any hand, let it appear in every ſhape, and view it in all lights, nothing is more deteſtable. But as a *concerted ſcheme*, ſupported by *many*, and to be executed by *confederacy*, muſt carry greater force, than the actions of *ſingle perſons*; ſo the corruption of voters by *placemen* muſt threaten more danger to the ſtate, than when it happens between *private perſons*.— Giddineſs and folly of youth, pride, reſentment, and many other unjuſtifiable motives, may induce *private perſons* to bribe their *conſtituents:* and tho' ſuch proceedings are ſufficient grounds for the honeſt part of a corporation to lay aſide candidates dealing in ſuch dirty work, and chuſe ſome worthy men of better morals; yet ſuch a corruption, wicked as it is, may end in *that corporation*, and its bad influence may extend no further.—Much more dangerous to

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the ſtate may be *corruption*, ſeconded by the *arm of power*. — If a *ſeat in parliament* ſhou.d be ever look'd upon as the way to *preferment*, or the tenure to a *place*; if ever a ſufficient number of *voters* ſhould be corrupt enough to chuſe a *majority of placemen*, becauſe they can afford to bribe them high, without having any regard to *perſonal merit*, or *integrity*; if *placemen* ſhould ever confederate together in *ſchemes of corruption*; if *corruption* ſhould ever be uſed as the ſpring and movement of *government*; if ever an *artful*, *vicious*, and *laviſh miniſtry*, or *miniſter*, ſhould be able, by *undue influence*, to gain over a *majority of the houſe of Commons*, ſo as to prefer his or their *private intereſt*, or *protection*, to the real good of the *commonwealth*: I ſay, if this ſhould ever come to paſs, what influence would be able to ſtem ſuch an inundation of *corruption*; or where muſt *virtue* be placed, ſufficient to defend and preſerve our *conſtitution*? If *our own delegates* ſhould ever become venal enough to ſell us, how can we hope that any *other branch of the legiſlature* will protect us?

Have not the united dominions which now belong to the *French* and *Spaniſh* crowns, had their *cortez*, their *deputies*, and *other elected aſſemblies*, the very names of which are now forgot, and worn out by *corruption* more than by *violence*? At leaſt, *one* always made way for the *other*. They once thought *their liberties* to be upon as firm a foundation as we now think *our own*. — Are not *Engliſhmen* as much prone to *vice* as their neighbours? Nay, inſtead of excelling them in *virtue*, do we not imitate their *vices*? Does *virtue*, *œconomy*, and *wiſdom* ſhine ſo conſpicuouſly in the preſent age, that *Engliſhmen* are better proof againſt *corruption* now, than *Normans*, *Caſtilians*, and other people, were in former times?

Lead us not into temptation, was enjoin'd us in a prayer by HIM, who beſt knew our nature. — All the *temptations* which worldly wealth can beſtow (we cannot ſay how ſoon, or how late) may be employ'd againſt the *liberties of the people*; and the moſt effectual way, that can be conceiv'd, to ſecure us againſt ſuch a future evil, is to withdraw the *temptation*. — The *whole collective body of the people*, a very *few* excepted, ſeem to be unanimous in the purſuit of ſo equitable a ſettlement of their *rights*. With what grace, with what juſtice can it be deny'd them; or who can pretend to reaſon againſt it? Who endeavours to interrupt the preſent harmony and unanimity of the kingdom, but *thoſe* who contend againſt giving the *people* what they think the greateſt ſecurity to their *liberties*?

I beg to aſk one general queſtion; *viz.* Whether *thoſe perſons* deſerve beſt, both of *prince* and *people*, who put the royal virtues of *their Sovereign* in a mild, natural, clear, and amicable light; or *thoſe* who repreſent them in ſuch a manner as to dazzle the eyes of their fellow-ſubjects, in order to prevent them from purſuing what may be thought a further, and a reaſonable ſecurity to their *liberties*? Can a *free people*, ought a *free people* to be ſupinely at eaſe, though at preſent they may enjoy all the outward ſhew, or even the real bleſſings of *liberty*, if they apprehend *that liberty* to be in danger, which they think may be ſtill prevented? Is not *ſecurity* the beſt protection of *tranquillity*? Should *jealouſies* ariſe in a ſtate, would not an unanimous concurrence to give the *people* full ſatisfaction diſſipate thoſe fears? And if no *jealouſies* were in being, would not *that meaſure* cement ſuch an happy union? Can it ever be the intereſt of a *people* to diſguſt *their prince*, or wantonly diſconcert his *government*; or can it ever be the intereſt of a *prince* to have his *people* diſcontented? But may it not be the intereſt and policy of *particular perſons*, out of fear that *ſuch an eſtabliſhment* and *union* may prove fatal to *their machinations*, or lead to ſome open diſcovery of their pernicious and wicked ſchemes, to keep *prince* and *people* at as great a diſtance as their helliſh arts can compaſs? — But to return to my point.

His *preſent Majeſty* is wiſe, juſt, and merciful; and we have an happy proſpect of the ſame virtues in ſucceſſion. — But precarious muſt be the liberties of that people, which depend more upon

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on the lives of men than their own firm basis.—If therefore the *people* see any thing amiss in the *constitution*, which they think wants mending, can they hope for a more favourable opportunity than the *present auspicious reign?*

The *three capital cities of the united kingdom* have instructed *their representatives* to use their utmost endeavours to obtain a *place-bill*. Many *great corporations* have followed their example. If the counties have not done so too, it is because they cannot so easily meet as *corporations* can; for it is well known that the *freeholders* throughout the whole kingdom have set their hearts upon it. The *British* nation seems to expect it; and I hope it will raise no other contention in proceeding upon it, than who shall move it first, and render it most effectual and permanent.

To say that this is an *alteration of the constitution*, is saying no more than that every *publick act* is an *alteration*, as far as the force of *that act* reaches. Several laws have been made, from time to time, with relation to *places*. Some of them were thought too rigid, and therefore have been repealed, or amended. But all these transactions shew the danger which was apprehended from *placemen*.—It hath become more general, of late years, for *Gentlemen in places* to get into *parliament* than formerly, and even persons in *inferior places*, which was not then usual.—Besides, it hath been thought proper to keep on foot a *very large army*, for many years past; in which there are many *lucrative commissions*; for the *officers* upon all establishments are allowed to sit in *parliament*, and many more of them than in former times do actually sit there.—The growing increase of these practices makes the *people* desirous of having *some limitations*, with regard to *seats in parliament*, in order to prevent any *ministerial influence*, which may be hereafter practised upon *such members of parliament*, to the destruction of the *constitution*.—This is all that the *people want*, and they are very sure, that if they should not be able to obtain this reasonable security in times of *liberty*, it will be very difficult to get it, whenever such ministerial confederacies amongst *placemen* shall be formed.—If the constituents of the *smaller boroughs* should become mercenary, the *present limitation*, which vacates their *seat in parliament*, by accepting of a *place*, will be of no security; for should *venal men* get themselves return'd by *venal boroughs*, will their constituents dislike them the more, because they have enlarged *their income?*—But even this small security does not extend to the *army*; as if the salary of a *military commission* could not carry as much influence as the salary of a *civil employment*.—There is no doubt that instances may be given, where national honour, and zeal for the liberties of their country, have run as high in *military men* as in *other men*; and where many of them have, at various times, joined in endeavours to support their country against the pernicious schemes of *rapacious ministers*. But I conceive that such a disinterested behaviour hath been more owing to the honesty of *particular persons*, than to any principles instill'd into them by the *profession* itself.—*Ministers* are apt to copy after their *predecessors*; what hath been once thought of, may be thought of again, and possibly put into practice, some time or other, if not timely prevented.—Lord *Strafford*, as to abilities, was almost as great a man as any that hath appear'd upon the stage of politicks. The use he proposed to make of *military men* in *parliament* may be seen in his letter to K. *Charles* I. inducing him to call a parliament in *Ireland*, from whence I shall cite a paragraph by way of conclusion; for it wants no comment but itself.

"I will labour to make as many *captains*, and *officers*, *burgesses*, as possibly I can; who, having immediate dependence on the *crown*, may almost sway the business betwixt the *two parties*, which way they please." *Rushworth's Coll. vol.* 2. *p.* 212.

CRAFTSMAN, *Jan.* 5.

Proposal for a Female Parliament.

SIR,

MAnkind being grown so excessively corrupt, and becoming, as it is

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confeſſed on all hands, every day worſe and worſe, you will excuſe me, Mr *D'Anvers*, if I communicate to you a ſcheme, and the only one I believe will be effectual, for reſtoring a *little honour* and *honeſty* to the world; endeavouring to ſhame *men*, by a juſt degradation of them, out of their preſent profligacy, and bring them by degrees to that priſtine integrity, for which their anceſtors were ſo famous.—I have conſider'd my project thoroughly; I have view'd it in its uſeful light; I have likewiſe placed it in the ridiculous one to which it may be liable; and, upon the whole, am perſuaded that all other ſchemes for the amendment and reformation of *mankind*, by good and wholeſome laws, to prevent *luxury*, or reſtrain *corruption*, will be of little uſe. *Place-bills*, or any ſuch like expedients, will be at beſt but *palliating remedies*, and not go to the bottom or root of the diſtemper. *Slow alteratives* will not do. A *total change* ſeems to be abſolutely neceſſary; for, when the *whole body-politick* is overſpread with ſores, like a *leper*, the conſtitution ought to be as it were regenerated, before the cure can be perfected.

This being the caſe, I would humbly propoſe that a law might be paſſed, to take place at the determination of this preſent *p——t*, by which all *men*, of what rank, degree, or quality ſoever, ſhould be depos'd from their ſeveral ſtations, dignities, and employments; and that all ſuch vacancies ſhould, by way of reproach, be immediately ſupplied and filled up by proper perſons of the *other ſex*. When this is done, the *men* are not to be ſuffer'd to reaſſume their *pre-eminence*, or *places*, till a certain ſpace of time is paſſed over; in which they may be ſuppoſed to have ſeen their follies, repented of their iniquities, and grown aſham'd of their proſtitutions. By thus exhibiting a righteous band of *female patriots*, and ſetting *virtue* in ſo fair and amiable a light, it is to be hoped that, after a certain chaſm for *purgation*, or (if I may ſo call it, an *inter-regnum of the miniſtry*) ſuch *men* as are not quite loſt to all ſenſe of *honour* may be recovered from *pollution*, and a ſet of *young patriots* likewiſe ſprout out undefil'd, and undebauch'd, who may in time, from the example of their *mothers*, be able to fill an adminiſtration, and govern this kingdom with integrity and ability.

I have often heard it ſaid, that an *act of parliament* could do any thing but make a *man* a *woman*, or a *woman* a *man*. Now, though this may be phyſically true, yet I am ſure it is not politically ſo; and that being ſufficient for my purpoſe, I will humbly propoſe and recommend the following ſketch of ſuch an act.

Whereas, for many years paſt, luxury *and* extravagance *have been ſuffer'd to prevail and increaſe in this kingdom; whereas* venality *hath been thought no crime, and* corruption *is become ſo faſhionable a vice, that* few men *are aſhamed of it; and whereas the expence of* corruption *is now grown beyond what even the* worſt government *can ſupport, and the miſchief of it ſuch as the* beſt miniſtry *cannot prevent:*

For remedy whereof, and that a certain time of purification *may be appointed, during which* men *may recover their morals, and the* ſtate *hereafter be fix'd on a righteous and laſting foundation; be it enacted by the* K—'s *moſt ex——t M—ty, by and with the conſent of the* L—ds S—l *and* T—l *and* C——ns *in this preſent* p——t *aſſembled, That from and after the day of which ſhall be in the year of our Lord* all employments, *of what nature and degree ſoever, whether they be* eccleſiaſtical, civil, *or* military, *ſhall from henceforwards be filled with perſons of the* feminine gender; *and that no* man *or* male *whatſoever ſhall, from the commencement of* this act, *to the end of the term hereby preſcrib'd, hold, occupy, or enjoy, or be capable of holding, occupying, or enjoying any place, penſion, honour, grant, or gratuity whatſoever from the* crown; *but the ſame ſhall be holden, occupied, and enjoyed by* females *only.*

This act to be continued in force for ſeven years, *and no longer; when* each male *is to reſume his dignity, employment, and authority; which the* females *are hereby*

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hereby required to reſign and relinquiſh forthwith, under the forfeiture of

Provided always, and it is hereby enacted and declared, That the common council of the city of LONDON, *in conſideration of their ſteady adherence to the principles of* virtue, *during a courſe of many years, and againſt the ſtrongeſt temptations, may ſtill continue to act in their* corporate *and* maſculine capacity, *any* influence *or* corruption, *or any* law *or* ſtatute *whatſoever to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.*

Had *this law* taken place a little ſooner, I am perſuaded that it would have redounded very much to the *honour* of our nation, and might have proved of infinite advantage to the *trade* and *commerce* of it. I may venture to ſay, that no *woman* living could have borne the inſults, and put up the many affronts and indignities, which *ſome perſons*, to the ſcandal of *our ſex*, have ſo tamely ſubmitted to.—I am as poſitive, that in a *female adminiſtration*, the *convention* would never have been heard of; and probably none of *thoſe treaties* would have been made, which were calculated only to *gain time*; for it is well known that the *Ladies* love *diſpatch* in all their affairs, and are great enemies to *procraſtination*. The Queen of *Spain* herſelf, who is but a *woman*, (though I muſt do her the juſtice to ſay that ſhe is a very high-mettled one) would never have been able, by all her intrigues and cunning, to impoſe on her *whole ſex*, however ſhe hath on ſome of the *other*; nor would the *Ladies* of this kingdom have ſubmitted to a *ſearch*, which they always look upon, when done by compulſion, to be baſe and diſhonourable; eſpecially in *places*, where *no ſearch* ought to be allow'd.—*War* would long ago been proclaim'd; and not only proclaim'd, but immediately proſecuted with the utmoſt vigour. A body of *marines*, in the ſhape of *Sea-goddeſſes*, would have been ſent to the *Havannah*; and I make no doubt that we ſhould have been, at this time, in full poſſeſſion of the iſland of *Cuba*.

Whatever apprehenſions we may have at preſent, with regard to *France*, I am convinc'd, that under a *female adminiſtration* we might ſet them at defiance. A nation fam'd for gallantry and politeneſs, like the *French*, would ſcarce be able to look an army of *Engliſh beauties* in the face, without deſiring to ſurrender up their arms, and yielding themſelves an eaſy conqueſt to the victors. So that *France* muſt even repeal their *Salique law*, and convert their government likewiſe into a *female ſtate*, if they will pretend, in ſuch a ſituation, to cope with us.

I likewiſe apprehend that *this ſcheme* muſt have an extreme good effect, by totally extinguiſhing the hopes of the *Pretender*, and all his adherents. It is impoſſible for him to lay the leaſt claim to any *unalienable*, *hereditary*, or *indefeazable right*, when the whole conſtitution ſhall have legally undergone ſuch a *total change*; a *revolution*, I may venture to aſſert, more conſiderable than the *laſt*, as it will be an abſolute migration of power from *one ſex* to the *other*.

When the *Treaſury*, the *Admiralty*, the *board of Trade*, and all the other employments of the kingdom ſhall fall, as the *French* call it, *en quenouille*, what houſewifry may we not expect? The *Ladies*, like ſo many new brooms, will no doubt ſweep the *offices* clean, and by degrees purge thoſe *Augean* ſtables of their preſent filth and ordure. When our *publick treaſure* ſhall be placed in *female hands*, it will be in clean ones at leaſt; I hope in ſkilful ones too: and ſince we have ſeen *one man*, who vaunted of the *ſinking fund* as his *own child*, prove a very *unnatural father* to it, I ſhould be glad to ſee it, for a time, under the care of a *tender and nurſing mother*.

Both houſes of p—t, when this ſcheme takes place, being to be filled with *petticoats*, I would recommend it to the ingenious architect of the *lower houſe* (in caſe we are ever to have a new one) to build it upon ſomething of a larger ſcale, in conſideration of the *hoops* that are to enter into it. The *council-table* muſt likewiſe admit of ſome extenſion, on the ſame account; as well as the *two houſes of convocation*, ſhould they ever be allow'd to ſit again.

I

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I rejoiced extremely upon hearing a motion made by a *Noble Lord*, some days ago, for stopping up the chinks of *that house*. It was acknowledged by every one that the *house of L—ds* had been exceeding cold of late; that it was *domus rimarum plena*; and that a little more *fire* and *warmth* amongst them would not be amiss.

With a view therefore to my scheme, this motion for filling up the *chinks* will be of great use, by preventing, in the first place, all improper *peep-holes*; and considering that wind rising upwards must certainly be more inconvenient, as well as dangerous to the *Ladies*, who are so little guarded against it.

To fill the *lower house* with proper representatives, it will be necessary that a clause or clauses be inserted in the bill, to transfer all right of election in the several counties, cities, and boroughs, to the respective *wives* of the freeholders, freemen, and burgesses, that they may chuse *such Ladies* as they judge proper for their representatives; still reserving to themselves, as constituents, the power of *instructing* them from time to time, as they shall see occasion. All *Ladies* offering their services, or standing for any of the before mentioned places, are to have full liberty allowed them of applying to the *husband of the voter* for his interest in his *wife*, in the same manner as the members now do to the *wives*, for the votes of their *husbands*: Provided always that no *money* be given.

It will be absolutely necessary, before the *female p——t* meets, to appoint a committee to examine and revise the *standing orders of the house*, with power to vary from, or make such alterations therein, as the case may require. I know there is one order, which I am of opinion may be of singular utility; and I have sometimes, on proper occasions, heard it pronounced from the *chair*, with great dignity and authority; I mean that which says, no member shall be suffered to speak more than once in any debate; and since this is to be a *female assembly*, it may not be improper to subjoin, that no more than *two* or *three Ladies* at most shall be suffered to speak at a time; for as they are now to meet in a solemn manner, I cannot be so complaisant as to allow them to *speak all together*.

As for the *upper house*, which will be made up generally of the *Ladies* of the present possessors of it, excepting such as are to be chosen by *election*, (who shall not be nominated by any *one person* whatsoever, no *closet* or *pocket list* being to be allowed) it is to have the same powers and privileges as at present, especially with regard to *appeals*; and I hope no man can have so little good breeding to the *Ladies*, as to fancy that it will not be filled with persons of as much sense, virtue, knowledge and literature, as it is at present.

I must confess that it may, at first sight, look a little odd to see *six and twenty venerable matrons*, with lawn-sleeves on their arms, and trencher-caps on their heads; but this, perhaps, may be amply made up by a stricter attendance on the duties of their dioceses, and at least as conscientious a conduct in the *house of Ladies*, no *translations* being to be allow'd on any pretence whatsoever. I am inclin'd to think that, during the *feminine hierarchy*, the dioceses of every Bishop, which at present goes under a male denomination, should from henceforth be stiled only by the name of the *Bishop's see*, strictly forbidding the *inferior she-clergy* to write *see* with a single letter, through false orthography, or for brevity's sake.

I likewise apprehend, that some great advantages might accrue to *our religion* from this *feminine dispensation*. Controversies, with regard to *mysteries*, may not probably be so frequent, nor *smoaking* and *drinking* be altogether so much practised by the *female clergy*.

As a stagnation, or interruption of business, might arise both in *church* and *state*, if her Grace the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lady *Chancellor*, the *President of the council*, the *Speaker of the house of Commons*, or any of the *Judges*, &c. should happen to be with child, and near her time, I would propose that a proper deputy, or deputies, should be ap-

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appointed to officiate in their ſtead, till ſuch *Biſhop*, *Chancellor*, or *Judge*, is brought to bed; and when her full month of lying-in ſhall be expir'd, then to reſume her ſtation, as if nothing had happen'd.

What a glorious ſight will a *female army* on *Hounſlow-heath*, or in *Hyde-park*, make at a review! What can reſiſt *thirty two thouſand brave and beautiful Engliſh Amazons*, drawn up in battle array? —Old legends aſſure us that, once on a time, *eleven thouſand ſimple virgins*, under one General *Urſula*, quitted this kingdom in diſguſt. Now we ſhall ſee *thirty two thouſand*, (though poſſibly not all *virgins*) appear cap-a-pee in defence of their *King*, and ready to encounter at leaſt double the number of a *ſtanding army of men*, for the laws and liberties of their country. *Such an army* muſt be terrible to the whole world, without giving the leaſt jealouſy, or threatening any danger to this conſtitution. Their eyes will dart fire on the bold invaders of their country, whilſt they warm and cheriſh ſuch as they are willing to receive into their boſoms.

There is one evil indeed, againſt which many great and loud complaints have been made; and that is, the abominable practice of opening *letters*; which I fear will hardly be remedied by my ſcheme: for when the *principal perſons of the poſt-office*, as well as all the *under-clerks*, ſhall be of the *feminine gender*, I am very apprehenſive that the natural curioſity of the ſex, and their great propenſity to pry into one another's ſecrets, may tempt a *female adminiſtration* rather to increaſe than diminiſh this wicked practice; which is not only highly flagitious and diſhonourable of itſelf, but muſt of courſe tend greatly to the prejudice of the *revenue*. — Should this be the caſe, who knows whether the *male ſpecies*, when they ſhall come to reſume their power, will think themſelves bound to make up this deficiency of the *civil-liſt*, and ſecure it at all events *eight hundred thouſand pounds per annum*? A chaſm of *ſeven years* may be pleaded in excuſe, and the *ſtatute of limitations* ſets aſide all *ſimple contracts*, not demanded in leſs than that time.—Whether this can be called a *ſimple contract* or not, I will not preſume to determine.

I have thus, Mr *D'Anvers*, given you an hint of my project, which I do with a ſincere and honeſt deſign to ſerve my country, and become beneficial to mankind. The whole is founded on one ſingle propoſition; *viz.* A diſhonourable, but juſt degradation of the *men*, for their depravity and corruptions, and an exaltation of the *females*, till ſuch time as an honeſter race of *males* ſhall ariſe. If your *patriots* conſent to this propoſal, it will clear their characters from the imputation of ſeeking the employments of *thoſe*, whom they oppoſe, and prove that their only view is the good of their country.

I will conclude the whole with a little paſſage out of *Horace*:

——*Si quid noviſti rectius iſtis,*
Candidus imperti; ſi non, his utere mecum.

I am, &c.

MATTHEW MENDALL.

UNIVERSAL SPECTATOR, *Jan.* 19.

Modern Fools.

'TIS ſaid in Holy Writ, that *God made man upright, but he has ſought out to himſelf many inventions*: A truth, which I believe the moſt obſtinate infidel would make no ſcruple to aſſent to.—Paſſions and appetites, 'tis true, he gave us; nay, they are inſeparable from every creature that partakes of the frail elements that ſurround us. But then he beſtow'd upon us liberally proper objects to gratify them with, and reaſon, a directing power, to enable us ſo to uſe them, that pain, the great evil, might be removed; and pleaſure, the great good, ſo enjoy'd, that we might not launch into exceſs, and thereby entail upon ourſelves more miſery than we labour'd to cure.

As pain or uneaſineſs is the firſt ſenſation we feel, what we firſt endeavour is, ſimply, to get rid of it; and in the earlieſt ſtages of human life, no doubt, this was the ſole point it aimed at. But we

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we need not go so far back; we have a living proof of it among the debauch'd savages of *America*, where the arts of living have made little progress, and who still enjoy, in a great measure, what the poets call the golden age.

But in the East, where Knowledge took its rise, Luxury rose with it. Not satisfied with removing pain, men soon grew covetous of enlarging and multiplying their pleasures: Whence, from gratifying their senses, they passed on to the imagination, and it became as necessary to find food for that, as the appetites inseparable from nature. This gave birth at once to Avarice and Ingenuity: Avarice, the first-born, was not satisfied with the present moment, unless all that were to come had a fair prospect of equal indulgence; and Ingenuity put in for a share of happiness, by rendering itself necessary to the happiness of others.

The moment the door was opened to these refinements in pleasure, a multitude of wants and miseries rush'd into the world with them, that were before unknown; and at this hour, by the force of habit and example, are become so much of a piece with those we receiv'd at the first hand from nature, that they are hardly distinguishable one from the other, and perhaps by no art to be disjoined.

But whatever licence this depravity has received from time and fashion, 'tis nevertheless as ridiculous in itself, tho' it does not appear so, as if it was the growth of the present day. — To see people make themselves unhappy for what is no ingredient of happiness, and place their importance on what in fact makes them contemptible, furnishes out an almost inexhaustible fund of satire and irony.

As therefore, compliments apart, no nation in *Europe* can vie with our own in particulars of this nature, let me be again indulged in reviving *Democritus*, and placing him where some of our most remarkable humorists may pass in review before him.— I will not take upon me to remark for him on so many ludicrous occasions. His character would perhaps foil a much abler genius than mine to draw it as it ought. I shall therefore leave that defect to be supplied by the reader's imagination, with which he will be better satisfied than with any thing that can be the result of mine.

Enter Lady Newcome, *and Sir* Humphrey *her husband.*

La. Preach humility to a person of my birth and education! one that is descended from a peerage for so many ages, in a more direct line than the patriarchs.

Sir H. Vanity! mere vanity!

La. Yes, and 'tis my glory to be vain of it; my chief, nay my only glory! —To count nothing but Lords, Earls, Dukes and Princes in my genealogy, without slip or graft from among the vulgar!

Sir H. Faith, I'm sorry for it. — I love the vulgar with all my heart,— and chiefly because they are not proud of their pedigrees.

La. Ah! that it should be my curse to be link'd with a wretch that can endure the abominable vulgar! nay, that is one of them himself! — But don't think to convert me to your dirty notions! don't! my spirit is above them, and I expect to live as becomes my quality.

Sir H. — And what is that, but to excite the admiration or envy of the vulgar you affect to despise so much? — But I put a negative there. — This profligate town is as much my aversion as it is your paradise, and if ever I see myself well out of it again,—Retrench is the word.

La. Retrench! Retrench!—'Tis what was never known in our family since the conquest, and it shall never be laid to my charge I'm resolv'd.

Sir H. Better it should though for all that. — I am sure your family was all your fortune, and I'm plaguily afraid 'twill very soon be the fortune of your family.

La. And enough too! Our very name's a fortune; and as long as that lasts, the *Boastocks* can want no addition.

Sir

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Sir H. And yet you'd have me fool enough to throw away ten thouſand pounds to purchaſe a title?

La. Yes, clown; becauſe by marrying you I have loſt that glorious diſtinction; and nothing but a coronet can qualify the infamy of being called by ſuch a muſhroom-name as your's.

Sir H. Look you, wife—

La. Wife, deteſtable! Why ſure you don't know who you talk to.—But no more ſuch rudeneſs, I beſeech you.—I muſt and will carry my point I am determin'd.—I have beſpoke it already, ſettled the title and degree, and promis'd a thouſand more to be raiſed one ſtep higher for the ſake of precedency, and beſtowing a Ladyſhip on my daughters.

Sir H. Ladyſhip! Precedency! Lord! Lord!

La. 'Tis too late to make words now, Sir.—The bargain is made; fees and rewards agreed upon for every individual through whoſe hands it is to paſs, from my Lord Duke's page's ſiſter's woman through a hundred different removes more up to——

Sir H. 'Slife! if all this is done only to make us talked of, let us live after the manner of old *England*, the patterns of affability, bounty and hoſpitality, and the very novelty will make us more famous than the ſeven wonders.

La. Odious novelty! Preferment, preferment, I tell you, is what I have ſet my heart upon, and will have, though I mortgage my very jointure to buy it.—Nay, while the patent is drawing, you ſhall make intereſt among the members for ſome poſt in the government, though the locuſts that are quartered upon you eat up all the profit; and even in that interval I'll have you undertake for the opera.

Sir H. I would as ſoon ſerve Sheriff for the county.—I hate noiſe.

La. Noiſe! Call muſick noiſe!—But call it what you will, noiſe is my delight! joy! happineſs!—I was born in noiſe, nurſed in noiſe, and would live and die in noiſe!—'Tis my element as well as *Juno*'s; and whenever you thwart me, morning, noon and night ſhall begin and end with thunder.

[*Sir H. ſtops his ears and runs off.*

No doubt the philoſopher would laugh abundantly at a Lady of this heroick ſtamp, and perhaps with a mixture of wonder in what mint ſhe could be coined, till a new ſcene of the following nature might very effectually explain the myſtery.

Enter Miſs Forward *and Miſs* Underbred.

For. Well, Miſs, have you got your ticket? Have you choſe your habit?

Und. What habit? what ticket, my dear?

For. For the maſquerade, child! the maſquerade!

Und. O Lud, Miſs!—My mamma ſays 'tis not fit for girls.

For. Girls? I aſſure her!

Und. Why, have you ever been there, Miſs?

For. Yes, in my hanging-ſleeves, Miſs.—Ever been there, quothe?

Und. Why, I have been told at ſchool, Miſs, that——

For. The houſe where 'tis kept is haunted, I warrant.—Poor Miſs.—Ha! ha! ha!—And ſo it is with the fineſt people in town, dreſſed in all manner of antique ſhapes, wearing ſuch curious maſks, and ſqueaking ſuch pretty things, 'twould make your heart dance again to hear them.

Und. Aye, but I ſhould not have the face.

For. Yes but you would though, after the firſt bluſh was over.—See but one maſquerade, and you will never bluſh again, my life on't.—Never to be out of countenance, is the very tip top of fine breeding.—And for my part, I defy any body to ſay they have ſeen me change colour theſe five years.

Und. Well, I vow that's pure.

For. Nay, I'll engage to daſh twenty people without being in the leaſt diſorder myſelf.

Und. Umh! That's pure again.—But won't going to a play do as well. They talk plain Engliſh there, and ſing the braveſt ballads.

For. Ballads!—Ha! ha! ha!—and plain Engliſh, child.—Why, they are out of faſhion every where.

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Und. No, that I am ſure they aren't. — I am ſure father and mother never talk any thing elſe.

For. Oh, my dear, men and their wives ſeldom do. — But I mean people of condition all talk *French*, and ſing *Italian*. Go where you will, you hear of nothing but *Cantatas*, *Concertos*, *Recitatives*, *Pianos*, *Dolceſonos*.

Und. And who are all theſe?

For. Italian fingers, child! companions for the firſt quality!

Und. Aye, but I don't underſtand *Italian*, Miſs.

For. Nor I neither, nor one in twenty of all the people I viſit. You have nothing to do but to follow the faſhion, and you'll never be in the wrong. — And I have often heard my mamma ſay, that for a fine woman to have the faſhion follow her, is the higheſt pleaſure in the world.

There is no occaſion to purſue theſe pretty creatures any farther. Our philoſopher would very eaſily gueſs what ſort of fruit ſuch plants as theſe would produce; and would laugh moſt immoderately to ſee men expect to *gather grapes of thorns, and figs of thiſtles.*

COMMON SENSE, *Jan.* 12.

Danger of a State where PLACEMEN *make Laws.*

THE Tribunes of *Rome* were magiſtrates elected by the Commons, to be a check not only upon the *Patricians* but upon the very *Conſuls*, and nothing could paſs into a law without their conſent: therefore, when any new law was propoſed, they ſummoned the *Comitia*, or *Tribes*, to know their ſentiments, and receive their inſtructions.

If the *Tribunes*, after their election, had ſet up for themſelves, and declar'd, they would not be influenc'd or inſtructed by the mob, *(meaning thoſe from whom they derived their authority)* the *Romans* could never be impoſed upon to believe that the laws were made by themſelves, and that they were govern'd by their own conſent. Moſt certainly they would have done with electing of *Tribunes*; they would have tranſacted their buſineſs themſelves, with all the inconveniencies attending it, or have found out ſome other method to prevent their being ſold and betrayed by their own repreſentatives. — I won't pretend to determine, whether our conſtitution and that of the *Romans* are alike in this particular. If the placemen ſhould tell us, that our People have no right to act for themſelves, it will be natural to aſk them a plain queſtion, free from all ſophiſtry: Can any man have a power of acting for another, where the perſon from whom he derives his authority had not firſt a power of acting for himſelf?

If ever the Repreſentatives ſhould diſclaim the People, the People will certainly diſclaim them: what can follow but anarchy and confuſion? They muſt, in this caſe, either act for themſelves, or ſubmit to the arbitrary wills of thoſe at the helm. As bad a condition as this may ſeem, and bad enough it muſt be, it is ſtill more eligible, than to ſee their own truſtees turned into a body of *Janizaries* to guard the perſon of a Grand Vizier, and to be oppreſſed with taxes, only to reward ſuch men for their treachery. But God forbid the people ſhould ever be driven to the neceſſity of doing their own buſineſs themſelves, to prevent their being enſlaved by a gang of placemen.

Let us ſee how the *Romans* behaved to a treacherous repreſentative.

There being frequent ſtruggles for power between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, *Octavius*, a Tribune of the People, favoured the *Patrician* party; upon which the People degraded him from his office, and elected another in his place. This being a ſtep that had ſcarce ever been taken before, the *Patricians* exclaim'd againſt it as a violent proceeding; upon which another of the Tribunes ſpoke to the ſenate as follows:

A Tribune of the People is ſacred, and ought to be inviolable; becauſe, in a manner, conſecrated to be a guardian and protector of the People's liberties: but if he degenerates ſo far as to oppreſs the People, and to take away, or even retrench their privileges, he then deprives himſelf of that ho-

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honourable ſtation, by the neglect of his duty, for the ſake of which the honour was beſtowed upon him: Otherwiſe a Tribune might not think himſelf obnoxious though he demoliſh'd the capitol, or burnt the naval ſtores.

Certainly, he that is guilty of ſuch extravagancies can't be look'd upon as a good Tribune, much leſs can he who dares to diminiſh the liberties of the People; becauſe he ceaſes, from that time, to be the People's Tribune. Is it not very unreaſonable that a Tribune ſhould have power to impriſon a Conſul, if the People muſt have no power to degrade him, when he uſes that authority he received from them to their prejudice.

The Kingly government, which comprehends in itſelf all ſorts of authority, is confirmed with the greateſt and moſt religious ſolemnity imaginable, as being a government which does moſt reſemble that of heaven, was ſet aſide; and, for the injuſtice of one ſingle man, the ancient government, under which Rome *was built, was aboliſhed for ever. What is there in all* Rome *ſo ſacred as the Veſtal Virgins? Yet if any of them proves ſo unguarded as to depart from her character, ſhe is buried alive; for, when they preſume to commit any offence againſt their Gods, they inſtantly loſe that veneration which they claimed as attendants on their ſervice. So, likewiſe, a Tribune is no longer to be reſpected by the People as a ſacred perſon, when he offends againſt that authority from whence he derived his own. We always eſteem that perſon choſen Tribune, who is elected by a majority of votes; and is not, therefore, the ſame perſon much more lawfully degraded, when not only by a majority of votes, but by general conſent, it is agreed to depoſe him?*

It was by this vigilance over their liberties that this brave people arrived at the empire of the world. — Though I am far from thinking it our buſineſs to conquer the world; yet, I hope, it is our buſineſs to defend ourſelves from being baſely conquer'd at home; which muſt ſoon follow whenever publick truſts are betrayed with impunity, and preferment becomes the reward of proſtitution to the will of a miniſter.

If there be any thing in this conſtitution worth preſerving, let it be conſidered, whether this be not the time to take care of it. Do not the placemen begin to look dangerous? They have ſeparated themſelves from the reſt of the People; they have different intereſts; they are a cloſe connected body, that, like a *Macedonian phalanx*, moves as one man; they are a great machine conſiſting of numerous wheels, all put in motion by the touch of the ſame hand; they are enriched by the poverty of others, and the wealth of the nation runs into their pockets.

If ever we ſhould ſee a parliament of placemen, will they not look upon themſelves as their own repreſentatives, and diſclaim all other authority? It is eaſy to know, by their declarations, what is to be expected from them: They will ſtand betwixt King and People, alike oppreſſive to both; they will ſow the ſeeds of diſtruſt betwixt them; like ſubtle enemies, they muſt prevent a junction betwixt two natural allies, whoſe union muſt be their ruin; the prerogative of the firſt, and liberties of the laſt, will be abſorb'd by them; all power and dominion muſt center in them alone.

A prince may be impriſoned in his palace as well as in a tower, and he may be ſo beſieged and guarded that no man may be ſuffered to ſpeak to him, but by the permiſſion of the Prime Vizier, or head of a gang of placemen. If the legiſlative, as well as executive power ſhould be ingroſſed by them, tho' the very reflection is ſhocking, yet it may happen, that the perſon who wears the crown may be degraded into a mere property, and be play'd off like a puppet, as often as that prerogative which was given by the conſtitution to add dignity and luſtre to the crown, is to be made uſe of to ſtrengthen the tyranny of a gang of plunderers.

To ſee dominion fixed in a mercenary band of placemen, headed by a corrupt leader, muſt (to uſe the expreſſion of the author of the Diſſertation on parties) *be the quinteſſence of political miſery.* To ſee them devouring the fertility of the land, and, at the ſame time, like ſo ma-

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ny Lord Danes, oppreſſing and inſulting all ranks of men, their betters, thoſe very men from whoſe pockets their luxury is ſupported, is the melancholy proſpect which a parliament of placemen affords us.

The Grand Vizier, or head of ſuch a gang, cannot want every power neceſſary to perpetuate his own dominion and the publick miſery: the purſe of the People will be put into his hands. I aſk, will he employ it in paying off publick debts, and ſupporting the honour of the nation, or in paying thoſe very perſons the wages of their proſtitution, who are to defend him in his iniquity? Suppoſe that frauds and abuſes in every branch of the adminiſtration ſhould be known to the world, where muſt the publick apply for redreſs? Muſt they petition theſe Gentlemen to impeach and hang themſelves, or their own creatures without doors? No, ſure; a man will think it to no purpoſe to bring a criminal to a trial, if that criminal is to be his own judge.

A very ſmall ſhare of cunning will inſtruct the head of ſuch a gang how to chuſe his men; the low and the vicious, with a few of the mercenary great, will do the buſineſs; there may at all times be found a ſufficient number of men with bad hearts and wrong heads, to fill all the employments in a very great kingdom. If our Vizier ſhould now and then commit a miſtake, and bring a man who had ſome feeling for the ſufferings of his country, into buſineſs, he may turn him out again the minute he hath made the diſcovery.

Let us ſay all the fine things we can upon the happineſs of liberty, there are ſome men not to be converted. I don't expect we ſhould be able to perſuade any ſet of inſolent upſtarts, that it is not better for them to be at the head of an arbitrary government than at the tail of the freeſt in the world; for there is this difference betwixt the fortunes of men in theſe different governments, that he who under one might be employed to negotiate treaties, under the other might be cleaning ſhoes.

If ever a ſcheme like this ſhould be laid, the Grand Vizier will (as I ſaid before) be careful to chuſe men for the purpoſe, ſuch as will be ready to lick the duſt from under his feet, while they are trampling the liberties of their country under their own. Then in the wantonneſs of his ſecurity, perhaps, he may declare, not only to them, but to the whole world, that he would turn the greateſt man in the kingdom out of employment that ſhould dare to oppoſe his meaſures in a certain place. No doubt, he will think the People's chains rivetted on before he ventures to give himſelf theſe airs of a tyrant; otherwiſe, he muſt know that ſuch a declaration alone would coſt him his head. It is denouncing ſlavery upon the nation; it is drawing the ſword, and throwing away the ſcabbard: there will be no occaſion for proving an overt act againſt him when they have it from his own confeſſion.

Let him be ſure, therefore, that the nation is quite ſubdued, before he thus declares himſelf arbitrary; for, if there be any ſtrength left in it, it will be obliged, for its own preſervation, to cruſh him to atoms.

CRAFTSMAN, *Jan.* 19.

The CRAFTSMAN's *Anſwer to the King of* SPAIN's *Declaration of War againſt* GR. BRITAIN. [See vol. 1. p. 603.]

I. WHereas the King of *Spain*, his vaſſals and ſubjects, have, for many years paſt, committed the groſſeſt inſults, indignities, depredations and cruelties, againſt the honour of his Majeſty's crown, and the juſt rights of my fellow-ſubjects, contrary to treaties and the law of nations; and whereas his Majeſty was at laſt obliged, out of his paternal affection for his people, to declare war againſt the ſaid King of SPAIN, which he is reſolved to proſecute with the utmoſt vigour; and whereas his Majeſty hath been graciouſly pleaſed to deſire the ready concurrence and aſſiſtance of all his loving ſubjects in ſo juſt a cauſe: I think myſelf bound in duty to declare, That I am reſolved to annoy, diſtreſs, and commit all ſorts of hoſtilities againſt the ſaid King of *Spain*, the Queen

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Queen of *Spain*, their vaſſals and ſubjects; and that I will never lay down my pen till the ſaid King and Queen of *Spain* have made us ample reparation for all our loſſes, ſatisfaction for our injur'd honour, diſclaimed all right of *ſearching* our ſhips upon the high ſeas, either in *Europe* or *America*, and actually *paid us full coſts* for all their former depredations, and for the *expences* which have been neceſſarily brought upon us, in order to chaſtiſe their inſults, robberies, and barbarities.

II. Whereas the ſaid King of *Spain* hath thought fit to prohibit the importation of all kinds of goods, commodities and merchandizes, being the produce and manufactures of *G. Britain*; I do hereby moſt earneſtly exhort all my loving readers, not to give the leaſt encouragement to the importation of *limons, oranges, raiſins, cocoa, wines, olives, ſnuff, onions, cheſnuts*, or any other commodities, which are really the produce or manufacture of *Spain*, in whatever bottoms they may be introduced into theſe kingdoms. And I do hereby ſtrictly forbid all printers, bookſellers, mercuries, publiſhers, hawkers, and other perſons whatſoever, who are concerned in this paper, or have any dependence upon it, to deal in the before mentioned prohibited goods, under pain of my higheſt diſpleaſure, unleſs it can be proved that they are taken from the *Spaniards* by our men of war, merchant-ſhips or privateers.

III. Whereas the ſaid King of *Spain*, his *Queen*, and her *Miniſters*, in confederacy with a *certain Engliſh Don*, who is now at home, agreed to ſacrifice the rights, intereſts and property of the *S. S. company*, unleſs they tamely ſubmitted to redeem themſelves upon moſt ſcandalous terms; I do hereby farther declare, That I will never give my conſent to any ſuch *pretended liquidations*, or *balances of accounts*; but inſiſt upon it that the *whole ſum*, which hath been proved to be due to the *company*, and acknowledged ſo by the court of *Spain*, be firſt paid and diſcharged.

IV. Whereas the ſaid King of *Spain*, his *miniſters*, or *miniſterial writers*, have ſince publiſhed a moſt inſolent juſtification of his *manifeſto* and *declaration of war*, intitled, *The conduct of his* CATHOLICK MAJESTY *compared with that of the* BRITISH KING, &c. in which our Sovereign and his injured ſubjects, except *two* or *three* perſons, are treated in the moſt ignominious and unprincely language; I farther declare, That I will make ample repriſals upon him the ſaid King of *Spain*, and all his adherents, as far as it lies in my power; and I do hereby invite my good friend and ally, the author of *Common Senſe*, to aſſiſt me *totis viribus*, in ſo juſt and laudable an undertaking.

V. Whereas the cruelties, outrages, and depredations, which have been ſo juſtly charg'd upon the *Spaniards*, are retorted and exaggerated againſt the *Engliſh*, in this ſcurrilous and execrable pamphlet; we appeal to the whole world whether they are not plainly copy'd from the writings of their *unnatural advocates* here, who have long furniſhed the court of *Spain*, and her *miniſters*, with arguments againſt *their own countrymen*; particularly the author of an infamous libel, intitled, POPULAR PREJUDICES, and his coadjutors the *Gazetteers*, from which this *Spaniſh libel* is little more than a tranſcript, as it is therein expreſſed, where our cruelties and robberies are ſaid to be a *truth, which even their* OWN AUTHORS (meaning *theſe ſcandalous writers*) *ſeem to acknowledge*.

VI. As to the *proteſt*, or *declaration*, made previous to ſigning the *convention*, I ſhall ſay nothing farther upon it, but leave it to that *excellent Gentleman*, who had the honour of being concerned in that tranſaction, whether this charge of the *Spaniards* is true, that he accepted it as a *preciſe and invariable preſuppoſition to the convention*.

VII. Of the ſame nature is the charge againſt *our miniſter*, or *miniſters*, That orders having been given for Admiral *Haddock* to return with his ſquadron to *England*, as ſoon as the *convention* was ratified, theſe orders were revoked, and others given him to remain in the *Mediterranean*. But as I cannot be ſuppoſed

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fed to know the precise truth of this fact, or the reasons either for giving such orders, or for revoking them, let *those persons* answer this article, who are in the secret of affairs, and to whom it properly belongs.

VIII. To the *same honourable Gentlemen* I likewise refer another peremptory assertion, which hath been often solemnly deny'd, *viz.* That some body or other did absolutely promise the restitution of *Gibraltar*, in the year 1721.

IX. But whereas the said King of *Spain*, his *Queen*, and her *ministers*, have had the insolence to charge our most gracious Sovereign with *false appearances*, in order to disguise the *capricious irregularities of his subjects*, and the NECESSITY *he lies under to condescend to them*, (which is only a repetition of the same charge in his *former manifesto*); I am determined to prove, in my future papers, that the *present war* is not occasioned by any *capricious irregularities* on our side, as a *nation*, but to the long-continued and insupportable provocations of the court of *Spain* and her *vassals*: for I will not suffer the *British subjects* to pass under that denomination.

Lastly, Whereas there are several dark insinuations in the said *manifesto*, *declaration of war*, and *comparison between the conduct of his Catholick Majesty and the British King*, which no body can understand but those concerned; I do hereby declare, That if his *Catholick Majesty*, or any of his *abettors*, will speak out plainly what is his true and genuine meaning, as to those points, he shall have an immediate and explicit answer.

In the mean time, I thought it proper to make my will and pleasure, as to the above mentioned premisses, publickly known, that no body may plead ignorance of what is contained in *this ordinance*, which shall be punctually obeyed and executed.

Given at our printing-office in Fleet-street, this 12th day of January, in the 14th year of our Craftsman-ship.

I THE CRAFTSMAN.

Sign'd underneath,

H. GOREHAM.

COMMON SENSE's *Accession.*

WHereas the Most Serene Author of the *Craftsman*, in his answer to his Catholick Majesty's declaration of war against *G. Britain*, hath invited us to assist him against the said prince and all his adherents; we, moved thereto as well by the justice of the cause as out of the singular love and friendship we bear to our said ally, hereby declare, That we accede to the treaty offensive and defensive proposed by him in all its form; and that we will assist him against all the enemies of this nation, whether foreign or domestick; particularly a certain domestick enemy who, for many years past, hath joined in all his Catholick Majesty's measures for distressing this nation; and who, as it appears not only by that prince's late manifestos, but also by that person's present conduct, still maintains a secret and unnatural alliance with that prince, notwithstanding his being in open war with this nation.

Given from our garret, White-friars, Jan. 19. *in the third year of our reign.*

COMMON SENSE.

Undersigned,

J. PURSER.

DAILY GAZETTEER, *Jan.* 17.

Absurdity of the present Clamour for a PLACE-BILL.

THE pretended design of a place-bill is, To guard against corruption, and to prevent the ministers of the crown from having any undue influence over the representatives of the people; which it is said, by the advocates for this measure, they will always be able to procure, while they have it in their power to distribute a proper and sufficient number of employments among them; and that it is from such an influence only, that we ought to apprehend the loss of our liberties and the ruin of our constitution.

This is the proposition that has been laid down to evince the reason and necessity of such a law; let us inquire what ground or foundation there is for it.

And,

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And, to shew my impartiality, I shall in the first place very readily admit, what the advocates for a place-bill have made a matter of such mighty clamour and aggravation, *That a seat in parliament is the road to preferment*; because, as much a paradox as it may seem to some, it is undoubtedly very clear, that no other means are so effectual to preserve that due balance of power in the state which is so necessary for the support and security of the constitution, and to prevent us from falling under the dominion of a single person on the one hand, or what is infinitely worse, the tyranny of a few popular leaders on the other.

For let speculative men refine, or those that would be thought to have a more than ordinary share of virtue, declaim as they please, there will always be wanting some other incentive to engage people in the service of their country, besides merely the love of the publick: which tho' a noble, is yet a very weak passion; and generally, if not always, acts in subordination to some other; such as pride or ambition, anger or malice, vanity or avarice; and which, if carefully traced up to their true source, would be found to be the spring of most of those actions which are imposed upon the world, and pass in the gross for patriotism and publick virtue.

But supposing a man to have ever such good intentions, or ever so honest a heart; will the love of his country alone make him neglect his private affairs, to take upon him a trust which will put him to considerable expence, and require a great deal of his time to execute, without the least prospect of personal advantage to himself? On the contrary, would not he enter upon it with as much reluctance, and perform the functions of it with as much indifference and distaste, as if it was a matter of no moment or concern to him? Would not a seat in parliament be look'd upon, like the office of Sheriff, as a chargeable and troublesome thing; and men of figure and consideration take as much pains to prevent being elected into the one, as they do now to avoid serving the other? Let any man lay his hand upon his heart, and say candidly and fairly, whether he does not believe that this would be the case. And what would the consequence be? Why nothing can be more obvious, than that the house of Commons, which is now, and while the employments of the state are distributed among its members, will in general always be composed of Gentlemen of the greatest distinction, abilities and fortune in the nation, would in a very little time be principally filled with men of low lank, little fortunes, and mean talents; who would be obliged to serve the publick in that station, when their more rich and powerful neighbours grew sick and tired of it; as they would most certainly do, as soon as they found that it was attended only with fatigue and trouble, and that it was so far from being an avenue to other honours and preferments, that it was a full bar to them, and totally excluded them from all.

And in what manner would a parliament composed of such members conduct themselves? Why they would never attend but when they were obliged; and when they did attend, they would have so little knowledge of the business of the publick, and be so negligent and indifferent in it, that they might as well have stayed away: the consequence of which would be, that, willing at any rate to get rid of such a troublesome and unprofitable employ, they would either, like *Praise-God Barebone*'s parliament in the time of *Cromwel*, surrender up their authority into the hands of their Sovereign, and, acknowledging their own insufficiency, most humbly request of him to take the charge of the government wholly upon himself, and carry it on in such manner as should be most easy and agreeable to him; or else, the whole authority of the parliament would devolve upon a few leading men, who, if one may judge from the experience of past ages in instances of the like kind, would not be long before they erected themselves into so many Sovereigns, and lorded it over their fellow-subjects, with all the power

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power of an abſolute prince, and with all the inſolence and pride, the cruelty and injuſtice, and that ſpirit of revenge and malice, which generally predominates among party-chiefs and popular orators, in national councils.

It may herhaps be objected, That there are at this time, and always have been, many Gentlemen of great diſtinction, who are entirely independent; and though they have no places or preferments in the ſtate, yet as conſtantly and regularly attend their duty in parliament, and are as active and vigilant in the buſineſs of the publick, and in promoting all thoſe meaſures which they take to be for the honour and advantage of their country, as thoſe that enjoy the higheſt and moſt lucrative employments under the crown. And I agree, that there are many ſuch perſons. But will any of theſe Gentlemen ſay, that they are never governed by any other motive but their love to their country? Will the greateſt patriot among them all fairly and ſincerely declare, that he has no views, no proſpects of ever ſucceeding to what others are now in poſſeſſion of, and of riſing into power with his party? If he is ſo extremely publick-ſpirited and diſintereſted, why does he liſt himſelf under the banners of any party whatever? Why does he implicitly follow his leaders, and vote in all queſtions, and act in all affairs of any conſequence, as they vote and act, and form his conduct ſo abſolutely upon the model of theirs? Are they always in the right? and are others as perpetually in the wrong? Did he never obſerve them, upon any occaſion whatever, to be borne away by their paſſions to ſacrifice a publick good to a private reſentment? And can he look into his own heart, and entirely acquit them of ever being hurried into raſh and violent, unjuſt or iniquitous meaſures, by prejudice or enmity to particular perſons? If he cannot do this, and yet has joined in ſuch meaſures with them; what can this condeſcenſion of his to his party be imputed to? He will not pretend, that this is publick ſpirit; that this is acting like a friend to his country. What then can be his motive for ſo extraordinary a conduct? What, in the name of common ſenſe! but by giving ſuch inſtances of his zeal and attachment to a party, to intitle himſelf to their regard and favour, if ever they ſhould happen to force themſelves into power? And therefore, may not a man's conduct be as much biaſſed by the hopes and expectations of a place, as by the actual poſſeſſion of one? But will any body ſay, that theſe independent Gentlemen would be thus vigilant, thus active, theſe diligent attenders upon the buſineſs of parliament, if their ſpirits were not kept awake, and their minds agitated by ſuch views and motives?

However, it does not follow, that becauſe men may conſider a ſeat in parliament as the road to preferment, that for that reaſon they ſhould ſacrifice the publick intereſt to their own, or have the leſs regard for their country on that account. The hopes of a place may poſſibly induce a man to become a candidate for a ſhare in the legiſlature of his country, which perhaps he would never have thought of, if it had not been with a view to ſuch advantage; and yet he may be a very honeſt man, have very right intentions, and a ſincere and diſintereſted love to the publick: for, though a favour may make him a friend to the miniſtry, yet it is a very wild inference, that it ſhould make him an enemy to his country, or prevail with him to give way to any meaſures that ſhould be prejudicial to it. This, perhaps, may be ſaid to be reaſoning upon ſuppoſitions. But it may very eaſily be retorted, That all that has hitherto appeared in favour of the place-bill has been reaſoning merely upon ſuppoſitions, and very ſtrange and improbable ones too. For can any thing in nature be more abſurd, than to argue, That becauſe many of the offices in the government are held by the members of the legiſlature, therefore they muſt be the tools in the hands of a miniſter, to make uſe of as he pleaſes, to deſtroy the conſtitution? For even ſuppoſing them totally deſtitute of all prin-

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principles of virtue, and that every ſpark of publick ſpirit was quite extinguiſhed in them; yet, if they had not abſolutely loſt their ſenſes, as well as their honour and probity, can it poſſibly be conceived, that thoſe who enjoy ſo many advantages and privileges from that conſtitution of government under which they live, ſhould be in the leaſt inſtrumental to deſtroy it, when it is impoſſible for it to receive the leaſt wound, or feel the leaſt decay, but their own weight and importance muſt decline in equal proportion with it?

And who are the perſons that are ſuppoſed to act ſo ridiculous, as well as ſo infamous a part? Why Gentlemen of the greateſt talents, the largeſt properties, and the beſt rank in the kingdom: for I will venture to ſay, many of thoſe that have been branded as the tools of power, and the creatures of corruption, for ſupporting the meaſures of the miniſtry, are equal at leaſt, if not ſuperior in all thoſe reſpects, even to the foremoſt among this imperious band of patriots, who have dared to treat them in ſo ſcandalous a manner! thoſe lordly, arrogant, ſelf-aſſuming boaſters of their own mighty virtues, abilities and poſſeſſions!

And, after all, what does this wonderful charge of corruption, that has been urged with ſuch virulence and fury againſt the majority of the houſe of Commons, amount to? Why truly, that *two hundred members of that aſſembly are poſſeſſed of employments to the value of two hundred thouſand pounds a-year*; which, one with another, is a thouſand pounds a-year a man; and which, in aggravation of that heinous charge, it is ſaid, and very much inſiſted on, that it lies in the power of *the crown to diſpoſſeſs them of at pleaſure.*

Now let any impartial man look over the liſt that was publiſhed and diſperſed thro' the kingdom, with a moſt baſe and infamous intent, to excite the rage of the people againſt their repreſentatives; and inquire into the quality, characters, eſtates and circumſtances of the perſons that have been ſo opprobriouſly and ignominiouſly accuſed of having betray'd the intereſt, the reputation, and the honour of their country, for the ſake of the employments which they hold under the crown; and let him fairly and ingenuouſly declare, if he can think it poſſible, that men ſo high in rank, of ſuch large poſſeſſions, and who have ſo great a ſtake depending upon the publick welfare and felicity as the generality of them have, could be prevail'd upon by ſo precarious, ſo temporary, * ſo inadequate a conſideration, to comply with any meaſures that ſhould be deſtructive or prejudicial to their country, whoſe intereſt is ſo intimately connected with their own, the conſequence of which muſt be, the being reduced themſelves to ſuch a ſtate of ſervitude and dependence, as to hold their own liberties and poſſeſſions by as precarious and uncertain a tenure, as their places are held now; which it muſt be charging them with want of common ſenſe, to ſuppoſe them not to know.

I am aware it may be objected by the patriots and their advocates, That, notwithſtanding this way of reaſoning may look colourable and plauſible enough, and perhaps, conſidered generally and abſtractedly, may be right; yet, that

* N. B. *Suppoſing the account given in the liſt of thoſe that voted for the* convention [ſee vol. 1. p. 317.] *to be true, that* 200 *members poſſeſs places to the amount of* 200,000 l. per ann. *and that thoſe places are each worth* 3 *years purchaſe, which is the moſt that places at will, ſubject to ſo many chances and contingencies, can be computed at, the whole value of them all, at that rate, will be but* 600,000 l. *now let us, on the other hand, ſuppoſe, that thoſe members are one with another worth in money and eſtates, only* 20,000 l. *a-piece; (which undoubtedly falls infinitely ſhort of the real value) their properties in the nation, even according to that low way of reckoning, will amount to four millions of pounds ſterling: Is it poſſible then to conceive, that any who have ſo great a ſtake, would venture it upon ſo ſmall a hazard, as every man muſt do, who for the lucre of his employment, gives any vote to the prejudice of his country?*

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there is no arguing againſt facts: and that it is evident and notorious, that the majority in the preſent parliament muſt have been under ſome undue and corrupt influence, or they could never have acted ſo conſtantly and uniformly as they have done, in ſupport of the meaſures of the adminiſtration; many of which, if we are to give credit to theſe men of mighty virtue, that are ſo righteous in their own eyes, have been of the moſt pernicious and dangerous tendency to the liberty of the people, and abſolutely inconſiſtent with the honour and intereſt of the nation: and therefore, ſay they, there is no other way of accounting for the conduct of thoſe, that have ſo inſeparably attached themſelves to ſuch miniſters, and ſo unanimouſly ſupported ſuch meaſures, but by the influence their employments had over them.

But this is ſuppoſing, that every body ought to ſee things thro' the medium of patriot paſſions and reſentments, and to follow the torrent of popular clamours and prejudices, agitated and fermented by diſappointed and angry men: it is taking for granted, what has never yet been proved, that the conduct of the patriots, and their bands of Jacobites and Tories, has been right; and that the conduct of the miniſters, and the majority of both houſes of parliament, has been wrong: unleſs noiſe and outrage, riot and railing, may paſs for proofs of it; which can undoubtedly prove nothing, but the injuſtice and iniquity of a cauſe, that wants ſuch props to ſupport it. But, without entring into the merits of any particular queſtion, about which there have been different opinions, this one may venture to lay down in general, as a very good rule of judging in all conteſted and diſputable points, That it is much more reaſonable to preſume, the major part of the parliament of *G. Britain* have acted conformably to the true intereſt of their country, than that ſuch a numerous body of Gentlemen of the greateſt fortune and diſtinction in the nation, ſhould in any inſtance whatever make a ſacrifice of the publick good (in which not only their own, but that of all their poſterity is conſequentially involved) to ſo tranſient, precarious, and fluctuating a poſſeſſion, as a place under the crown; a thing utterly incredible, without ſuppoſing that there is at leaſt as much magick as corruption within the circle of a court.

But all this muſt be looked upon, by every impartial man, as a groundleſs and infamous calumny, deviſed by a ſet of men inflamed with envy, and imbitter'd with diſappointments; who, with the moſt amazing inſolence, have alarmed the whole kingdom with a very high charge of corruption againſt men of more honour, more integrity, and greater properties than themſelves, becauſe they have refuſed to follow thoſe imperious demagogues, who are for aſſuming all the ſenſe as well as all the honeſty of the nation to themſelves, thro' thoſe dark tracts of politicks, which muſt inevitably have led us into the abyſs of civil diſcord and confuſion, and could have ended in nothing but the total ruin and diſſolution of the conſtitution.

CRAFTSMAN, *Jan.* 26.

Remarks on the Gazetteer *of the 17th inſt.*

I Muſt do the *author of this paper* the juſtice to acknowledge that he hath ſtated the queſtion pretty fairly: for the real, or pretended deſign of a *place-bill* is, certainly, to guard againſt *corruption*, and to prevent the *miniſters of the crown* from having any undue influence over the *repreſentatives of the people*; which they will be always able to procure, (as the *advocates for this bill* aſſert) whilſt they have it in their power to diſtribute a proper and ſufficient number of *employments* amongſt them; and it is from *ſuch an influence* only, that we ought to apprehend the loſs of our *liberties* and the ruin of our *conſtitution*.

He likewiſe ingenuouſly confeſſes, *that a* SEAT IN PARLIAMENT *is the road to* PREFERMENT; and juſtifies it as the moſt effectual means to preſerve that *due balance in the ſtate*, which is ſo neceſſary for the ſupport and ſecurity of the *conſtitution*, and to prevent us from falling under the dominion of a *ſingle* per-

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perſon on the one hand, or what is infinitely worſe, the tyranny of a few *popular leaders* on the other. This to me ſeems an extraordinary method of reaſoning; for I cannot conceive how the making a *ſeat in parliament the road to preferment*, can poſſibly prevent our falling under the dominion of a *ſingle perſon*, or the tyranny of a *few popular leaders*. I think the contrary demonſtrable both from reaſon and experience; for what can tend more effectually to make a *ſingle perſon* abſolute, than having all places at his diſpoſal, and bribing the *repreſentatives of the people* with them? Were not all the former complaints againſt *placemen* and *penſioners* in the *houſe of Commons* founded upon this argument? Was not this the reaſon for inſerting a clauſe in the *act of ſettlement* for excluding all *placemen* from a *ſeat in the houſe of Commons*? And though this clauſe is now in part repealed, yet the preſent excluſion of ſeveral *officers of the revenue* can be built on no other foundation. But I cannot paſs over this head, without taking notice of *our author*'s tender diſcrimination between the *dominion* of a *ſingle perſon*, and the tyranny of a *few popular leaders*; the *latter* of which, he ſays, is infinitely worſe than the *former*. This argument ſeems to be founded upon Mr *Dryden*'s authority, in one of his plays, where he ſays,

—*Better* one tyrant *than* five hundred.

Every body will eaſily ſee the meaning of this, which was to abuſe the *houſe of Commons* at that time, becauſe they ſcorn'd to betray their truſt, and become the tools of the *court*. But whether a *free* or an *arbitrary government* is beſt, I am ſure the worſt tyranny of all is that of a *ſingle miniſter* in a free government, ſupported by the authority of his *prince* againſt the intereſt and general inclinations of the *people*.

Then follows the old courtly invective againſt *patriotiſm*, or the *love of our country*; which this writer calls a *very weak paſſion*, and generally, if not always, acts in ſubordination to ſome other, ſuch as *pride* or *ambition*, *anger* or *malice*, *vanity* or *avarice*; for which reaſon, we are told very plainly, that there will always be wanting *ſome other incentive* to engage people in the ſervice of their country, beſides merely the *love of the publick*. I verily believe the *author* ſpeaks from his heart in this paragraph; for the whole drift of his paper ſhews, that *patriotiſm* is a very weak paſſion in his breaſt, and that he will never be engaged either in the ſervice or diſſervice of his country without *ſome other incentive*; that is, a *bribe*, a *penſion*, or a *place*. But why muſt every body be as profligate as himſelf? *Common rogues* will not allow any man to be honeſt; nor *common whores* any woman to be chaſte. Juſt in the ſame manner, *placemen*, *penſioners*, and *common hirelings*, endeavour to juſtify their *own vile practices* by looking into the hearts of *others*, and imputing the ſame ſcandalous motives to *them*.

"But [ſays our author] ſuppoſing a man to have ever ſo good intentions, *&c.* [*down to* avoid ſerving the other, *in the third paragraph*, p. 23. *above*]" As this is the only paſſage which hath the leaſt appearance of argument, it ſhall have a particular and diſtinct anſwer.

In the *firſt* place, I think it both unreaſonable and unjuſt, to ſuppoſe that a *man of good intentions, and an honeſt heart*, would not be at ſome expence, and ſacrifice ſome part of his time to the intereſt of *his country*, though it might happen to be a little prejudicial to his *private affairs*, without any proſpect of *perſonal advantage to himſelf*. *This author* is oblig'd to acknowledge that there are many *ſuch Gentlemen*; but then he trumps up the old thread-bare argument, That the *hopes and expectations of a place* may have as much influence over a man's conduct as the *actual poſſeſſion of one*. But have not ſeveral of *theſe Gentlemen* been in the *actual poſſeſſion of places*, and either given them up, or been turn'd out of them, for no other reaſon than becauſe they refuſed to violate the dictates of their conſciences, and to act in ſubſerviency to the commands of an *arbitrary miniſter*?

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Secondly, It is abſolutely falſe, that a *ſeat in parliament* may not be of any *perſonal advantage* to the member, without any *lucrative employment*, or *corruption*: for what is of benefit to the nation in general, muſt be of advantage to every individual; eſpecially thoſe who are poſſeſſed of large fortunes and eſtates. Is it not in the power of every member of parliament to oppoſe all *exorbitant taxes*, *votes of credit*, *exciſe-ſchemes*, and other pernicious projects, which naturally tend to the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, and conſequently to their own ruin? Is not this *incentive* enough for a Gentleman of large fortune to get into the *houſe of Commons*, without any other view, or conſideration? Hath not this motive ſolely prevail'd upon ſeveral Noblemen and Gentlemen, in great employments, to vote againſt ſome *court-meaſures*, in oppoſition to *their own private intereſt* and *perſonal advantage*?

Thirdly, No juſt compariſon can be made between a *ſeat in parliament* and the office of *Sheriff*; which laſt is not only *chargeable* and *burdenſome*, but even *dangerous*; for a *Sheriff* is anſwerable for all perſons in his cuſtody, whether for *debt*, *felony*, or other crimes, and I have known ſeveral Gentlemen very much harraſſed upon thoſe accounts: whereas a *member of parliament* runs no ſuch hazards, and is at full liberty, unleſs he ſells himſelf, to vote as he pleaſes, without any danger, and at a trifling expence, if he is really a man of fortune, as *members of parliament* ought always to be, according to our *modern conſtitution*; for if it ſhould be thought proper to fill the *houſe of Commons* with indigent perſons, let them have *wages* paid, as formerly, by their *conſtituents*, and not by the *crown*.

But *our author* adds, that if the *employments of the ſtate* are not diſtributed amongſt the *members of the houſe of Commons*, it will not only be filled with men of *low rank* and *little fortunes*, but likewiſe of *mean talents*. Let me aſk *this modeſt writer*, whether he cannot recollect a time, when a very great part of the *houſe of Commons* hath been filled with Gentlemen thoroughly endowed with all theſe qualifications, whilſt the *employments of the ſtate* were diſtributed amongſt them; ſuch as *little clerks*, *ſtockjobbers*, *bankrupts*, and ſome perſons of an higher rank, who had no other qualification to fit there than their neceſſary dependency on the *court*, and their ſupport from it.

But we are farther obliged with a computation, that, ſuppoſing the account given in the liſt of thoſe who voted for the *convention* to be true, *viz.* that 200 members poſſeſs *places* to the amount of 200,000 *l.* *per annum*, and that *thoſe places* are worth *three years* purchaſe, the whole of them all, at that rate, will be but 600,000 *l.* He then ſuppoſes, on the other hand, that *thoſe members* are, one with another, worth in money and eſtates 20,000 *l.* a-piece; which he calls a low way of reckoning, and what undoubtedly falls infinitely ſhort of the real value. To which I ſhall only give the following ſhort anſwer.

If *all the placemen* are lumped together, I believe their fortunes, in money and eſtates, may amount, one with another, to 20,000 *l.* each. Nay I don't know whether the landed and monied eſtates of ONE FAMILY only, beſides their numerous employments, which are known to exceed the whole *land tax* of the county where they reſide, may not make up the deficiency of all the reſt. But is this a fair way of calculating? Is it not (to uſe a *Norfolk* phraſe) coupling *fat rabbits* with *lean ones*? The true objection is, That no man of *low rank*, *little fortune*, or *mean talents*, ought to ſit in the *houſe of Commons*, becauſe they will neceſſarily become the tools of an *ambitious*, *deſperate* and *corrupting miniſter*, who hath not only raiſed a *beggarly paternal eſtate* into *princely poſſeſſions*, within a few years, but built *princely palaces* too, at the publick expence, and to the diſhonour of our nation. I may ſafely aſſert that he hath, directly and indirectly, a much larger income than the *heir-apparent of the crown*.

I never dropt the leaſt inſinuation, as *this writer* ſuggeſts, *that there was*

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a MAGICK *within the circle of a court*; and I heartily wish there may be no CORRUPTION in it. But how can *I*, or *this worthy author*, be able to convince a base, degenerate, prejudiced and obstinate people, that there is no such thing amongst us as *bribery*, *corruption*, and *venality*?

I shall conclude with a short remark upon Sir *Richard Steele*'s comedy, called *The Funeral*; where Mr *Sable*, the Undertaker, tells one of his *hireling mourners*, *that the more money he gave them to look* DISMAL, *the* MERRIER *they were*.—The case is directly opposite, with regard to an *omnipotent minister*; for his profits increase by the distresses of the *people*, and whilst they look *dismal*, he grows *merry*.

COMMON SENSE, *Jan.* 26.

Present behaviour of the Court-writers; and the national desire of a Place-bill.

WHile the partizans of slavery were busy in laying down fallacious rules for unmasking false patriots, unluckily for them, there was a necessity for declaring war; which unmasked both them and their patron; for, from arguing against war as a most destructive measure, they changed their note at once, and cried it up in much stronger language, than what they had a little before condemned as seditious in others.

They acted in the same scandalous manner with respect to the *Spaniards* claim to a search; which, according to them, was both just and reasonable; tho', since the declaration of war, they allow the contrary. It is true, that their shuffling way of writing, when they are obliged to touch upon any points depending betwixt this nation and *Spain*, shews that they are conscious they are exposing themselves to all mankind: but the whole nation knows, to its cost, that pensioners and hirelings, even of the highest rank, must expose themselves when they are commanded; nay, must be content to be given up whenever it serves their paymaster's turn.

If it be urged, that men may change their opinions on better information, and yet be sincere; it is allowed: but there is no room to suppose that to be the present case; for they held out railing against war till the minute it was declared; nor have they vouchsafed to give any reason for this sudden change of opinion, nor made the least apology for their impudent abuses of those who were all along for asserting the nation's honour, but, when they are charged with opposing what they now defend, as impudently deny the fact.

The many instances that may be given of the same profligate behaviour are not to be numbered. Where is the wonder then, if honest well-meaning men, who are not at leisure to attend the course of affairs, or enter into a chain of reasoning from the principles and practices of a hired faction, should be so far prejudiced against them in general, as to believe every thing just which they oppose, and every thing which they recommend to have something villanous at the bottom.

If any thing could have set the people against the war, the writers of this faction arguing for it might have done it: for they no sooner changed their note with respect to the points before named, but when any man took up one of their papers in a coffee-house, you see him throw it down again, with the utmost indignation, before he had read half through; bestowing all those ignominious epithets upon its authors, which, though they very well deserved, we shall not repeat.

Their next attack was upon the place-bill; against which they made use of such weak and miserable reasons, as must confirm all men in their opinions that it was absolutely necessary. I think their chief argument was, That it was very hard that the friends of the administration should be excluded from receiving favours from the ministers, for no other reason but because they were members of parliament.

Supposing the friends of the minister to be all men of virtue and honour, which is more than any man living will allow, I don't know what the people have

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have to do with them: It is a ſtrange doctrine, That the liberties of the nation ought to be taken away, rather than a miniſter ſhould want an opportunity of gratifying his friends.

Another of their ingenious arguments is, That thoſe in the oppoſition have nothing in view but to turn out the preſent miniſters, and to get into their places. What relation this has to the merits of the place-bill, I believe no man alive can find out. But if we ſhould allow it to be true, ſure thoſe that are willing to give the people ſecurity for their liberties deſerve to be truſted with theſe places much better than thoſe that refuſe ſuch ſecurity.—But, not content with this, they go further, and aſſert what cannot be proved, and what no man alive believes, *viz.* that if the Gentlemen in the oppoſition were once in power, they would forget all their promiſes, and act juſt as others have done before them.

Thus are they driven to the laſt ſhift, and are forced to repreſent all men as villains, only to reconcile you to their friends; a very ſcandalous ſort of a compoſition. This is a deſperate puſh indeed. It is the dernier reſort of the felons at the *Old Bailey*, who, when they can make no defence, impudently charge all mankind with being as great rogues as themſelves; and, I am ſure, it has no more effect upon the world, than the laſt has upon a jury.

To ſhew how eaſy it is to defeat theſe people with their own weapons, let us ſuppoſe, that all men are villanouſly diſpoſed, and that every man becomes an enemy to liberty the minute he acquires power. This is the ſtrongeſt of all reaſons, why the people ſhould inſiſt upon the ſecurity demanded, ſince there is no truſt to be put in miniſters; nay, it is a reaſon why they ought not to be at reſt till they procure a change of perſons. It is a reaſon why they ſhould inſiſt upon frequent changes; for the ſhorter time any ſet of men are in power, the leſs miſchief they can do; and nothing can check their wicked inclinations but the dread of being ſuddenly turned out, and called to a ſtrict account. So that their arguments are every way ſilly and fallacious.

I ſhall make no ſcruple to pronounce, that whenever a place-bill paſſes, employments will not be ſo numerous, and that the ſalaries of the reſt will be reduced; that we ſhall never ſee an army but in time of war; that the publick debts will be diminiſhed; that no more will be granted to the preſent immenſe civil liſt, the publick money will be accounted for; that corruption, which hath made ſuch progreſs through the land, will be check'd; that the people will not complain of infamous conventions, nor ſee the low and wicked inſtruments concerned in them triumph in their impunity; that the parliament and people will be of one mind; that ſhort parliaments, according to the ancient conſtitution, will be reſtored; that we ſhall hear no more of perfidious repreſentatives, and that every bleſſing which can attend good government will be the conſequence.

A change of perſons without a change of meaſures, muſt always make things worſe: The people can never be ſatisfied only with ſeeing one ſet of rapacious miſcreants ſacrificed to the ambition or avarice of another ſet of the ſame; they would no more fall in love with country-plunderers, than with court-plunderers; and a rotation of Baſhaws is not what the nation contends for.

It was certainly the opinion of thoſe who made the act of ſettlement, that placemen and penſioners could not be the proper guardians of publick liberty; for which reaſon, a clauſe was inſerted in the ſaid act to render them incapable of ſitting in the houſe of Commons. I ſhall make no obſervations now how the nation came to be deprived of the benefit of this clauſe in the ſaid act; but, after an experience of many years of the evils ariſing from the want of it, and an apprehenſion of ſtill greater, the whole nation is become unanimous, to inſiſt upon a place-bill as the beſt ſecurity that can at preſent be thought of, againſt the dangers they apprehend.

It is not a bill for form's ſake that will

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will content, a bill that by a little chicane may be rendered useless, (as some of the best bills that ever were made for the nation have been;) but a bill so well concerted and strenuously worded, that it cannot be evaded or explained away; and that it will be so unalterably made a part of the constitution as never to be repealed, or so much as weakened, by any subsequent act.

When such a bill shall be obtained, the nation will have nothing to fear from false patriots, nor need we apprehend returning to the same state as before. Supposing those in the opposition as much inclined to Bashaw it, as others; when those that are influenced by places are removed, they cannot be able to overthrow what is so firmly established; and by attempting it they might bring on their own destruction. Even a false patriot, at the head of the administration, could do us no great hurt, his hands being thus tied from doing mischief; for his bad character would make us more watchful of his behaviour, and oblige him to be more upon his guard. And why might not the fear of punishment sometimes convert a false patriot into a true one, as well as impunity and reward have converted many a true patriot into a false one?

I take it for granted, that when once this bill passes, the administration may be trusted in any hands; because a minister cannot hurt this nation unless the parliament joins with him; and it is impossible that an unplaced and an unpensioned parliament should join with a minister in doing mischief. There is no danger that he should be suffered to go on for a course of many years robbing the publick treasure, destroying the nation's trade, ignorantly fooling away its interests to foreign states, and openly proposing schemes to overturn its liberties: the least attempt towards any one of these things would draw sure destruction on himself.

I see no reason to suppose that the heads of the opposition are aiming at the places; but if so, we are the more obliged to them for labouring to give the nation security against themselves: They behave hitherto as all men of honour will always behave; the nation calls upon them for their assistance, and they give it according to the trust reposed in them.

As to the people, they claim this bill, not only as a natural right, but as a part of the constitution, made so by the act of settlement, that act by which his Majesty holds the crown; they think they once had the same right to what is proposed by it, that the King has to the crown. Every tittle of this act which related to the security of the succession, hath been complied with by the people without the least chicane or prevarication: It is very hard if those parts of it which related to the security of the subject (of which the exclusion of placemen was one of the most material) should be explained away; I say explained away, for it hath not been repealed by any subsequent act. So that, let the placemen say what they will, a great many people will think, that what was at all times our right by nature, is since become our right by the act of settlement, that is to say, by law.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR, *London*, *Jan.* 29.

I Have been, — egad, I am sore enough not soon to forget it; — I have been at no less considerable a place than FROST-FAIR on river Thames, against Whitehall-stairs. Fashion is of such force as to give every body courage to go now without fear, where, a fortnight ago, children were blamed for venturing. I must own myself agreeably surprised, to see the form of a country-fair so well imitated. I entred from the stairs into a street which leads to the opposite side of the shore. On my right hand were a regular row of shops, or stalls, furnished with brass, pewter, Tunbridge and other wooden ware, toys, trinkets of all sorts, *&c.* On my left a facetious kind of Gentleman, called *Merry Andrew*, sounded a charge on the trumpet, and assured me his master's was the *best booth in the fair*. Near him

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him was displayed *the noble art and mystery of Printing for so small a price as threepence:* and by augmenting that purchase, a customer's name was embellished with many devices; as, the prospect of the Thames, of the fair itself, of poems written upon the ice, &c. The best of ginger-bread stood next; and to that a weaver's loom succeeded. *Gentlemen, walk in, and take a glass of the very best,* echo'd from a number of distillers shops, — and presently I found myself at the door of *the frost-fair coffee-house*; where, seeing some company I knew, I sat down on a bench among straw, was well enough accommodated, read a newspaper, and returned to my view of the fair. A punch-house or two seemed pretty neatly furnished; and a kind of sledge, fixed to a stake, and drove round by a rope, gave great delight to the children that rode in it. Several itinerant musicians were hard-labouring in the ale-booths; and some of the less coy among the fair appeared inclined to love, spite of the inclemency of the element they trod.—Every poor waterman I saw got money from me, in commiseration of their hard condition; tho', in general, every face spoke more pleasure than concern at the severe novelty they were looking at: and I must confess, the difficulty of standing upon two legs added much to the mirth of the scene, as many fell, though but few were hurt. I proceeded to point cross the river, but was half-forc'd into a wine-booth, called *The half-way house*, kept by a vintner's man where I sometimes sup. Several fine Ladies were seated in this neighbourhood, and sat, with great pleasure at the frolick, on the cold river, without fear of a cough; though a crevice in a church would be thought almost mortal. I master'd myself, left the Ladies, landed in the county of Surry; and after having walk'd a mile or two on land, I again ventured upon the Thames, cross'd to the fair, fell thrice by the way, and, though hurt as often, got up each time with all the agility I could. — A friend overtaking me, prevailed with me to accompany him to the Temple upon the ice; which I did at five hundred hazards of my neck; no imagination being able to form an idea of the roughness of the path. Booths are spread all the way spirituous liquors sold almost every ten yards, *without licence or excise*, as the retailers themselves phrase it.—A little from shore, a Lady of a most agreeable appearance meeting me, to give way to her, I fell to the left, (my eyes too intent upon her) when, in an instant, I found the ice crack under me, before I knew my danger was up to my middle; and, had not my friend, with a strong arm, stopt my journey, I should, probably, have retired behind the icy curtain. The Lady obliged me with a loud shriek, was sorry for my misfortune, and hoped I would not catch cold. I thanked her, as briefly as I could, being in no condition for compliments, and hasted to shore; where a chair brought me home. The cold I got, and the bruises I feel, have confined me to my chamber for a week; so that I was not present, t'other night, when Drury-lane play-house was pull'd to pieces for want of a French dance. *I am,*

SIR,

Your very serious humble servant,

S. TOUPEE.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR,

YOU may assure yourself of the acknowledgments of several Gentlemen of great reputation and learning, if you communicate the following letter to the publick. It is not only the great concern of the author, but of *all* mankind, that a satisfying answer be given it. The letter was writ to me by a friend, and runs in these terms:

"SIR, The immortality of the soul is a doctrine to which I have always been a well-wisher, and of late more than ever. Among other arguments for this great doctrine, *the desire of immortality*, is, you know, pretty much insisted on by most, if not all the writers on the side of religion. But there lies an objection against it, which I am fond to have removed, being unwilling to

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to have the number of probabilities which eſtabliſh this favourite point in the leaſt diminiſhed. The argument itſelf, and objection to it, ſtand thus: *A deſire of immortality is implanted in the human mind. This deſire is ſuppoſed to be a natural one: And ſince the author of nature does nothing in vain, and all natural appetites are gratified with ſuitable objects; therefore this deſire muſt be gratified with its proper object, immortality.* But what if this deſire was not in the deſign of God when he created man? Will it not then be impoſſible to demonſtrate, merely from this deſire, that God intended to ſatisfy it? Can any thing be more evident, than that God deſigned not the gratification of the appetite, if he deſigned not the appetite itſelf? Now, that the Deity might not, properly and directly, intend the exiſtence of any ſuch deſire, ſeems to follow from hence, That a creature like man being ſuppoſed, this deſire will inevitably coexiſt with it, whether the Deity intended it or no; having a neceſſary connection with the rational faculty, and the principle of ſelf-love. A being poſſeſſed of reaſon in the extent that man enjoys it, cannot forbear ſtretching its views beyond any given bounds; and ſo cannot chuſe but have the idea of immortality; and being, together with this idea, filled with an inextinguiſhable love of itſelf, for the ſame reaſon that it wills its preſent exiſtence, (becauſe it loves itſelf) it muſt deſire immortality. And is it not from the premiſſes an eaſy inference, That the deſire of immortality may be where it was not deſigned? and from hence, That if it was not deſign'd by the Deity, it cannot any way engage *him* to gratify it, or warrant *us* to conclude that he will do ſo?" *I am*, &c.

Jan. 1. PHILATHANATUS.

As the place-bill has been the ſubject of publick converſation for ſome time paſt, 'tis thought the following ſpeech of John Sheffield late Duke of Buckingham, made in the houſe of Lords in K. William's time, taken from his Grace's works, will be acceptable.

The Earl of Mulgrave's *ſpeech in the houſe of Lords, for the bill touching free and impartial proceedings in parliament.*

THIS debate is of ſo great conſequence, that I reſolv'd to be ſilent, and rather to be adviſed by the ability of others, than to ſhew my own want of it; beſides, it is of ſo nice a nature, that I who ſpeak always unpremeditately, apprehend extremely the ſaying any thing which may be thought the leaſt reflecting; tho' even that ought not to reſtrain a man here from doing his duty to the publick, in a buſineſs where it ſeems to be ſo highly concerned.

I have always heard, I have always read, that foreign nations, and all this part of the world, have admir'd and envy'd the conſtitution of this government. For, not to ſpeak of the King's power, here is a houſe of Lords to adviſe him on all important occaſions, about peace or war, about all things that may concern the nation, the care of which is very much entruſted to your Lordſhips. But yet, becauſe your Lordſhips cannot be ſo converſant with the generality of the people, nor ſo conſtantly in the country as is neceſſary for that purpoſe, here is a houſe of Commons alſo, choſen by the very people themſelves, newly come from among them, or ſhould be ſo, to repreſent boldly all their grievances, to expreſs the true mind of the nation, and to diſpoſe of their money, at leaſt ſo far as to begin all bills of that nature; and, if I am not miſtaken, the very writ for elections ſent down to the Sheriffs, does impower them to chuſe, what? their repreſentatives. Now, my Lords, I beſeech you to conſider the meaning of the word *Repreſentative*. Is it to do any thing contrary to their mind? It would be abſurd to ſuppoſe it: and yet how can it be otherwiſe, if they, after their being choſen, change their dependency, and engage themſelves in employments plainly inconſiſtent with that great truſt repoſed in them? And that I will take the liberty to demonſtrate to your Lordſhips they now do, at leaſt according to my humble opinion.

I will inſtance firſt in the leaſt and

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loweſt incapacity they muſt be under, who ſo take employments.

Your Lordſhips know but too well what a general careleſneſs there appears every day more and more in the publick buſineſs: if ſo, how is it likely that men ſhould be as diligent in their duty in parliament as that buſineſs requires, where employments, and a great deal of other buſineſs, ſhall take up both their minds and their time?

But then in ſome caſes 'tis worſe; as in commands of the army, and other employments of that kind, when they muſt have a divided duty: for it does admirably become an officer to ſit voting away money in the houſe of Commons, while his ſoldiers are perhaps taking it away at their quarters, for want of his preſence to reſtrain them, and of better diſcipline among them: nay, perhaps his troop or regiment may be in ſome action abroad, and he muſt either have the ſhame of being abſent from them at ſuch a time, or from that houſe, where he is entruſted with all our liberties. To this I have heard but one objection by a Noble Lord, That if this act ſhould paſs, the King is not allow'd to make a Captain or a Colonel, without diſabling him to ſit in parliament, by ſuch a commiſſion.

Truly, if a Captain has only deſerved to be advanced for expoſing himſelf in parliament, I think the nation would have no great loſs in the King's letting alone ſuch a preferment.

But, my Lords, there is another ſort of incapacity yet worſe than this; I mean that of parliament-mens having ſuch places in the *exchequer*, as the very profit of them depends on the money given to the King in parliament. Would any of your Lordſhips ſend and entruſt a man to make a bargain for you, whoſe very intereſt ſhall be to make you give as much as he can poſſibly?

It puts me in mind of a *farce*, where an actor holds a dialogue with himſelf, ſpeaking firſt in one tone, and then anſwering himſelf in another.

Really, my Lords, this is no *farce*; for 'tis no laughing matter to undo a nation: but 'tis altogether as unnatural for a member of parliament to aſk firſt in the King's name for ſuch a ſort of a ſupply, give an account from him how much is needful towards the paying ſuch an army, or ſuch a fleet, and then immediately give, by his ready vote, what he had before aſk'd by his maſter's order. Beſides, my Lords, there is ſuch a neceſſity now for long ſeſſions of parliament, and the very privileges belonging to members are of ſo great extent, that it would be a little hard and unequal to other Gentlemen, that they ſhould have all the places too, as well as the privileges.

All the objections that have been made, may be reduced to theſe.

Firſt 'tis told us, that it is a diſreſpect to the King, if his ſervants or officers be excluded.

To this, I deſire it may be conſidered, that 'tis in this caſe, as when a tenant ſends up any body to treat for him. Would any of your Lordſhips think it a diſreſpect, nay, would the King himſelf think it any, if the tenant would not wholly refer himſelf to one of your own ſervants, or the King's Commiſſioners in the caſe of the crown? and if he chuſes rather ſome plain honeſt friend of his own to ſupply his abſence here; will any blame ſuch a proceeding, or think it unmannerly?

All we would prevent, is, that a good rich corporation ſhould not chuſe to entruſt with all their liberties, a plain honeſt country neighbour, and find him within ſix months changed into a preferred cunning courtier; who ſhall tie them to their choice, though he is no more the ſame man than if he were turn'd Papiſt; which by the law, as it ſtands already, puts an incapacity upon him.

Another objection is, That this act may, by its conſequence, prolong this parliament: which they allow would be a very great grievance; and yet ſuppoſe the King capable of putting it upon us. I have too much reſpect for him to admit of this: but I am glad however that 'tis objected by Privy-counſellors in favour; who conſequently, I hope, will never adviſe a thing, which

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which they now exclaim against as so great a grievance.

But pray, my Lords, what should tempt the King to so ill a policy? Can he fear a freedom of choice in the people, to whose good-will he owes all that power, which these Lords suppose he may use to their prejudice?

Therefore give me leave to say, as I must not suspect him of so ill a design as the perpetuating this parliament, so he cannot, he ought not to suspect a nation, so entirely (I was going to say, so fondly) devoted to him.

My Lords, no man is readier than myself to allow that we owe the crown all submission, as to the time of calling parliaments according to law, and appointing also where they shall sit. But, with reverence be it spoken, the King owes the nation entire freedom, in chusing their representatives; and it is no less his duty, than his true interest, that such a fair and just proceeding should be used towards us.

Consider, my Lords, of what mighty consequence it may be, *that so many votes should be free, when upon one single one may depend the whole security or loss of this nation. By one single vote a general excise may be granted, and then we are all lost. By one single vote the crown may be impowered to name all the commissioners for raising the taxes, and then surely we should be in a fair way towards it.*

Nay, whatever has happened may again be apprehended; and I hope *those Reverend Prelates* will reflect, that if they grow *once obnoxious to a prevalent party, one single voice may be as dangerous to that bench*, as a general dissatisfaction among the people proved to be once in a late experiment; which I am far from saying by way of threatning, but by way of caution.

My Lords, we may think, because this concerns not the house of Lords, that we need not be so over-careful of the matter. But there are Noblemen in France, at least such as were so before they were enslaved, who, that they might domineer over others, *and serve a present turn perhaps*, let all things alone so long, *till the people were quite mastered, and the Nobility themselves too, to bear them company.* So that I never met a Frenchman, even of the greatest rank, (and some had 10,000 pistoles a-year in employments) that did not envy us here for our freedom from that slavery which they grone under: and this I have observed universally, except in Monsieur De Louvois, Monsieur Colbert, or such people; because *they were the ministers themselves who occasioned these complaints, and thrived by the oppression of others.*

My Lords, this country of ours is very apt to be provoked; we have had a late experience: and tho' no wise man but would bear a great deal rather than make a bustle; yet really the people are otherwise, and at any time change a present uneasiness for any other condition, tho' a worse. We have known it so too often, and sometimes repented it too late.

Let them not have this new provocation, in being debarred from a security in their *representatives*. For malicious people will not fail to infuse into their minds, *that all those vast sums which have been, and still must be raised towards this war, are not disposed away in so fair a manner as ought to be*; and I am afraid they will say their money is not *given*, but *taken*.

I am sure, whatever success this bill may have, there must needs come some good effect of it: for if it passes, it will give us *security*; if it be obstructed, it will give us *warning*.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR,

SInce none can view the natural sweets of a country life, or observe the harmony that appears in all the works of God, without the greatest pleasure, and most delightful surprise, I have here presented the product of its effects on me; which if you think worthy a place in your *Magazine*, you'll please insert, and oblige,

Your humble servant,

PHILALETHES.

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YE Gods supreme, who order and direct
All nature, and this scene of things connect;
Who made this earthly ball, on which we live,
Serenely gay in its first path to move,
And with fresh vigour each succeeding day
Receive the chearing warmth of Sol's bright ray:
Ye pow'rs divine, whence the effects do flow
That cause the good transacted here below,
Grant my request: A peaceful country life,
Far from the jars of town and civil strife;
Where pleasantly each hour may glide away,
And care of wealth mayn't cause the mind to stray;
In shady groves, where I may pass my time,
O'er Milton's verse, or Pope's harmonious rhime.
With pleasure I'd each natural beauty view,
And with the morning sun my toil renew:
Where, tir'd with study, I may then repose
My weary head by the sweet-smelling rose;
Or pensive sitting near some purling stream,
Beguile the day by phantasy and dream.
With such a pleasant arbour always blest,
No fit of passion should e'er break my rest;
But virtuously my years should quick advance;
I'd lead my life by reason, not by chance.
Thus deckt, more happy should I be than all
The mighty Kings on this terrestrial ball;
Nor Turk, nor Pope, nor Tartarian Cham,
Should boast himself than me the happier man;
Yea ev'n pale death itself I'd view with scorn,
And learn to know, for dying was I born.

On the Majesty of GOD. From the Psalms.

ARm'd with omnipotence, when the Most High
In pomp of terror clouds the threat'ning sky,
Darkness at his command in black array
Rolls on its thick'ning ranks, and blots out day;
He walks majestic in surrounding night,
And fills the boldest tyrant's soul with fright;
Awful he waves in thunder his bright spear,
And ev'ry sad'ning heart gives signs of fear.
His lightnings flash, and with a rattling sound
All heav'n seems rushing on the blazing ground;
The mountains with the dreadful motion quake,
And earth's foundations to their centre shake;
His pow'r all nature to her entrails feels,
And at his potent stroak creation reels:
Th' eternal pillars tremble at the blow,
Earth shrinks with fear, and all the heavens bow.
He deals his bolts, in might triumphing, round,
That thunder through the wast, immense profound,
Fill all the frighted heav'ns with flashing day,
And in his wrath, thro' hell's black gates make way,
Increase the pains of tyrant Kings below,
And give those wounds which they and devils know.

SEPHALISSA sleeping.

'TWas on a sultry summer's day,
When Phœbus shot his hottest ray
With slow soft-treading steps I crept
Where beauteous SEPHALISSA slept.
The windows up, the shutters clos'd,
Receiv'd the air, the sun oppos'd;
A duskish light shone faintly through,
Such as in gloomy woods we view:
The air soft-breathing gently blow'd
Sweet-scented jessamin, that grow'd
Around the sash, and waving lent,
Best of perfumes, its sweetest scent.
The room with curious figures glow'd,
Which the nice art of Titian show'd
On the neat cieling there was seen
The matchless form of Beauty's Queen
Clasp'd in thy arms, blest Mars, she la
And seem'd in bliss to die away.
His magic net now Vulcan threw,
And the false fair expos'd to view;
Expos'd to all the pow'rs above,
The God of War, and Queen of Lov
Anger and rage in Mars appear,
Soft Venus drops a gentle tear;
Minerva's hand her blushes hides,
Loud-laughing Momus holds his sides
And ev'ry God beheld the pair,
But ev'ry God wish'd he was there.
The sides were with rich carvin
grac'd,
And sconces in nice order plac'd:
And china jars, with flowers fill'd
Variety of odours yield.
Velvet that boasts the finest red,
With rich gold fringes, form'd the bed
The quilt was made of stiff brocade,
Where lavender and roses laid.
There SEPHALISSA, charming fair
Lay sunk in sleep, and free from care
Her arm was on the pillow laid,
And on her hand reclin'd her head.
Loose hung her gown, her neck was bare
And round it flow'd her curling hair,
Gracefully negligent; her breast
White-heaving, courted to be prest.
Wav'd by the air her garment flow'd
And then ten thousand beauties show'd
Who could contain? Tho' half afraid
I gently kiss'd the sleeping maid.
She wak'd; I trembled, fill'd with fear
She smil'd and banish'd all my care.
Now bolder grown, I spoke my love,
And sought her tender heart to move;

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I figh'd, and fu'd for all her charms.
She ſunk with bluſhes in my arms.
Give me, ye Gods, again this day,
Take all my future life away.

To the author of the Paſtoral in the laſt *Magazine*. [*See vol.* 1. p. 619.]

By the Lady to whom it is addreſs'd.

AS tuneful Orpheus, *we're by poets told,*
Charm'd a whole foreſt in the days of old,
The brute inhabitants flock'd round the bard,
And, tam'd by powerful verſe, his ſorrows ſhar'd.
The young Menalcas, *thus, in moving ſtrains,*
Of love's ſoft paſſion, and its cares complains:
The ſylvan Deities the youth ſurround,
While liſtning Cupids catch the pleaſing ſound;
The zephyrs hush'd attend each am'rous ſigh,
And ſtreams grown calm in ſilence murmur by;
Sad Philomel forgets her warbling moan,
Amaz'd to hear his notes ſurpaſs her own.
All things but Celia *liſten to his lyre,*
All but the nymph that does his ſong inſpire;
She ſtill is cold as bright deſcending ſnow,
And deaf as rocks, to his harmonious woe:
Then let her charms no longer prove a ſnare,
Some happier youth is deſtin'd for the fair;
Subdue this flame, and then in freedom live,
Nor think another more content will give.
Love is not what enamour'd poets dream:
Its joys are fleeting, but too ſure its pain;
A train of croſſes, ſmiles, ſighs, hopes, and fears,
The fickle tyrant ev'ry moment wears;
And the fond ſwain, who truſts his darling eaſe,
To the falſe calm of love's tempeſtuous ſeas,
Too late will find (the ſtatt'ring gales once paſt)
His mind a prey to every angry blaſt;
His quiet wreck'd in ſtorms, which ne'er will ceaſe,
Vainly he ſeeks again the ſhore of peace.
From all thoſe cares, may ſtill Menalcas *reſt,*
And baniſh love for ever from his breaſt;
With ſome Alexis *then, ſome faithful friend,*
Your halcyon days in verdant ſhades might ſpend;
Charm'd with the beauties of the ſmiling ſpring,
The various ſeaſons of the year may ſing:
But ſhun the world and all its pompous fools,
And let your joys be fix'd on virtue's rules;
No ſad repentance, then, will claim a ſigh,
In guiltleſs tranſports every hour will fly.
But, leſt that I preſumptuous ſhould appear,
And theſe unſkilful lines offend your ear;
Forbear to cenſure what I've artleſs writ;
No well-bred man e'er blam'd a woman's wit:
Believe that this advice from friendſhip came,
When here ſubſcrib'd you ſee the following name.

AMANDA.

AMOR DUBIUS.

In imitation of the *Scots* ſong, called *Beſſy Bell and Mary Gray.*

FLavia irarum rudis, *atque Amynta*
Optima; inſignes, nitidæ, pudicæ
Virgines ambæ peragunt quietæ
Otia vitæ
Vere ubi primo zephyros ſalubres
Per Salinenſes juvat ire valles,
Et fluunt lætis tenui ſuſurro
Collibus amnes.
Nuper injecit mihi Amynta dura
Vincula incauto: ſimul at jacenti
Flavia affulſit nitidis ocellis,
Vincula rupi.
Crinibus, quales tribuit Maronis
Muſa præcellens * *Veneri fugaci,*
Et ſuperfuſo capiti nitore
Fulget Amynta:
Mane vel qualis viridante amictu
Campus arridens, ubi ſol, relictis
Fluctibus, lumen placidum beatos
Spargit in agros.
Flaviam at poſtquam propius venuſtam
Intuor, tota eſt bonitas decuſque;
Atque candorem ſuperat nivalem
Pectus honeſtum.
Verticem turri ſimilem ſuperbæ
Flavia incedens gerit. Ipſa magni
Sic Jovis nata, ut fabulantur, armis
Cincta renidet.
Æſtuat pectus, dubioque amore
Fluctuat; nunc dum faciles Amyntæ
Induit riſus, bona nunc ſerenos
Flavia vultus.
Flaviam mitem roſeamque Amyntam
Ardeo: at leges prohibent potiri
Pluribus. Cæca mihi ſponſa amanti
Sorte petenda eſt.

ARISTUS.

* Dixit, & avertens roſea cervice refulſit,
Ambroſiæque comæ divinum vertice odorem
Spiravere.—*Æneid.* i. 402. & *ſeqq.*

To Miſs *A*—— *H*——*n.*

AH! *cruel* Cupid, *tell me why*
Again I am your votary;
O tell me why my captiv'd heart
Muſt ſtill be wounded by thy dart:
My mind a ſtranger is to peace,
And ne'er enjoys one moment's eaſe;

My

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My days and nights are robb'd of rest
By thee, thou tyrant of my breast.
Thus far I said; young Cupid *smil'd,*
And thus the gentle God reply'd:
You wrong me much; it was not me;
I've neither bow nor darts you see;
Young ANNY *came the other day,*
And stole both bow and darts away;
Now in my stead she rules mankind,
And she alone could wound your mind.

ISAAC.

SIR,

IF the following poem, writ upon a young Lady's recovery from a jaundice, deserves a place in your *Magazine*, please insert it. *I am*, &c.

Linlithgow. AGRESTICUS.

FLy, Jaundice! never more attempt
To stain a lovely face:
Thou's ever be held in contempt,
And damn'd to sure disgrace.

For tho', with thy united strength,
Thou strove to spoil this fair;
Her charms superior, at the length,
Has forc'd thee to despair.

Altho' the sun's refulgent rays
Clouds for a time come o'er;
Yet when he shines with a fresh blaze,
He's brighter than before:

So thy pure looks, O lovely fair,
No jaundice' power can stain.
And why? What others charms impair,
Makes thine the clearer shine.

To Mr *Common Sense* on his proposal for erecting a new parliament-house. [See vol. 1. p. 551.]

SInce publick structures are your theme,
Projector sage, I like the scheme;
Ingenious plan! yet Common Sense
With an amendment will dispense.
No furniture such house compleats,
But good old constitution seats,
Rightly prepar'd, and not admitting
Wry posture, but just upright sitting:
So qualify'd, as not to bear
Members that foreign gewgaws wear:
Easy to parliaments triennial,
Impatient of a rump *septennial:*
So uncorrupt, no hopes or fears
In the dire space of seven long years,
Nor even the charm of royal grace,
May turn one seat *into a* place.

ODE on the Prince of WALES's Birth-day.

IF e'er the tribute of the poet's song
Demands the honest voice of publick praise,
'Tis when his lyre to patriot worth is strung,
And publick virtue tunes his gen'rous lays:
Hence no imaginary pow'rs I move,
To grace these strains with venal art;
Rude though my numbers, yet the verse shall prove
What Truth inspires shall reach the heart.

Hail Deity divine confess'd;
Hail Truth! Oh welcome to my breast,
Uncourted by the tuneful train:
Now rule each thought and every strain;
In all thy genuine force appear,
For virtue nothing has to fear;
A debt to thy lov'd patron pay,
And speak on FRED'RICK's *natal day;*
Through all th' unbounded flow of numbers shine,
Nor let the strength of fancy rival thine.

Is there such power in my pray'r?
Will the Deity appear?
Lo! she descends, and with a smile,
So full of love and modest grace,
Such as fraud cannot by her guile
Paint on the dissembling face.
But who is that majestic maid,
To whom with pride her joys are paid?—
—With her spear and plumy crest
See, Britannia *stands confest,*
And thus by Truth's lov'd Goddess is addrest:

" *Say,* Britain's *guardian-genius, say*
Through all the ages thou hast known,
Through all the æras of renown;
Did ever Prince's natal day,
Though high recorded for the birth
Of those, illustrious by their worth;
Did ever one auspicious hour
Deserve the love of Britons *more*
Than that which Fred'rick *gave, that hour of fate,*
Mark'd to be happy for Britannia's *state?*

What though you may not, Goddess, see
An equal pomp of pageantry,
Of royal state an equal scene
At Princes courts which erst have been?
Yet know, such honour he receives,
Which royal worth, not splendor gives:
Instead of pompous shew, and glossing arts,
He shews a pride in gaining British *hearts.*

Britain's *sons what more delights,*
What can heighten more their pleasure,
Than

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Than a Prince who loves their rights?
Freedom *is their only treasure.*

Britain's *tutelary pow'r,*
Could'st thou ever wish for more,
Than to have thy future bliss,
Rise from such a day as this?
To thy isle which gives an heir
To each freeborn Briton *dear?*
Though uncall'd to state affairs,
England's *weal demands his cares:*
And his cares are not in vain,
Britons *feel his heart humane;* [*call,*
His heart could melt at * Charity's *first*
And, as a friend to Britons, *loves them all.*"

—*More would the Goddess,—but* Britannia *broke*
Her silence, and with pleasure thus she spoke:
" *O Deity! who seldom sings*
The fame of Princes and of Kings,
All the eulogiums thou couldst raise,
In Virtue *or in* Honour's *praise;*
All the encomiums thou couldst say
On the most happy natal day,
To all my sons would be no more,
Than what of FREDERICK *they knew before:*
All who love Liberty that day commend,
Which gave to Britain *and her friends, a* Friend."

* Alluding to the generous benefactions which his R. Highness has variously bestowed during the present severity of the weather.

EPITAPH on a Child killed by procured abortion, in order to hide the Mother's shame, who had been debauched.

Supposed to be spoken by the Mother.

O *Thou! whose eyes were clos'd in death's pale night,*
Ere fate reveal'd thee to my aching sight;
Ambiguous something, by no standard fix'd,
Frail span! of nought, and of existence mix'd;
Embryo, imperfect as my tort'ring thought,
Sad outcast of existence and of nought;
Thou, who to guilty love first ow'st thy frame,
Whom guilty honour kills to hide its shame;
Dire offspring! form'd by love's too pleasing pow'r!
Honour's dire victim in a luckless hour!
Soften the pangs that still revenge thy doom:
Nor, from the dark abyss of nature's womb,
Where back I cast thee, let revolving time
Call up past scenes to aggravate my crime.
Two adverse tyrants rul'd thy wayward fate,
Thyself a helpless victim to their hate:
Love, spite of honour's dictates, gave thee breath:
Honour, in spite of love, pronounc'd thy death.

Anacreon, ode 24. imitated by
CHARLES CHESTER, M. D.
According to Mr *Barnes*'s edition.

ALas! *alas! I see each day*
Steals me from myself away,
And every step of life I tread,
I speed to mingle with the dead.
How many years are past, my friends,
I know; and there my knowledge ends.
How many years are still in store,
I neither can, nor would explore.
Then since the hours incessant fly,
They all shall find me crown'd with joy.
To those, my cares I here bequeath,
Who meanly die for fear of death,
And daily with assiduous strife
Contrive to live, accurs'd with life.
Then Care *begone! I'll dance and play;*
Hence with thy serious face away!
I'll laugh, and whilst gay wine inflames,
I'll court the laughter-loving dames;
And study to resign my breath
In extasy, and smile in death.

A HYMN

O *Lord! thy energy divine*
Produc'd this beauteous All;
With splendor fill'd the starry orbs,
And poiz'd the earthly ball.

Great are thy works, and worthy thee
Exalt thy glorious name;
Yet still they infinitely yield
To thy bright mercy's fame:

For to the highest heav'n thou'st fixt
As to the sea its bound;
But by th' enquiring mind no end
Is of thy mercy found.

Then tho' my trespasses shou'd great,
Nay, iterated prove,
I'll never injure by despair
Thy inexhausted love.

I've often, Lord! with passion blind,
Transgress'd thy holy will;
Yet like a tender father thou
With grace pursu'dst me still.

Thou mercifully cur'st my pains,
And heal'st my troubled mind;
How oft with conscious shame I've
Because thou wert so kind! [*bliss'd*
While thro' these animated veins
The vital juices flow,
With gratitude, my God, to thee
This thankful heart shall glow.

Let

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Let universal nature raise
To thee a chearful voice;
Let saints above with angels join,
And heav'n and earth rejoice.
Thro' skies and undulating air
Let loud hosannas roll;
Let shouts of joy ascend thy throne,
And praises shake the pole.

On a GNAT burnt in a CANDLE.

TRifling insect! that art now
But an airy gnat below,
Ah! what folly made thee fly
To the pleasing flame too nigh?
Seeming good, that treach'rous ill,
Cheated thine, that cheats man's will.
Simple thing! how shou'dst thou fear
What so beauteous seem'd, and fair?
Thus deceitful pleasure's smile
Did thy silly life beguile.
What from envy can be free,
If ill-fate cou'd envy thee?

A RECIPE for a valetudinarian Lady, inclosed in her *snuff-box.*

WOuldst thou, Chloe, *purchase health*
At no expence of ease, or wealth?
Bid adieu to fools and asses;
Break thy gally-pots and glasses:
Bid adieu to midnight ball,
And keep thy seat, tho' fiddles call.
Steal to bed at sober ten,
Softly steal, dear nymph — and then
Lock'd within thy lover's arms,
He'll protect thee from all harms:
Then dread no more coughs or catarrhs,
But kick the doctors down the stairs.
Then smiling health shall smooth thy brow,
And thou with rosy vigour glow;
While peace, and love, and bliss abound,
And sweetly waft the hours around;
This med'cine's worth shall stand confest,
And Chloe *sign* —— Probatum est.

On Miss *M*———.

NO beauty great these looks can boast,
Nor e'er was ANNY *yet a toast;*
Yet sweetness smiles in ANNY's *face,*
And life and sense shine thro' the case.
That easy mien, that taper waste,
That bosom rising to be prest,
These well-turn'd limbs more joy can give
Than any of thy sex alive.

Prologue to *Arminius*, a play, proposed to be printed by subscription, being prohibited the stage.

WHoe'er for freedom has, unyielding, stood,
And to be truly great, was just and good;
Whoe'er has wild despotic pow'r confin'd,
And scourg'd th' insulting tyrants of mankind;
Each brave avenger of his country's wrongs,
Britons! *to you, and to your stage belongs:*
'Tis yours for him, with conscious warmth, to glow;
'Tis yours for him to feel the kindred woe:
And such, to-night, our bard, with trembling art,
Attempts to draw, but with a British *heart.*
When fate had fix'd th' irrevocable doom,
And liberty forsook degen'rate Rome,
Strait to the regions of the rugged North
She took her flight, in search of manly worth;
In search of guiltless uncorrupted plains,
Where gen'rous nature scorn'd to stoop to chains;
Where luxury ne'er mix'd the baneful bowl,
Nor sordid int'rest had enslav'd the soul.
'Twas then ARMINIUS *rose; and, at its hour*
Of highest empire, check'd the Roman *pow'r.*
Fair proof! what diff'rent fate attends their arms,
Whom rapine rouses, — and whom freedom warms —
Who droop the slaves of arbitrary sway —
And who the laws of liberty obey. —
Our scene displays — how nobler, kinder far,
Than a false treach'rous peace is open war:
Not such as by the conqu'ring crew is hurl'd,
In desolation, o'er the groaning world;
But when the righteous sword calm justice draws,
For broken faith and violated laws;
That from the spoiler guards the toiling swain,
That from the pyrate vindicates the main;
Guardian of all that to mankind is dear,
Is great, is sacred — and is lovely — here.
As such our author's aim, he trusts to find
Your soften'd judgment to his errors kind:
Behind your virtue he his weakness screens,
And hopes the fav'rite theme will save the scenes.

VERSES occasioned by the FROST.

WHile the fierce winter rages all around,
And the hard earth's with frosty fetters bound;
While clothes its surface a thin garb of snow,
And rapid rivers now no longer flow;
Tho' keen the piercing cold, the vital flood
The rich can warm with raiment, fire, and food:
But whence the poor enable to sustain
Oppressive want, and hunger's urgent pain?
How is it naked, hungry, they can bear,
In their defenceless state, the piercing air!

Whence

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Whence shall their wants the just supply receive?
Ought man refuse, when God impow'rs to give?
None can — but those in whom compassion fails;
In whom nor love of God nor man prevails;
In whom all serious sense of duty's lost,
Colder their hearts than snow, and harder than the frost.

EPITAPH on Mr. JOHN HARVEY, the ingenious author of *Robert Bruce*, a poem, who died *Jan.* 18. 1738, in low circumstances.

HEre Harvey *lies, now free'd from ev'ry care,*
In manners blameless, of a heart sincere;
His modest sense, easy good-nature join'd
The man of learning, and the taste refin'd;
Whose Muse, advent'rous, *sung* the mighty theme,
And rose, *successful,* to the Brucian name!
No stormy passions discompos'd his mind,
A son of sorrow, yet he ne'er repin'd!
That joy which virtue can alone impart,
Lessen'd his woe, and cheer'd his drooping heart:
Smiling he saw his painful journey past;
Peace calm'd his life, in peace he breath'd his last.

HORACE, ode 9. book 4. imitated.
Ne fortè credas interitura, &c.

LEst you, *my friend, perhaps may think,*
Oblivion, with her gloomy hand,
Will to the shades of sudden night
The labours of the muse command;

Tho' Homer's *trumpet loudest sound,*
That sets two rival worlds in arms,
Alcæus' *lofty strains are read,*
And still a tender Sappho *warms.*

By love and wine Anacreon *fir'd,*
Seems still to smile in easy lays,
Whether he sing the nect'rous bowl,
Or in soft lines some beauty praise.

Before the gilded Trojan *barge*
Had stem'd the rolling Græcian *tide,*
Many a shameless Helen *sold*
Her virtue for the glare of pride.
Nor Hector *first, or Diomed,* [*blood;*
In virtue's cause were slain'd with
But gen'rous heroes long before
Had greatly fall'n for publick good.

Are they unknown? No muse embalm'd
In deathless verse their short-liv'd name:
But envious night their deeds involves
And hides the splendor of their fame.

When god-like virtue yields to fate,
And lies forgotten in the grave,
The diff'rence here is none, betwixt
The hero, and the bury'd knave.

But let the muse her odours shed,
New fragrance from the tomb will rise,
The demigod revive again,
And charm th' admiring earth and skies.

Hail virtuous man!—I Talbot *name;*
All England *echoes with the sound:*
No venal muse wou'd spread thy fame,
Where-e'er the glorious sun goes round.

Thou with immortal virtue shon'st,
Thy country's patron, common friend:
Methinks I see her grateful weep,
And at thy tomb in sorrow bend.

Epitaph on the late E. of *Scarborough.*

With the best virtues of a private state,
With the best talents of the truly great,
In courts he liv'd without one slavish fear,
Nor lost the Briton, *in the* British *Peer.*
Honour'd and lov'd by all the world beside,
One man accus'd him, and the base-one ly'd.

For a SPRAIN.

Take Comfrey-roots beat to a pulp half a pound, powder of Japan earth four ounces, spirits of wine a sufficient quantity, mix and apply it to the part.

Another.

In the strongest vinegar boil a convenient quantity of wheat bran, to the consistence of a poultis; apply this as soon as may be to the part affected, and renew it when it begins to grow dry.

To prevent Mortification by cold.

Chafe the frozen part well with snow, keeping from the fire, till sensation return, and the blood is perceived to circulate again. This is the remedy in the Northern climates.

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DOMESTICK HISTORY.

THE ſeverity of the late ſtorm cauſed a general ſtagnation of trade. Many ſhips were frozen up in harbours, the roads in ſome parts were very dangerous, and moſt of the mills having been ſtopt, occaſion'd a great ſcarcity of meal and flower in ſome places. Such mills as had a ſufficient quantity of water, were obliged to be wrought on the Sabbath-days. Many poor mechanicks, particularly journeymen ſhoemakers, being uncapable to work, the recruiting Serjeants, like true patriots, taking advantage of every circumſtance to ſerve their King and country, have been very induſtrious in enliſting them into the marine regiments. Some people have been found ſtarved, and ſeveral frozen to death. At London, coals roſe to 3 l. 10 s. per chaldron; and the damage among the ſhipping between the Medway and London-bridge is computed at 100,000 l. Flocks of ducks, widgeons and coots were found on the ice on the Kent and Eſſex ſhores, periſh'd with cold or hunger. Vaſt quantities of fiſh, eſpecially eels, were found frozen to death on the banks of the Severn, near Thornbury in Glouceſterſhire, and flocks of crows reſorted thither to feed on them. In Suffolk wild-geeſe and other birds devoured the winter-corn cloſe to the earth for the ſpace of many acres. In Hertfordſhire numbers of oaks were riven by the froſt, and ſplit into the ſolid timber as far as a caſe-knife could be thruſt.—At Tanfield coalliery the embers ſpreading to ſome ſtraw, the flames catched hold of two caſks of oil; this ſet fire to the coal, which burnt with ſo much violence, and rarified the air to ſuch a degree, that by a plentiful ſupply of freſh air from fourteen adjacent pits, that pit was changed into a moſt terrible vulcano, thundering out eruptions of large and hot cynders to an incredible height and diſtance. It continued ſeven hours, but the pits being all ordered to be cover'd at top, to exclude the external air, the flames ceaſed above, but the fire was not extinguiſhed below.—Amidſt all this, we have the pleaſure to record it, as well worthy the imitation of poſterity, that his Majeſty, the Prince and Princeſs of Wales, Sir Robert Walpole, ſeveral of the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and many private perſons, have been very extenſive in their charity on this occaſion in England.—Nor have the Nobility, Gentry, &c. of Scotland, and eſpecially the magiſtrates of Edinburgh, been behind-hand with thoſe of England in their care of the poor; the collection on the faſt-day through the churches of this city, ſeveral other ſums of money, and great quantities of meal and coals having been diſtributed, with the utmoſt impartiality, amongſt them.

The following letter to the author of the General Evening Poſt, on account of its uncommon accuracy in deſcribing the weather, deſerves a place in this *Magazine*.

S I R,

"I have obſerved in the news-papers, ſeveral paragraphs mentioning the ſeverity of the cold in different places, but ſo expreſſed that it is impoſſible to underſtand them, farther than that the cold has of late been greater than it was in 1709; one ſays it has been 6 or 7 degrees colder in Holland; another ſays, 79 degrees at Dublin: but what they mean by degrees, is wholly uncertain. So that 79 degrees in one thermometer, may anſwer to 6 or 7, or 1000 in another, ſo far as appears by thoſe accounts.

As the preſent ſevere froſt is very much the ſubject of converſation, and as it is very difficult, if not impoſſible, to judge, with any certainty, of the degrees of cold, by what we feel, or by any other way than a proper inſtrument, with which every one is not furniſhed, I believe the following obſervations on the preſent weather will be intelligible, and not diſagreeable to many of your readers.

I reckon that cold begins at that temper of the air, when, after ſummer is over, we begin to want fire in our rooms, *viz.* about the middle of September; from this temper to cold, barely ſufficient

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ent to freeze water, I reckon 15 degrees. So that when this froſt began, I ſay, it was 15 degrees cold; and on the 31ſt day of December, it was 21, 2 3ds degrees cold; and on the 5th of January, 22, 2 3ds degrees: but 17 of theſe degrees anſwer to what is counted extreme cold in England.

The great omiſſion of thoſe who have ſet down obſervations on the degrees of cold, is, the not mentioning how many degrees they reckon from one known point to another; however, by what I can collect, the greateſt cold in 1709, did not exceed 21, 1 half of ſuch degrees as I have deſcribed. And, I gather, that the cold in winter in Iceland, is at leaſt 30 ſuch degrees; in Lapland, at Torneo, near the polar circle, 32 or 33. Yet this preſent ſevere ſeaſon is more grievous to our poor, as being more uncommon and leſs provided againſt, than thoſe exceſſive froſts are to the inhabitants of thoſe miſerable countries.

The degrees of cold have varied ſince the froſt began, to all the intermediate degrees between 15 and 22, 2 3ds, ſcarce ever continuing one hour the ſame; and once it was under 15, and actually thawed. On Saturday, January the 19th, it was by my inſtrument upon the point of thawing for a ſmall time. I have not had leiſure to obſerve, very nicely, ſo may have miſſed the extremity of the cold, and hope ſome more able perſon will publickly correct the account I have given, if erroneous; and the better to enable any ſuch perſon to do it, he may be pleaſed to take notice, that the 15 degrees I reckon from temperate to freezing cold, are ſuch whereof 100 are contained between freezing cold and boiling heat, when the barometer reſts at 30 inches; and that my thermometer hangs in the open air, on the eaſt-ſide of a wall in London, where I reckon it is not ſo cold by near half a degree as it is in an open field."

The number of burials laſt year at Vienna, amounted to 6142, and of chriſtnings to 6060.

At Amſterdam there died laſt year 7507 perſons, which is 255 leſs than the year preceeding; and there were 2581 marriages, *viz.* 1653 in the Calviniſts churches, and 928 in the other churches.

The companies of marines are ordered to be augmented from 70 to 110 men each, and to have 3 Lieutenants per company.

General Keith, who went from Scotland in 1716, and is now in the Czarina's ſervice, was introduced by his Excellency Pr. Czerbatoff, the Ruſſian Ambaſſador, on the 25th Jan. to his Majeſty, in his military habit, as a Ruſſian General in Chief, and was graciouſly received. He is likewiſe much careſſed by the principal Nobility.

On the 29th Jan. the place-bill was brought into the houſe of Commons, and very warmly debated, 18 ſpeaking for, and 12 againſt it, 206 voting for, and 222 againſt it; ſo that it was thrown out.

Three Spaniſh veſſels have been carried into Port-Royal, Jamaica, by an Engliſh man of war, and all the crews committed to jail. A Spaniſh ſloop, going into harbour on the back ſide of that iſland, where two Engliſh veſſels were lying, the Spaniards ſent their boat to ſhore on pretence of wanting water; but the planters ſuſpecting that they wanted to ſeize the ſaid veſſels, immediately ſecured the Spaniards and the boat, and afterwards fitted out two petty-augers, well mann'd; and after a ſmart engagement took the ſloop, and carried her in there, and ſhe is prov'd to be worth 10,000 l. — Two of Admiral Haddock's ſquadron have carried a Spaniſh frigate into Gibraltar, which they took in the mouth of Cadiz bay, where ſhe was going to land ſome warlike ſtores.

The Spaniards have taken the following ſhips ſince our laſt. The Sarah and Elizabeth pink, Gwyn, carried into Majorca: The Fellowſhip of Falmouth, Pincomb; and the Julian, Brame, into Carthagena: The Peggy, Gault, into Vigo: The Sarah of Pool, Addis, into Dijon: The Bethulia, Collins, into St Sebaſtian's: The Polly of Pool, Norman,

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man, into Rio Rixo near Vigo: The Totneſs, Burſel; and the expedition, Barker, into Galicia: The William ſnow, Love, taken off Liſbon, in ſight of ſeveral Engliſh men of war: The King George, French: The Margaret, Myer Valdmay, a Dutch ſhip, laden with Engliſh goods, was ſeized at the bar of Bilboa, and carried into St Sebaſtian's by a Spaniſh privateer: And a French ſhip, laden with Engliſh goods, going into the laſt named place, was likewiſe ſeized.

A plan being preſently under the conſideration of the ſociety for propagating Chriſtian knowledge, for inſtructing the youth in huſbandry, manufactures, houſewifry, &c. agreeable to royal letters patent, dated in June 1738, granting them the neceſſary powers; and circular letters having been ſent to the ſeveral preſbyteries of this nation, that Gentlemen might be invited to encourage this laudable undertaking, the Duke of Gordon has made the ſociety a donation of 25 l. Sterl. and is to grant them a feu-right to a piece of ground in Maryburgh, alias Gordonsburgh, on which they are to build a ſchool-houſe upon the mortification of the deceas'd Mr John Ramſay of Norwich, merchant. They have 122 ſchools in Scotland, in which are taught betwixt 4 and 5000 ſcholars; beſides ſome miſſionary Miniſters employ'd for converſion of infidel Indian natives in America, and one Miniſter in Georgia.

Agreeable to the addreſs of the Commiſſion of the General Aſſembly, and the royal proclamation conſequent thereupon, the 9th of January was obſerved as a day of faſting, humiliation, and prayer, to implore the bleſſing of God on his Majeſty's arms, &c. The conduct of the Aſſociate Preſbytery, and their reaſons for it, will beſt appear from the following act on that occaſion, dated at Dunfermline, Dec. 28. 1739.

WHich day and place the *Aſſociate Preſbytery* being met, a motion was made, That the preſbytery ſhould enter upon the conſideration of the conduct of the brethren with reſpect to obſerving the faſt appointed by the King's proclamation on the 9th of January. The preſbytery, having conſidered the ſaid affair, came to a reſolution,

That in regard a manifeſt invaſion has been made upon the headſhip and ſovereignty of our LORD JESUS CHRIST over his church, as his free and independent kingdom, in ſeveral inſtances, particularly the late act of parliament anent Capt. Porteous; which uſurpation has been recognized by the moſt part of the Miniſters of Scotland, and ſubmitted unto by the preſent judicatories; which incroachments upon Chriſt's prerogatives in Scotland gave ground to think, that as the appointment of the obſervance of this faſt in England flows from the exerciſe of the King's ſupremacy over that church, ſo it may be reckoned that this proclamation proceeds from the exerciſe of the ſame aſſumed power over the church of Scotland: Therefore the preſbytery could neither injoin the brethren to read the ſaid proclamation, nor to obſerve the faſt in virtue of the ſaid appointment.

But the preſbytery conſidering, that as the church has an intrinſick power of appointing faſts and thankſgivings, and of naming the day, ſo the duty of faſting and humiliation, conſidered in itſelf, is at this time a neceſſary and ſeaſonable duty; and that the people under their inſpection are in a civil connection, as to their ordinary buſineſs, with others who will obſerve the 9th of January as a day of faſting; and that the ſaid day is not the worſe in itſelf for its being named in the ſaid proclamation: Therefore they appoint the 9th of January to be obſerved in all the congregations, and by all the ſocieties under their inſpection, as a day of ſolemn humiliation and faſting, for the reaſons contained more fully in the *Act and Teſtimony* emitted by this preſbytery, and other juſt cauſes of the LORD's anger and controverſy gone forth againſt us; particularly, the prevailing unbelief, neglect of the great ſalvation among goſpel-hearers, open atheiſm, infidelity, deſpiſing the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and contempt of his glorious goſpel; lukewarmneſs,

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ness, security, and neutrality in the cause of Christ among professors; impenitency, and hardness of heart under all the marks of the Lord's displeasure; open profanity, disregard to the Lord's day, uncleanness, and innumerable abominations of all sorts, which abound and prevail at this day: and that, tho' we with our fathers have sinned, yet we have not been suitably humbled for either our own or our fathers sins; yea, for most part, will not be persuaded to lay them to heart, notwithstanding the many clear and loud calls thereto from the Lord's word and providence: and the great and manifold indignities done against the Lord Jesus Christ, his truths and interest in these lands, contrary to our solemn engagement to the Lord by our covenants both national and solemn league; such as the publick resolutions, blasphemous supremacy, the abjuring and burning our covenants, shedding the blood of the Lord's saints and servants, indulgences and toleration; the sinful burying of the reforming period in the revolution settlement; our uniting with our neighbour nation upon terms inconsistent with the covenant-union of these kingdoms; the many false and unlawful bonds and oaths, both formerly and more lately, contrary to the word of God and our covenants; the sinful invading the rights of the Lord's people by the restoring patronages; the intrusions upon the Lord's heritage through the land by the present judicatories their exalting their authority above the authority of the Lord Jesus; the manifest injury they have done to truth by several acts and decisions; their endeavouring to bury a testimony for the truths of Christ and the covenanted reformation of these lands; and their sinful compliance with the usurpation upon Christ's headship, in the matter of the act anent Capt. Porteous: for all which a righteous and holy God is threatning us with awful judgments, and to send a bloody sword to avenge the quarrel of his covenant; as appears from the war that these lands are now engaged in.

For all which, and other weighty causes, the presbytery beseech, call, and obtest all under their inspection, to humble themselves before the Lord, and to make confession unto him of our own and of the sins both of former and present times; to flee to the atoning blood of the Lord Jesus, the alone propitiation for sin; and by the prayer of faith to supplicate the throne of grace, That God, for the sake of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, would avert deserved wrath, return to his Jerusalem, cause his face to shine upon his sanctuary that is desolate, pour out from on high a spirit of repentance and reformation upon all ranks: that he may be gracious to our Sovereign King George, and bless him with a sight and sense of his own sins and the sins of the land, and with the pardoning and purifying virtue of the blood of Jesus, and all spiritual blessings in Christ; may give success to his arms against the enemies of the peace and welfare of these lands; and that he would bless the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the rest of the royal family: that the Lord may revive a covenanted work of reformation in these lands; excite and determine all ranks to return to the Lord our God, from whom we have all deeply revolted; would purge his church of a corrupt ministry, give pastors according to his own heart to feed his flock with knowledge and understanding: that he may shew mercy to his broken heritage, who are scattered in the dark and cloudy day; make his Zion a peaceable habitation, and a praise in all the earth: that the power of godliness may be revived, and glory may yet dwell in our land. And the presbytery appoint that this act be intimated in all the congregations of their concerns, upon the Lord's day preceeding the said day of fasting and humiliation, with suitable exhortations. *Extracted by*

WILLIAM HUTTON *Presb. Cls.*

The 7th January a dismal accident happen'd at Kirkaldy. About twelve lads being at play in a cave, the rock fell down and crush'd them to pieces.

By the report made to the Governors of

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of the Orphan hoſpital, it appears that there have been manufactured laſt year 4792 yards of woollen and linen cloth, by the children bred up and maintain'd there.

The following manufactures were exported from Leith for London in January, viz. 53,381 yards of linen, 3006 yards of tartan, 3094 lb of thread, 1161 dozen of linen handkerchiefs, 260 dozen of thread ſtockings, 1006 lb of ſnuff; alſo 2190 gallons of foreign ſpirits, and 1222 lb of tea.

P. S. London, Feb. 2. This afternoon S. S. trading ſtock was 96, 3 4ths. Ditto Old annuities, 109, 1 half. Ditto New, 107, 5 8ths. Bank ſtock, 138, 7 8ths. India ditto, 154. Three per cent. annuities, 98, 1 half. Million bank, 113. Royal aſſurance, 86, 1 4th. London aſſurance, 11, 1 8th. Mine adventure ſhares, no price. Engliſh copper, 3 l. 6 s. 6 d. Welch ditto, 15 s. African, 13, 1 half. Seven per cent. Emperor's loan, 110, 1 half. Five per cent. ditto, 88, 3 4ths. Bank circulation, 3 l. 2 s. 6 d. Three per cent. S. S. bonds, no price, prem. India ditto, 3 l. 18 s. prem. Three 1 half per cent. Exchequer orders, 1 prem. Three per cent. ditto, 6 diſcount. Salt tallies, 1 qr. a 3 qrs.

An embargo, for two months, is laid on all Britiſh ſhips, except coaſters.

AT Vienna on the 12th Jan. N. S. the Dutcheſs of Lorrain and Great Dutcheſs of Tuſcany, was delivered of a Princeſs, who was that evening baptized by the name of Maria Carolina Erneſtina Antonia Giovanna Joſepha.

MARRIAGES.

At Belan in the county of Kildare in Ireland, the Earl of Antrim, to Miſs Plunket, grand-daughter of Col. Stratford.—At Dublin, the Ld Viſc. Donerayle, to Miſs Skeffington, ſiſter to the Ld Viſc. Maſſareen.—Sir William Fownes, to Lady—Ponſonby, daughter to the Earl of Beſborough.—Mr. James Smollet of Bonhill, Advocate, to Miſs Jean Clerk, daughter of Sir John Clerk of Pennicuik.

DEATHS.

At London, Count Cambis, the French Ambaſſador, a General in the French army, and Kt of the H. Ghoſt.—In the iſland of Lewes, William Marquis of Seafort.— Rich. Lumley Earl of Scarborough, Knight of the Garter, one of his Majeſty's Privy-council, Colonel of the Coldſtream regiment of foot-guards, and one of the Governors of the Charter-houſe. Dying unmarried, he is ſucceeded by his brother Sir Thomas Lumley Saunderſon, member for Lincolnſhire.—The Counteſs-dowager of Weſtmoreland.—E. of Deloraine Commander of the Seaford man of war. — In Ireland, Ld Villiers, only ſon of the Earl of Grandiſon.—Dr Charles Carr Biſhop of Kilaloe in Ireland. — Lady Viſcounteſs Donerayle.—Lady Elizabeth Haſtings, ſiſter to the Earl of Huntingdon.—Lady Anne Montague, ſiſter to the Duke of Manchester. — Sir William Stapleton, member for the county of Oxford. —John Finch, Eſq; member for Maidſtone—Sir Francis Henry Drake, member for Bereallton. — William Evans, Eſq; firſt General of horſe, Colonel of a regiment of horſe, and Governor of Chelſea college.—At Paris, General Douglas, one of K. James VII's Generals.— Lt Col. Barry, of Brig. Otway's regiment.— Major Ambroſe Burrows, of the royal hoſpital near Kilmainham in Ireland.—Capt. Tudor Trevor, Deputy-governor of Greenwich hoſpital. — Mr Geekie, ſurgeon to the firſt regiment of foot-guards.— Captain Robert Dingley, Gentleman-uſher to the Princeſs Mary.— Sir Brocas Gardiner, one of the Commiſſioners of the ſtamp-duties.—At London, the Lady of the late Gen. Campbell; and Mrs Mary Forbes, ſiſter to the late Ld Forbes.— William Snelling, Eſq; Governor of the London Aſſurance-company. — Mr Paltock, banker, London. — Thomas Gilleſpie, an eminent trader in the woollen manufacture, London. — Mr Robinſon bookſeller, London.—Mr John Simſon Profeſſor of divinity in the univerſity of Glaſgow. He was accus'd of erroneous opinions with relation to the Second Perſon of the Holy Trinity, and ſuſpended

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pended from teaching or preaching by the Gen. Aſſembly 1728; ſince which time he has liv'd retir'd.— Mr Adams Miniſter at Kirkaldy.— Mr John Williamſon Miniſter at Inverek. — Mr John Hunter, a Miniſter lately ordained by the Aſſociate presbytery.— John Riddel of Granton, Eſq; M. D.— John Pringle, eldeſt ſon of Sir Robert Pringle of Stitchill. — Alexander Cuningham, only ſon of Capt. David Cuningham.— The Lady of Mr John Belches Advocate. — John Holland, aged 105, and his wife, aged 85, both found dead in their houſe at Moyard near Rathfryland in Ireland, ſuppoſed to have died with the extremity of the cold. He was an Engliſhman, and ſerved as a ſoldier under Cromwel, K. Charles, K. James, K. William, and Q. Anne, and was diſcharged in the ſixth year of the Queen's reign on account of his age.

PREFERMENTS.

Edward Finch, Eſq; late Envoy-Extraordinary at the court of Sweden, *Miniſter Plenipotentiary to the Czarina of Muſcovy.* — Richard Shelley, William Blair, Matthew Kenrick, and John Bird, Eſqs. and John Plumptre jun. Eſq; in the room of Sir Brocas Gardiner, deceas'd, *Commiſſioners for managing the duties on ſtampt vellum, parchment and paper*, &c.—William Bridges, Eſq; *Secretary or Chief Clerk to the ſaid Commiſſioners.* — Capt. Mordaunt Crocherode, (formerly Captain Commandant of Sheerneſs fort) *a Lieutenant-Colonel in the army, Captain of an independent company of invalids, and to take upon him the command of five independent companies of invalids at Portſmouth.* [*The above taken from the Gazette.*] — Benjamin Keene, Eſq; late Plenipotentiary at the court of Spain, *Repreſentative for Malden.* — Sir James D'Aſhwood of Northbrook, *Repreſentative for the county of Oxford.* — Mr Beauclerk, ſon of the late Ld William Beauclerk, *Page of honour to the Duke.* — Robert Robinſon, Eſq; Recorder of Scarborough, *Judge in all civil and criminal cauſes in the new government at Gibraltar.* — Ro. Hewer and Thomas Hawley, Eſqs. *Gentlemen of the Privy chamber.*—William Sands, bookſeller, *Kirk-Treaſurer in Edinburgh.* —Grey Longueville, Eſq; Regiſter of the order of the Bath, *Paymaſter of the forces at Minorca.* — Char. Longueville, Eſq; Member for Eaſtlow, *Paymaſter to the garriſon of Gibraltar.* — Capt. Littler of the firſt regiment of foot-guards, *Colonel of the grenadeers in ſaid regiment.* — Alexander Crouden, Serjeant-major to the third regiment of foot-guards, *an Enſign.*—John Chalmers, Eſq; Lieutenant of the artillery, *Maſter of the pontoons to the marines.*—Mr. Keene, brother to the Plenipotentiary, *Chaplain to Col. Moreton's marines.*—Mr How, *Chaplain to Col. Douglas's marines.*—Capt. John Durell, *Commander*; Mr Yonge, *Firſt Lieutenant*, Mr Rogers, *Second Lieutenant*, and Mr Hepden, *Third Lieutenant, of the Mary galley*, a forty gun ſhip put in commiſſion.—Lt Frogmore, of the Lenox, *Commander of the Swift ſloop*, in the room of Capt. Holbourn, made *Commander of the Trial ſloop.*—Mr Duncomb, *Firſt Lieutenant*, and Mr Barton, *youngeſt Lieutenant of the Lenox.*

Died within the walls of the city of Edinburgh, and buried in the Gray-friars church-yard, January 1740.

Men 39, women 45, children 65. In all, 149. Increaſed this month, 49.

Age.	N°.	Diſeases.	N°.
Under — 2	42	Old age —	16
Betwixt 2 & 5	17	Conſumption	36
5 & 10	5	Chin-cough	1
10 & 20	4	Fever —	23
20 & 30	12	Suddenly —	9
30 & 40	8	Teething —	13
40 & 50	15	Small-pox —	30
50 & 60	12	Stone & gravel	2
60 & 70	13	Dropſy —	1
70 & 80	14	Aſthma —	4
80 & 90	6	Convulſion —	4
90 & 100	1	Liver-grown	1
		Palſy —	1
		Child-bed —	2
		Pleuriſy —	2
		Mortification	1
		Still-born —	3

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The SCOTS *Magazine.*

FEBRUARY, 1740.

The following Letter is taken from one of the Evening papers.

SIR, *Feb.* 8.

IT is a very *ridiculous*, tho' a very *common* objection to the conſtitution of a free people, *That no government can be free, becauſe in all governments there muſt be a* laſt reſort. The laſt part of this propoſition, as it ſtands here, is undoubtedly true; and the firſt part is ſo far true, that in all *governments*, the *governed* either ought or muſt *ſubmit* to what the *governors* decree, if they decree nothing inconſiſtent with their natural rights. A free government, in ſome meaſure, therefore, is a contradiction in terms; and what the moſt *ſanguine* friend of liberty, if he underſtands any thing, will never contend for in an unreſtricted ſenſe. But there is no occaſion to carry a ſpeculation of this kind ſo far. If a man will coolly and diſpaſſionately put one queſtion to himſelf, he will eaſily ſee the advantage which a *mixed conſtitution*, ſuch as that of *Britain*, has over an *abſolute government* with regard to the ſecurity which the ſubject has in the enjoyment of his *liberty* and *property*. The queſtion I mean is, Whether there is a greater probability of one man being wicked, whoſe intereſt it is to be ſo, or of 300 men being honeſt, when their honeſty and intereſt muſt be inſeparable? If a King or miniſter indeed can fall upon a way to throw into the ſcale of intereſt, intereſts that are foreign to their duty as members of the legiſlature, no doubt that conſideration may weigh down the ſcale of *honeſty*, unleſs attended with a great ſhare of *reſolution* and *diſcernment* as a *counterbalance*. Theſe conſiderations are the foundation of all that has been, or can be ſaid in favour of a *place-bill*; and the reaſonings built upon them are *unanſwerable*: nor have they ever been yet attempted to be anſwered, any other way than by denying the conſequence of the facts, and affirming that the Gentlemen who, by the favour or friendſhip of the miniſter, poſſeſs poſts, places and penſions, have never yet given any reaſon to ſuſpect that they are under any influence but the good of their country, and that the miniſter himſelf is ſo uncorrupted that he would diſdain they ſhould. How far this is fact, let any man determine, who ſhall take the trouble to look into the proceedings of the miniſtry, ever ſince the Honourable Gentleman, who is now at the head of affairs, had ſo much to ſay in the government.

But to return to the ſubject we ſet out with: There may be a *laſt reſort* in a government, and yet that government may not be *abſolute*; becauſe, as ſoon as any government ſhall ſtretch its power ſo far as to deſtroy the natural rights which the members of the community are intitled to, theſe laſt are juſtified by all the laws of *God* and *man* to oppoſe ſuch a government. Now, in abſolute governments we know it is quite otherwiſe: under them no *ſtretch* of *power*, no *abuſe* of *authority*, however attended with the loſs of the ſubject's liberty, or the violation of his property, can warrant an oppoſition.

If any number of men, therefore, in a free country, let their characters or powers be what they will, ſhould enter into a confederacy to ſubject their nation to a foreign power; if they ſhould erect a perpetual domination in themſelves over the ſubject; if they ſhould (for what may a corrupted majority in a legiſla-

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ture not do?) combine to decimate the persons and estates of those who oppose them, for no other reason but because they oppose them: must not the people, who have the misfortune to be under the lash of their power, be justified in throwing off their yoke, in burning their nests about their ears, and making the tyrants themselves monuments of *national vengeance?*

These are things which the subjects of this nation can have no idea of, but as very distant possibilities; and very distant may they be! but upon the principles which the writers against a place-bill, and the speakers against it, (without doors I mean) have laid down, a majority in a certain place may be guilty of all I have mentioned, and yet the people are tamely and quietly to submit. This is evident from their first principle, *viz.* That when the people part with their power to a representative, they do it *absolutely* and *irrevocably*. This is what these Gentlemen all say; and tho' they perhaps want honesty or sense enough to say it in direct terms, yet if they do not say this, they say nothing. But how much good sense is in this position, we shall easily see, by comparing the different manners of government that prevail in different countries.

In all governments not founded on the rights of conquest, the governors, by whatever denomination they are called, are in reality no other than the delegates of the people, by them vested with power and authority for the ends of government. The powers, thus vested, are either *absolute* or *fiduciary*; and the difference betwixt the nature of these, constitutes the difference betwixt a *nation* of *slaves* and a *nation* of *freemen*. For, if the delegation is understood to be *absolute* and *irrevocable* by the constituents, it plainly follows, that, whether it is vested in one or more, it gives the government an absolute uncontrollable power over the constituents on all occasions and in all periods of time. But *fiduciary* power, on the other hand, implies a *trust* vested by the *constituents* upon the faith that such trust shall not be abused by the *delegates*; for if it is abused, the constituents have a right to punish such an abuse, or at least no longer to regard their constituents in any other light than as the betrayers of their trust, for ends that are inconsistent with those of right government.

But here an objection occurs. Who are the judges when this trust is betrayed? I answer, The people themselves. But may not a faction be called the people? No. If a faction *only finds fault*, the people in a free country will always be on the side of the government; and unless the governors invert all the ends of their institution, the people will never find fault: but if they do, they have a right to pursue such measures as they think most consistent with their own safety, either by displacing their governors, or altering the constitution in those parts whereby they have suffered most.

The history of *Rome* furnishes us with many instances wherein the people, when they found themselves oppressed by their governors, departed from the plan of power transmitted to them by their great and wise ancestors, and thereby reverted to the first principles of their constitution, which by these means acquired a new accession of strength and dignity.

The *Consular* form of government was not, as it is generally apprehended to be, a hasty expedient, invented by *Brutus* upon the expulsion of the *Tarquins*; it appears to have been planned out by that excellent prince *Servilius Tullus*, and adopted by *Brutus*, as the only method of securing to the *Romans* the liberty they then gained, and of preventing the return of the tyrants to *Rome*. Yet this form of government, tho' excellent in itself, and extremely well adapted to the character of that people, who unanimously embraced it, was found to be subject to some inconveniencies when it devolved upon men who, from a consciousness of their own integrity, despised popularity; or from the habits they had acquired under regal government, were enemies only to the name, but favourers of some of the worst effects of tyranny. Thence arose the exercise of the prerogative of the people,

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people, in making what alterations they thought proper in their forms of government, and even of ſuſpending the conſular authority, as they found moſt expedient for their intereſt. For, had they been ſtubbornly addicted to the forms of conſular government, they never would have choſen a Dictator; yet that office, averſe as it was to the nature of their ordinary government, when it was committed to *able* hands, ſeldom failed, in the event, to retrieve their loſſes, or to ſecure their conqueſts. When it was committed into *honeſt* hands, the people, at the *expiration* of the *dignity*, found their rights more enlarged, and that laudable *jealouſy* of power, that is inſeparable from true *liberty*, more diffuſed and more enlivened.

The *Tribunitial* power, that other *bulwark* of the *Roman* liberty, was the effects of a ſtrong convulſion in the government, wherein the *œconomy of the animal ſpirits* was interrupted, that they might recover more *regular functions*, and communicate to the veſſels a more *vigorous tone*. Such, for a long time, were the conſequences of this ſalutary innovation in the *Roman* ſtate: but when ambition and intereſt clogged the wheels of government, and diverted it from the courſe in which alone its motions ought to be directed, I mean the *good of the commonwealth*, the people made uſe of the ſame *prerogative* that had inſtituted the tribunitial power, to circumſcribe it. Still the ſame cauſes produced the ſame effects: a happier mixture of *conſular authority* and *tribunitial power* ſecured the *government* from *inſult*, and the *people* from *oppreſſion*. And the republick might have long enjoyed her liberty, had her citizens preſerved their virtue. But after the reduction of her formidable rivals in empire, the ſpoils of the conquered provinces introduced *luxury*; *luxury* was followed by *wants*; and theſe wants produced that *dependence* of the *free* upon the *great*, which broke down the fences of their conſtitution, and gave an opportunity to ambition and corruption, firſt to undermine, and then at one blow totally to deſtroy their liberties. *I am*, &c.

COMMON SENSE, *Feb.* 2.

Character of a Prince.

——Nihil jam niſi vota ſuperſunt.

There is nothing to be done now but to pray.

NOthing is a ſtronger proof how natural the fear of God, and the love of liberty are to man, than the ideas which thoſe nations which we are pleas'd to treat as bigots and ſlaves have of theſe things.—I could not help making this reflection upon reading a book lately publiſhed in *French*; which, I own, I can't forbear admiring, notwithſtanding that it was written by a *Frenchman*, by a Papiſt, and, which is worſe, by a Prieſt. It is intitled, '*The Inſtitution of a Prince*; *or*, *A treatiſe of the qualities*, *virtues*, *and duties of a Sovereign*.

This work was undertaken, at the requeſt of the late King of *Sardinia*, for the inſtruction of the Prince of *Piedmont* his ſon, the elder brother of the King of *Sardinia* who now reigns. His father, expecting at that time that he would one day mount the throne of *Spain*, was reſolved to have him inſtructed, in a particular manner, in thoſe obligations incumbent upon a prince deſigned to govern one of the moſt conſiderable monarchies of *Europe*, but, at the ſame time, the moſt full of abuſes.

It is well known, there are certain characteriſtick prejudices peculiar to every nation, relative to their religion and government. This work is not free from them; but the ſenſible and impartial reader will make a diſtinction betwixt what the author thinks as a *Frenchman* attached to one ſect of the Chriſtian religion, and what he thinks as a citizen of the world independent of all forms of government, and a Chriſtian independent of any particular ſect.

The liberty with which the author explains himſelf is ſuch, that it occaſion'd a prohibition of the book in *France*; which, I preſume, will be no objection to it here.—The approbation given it by the King of *Sardinia*, does more honour to that prince than to its modeſt and virtuous author.—I muſt confeſs I was not a little ſurpriſed, to find ſo

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perfect a knowledge of all the crooked and vitious bents of human nature, in an author of so much probity and religion.—The sentiments are every where sublime, and there is a certain delicacy in the choice of the expressions, not easily to be imitated by a translator.

The late day appointed for fasting and prayer engages us to deliver this author's sentiments upon the subject of prayer.

"The prince [says he] must give ardor to publick prayers; they are to be animated by his piety: they languish and sink when not supported by his example; and God punishes his indifference by that of his subjects with regard to him.—Foreign wars, publick calamities, imprudent counsels;—passions that prove unfortunate to the prince and the realm, are the punishments and effects of little religion in the prince and in the subject.—Publick prayers might divert these misfortunes, were they made with earnestness and fervour.—When the prince does not trouble himself about the practice of religion, he deprives the publick prayers of their spirit and fervour."

Here the author describes the vices of a prince; after which he proceeds as follows:

"If he dishonours religion by his own conduct, he must expect to find, in all conditions and employments, men unjust and perfidious. The finances will be ill managed, justice ill administer'd, offices unworthily filled, publick affairs ill conducted, the armies without discipline, the ministers unattentive to the publick interest, and the people without faith or probity."

In the next paragraph, as well as in several other parts of the book, the author recommends chastity of body as a virtue essential towards giving an efficacy to prayer, and as a quality the most worthy of being the object of it; conformable to that passage of St *Paul* to *Timothy: I exhort, therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men: for kings, and for all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty*; that is, *chastity*.—In effect, there is no virtue the practice of which ought to be so strongly recommended, as generally it is less observed, as well by the worst prince, as by those who in other respects are not bad.

A prince, in order to preserve his own dominion and authority, must make virtue flourish. He must distinguish it with honours, must prefer it to all things, and increase the number of men of virtue: he should look upon all such as enemies of his person, his interest, his glory, of the country, and of his service, who are enemies to virtue. Nothing else can have an effect: In vain will it be for him to complain, that he scarce any where finds fidelity, gratitude, integrity, love of justice, or zeal for the publick service, when he himself shall be the principal cause of all these disorders.

We cannot alledge stronger motives to engage both prince and subject in prayer and humiliation, than that which our religious author draws from the weakness of man, and the omnipotence of God.

"A prince, [says he], however great he may appear in the eyes of men, is no more in the sight of God than a poor creature in want of all things. He should forget, in the time of prayer, all those distinctions which have placed so great a distance betwixt him and the poor man, and consider the condition of the latter as an image of his own.—The punishment of pride is shame and confusion: *I am poor and needy*, [says K. *David*], *make haste unto me, O God; thou art my help: That bringeth the princes to nothing, and maketh the judges of the earth as vanity.* God confounds the wisest and most profound counsels, he annihilates Kings and their ministers.

He shall cut off the spirit of princes; he is terrible to the kings of the earth. The Lord hath mingled a perverse spirit in the midst thereof; and they have caused Egypt to err in every work thereof, as a drunken man staggereth in his vomit.

I shall finish this discourse by another quotation from the same author; which I look upon to be so good in itself, that it

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it will ſtand in need of no comment or obſervation of mine to illuſtrate it.

"God places upon thrones whom he thinks fit, and permits them to reign no longer than it pleaſeth him. He raiſes whom he pleaſes out of the duſt, a ſhepherd, or ſome perſon unknown, of whom no man ever thought, to ſit upon a throne; and makes Kings, whoſe power appeared to be firmly eſtabliſhed, to deſcend from them. He ſets bounds to reigning families, which they ſhall not paſs; he changes, transfers, divides, affirms, and deſtroys kingdoms. He deals with them as the potter does with the earth, which he moulds into what faſhion he pleaſes.

It is he who keeps the people united, and nations in peace: that reſpect and fidelity which ſubjects ſhew to their princes flows from him. When he withdraws his protection, all is agitated and diſturbed; the minds of men grow unquiet; they divide and ſeparate; he permits revolts, and ſuffers them to ſucceed. On the other ſide, he inſpires concord and obedience when every thing appears contrary to it: he is the maſter of mens wills, and diſpoſes of thoſe of Kings with the ſame authority, and with the ſame facility that we confine or give a courſe to water, by opening or ſtopping up the conduits which are made for its conveyance.

It is he that inſpires courage to armies, or takes it from them: it is he that gives prudence to Generals, or delivers them up to a ſpirit of folly. The beſt concerted policy, is folly near him; and the wiſeſt precautions, when not favoured by him, turn into ſnares.

When the condition of princes and of kingdoms appears moſt ſettled and moſt happy, they are neareſt to their fall. God keeps ſome men in reſerve to humble their pride, of whom they are leaſt afraid.

Luxury, plenty, pleaſures, the pride of building coſtly houſes, and adorning them in a ſuperb manner, are commonly the fore-runners of the ruin of ſtates, and of the humiliation that ſucceeds. When God does not give them up to ſtrangers, which ſometimes it is his will to do, he cauſes a deſolation as great, by ſcarcity, famine, mortality, grievous taxes, and long wars.

That which is moſt diſpleaſing to God in the perſons of princes, and which ſooneſt draws his divine indignation down upon them, is their pride, which carries them ſo far as to look upon themſelves as independent, and to imagine themſelves more wiſe, and more knowing than other men, and as meriting thoſe honours which are render'd to them.

The moſt terrible puniſhment of their pride is, when God ſuffers them to give themſelves up entirely to it, without calling them back to himſelf, by ſome act of humiliation; when he permits them to be harden'd in it, inſtead of the bringing them to a ſenſe of themſelves.

The conſequence of this puniſhment, at once terrible and ſecret, is, to be always led aſtray by flattery. This hath always been the character of bad princes, who have all been enemies to the liberty of men of honour, and who have all given ear to thoſe ſeducers who have deceived them.

The intereſts of prince and people are inſeparable; the one is often puniſhed for the crimes of the other: and it is not enough for either prince or people to be ſeparately virtuous; they ought to unite in a mutual concurrence to virtue, a union like that of a father and his children.

When God is irritated againſt a kingdom, it manifeſts itſelf by the imprudence which he ſuffers to enter into their publick counſels; but this imprudence is called by the name of wiſdom: ſuch an infatuation governs them, that they think their meaſures moſt ſalutary when they are running upon a precipice."

UNIVERSAL SPECTATOR, *Feb.* 9.

Different uſe of Words.

NOthing has conduced more to the deluſion of mankind, than the different ſenſe which is given to *words*. This may ſeem a very extraordinary maxim; but I believe, on due conſideration, no one will diſpute the truth of it.

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it. Though words are in themſelves merely empty ſounds, yet the meaning we beſtow on them gives them reputation, and makes them uſeful. It was therefore the *idea* which firſt created the word; but through an abuſe of theſe ſounds, men have annexed *ſeveral ideas* to the *ſame word*, and have thereby made the ſenſe of it ſo equivocal, that a word may import one thing as well as another, and different men may have different conceptions of one and the ſame ſound.

To conſider this topick ſo far as it concerns religion or politicks, would, inſtead of being confined to an eſſay, ſwell into ſeveral voluminous diſſertations: for there are an infinite number of words in both, which have been tortured into infinite variations, and have been illuſtrated and explained out of their original ſignifications. As from this *abuſe* and *inaccuracy* of ſpeech, errors in underſtanding the meaning of others muſt frequently occur, it is often as requiſit to be acquainted with the perſon who ſpeaks, as to hear the mere words which he utters. To be *good*, one would think was ſuch a kind of deſcription of a perſon, that every one would receive it in the ſame ſenſe; but *goodneſs* carries with its ſound different ideas, according to what end of the town it may be uttered at, and who the perſon may be of whom it is ſpoken. By a *good man* ſome people would mean only a perſon of a benevolent, humane, virtuous and religious mind; and ſuch a character only is juſtly adequate to the phraſe: but if on the *Change*, or in any tranſactions of *money-affairs*, the character of being a *good man* is given to any perſon, the hearer has no ideas of how much *virtue* he has, but how much *wealth*; and if he is *good* enough to pay his *bills*, never thinks about his *morality*. But this phraſe to be *good* is no more tortured from its natural ſenſe, than another very common one, *viz.* to be *happy*. It is a frequent expreſſion to ſay ſuch a one is *very happy*; yet at the ſame time, without the character of the ſpeaker is known, no one can know what he means by being *happy*. The ſentiments of *happineſs* are ſo various, that very few can agree in what it conſiſts: A *beau* thinks himſelf happy when he is well dreſſed; a *coquet*, when admired; a *rake*, when with his miſs; and a *ſot*, with his bottle: among people of rank, *happineſs* ſignifies power, titles and equipage; among the covetous, it is a great eſtate: ſome Ladies place it in *quadrille*; others, in a *lap-dog*.

As this abuſe of the ſenſe of words is grown ſo common, we can never too ſtrictly guard ourſelves from being led into errors by a miſapplication of their proper meaning; for, by not making a right diſcernment, we may fall into miſtakes, and thoſe of the greateſt conſequence. As theſe thoughts have occurred to me from the peruſal of a correſpondent's letter, I ſhall here inſert it, as it will more fully illuſtrate the preceeding obſervations.

Mr STONECASTLE,

THere are ſeveral inconveniencies ariſe in life, more from a wrong idea conceived of *words*, than any other cauſe; it therefore may not be a diſagreeable undertaking, to point out a very great evil, and ſhew how prejudicial it is to mankind to have falſe conceptions of phraſes and expreſſions.

There is a peculiar phraſe which the generality of people uſe as a deſcription of what would eſtabliſh their happineſs; that is, to have the *neceſſaries* of *life*.

If we examine this expreſſion of the *neceſſaries* of *life*, how plain it ſeems; yet how undetermined is its meaning, few annexing the ſame ideas to the ſound of the words? The ancient philoſophers reſtrained this phraſe within a very narrow compaſs, and meant only by it to have coarſe victuals, and a plain garb: what was ſufficient to ſupport life, they thought was alone neceſſary to it. *Diogenes* particularly compriſed all his neceſſaries in a ſcrip to hold his meat, and a bowl to drink out of: yet even here he found a ſuperfluity; for ſeeing a boy one day on a river's ſide ſucking up water out of the hollow

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hollow of his hand, with great indignation threw away his bowl as an unneceſſary burden.

When *Rome* was in its infancy, its heroes and Conſuls were of this philoſophical way of thinking: they till'd their lands with their own hands, and on publick occaſions they were often taken from the plough to command armies: nor when the war was finiſhed had they any eſteem for pomp, but laid down the purple, and took up the ſpade and plough again. Though they reckoned the conveniencies of life to be only ſuch as were neceſſary for nature; yet, as their poſterity grew more polite, their neceſſaries grew more extenſive: that is, they began to conceive other ideas of what was, or was not ſo; and under the title of the conveniencies of life, they underſtood all that art could invent, and luxury introduce.

The different idea of *neceſſaries* at different times, is not more applicable to the *Roman* people, than to any of our modern nations: and the people of this iſland have even in a century or two mightily enlarged their notions in this reſpect; for what in Queen *Beſs*'s days was unknown, are now placed in the liſt of the neceſſaries of life.

When we hear perſons thus expreſs themſelves about the uſe of any thing, *O! I ſhould die without it*, it demonſtrates that they think it abſolutely neceſſary to ſupport their being, without which life and ſoul could not be kept together: it cannot therefore but make any one ſmile to obſerve what a whimſical liſt of neceſſaries a modern converſation would furniſh. *Spleenetta* cannot live without her *tea*, tho' it gives her the cholick, the which ſhe muſt cure by a large cup of brandy: *Bellaria* would infallibly die was ſhe deprived of her *ſnuff*, tho' it gives her a continual head-ach: *Tom Jolly*, a country 'Squire, could not live without his *fox-hounds*; and *Billy Butterfly* would as ſoon be out of the world as out of the pink of the mode, or the ſide-boxes on the firſt night of a new play. But as fantaſtical as theſe neceſſaries may ſeem, a great part of the world have ſo habituated themſelves to theſe, or others as ridiculous, that it would be next to an impoſſibility for them to lay them aſide.

Wrong ideas being annexed to words, though always leading to introduce error, they are never of worſe conſequence than when they are inſtilled into children. It is with ſome concern that I have obſerved, that in this polite age, children are by the example of their parents taught to regard the ſuperfluities of life as things neceſſary; and indeed what is impoſſible for them to live without. From hence there flows a torrent of evils which are notoriouſly diſcernible, and the chief cauſes of that extravagance which has been for ſome years ſo univerſally complained of.—This ſubject is of too copious a nature to enter on here, as it requires an eſſay peculiar to itſelf.

In this examination into the falſe meaning of the neceſſaries of life, I would not be underſtood to adviſe all mankind to turn *Stoicks*, and not allow themſelves ſuch indulgences as are requiſit to ſooth the cares and fatigues of life: ſo far from it, that I think a wiſe man may enjoy the elegancies of life; nor does he offend againſt decency, ſo long as he avoids running into luxury and extravagance.

But having found fault with the miſtakes which mankind fall into by a miſconſtruction of this phraſe, the *neceſſaries of life*, it may ſeem proper to ſhew what I think a rational conſtruction of theſe words.

Nature requires but few *neceſſaries*; it would be prudent therefore not to raiſe *imaginary* wants. If we view the *vices* and *follies* of thoſe who have a more affluent fortune than ourſelves, we ſhould make their eſtates and equipages moderate our ambitious deſires; which, inſtead of being neceſſary to contentment, are too often attended with miſery and diſquietude: we ſhould change the proſpect, and then we ſhould immediately behold thouſands and ten thouſands of unhappy fellow-creatures among whom the *neceſſaries* of *life* are truly wanting. The moderation of our *deſires* can alone give an idea of what is

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is *neceſſary* or *ſuperfluous*; and he is more rich, whoſe wiſhes are bounded by his fortune, than he, who, poſſeſſing empires, ſtill deſires ſomewhat more.

For that ſomewhat unpoſſeſs'd,
Corrodes and levens all the reſt.

Of all wiſhes as to fortune, *Give me neither poverty nor riches*, ſeems the moſt calculated for true happineſs; I would therefore recommend it to your readers, and it would be the beſt means to prevent their having any wrong *idea* of the *neceſſaries* of *life*. *I am*, &c.

MODERATUS.

COMMON SENSE, *Feb.* 9.

Promotion of Mr Fat *the Chimney-ſweeper.*

Hic niger eſt, hunc tu Romane caveto.

AS I am a man of general humanity, I was not a little pleas'd to ſee, ſome time ago, in our news-papers, that Mr *Fat*, a Gentleman of a black complexion, had the honour of being made Chimney-ſweeper to his Majeſty's palaces, a place of conſiderable profit.

I have frequently condoled with that unhappy people on the ill uſage they meet with from the reſt of mankind, which I think is neither juſtifiable on the footing of humanity, or religion, and am glad to ſee an inſtance of *Engliſh* generoſity extending itſelf to perſons of all complexions.

I have not the honour of being perſonally acquainted with Mr *Fat*; but by the opinion every body hath of the Lord *C*——*n*'s deep penetration, and profound judgment, who ſits, like *Apollo* on his throne, *ſole arbiter of wit*, I muſt pronounce, that there hath not been an employment more properly and worthily diſpoſed of even by the Prime M—— himſelf, than that of Chimney-ſweeper to his Majeſty.

I conceive, that Chimney-ſweeper is full as honourable, and a much more uſeful employment, than either Porter to St *James*'s gate, Letter-carrier or Gardener to the palaces, or Purveyor of coals and candles to a guard-room at *Edinburgh*, though the perſons who enjoy the three laſt have long had the honour of ſitting amongſt our legiſlators.

As all who are preferred to any poſt, ſeem to lie under an obligation of getting themſelves returned (by ſome means or other) into a certain aſſembly, I hope, the next vacancy that happens in a *Corniſh* ——, to ſee Mr *Fat*'s black face in the midſt of his brother placemen, approving and applauding the next convention. Though his hands are not as white, they are as clean as the beſt of them; and, I dare anſwer for it, he will act according to his conſcience as ſtrictly as any perſon now in employment.

I hope this honour will prove a ſtep to higher preferment: for, though I will not derogate from Mr *Fat*'s merit by ſuppoſing he wants parts; yet, if he did, that want would be moſt abundantly ſupplied by being returned for ſome poor little ——; by which he will acquire the privilege, without ſtudy, practice, or common ſenſe, of being qualified for any employment in the ſtate.

He may certainly ſerve as a Land-Admiral with great reputation. There is ſomething martial in his countenance that muſt make a good figure at the head of a regiment on a review-day: beſides, it ought to add ſome reputation to his character, that, in his buſineſs, he hath often ſtood fire; which is more than can be ſaid of any of our late preferred heroes.

I know one objection may lie againſt his being admitted a member: It may occaſion a nickname to be fixed upon the whole party. As he muſt (under the penalty of loſing his employment) become a thorough placeman, and obey orders like the reſt, people might be apt to enquire, How did the *Blacks* behave to-day? Did the *Negroes* carry it? —As placemen are now become deteſtable, they would certainly be ſtigmatized with the name of * *Negroes*; but I hope this is no time to be frightened with words.

* *The reader is deſired to pronounce it* Negers, *that pronunciation ſitting the perſons here deſcribed.*

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The promotion of this Gentleman to so proper a post made me rummage all the chambers of my imagination, to find out some other employment suitable to that complexion; and, after much application and long study, I have discover'd, that a black complexion may suit the Ministerial office full as well as the office of Chimney-sweeper; which I shall make out with great clearness of argument, to the satisfaction of all persons, except such as may have some hopes of stepping in themselves the next vacancy.

In the *first* place, People of this complexion, especially in our climate, are observed not to be long-liv'd; which will occasion a quick succession of Ministers, and give a spirit to those in inferior posts; who, without languishing with long expectation, may hope to rise in their turns. I presume this will not be counted a weak reason for chusing a Minister, which is often the most prevailing one for chusing a Pope.

Secondly, As the case now stands, a Minister that is addicted to gallantry, may gain his wicked will of a young woman, by corrupting her relations with places, to the great scandal of several families. But I should think that a Black, tho' possessed of all the charms attending power, could never make a young woman yield, unless he addressed upon honourable terms, and made a swinging settlement for pin-money.

Thirdly, As this complexion carries some terror in it, a Minister so accomplished, may be able to procure us something that we have not known a great while; that is, a little respect from our neighbours: for we have reason to know, to our cost, that though pacifick fleets and Hide-park armies make a great noise, and cost a world of money, they frighten no body.

Fourthly, This complexion might be of singular use to the Minister himself in certain cases. If he had committed ten thousand blunders, and told twice as many lies to conceal those blunders, he might be able to shew his face again without blushing; for *honest black disdains to change its colour*.

I know that one person in the world of our own complexion may brag of an unchanging countenance; or, as the poet expresses it, *nulla pallescere culpa*. But, as it is looked upon to be monstrous and unnatural, he hath been detested for it, and every body thinks it a quality not to be endured in any thing but a Negro.

If it be objected, That the education of a Black cannot qualify him for such high business; I answer, That there have been Ministers and Negotiators who have been bred up pretty much like Negroes. But, to knock this objection quite on the head, I can prove that the common education of a Black may fit certain circumstances of a Minister.

A Black, by being of an adust constitution, may be prone to choler; yet, if he should be kick'd, (for some Ministers have taken a kicking,) having been used to correction, he will be disposed to bear it; which, let me tell you, may be very convenient for carrying on business.

If it be ask'd, How a Black would act, in case of a war? I answer, That it is his business to prevent war; which, by bribing at home and sacrificing the interest of the nation abroad, may be brought to bear.

I had like to have forgot one advantage, which must accrue to the publick by seeing a Gentleman of this complexion at the head of affairs; which is, that having no foolish and beggarly relations, (for I suppose him stoln young from his own country), the employments of the state may be given to persons of some abilities.

He might, indeed, be a little partial to those of his own complexion; and you might see black Lords of the Treasury, black Secretaries of State, black Admirals, black Generals, very black Plenipotentiaries, and Commissaries, *&c.*

As to ribbons, no people are so fond of them as your Negroes; nay, he might fancy that lawn sleeves might become his complexion. But this partiality could scarce affect our present set of placemen; who, as I take it, would soon make themselves as black as the devil, rather

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than run the hazard of being turn'd out of employment.

At more leiſure, I ſhall conſider what places may ſuit a Malotto, and what a Jamba, *&c.* for, I think, it would be pretty to ſee a motly miniſtry. What tho' they could not put the ſame face upon a publick meaſure? they might v— all alike; which comprehends the whole ſyſtem of modern politicks.

As Chimney-ſweepers and Miniſters have the ſame ambition to climb, I ſhould think it much for the advantage of the publick that the two offices ſhould be, hereafter, united and executed by one and the ſame perſon: A ruſtling-pole will become ſome hands full as well as a white-ſtaff.

A Chimney-ſweeper, as I hinted before, is at all times a uſeful member of a commonwealth; which is more than can be ſaid of a Miniſter. The firſt, by a timely application of his art, prevents fires; whereas, the laſt ſometimes puts the whole nation into a flame.

It may be objected, That no body could do buſineſs with a Chimney-ſweeping Miniſter without the danger of being ſmutted. The ſame thing hath been ſaid of a man in power, who never ſwept chimneys, when every man that came near him hath been looked upon as a very dirty fellow.

The Miniſterial office hath, at certain times, loſt all reſpect. The reaſon is plain: When the world deſpiſes the man, they will ſoon deſpiſe his trade. But if theſe two offices were join'd, it might contribute towards recovering his credit.

It may be obſerved, that, when a Chimney-ſweeper walks the ſtreets, every body pays a more than ordinary regard to his perſon; not only Gentlemen, but Ladies fall back to him.

If a Gentleman of this profeſſion was placed at the head of affairs, his *Sootineſs* would no ſooner make his appearance, but all ranks and ſexes would give him the compliment of the way. Foreign Ambaſſadors might underſtand it as a mark of reſpect, and ſend an account to their reſpective courts that the Miniſter was extremely popular; which would certainly add no ſmall weight to his negotiations abroad.

If any body fancies an inconſiſtency in the two profeſſions, it being the duty of the Chimney-ſweeper to keep the palace clean, while a miniſter may think of nothing but filling it with dirt; I anſwer, I ſee no reaſon, why a man (let his power be never ſo great) ought not to be his own ſcavinger.

To clean a ſtable was one of the labours of *Hercules*. If a palace be neglected, it will ſoon become as naſty as a ſtable. I ſhould think, therefore, that he ſhould be obliged one day to ſweep all the dirty fellows out of the palace by virtue of the office of Chimney-ſweeper, which he had brought into it the day before as Miniſter.

The nation never ſtood in more need of a ſaving ſcheme than at this preſent, which makes me wiſh to ſee theſe two employments very ſoon united; and, for the ſame reaſon, I think, the ſalary of Chimney-ſweeper ſufficient for both.

When a great man had diſmiſs'd the crowd of ſlaves that waited upon his levee, I ſhould think it an agreeable ſight to behold him creeping up a chimney with his broom in his hand, and popping out his head at top; becauſe this nation hath, for many years, wiſh'd for nothing ſo much as to ſee the head of a Miniſter exalted.

I conclude with obſerving, that, as there have been Miniſters who were fit for nothing but to be made Chimney-ſweepers, I ſee no reaſon why a Chimney-ſweeper may not be made a Miniſter.

CRAFTSMAN, *Feb.* 16.

Publick conduct in carrying on the preſent war.

WHen a juſt and neceſſary war is commenced, it is certainly the duty of *thoſe* who are intruſted with the management of it, to proſecute it with the utmoſt vigour, till reaſonable terms are obtained from the *enemy*, or ſome great victory decides the matter in diſpute between the *contending parties*.

I may venture to aſſert, that no war was

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was ever more just and necessary, from the beginning of the world to this day, than our present one against *Spain*; and therefore we cannot doubt of God's blessing upon our arms, without any *fasting* or *humiliation*. It is true, indeed, that the sins of the *common people* are always very great and manifold; or else there would be no occasion for the form in our *liturgy* to confess, and repent of them, as well as to be absolved, every time they attend divine service. But if the *present war* is a judgment of God upon us, it is not for the sins of the *common people*, but those of a much higher rank; who ought to *fast* and *humiliate* themselves, in a more than ordinary manner, for the calamities they have brought upon this nation.

However, let the *war* have been kindled either by *divine wrath*, or the folly of *mortal men*, all secondary means ought to be used, for pushing it on with success. Whether this hath been hitherto done, I must leave the world to judge; but one thing is certain, that no supplies of money, men, ammunition, or provisions have been wanting. The *parliament* hath liberally granted every thing that was asked of them. Our *land-forces* are augmented to a formidable number, unless they are employed in *foreign service*; and almost our *whole navy* is put into commission. But tho' a war hath been proclaimed against *Spain*, almost four months ago; and notwithstanding the prodigious armaments which have been made, both by *sea* and *land*, we have received no authentick account of any descent upon the *Spanish* coasts either in *Europe* or *America*, nor of any considerable enterprize at *sea*, except a little *privateering*, which I am afraid hath turn'd more to the advantage of the *Spaniards* than the *English*.

In the mean time, our own people at home have been put to great difficulties, and laboured under the most extraordinary distresses by the present rigour of the season; which hath been in a great measure increased by *embargoes*, *impressing*, and other methods.

The present price of *coals* is not only a very great hardship upon the *poor*, but even the *rich*, and chiefly occasion'd by the *present war*; for, by the hot press upon the *colliers* and *coasters*, notwithstanding the protections granted to them, the town was not half supplied with fuel before the hard weather began; which no exigences of state ought to prevent in so large and populous a city. *Interdictio aquæ & ignis* was looked upon as a sort of capital punishment amongst the *Romans*, because life cannot be supported without the help of *fire* and *water*. The present exorbitant price of *coals* is almost an interdiction to the *poor*; and it is a melancholy sound to hear *water* cried about the streets. Great numbers of poor wretches have already perished with hunger and cold; and if God had not opened the hearts of those who have it in their power to relieve the distressed, we should long ago have seen the town heap'd up with *dead*, as in the time of a *plague*. But charity was never more liberally, nor more properly bestow'd, than it hath been during this severe season, throughout all parts of the kingdom; and I hope will be continued till the weather breaks; for there are multitudes of poor housekeepers, and industrious artificers, who cannot work at this time, and therefore are the most deserving objects of charity. In several *arbitrary countries* there are publick granaries, or storehouses, in order to supply the state, in cases of emergency; which I think deserves the imitation of *free nations*, under certain regulations and conditions. —But, to proceed,

The people of *England* having been put to a vast expence, and very great inconveniencies, besides those already mention'd, for supporting a war against our cruel and insulting enemies, it is hoped and expected that it will be carried on with all possible vigour. The honour of *his Majesty*, the credit of *his Ministers*, and the safety of *his People* require it. We have already depended too much upon *lenitive* and *palliative remedies*. Since therefore the *sword* is drawn, let the *sword* decide the question between us; whether the *Spaniards* are to continue their usurp'd power in the

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American ocean; or whether we ſhall not be able to maintain our juſt and moſt undoubted right to a free navigation in *thoſe ſeas*. Let the *ſword* likewiſe determine, whether we are to receive any reparation for our *paſt loſſes* and *indignities*.

I cannot poſſibly believe the accounts publiſh'd in ſome of our late news-papers, that the court of *Spain* hath the impudence to demand the reſtitution of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*, in conſideration of ſome advantages granted to us, in our *American trade*, to which we have already as much right as any nation upon the face of the earth; and the ceſſion of *Corſica* to us, which is no doubt of much more importance than *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*, though his pretended Majeſty, King *Theodore*, might poſſibly claim it again, and be ſupported by ſome *foreign power* in reſtoring him to the crown, which was almoſt unanimouſly fixed upon his royal head, by the voice of the people, whom he delivered from the tyrannical yoke of the *Genoeſe* government.

But we can have no reaſon to apprehend that the *war* will not be carried on, for the future, with the utmoſt vigour, whilſt we are bleſſed with a couple of *Norfolk miniſters*, who are proverbially famous for *litigiouſneſs*, and ſpinning out a *law-ſuit* as long as they can get any thing by it, which ſeveral perſons of *that country* are known to have done with great facility, and with little knowledge, or trouble.

But if this litigious ſpirit of the *Norfolk men* ſhould be extinguiſhed, and turned into the bleſſed art of *peace-making*, let them give us a little ſpecimen of their ſkill in negotiation, and correct ſome of their former blunders.

The *venal advocates of theſe worthy Gentlemen* are pleaſed to extol the conduct of the *war*, and the great ſucceſs of it, ſince it began; for we have taken *two Caracca ſhips*, though the *Aſſogues*, of much greater value, happen'd to ſlip by us in a *miſt*, or a *fog*; as a *Spaniſh* ſhip, laden with proviſions and ammunition for the ſiege of *Gibraltar*, did once before, under the very ſtern of our Admiral.

Nothing is more neceſſary to a *ſquadron of ſhips*, which are deſign'd for real ſervice, than to ſupply them with good and wholeſome proviſions, eſpecially in long voyages, and ſultry climates. — I hope therefore the ſtricteſt care is taken as to this particular, and that the orders from above are punctually obeyed at the *victualling-office*; though a rumour flies about, that ſome complaints of this kind have been lately made; and I am even informed that there is a perſon who will undertake to prove, that great quantities of *beef* and *pork* actually ſtunk before it was ſent abroad. —This, if true, muſt be owing either to the *badneſs of the commodities*, when bought up, to the want of ſkill in *ſalting* them, or to ſome *corrupt gains* made by thoſe concerned in the management of our *victualling*.

I have heard one man declare, that having contracted to ſupply the navy with a large number of bullocks, and neglecting to make the *uſual preſent*, upon ſuch occaſions, the *cattle* were thrown back upon his hands, under pretence that they were not fit for his Majeſty's ſervice; upon which he privately employ'd another man to offer the *very ſame oxen*, and by tipping a bank-note of *two hundred pounds* into proper hands, they were reported to be very good meat, and accordingly received.

The nation pays for ſound and wholeſome proviſions, of all ſorts; and therefore the *poor ſeamen* ought to have them, whether they enter voluntarily, or are preſſed into the ſervice; eſpecially thoſe who are lock'd down under hatches, during this rigorous ſeaſon: and yet I am very well informed, by a Gentleman who happened to go on board one of our *tenders* in the river, that no leſs than *eleven poor wretches* had died in two or three days, and ſeveral others were almoſt famiſh'd with hunger and cold, for want of proper care.

Theſe things deſerve the ſtricteſt enquiry of parliament; and if any perſons ſhould be found guilty of ſuch enormous practices, they ought to be puniſhed in the moſt exemplary manner; for, when we are engag'd in a very expenſive war, how

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how can we expect that our men will fight with chearfulneſs, and vigour, without good uſage? or how ſhall we be able to ſupport it, without ſaving all the money we can?

LONDON GAZETTE, *Feb.* 23.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Victualling-office, Feb. 22.

WHereas in the Country Journal *or* Craftſman *of the 16th of this preſent month, there is inſerted the following paragraph,* viz. "*Nothing is more neceſſary to a ſquadron of ſhips,* &c. [down to the end of *par.* 1. *col.* 2. *p.* 60.]:" *This is to give notice, That the printer and publiſher of the ſaid paper will be proſecuted for the ſame as far as the law will permit, unleſs he ſhall before the firſt day of the next term diſcover to the perſon whoſe name is hereto ſubſcribed, the man who is ſaid to have given the ſaid information, ſo as he may be proſecuted as the law permits; who will, when diſcover'd, be accordingly proſecuted, unleſs he ſhall in like manner produce the perſon who is ſaid to be willing to undertake the proof of the fact therein mentioned.*

And whereas in the ſaid Country Journal *there is inſerted the following paragraph, viz.* "*I have heard one man declare,* &c. [down to the end of *par.* 2. *col.* 2. *p.* 60.]:" *This is to give notice, That the printer and publiſher of the ſaid paper will in like manner be proſecuted for the ſame, unleſs he ſhall diſcover as aforeſaid, the man who is ſaid to make the declaration above mentioned. And if the perſon ſpoken of in the firſt of theſe paragraphs will prove, that great quantities of beef and pork that actually ſtunk, were ſent abroad for the uſe of his Majeſty's navy, as it is therein alledged he will undertake to prove, he ſhall on ſuch proof receive the ſum of fifty pounds from the perſon ſubſcribed hereto. Or if the man who in the ſecond paragraph is ſaid to have declared to the writer of the ſaid paper as therein is contained, will prove the fraud therein charged, he ſhall receive on making ſuch proof, from the perſon hereto ſubſcribed, the ſum of one hundred pounds.—By order of the Commiſſioners for victualling his Majeſty's navy,*

Seth Jermy, *Secretary.*

WEEKLY MISCELLANY, *Feb.* 16.

True Self-love commendable.

TRue ſelf-love takes in not only the *love of God,* but the love of *one another,* as a natural ſource of our *own* happineſs. As a *created* being cannot be happy independent of its *creator,* ſo neither could it be the will of our common father, that we, his children, all partaking of the ſame nature, intended to be fellow-members of one ſociety, ſtanding in need of a mutual intercourſe of good offices for the ſupport of mutual happineſs; it could not, I ſay, be the will of infinite wiſdom, that beings, thus allied by nature and attached by intereſt, ſhould have no regard for each others happineſs. If every man were, like his maker, the *ſource* of his own happineſs; yet ſtill it would be rational and god-like to deſire the good of other beings: but our common wants and mutual dependencies on each other, make *ſeparate* and *independent* happineſs, and, conſequently, *ſelf-love* excluſive of the love of *other men* with whom we are united, utterly abſurd. It is demonſtration; demonſtration? it is *ſelf-evident,* that beings who cannot be happy without the aſſiſtance of each other, cannot be happy without the *love* of each other; ſince, without ſuch a mutual benevolence, there will not be a natural incitement to mutual aſſiſtance. We are all *parts* of a *whole*; and all the parts, when in their proper ſituation, and performing their natural operations, conſpire towards the *common* welfare: but whenever any part ceaſes to act with this *relative* view, the unnatural and prejudicial influence of ſuch irregular movements will gradually circulate, till it affects every part of the confederated machine. What would become of thoſe miſcreants who make themſelves, *alone,* the centre of all their views, without any regard to the welfare of a community, if every member of it were to adopt the ſame narrow principle, and purſue the ſame confined ſcheme? To ſuch *contracted* minds I will not mention the noble exalted pleaſure of *benevolence* and *publick-ſpiritedneſs.*

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ness. I might as well talk to a man who has loſt his hearing, or the reliſh of harmony, of the raptures excited by *muſick*. The excellency of *muſick*, indeed, and the *natural* effect of *harmony* are the ſame; but theſe men have not the ſame faculty of taſting them: and, to cover their own incapacity, they would have it thought that there are no ſuch objects, or faculties. But I aſk them, what muſt be the *conſequence*, if every man were to follow *their* maxim, and endeavour to make a property of *them*, as they ſtudy how to make a property of *every body elſe*? *If ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not conſumed one of another*. This is the advice of *inſpiration*, but the *Apoſtle* ſpoke nothing more than the dictate of common ſenſe, and the voice of experience. The reaſon why theſe wretches are not conſumed by their own corrupted, profligate, deteſtable, mean principles, is, becauſe, thanks be to God, notwithſtanding their *impolitick* endeavours to ſpread the evil, it is not become *univerſal*; but the reaſon why our condition is ſo wretched, our ruin, in all human appearance, approaching apace, is, becauſe it is *too general*. It is become the buſineſs of old fellows, hardened in the ways of *corruption* and *inhumanity*, to teach the growing age an evil leſſon againſt themſelves and mankind. If a virtuous young Gentleman, in the hearing of theſe *veterans* in vice, advances ſentiments becoming a rational and ſocial being; like a keen *Eaſt* wind, they nip the promiſing bud of probity and honour, that it may not bring forth any fruit beneficial either to publick or private life. All *principle* they repreſent as invented by knavery, recommended by oratory; but having no foundation in nature, no excellency in itſelf; practiſed only by *novices* who are ignorant of the world, but deſpiſed by all *wiſe* men. After ſuch a lecture from a ſage tutor, ſuppoſed to be a perſon of more experience, knowledge and judgment, no wonder if the enlightened pupil, prompted by *luſt*, forms a ſcheme immediately to betray his friend, debauch his ſiſter, or his wife, perhaps the ſiſter or the wife of his kind maſter who ſet him at liberty; if, at the inſtigation of *avarice*, he ſecretly defrauds, or openly oppreſſes him; if, when called by the inchanting voice of *ambition*, he liſts in a combination to dethrone his prince, or enſlave his fellow-ſubjects; if, to compaſs his end, he breaks the ſtrongeſt ties of nature, violates the moſt ſacred laws, diſſembles, over-reaches, over-bears, plunders, or even aſſaſſinates. If theſe acts of *violence* are not oftener committed, it cannot be aſcribed to any thing but the inviſible hand of *providence*; which, in mercy, or for other wiſe ends of government, reſtrains the licentious from acting agreeably to the direction of their ſentiments, and the natural impulſe of their paſſions. For, what elſe can poſſibly hinder the *lover*, ſet looſe from all the bonds of *nature* and of *grace*, from hiring a neceſſitous perſon, as wicked as himſelf, to *poiſon* or *murder* any one who ſtands between him and the object of his paſſion? what elſe can ſet bounds to a puſhing, but diſappointed politician, without any ſentiments of *religion* or *humanity*? what elſe can ſtop the raging thirſt of *revenge*, but that power which could ſay to the foaming, toſſing billows, *Hither ſhall ye come, and no farther*? If any thing can affect ſuch a debaſed and proſtituted mind, a ſtrong image of the dreadful, ſhocking confuſion and deſolations that muſt ariſe to any community from the vitious *ſelf-love* which I have been conſidering, muſt do it. I would, therefore, deſire one of theſe propagators of *corruption*, to *imagine* a community of men (if *they* may be called a *community* who are not united together by ſome common ties of *principle* and *affection*) without any notions of a *providence* and a *future ſtate* of *rewards* and *puniſhments*, without any ſentiments of *virtue*, without any feelings of *humanity*, without any regard to *publick good*; every one purſuing his ſcheme of *private* and *ſeparate* happineſs, following the call of his own particular taſte for pleaſure, and uſing any means to gain his end, (which is the deplorable condition that theſe mighty

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ty wife inſtructors would bring us into): then let him judge, whether ſuch a people would not be worſe than ſo many ſavage beaſts, preying upon one another? Such notions can never anſwer any purpoſes of *real prudence*, even with regard to *this* life only. For, if we be *young*, or but of *middle* age, we ſhall probably live to ſee the deſtruction of the nation, where-ever they prevail; in which common ruin we and our families muſt be involved. If we be advanced towards *old age*, all thoſe things which we are ſo intent to acquire at the expence of other peoples happineſs, are not worth the *trouble* of acquiring. There muſt be *ſome* danger, where our ſcheme obliges us to make ſo many enemies. There muſt be *ſome* intervals of inward uneaſineſs, where we continually offer violence to thoſe natural diſpoſitions which no man can entirely eradicate. There can be no *genuine* enjoyment, where the mind is not *coolly* ſatisfied with its own conduct upon *reaſonable* grounds. The *ſenſes* have in a great meaſure loſt their reliſh of life. But were the happineſs of ſuch an old age ever ſo compleat, it can be no more than the tranſient happineſs of a man going out of the world. Exquiſit folly and madneſs! Is this troubleſome, dangerous, unquiet, momentary ſtate, the only recompence for the loſs of an uninterrupted tranquillity and complacency of mind, the delicate pleaſure of ſeeing others happy, the rapturous joy that overflows the heart conſcious of its being the inſtrument of *communicating* happineſs? To give *pain*, is the buſineſs and the delight of reſtleſs *fiends*: to give *pleaſure*, is the employment and happineſs of the moſt perfect and happy beings.

COMMON SENSE, *Feb.* 16.

Propoſal for an academy to teach the ſcience of FAWNING *and* CRINGING.

SIR,

AS I am a ſtranger newly arriv'd in this country, and with the ſame view that moſt other ſtrangers come here, that is, to make my fortune, I do myſelf the honour to addreſs myſelf to you as a perſon capable of making my name and profeſſion known to the world: In which you may, perhaps, do yourſelf ſome kindneſs at the ſame time that you are ſerving me; for you will find that I ſhall ſoon creep into favour with ſome great men in this country. So that your endeavours to promote my intereſt may, perhaps, remove that prejudice which I find ſome of them have conceived againſt yourſelf.

To let you into my deſign, I intend to ſet up an academy to inſtruct young Noblemen and Gentlemen to riſe in the world; or in the art of growing rich. As I conceive there will, in a ſhort time, be but one way in this nation whereby it will be poſſible to acquire wealth, I ſhall make all my ſcholars perfect maſters of this myſtery.

If I have not ſufficiently explained myſelf, know, that I profeſs the art of making court to men in power; or, in a word, I profeſs the moſt noble and profitable ſcience of *Fawning* and *Cringing*.

Perhaps you will ſay, it is a trade that cannot take any where except in an arbitrary government.—That may be a great miſtake of your's. I have travell'd to all the courts of *Europe*, and, where-ever I began to practiſe, I was adviſed, by the wiſeſt men of the country, to make the beſt of my way to *England*. The laſt place I reſided in was *France*; where, I muſt confeſs, I did not meet with all that encouragement which my merit in my profeſſion might juſtly have intitled me to in a nation ſo polite; which is entirely owing to the odd humours of the old Gentleman, who, at preſent, preſides at the head of affairs in that kingdom; who is for reviving ſome antiquated maxims of government, which, I hope, will not be followed here, tho' *France* may lead the faſhion in other things.

I inſtructed half a dozen very pretty fellows ſo well, that I thought they might have made their way in any court of *Europe*; when, to my great ſurpriſe, the old Gentleman, before mentioned, ſignified to them, that it was expected, that every perſon who ſerved the King ſhould have a capacity and talents to qualify

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qualify him particularly for the poſt to which he pretended.—Was there ever ſuch an unreaſonable old prig? Nay, when I waited upon him myſelf, to offer my ſervice, a domeſtick was ſent to give me a civil whiſper, and adviſe me never to ſhew my face in his Eminency's preſence more; that men of my character were the perſons with whom he was reſolved never to have any communication whatſoever.

However, I did not deſpair of ſeeing a turn in my favour: for, conſidering his Eminency's great age, a cold, or ſome other ſlight indiſpoſition might have carried him off; and who knows but he might be ſucceeded by ſome perſon who might encourage our profeſſion? But an unlucky adventure obliged me not to wait for ſuch an event.

I happened to offer my ſervice to a man of Quality, whoſe private affairs were in ſuch a broken condition that I thought he would have taken any good employment: but he, being a perſon of a cholerick diſpoſition, inſtead of receiving my offer with that kindneſs I expected, kick'd me out of the room, in the ſight of ſeveral perſons; which ſtory being ſoon ſpread about, no Gentleman would admit me into his company after: for you muſt know, that fighting with a man, or for a man, is no part of my ſyſtem; ſo that it was high time for me to decamp.

Being informed, that patience is a virtue much practiſed in this country, both in publick and private affairs, and that kicking hath been ſo much in vogue among placemen of no ſmall figure, it ſcarce hurts a man's reputation, I flatter myſelf, that what diſgraced me in that country, will recommend me here.

As your military poſts are vaſtly profitable in this country, I will engage to inſtruct all Gentlemen in the art of war, according to the preſent diſcipline; I ſay, I will undertake to qualify any perſon, without hinderance of any other buſineſs, for any poſt in the army, from a Lieutenant-General down to an Enſign, in ſo ſhort a time as half an hour: that is to ſay, I will teach him how to look and dreſs, and ſalute at a review; as alſo, give him a genteel taſte in the choice of a field equipage: which, I conceive, is all in the art-military that is neceſſary to be known in your land-ſervice.

But, as it may be of much greater conſequence to put a man in a way of getting a poſt, than to inſtruct him how to behave when he is in it, I propoſe to throw in the laſt, *gratis*, to all thoſe who ſhall pay handſomely for the firſt.

It is well known, that the people of this nation have not naturally a good diſpoſition to learn this polite art; the Profeſſor promiſes, therefore, to take double pains.

As to the method of growing rich, taught by another Profeſſor, *viz.* by pronouncing certain monoſyllables, or walking three ſteps to the right, or fix to the left at the word of command; or by a nod, or by a ſign; it is no more than what I would undertake to teach an aſs to do in a week: beſides, that ſo ſtupid and eaſy a qualification muſt (as the country grows poor) ſo increaſe the number of pretenders to employments, that it will not be worth Gentlemens while to learn.

I promiſe to teach all my ſcholars ſome inſinuating and engaging manners, or a certain *je ne ſai quoi*, to diſtinguiſh them from others; and that will certainly give them the preference before all other pretenders whatſoever.

As ſucceſs in obtaining preferment conſiſts in knowing the vices and follies of the great man, the ſkill lies in applying the flattery to the weak ſide.

If, for example, he happens to be ſhamefully ignorant of the intereſts or policies of his own, or the neighbouring countries; or, in other words, a notorious blunderer; you muſt be ſure to extol his moſt profound knowledge and deep penetration in the affairs of *Europe*, and the great ſuperiority he ſhews over the miniſters of other nations, when he treats with them.

If his character be that of half-clown and half-buffoon, you have an ample field to expatiate upon; you muſt praiſe his agreeable wit, his fine addreſs, his elegant

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legant converſation, his eaſy manner, his delicate taſte in dreſs, not forgetting ſo much as his genteel manner of wearing his perriwig.

If it happens to be ſome military coward who never ſaw a campaign, or elſe run away in the only ſkirmiſh in which he was ever engaged; there the virtues of the hero muſt be laid on thick; every thing muſt be attributed to his courage, and you muſt never have done talking of his valour. In ſhort, if any perſon of Quality, or private Gentleman, that intends to do me the honour to become my ſcholar, will but diſcover who the perſon is to whom he is obliged to make court, I will put him in the way to do his buſineſs *ſecundum artem*.

I ſhall make two proviſos: firſt, That the great man to be applied to ſhall not, in any one quality, be like the old Gentleman in *France*; and next, That the ſcholar ſhall lay aſide all pretenſions to modeſty, as well as honour.

I inſtruct any Gentleman to act the part of a *but* to a man in power, that is, to accompany him only to be play'd upon, and take all his jokes; a method that never fails of recommending a man to ſuch perſons in power as have little wit, much impudence, and no humanity.

I inſtruct younger brothers who have a mind to apply to rich widows, and fortune-hunters of all ſorts, at a reaſonable price.

Thoſe who propoſe to advance themſelves by being pimps, bawds, runners, or ſpies, *&c.* to men in power, may have private leſſons, if they deſire it.

I propoſe, that every ſcholar ſhall pay half the ſum at entrance, and the reſt as ſoon as he hath gone thro' the lectures.

The Profeſſor expects that every ſcholar ſhall, at his firſt preferment, that is to ſay, on the day he receives his patent, commiſſion, *&c.* over and above what he paid for learning, make him a preſent to the amount of five *per cent.* out of his firſt year's ſalary.

I propoſe to hire and furniſh a large *hotel*, by way of ſubſcription, in order to open my academy. In the mean time I am to be heard of at the ſign of the *Spaniel*, or *Setting-dog*, a perfumer's, near St *James*'s.

SIR,

I have the honour to be
Your moſt obſequious,
Your moſt devoted,
Your moſt humble ſervant,
JEAN FAINEANT.

P. S. Any Gentleman who has the honour to ſit in either houſe of ——, ſhall be inſtructed for half-price.

Any Gentleman who has a very handſome wife, in the prime of her youth, or a beautiful daughter at age of maturity, ſhall alſo be inſtructed for half-price.

Any woman of Quality (paying a price according) may be waited on at her own houſe, and inſtructed privately by my wife.

UNIVERSAL SPECTATOR, *Feb.* 16.

SIR,

IN our family your paper meets with a favourable reception; for which reaſon I ſend you this letter, as your annotations on it may be of ſome ſervice to me. — I am ſon, and at the ſame time Clerk to an eminent Attorney at law in this city. I am arrived to my twentieth year; which, if ever, is a time of life to have ſome little indulgences allowed me as to my private conduct. I do not, Mr *Spectator*, by *indulgences*, mean any ſanction for committing actions contrary to the rules of *morality*: but I muſt appeal to you, if it is reaſonable in my father to treat me at this age as if I was a ſchool-boy, and exerciſe a ſeverity, becauſe I am his ſon, contrary to juſtice, and I may ſay diſcretion? Sir, I have always acted with a *filial duty* and *tenderneſs* towards him, and ſure I have a right to expect a *paternal tenderneſs* in return; I want not *licentiouſneſs*, but *liberty*: In ſhort, for want of an allowance for *pocket-money*, I cannot keep company proper for my ſtation of life; and to keep any beneath it, is as contrary to my intereſt as my inclination. A hint, Mr *Stonecaſtle*, from you,

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you, might be of ſervice to me; for my father has a great regard to your manner of reaſoning: if the ſtate of my caſe deſerves one line of notice, pray beſtow it on *Your ſincere remonſtrancer*,

MISERABILIS.

The conduct of parents to their children has been often the ſerious ſubject of my lucubrations; and though I am far from giving too great a ſcope to the liberties of young people, yet I was always of opinion, that, according to their age, there were particular liberties they ſhould be indulg'd in. If the ſtate of the young Gentleman is true, as it ſeems to be, it deſerves immediate redreſs; and I would recommend to his father's reflection the following ſentiments of a father only by adoption. It is the ſpeech of *Micio* in the *Adelphi* of *Terence*; and the thoughts are as *juſt* as they are *tender* and *paternal*. "'Twas always my opinion, that 'tis much better to keep children in order by generoſity, than by fear; for that man is much miſtaken, who believes government, merely by force, ſhould have more authority, and a better foundation, than when 'tis accompany'd with *tenderneſs* and *reſpect*. This is my logick; I argue thus: He that's compell'd by threats to do his duty, will be dutiful no longer than you are ſtrict over him; but when he thinks he ſhall not be found out, he will follow his own inclinations: but he that is govern'd by love, obeys moſt chearfully, ſtrives to make his due returns of gratitude, and is the ſame whether you are preſent or abſent. It is a father's duty, to uſe his child ſo as his own choice, rather than conſtraint, ſhould induce him to act well. Here lies the difference between a father and a maſter; and he that acts otherwiſe, let him own that he does not underſtand to govern his children."

CRAFTSMAN, *Feb.* 23.

Arguments againſt a place-bill examined.

SIR,

THE miniſterial writers, by their own computation, [*See p.* 25. *above*] allow that there are at preſent TWO HUNDRED PLACEMEN in the *houſe of C—s*. They reckon theſe at *three years purchaſe*, and give a random gueſs at the property of *thoſe Gentlemen*, who poſſeſs them, which they equally divide. — A moſt accurate method of calculation, highly worthy of *that excellent computer*, and *great genius for expedients*, who ſign'd the *Bank-contract*, form'd *Exciſe-ſchemes*, and, in commiſeration of our *ſuffering merchants*, ſo wiſely compleated the *Convention*, which his *worthy advocates* have lately told us was ſo manifeſtly for the intereſt and advantage of *England*, that *Spain* would not put it in execution.

Is it not evident, at firſt ſight, that by this way of jumbling, the weight of *property* may be aſcribed to the *pooreſt beggar*? — Suppoſe, for inſtance, I ſhould affirm, that a *certain Noble perſon*, with his *coachman* and *two footmen*, had, within twenty years, rais'd from the publick a *million of money*; and that the *ſaid four worthy perſons*, were now actually worth 250,000 l. apiece, one with another: ſhould I not be thought a ridiculous trifler, if it was known that the *Honourable Knight* himſelf was worth the *whole million*, and that his *coachman* and *footmen* were not worth a groat? But if I ſhould farther make uſe of this argument, with an intention to deceive any body in matters of conſequence, and paſs *this coachman*, or *footmen*, upon other perſons for the ſecurity of conſiderable ſums of money; ought I not to be branded for a *cheat*? Yet, *dignities* and *titles* being laid aſide, this very argument is offer'd to the people of *England*, and at publick expence diſperſed round the nation, in order to induce *Engliſhmen* not to attempt the ſecurity of their liberties by the further limitation of *placemen* in the *houſe of Commons*.

By the above computation, *places* are allow'd to be worth *three years purchaſe*, and no more. — Pray let it be conſidered that *commiſſions in the army* are comprehended under this calculation; and then I will aſk the *Gentlemen of the army*, if *commiſſions* were to be open to *bargain* and *ſale*, as they have formerly been,

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been, whether *ten* or *twelve years purchase* would not be reckon'd very moderate, in case they had any reasonable assurance that they should not be turn'd out, without any other cause than the private disgust of an *arbitrary minister*, for not servilely obeying his *word of command*, where he hath nothing to do? of which they have lately seen several notable examples upon persons even of the highest distinction in the *army*.

But why are we to compute *civil employments* at no higher a value than *three years purchase*, if what the *ministerial advocates* justify is true, *that a* SEAT IN PARLIAMENT *is the road to* PREFERMENT? — Let any body look over the list of *placemen*, at this time and twenty years ago, and see how many Gentlemen, who have kept their *seats in parliament*, and concurr'd with the *ministry*, have lost the *places* which they had at first. — Nay, if we look farther back, may we not find that several Gentlemen, who were in *place* before, and ready to take on with the *present men in power*, were received with open arms? —Are there not many Gentlemen now in *place*, who have made themselves agreeable to *all administrations*, for these *five* or *six and twenty years*, which comes to more years purchase than *estates* will sell for in most counties? — At what period of time shall we reckon a *place* at but *three years purchase*? — Shall it be the *first place*, which a *young Gentleman* obtains? — Without looking amongst the numerous kindred and dependents of the *minister*, I apprehend it may be easily made appear, that many persons have received forty, fifty, or perhaps an hundred times the income of their *first places*; I don't mean by *jobbs* and *extra's*, but from the common and gradual advances from employment to employment, as I said before.

But this is still stronger, with relation to the *army*; for there will require no great skill in the computation to know what a considerable difference there is between the *lower ranks of the army*, or perhaps *half-pay*, and a *regiment*.

I cannot recollect one instance of any Gentleman's having lost his *place*, who steadily adhered to the interests of the *minister*; but many have succeeded to the *places* of their fathers and relations. — Very few have been in place for *seven years*, without being advanced. — There is not, I believe a single person in the kingdom, who cannot produce some instance to justify the truth of what I have said.

I shall therefore submit this *ministerial computation*, without any further remarks, to the reflection of all the unbiassed and uncorrupted part of the nation.

But it hath been lately alledged, That instead of any *further limitations*, the *present place-bill* itself goes too far, and therefore ought to be limited; for besides the number of *officers* already excluded from the *house of Commons*, such as those of the *Customs*, *Excise*, *Post-office*, the *Stamps*, and the *Salt*, one of *these writers* reckons the *Qualification-act*, the *Re-election-act*, and even the *Septennial act*, as sufficient and effectual restraints upon the members of the *house of Commons*.

As to the *Qualification-act*, though it was well intended, experience hath sufficiently shewn us, particularly in a *very late instance*, that it is very far from answering the end proposed; (for *temporary qualifications* may be easily obtained); and it cannot be forgot, that when *another bill* was brought into the *house*, some years ago, for rendering the design of the legislature effectual, it was thrown out, in a very extraordinary manner, upon the *third reading*.

The *Re-election-act* hath proved as defective as the *other*; for though we have now and then had an instance of a *member's* being rejected, upon his acceptance of a *place*, I will venture to assert, that there are twenty instances to one, on the *other side*. When a *member of parliament* hath been formerly tampering with the *court* for a *place*, it was the usual custom for the *ruling minister* to ask him, whether he was sure of being *re-elected*? or, if the *place* disqualified him to sit in *parliament*, whether he had interest enough to get *another* chosen in his room, at the recommendation of the

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Treasury? which hath been frequently made the condition of obtaining, and holding the *place*. — I know several instances of this nature myself, and am credibly informed of many others, in *former parliaments*; but I hope such practices are entirely suppressed at present. — If the *member* should happen to be at first chosen into some *little ministerial borough*, he runs no hazard of taking his *seat* again.

But the most notable assertion of all is, That the *Septennial act* is another restraint upon *members of parliament*, which renders a further *place-bill* unnecessary, because it will bind them to their good behaviour for *seven years*, on pain of being turned out at the *next election*. — Is not this a most excellent argument, and exactly agreeable to the characters of *those* who advance and defend it? — But however *some other Gentlemen* may differ in their opinion upon this head, concerning riots and tumults, which *frequent elections* may occasion; I am sure none but the *most abandoned scribblers* will pretend to say, that a *sure seat in parliament* for *seven years*, which is a considerable stage of a man's life, is a greater restraint upon him, or makes him more dependent upon his *constituents*, than a much shorter term, either of *one* or *three years*; for if this method of reasoning is just, it will hold equally good for a *standing parliament of fourteen*, or even *twenty years*. — I mention this only to shew the ridiculous absurdity of mentioning the *Septennial act* as one sufficient restraint upon the *members of the house of Commons*, without a *place-bill*.

Nay, the *same courtly scribblers* go farther, and frankly declare, that every law made since the revolution, for securing the *freedom and independency of parliament*, hath done more mischief *than good*; which they modestly call TINKERING the constitution. — Who best deserve the appellation of *tinkers in politicks*, let the world judge; though I think it very indecent, and even criminal, to brand the *whole representative body of the people* with such an opprobrious name. It might certainly be more justly fixed upon *two illustrious brothers*, who have long had the *tinkering* of our affairs, both at home and abroad; and, though both arrant bunglers in their business, have made a very pretty provision for *themselves* and *their families*, within twenty years past.

This leads me to another wretched argument against the late *place-bill*, *viz.* That it would alter, if not entirely subvert our *constitution*. — What *these writers* would have understood by our *constitution*, I am at a loss to guess. If they mean the *constitution of any particular ministry*, or family, I must confess that it might possibly be attended with some such effect. But if they mean the *ancient, legal constitution of our government*, it is demonstrable that the *late bill* was calculated, and had a direct tendency to revive and corroborate our *constitution*, instead of altering or subverting it, by purging all future parliaments from *mean and improper members*, according to the *Whig scheme* in former times. — *These writers* allow that there are *two hundred placemen* even in the *present house of C——s*, which commonly makes a *majority*; and yet seem to think that number insufficient. — At what can *these men* aim? Would they have the *whole house* filled with nothing but *placemen* and *pensioners*, by a total exclusion of all persons, who have no dependence upon *courts*? or would they authorise the *prime minister* to send precepts, like *Oliver Cromwel*, to the Sheriffs of the several counties, and the returning officers of corporations, with orders to send up such persons as he shall nominate?

Let *courtiers*, *tools*, and *sycophants* say what they please, and rack their dull brains for arguments, or pretences, to justify *their own prostitution and venality*; they will never be able to bring the unbiassed and unbought part of mankind into their sentiments; for it is certain that the *British constitution* cannot be subject to any greater danger than the influence which *ministers* may gain upon the *representatives of the people*. We know by experience that they cannot subdue us by *force*; for it hath been often

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often attempted, and always fail'd. But should they ever be able to corrupt a *majority of the house of Commons*, would not that be as fatal, and more fatal? Should a *minister* be able to turn the artillery of the *people*, from their own bulwarks, upon themselves, they must yield without capitulation; and how can that be so well prevented as by a proper *place-bill*; no body contending for an absolute exclusion of *all persons in places*?

But though we have not yet had the happiness of obtaining this *essential security for our liberties*, there is still to be *another session of the present parliament*, (unless his Majesty should be graciously pleased to dissolve it, before its legal term), when it is to be hoped that the *same excellent bill* will be moved for again, and that all the *uncorrupt part of the kingdom* will determine their conduct, according to the issue of it, at the *next general election*. I am, *&c.*

COMMON SENSE, *Feb.* 23.

Nature the fittest basis whereon to found the constitution.

SIR,

THE only way to stifle all divisions, and put the constitution on such a footing as it could not degenerate, would be, to reduce it to its natural origin; that is, to ground it on nature.

As the law of nature was given by the Deity to man, to direct his principles and actions both in religion and politicks; so long as our fore-fathers kept to this divine rule, they went right and were happy: but, having at length rejected it to follow other lights, they fell into error and confusion. And thus must things continue till the rule be again restored.

Tho' we might possibly find the origin of our constitution in history, and tho' both parties agreed to settle it according thereto; yet it could not long remain without variation, because 'tis not possible to fix the sense and meaning of words so as not to be liable to misrepresentation. This is the case of all written laws; this is the case of the Scriptures themselves.

The ambiguity or obscurity of the letter, therefore, will always afford room to wicked ministers, or false patriots, to strain the sense to serve their different views. As by this very means the constitution hath, in a great measure, been reduced to the imperfect state that some of the ministerial writers allow it to be now in; so it would unavoidably, in time, be again reduced, were it put on ever so good a footing, for want of some rule whereby to fix the sense and determine all disputes that might arise concerning it.

If nature then be such a rule, 'tis surely the fittest basis whereon to found the constitution. And that nature is such a rule, is manifest, in that its precepts, arising from the reason and fitness of things, are acknowledged by philosophers, and even divines, to be fix'd and invariable. Whence it follows, that every dispute, or doubt, arising from the wording of any law made pursuant to this rule, would quickly be decided, and the endless chicane of lawyers banish'd the courts: for the question then would be, not, What is the sense of the statute according to the letter or mind of the legislators? but, What is the sense of nature on the occasion? And thus all room would be taken from false patriots, or evil ministers, to wrest the constitution in order to create prerogative, or sow divisions amongst the people.

To place our constitution on any basis that deviates from nature, must needs make it erroneous, and liable to exceptions; because, in that case, it would give one of the parties concerned either too little or too much. No constitution whatever can give such parties any right which they have not, or take from them any right which they have by nature, farther than what is absolutely necessary for the good of society.

In short, this scheme intends no more, than to regulate our constitution according to natural rights, which are equally for the benefit of the King and the people: and as I am confident that the body of the nation desire no more, because more would manifestly tend to their own prejudice; so I cannot conceive what some writers mean, by saying,

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ing, that people are excited by false patriots to make extravagant demands, (or, to use their own mystical expressions), *to demand serpents instead of fish, and stones instead of bread*; and insinuating, that some would be for *reducing their Sovereign to such a state as themselves could not digest*, unless they mean, that for people to demand a full enjoyment of their natural rights, with sufficient security for the same, are extravagant demands, which, if comply'd with, will reduce the crown to an abject state.

How much soever those writers are engaged in an interest contrary to that of the people, I do not find any of them openly disputing their being intitled to the full enjoyment of their natural rights; on the contrary, they allow the same: If so, it will follow, that the Sovereign is incapable of enjoying any prerogative inconsistent with those natural rights, which, indeed, are utterly unalienable even for the lives of the present possessors. For any body, therefore, to dispute the people's title to a security of these rights, is to dispute their title to the rights themselves: and as the security must be as unalienable as the rights themselves, consequently, to intrench on, or with-hold the security, is to enjoy a prerogative inconsistent with the people's natural rights.

The people, therefore, are intitled not only to a partial security, such as the crown or a minister might think fit to allow them, but a security proportioned to the greatness of the trust lodged by them in the crown; that is, to all the security which a Sovereign is capable of giving them. Shall a man expect ample security for a paultry sum of money, and not for his whole property? shall he be anxious to secure a trifling concern, and neglect getting security for the greatest concern of all, his liberty? And indeed the nation would be highly to blame that should leave any thing to chance, since it appears but too glaringly from the history of all countries, as well as the present state of mankind, (almost every where reduced to slavery, or miserably embroiled by struggling for this security), that power, where-ever lodged, will continually be endeavouring to extend itself if it hath an opportunity.

There cannot, therefore, be any pretence for governors denying the people this ample security; the trusts vested in the Sovereign by the people being sufficient security to him; since, to take from him any part of that power or maintenance which is necessary for the support of good government, or to secure their own rights, which is all the Sovereign can in reason expect, would be to hurt themselves.

The King, by every encroachment upon the people, is a gainer either in power or wealth; but the people, by their encroachments upon the King, must be losers: so that they have reason to fear from their governors, but their governors have nothing to fear from them whilst they govern well. When the people seek a change of King, or ministers, it is always to gain some advantage: but could they be supposed to desire a change when they were in such happy circumstances that they might be losers, but could not be gainers by it? or would it be in the power of false patriots (if in such case there could be any) to persuade the body of the nation, against their common sense and reason, to believe that they were in a desperate condition, when, in reality, they could not be in a better? If any instances can be found of nations who have been so mad or wanton as to rise and dethrone their Kings merely for changing sake, they are few: but it may be presumed none of the kind could ever happen here, was the constitution put on the footing proposed, because it carries with it the destruction of all those absurd and pernicious principles which caused such unnatural revolutions.

Since it appears, that to have our constitution settled on its natural basis, would be most for the true interest and security of the King, as well as people, it ought to be the earnest desire of all, who wish well to themselves and their country, to have it so settled. This benefit might easily be obtained, if *we would*

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would ſet our hands heartily to the work, and mind in earneſt, what no prudent people ever neglected, our own intereſts.— When a reformation is made by halves, the half that remains undone commonly remains for ever undone; the imperfect gains ground upon the perfect, till things return again to their former corruption: therefore this great work muſt be compleated at once, that, when it is finiſhed, it may continue fixed and unalterable as the baſis on which it is built.—There will be no need of military force to ſupport it, like ſome laws I will not now mention: A conſtitution modelled according to nature, will always be able to execute itſelf.

I don't deſpair of ſeeing it done before the time of this parliament is expired.—It muſt be done while the parliament is free; for placemen and penſioners will always oppoſe it.—The nation is of opinion, it can have no ſecurity without it.—It is a point agreed, That liberty can never be deſtroyed but by parliament; nor even by a parliament, unleſs it hath a majority of placemen and penſioners.

When this ſhall happen to be the caſe, liberty need not be attack'd openly; we may loſe the whole before we miſs a part of it.—The miniſters will act like *Tartarian* hunters, who extend themſelves in a circle round the plain, and encloſe the game, as in a pound, without letting fly one arrow, till they have the unwary animals all at their mercy: So that every placeman or penſioner ſhould be looked upon as a *Tartar*, employed to hunt down liberty.

If you ſee a man cutting down the banks of a river, you are not to conſider whether he does this with no other deſign but to drown your land, but whether that muſt be the certain conſequence. Let him make never ſuch ſtrong proteſtations that he means you no hurt, you muſt be mad if you did not hinder him.—So, let a miniſtry declare never ſo ſolemnly, that they do not deſign to encroach upon your liberties by filling a ſenate with placemen and penſioners, you betray yourſelves if you do not endeavour to hinder it.

To the Venerable Sages of Weſtminſter-hall,

The humble petition of the river *Thames*,

Sheweth,

THAT your petitioner was laſt Chriſtmas, to the great ſurprize of all in his neighbourhood, arreſted in his bed by a couple of boiſterous and miſchievous Bailiffs followers, whoſe names are *North* and *Eaſt*. Theſe unmerciful creatures ſeiz'd upon all his goods and moveables, have in ſtrict durance ever ſince cloſely confin'd him, and at the ſame time kept him expos'd all this rigorous ſeaſon to the cold, ſo that he fears he ſhall loſe the uſe of his limbs. That theſe unrelenting miniſters of puniſhment have alſo treated him with the utmoſt contempt and inſolence, have even made a publick ſhew of him, have call'd in heaps of ragamuffins to trample upon him; and what is worſt of all, have forced a numerous family, which he uſed to provide for, to beg in the ſtreets.

That the afflictions and diſtreſſes of your petitioner were by means aforeſaid ſo moving and affecting, as in one night to have turn'd him as gray as a cat.

That the grief of your petitioner, who has ever diſtinguiſh'd himſelf for being ſerviceable to his country, is greatly increas'd, upon reflecting, that in theſe circumſtances he is ſo far from being, as uſual, uſeful to the publick, that he is become a burden and a nuſance to it.

That your petitioner intends, as ſoon as he can obtain his liberty, to go to ſea along with the ſquadron of obſervation, which is to guard the Channel; where he is reſolv'd to ſignalize himſelf, and ſhew his publick ſpirit, by ſerving without pay or recompence.

That your petitioner is not conſcious of having ever been guilty of a crime that deſerv'd ſo ſevere a puniſhment; but acknowledges, that he did, ſome time ago, out of curioſity, tho' in a very rude and abrupt manner, whilſt the courts were ſitting, enter Weſtminſter-hall; and by ſo doing did, tho' with no malicious deſign, ſpread a general panick, and throw matters into great confuſion. For this miſdemeanor your petitioner humbly

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humbly apprehends, that as the cauſe was not cognizable by any of the courts there, application has been made to the ſupreme court of judicature, and this ſevere proceſs has thereupon iſſued, and been ſerved in manner aforeſaid.

Your petitioner therefore humbly prays, in conſideration of his paſt ſervices, and of thoſe he may do in future, that application may once again be made for a ſtop to be put to theſe rigorous proceedings, and that he may recover his liberty.

And your petitioner ſhall ever pray, &c.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR, *Jan.* 21.

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I am extremely glad, Sir, that the learned and reverend Dr *Campbell* and I are perfectly agreed about theſe important matters. We ſeem to have nothing now to contend about, but to maintain this *univerſal revelation* in oppoſition to pretended ones; for which prieſts have not only "frighted ſome people out of their wits," but actually purſued them with the greateſt vengeance to death. The Doctor, therefore, will excuſe me from expoſing myſelf needleſly to their reverence.

After all, Sir, if I am yet miſtaken about "the matters of fact which the Doctor alledges in the caſe of the Heathen world," which I can neither learn from his book nor this his letter, I hope the Doctor will be pleaſed, out of his great humanity, to inſtruct me, in another; otherwiſe I ſhall be tempted to think that the Doctor is reſolved that his principles ſhall remain incog. and to cry out *Silly! Impertinence! Contradiction!* to every thing alledged againſt them. *I am*, &c.

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My dear Jenny,

CONſidering the relation and tender regard I have ever had to your family, I ſhould not forgive myſelf if I omitted any occaſion in teſtifying it, even in ſuch a trifle as offering my advice; which I know you will take kindly, ſince you have good nature, and ſenſe to know when it is generouſly given. Sure I am, there was never a more proper time for your being well advis'd than now, when you are ſo ſoon to appear upon the publick ſtage of the world, where you will be either applauded or hiſs'd, according as your part is acted. You ought therefore to ſtudy the taſte of the preſent age, and ſuit your behaviour accordingly; ſince by this you will gain the character and general admiration of mankind, and by this be ſettled in the world; that is, married: for which end, it is commonly thought, a woman ſhould live, act, and have her being. If you had a good fortune, I ſhould not think any advice needful, that being in itſelf ſufficient to gain you the general eſteem: but of this you have but a moderate ſhare; and

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and your beauty will be but of little force, unleſs you have the proper arts to make it conſpicuous.

Your firſt and principal care then muſt be your dreſs. I don't mean always to be clean and neat; this an exact and active temper would naturally lead you to; but that you always dreſs to the height of the prevailing faſhion. Now when the ſable tippets are wore, get one as large as your neck will hold: your gloves French, and lac'd up with the wrought needle-work; your hair curl'd down to your ſhoulders; a good quantity of patches; and gum-flowers careleſly, yet artificially plac'd about your head and breaſt; a hoop of exceeding large ſize; and a pair of new ſtays each half-year, in which you muſt lace ſo ſtrait, that half a yard ſhall go round your middle. To make this the more eaſy, be ſure to have a ſtrict guard upon your eating, allowing yourſelf no more in four and twenty hours than what you can calculate to the bulk of an egg.

You'll perhaps think this hard, and paying too dear for a ſhape; yet it is what you muſt of neceſſity do. If you be careful in this particular, you need not take vinegar, becauſe it pales the complexion too much. To encourage you, obſerve Mrs *Spindelty*, who is ſo much admired: could ſhe, think you, ever have attain'd that ſmall delicate waiſt, in diſproportion to her neck and arms, but by ſtrictly keeping up to theſe rules? You muſt alſo ſee and purchaſe ſome rings, and hint, as it were by accident, you had them in love-tokens, or by way of friendſhip from ſome Ladies of Quality. Amongſt this ſort you muſt by hook and crook introduce yourſelf. Till then never be ſeen in company with thoſe whoſe fortunes can't allow to go finely dreſs'd; for they are generally what's meant by mean company: but being introduced into the gay world, you will inſenſibly acquire the gay and polite air, and learn all that is meant by a Lady's *knowing the world*. This will wear off thoſe impreſſions of bluſhing and aukward modeſty nature has ſtamp'd upon your temper, and refine you ſo much, that any of her traces ſhall not be diſcernible with the niceſt eyes. There is nothing now ſo much deſpis'd as this natural bluſhing: it betrays (ſay the men) too great a knowledge of guilt; and it is for this reaſon, my dear, you ſee them ſo much admire the married women.

The next thing I would earneſtly recommend, is, when you go to the aſſemblies, plays, or any publick place, be very careful in obſerving the behaviour of thoſe they call *fine Ladies*; the geſtures of their bodies, the movement of their heads, and management of their eyes; and improve upon all theſe as time and opportunity ſhall ſerve.

You muſt alſo remember your tour of viſits in a chair, when in an afternoon you'll pay fifteen or twenty. You will juſt now perhaps ſee but little advantage in this way of viſiting, ſince it is done more from ceremony and faſhion, than choice. I ſhall ſay no more to convince you of its advantage, than that it will be very hard, amongſt the courſe of ſo many, if you don't meet with ſome of your male acquaintance; beſides what pleaſure a Lady muſt have in coming into a drawing-room in the full glory of dreſs, and, after ſitting for three or four minutes, leave ſome pretty fellows in ſighs for her abſence.

Now I have adorned your perſon, let us ſee what is to be obſerved in regard to the mind. Here few or no inſtructions are required, unleſs you find it proper to be a wit; which indeed is very engaging with a great many. In this then you need only be mindful to attack with railery thoſe who either from baſhfulneſs, or being unmindful of what you ſay, ſhall not anſwer you: you will then have victory at the firſt onſet, and the laugh on your ſide. This, with ſome clever repartee, and *double entendre* now and then, is wit enough for a fine Lady.

I underſtand you have a turn for reading: you muſt by all means lay that aſide; meddle with no books, unleſs they be love-epiſtles or novels: you will elſe render your turn for gallantry inſipid, and unjuſtly encroach upon a preroga-

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and your beauty will be but of little force, unless you have the proper arts to make it conspicuous.

Your first and principal care then must be your dress. I don't mean always to be clean and neat; this an exact and active temper would naturally lead you to; but that you always dress to the height of the prevailing fashion. Now when the sable tippets are wore, get one as large as your neck will hold: your gloves French, and lac'd up with the wrought needle-work; your hair curl'd down to your shoulders; a good quantity of patches; and gum-flowers carelessly, yet artificially plac'd about your head and breast; a hoop of exceeding large size; and a pair of new stays each half-year, in which you must lace so strait, that half a yard shall go round your middle. To make this the more easy, be sure to have a strict guard upon your eating, allowing yourself no more in four and twenty hours than what you can calculate to the bulk of an egg.

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you so much, that any of her traces shall not be discernible with the nicest eyes. There is nothing now so much despis'd as this natural blushing: it betrays (say the men) too great a knowledge of guilt; and it is for this reason, my dear, you see them so much admire the married women.

The next thing I would earnestly recommend, is, when you go to the assemblies, plays, or any publick place, be very careful in observing the behaviour of those they call *fine Ladies*; the gestures of their bodies, the movement of their heads, and management of their eyes; and improve upon all these as time and opportunity shall serve.

You must also remember your tour of visits in a chair, when in an afternoon you'll pay fifteen or twenty. You will just now perhaps see but little advantage in this way of visiting, since it is done more from ceremony and fashion, than choice. I shall say no more to convince you of its advantage, than that it will be very hard, amongst the course of so many, if you don't meet with some of your male acquaintance; besides what pleasure a Lady must have in coming into a drawing-room in the full glory of dress, and, after sitting for three or four minutes, leave some pretty fellows in sighs for her absence.

Now I have adorned your person, let us see what is to be observed in regard to the mind. Here few or no instructions are required, unless you find it proper to be a wit; which indeed is very engaging with a great many. In this then you need only be mindful to attack with railery those who either from bashfulness, or being unmindful of what you say, shall not answer you: you will then have victory at the first onset, and the laugh on your side. This, with some clever repartee, and *double entendre* now and th[en a] wit enough for a fine Lady.

I understand [learn] for read-ing: you mu[st] lay that a-side; meddl[e], unless they be love-e[nough] you will else render [the] antry insipid, and [ren]der [you] upon a prerogative

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tive of knowledge due only to the men. Nature has endued them alone with the faculty of reflection; while she made women only for their amusement and domestick conveniency. So, whenever one shows a capacity for more than this, she becomes despised, and ironically gets the character of a *learned Lady*. You perhaps have heard of a *Brutus*, a *Seneca*, and some other great men, that were charmed with good sense, a noble ingenuity of soul, and beauty free from the arts of dress or affectation of manners; all which you'll think could best be improved by reading. These, my dear, lived in the early rustick ages of the world: as it turns older, it turns more wise and more refined; it produces Gentlemen delicate in their amusements, jealous of their knowledge, and happier in their wives.

Because it is very hard to know when a man is a real lover, or only one for fashion's sake, I would have given you some hints about this; but having branched my letter too much out already, so shall refer it till the next, and only assure you I am,

Dear Jenny,

Ever your's

MARY LIZARD.

DAILY GAZETTEER, *Feb.* 19.

A MORNING SCENE.

Mr Common Sense *solus.*

SURe never wight of industry was so unfortunate!—but such is the curse of some mortals, that the more merit they possess, the less reward they receive. Nothing is more difficult to account for, than the insuccess I have met with. My *abilities* are equal to the most shining genius of the age; nay, from the best judgment I am able to form, I myself am that genius.—My *assiduity*, even my enemies will not deny: and the *church* herself is indebted to me; for no man ever said so much in her behalf under the pretence of promoting the *Protestant* cause, among a people to whom he was all the while known to be a faithful sworn servant of *Rome*. —*Courage* I have not wanted; a modest assurance was never enough for my purposes; and while poor *Nick*, and the rest of them, had been employing their half-fac'd endeavours to little effect, I broke in like a torrent upon their cowardice, bore away the publick attention, drew the ears of the whole people to myself, and, had not——

Enter 'Squire D'Anvers.

Dear *Caleb*, Spite of loss of friends, and cold weather, how go markets, old fellow-labourer?

Cal. Never worse, since pen and paper met;—I'm mistaken, if the frost has not touched the people's heads as well as their heels.

C. S. Why so out of humour?

Cal. Out of humour!—I have, as you must allow, written so well, and been read with such indifference, that were it not for the publick loss, I would sum up my labours in one bold push, and take my leave of a world that is deaf to my remonstrance, and regardless of my service.

C. S. I'd sooner set the world in a flame, than—Just so you behave in publick; and if people don't immediately praise your lucubrations, you know not how to help being peevish.

Cal. That being peevish, as you term it, is the genuine effect of my zeal.—I can't see my labours lost with a serene countenance.—He that is burnt up with a passion for his country, cannot, without vexation, see others lukewarm.

C. S. Whatever you mean by your vehemence, Sir, in my opinion, a man shews his zeal by his services, not by his falling into a pet.—Were I angry at being *disregarded*, or even *despised*, the nation would, long before this, have suffered the loss of my labours.

Cal. This last defeat hangs so upon my spirits—For what end does a man labour to serve others, if himself must be neglected?—My vigilance in sounding the alarm was enough to have raised the dead; and yet not even *my summons to parliament* was obeyed.

C. S. And if it had, what good could have been expected? It is not by parliamentary deliberations the ends *we* have

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in view will ever be accompliſhed. Great events have been atchieved with little reflection, ſometimes without any thought at all: and therefore I never ſtand to *argue* or *perſuade* people to think as I would have them, but ſearch for their *paſſions*, ſupport *ſcandal* with ſome *bold aſſertions*, to exerciſe their belief, and, without the trouble of *thinking*, which few people care much for, I get myſelf *admired* by making every body I don't like *ridiculous*.

Cal. But my *cool arguments* uſed to be read with attention till——

C. S. Till your readers were tired of them, and flew to me for relief.

Cal. They ſtood not in want of that, Sir.

C. S. No! Why, had I not ſaved you from ſinking, by whom would you have been read at this time?

Cal. Nay, Sir; aſſume not too much to yourſelf: for it is a queſtion I could never yet reſolve to my own ſatisfaction, Whether you have done moſt ſervice or miſchief to the cauſe you ſo officiouſly eſpouſed?

C. S. It is plain you had not my aſſiſtance before you ſtood in need of it, and ſhould I deſert you——

Cal. I ſhould ſuffer not ſo much as you ſeem to imagine: for to ſpeak my mind, the people, nay even the vulgar themſelves are ſo infected with *politeneſs*, as to affect a diſlike of that *plainneſs* for which you value yourſelf; and for which—I am almoſt aſhamed of your company.

C. S. A fig for your ſqueamiſhneſs: You tried what could be done by *allegories, alluſions, ſquint inſinuations*, &c. long enough; and with ſo little ſucceſs, as ſufficiently proved the neceſſity of purſuing other meaſures; which I have done.

Cal. To little better purpoſe.

C. S. I deny that; my ſpirit at ſetting out being ſo very extraordinary, that the names of our betters, who need not now be mentioned, were given to my labours; and it was ſeveral weeks before my own was brought into queſtion.

Cal. And had you yet remained concealed, it had been better for our cauſe; ſince, ſay what you will, theſe *Proteſtant* people have got ſuch an idle notion againſt the ſervices of any emiſſary from *Rome*, that it requires more than mortal ſkill to remove their prejudices,—by writing at leaſt.

C. S. Remove their *prejudices* by writing! I would as ſoon undertake to move their *country* by the ſame means! It is my greateſt ambition to put our opponents out of countenance: for, as the moſt aſſured among them have ſome modeſty left, it is much eaſier to *abuſe*, than to *confute* them; and when I have loaded them with hard names, enrolled them all fools and ſcoundrels,—'tis not my fault if people mind them.—Come in, there.——

Enter Mr J. P. *of* White-Friars.

J. P. Sir, good-morrow; Mr *D'Anvers*, your moſt obedient.—I come, Sir, to know when I ſhall have the paper ſo long expected. If I have it not ſoon, I muſt abſolutely have a new door to my houſe: neither day nor night can I reſt for the knocking of hawkers who come to aſk for it.

C. S.—No!—I—It is not quite finiſhed.—Tell them they ſhall have it next week—

J. P. That, Sir, I have told them ſo often already, that 'tis in vain to hope they will believe it any longer.

Cal. Pray, Sir, what paper does he mean?

C. S. Only that about—egad 'tis ſcarcely worth telling you—that *in defence* of my being a *Popiſh prieſt*, an *incendiary of Rome*, and *all that*, which the ſtupid rogues have repeated again and again, becauſe—I never thought them worthy a reply.

Cal. But, upon my word, Sir, this paper is more wanted than you ſeem to believe; for you cannot think the hurt you do, by refuſing to ſupport your character.

C. S. My character, Sir, needs no ſupport; and if the *fellows* call upon me to anſwer what they know I cannot reply to,—the beſt defence I can think of, is—to ſay nothing.

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Cal. But does not this give them occaſion to ſay a great deal?

C. S. The more they ſay upon it, the ſooner the ſubject will become threadbare; and then, you know, 'tis but calling them tedious *dull rogues*, and — and ——

Cal. Poſſibly being thought one yourſelf.

C. S. No, Sir; ſo far from that, I ſhall venture to *joke with the charge*; every now and then, drag in a Popiſh prieſt by way of ——

Cal. Owning the charge, I fear: And let me tell you, Sir, till *that point* be cleared, I, who have been ſo zealous an aſſerter of *Proteſtant liberty*, cannot, with any *propriety*, boaſt your alliance.

C. S. I care not, Sir, what you can, or what you cannot do.—Who knocks? — come in —

Enter Dickey.

Dick. Sir, — I beg pardon, — but hearing Mr *D'Anvers* was with you, I thought you would excuſe interrupting you, as the occaſion is ſo preſſing —

Cal. But, Mr *F.* whatever be the occaſion, you might have waited at my lodgings till my return home.— You received a paper from me this morning; what elſe can you want?

Dick. Why,—to tell you the truth, Sir, I have been looking it over, and find ——

Cal. What, pray, good critical Sir?

Dick. In ſhort, I fear 'tis of a piece with your laſt half-dozen; and, if it be, I am almoſt certain — 'twill never quit coſts. ——

C. S. But, Mr *F.* —— what is that to you? — If Mr *D'Anvers* promotes the publick good — the laſt thing in a *patriot*'s thoughts is his own intereſt.

Dick. Yes; when his intereſt goes on without his thinking: — but —

Cal. Sir, your *buts* are unſeaſonable in this place: You have been a gainer by your ſervices, while I ——

J. P. Pray, Gentlemen, let us not quarrel about our *preſent* profits; for if our future rewards don't exceed them — I wiſh I may never repent my ſervice?

Dick. Nay, brother, 'tis indeed but civil to let the Gentlemen chuſe their own roads to fame. — The chief reaſon of my coming here was, the hope of having ſome meaſures reſolved upon to revive the eſteem we once had. I confeſs, that you *recommend* and *praiſe*, and *praiſe* and *recommend* one another frequently enough: — but an ugly rumour has got abroad, that entirely damps the ſpirit of our readers; they ſay the authors of our *Proteſtant Patriot* Journal are in alliance with ſome *Prieſt* and *Jeſuit*, and *emiſſary* and *tool of Rome*, and I can't tell what. — Now, Gentlemen, as I am ſeldom guilty of reading, and know not what the d — l they drive at; while you are together, it would be well done to tell the rogues they *lie*, that we are *all* Proteſtants to the bottom, and that there is not a ſon of *Rome* but we would blow up with as little ceremony as the ſupporters of a Whig miniſtry.

C. S. Hold, Mr *F.* — 'Twill be employment enough for us to blow up the enemies to our *intereſts*, without extending our reſentment to the church of *Rome*.

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Enter Landlady.

Landlady. Sir, this letter from *Rome*, [*making a low courteſy*], this from *Spain*, and this from *France*, were juſt now left by Father ——

C. S. Enough. [*Exit Landlady*]. Gentlemen, theſe will help us conſiderably under our preſent difficulties; for in wit and politicks, nothing is like a foreign aid.

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Dick. If it could be done with safety; for it is really fatiguing to be obliged to get one's bread within sight of a halter.

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Cal. But will they cease to our satisfaction? — for the prospect before us is not too propitious!

C. S. Fear not; follow me: If success attends us, let our enemies stand clear; — and if we fail, while I am at hand, *absolution* will not be far off.

Cal. We have already gone too far to retreat: and, though I *could not always* turn my face toward *Rome* with so little remorse, such is the force of ambition, that, if it cannot be satisfied on the terms we chuse, it must dispense with such as are necessary to its gratification.

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DAILY GAZETTEER, *Feb.* 27.

Queen Elizabeth *suffered more insults from* Spain *than his present Majesty.*

AMongst all the evil arts made use of by seditious persons to raise discontent and faction in any state, there is not one more common, or more to their purpose, than that of calumniating the present rulers, by false accounts of the actions of former princes, or ministers. This method works stronger than any arguments; for arguments may bear disputes, but here the way of reasoning hits the meanest capacity: *viz.* If, in former times, such and such persons did, or did not act like our present governors, (and we know they were wise, and honest, and were happy in their administrations;) our governors certainly want one of the two qualities they possessed. And from these premisses the natural conclusion must follow, that the people will be dissatisfied. Now, as this, I say, is one of the principal arts of ill-disposed persons, those that are friends to their country can do nothing better than to discover the fallacies the others are guilty of.

The general notion that the people of *England* have been taught to conceive of Q. *Elizabeth*, and the quarrels she had with the *Spaniards*, is this, *That, upon some slight insult or other, the Queen immediately did the nation justice. This irritated the* Don: *He prepares his invincible armada, sends it to invade* England: Q. Elizabeth *lets loose her subjects upon them; they destroy all the* Spanish *fleet; and there was an end of the matter.* And just so might we have done, 'tis supposed, long since, and not have suffered so much in our trade, nor submitted to a thousand other indignities, if our governors had but had the spirit and ability of Q. *Elizabeth*, and her ministers. This, I say, is the sense of the people, and this is owing to a wrong stating of the facts by those who have made it their business to mislead them.

To make this appear, I will shew that Q. *Elizabeth* submitted to much greater insults and injuries than ever have been offered us, before she made any step

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Cal. But does not this give them occaſion to ſay a great deal?

C. S. The more they ſay upon it, the ſooner the ſubject will become threadbare; and then, you know, 'tis but calling them tedious *dull rogues*, and — and ——

Cal. Poſſibly being thought one yourſelf.

C. S. No, Sir; ſo far from that, I ſhall venture to *joke with the charge*; every now and then, drag in a Popiſh prieſt by way of ——

Cal. Owning the charge, I fear: And let me tell you, Sir, till *that point* be cleared, I, who have been ſo zealous an aſſerter of *Proteſtant liberty*, cannot, with any *propriety*, boaſt your alliance.

C. S. I care not, Sir, what you can, or what you cannot do.—Who knocks? — come in —

Enter Dickey.

Dick. Sir, — I beg pardon, — but hearing Mr *D'Anvers* was with you, I thought you would excuſe interrupting you, as the occaſion is ſo preſſing —

Cal. But, Mr *F.* whatever be the occaſion, you might have waited at my lodgings till my return home.— You received a paper from me this morning; what elſe can you want?

Dick. Why,—to tell you the truth, Sir, I have been looking it over, and find ——

Cal. What, pray, good critical Sir?

Dick. In ſhort, I fear 'tis of a piece with your laſt half-dozen; and, if it be, I am almoſt certain — 'twill never quit coſts. ——

C. S. But, Mr *F.* —— what is that to you? — If Mr *D'Anvers* promotes the publick good — the laſt thing in a *patriot*'s thoughts is his own intereſt.

Dick. Yes; when his intereſt goes on without his thinking: — but —

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ſtep towards procuring her ſubjects any ſatisfaction for the injury done them: nay, that when her ſubjects were in a very ſucceſsful way of doing themſelves juſtice for the loſſes they had met with in the ſeizure of their effects, and taking their ſhips, ſhe flatly forbid and hindered them from proceeding. And, that I may not be ſo much as ſuſpected of the fault for which I blame others, I will appeal to the moſt impartial hiſtory extant of thoſe times: which hiſtory has juſtly acquired its deſerved reputation from two very particular circumſtances; one of which is, that the author has built his hiſtory upon publick acts and records, which no one had ever done ſo fully before; the other, that he was himſelf a foreigner, and not biaſſed on the ſide of any party.

By this impartial writer it appears, that in the year 1567, *Sir* John Hawkins, *an* Engliſh *merchant*, who was gone to trade in the bay of *Mexico* with five ſhips, by virtue of the treaty between *Charles* V. and *Henry* VIII. *was inſulted by the* Spaniſh *fleet, which took and rifled three of his ſhips.* And now let us ſee how Q. *Elizabeth* behaved on this occaſion. This was not a doubtful matter about *guarda coſtas* ſeizing ſhips in *diſputable places*, and about *a diſputable commerce* with the ſubjects of *Spain*; but the trade was carried on by virtue of a *treaty*, as above mentioned: neither was this a ſingle ſhip ſculking about in an obſcure manner, which of itſelf caſts a bad complexion upon ſuch ſort of traffick; but here was an *Engliſh merchant, a Knight* (when knighthood was not ſo common as now); *and here were five ſhips, of which three were taken and rifled*; which, as the hiſtorian goes on, *occaſioned the merchants to complain loudly, and to be importunate for a war with* Spain. But, I ſay, how did Q. *Elizabeth* behave on this occaſion? Would not one imagine ſhe would immediately have covered the ocean with her fleets, and, like *Virgil*'s enraged Queen of *Carthage*, vowed deſtruction to the whole *Spaniſh* race?

"*Ire:*

"*Ferte citi flammas, date vela, impellite remos.*"

Nothing leſs.— Amidſt all theſe outrages on the part of the *Spaniards*, and diſcontents of her ſubjects, the hiſtorian tells us, Q. Elizabeth *did not think proper to ſhow her reſentment at that time, further than the ſituation of affairs would permit.*

Now let us go on to the two next years, 1568 and 1569. In theſe two years the *Spaniards*, upon a very ſlight pretence, *ſeized all the* Engliſh *effects in* Flanders *and* Spain, *and impriſoned the owners.* This exaſperated the *Engliſh* to ſuch a degree, *that they fell upon all the merchant ſhips belonging to the* Spaniards, *and they did ſo much damage* (adds the hiſtorian) *by their continual cruizings*, that *the Queen* —— What? That the Queen, one would imagine, was in tranſports of joy, to ſee how her ſubjects avenged themſelves without her aſſiſtance. Quite otherwiſe: *The Queen* (ſays the hiſtorian) *fearing to be involved in a* FORMAL WAR, *was forced to reſtrain her ſubjects from taking the* Spaniards *ſhips by a* PROCLAMATION.

And now let every one judge what ſervice thoſe perſons have done their country, who have endeavoured to animate the people againſt the conduct of the government, becauſe they would not ruſh headlong into a *war*, as former miniſtries, *eſpecially* Q. Elizabeth's, (as they ſaid) would have done.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR,

THE full meaſure of publick happineſs would be gained, were the diſtinctions of *power*, *dignity* and *honour*, inſeparably added to thoſe of nature, *wiſdom*, *goodneſs* and *integrity*. So far as this did take place, we actually find ſtates and commonwealths have arriv'd at ſurpriſing heights of glory and felicity. But, in the preſent perverſe poſture of human affairs, when the inſtruments of power are for the moſt part lodged in the hands of deceit, cowardice, and oppreſſion, what is one to expect, but whole nations ſunk to beggary, wretchedneſs and contempt? And let any reaſonable man judge, if this be

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be not the forlorn and deplorable condition of the greateſt part of the world at this day. Among many execrable arts that have been too ſucceſsfully practiſed for working out this fatal revolution, a moſt notable one has been, to perſuade men that affairs of government are impenetrable myſteries. Men have been anxiouſly diſcouraged, and even frightned, from enquiring into matters in which themſelves are chiefly intereſted; matters too that are obvious and plain to almoſt every order of capacities. Thus publick truſts are made inacceſſible to men of wiſdom and integrity; who not only are reſtrain'd from acting for the publick welfare, but even almoſt from being quiet ſpectators of publick miſchief: as if it was not enough for people to ſuffer extremities through the caprice and paſſion of a few inſolent men, but they muſt not even complain of all this. They are taught to reverence the authors of their ſlavery as publick fathers and bleſſings. And how can this be otherwiſe, when affairs of ſtate are made myſterious? for 'tis natural for men to admire what they know nothing of. It is here as it is in religion: That *Ignorance is the mother of devotion*, is a principle which the church of *Rome* aſſerts with the height of impudence. There is a principle parallel to it, which *ſtateprieſts* ſupport with equal aſſurance, to wit, That *Civil ignorance is the mother of ſubmiſſion*. If we unravel the Popiſh maxim, the truth of it will be, That ignorance of religion is the mother of ſuperſtition: So alſo the State-maxim, in its genuine ſenſe, ſignifies, That when men are ignorant of their civil rights, they muſt ſubmit to every uſurpation upon them. And indeed, if it be thus underſtood, there is too much truth in it. For when men ſhut their eyes on the corruptions and inſolences of a court, they are diſarm'd, and can be in no poſture of defence againſt them; eſpecially when they are further ſo far impoſed upon, as to believe, that the moſt monſtrous and tyrannick conduct is calculated for advancing their own greateſt happineſs. An inſinuation like this is indeed highly juſt, when applied to vindicate certain ſeeming inequalities in the divine adminiſtration; but when alledged in behalf of the deſtructive ſchemes of ill men, it is certainly highly arrogant, if not blaſphemous.

None will deny, that every man has an indiſputable right to examine his private affairs, to aſcertain himſelf of his intereſt, and of the means of ſecuring it. Would not a merchant be univerſally condemned, who will not give himſelf the trouble of looking into his accounts, but truſts all to ſome negligent, or, perhaps, diſhoneſt ſervant? And ſhall a whole people (at leaſt as many of them as have time and opportunity) be grudged the liberty of examining into the nature of government; or, in other words, into the ways of preſerving their civil rights on firm and immoveable foundations? and ſhall not they dare to call in queſtion the treacherous conduct of an ambitious and haughty ſtateſman, who at beſt is no other than their ſervant? If it be evident that the people is not made for the ſake of government, but government for the ſecurity of the people; does it not follow, that they have an unqueſtionable *right* of enquiring about it, if not an indiſpenſable *duty* to do ſo? And yet it is moſt ſtrange, that a man who commits the entire management of his private affairs to the diſcretion of a ſervant, ſhould be blamed by every body; while a people that, through deſperate infatuation, tamely leaves the care of their government in the hands of an imperious and oppreſſive miniſter, is by many men thought to do nothing amiſs; and by ſome is even thought to do wrong, and commit rebellion, in taking it out of his hands.

By the peculiar favour of heaven, we in *Great Britain* are a people, by the freedom we have, diſtinguiſhed above almoſt every other nation of the earth. There is one comfort we ſtill poſſeſs, which is among the beſt fruits of our liberty; and it is, that we are not reſtrained from examining into our publick rights, nor from uttering the complaints we have too often ground to make.

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make. This liberty, however, is denied to the greateſt part of the world at this day; and from ſo many fatal examples, we ought to be jealous of any approaches we may ſeem to be making to the like unhappy circumſtances. We may know that it has been an engine uſed by the princes and miniſters of a neighbouring nation, in order to divert the attention of wiſe and inquiſitive men from matters of ſtate, and from their groſs affronts to publick liberty, to erect and endow academies, to encourage and attach men by rewards and other means to mathematical, and ſuch entertaining and tedious ſtudies. It were indeed to be wiſhed, that as good an excuſe could be produced for ſome of *our* countrymen, who neglect the knowledge of publick liberty, notwithſtanding their indiſputable intereſt and concern in it. But a total devotion to pleaſure and inceſſant gaming, leaves the care of their country no room in their hearts. And indeed unleſs men apply themſelves with earneſtneſs and attention to the knowledge of laws and publick juſtice, we are not to expect much of publick ſpirit, but rather a ſtrong prevalence of diſſolute and pernicious courſes, both in men of publick and of private life. It is the natural tendency of true liberty, and a ſenſe of it, to encourage virtue. For one has reaſon to expect the leaſt licentiouſneſs, where there is moſt liberty. And nothing can be more adverſe to virtue, and a love of liberty, than a general predominance of vice and luxury. I hope it will appear, that when a knowledge of true politicks, and the fundamental maxims of government, is in many hands, eſpecially of men of intereſt and eſtate, ſuch abuſes muſt be diſcouraged, and virtue and liberty muſt have free breath and activity.

Dangers or inconveniencies inſeparable from ſuch an inquiſitive ſpirit, I confeſs I have no eyes to ſee. If it encourage and foment a ſpirit of turbulence, as a generous impatience of oppreſſion will undoubtedly be called, it muſt be owned that this has a dangerous aſpect. But to whom? to the well-being of the ſtate? No! but to ambitious men, who labour to diſturb it, in order to enrich themſelves by its loſſes. And ſhall people refuſe to ſeek a thorough underſtanding of their publick rights; and ſo put it out of their own power to repreſs the inſolences of rapacious ſtateſmen? It is a common artifice of theſe men, to confound their own particular ſecurity with that of the publick; and when the firſt is in any danger, they are ſure to raiſe the alarm that the ruin of the latter is attempted. But if the world was more on its guard againſt ſuch deluſions, it would ſuffer leſs by them. — It will be frivolouſly urged, That when men employed in no publick buſineſs have their heads turned on ſuch enquiries, they muſt be diverted from purſuing enquiries in mathematicks, philoſophy, and other uſeful learning. And what then? Does it reflect the leaſt diſhonour on a man, that he employs moſt of his thoughts for the good of his country; when there is ſurely nothing in theſe (indeed truly noble) ſciences, which may not, without doing them the leaſt injuſtice, be placed in ſubordination to the beſt of all human ſciences, that of government? It is alſo certain, that the ſtudies of mathematicks and natural philoſophy are very hard and abſtruſe, if compared with that of government; the fundamental principles of which are, with a little attention, deduced from nature, and the experience of hiſtory. And the ſmall time requiſit for this, would defraud nothing from what is dedicated to polite ſtudy or abſtruſe philoſophy. It has been frequently complained, that young men are not ſafe hands to be truſted with the knowledge of political affairs; which, we are told, are much above their capacities, and which they are ready to abuſe through the impetuoſity natural to their years. But it never was complained, that the delicate and ſubtile ſciences of philoſophy were beyond the reach of young capacities: for it has been found, that in theſe they have often made aſtoniſhing proficiency. There needs be no ſcruple in aſſerting, that young men are

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are fitter than old ones, not only for beginning political enquiries, but sometimes even for political administration. Their natural docility opens their hearts to the infusion of wholesome knowledge and honest maxims: the innocence of manners peculiar to youth, enamours them with all useful and publick-spirited designs; and also disposes them to be easily shocked with the examples of men grown hardened and inveterate in publick corruption: and lastly, for ability, they are often nothing inferior to the most experienced.

The blessings and advantages which a nation must derive from such an inquisitive turn, are both obvious, and to the last degree important. Nothing has a more direct tendency to root and strengthen in the mind, the *love of one's country*, an affection of all others the most heroick. It is a maxim that will be found of very general, if not of universal extent, That "our love of any thing is wonderfully enforced and sharpened, by our coming at the knowledge of the means proper for obtaining it." It is precisely so in this example: A publick spirit is irresistably prompted to useful and worthy actions, by knowing the nature of government, and the tendency good forms of it have for making mankind truly happy. Without such knowledge publick spirit must run low, and be but seldom useful.—It may seem almost needless to add any thing in recommendation of this, further than that it encourages the love of liberty. But no known circumstance should be overlook'd, that may enforce so good a thing. It is highly probable that it would be found to encourage not only publick, but even private honesty; a thing too rare! It plainly tends to give one horror at all acts of tyranny and corruption; and, in consequence of this, it must add strength to the principle of conscience, and inspire men with an abhorrence of private, as well as of publick villany. For no man that is abandon'd in his private conduct, can truly love his country; and no man that truly loves his country, will ever allow himself in any deliberate acts of private injustice. These enquiries we have mentioned, would, especially in young men, be a most admirable seasoning against all sorts of corruption, which at this day poisons many, when they are hardly entered upon publick life. And they may prove no less a preservative against exorbitant luxury, gaming, and other modish vices of the times. Lastly, this inquisitive humour, did it prevail, would go a considerable way to extinguish parties among us, who differ about the principles of civil government. For it is the taking those principles from education, and the mouths of prejudic'd men, that occasions so much controversy in these matters; whereas, were the things themselves, and the experience of history first consulted, there is ground to think there would be more harmony about them. If men were once heartily engaged in thorough enquiries of this sort, what might we not expect? We are invited to them, not only by the pleasure that attends them, and by many immediate benefits, but by a multitude of future ones: and who knows if they might not sometime end in full maturity of publick happiness? I will not say, that these noble enquiries are wholly neglected in this country. But those who engage in them, with any tolerable application, are too few: and fewer still begin while young; for all this knowledge will be in vain, if not imbibed ere the mind is intoxicated with worldly pleasure; otherwise, it is a singular preservative from it.

The usefulness and importance of what I have here endeavoured to recommend, I think may entitle it to a favourable reception from men; but if it fail of this. I hope the goodness of my design will at least excuse me. *I am, &c.*

An explanation of the Navigation-act necessary at this juncture.

ONe of the greatest securities we have for our trade, is the act of navigation, which has been the rule for carrying on our foreign trade till now, that some of our merchants have, as they say, on the opinion of some eminent lawyers, ordered the produce

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of foreign countries to be loaden in foreign ſhips for Guernſey, where they are to ſend Engliſh ſhips to bring them into the ports of England; and, by this little evaſion, think they ſhall not be liable to the penalties in the act of navigation. I have read that, and ſubſequent acts in confirmation of it; and never could find that Guernſey, Jerſey, or any other of our iſlands, were looked on in any other light than England. If lawyers can, or may be able to find another meaning than the plain ſenſe the words bear, it is high time to get it explained ſo as to put it out of all doubt, and thereby the ſubjects of England upon an equal foot: which at preſent they are not; for many will not venture, notwithſtanding the above mentioned opinion, becauſe they believe that an Engliſh jury will give their own ſenſe of the act: So 'tis plain that ſuch muſt be great ſufferers, when we conſider, that during a war we muſt have at leaſt double the number of men in one of our ſhips for their defence, that is neceſſary in a neutral one for navigating the ſhip only; they can conſequently bring the goods for half the freight that ours can; and we can inſure our goods in ſuch veſſels for 2 per cent. the ſame voyage that it will coſt 12 per cent. on an Engliſh ſhip. Suppoſe an Engliſh ſhip and a French ſhip at Leghorn, and I freight them both at 5 l. per ton, and the value of each cargo to be 10,000 l. then the account will ſtand thus:

Freight on the Engliſhman,	1000	
Inſurance 12 per cent. —	1200	
		2200
Freight on the Frenchman,	1000	
Inſurance 2 per cent. ——	200	
		1200
Difference		1000
But then I muſt pay an Engliſh ſhip to bring it from Guernſey to London 1 l. per ton, ——		200
So that the clear profit is but 8 per cent. or ——— ——		800

And if the cargo (as many times it is) be of greater value, I ſhall get the difference of inſurance more in proportion. This is but one of the many evils attending the breach of this act: Our whole foreign navigation will be dwindled away to coaſting between our ports and Guernſey; and ſhould the war laſt any time, we ſhall be in as great want of ſailors as any of our neighbours.—Should a matter of this conſequence be left to the explanation of lawyers, at a time when the great council of the nation is aſſembled? It is not long ſince the people were ſtirr'd up at, and jealous of imaginary evils coming upon us; but now there is a real evil coming upon us, we ſeem to be aſleep. What will become of all thoſe whoſe only dependence is upon ſhips? Ought they not to conſult together, and in the moſt decent manner poſſible petition that this matter may be explained? Ought this to be deferred one minute? The publiſhing this may open the eyes of many, and be a real ſervice to the nation.

On the late Duke of *Buckingham*'s Tomb and Image, an *extempore* thought.

HAil, Patriot Youth! *loſt in life's bloom,*
In Virtue's ſhrine with honour ſleep,
While at thy conſecrated tomb
The Muſes *and the* Graces *weep.*
But never ſhall thy mem'ry *die;*
All at thy urn ſhall that revere;
Who honours Worth, *ſhall heave a ſigh*
Who Britain *loves, ſhall drop a tear.*

Verſes writ upon a FAN.

THis pow'rful fan whilſt Delia *bea*
Who Cupid's *bow or quiver fear*
Uſeleſs and vain his darts are found,
Whilſt Delia's *fan ne'er fails to woun*
This, whilſt it makes her heat retire,
In other breaſts augments the fire.
Fly, Cupid, *fly; revenge the wrong.*
Nor let the fair-one triumph long:
Haſte, quit your ſhape, as godheads ca
And take the form of Delia's *fan:*
(Whilſt o'er her ſnowy breaſts you pl
You'll joy you threw the God away.)
Then, whilſt you make one heat depart
With gentler flames O warm her hea

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EPILOGUE to the FAITHFUL SHEPHERD, spoke by Mrs FURNIVAL.

SUch were the scenes Italian *fancy wrought,*
Ere musick from the stage had baniſh'd thought;
Led on, where heroes trod, a beardleſs throng,
Warblers who raviſh — only with a ſong.
Ladies, what think ye of Mirtillo's *vows?*
What modern youth wou'd die to ſave his ſpouſe?
Our wiſer lovers, in theſe reas'ning days,
To gain their miſtreſſes chuſe milder ways;
With parents calmly traffick for their daughter,
And wait till lawyers ſign her — imprimatur.
When after tedious moons of wiſhing, lo!
The eager bride finds in her arms — a beau.
Who can the coxcomb's happy lot expreſs?
His knowledge, faſhions; and his buſ'neſs,--dreſs:
Lord of the ſnuff-box and the ſparkling ring,
A ſmiling, bowing, neceſſary thing.
Too vain to love, too low to be abus'd,
And juſt deſpis'd enough to be well-us'd.
But of our ſex the men of ſenſe beware,
Your ſlavery is the triumph of the fair;
'Twixt paſſion long and reaſon doom'd to vary,
To ponder, doubt, examine, judge, yet---marry.
Long poliſh'd nations have admir'd theſe ſtrains;
Rome's *brighteſt beauties crowded to theſe ſcenes:*
Yet never the applauded author drew
A fairer circle than we boaſt in you.
Kindly then praiſe Mirtillo's *gen'rous mind;*
So, may each nymph a faithful ſhepherd *find.*

EPIGRAM.

UPon ſome haſty errand Tom *was ſent,*
And met their pariſh-curate as he went;
But, juſt like what he was, a perfect clown,
It ſeems he paſs'd him with a cover'd crown.
The gownman ſtopt, and, turning, ſternly ſaid,
" I doubt, my lad, you're iller taught than fed.
Why ay, ſays Tom, *ſtill jogging on, that's true;*
Thank God, he feeds me, but I'm taught by you.

The Duke of AR——LE's Levee.

Spoken by Col. CHARTRES, and writ by the late Lord BINNING.

——Ingentem foribus domus alta ſuperbis
Mane ſalutantum totis vomit ædibus undam. *Vir.*

WIth other Scots *the other day*
I waited on A-G--E,
Than whom no better patriot breathes
Within our Britiſh *iſle.*
Sing, Muſe, who never ſang before,
How well we were receiv'd;
And what he ſaid, and eke alſo,
How nobly we behav'd.
Long time we had not held chit-chat
Before his Grace appear'd;
And with his ever-pleaſing air
Our hearts and faces chear'd.
He beck'n'd us up, all one by one,
And ſpoke to each ſo pat,
That all well-pleas'd his levee left,
But I, who ſmelt a rat.
Then to [a] A——r, *in the van*
Advancing, were his words;
" Nor ours, nor any foreign land,
A hawk like your's affords.
So Richmond's *Duke, of hawks the judge,*
Aſſur'd me t'other day." [*Grace;*
Philip *bow'd low, and thank'd his*
And went well-pleas'd away.
To Colonel [b] S—r: " *T'other day,*
I was well-pleas'd to ſee,
The Britiſh *coffee-houſe ſo chang'd*
From what it us'd to be.
Your Sarah *charms, it grows polite*
As G—d my ſoul ſhall ſave."
With low obeiſance, hearty thanks
The grateful Colonel gave.
The Advocate [c], *with reverence great,*
Advancing was to ſpeak;
But, like the reſt, he was ſtruck dumb,
With cheek applied to cheek.
" The lawyers in our houſe declare,
That no man ſpeaks like you; [*bow'd,*
Your rhet'rick charms." Then Duncan
And own'd his Grace ſpoke true.
Then [d] *Colonels* Jack *and* Peter *drew*
Together near his Grace:
" Peter! *thou haſt a martial ſoul,*
And Jack *a handſome face:*
Were you two blended both in one,
L—d! how you'd look and fight!"
Then Peter *bow'd, wheel'd to the left,*
And Jack *unto the right.*
Then to Culloden [e], *ſaid the Duke,*
" *Now tell me,* John, *ſincere,*

[a] Col. Anſtruther.
[b] Col. Sinclair.
[c] Duncan Forbes, Eſq;
[d] Colonels John and Peter Campbells.
[e] John Forbes of Culloden, Eſq;

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Whether eight bottles 'tis, or ten,
You drink to your own ſkair ?"

Culloden *bow'd, and thank'd his Grace,*
For ſuch a kindly word;
And vow'd to G-d *his Grace ſpake like*
An angel of the L—d.

Then forward Brodie [f] *made a ſtep,*
In whoſe attentive ear
His Grace was pleas'd to whiſper, but
So loud as we could hear:

"*The Ladies in the town declare,*
That no man kiſs'd ſo well." [*Grace;*
The Laird laugh'd much, and thank'd his
But ſaid, "*They ſhould not tell.*"

Then Colonel [g] M——n *advanc'd,*
A neceſſary man; [*pleas'd,*
Who well might, if the Muſe had
Been welcom'd to the van:

"*My friend, I hope your Lady's well.*"
—(*She's well to ſerve your Grace.*)
Both ſmil'd, and bow'd, and ſmil'd a-
In one another's face. [*gain,*

Six times had Harry [h] *bow'd unſeen,*
Before he durſt advance: [*pleas'd,*
The Duke then turning round, well-
Said, "*Sure you've been in* France.

A more polite and janty mien
I never ſaw before."
Then Harry *bow'd, and bluſh'd, and*
And ſtrutted to the door. [*bow'd,*

To honeſt John [i], *who made a leg:*
"*Ah! honeſt* Skip," *ſaid he.*
And Skip *was well content with that.*
His Grace then turn'd to me [k]:

"*Ah!* Chartres!"—"*Bl--d and w--ds,*
I anſwer'd: and his Grace [*my Lord,*"
Was going to reply; when lo!
Great Daniel [l] *ſhow'd his face.*

At ſight of him low bow'd the Peer,
And Daniel *deign'd a nod:*
"*I ſaw Sir* Robert, *and 'tis done;*"--
"—*You've kept me in, by* G—*d.*"

At ſight of this I limp'd away,
Inform'd where to apply;
Begging my countrymen may take
The hint as well as I.

[f] Alexander Brodie, Eſq; Lord Lyon.
[g] Col. Middleton.
[h] H. Cuningham of Boquhan, Eſq;
[i] John Campbell of Skipniſh, Eſq;
[k] Col. Chartres.
[l] Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, Eſq;

The CURE of LOVE. By a Lady.

PHOEBE and PHYLLIS.

PHOEBE.

WHY, gentle Phyllis, *do you fly the plain,*
And feed in lonely ſhades a ſecret pain?
Thoſe ſwoln red eyes, and that pale faded cheek,
Too well the anguiſh of your boſom ſpeak.

Phyl. *Since there is no concealment of my woe;*
Since from experienc'd life much art you know,
O ſay, great Prieſteſs of Diana's *ſhrine,*
Whoſe pow'r and knowledge almoſt are divine;
Say, can the ſoul *from torture be redreſs'd;*
Can any med'cine *cure a troubled breaſt?*

Phœ. *Yes; for as baljams raging pains ap-*
peaſe,
Sage counſels to diſtemper'd minds give eaſe;
Ev'n Love *is no* incurable diſeaſe.
—Hah, nymph, what means that ſudden bluſh
and ſtart?
Have I gueſs'd right, and touch'd the tender part?

Phyl. *I wou'd conceal it—but I cannot feign:*
You gueſs'd, and, as you nam'd it, wak'd my pain.

Phœ. *Then to the cure we'll take the ſafeſt courſe,*
And trace the malady to its firſt ſource. [*griev'd:*
Then tell what ſwain you lov'd, and why you're
The heavieſt heart by ſpeaking *is reliev'd.*

Phyl. *At our laſt wake I* Damon *chanc'd to*
view.——

Phœ. —*A* graceful youth!——

Phyl. ——— *O! were he but as* true.
Be as he will, I liſten'd to his tongue,
Joy'd when he ſpoke, and raptur'd when he ſung;
So ſweet in ſpeech or ſong his accents flow'd,
So ſweet he told the flame with which he glow'd,
Cold muſt the maiden be who was not mov'd,
For never cou'd ſhe think ſhe was not lov'd.
That I was lov'd I credulouſly thought,
And to return the flame my breaſt I taught.
Too ſoon my breaſt was practis'd in the art;
Love, *when once enter'd, ſoon commands our heart.*
Love *fed my waking thoughts with glorious themes,*
And bleſs'd my ſlumbers with tranſporting dreams;
My days all pleaſure, and my nights all joy,
Which time, I cry'd, will heighten, not deſtroy.
—What will not time deſtroy? —To what not prove
A certain ruin, when he ruins love?

Phœ. *Moſt of the ills which we from time endure,*
So kindly fate ordains, that time ſhall cure.
If the ſwain has not honour's bounds tranſgreſt,
Love, though neglected, ſhall not break your reſt;
Prudence *ſhall teach your heart to ceaſe to burn,*
And ſlight for ſlight repay, and ſcorn for ſcorn.

Phyl. *Ah,* Phœbe, *thank my ſtars! ah, thank*
my fate!
Though I repent, repent I not too late. [*Although*

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Although I fondly lov'd, and fond believ'd,
Not ev'n by Damon *wou'd I be deceiv'd;*
Deceiv'd to trespass on fair Honour's *laws,*
My love, though folly, *yet no* shame *will cause:*
I'm left — for I, aware of man's deceit,
Wou'd trust no man my innocence to cheat;
Clear is my virtue and my virgin fame,
Yet I my heart for loving still must blame.

Phœ. *Your* remedy *from* Prudence *must arise,*
Nor can you be unhappy, if you're wise.
All my best art, for 'twill my best require,
I bring, to free your heart from love's desire.

Phyl. *Free me from that, you fix my sole delight.*

Phœ. *Call* Reason *to your aid, you'll put to flight*
The foe not to be quell'd by other might:
Of all Love's *happiest pleasures sum th'account,*
And learn to what the total will amount;
Then in the balance Love's *vexations weigh,*
How certain these, *and how uncertain* they:
Such sordid joys, and of delights so nice,
That female coyness only gives them price. —
There are, who from large dow'rs derive their flame,
And these in full career pursue their game: And these
They wreck their wits the golden prize to gain,
But ev'n that gold becomes at length a chain.

Phyl. *But when* Love's *pleasing dictates I obey'd,*
Though I might err, *for* Happiness *I* stray'd.

Phœ. *Ah, simple maid, to gain true happiness,*
To sacred Virtue *make your chief address;*
Wave sensual joys, and with a flame refin'd,
Court these diviner pleasures of the mind:
From henceforth live of Virtue's *service proud,*
And, with religious charms, be best endow'd:
Thus guarded be from passion's baneful rage,
With holy thoughts divert the pains of age;
So peace shall with her softest transports reign,
Delight, refin'd from all allay of pain;
If love can bless beyond these heights, return,
To drag his chain, and in his fever burn:
Chide my officious zeal to set you free,
And hapless as some simple maidens be.

Phyl. Love *is no more a tyrant in my breast;*
Where Love *deny'd, there* Virtue *can give rest.*

Phœ. *But do not rashly love's strange force despise,*
Take heed you are not captiv'd by surprise;
Mens arts can give new passion and desire,
Revive new hopes, and fan th'expiring fire;
Their mirth and grief, and kindness and disdain,
Are fatal all, and work a maiden's pain:
Fast from all arts and dangers to be sure,
This be your only safeguard and your cure;
Know Love's *a short and transitory joy,*
But Virtue's *bliss, nor* Time, *nor* Death *destroy.*

Anacreon, Ode 52. imitated,

By CHARLES CHESTER, Esq; *M. D.*

Grapes, or the *Vintage.*

IO! *the vintage now is done!* [*sun.*
And black'ned with th' autumnal
The grapes gay youths and virgins bear,
The sweetest product of the year!
In vats the heav'nly load they lay,
And swift the damsels trip away:
The youths alone the wine-press tread,
For wine's by skilful drunkards made:
Mean time the mirthful song they raise,
Io! Bacchus *to thy praise!*
And eying the blest juice, in thought
Quaff an imaginary draught.

Gayly thro' wine, the old advance,
And doubly tremble in the dance:
In fancy'd youth they chant, and play,
Forgetful that their locks are gray.

Thro' wine, the youth compleats his loves;
He haunts the silence of the groves:
Where stretch'd beneath th' embow'ring shade,
He spies some love-inspiring maid;
On beds of rosy sweets she lies
Inviting sleep to close her eyes:
Fast by her side his limbs he throws,
Her hand he presses,--breathes his vows;
And cries, My love, my soul, comply
This instant, or, alas! I die.

In vain the youth persuasion tries!
In vain! — her tongue at least denies:
Then scorning death thro' dull despair,
He storms th' unwilling willing fair;
Blessing the grapes that could dispense
The happy, happy impudence.

Ode 31. The pleasing frenzy.

By the same.

NOW *bring, by all the pow'rs divine,*
Bring me a bowl of rosy wine;
A mighty bowl of wine I crave:
When wine inspires, 'tis sweet to rave.
In frantick rage Alcmæon *drew*
His faulchion, and his * *mother slew:*
Orestes *in a furious mood*
Raving shed his † *mother's blood.*
Dreadful, sober madmen, they! —
None, harmless drunkard, none I slay:

* Eryphile. † Clytemnestra.

The

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The blood of grapes I only crave;
I quaff it, and 'tis sweet to rave.
Alcides *frantick grasp'd his bow,*
His quiver rattled, stor'd with woe;
Stern Ajax *shook his glitt'ring blade,*
And broad his sev'nfold shield display'd:
Dang'rous madman! how he drew
His sword, and hosts in fancy slew!
I, peaceful I, no faulchion wield,
I bend no bow, I poise no shield.
The flow'ry garland crowns my hairs;
My hand the pow'rful goblet bears:
The pow'rful goblet, nobly brave
I drain, and then 'tis sweet to rave.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

REpeated advices confirm the reduction of the GREAT MOGUL by Kouli Kan, to whom he is become a tributary. The conqueror is said to have formed a design of attacking the Turks on the side of Babylon, on pretence of resentment for the Grand Seignior's refusing to grant him liberty to pass through his dominions to visit the tomb of Mahomet. The Sovereign of Persia gives earnest assurances to the Czarina of his disposition to continue in peace with Russia; and, as a mark of his friendship, had presented her with eight elephants he had seized from the Mogul. The speech of the Persian Ambassadors at their audience of leave of the Czarina, may not be unacceptable, on account of its Eastern eloquence.

Most Serene, Most Puissant Great Lady, Empress and Sovereign of all Russia.

SInce that we, the most submissive servants of the two empires, being charged with the amicable letter of the Great Lord the Grand Cagan, the Sovereign of Iran, the Sophy Nadir, renown'd through the whole world, are arrived at the most high court of your Imperial Majesty, Great Lady, who is adorned with a crown as resplendent as the sun and the moon, who is seated upon a throne as high as heaven, who commands a people as innumerable as the stars, a Princess who surpasses in glory and prosperity most Monarchs in the universe, and to whom we are come to execute the commissions and the orders that our master gave us by word of mouth; since which time to this present instant, and without our deserving it, your Imperial Majesty has been constantly giving us proofs of your extraordinary benevolence, for which we return our most humble thanks: And upon leaving your Majesty's high court to return home, filled with the highest satisfaction, we think ourselves obliged to assure you, that during our whole lives we shall extol the glorious name of your Majesty. We wish that Almighty God may continue to grant to your Imperial Majesty a happy reign, abounding with benedictions, and that you may always triumph over the common enemies. We beg, in prostrating ourselves before your Imperial Majesty, that if, during our residence at your most high court, thro' ignorance we have committed any fault, whether by words or actions, that you would be pleased, according to your greatness of soul, to graciously pardon us. We take the liberty to assure your Imperial Majesty, with the most profound respect, that at our return into Persia we will strive, by our faithful services towards the two empires, to render ourselves worthy of such signal favours. We further invoke Almighty God, that he would cause the strict friendship established between the two empires to subsist without interruption, and that all those who envy it may be covered with shame and confusion.

At CONSTANTINOPLE, the populace are greatly dissatisfied, on account of the treaties said to be concluded with the courts of Vienna and Petersburg: Though some advices declare the present government of the Porte perfectly agreeable to the desires of the people.

Extract of a letter from an Imperial officer who was carry'd as a hostage to Constantinople.

AS the Seraglio of Adrianople is not inhabited, the Grand Vizier shewed it to us at our arrival. 'Tis as large as a town, is encompass'd with fine

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fine meadows, and has a little foreſt within it pleaſantly ſituate. It contains ſeveral apartments and noble gardens, adorn'd with caſcades and hot and cold baths. Tho' this Seraglio is not ſo large as that of Conſtantinople, yet it is capable of holding above 3000 perſons. As we went from thence we travelled thro' a part of the city of Adrianople, which is advantageouſly ſituate. As the Grand Vizier is troubled with a dropſy, the Sultan had ſent a litter for him, carried by four mules; which is a mark of the higheſt diſtinction, no body in this country being allowed to make uſe of that vehicle. Every time that the Grand Vizier baited in our journey, he cauſed fifteen hot diſhes, well dreſſed, to be prepared for us; beſides which, he procured us the pleaſure of hunting with his two ſons, who knew us, and called us by our names. The French Ambaſſador being deſirous to get to Conſtantinople before him, he and we took leave of the Grand Vizier, after he had regal'd us with coffee, ſweetmeats, and ſherbet. We ſet out at midnight, and in four hours time arrived at the ſea-ſhore; and, as we paſſed along it, we met the Sultan with a numerous train, who was then going to the Grand Vizier's Camp to reverence the ſtandard of Mahomet. At noon we came to Pera, which is a ſuburb of Conſtantinople, where lodge all the Ambaſſadors of foreign courts; by whom we were all very civilly entertained, each of them having his ſeparate chamber, where he is very well accommodated. As we were accommodated with a houſe to ſee the Grand Vizier make his publick entry, we were conducted to it by the Interpreter of the Porte; during which there was ſuch a ſilence in the ſtreets, that there was not a word to be heard. The march was begun by the Grand Seignior's guards in yellow and red regimentals, riding two a-breaſt, with each a pair of colours; attended by the ſoldiers who make the attack in battles, and followed by the Capigi Baſhas or Chamberlains of the Sultan, two and two, in uniform liveries, each followed by a valet on horſeback: the harneſſes of the horſes were adorned with precious ſtones and the houſings magnificently embroidered. Then marched the Captain Baſha, or Great Admiral, riding on a ſtately horſe. The Mufti dreſs'd in white was in a coach, preceded by all the Muſſulmen clergy. Behind the Mufti was Mahomet's colours, followed by the Grand Vizier, and accompanied by above 2000 perſons, moſt of them with plumes of feathers in their turbans. The Prime Miniſter looked up, to ſee if we were at the houſe that was ſet apart for us; and his two ſons made us a handſome compliment. The Grand Vizier was attended by all his guards and his whole houſhold. The proceſſion, which laſted above two hours, was cloſed by muſick. All the company marched ſtraight to the Grand Seignior's palace, there to depoſit Mahomet's pair of colours.

Affairs at PETERSBURG are not in the moſt ſettled ſituation. The inteſtine broils of that empire, and the difficulty of preſerving an advantageous neutrality in the preſent ſtate of affairs in Europe, employs the utmoſt ſkill of the Ruſſian miniſtry: And to their cares the late conduct of Sweden has conſiderably added for ſome time; tho' lately the court of Stockholm ſeems to have herſelf been poſſeſſed of the fears ſhe deſigned for her neighbour; and, inſtead of proceeding in the *French* ſcheme of attacking Ruſſia, Sweden is in the greateſt danger of being herſelf atack'd.

The Ruſſian treaty with the Porte has been ratified, the fortreſs of Choczim reſtored, and the fortifications of Aſoph demoliſhed: ſo that, ſhould the machinations of the French court require it, in all probability the arms of Ruſſia will be at leiſure to attend whatever motions ſhe may inſtigate in the North.

Extract of a letter from Peterſburg.

A Courier diſpatched from Kamſchatſka has brought advice, that Capt. Spanberg, a German, having embarked laſt ſummer in the Northern ocean with four ſhips; after about fifteen days ſailing he diſcover'd thirty four great and ſmall iſlands; whoſe inhabitants,

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tants, as soon as they spied him, sent out six of their ships to reconnoitre him, which are built much in the same manner as our gallies; and he landed in one of those islands without meeting with any obstruction from the people. The inhabitants were indeed very much surprised at his arrival, yet they received him in a friendly manner; but as he did not understand their language, he was obliged to make use of signs. The people are almost like those of Japan; and they shewed him some gold and copper coins, which, it seems, they have great plenty of. Capt. Spanberg went aboard again soon after, but has given no particulars of this discovery: he has thought it sufficient to send advice of it to court, demanding leave to come hither, because he has things of the greatest importance to discover, which he does not think safe to impart to any but the Empress or her ministers. The court has granted him that permission; but he cannot be here before next May.

The court of VIENNA bears no very promising aspect, for the empire itself, or its allies. The treaty concluded between his Imperial Majesty and the Porte, by the kind offices of the most pacifick *French* Ambassador, has been ratified, in a manner probably far more agreeable to the intentions of the treaty-makers, than to the expectations and interest of the German court. The Imperialists have fully executed their engagements with the Turks; and tho' the latter refuse to act with the same candor,—the French Ambassador will easily hit upon terms of mitigation:—Tho' Belgrade itself be resign'd by the Emperor, and every thing refused, or but half-performed, by the Grand Seignior; yet, as the Christian cause was in the hands of the Plenipotentiary from the *Most Christian* King, who can doubt the sincerity of such an agent? and tho' at present no great advantage may be discoverable from the industry of the Paris politicians, to be sure we shall be better convinced of their intentions when their motives are known.

A Colonel has invented a machine to row boats up the Danube against the stream, and its success has been confirmed by three experiments, against a very contrary high wind, in the more rapid part of the river, when the boat was brought up 600 feet in 12 minutes; in the second it advanced 660 feet in 8 minutes; in the last 1080 feet in 14 minutes. There was no use of oars, men or horses. The machine consists of large wheels placed in the boats, and a bridge made use of not to take up any room within them. It may be made with two, four, or six wheels, in proportion to the largeness and burden of the vessel, whence four, six, eight or twelve men may navigate them.

The Holy Father of ROME died there the 6th of February, N. S. after very great agonies for some hours. He was 87 years, 9 months, and 20 days old; and had filled the Papal see 9 years 6 months and 25 days. His name was Laurence Corsini, being born of one of the most illustrious families at Florence the 17th of April 1652. After having passed through all the degrees of the court of Rome, he was made Archbishop of Nicomedia and Treasurer of the Apostolical chamber; and Pope Clement XI. created him a Cardinal on the 17th of May 1706. In 1715, he was made Bishop of Palestrine, and was advanced to the Papal throne the 12th of July 1730; when, in memory of the Pope who was his chief benefactor, he took the name of Clement XII. The last publick acts of most moment which he sign'd before his death were, an indulto to the King of Spain to raise 2 millions of crowns upon his clergy, including the Jesuits, and a brief to the Dean of the sacred college to qualify Cardinal Coscia, who has been so long under his disgrace, to give his vote, *&c.* in as full extent as the other Cardinals in the conclave.

Advices from MADRID are big with prodigious designs. Gibraltar is to be attack'd; Port-Mahon taken; the Chevalier de St George's eldest son is to head some expedition or other, supported by the late Duke of Ormond, the Earl Marischal, and many thousands of Irishmen, who are said to be more nu-

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numerous about Madrid than was ever before known: And advices from Ireland say, a small diversion was lately begun by three French ships upon the crew of the Queen Mary of Bristol, Capt. Vaughan, designed for a privateer against the Spaniards, the carpenter, boatswain, and several of the English sailors, being killed in the skirmish. The Spanish and French advices agree with regard to the success of the British squadron in America; but no victory is yet boasted from either Paris or Madrid, tho' several rodomontades seem ready for use, probably in expectation of a defeat. Spanish privateers are more numerous than his Catholick Majesty's men of war. They can sail faster. Admiral Vernon's fleet is own'd to have reached the Spanish colonies; but the Spanish and French accounts assure us, that he sailed away again immediately, because at one place he found a bad air, at another a battery with guns upon it. Such at present is the voice of these powers. Plain truth is left to the English.

Great pains have been taken to intimidate the court of LISBON from the neutrality resolved upon in the present war; but it is not to be feared that the Portuguese will be deluded into the confidence of Spain, and trust to so dangerous a neighbour, at the expence of the friendship of the crown that can alone be depended upon to protect them from Spanish injuries, as was seen not many years ago.

PARIS is full of negotiations; and while all France bears a face of warlike preparation, mediation is the subject of most advices from Versailles.

The UNITED PROVINCES continue to deliberate upon the present conjuncture of affairs; and till France declares herself, the resolution of the States will scarcely be known.

LONDON, *February* 1740.

POsitive orders are given to have every thing ready for the expedition to America by the first of April. Nine regiments, late on the Irish establishment, are to be transported as soon as possible to New-York; where (with three regiments to be raised in the Plantations) they are to be encamped, and his Majesty's standard set up. Great numbers of transports are taken up at the navy-office, for carrying the above regiments thither, and provisions for Admiral Haddock's squadron. — Gen. Hargrave, Deputy-Governor of Gibraltar, and all the other officers of that garrison and Mahon, are ordered forthwith to their posts; and 500 men are to be draughted out of the foot-guards for Gibraltar. — The lines are ordered to be marked for the camps intended to be formed this spring in Hide-park, Hounslow-heath, and Black-heath. — The press is hotter than ever, and the watermens company are ordered to furnish 2000 men for the sea-service. Several letters of marque are taken out. The embargo is taken off all foreign shipping. — By a proclamation, dated Jan. 31. for the encouragement of sailors, able volunteers are to have 2 l. 2 s. royal bounty, and ordinary hands 30 s. six months pay certain from the day they offer themselves to any naval officer, Justice of Peace, *&c.* and the usual conduct-money. Justices of Peace, Magistrates, Constables, *&c.* are required not only to assist in impressing seamen, but to transmit to the navy any they find fit for service after the 15th March. The officers receiving these sailors are appointed to give receipts for them; and the Commissioners of the navy, or officers under their direction, are to pay 20 s. for each man, besides 6 d. for each mile he is brought, if under 20, and 10 s. for each man that shall be brought above 20 miles, to the person producing the receipt. Protections from the Admiralty to be in force no longer than six months. Watermen, in any other service than protected for, to lose the benefit of their protections.

There has been so great a demand, since the declaration of war, for gunpowder, that from 3 l. 10 s. per hundred, it has risen to 5 l.

A bill is brought into parliament for granting to his Majesty one million out of the sinking fund, for the service of the

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the year 1740, beſides 200,000 l. out of the growing produce of the ſaid fund.

On the 8th Feb. Madam Amelia Sophia Walmodun (alias Valmonte) took the oaths at the bar of the houſe of Lords, in order to her naturalization.

Joſeph Como, Eſq; an eminent Italian merchant of London, who for ſome years ago acted as Agent from Parma, has received letters of credence from Naples, appointing him Miniſter-Plenipotentiary from the King of the Two Sicilies to the court of G. Britain, and had his firſt private audience of his Majeſty the 14th February.

On the 30th Jan. a Spaniſh privateer got in with the fleet of Engliſh merchants off the bar of Oporto; but being ſeen by the Sea-horſe, Captain Cleland, he ſlipt his anchor, ſoon drove the privateer on ſhore, and killed eight Spaniards. The reſt of the crew, conſiſting of more than 90 men, got aſhore at Oporto.

They write from Curacao of the 16th November laſt, that they have receiv'd advice, that four or five Engliſh men of war had made a deſcent in the province of Guaira in S. America, where they deſtroyed every thing they met with, after carrying off what they liked beſt; that they ſailed immediately towards Porto-Cabello, where they deſtroyed every thing belonging to the Guipuſcoan company; that they were all in the utmuſt confuſion alongſt the coaſt of Caraccas, moſt of the inhabitants having retired farther up the country, and ſome entirely abandon'd it.

They write from St Crux de Tenariff, of Jan. 10. That the maſter of a ſhip juſt arriv'd there ſays, that an Engliſh privateer had taken, under the cannon of a Portugueſe fort, near Cape Verd, a regiſter ſhip bound for Spain from Campechy, but laſt from the Havannah, with a cargo of 80 cheſts of ſugar, 1500 hides, a quantity of logwood, and ſome ſilver. But 'tis ſaid that the Captain, who is ſuppoſed to be Lewis de Miranda, had found means to run his ſilver aſhore before his ſhip fell into the Engliſh hands.

There is advice, that the Diamond man of war had taken two prizes, one of them a regiſter ſhip of 20 guns, bound from Campechy to Cuba and St Auguſtine, with 200,000 pieces of eight; the other of 16 guns, who ſerved for her convoy.

Several more prizes are carried into Jamaica.

The following Britiſh ſhips are taken by the Spaniards, *viz.* the Diſpatch, Collins, carried into Malaga; the Suſanna, Denn, into Cadiz; the Paz Garden, Nutt, taken by two Spaniſh men of war at the Canaries, and carried with them for America, tho' ſhip and cargo belonged to perſons ſettled in the Canaries; the Chitty of Hannau, into Vigo; The Springfield, Purnell, into Porto-Specie, belonging to the Genoeſe.

P. S. London, Mar. 1. This afternoon S. S. trading ſtock was 95, 3 8ths, a 1 8th. Ditto Old annuities, 109, 7 8ths. Ditto New, 107, 7 8ths, a 3 4ths. Bank ſtock, 139, 3 4ths. India ditto, 155, 1 8th, a 155. Three per cent. annuities, 99, 1 4th. Million bank, 113. Royal aſſurance, 86. London aſſurance, 11. Mine adventure ſhares, no price. Engliſh copper, 3 l. 6 s. 6 d. Welch ditto, 15 s. African, 13, 1 half. Seven per cent. Emperor's loan, 107, 1 8th, a 1 4th Five per cent. ditto, 88, 3 4ths. Bank circulation, 3 l. 10 s. Three per cent. S. S. bonds, no price, prem. India ditto, 3 l. 15 s. prem. Three 1 half per cent. Exchequer orders, 3 4ths, prem. Three per cent. ditto, 6 1 half diſcount. Salt tallies, 1 4th, a 3 4ths, prem.

EDINBURGH.

On the 25th Feb. came on before the High Court of Juſticiary, the mutual proceſſes at the inſtance of James Earl of Morton, Stewart-principal of Orkney, Andrew Roſs Stewart-depute, John Riddoch Stewart-clerk, and Henry Mowat a tenant in ſaid ſtewartry, againſt Sir James Stewart of Burray, Robert Sinclair late tenant in Waterclate, and James Eaſſon Servant to Sir James; and at the inſtance of Sir James, and Robert Sinclair, deſigned ſon to Alexander Sinclair of Sixpeny, againſt the Earl

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Earl of Morton, Andrew Roſs, John Riddoch, and others.

The libel at the inſtance of the Earl, &c. *complains*, That upon the 19th July laſt Sir James and the other pannels, with ſeveral others, armed with guns, ſwords, batons, &c. forcibly carried away priſoner Henry Mowat complainer from his own houſe in the iſland of Fara, beat him to the effuſion of his blood when priſoner, and carried him aboard a boat to the iſland of Flota; and at the ſame time likewiſe carried away priſoner Henry Mowat ſervant to ſaid complainer, together with the cattle after mentioned, on board another boat. That during the confinement of ſaid complainer and his ſervant, the pannels, &c. carried off three cattle which were in his poſſeſſion, and extorted a bill from him for 40 l. Scots; but in two days he made his eſcape. That on the 23d July, Henry Mowat his ſervant was, by Robert Sinclair and James Eaſſon, carried back priſoner to Fara, to the houſe of Henry Mowat complainer; where they invaded Barbara Mowat his ſpouſe, and predonioufly and oppreſſively extorted from her the ſum of 10 l. Scots, or ſome ſuch ſum, for redeeming him from his captivity: notwithſtanding which he was carried back priſoner to Flota, and tranſported thence to the iſland of Burray; where he was obliged to work to Sir James without fee or reward. That upon the 1ſt of Auguſt, the Earl, Andrew Roſs, and John Riddoch, &c. paſſing occaſionally through Burray, in their way from South-Ronaldſay to Græmeſhall, Henry Mowat applied to Andrew Roſs for deliverance from his confinement; which was readily granted, and he taken into the boat with the Earl, &c. That hereupon the pannels did forthwith aſſemble a number of men, armed with guns, ſwords, batons, &c. and having gone on board three boats, gave chace to the boat in which the Earl, &c. were, intending to retake Mowat, to deſtroy the Earl and thoſe in company with him, and to ſink their boat, or to diſable and ſet it adrift to ſea: And that the Earl, &c. having landed at Holm near Græmeſhall, the pannels, &c. landed ſoon after, purſued and came up with the Earl, &c. and Sir James, in a furious and outrageous manner invaded the Earl and Andrew Roſs, imperiouſly and inſolently demanded back Henry Mowat, and, upon refuſal, immediately collar'd and grappled with the Earl, and ordered his aſſociates to carry off Mowat. That the ſaid Andrew Roſs, Stewart-depute, having ordered Sir James and his party, in the King's name to diſperſe, they refus'd to comply, and Sir James ſaid, *That by God they ſhould not diſperſe till he got back his man*; and then they violently dragged Mowat ſome part of the way towards their boats: And that when the byſtanders were endeavouring to reſcue Mowat, Robert Sinclair, having firſt diſarmed the Stewart's officers and others of his company, retired a few ſteps, threatned to fire upon the Stewart-depute and his attendants, and ſoon thereafter diſcharged a gun, and thereby wounded John Riddoch complainer in the thigh. That during all this while Sir James held the Earl by the breaſt until they were parted by the byſtanders.

The libel at the inſtance of Sir James Stewart and Mr Robert Sinclair, *complains*, That upon the 1ſt of Auguſt laſt, the Earl and the other pannels, with ſeveral others, to the number of twenty, armed with guns, ſwords, and other mortal weapons, traverſed the iſland of Burray, the ſole property of Sir James, in a hoſtile manner, and, by threats, menaces, or other unjuſtifiable means, did concuſs Henry Mowat to deſert Sir James's ſervice. That upon Mr Sinclair's coming to reclaim Mowat, the Earl cried, *There's the bankrupt Sinclair*; and addreſſing himſelf to thoſe in company with him, he expreſſed himſelf to this purpoſe, *Damn ye, uncover the guns, make ready, and, if he comes within reach, ſhoot him dead:* And that they immediately ſet ſail for the oppoſite ſhore, carrying Mowat alongſt with them. That Sir James, without any arms, went aboard another boat, taking none alongſt with him but Mr

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Sinclair, a ſervant, and the boat's crew, leaving orders with another boat to follow with a Notary. That Sir James, accompanied as above, came up to the Earl, &c. near Græmeſhall, and demanded civilly for what reaſon he had thus carried off his ſervant; and that the Earl told he wanted to lead him as an evidence in a proceſs againſt Sir James. That Sir James, giving little heed to this, took Mowat by the hand, deſiring him to return to his ſervice; and Mr Sinclair adviſing him likewiſe to return, the Earl cried, *Shoot Sinclair*; which cry going round, others cried to make ſure of the principal; and Sir James and Mr Sinclair were forthwith invaded, the Earl, aſſiſted by Andrew Roſs, ſeizing Sir James by the throat. That Sir James, catching hold of the Earl and Roſs, ſtruggled for ſome time; whereupon the Earl called James Baikie of Tankerneſs to his aſſiſtance; who immediately preſented a piſtol to Sir James's breaſt, and was about to pour the ſhot in him, but was prevented by his ſervant Donald Roſs's wreſting the piſtol out of his maſter's hands, uſing this expreſſion, *Let me fire, as I have leſs to riſk.* That while the Earl was thus employ'd, Robert Sinclair was beat by David Rendal Stewart-officer, pannel, with a rung, and afterwards attacked with a cock'd gun; and that Mr Sinclair having laid hold of the gun, it went off in the ſtruggle. That upon this David Riddoch diſcharged a gun at Mr Sinclair, and wounded him in the groin; that thereafter Donald Roſs diſcharged the piſtol at him which he had before wreſted out of his maſter's hands, and wounded him in the belly; and that after all this, John Riddoch beat him to the ground by a ſtroak on the hind-head with the dog-head of his clubb'd gun. That Mr Sinclair, being diſabled, was made priſoner, Sir James getting free while they ſeiz'd and carried him off. That Mr Sinclair was carried priſoner to the tolbooth of Kirkwall; where he lay languiſhing in his wounds from the 1ſt of Auguſt; and, under theſe diſmal circumſtances, to heighten the agony of his pain, he was, for the firſt three days, chain'd to a bar of iron, refuſed all manner of relief and aſſiſtance, and acceſs denied to his wife and other friends; and afterwards a weighty iron bullet was alſo tied to his leg, ſo hard as to cut or fret the fleſh. That bail was not only refuſed, tho' the crime was bailable, but, after he was liberated by order of the Lords of Juſticiary upon finding caution, he was not above half an hour out of priſon when he was again incarcerate by order of John Riddoch, and put under the ſame rigorous confinement by iron chains and fetters: and, tho' ſufficient bail was again offered, he lay ſtill confin'd in the ſaid tolbooth till about the middle of November, that, upon a ſecond application to the Lords, he was ordered to be liberate.

Sir James, Mr Sinclair, and James Eaſſon, in their defence, ſtate the fact with reſpect to Henry Mowat thus: That the cattle taken from him belonged to one James Mowat in Flota, a tenant of Sir James's; by whom they having been arreſted in ſecurity of a year's rent due him, Henry entered into a concert with James to diſappoint the arreſtment, by carrying them over to Fara. That as ſoon as Sir James got notice of this, he, Mr Sinclair, and a Servant, went to Fara, ſent for Mowat from his houſe, and when he came deſired him to ſhew where the cattle were; which Mowat, ſeeing the fraud diſcovered, agreed to, aſſiſted to ſeparate them from his own, and ſent a ſervant for tedders to lead them to the ſhore. That Mowat endeavoured to exculpate himſelf of the fraud; but Sir James having put him in mind of ſome former tricks, he propoſed to go over to Flota, to clear himſelf; and accordingly went in the boat with Sir James, and cauſed his ſervant, young Henry Mowat, attend the cattle in another boat, as he had aſſiſted in ſeparating and leading them off. That they lodged in a publick houſe, with ſome friends, at full liberty; and next morning, James Mowat, the tenant, charged the two Henries with the guilt of contriving and executing the carrying away the cattle. That old Henry, to prevent a proſecution, and

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and in consideration of what he owed Sir James, as the price of some sheep bought from him, and of a cow he had formerly carried off from another tenant of Sir James's, and of some malt taken from a third, agreed to pay 40 l. Scots, and voluntarily accepted a bill for that sum: and that young Henry, the servant, in consideration of what Sir James had to lay to his charge, agreed to pay 10 l. Scots. That next day old Henry went off, publickly, without any appearance of an escape. That Mr Sinclair and James Easson, going to shoot seals, young Henry desired to go over in their boat to get his money, which he had left with old Henry's wife, in order to pay the above 10 l. That they went together to Fara, and were invited by old Henry to his house, where his wife gave young Henry the money she had of his in keeping; who, in presence of his master, paid the 10 l. to Easson. That young Henry followed Mr Sinclair to the boat, and asked leave to go back to Flota; which, at his importunity, was agreed to; and that he voluntarily went to Burray to work to Sir James till an opportunity should offer for going to Cathness, where he was engaged a servant.

The facts, with respect to what happened on the 1st of August, appear, as related by the different parties, from their respective libels; of which we have given the substance above.

Objections were offered by either party to the relevancy of the other's libel, and defences in way of exculpation for themselves. — With respect to the circumstances of cruelty alledged to have attended Robert Sinclair's imprisonment, the Earl, &c. in their defence, answered, That the prison was the King's; of which the magistrates of Kirkwall and their jailor, over whom none of the pannels had any authority, were keepers; and consequently they only were answerable for securing their prisoner by irons or fetters. That a project was laid by the prisoner's countrymen to liberate him during the Lammas-fair at Kirkwall; and that this was a justification of the keepers securing him by irons and fetters; which were used so as to give no torture, and were continued no longer than the fair lasted. That access was only refused to strangers without notice given to the Captain of the guard, and that only during the fair. That Dr Sutherland, a physician and surgeon, was offered him to dress his wounds; but was refused admittance: and that his wounds were but slight. — As to the refusal of bail, That when it was first offered, it was uncertain what might be the consequence of Mr Riddoch's wounds; and that the second commitment was upon a sign'd information for new crimes not contained in the warrant of the former commitment.

P. S. On the 3d March the court determined the relevancy, finding, with respect to the libel at the instance of the Earl, &c. against Sir James, &c. "That process cannot be sustained upon that article of the libel which charges the pannels in these words, *Where they invaded Barbara Mowat his spouse, and predoniously and oppressively extorted from her the sum of ten pounds Scots*; because of the uncertain manner in which it is libelled: But find, That the pannels, or any of them, their being guilty, or art and part, of all or any of the other articles of the libel, *separatim* relevant to infer the pains of law; and allow the pannels to prove the several facts and circumstances alledged for them in their defence for eliding or alleviating the crimes charged; and repell all objections to the libel as found relevant; and remit the pannels, and the libel as found relevant, to the knowledge of an assize:" And, with respect to the libel at the instance of Sir James, &c. against the Earl, &c. finding, "That the pannels, or any of them, their being guilty, or art and part, of all or any of the articles of the libel, *separatim* relevant to infer the pains of law: But allow the pannels to prove the several facts and circumstances alledged for them in their defence, for eliding or alleviating the crimes charged; and repell all objections to the libel as found relevant; and remit, &c."

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On the 4th March, the court met at eight in the morning. One aſſize was ſelected to take knowledge of both libels, &c. and then the witneſſes were examin'd; which employed the court till about ſix next morning. At which time the jury enclos'd, and did not riſe till about noon. On the 7th, according to appointment, the jury gave in their verdict. Whereby, with reſpect to the Earl's libel againſt Sir James, &c. "They all with one voice find, That Henry Mowat ſenior, tenant in Fara, being called out of his houſe by two of Sir James Stewart's people that came with him from Flota, they find it proven, That he the ſaid Henry came voluntarily out of his houſe; and that he was a little ſpace thereafter beat by the ſaid Sir James Stewart with a pole, to the effuſion of his blood: And that he the ſaid Sir James Stewart unwarrantably carried off the three cattle libelled, from the ſaid iſland of Fara; which he put into a boat: And that Henry Mowat the ſervant was carried away forcibly, by Sir James Stewart's orders, to the ſhore; and thereafter went into the ſame boat with the cattle. As alſo find it proven, That the ſaid Sir James Stewart and Robert Sinclair are guilty, art and part, of all the crimes committed at Holm, in the main land of Orkney, as libelled. But find all the other articles of the libel not proven." And with reſpect to Sir James's libel againſt the Earl, &c. "They all with one voice find it proven, That Henry Mowat younger, who does not appear to have been ſervant to Sir James Stewart the purſuer, went voluntarily alongſt with the Earl of Morton and his company, at the time libelled, from the iſland of Burray to the main land of Orkney; and that there does not appear to have been any violence or compulſion uſed towards carrying the ſaid Henry Mowat off from the ſaid iſland by the Earl or any of the pannels. Find it likewiſe proven, That John Riddoch the pannel did fire a gun at Robert Sinclair purſuer, during the fray which happened at Holm on the main land; but not proven, that the ſaid Robert Sinclair received any hurt thereby. Find it likewiſe proven, That, immediately after, the ſaid John Riddoch clubbed a gun, and with it ſtruck Robert Sinclair on the head, by which he wounded him to the effuſion of his blood: But finds it at the ſame time proven, That, previous to John Riddoch's firing, and ſtriking the ſaid Robert Sinclair with the gun, he the ſaid Sinclair had fired a gun at Riddoch, and thereby wounded him. Find it proven, That the above mentioned Robert Sinclair was twice impriſoned at Kirkwall; and, while under his confinement in jail, met with moſt cruel and barbarous treatment, entirely unjuſtifiable, and by no means ſuitable to his crimes; but do not find this laſt article of the libel proven againſt any of the pannels. Find all the other articles of the libel not proven." Whereupon the court aſſoilzied the Earl and the other pannels indicted by Sir James, &c. *ſimpliciter*, and diſmiſſed them from the bar. They in like manner aſſoilzied and diſmiſſed James Eaſſon; but continued the diet againſt Sir James Stewart and Robert Sinclair till the 11th March. The reſult of which ſhall be given in our next.

Deaths.

At London, on the 27th February, in the 65th year of his age, Alexander Home Earl of Marchmont, Knight of the Thiſtle, &c. He was ſometime a Senator of the college of juſtice; afterwards Ambaſſador to the court of Denmark, Plenipotentiary to the congreſs of Cambray, one of the ſixteen Peers for Scotland, one of the Privy council, &c. He is ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Lord Polwarth, member for Berwick upon Tweed. — At Paris, the Counteſs Ferrers, relict of Waſhington Earl Ferrers. — Lady Rachel Manners, daughter of the Duke of Rutland. — Lady Anne Frankland, ſiſter to the Earl of Scarborough, and wife to Frederick Frankland, Eſq; member for Thirſk. — Jean Lady Baronneſs of Newwark. — Aged 80, Lady Ferguſſon, mother of Sir James Ferguſſon Ld Kilkerran. — Sir Joſeph Eyles, Alderman of Cheap

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Cheap ward, London, and member for the Devizes, Wiltshire. — At Paris, Henry Perrot, Esq; member for the county of Oxford. — Sir Edmund Elwill, Comptroller of the Excise-duties, South-Britain. — Sir William Juxon, Bart. descended of Bp Juxon, who attended K. Charles on the scaffold, and after the restoration was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and High Treasurer of England. — Col. Joseph Ferrers, one of the Commissioners of the wine-licence-office. — Giles Eyre, Esq; Serjeant at law to his Majesty. — William Cowper, Esq; Chief Clerk to the house of Lords. — Capt. Peter Auchmoutie, an old officer, having a commission dated in 1666. He followed the fate of K. James at the revolution, and has since lived retired. — Capt. Foord, Providore of the royal hospital near Dublin. — Capt.-Lt Peter Ormsby, in the late Gen. Napier's horse. — John Miller, Esq; Town-Major of Limerick. — Capt. William Moses, aged 81. the oldest Captain in the Navy. — James D'Ashwood, the young son and heir of Sir James D'Ashwood. — The only son of Master Charles Erskine of Edenshead, brother to the Earl of Buchan. — Mr Elisha Smith, author of the Cure of Deism. — Mr Thompson, Painter to the city of London. — In the parish of Bize, in the Diocese of Comminges in France, on the 19th Jan. last, N. S. John Roger Gaston, aged 129. He was never sick, never took physick, and was a brisk man till within a fortnight of his death. — The Sieur Valade, Parson of St Michael, one of the parishes of Vienne in France, aged 119. He was ordained a Priest in 1652, said mass till his sight failed about a year ago, was sensible to the last, and subject to no ailment but the weight of years. — In the parish of Wootten, near Barham-downs, South-Britain, widow Roust, aged 105.

PREFERMENTS.

The Duke of Richmond, *Governor*; and John Spencer Colepeper, Esq; of the Inner-temple, *Treasurer, of the Charterhouse*. — Thomas Whichcote, Esq; *Representative for Lincolnshire*. — Lord Visc. Quarenden, eldest son of the Earl of Litchfield, *Representative for the county of Oxford*. — Nicholas Herbert, Esq; *Representative for Newport in Cornwall*. — William Kynaston, Esq; one of the Masters in Chancery, *Curfitor Baron of the Exchequer*. — John Talbot, Esq; member for Brecon, *a Welch Judge*, in the room of Richard Pottinger, Esq; member for Reading, deceas'd. — Mr Birch, *King's Serjeant at law*. — Mr Legg, son to the Earl of Dartmouth, *King's Counsil*. — George Arnold linen-draper, *Alderman of Cheap ward, London*. — Henry Harris, Esq; *a Commissioner of the wine-licence-office*. — Richard Willoughby of Knoyle, in Wilts, Esq; *First Waiter of the robes in ordinary to his Majesty*. — Mr Wedeking, *Chief Coachman to his Majesty*. — Dr Joseph Story, Dean of St Edan, Ireland, and Chaplain to the house of Commons, *Bishop of Kilaloe*. — Ld Cathcart, *General and Commander in chief*; and Col. Blackeney, *Adjutant-General, of the forces in America, raised or to be raised*. — James Abercromby, Esq; member for Banffshire, *Judge-Advocate to the marines, and to the forces in America*. — Major-Gen. Scot, *Governor of Chelsea-college*. — Colonels Wolfe and Robinson of the marines, *Brigadeers-General*. — Tho. Hales, Esq; member for Grampound, *Lieutenant-Governor of Dover castle*, in the room of Sir Basil Dixel, who has resigned; and Mr Weller, *Deputy-Governor*, in the room of Col. Thomas Marsh, deceas'd. — George Brewer, Esq; *a Lieutenant in Gen. Clayton's regiment*. — Capt. Charles Smith, *Lieutenant-Governor of Greenwich hospital*. — Capt. Vincent, *Commander of the St Alban's*. — Capt. Savage Moyston, *Commander of the Seaford*. — Capt. Thomas Trefusis, member for Grampound, *Commander of the Montague*, a 60 gun ship, put in commission. — Ld Aubrey Beauclerk, *Commander of the Weymouth*, in the room of Capt. Trefusis. — Capt. Holbourn, *Commander of the Dolphin*, in the room of Ld Aubrey Beauclerk. — Capt. Mitchel, *Commander of the Trial sloop*, in the room of Capt. Holbourn. — Capt. Garlington, *Commander of the Colchester*; Capt.

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Capt. Parker, *of the Torbay*; and Capt. Wharwood, *of the Cambridge*; three ſhips put in commiſſion, of 80 guns and 600 men each. — Capt. Clinton, *Commander of the Prince Frederick*; and Ld Auguſtus Fitzroy, *of the Orford*; two ſhips put in commiſſion, of 70 guns and 480 men each. — Thomas Corbet, Eſq; Under-ſecretary to the Admiralty, and member for Saltaſh, *Secretary to the court of Aſſiſtants for relief of poor widows of ſea-officers.*

Died within the walls of the city of Edinburgh, and buried in the Gray-friars church-yard, February 1740.

Men 36, women 45, children 79. In all, 160. Increaſed this month, 11.

	Age.	N°.	Diſeases.	N°.
	Under — 2	46	Old age —	14
Betwixt	2 & 5	23	Conſumption	36
	5 & 10	9	Chin-cough	1
	10 & 20	4	Fever —	34
	20 & 30	5	Suddenly —	6
	30 & 40	6	Teething —	10
	40 & 50	17	Small-pox —	43
	50 & 60	17	Gravel —	1
	60 & 70	17	Dropſy —	1
	70 & 80	15	Aſthma —	2
	80 & 90	1	Convulſion —	3
			Rhumatiſm	1
			Palſy —	1
			Child-bed —	1
			Meagrum —	3
			Still-born —	3

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The SCOTS *Magazine.*

MARCH, 1740.

CRAFTSMAN, *March* 1.

A letter to a Gentleman in the country, relating to the election of Parliamentmen, published at the beginning of Q. Anne's reign.

SIR,

BY what you write, there ſeems to be in the country an univerſal apprehenſion of all thinking men, that our *next parliament*, under God, will determine the fortune of theſe kingdoms, and make us a *free*, or *enſlaved people*. Mens eyes begin to be open, and ſee their error, in chuſing *members of parliament*, for their *addreſſes* and *expences*, or for (what is equally as bad) the recommendation of *great men*.

We may remember when *this evil* began, and what ſupported it. But that, which was then but *ſcurvy-ſpots* on the body, is of late, by the corruption of *places* and *penſions*, become *plague-ſores*, which hath almoſt infected the whole nation.

I ſhall never forget the anſwer of a *great man*, ſix years ſince, to one who came with a project for leſſening the charge of *offices*, both as to *number* and *value*; which was this: *You would do the King more ſervice, at this time, to enlarge both:* and it is done to the purpoſe, if we have *ten thouſand men in civil employments*, the leaſt of whom have ſome influence on *elections*, by *friends* or *relations*; and they have been ſaid to hold their employments by the tenure of *that ſervice*. We have no need of *ſuch artifices* now; and we ought to mark the *men* that uſe them.

What entertainment would *Old England* have given to *men*, who had no pretence to *elections*, except *preſents to their wives*, and *drink to their huſbands?* Such perſons would have been hurl'd out of the country like *gypſies*; and then the *greateſt expence* would not have been the *merits of their choice*.

I have often wondered, that perſons of the leaſt underſtanding ſhould not ſee the meaning of mens travelling from one end of the kingdom to the other for an *election*. Men do not ſpend their *time* and *money* for moon-ſhine. The bare title of *worthy member* will not anſwer the expence of *five hundred*, or a *thouſand pounds*.

We ſhould except againſt a *juryman*, who gives money to be put upon it: and is there not much more reaſon to conſider a man, who hath our lives and fortunes in his hands, and, we are told, even *without controul*, or ſo much as to be heard by *petition?* If it be ſo, we have the more reaſon to be careful in our choice, and never give our vote for a man we don't know. The common objection is ridiculous, *That there is not a man in ſome corporations fit to ſerve in parliament*. There may not, perhaps, be one fit for a *publick employment*, and that which attends it; but there are few corporations, which have not ſome men in them, who can *follow*, if they cannot *lead honeſt men* in a vote; and there are never wanting Gentlemen in the neighbourhood of a corporation, fitter to be truſted, than *Grecian merchants*, *Lawyers*, *Clerks*, and *Commiſſioners*, inhabitants of *London* and *Weſtminſter*. If we chuſe men of *our own country*, we ſhould bluſh with the *Roman* to ſee a virtuous *Cato* rejected, and a vitious *Vatinius* choſen; but when we chuſe men from *abroad*, we generally do it. Methinks, it admits of no doubt, as I ſaid before. Will any man

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ſerve a *corporation*, which he hath no more intereſt in than the *purchaſe of his election?* There muſt be ſomething more; and this I take to be the reaſon why our *taxes* are ſo great. It is commonly ſaid, that *one third of them went amongſt the managers*; and whenever faulty men were queſtioned, *huſh-money* went abroad, and a *downright vote* ſaved them. At this time, it was obſerved, that though the majority of the houſe were *corporation-choice*, yet not *corporation-men*, but *ſea* and *land Admirals*, *Iriſh* and *Welſh Judges*, *London ſtock-jobbers*, &c. and a *worſe ſet of men*, which time will ſhew. This, if there were no more, would alarm a wiſer nation, to ſee their *religion* and *fortunes* in the power of men, who have no ſtake with them in *either*.

This thought often makes my heart tremble. A *vote in parliament* may give up a *whole people*, whilſt their *navies* and *armies* are fighting to preſerve them; and none but thoſe, who believe our *corporation-volunteers* are men of publick ſpirits, that deſign nothing for themſelves, can think the nation ſafe under *ſuch repreſentatives*. But we ſee the *moſt buſy of our champions* advanced, and *others* not pleaſed, when neglected. — Are *theſe men* fit to be choſen again?

Phyſicians tell us, that if men in a malignant diſtemper *feel no pain*, their condition is deſperate. If a *parliament* ſhould be tainted, and the *nation* be not ſenſible, *what then?*

It was the ſaying of a *great man*, in the reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, that *England* could never be undone but by a *parliament*. — Pray God avert it now!

We have been unfortunate in a *party-reign* very near to an *anarchy*, when the government was modelled to the *prevalent faction* in every ſeſſion. There is the ſame ſpirit abroad now, diſtinguiſhing itſelf by the names of *Whigs* and *High-church-men*. One cries out, Take care of the church; another, We are in danger of *Popery*; when any man with half an eye may ſee the deſign is only to ſtrengthen a *party*. They, who get moſt in *parliament*, have the *government*, and conſequently the diſpoſal of *employments*.

Now is the time to defeat and for ever damn *theſe vultures of the nation*; and ſuch an opportunity never offered before.

We have another Q. *Elizabeth* on the throne; whatever more, nothing leſs in *exemplary piety*, and of whoſe *judgment* and *temper* there have been invincible inſtances, before ſhe aſcended the throne. The ſame ſpirit ſtill guides her.

Let us lay aſide all *party-men*, and with one voice ſet the *Queen* above them. Let her *ſervants* be really *ſervants*, not *governors*. — She hath no need of *tricks* in government. Her *parliament* is her great council. Chuſe them well, and ſhe will be under no neceſſity to make uſe of *ill men*.

I think it a great fault amongſt us to cry out againſt the *miniſtry* and *men in employments*. I believe, indeed, the nation never had worſe than in the laſt reign. — Yet without any reflection upon that *great man*.

Who choſe them? Was it not *ourſelves?* The day we elect *purchaſers*, we give them an *office*. — That is their buſineſs.

Now to prevent *this foundation-evil*, for ſo it is, let us chuſe, according to our excellent conſtitution, *men amongſt ourſelves*, of known integrity and fortune in the places for which they are choſen; ſince then we ſhould have a *country parliament*, men as unacquainted with *court-preferments* as *David* was with *Saul*'s armour. But he killed *Goliah* with his *rural weapons*. So with a *country parliament*, let us conquer the *tools of fraud* at home, make them refund millions of *their late harveſt*, eaſe the nation of their *taxes*, and yet raiſe *greater ſupplies*.

Such a parliament of *old Britons* would confute the opinion that we have loſt our *Engliſh* integrity, and would mortify the *French leviathan*, who hath more hopes from our *corruption* and *weak management* than the force of *his own arms*.

We ſhould conſider that we have entered into a *war*, in which our all is at ſtake; our *trade*, *manufactures* and *navigation*,

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vigation, which are the funds that support our *fleets* and *armies*, will abate; and, to add to our misfortunes, we have a dismal prospect of a *growing poor*.

We complained, during the last war, when we were not shortened in our *trade*, as we are now.— The *same management* we had then would change our *money-lotteries* into *men-lotteries*, and we shall want money to pay them.

But we have yet enough to drop the last penny with *Europe*, if we manage without *fraud*, and be not like larks lur'd into the net by the fictitious glare of the glass of preferment; not considering that we do but rob *ourselves* to give up all to the *French*.

If this be duly considered, we should rather pray than drink for *elections*; and then we may hope that God will give us *Judges as at the first, and Counsellors as in the beginning*. But if our *elections* are secured by *promises*, as some brag, such engagements are void when all is at stake, and this our last throw for the *English* nation.

Let us not fool ourselves. If we miscarry in *this parliament*, we are a lost people. Pray God give every man in the nation understanding to consider it! —We shall then have a great change; no *pensioners*, no *placemen*, no *expectants*, nor *volunteers* in the *house of Commons*; no men, who want covering of *former cheats*, or any that set up for *new*.— We may know the *goats* by their bleating. *I am*, &c.

LONDON EVENING POST, *March* 8.

Characters of the late and present Earls of MARCHMONT.

His saltem accumulem donis, & fungar Munere. ——— Virg. [*inani*

I Don't know whether the age is not corrupted to such a degree, as that even the virtue of the dead may be thought a disagreeable subject; and therefore it is with some diffidence that I sit down to write this paper. But while the liberty of the press remains, a better use of it cannot be made, than to pay *funeral honours* to those, who lived, and died the friends of their country: At least the office is a pleasing one to the writer himself. I shall therefore endeavour to adorn the hearse of *the late Earl of MARCHMONT* with the most honourable escutcheon, *unask'd* and *disinterested praise*.

Piety, loyalty and publick spirit were in the mind of that Nobleman concurrent principles of action, equally impelling him to the good of his country: His piety taught him to please God by serving mankind; his loyalty taught him to serve his King by opposing male-administration; and his publick spirit taught him to consider the *Hanover* succession, as happy, and valuable to us, *because it confirms and strengthens our liberties*. The *merit* his *family* had in securing *the present establishment*, will be always remember'd in the nation, tho' it may be forgot in the court: And could his Lordship, who saw it succeed through so many difficulties, have seen *the ends propos'd by it* fully compleated, liberty secured from corruption as well as from violence, and the rights of the nation solidly fix'd on the independence of parliament, *that rock against which the gates of hell cannot prevail*; had he seen *this* done, and his Majesty's throne establish'd in righteousness, he might have then *declar'd, that he had seen all that his soul wish'd*. Nor were his utmost endeavours wanting to accomplish this work. The first maxim of his policy was, *That the legislature should be free and uninfluenced*: By this rule he judged of the intentions of ministers; by this rule he govern'd his own personal conduct. He would have been as much asham'd, he would have thought it as infamous, when he represented the Nobility of *Scotland* in parliament, to have acted unworthily of the high trust repos'd in him *there*, as, when he represented the King in foreign courts, to have dishonour'd *that character*, by giving up its rights, or debasing its dignity. He did neither. He served with honour at home and abroad. The present ministry soon recalled him from foreign employments. In the memorable labours of the year twenty-five, in the treaty of *Hanover*, in the consequential

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quential negotiations at *Soiſſons*, *Seville* and *Madrid*, *he had no part*.

While he ſat in the houſe of Lords, a ſcheme was brought into parliament, for ſubjecting this great and noble nation to the *vileſt of tyrants*, the *foul*, *importunate*, and *rapacious harpies of the Exciſe*. But though we were ſunk enough at that time to endure the attempt, we were not yet ſo loſt as to let it ſucceed: The national ſpirit rous'd itſelf, ſtruggled for life, and prevailed; and in *this laſt triumph of liberty* the Earl of MARCHMONT glorioufly ſhar'd. He loſt a *great place*.—He would have loſt his whole fortune; he would have gone to priſon *with his father*; he would have gone to a ſcaffold, he would have laid down *his life* with joy for the rights of his country. I ſay this from thoſe who knew him, who knew his heart to be full of that flame, which glowed in a *Ruſſel*, in a *Wallace*, in every martyr of liberty.

Others might *talk* better than he, might excel more in thoſe *tinſel abilities*, to which the futility of this age gives an air of importance: But the Earl of MARCHMONT would have *acted*, would have encounter'd the moſt trying occaſions with adequate ſpirit and fortitude. As far as he could ſhew this, he did: Every great publick meaſure, while he was upon the ſtage of buſineſs, had his zealous concurrence. If more were not attempted, if ſome failed of ſucceſs, it was not owing to any inactivity, any ſlackneſs *in him*. In his very retirement his thoughts were buſy, his heart warm, his ſoul tranſported with a deſire of advancing the cauſe of his country: To this he exhorted his friends; to this he train'd up his children; to this he influenced all whom his authority or perſuaſions could move. Thus lived, thus died this truly virtuous, and *therefore great man*. Nor were his virtues unrewarded by providence, even in this life: he ſaw them deſcend to his children, ſaw *two ſons* of uncommon abilities, cultivating and improving thoſe abilities by uncommon application, animating them with the ſame noble ſpirit, and directing them to the ſame generous purpoſes, as had inſpir'd their father in the whole courſe of his publick behaviour, from his oppoſing *the Jacobite frenzy* in his earlieſt youth, to his oppoſing *the Whig corruption* in the decline of his age.

The laſt years of his life might have been too painful to him under the anguiſh of ſickneſs, and the concern for his country, that was ſtill more ſenſibly aching at his heart, if he had ever heard any account of what *was done in a certain aſſembly*, without at the ſame time hearing what *was ſaid there* by one of his children. This alleviation providence gave him; and a great one it was; a great one not to the father only, but to the patriot; for he might have ſaid of his ſons as old *Alethes* in *Virgil* does of *Niſus* and *Euryalus*:

Dii patrii, quorum ſemper ſub numine Troja eſt,
Non tamen omnino Teucros delere paratis,
Cum tales animos juvenum & tam certa tuliſtis
Pectora. Sic memorans, humeros dextraſque tenebat
Amborum, & vultum lacrymis atque ora rigabat.

Had his Lordſhip been a Peer of *England*, had he been an *Engliſh* Gentleman only, it would have been ſome conſolation to the publick, when death removed him from the care of it, that his place in the legiſlature might have been ſo worthily filled by his heir. But the death of Lord MARCHMONT robs his country of *Lord POLWARTH too*. This parliament muſt hear him no more; muſt no more be inſtructed by all that maſs of knowledge he had acquir'd at an age when the firſt rudiments of buſineſs are often to be learnt even by men of ability. That eloquence which could give light to the darkeſt, grace to the drieſt, and ſpirit to the coldeſt parts of publick buſineſs, muſt triumph no more over perplexed evaſions, confident aſſertions, and parliamentary craft. The houſe of Commons has loſt him for ever, and the loſs will be felt by the publick, even tho' the houſe of Lords ſhould gain ſo uſeful

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a member, to affiſt their debates, *when they do debate*, and their counſels, *when their counſels are aſk'd*. But a vacancy muſt happen, or perhaps a new parliament, before his Lordſhip can obtain a ſeat *there*. Then, and not till then, can he appear upon a theatre fit for the part, the important part that nature form'd him to act: Then he may again employ his talents to *enquire*, and to *reform*; again exert *that ſpirit*, which is ſo much his own diſtinguiſhing excellence, to animate the langour of a ſupine, inſenſible age; to excite the drooping virtues of honeſt men, who deſpair of the publick, and by that deſpair accelerate the ruin they fear; to *blow that fire*, by the light of which ſo many glorious exploits, ſo many deeds of virtue and wiſdom were perform'd by our anceſtors, without whoſe kindly heat no fruits of liberty can be rais'd or ſupported, *the ſacred fire of patriotiſm*, which is now almoſt extinct.—To this part his Lordſhip is called by the voice of the publick, and his electors undoubtedly will follow that voice. If thoſe electors indeed were the low inhabitants of ſome proſtitute borough, compoſed of wretches, who ſubſiſt upon ſeptennial bribery, of ſmugglers trembling under the laſh of penal laws, and of the little officers of the revenue, more dependent ſtill, and more ſlaviſh; if ſuch a ſpiritleſs, ignorant, undiſtinguiſhing crew, deaf to reputation, blind to merit, void of all ſentiment, all ſenſe, all feeling, but the leprous itch of corruption; if *ſuch*, I ſay, were to be *his Lordſhip's electors*, then, I confeſs, he might have reaſon to doubt the event: Neither his talents, nor his induſtry, nor his integrity could be of uſe to him there, againſt the meaneſt penſioner of the moſt unpopular court. But his electors are *the Peers of SCOTLAND*, deſcended from anceſtors *of unſubmitting ſpirits*, champions and heroes of freedom; whom neither their own Kings, nor ours, ever could bow to the yoke; who, through infinite toils, through blood, through civil wars, through revolutions of government, from the earlieſt times, preſerv'd their own country free; and to whom, in the laſt age, *England* owed *her liberty too*. *Such* were the men, before whoſe ſons, when they elect new repreſentatives, the preſent Earl of MARCHMONT will, I hope, appear as a candidate; will appear one of the foremoſt upon *the only liſt* they will ever regard, *the liſt* of untainted, uninfluenced, able and vigilant patriots. Every virtue will *ſollicit for him*, the wiſhes and prayers of every good man in the united iſland of *Great Britain* will *attend him to his election*: The danger of the times, the wants of his country, will demand his aſſiſtance: *Thus recommended, thus ſupported*, can he fail of ſucceſs?

UNIVERSAL SPECTATOR, *March* 15.

Mr SPECTATOR,

AS you ſeem to treat thoſe correſpondents who apply to you with an *impartial freedom*, I think it proper in the ſame manner to ſtate my caſe to you, that I may to better purpoſe receive your inſtructions.

I frankly confeſs that I am guilty of a *vice*, that is beyond my power to tell what it ſhould be liked for. Some vitious habits are contracted and followed, becauſe they are ſuppoſed to bring with them either *pleaſure*, *profit* or *honour*; but from *Envy*, which is my unhappy affection, who is it can find any of theſe? It takes its beginning from *vexation*, and has its ending in *grief*: it is juſtly ſaid to be the *ſaw* of the ſoul, that pricks and cuts the vital blood, and tears the fleſh but into larger atoms: it is a *ſickneſs* bred of *another's health*, and an unaccountable *antipathy* to *virtue*.

To this deſcription of my malady, I muſt, to ſet it in a true light, give a more copious one of its *operations*. Endowed with a ſmall, though competent eſtate; inſtructed to a tolerable degree of knowledge, and bleſſed with a moderate ſhare of natural reaſon, I have that *ſplenetic unhappineſs* of mind, which makes me uneaſy whenever I ſee any advantages of *fortune*, acquiſitions of *knowledge*, or gifts of *nature* in others, ſuperior to what I myſelf enjoy: there-

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therefore no *time*, no *place* or *amuſement* can afford me any relief; every where a ſufficient number of objects occur to my ſight to deſtroy my quiet; for my *wiſhes*, *imagination* and *miſery* vary and heighten inſtantaneouſly at every deſirable object (or what I think deſirable) that I behold. If in the country, when I ſee the retired indolent happineſs of a village 'Squire, his pleaſure in ſporting, his courſing over his own lands, his power and reſpect among his villagers and tenants, I inveigh againſt fortune that I was not born to ſuch a lot; I think I have *merit* enough ſufficient to have *deſerved* it, and ſhould have *underſtanding* enough how to have *enjoyed* it. But the *town* is an inſupportable ſcene; yet the more miſery it gives me, the more I am delighted with it. When I behold a *fool* or *knave* with a *title* and *eſtate* rolling along the ſtreets with a ſplendid chariot and equipages, I repine at ſuch a diſtribution of wealth, and think with more juſtice, in regard to my *underſtanding* and my *honeſty*, it might have been conferred on *me*. It is all the ſame if the maſter of the equipage ſhould be a man of the greateſt *merit* and *honour*; for though I can find no reaſon why ſuch a fortune and equipage ſhould not be *his*, I can give ſeveral to myſelf why they ought to be *mine*. When I am in the *city*, and view the hurry of buſineſs, and conſider the wealth ſome of the eminent members of it are acquiring by an experienced knowledge and indefatigable induſtry, I curſe my ſtars that I was not brought up to *trade*, and then look on the riches of ſome merchants, as *wealth* which they have deprived me of. St *James*'s end of the town gives me no leſs anxiety, when I ſee ſome perſons there exalted into high offices, and bearing their *keys* and *white ſtaves*, the *inſignia* of their poſts; when I ſee others enjoying *places* and *penſions*, which intrigue, ſervility or corruption may have procured: *What*, cry I, are in theſe men to meet with ſuch favours? *what* have they done to deſerve theſe honours? in *what* are they ſuperior to myſelf?—Curſe on fortune, had I been born a *fool* of Quality, or had ever obtained a *ſeat* in p—, ſome of theſe muſt have fallen to my lot; I might have been a Vice C—, or a *Commiſſioner* of the T—, perhaps a —, perhaps the *Prime* M—.

But this diſpoſition of thinking is not confined to the enjoyment of pomp and riches; it is univerſal. If at a *parochial church* I hear an excellent ſermon, or at a *meeting-houſe* a good diſcourſe; if at a *cathedral* a fine *choriſter*, or at a *play-houſe* an applauded *actor*, I am equally tortured: I would have all the ſeveral endowments as I hear them applauded, and be a *Clergyman*, or a *Diſſenting teacher*, or a *Singing-man*, or a *Player*.

Nor is it the immediate ſight of perſons and things which alone raiſes this agitation in my mind; relations of perſons and things will have as ſtrong an effect as objects placed before my eyes. If I hear the *ſpeech* of a *ſenator*, or the *pleading* of a *lawyer*, or the *experience* of a *phyſician*, or the *genius* of a *poet*, commended, I am vexed within myſelf, and have ſnarled at Mr *P*—'s eloquence in the houſe, Mr *Murray*'s at the bar; have hinted Dr *Mead* had no judgment, and Mr *Pope* no excellence, becauſe all their ſeveral *great talents* have not been centered in *me*. When perſons of leſs fame are commended, I have the conſolation that I can put in an *exception*, and with more ſucceſs raiſe a *doubt*, whether they are ſo praiſeworthy as they are commonly reported.

In concluding, I cannot omit another very material circumſtance in my conduct: I conſtantly attend the *theatres* every *firſt night* of a *new performance*, and though unacquainted with the author, unknowing of the merit of the piece, or the leaſt intereſted by its ſucceſs, I am previouſly under the greateſt anxiety as to its ſucceſs. I am in the greateſt pain for fear it ſhould *not be damn'd*. The leaſt *applauſe* kills me. —But when the *catcalls* begin to play, I pull out mine, and gladly join the ſcreaming chorus; and to carry ſuch a point, as damning a new play, I have drove the *players* off the ſtage, frightned the Ladies out of the boxes, pulled up the *benches*, and *demoliſh'd* the *theatre*.

Having

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Having thus without reserve characterized myself, and my unhappy disposition of mind, let this letter stand in your paper as an admonition for others to avoid the least indulgement of such a temper; for *Envy* I believe is not *inborn*, but in great part acquired: if you could add any instructions as to myself, you would oblige

CAIN GLOOMY.

CRAFTSMAN, *March* 15. and 22.

Reflections on a clause proposed in the Mutiny act, and on the bill for registring seamen.

THE art and mystery of projecting *penal laws* was never in so flourishing a condition as at present. I need not recapitulate the multiplicity of *excises* and other *penal laws*, which have been either enacted, or attempted, within these twenty years past; that is, since the ever-memorable æra of 1721. — But we have had *two noble schemes* of the same nature this year, which deserve some particular remarks; I mean the clause proposed in the *mutiny act*, for compelling all *inn-keepers*, *victuallers*, and other masters of *publick houses*, to provide for the *soldiers* quarter'd upon them at so much a day; and the bill for registring all *seamen* and *sea-faring men*, such as sailors in the *mercantile service*, *boymen*, *lightermen*, *bargemen*, *cobblemen*, *watermen*, and all persons whatsoever, who get their livelyhood upon the *waters*, with a few exceptions of *masters*, *mates*, and some other subordinate officers.

Great complaints have been made, for many years past, of keeping up a numerous body of *mercenary forces*, in time of *peace*. — During the two last great wars of K. *William* and Q. *Anne*, we had a very inconsiderable army kept up at home, in comparison to what we have at present; though, in the former war, *Lewis* XIV. openly supported K. *James*, and in the latter the cause of the *Pretender*.

Upon concluding the treaty of peace at *Ryswick*, in one reign, and the treaty of *Utrecht*, in the other, our *regular land-forces* were reduced, I think, to *seven* or *eight thousand men*, except the *pensioners in Chelsea college*; which occasioned great murmurs and complaints against the administration at that time, as if it was keeping up an additional army *in petto*.

It is likewise well known that the workmen in our *dock-yards*, who amount to no small number, are regularly muster'd, exercised and disciplined; so that most of them are not only qualified to *vote*, but to *fight* upon occasion, and perhaps might do as much service as the powder'd heroes in *Hyde-park*.

We are now engaged in a war with *Spain*, and have put ourselves to a vast expence, in order to carry it on with vigour, both by sea and land. — I shall first consider the late proposal concerning our *land-forces*, (which are augmented to almost double the number of what they were in time of *peace*, and yet these were generally thought much too numerous by all men of candour and impartiality), and afterwards make some remarks on the bill for registring seamen.

Besides the publick expence of maintaining so large an army, which amounts at least to a MILLION a-year; it hath been computed, *that every soldier quartered upon an* inn-keeper, *in town or country*, *costs* that inn-keeper *near as much as he costs the government*; not to mention the insolent behaviour, incroachments, waste, debauchery, and lewd examples of *such profligate* and almost *lawless guests*.

I once happen'd to ly at a country inn, not very far from *Hounslow-heath*, where there was to be a *review* some days afterwards. When I came there, I found no less than *twelve dragoons*, and towards the evening as many more came rattling into the yard, took up all the best stabling, and litter'd their horses up to their bellies with the best straw the house could afford. Nay, they made the *ostlers*, and *other servants* rub down their horses, which is not their business. But the *master of the house* told me, that he dar'd not disoblige them; for if he did, they would be revenged upon him by wasting his *hay*, and otherwise

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therwise doing him all the mischief that lay in their power. He was then to provide them with an hot supper of the best meat that could be bought; for their nice stomachs could not digest cold victuals, nor such ordinary provisions as often serve the family at a country inn. The next morning, the *master of the house* desired me to walk into the kitchen, and see the *Gentlemen*, as he call'd them, at breakfast; which consisted of a great piece of cold roast-beef, a shoulder of mutton, two or three peck-loaves, and a *Cheshire* cheese; the greatest part of which was devoured in an instant: they were then to have an hot dinner intirely to themselves; for they would not suffer a slice to be cut off for any customer. And this the *poor man* told me would be the case, from day to day, as long as he was plagued with their company.

These hardships induced the *inn-keepers*, some years ago, to petition the parliament for redress; upon which they granted the *dragoons* an additional pay of three-pence a man *per diem*, in order to render them less burdensome to those upon whom they are quartered.

But a doubt having lately arisen, whether the *Mutiny and Desertion act*, as it hath been worded for many years past, was obligatory upon *inn-keepers*, and *other masters of publick houses*, within that act, to provide the soldiers billeted upon them with any thing but *quarters?* the before mentioned clause was proposed in the last *mutiny bill*, for explaining the *former acts*, and obliging the said *inn-keepers*, and *other masters of publick houses*, to furnish the soldiers billeted upon them with *provisions of eating and drinking*, as well as *quarters*, at so much a day. — But this was opposed so vigorously, as an unreasonable innovation, that the *projector* thought fit to give it up, and suffer the act to stand upon its usual footing.

Several good arguments were produced for opposing this motion; some of which I shall briefly mention.

In the *first place*, it was said, That *inn-keepers*, and other persons subject to the act for quartering *soldiers* upon them, were already very much burden'd and harrassed with *excises* and *penal laws* particularly the late act against *retailing of spirituous liquors*; for whatever service *that law* may have done to the health, lives, and morals of the *lower people*, (of which we have not yet seen any considerable effects), it hath certainly been of very great prejudice to *publick houses* of all kinds, by depriving them of the most profitable part of their business, which enabled them to quarter *soldiers*, without running the hazard of incurring the *penalties of the law*; especially those, who stand upon *high rents*, and hold their houses by *lease*, for a long term of years.

Secondly, If *this motion* had taken effect, it would have obliged many persons to leave off *their business*, as many have done already, upon the same account, whilst we had not much above half the present number of *standing forces*.—It hath, indeed, been often objected, and I confess with too much reason, that we are overstock'd with *publick houses*; and that it would be of great benefit to the nation, if half of them were shut up. This is in the power of the *civil magistrates*, by refusing *licences* to above a *certain number of houses* in every county, district, or parish. But, in that case, what will become of our revenue, which depends too much upon *tippling houses*; or where shall the *present extraordinary standing army* be quartered?

For, *thirdly*, if a great number of *inn-holders* and *victuallers* should not think proper to leave off their business, they would probably apply to *parliament* for an additional pay to the *foot soldiers*, as they formerly did for the *dragoons*, which would be a farther very great expence to the nation.

Or, *lastly*, if the *parliament* should happen to be in an *ill humour*, (which may, perhaps, be thought a ridiculous supposition), and refuse *such an augmentation of pay*, the only remedy left to provide for so numerous an army as the present, is by *barracks* in winter, and *encampments* in summer; *from which good Lord deliver us!*— For, in such a case,

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case, we may bid adieu to the *liberties of this nation* for ever.

I shall conclude this first head with declaring, that it is very far from my intentions, by any thing I have said, to discourage our *inn-holders* from continuing the usual custom of quartering and providing for *our army*, whatever it may be.—Those in *distant counties*, where provisions for *man* and *horse* are cheap, may possibly be no great losers, or sufferers, except their trouble; and since the neighbouring counties to this *great metropolis*, where *high rents* and *extraordinary taxes* make every necessary of life very dear, are at present secur'd from this *compulsive law*, I hope it will induce them to comply with the *same custom*, as far as the nature of their circumstances will admit, in order to prevent a much greater evil to their country, by *barracks* and *encampments*.

I thought and intended to be very large upon the second head; but reading over the *bill* again very attentively, I found it to be such a compleat system of *slavery*, against the most valuable part of our people, (without pretending to guess at the *penalties* designed to enforce the *bill*, for which *blanks* are left) that it requires a *pamphlet*, rather than a paper, to expose it as it deserves. — I shall therefore, at present, make only a few cursory remarks upon it.

The preamble to *this bill* is very plausible and cajolling, being designed only, as is therein set forth, *for giving all due encouragement to mariners and seamen, in which the welfare and prosperity of his Majesty's dominions are greatly concerned.* —This is certainly very true; but almost every clause after is so far from giving *all due encouragement to our seamen and mariners*, that they consist only of *discouragements*, such as *compulsion*, *penalties*, and *other hardships*.

In the first place, it is proposed, by *this bill*, that *all the dominions of the crown of* G. Britain *shall be divided, or distinguished, or be considered as divided and distinguished into different and distinct divisions*; the first, for that part of *G. Britain* called *England*; the second, for that part of *G. Britain* called *Scotland*; and the third for the kingdom of *Ireland*. These are to be the *principal divisions*; but each of them were likewise to be subdivided again into as many *subordinate and inferior districts*, as the *Lord High Admiral of G. Britain*, or the *Commissioners of the Admiralty*, for the time being, should respectively order, direct, and appoint. It was also proposed, that the *Lord High Admiral*, or the *Commissioners of the Admiralty*, for the time being, should be authorized to establish and keep a *registry-office*, in any such port or place of the said districts, to be nominated by themselves, as they shall think proper. They were to be further impowered to appoint, remove, and displace all the *register-officers* of the inferior districts, and to substitute others in their room, at discretion.

Without making any nice and critical observations, which such a clause might have upon our *constitution*, (by which I mean our *ancient constitution*) I shall only take notice that *a certain Honourable Gentleman* hath got an admirable knack of multiplying *places*, and never offers an act for the *publick emolument*, without having *his own private interest and safety* in view. What the number of *register-officers*, for the divisions and subdivisions of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, with the salaries designed for them, might be, I cannot pretend to say; because I have not the honour to be in the secrets of the *projector*, and there is no making any true judgment from *blanks*.

But I think that any man may easily fill up *one blank* of a clause, where it is said, that every *registered person* is rendered incapable of a settlement at *land* till the age of which I suppose to be 55 years; because *sailors*, at that age, are already exempted from being pressed, by an act of parliament now in force: and therefore this is no favour to the *poor seamen*, nor to the *merchants*; for when a man is disabled by old age, or other infirmities, for the *King's service*, of what use can he be to the *merchants*, notwithstanding the gracious liberty of being allowed, at that age, to

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ſerve in any merchant ſhip or veſſel belonging to any of his Majeſty's ſubjects.

Many perſons, bred up to good trades, have been forced, by the follies and extravagancies of youth, to enter themſelves into the *ſea-ſervice*, for ſome years, in order to conceal themſelves; and yet frequently return home to their *trades*, pay their *creditors*, and grow rich. — But by the *act*, which was propoſed, and drawn up by our *grand projector*, all ſuch perſons would be obliged to *regiſter* themſelves in ſome particular diſtrict, and not to remove from thence, without notice to what other diſtrict they have entered themſelves, and to which they belong. — From whence it may be apprehended, that every *ſeaman*, or *ſea-faring man*, of what condition ſoever, except *commiſſion* and *warrant-officers*, would have been liable to all the penalties of *this intended act*.

Nay, even the moſt *ordinary ſailors*, by *marriage*, *lucky accidents*, or *frugality*, frequently ſettle themſelves in good buſineſs, and provide very well for their *wives* and *families*, which *this regiſter-act* would have abſolutely prevented, by obliging them to be at a call, whenever ſummoned.

No certain proviſion is made, by *this bill*, for their maintenance at *land*, and for their conſtant employment at *ſea*. — But when any of them, by induſtry, have got themſelves into a way of buſineſs, for their ſupport, they were to be torn from it, perhaps for a *Spithead expedition*; and, on their diſcharge, are left to ſeek for another livelyhood.

The moſt *uſeful part of the people*, would have been rendered, by *this bill*, the *greateſt ſlaves*; for when they ſhould be once *regiſter'd*, neither the moſt reputable and ſubſtantial trades, nor the paſſing through all *pariſh-offices* could except them from *ſea-ſervice*, as it does from all others.

They would therefore be in a worſe condition than the *meaneſt liſted ſoldier*, becauſe the *ſoldier* can at any time buy his diſcharge, for *ten* or *twenty guineas*; whereas the *ſailor* muſt be liable to every ſummons, till the age, as is ſuppoſed, of 55 years, and can never be ſecure againſt a call from his buſineſs, unleſs by the protection of *ſome creatures of power*, which can be only obtained by giving a ſervile vote at every election. This conſideration was not, perhaps, the leaſt inducement to the *projector of this bill*.

If *this act* had taken place, it would certainly have proved a prejudice, inſtead of a benefit to the *navy*; for the *ſailors* cannot be the only perſons ignorant of their value. — They muſt know that the wealth, and even the ſafety of the nation depends upon *them*. — They might therefore have been provoked to deſert that cruel country, which could cut them off from the deareſt privileges of an *Engliſhman*, that of a ſure and inviolable retreat to a *wife* and *family*, after the dangers, fatigues, and hardſhips, which they have undergone, in the ſervice of their country; and this for no other reaſon than becauſe they deſerve more encouragement and more privileges than any other body of their fellow-ſubjects. — It would, at leaſt, have ſtopt the growing ſupply of the *navy*; becauſe very few men would have been inclinable to enter into a ſtate of *ſlavery*, whilſt they had it in their power to continue in *freedom*.

The illegality and brutiſh exerciſe of the power of *impreſſing*, makes every good man wiſh that ſome *proper act* might be made to encourage a *voluntary regiſter of ſeamen*, for the honour of his Majeſty, as well as the intereſt and defence of his kingdoms. — But a *compulſive regiſtry*, as the late bill was deſigned to be, is big with ſo many evil conſequences, that it muſt neceſſarily tend to the abſolute deſtruction of the *navy*.

The obſervations which I have made upon *this bill*, gives me the faireſt opportunity of paying my humble tribute of praiſe to *that brave Admiral*, who hath ſo gloriouſly retrieved the ancient honour of the *Britiſh flag*, which by long impunity hath been treated with the moſt ſcornful and inſulting contempt.

COMMON

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COMMON SENSE, *March* 15.

Description of a Country Town-Clerk.

SIR,

AS I lately travell'd towards *London* from a remote part of *England*, passing thro' a considerable town, where I had occasion to bait, I observ'd the towns-people in a kind of an uproar. —Having put my nag into the stable, and order'd something for dinner, while it was getting ready I walk'd towards the place where the crowd was assembled, to satisfy my curiosity in relation to the cause of this ferment.

As soon as I came within view of the town-house, I could perceive a bulky corpulent man, who appear'd to me to be a little striken in years, standing in the balcony of the town-house, with many persons about him, who, by their submissive behaviour, and the great deference they seem'd to pay to his very looks and motions, appear'd like part of his equipage, or rather like so many of his slaves. He seemed to me to be haranguing the multitude; but what with the clamour, which was incessant, and the greatness of the crowd, which hindred me from approaching near enough, I could not distinguish a word he said: I could plainly perceive, however, by the angry looks, as well as menaces of the multitude, that they threaten'd destruction to the orator.

In the mean time, I perceived a plain grave man standing at his shop-door, with his hands in his pockets, as if he had been an unconcern'd spectator of the whole scene, till approaching near him I heard him break out into a kind of soliloquy to this effect: The world will never be right while such fellows remain unhang'd: What pity it is that so many honester Gentlemen should be sent from the *Old Baily* to *Tyburn* once a month in *London*, while this fellow gets an estate by his roguery in the country. — The oddness of this ejaculation, and the warmth with which it was uttered, increas'd my curiosity: wherefore, accosting him, I intreated him to let me know the occasion of this tumult.

My good friend, answered he, where were you born, that you never heard of the fame of that big man in the balcony? I won't pretend to relate half his rogueries, for I should not have time to serve a customer to-day; only take this in one word, he hath almost beggar'd this poor town. If you want to know who he is, and whence he came, he is the son of an Attorney in the east country, of pretty good business. The first prank in which he signaliz'd his talents among us was, in stealing hay and corn out of farmers barns; and being taken in the fact, and committed to prison, to our great misfortune he met with a too favourable jury, who, taking it to be his first crime, and hoping he might one day turn honest, brought it in only petty larceny: and to this lenity it is owing that he hath been able to go on from one wickedness to another for a course of years without shame or fear; and with a mixture of buffoonery, ribaldry, and stedfast lying, which those flatterers which you see about him call notable parts, having got himself made Town-clerk, he now bids the whole town defiance.

Those people you see about him are many of them vagabond fellows that he pick'd up to be his runners, to go of his errands: he has made them burgesses of the town, tho' he still keeps them to their first employment upon the lowest occasions: it is by their assistance he is supported against the town.

He has involv'd the corporation in a thousand unnecessary disputes merely by his want of parts; and having an awkward blundering relation, with a head as thick as the walls of the town-house, who was bred a scrivener, and upon that account fancies himself capable of any business, he always deputes this person to treat with our adversaries, which is sure renders the matter worse. This fellow is thrust upon us to be a kind of deputy to the other; and if any of those whose estates are bordering upon that of the corporation should have any dispute with our tenants, this fine Gentleman is always appointed our Attorney, which is attended with a certain consequence of making the matter worse.

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You must know, Sir, that the chief subsistence of this town is from a neighbouring iron-work. A certain great Lady of a manor, that hath more pride than good sense, hath taken it into her head to contest our right to a common high-road leading to this same iron-work, tho' we have enjoy'd it without molestation time out of the memory of man. What does our fat friend do upon this occasion; but tell us, that law was chargeable; that let him alone he would make it up by way of accommodation? This look'd a little plausible at first; but then he comes over us with a demand for money to fee counsil, as also for Attornies, Sollicitors, witnesses, and a thousand other articles; under pretence, that if the Lady did not see us ready for law, she would listen to no accommodation. By this we lost the term, and he got a great deal of money. When the town desired to know what was done, all the answer was, the money was spent, he wanted more; and so he went on for a course of several years. Every time we ask'd for an account of what was done, the answer was, More money, more money, there was no doing any business without money. The trade of the town was all this while declining; by the stoppage of our goods and carriages, we had the mortification to see ourselves farther from an accommodation than the first day, and to know that the tenth part of what was spent, with honest management would have brought our affair to a happy issue in one term; and, which is worse, are obliged to go to law at last.

You must know, this crowd of people is now calling upon him to give a fair account of the vast sums of the corporation's money which he has receiv'd during the course of this pretended accommodation: they expect he should produce vouchers to shew that it hath been laid out for the corporation's use; for there is a general suspicion prevailing, and that grounded upon strong circumstances, that he hath been no better than a tool to this proud Lady, and, for private reasons of his own, has been playing our interests into her hands. His present behaviour increases this suspicion; for one day he challenges all the world to say black is his eye; the next day, if we desire him to clear himself by producing the books and papers, he answers, that to call for books and papers is a trick of his enemies to undo him, therefore it is not a fair demand. And once, when some were reasoning with him how incumbent it was upon him to satisfy the corporation, and clear his own character by making up his account, he had the impudence, folly, or madness (I don't know which to call it) to say, did we think he was such a fool to furnish evidence against himself? — A man may well bully and challenge all the world to convict him, as long as he can keep the proofs in his own hands.

He has committed an egregious blunder, in a material point, at first setting out in this law-suit; for when we might have enter'd upon one of the Lady's manors, and have obliged the tenants to attorn to us, and by that means have reimburs'd ourselves of all our charges; and when people were employ'd, at great expence, for that purpose, he sent them without the proper officers. — When he was told of this absurdity, he said we must make new officers on purpose; and when we have taken time to instruct them, (says he) we may send them after the others. So that if we should enter, we may be outed again, for want of officers to secure the possession.

You'll ask, perhaps, had we no officers in the town that might do this business? I answer, Enough and to spare; for he has increased their number to three times what they were before he was Town-clerk: but he says he won't let one of them go out of the town. — Now the secret lies here: they are most of them tools of his own, and some of the chiefs of them openly act as his servants, not as servants of the town's, tho' we pay them; and the reason why he won't have them go out upon the corporation's business, is, that he thinks, while they continue here, they keep the town in some awe of him; for the honest Gentleman knows he deserves to be —

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Since the beginning of this ſuit, the only thing he ſtudies is to make it expenſive to the corporation; new officers, ſollicitors, bailiffs, *&c.* are created for no other reaſon but to inflame the reckoning, and to bring in monſtrous bills: and yet he tells us he will be the manager of this ſuit in ſpight of our teeth, and make what compoſition and agreement he pleaſes; tho', what with his ignorance, and what with his tricks, every man in the town is convinced, that if we cannot by ſome means or other get rid of him, we ſhall be reduced to ſue *in forma pauperis.*

I ask'd him, if there was no magiſtrate in town that could help them out againſt this fellow? He told me, there was a *Reeve*; but the miſchief of it was, he was entirely poſſeſs'd by this Town-clerk, who had his ear, and who had impoſed upon him by a thouſand falſhoods; that he was an indolent man, not fond of buſineſs; that he believed every thing this fellow told him, and convers'd only with him and with a girl he is very fond of, that is, his daughter: nor is it poſſible for us to come at the ſpeech of him; for whenever he leaves him, they ſay, he locks the door, and carries away the key in his pocket, that no body may come at him.

I parted with my new acquaintance, lamenting his diſtreſs, and recommending to him to take counſel of COMMON SENSE. *I am your's,*

VIATOR.

DAILY GAZETTEER, *March* 18.

Conduct of the Oppoſition ſufficient proof of their enmity to the intereſts of Great Britain.

THE enemies of a country are equally remarkable for their triumphs at its diſtreſſes, and their ſilence, or diſapprobation, when ſucceſs attends the meaſures they condemn. The ſame man, who, when a generous concern for his country requires his utmoſt attention, can appear with an *envious grin*, and ſport with what would make a wiſe man ſerious, will be as ſure, amidſt any general ſatisfaction, to betray his unnatural diſcontent.

Before the late declaration of war, how indefatigable were the journal and pamphlet writers of the oppoſition, in calling for hoſtilities againſt *Spain*; and what pains were taken to repreſent peace as wholly inconſiſtent with the true intereſt of theſe kingdoms? Each difficulty under which our navigation and commerce labour'd, was aſſign'd to the *pacifick* meaſures purſued; and every day we were told, that with a war againſt *Spain* the honour of *G. Britain* would certainly revive. The moſt abject repreſentations of our publick affairs were exhibited to our enemies; and by the labours of men who breathed the air of *England*, foreigners were brought to view us as diſunited in our councils, and incapable of executing meaſures neceſſary for the publick preſervation:—As, indeed, any other *European* nation would have been, where the government had been revil'd in the face of the whole people, and the authors ſuffered to eſcape with impunity.

And even in *England*, the lenity exercis'd on ſuch occaſions has not always been the ſame with what the ſeditious of our time have experienced. During the preparations againſt *Spain* in the reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, the ſofteſt whiſper *againſt her ſtrength*, the moſt cautious *inſinuation* againſt a *probability* of ſucceſs, (when yet it was ſcarcely probable), was puniſhed with the ſeverity that princeſs conſtantly exercis'd upon thoſe who dared *openly* to *cenſure* her conduct.

In our time, how different has been the treatment given the government by men who would paſs for friends to the people? When a war was found neceſſary, and what they had for many years recommended, at length became expedient, the alteration in our publick meaſures was ſo evidently the effect of a deſire to promote the intereſts of the trading ſubjects of the realm, that it was ſome time before the hacks of ſedition ventured to declare againſt it. At length, however, one begun with pointing out the *expence* of a war; another, the *hazard* of ſucceſs; and a third ventur'd to affirm, it ought to have been a-

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avoided by all practicable measures. After this foundation, every quarter of the incendiary camp groned aloud under the burden of a war scarcely begun, and it was called *tedious* ere our *preparations* were more than half completed: The difficulties of carrying it on were swelled by an hundred aggravations; the winds, tides, and seasons, brought in evidence against the management of our navy; and when nothing remain'd above deck to blame, these assiduous procurators scrutiniz'd the very beef-tubs, and affirmed, that the provisions of the navy were not sweet, because they were purchased by Gentlemen in employment under the government; no other proof having been offered of that scandalous assertion. [*p.* 60.]

One day we have been told our ships were not properly dispos'd of; another, that their instructions were not sufficient for any desirable purpose: One commander has been insinuated to want courage; another, to be destitute of experience, and the men as *discontented* and unfit for action.

Such have been the labours of our enemies at home, and it is more than probable they were approved abroad. But the point most endeavour'd was, to have it thought that as the present ministry had fortunately procur'd us many years peace, it was absolutely necessary that it should be *changed* to make room for a *new one*, alike unskilled in the management of *peace* or *war*; — tho', ages since, it was notorious, that the wisdom which most delighted in the blessings of a tranquil state, when, by repeated occasions, driven upon more violent measures, was always most equal to them, and most secure of success; those among the ancients who were securest of victory, being men that gloried as much in the honours of the palm as of the laurel.

We have lately seen instances of a conduct worthy admiration in the arts of peace and of war: In the *former*, under difficulties gathered by the concurrence of a most *iniquitous treaty*, and every embarrassment that an unnatural and violent opposition could create, the tranquillity of these realms was preserved, and our traffick abroad kept more extensive than had before been known: In the *latter*, let the dread that has for so many months swallowed up the boasted vigour of *Spain* witness the force of our publick conduct; let the entire interruption of their navigation speak the apprehensions they lie under; and let their losses in the western world proclaim their inability to oppose the schemes of a government they weakly ventur'd to provoke, and the danger of supposing a ministry that *delights in peace*, incapable of wielding the rough instruments of war to the confusion of its enemies.

For what end can a change in the ministry be desired, at a time that none can so fitly conduct the concerns of war as those who have tried every pacifick means in vain, and who from a thorough knowledge of the motives and views of our enemies, are most capable of knowing how to reduce them to such terms as are necessary for the honour of the *British* crown, and for protecting our navigation from future insults and interruption?

This was the evident view of the unwearied endeavours to preserve *tranquillity* to the subjects of *Britain*; this must be the ultimate aim of our *hostilities*, and the effect of the success we have so much room to expect: and as, from what we are now able to judge, our conduct in the war will be perfectly agreeable to our national interests, as far as war can be reconciled to the interests of a trading people; upon the same wisdom that so long preserved us in peace, under the most perplexing circumstances, we may safely rely for the event of measures upon which the necessity of our publick affairs have driven us. The same attachment to our interests that preserved tranquillity so long, will, without doubt, restore it whenever the honour and interest of *G. Britain* will admit. Till then, all who read the libels published at present, will be sufficiently convinced of the true intentions of men, who, when more advantage is gain'd by their country than they wish for, complain of its being done with *too* little *expence*, and

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and even represent as a fault in the *British seamen*, their assisting to take forts, towns, and batteries; because, forsooth, that ought to have been left to *land-soldiers* alone!

While the publick attention is employed upon the preparations at home, and our successes abroad, how different from a friend to his country must the man be, who can busy himself in scandal against its true friends, without regard to dignity, virtue, or even to M—y itself; and who can employ himself in abusing an administration that has gain'd the *British* name honour in every court of *Europe*; while the domestick enemies of our fame poorly join the partizans of *Spain*, to depretiate the merit of their country, and attribute to motives far beneath the views of the present government, every thing concerted for the evident honour and advantage of the *British* dominions?

UNIVERSAL SPECTATOR, N°. 596.

Modern Education.

OF all our *proverbial* sentences, none is more frequently made use of as a just rule for the conduct of life, than that *Manners make the man*. These few words will bear very copious paraphrases; but I will venture to give one sense to them, and make that interpretation the subject of this paper. As *virtue*, *knowledge* and *integrity* are implied in the word *manners*, those must be inculcated and attained to make the precept beneficial to mankind; I would therefore recommend a little alteration in the proverb to inforce it, and wish that all parents would think in respect of their children, that *education makes the man*.

The human mind an ingenious author has compared to unformed clay, and that *education* is the potter's hand and wheel that forms it into vessels of honour or dishonour; and surely it is that which of all human means is most effectual towards the refining and sharpning mens minds, giving them an edge and quickness; and so much the more, because it takes them in that age, wherein their *faculties* are, as their *joints*, pliant and tractable, and consequently capable of being by exercise improved into great degrees both of strength and activity. In short, there is nothing tends more to the forming an honourable and virtuous, or dissolute and unhappy life, than a good or bad education. Since *education* then has so much influence, how much care and conduct does it require in parents, that in the bringing up of their children they give them such a turn of thinking as may be truly conducive to their happiness of life?

Of such importance to the welfare of mankind *education* has been thought, that the subject has employed the pens of the most ingenious men, and advices have been wrote both for *sons* and *daughters*, wherein all the necessary rules for conducting life in both sexes have been laid down. *Osborn*'s advice to his *son*, and the Marquis of *Halifax* to his *daughter*, are very excellent tracts: an incomparable epistle from a father to his *son* at the *university*, was published in one of the first numbers of this paper; and several ingenious correspondents have through the whole course of it furnished us with several *letters* and *observations* on the same subject.

But besides these little detach'd pieces, the subject has been thought worthy the more elaborate productions of the greatest men; nor does Mr *Locke* any where more shew his genius and knowledge of human nature, than in his treatise of *education*.

Nevertheless a misconduct in education still subsists, and the most serious remonstrances, advices and rules, have not a proper effect. It would be vain then to fix down any new *standard*; yet by remarking an exemplary misconduct in the education now in fashion, it will have equal weight with the most *philosophical dissertation*.

It may seem very odd at first, that I should complain that there is an unhappy ambition reigns at present among parents to educate their children in *too much knowledge and politeness*; but this I may venture to affirm is the source of more evils than in this paper I have any business to consider. Laying aside

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political reaſons, our *good breeding* in *England*. has introduced ſuch a corruption, that it were to be heartily wiſh'd that we had leſs *manners* and more *virtue*.

It muſt be confeſſed, it is a laudable ambition in parents to give their children all the *accompliſhments* neceſſary to conduct them through the world with *prudence* and *genteelneſs*; but the *miſtake* of what ſuch accompliſhments are, and the giving them a falſe turn of thought at the firſt ſetting out in life, is that *error* in education which is ſo much complain'd of at preſent, and which ſo much ſtands in need of redreſs.

There has been a maxim of late years too much inculcated, which is, to let youth have an *early knowledge of the world*; and hence it is that we have boys and girls at fourteen and fifteen have gain'd, according to this modern phraſe, *a knowledge of the world*, who through their whole lives will never know one neceſſary qualification of life: They become inſtructed in the vices and follies of *rakes* and *coquets* at an age when the principles of true knowledge and virtue ſhould be eſtabliſh'd.

I ſaw the other day a proof of what I have advanced in a domeſtick ſcene of private life, which I will venture to relate. I was intreated by an old acquaintance, whom I ſhall call *Will Airy*, to take a family dinner with him; which invitation I accepted with the more pleaſure, as he told me I ſhould be very agreeably entertain'd, in ſeeing the *fineſt boy* and *girl* in *Chriſtendom*. I made allowance for the zealous fondneſs of a father in giving ſuch a deſcription of his own children, and expected to be very agreeably entertained, as *Miſs* I underſtood was turned of *thirteen*, and *Maſter* about *fifteen*. I have naturally a particular ſatisfaction in obſerving the progreſſions of human nature and underſtanding, and was therefore highly delighted to think that in my friend's children I ſhould ſee human nature in its moſt *amiable ſtage*; for at thoſe years *beauty* and *knowledge* are riſing with great ſpeed to *perfection*, and that *uncorrupted ſimplicity* which they ſhould then enjoy renders them charming.—As ſoon as I was conducted into the dining-room, I enquir'd of my friend for the young Gentleman and Lady; but it ſeems *Miſs* was gone with *Mamma* to an *auction*, and *Maſter* to take a turn into the *Mall*.—They all came home much about when the dinner was ſpoilt; and, after a little genteel bickering between *Will* and his *Lady*, we ſat down. The little gloomy chagrin which at firſt appeared was ſoon diſſipated by this addreſs of *Miſs* to her father: *O, Papa! we have ſeen the moſt charming things at the auction, ſo neat and ſo cheap.—There is an* India *ſcreen you muſt let my* Mamma *have—it comes but to—to—I forget how many guineas—but you muſt let* Mamma *have it.*—My dear, ſays her father, we don't want one.—*Why truly, Mr* Airy, (replies his wife) *ours is not in taſte, and if you make me a preſent of this, you will oblige me.*—My friend began to look a little grave; but before he could reply his daughter accoſted him again:—*Why, Papa, Miſs* Polly Squander's *Mamma has one, and why ſhould not we?—You'll have my Mamma vex herſelf ſick about it,—and I am ſure I ſhall fret myſelf almoſt dead if you deny it us.*—On *Will*'s ſeeming compliance the young Lady and her Mamma appeared more compoſed, and he with much ſatisfaction whiſpered me, *Could you have thought a girl of her age had ſo much knowledge?* I made anſwer with a ſmile, which ſeem'd to give him great pleaſure, and he was therefore reſolved to ſhew me the *genius* of the boy.—*Well, Sir,* ſays he, *how have you diſpoſed of yourſelf ſince your maſters left you in the morning.—When I had dreſſed myſelf,* (replies the ſpark) *I took a turn in the* Mall, *where I met young Mr* Flutter, *who laſt week was made a Captain in the marines; and, Sir, he has made me promiſe to go to the play with him to night.*—And do you intend to go, ſays his father? To which queſtion his ſon, with ſome warmth, anſwered, *Pray, Sir, when I have engag'd in a party, how can I in honour get off?* My friend riſing up with ſome emotion, alarm'd me a little; but his ſpeech much more,

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more, for in a high tone, *Sir*, (cry'd he) *keep your honour for ever ſacred, and when I know you loſe your honour, you loſe your father's affections.* — *There's a guinea for your pocket.* — Then turning to me — *Such generous principles and knowledge of mankind ought to be encouraged, Mr* Stonecaſtle. — When the cloth was taken away, I had a mind to converſe a little with this knowing youth, and unfortunately aſk'd him what ſchool he went to. — *School, Sir*, ſays he, with ſome indignation; wherefore I imagin'd he might, as he was ſo forward a genius, have been lately taken from one, and made an apology, in aſking him whether he had left *Weſtminſter*, or *Eaton*, or *Wincheſter*, or — *Sir*, replies he, with an air of pride, *I was never at any of thoſe ſchools — I was educated at home.* — But you intend for *Oxford* or *Cambridge?* — *No, Sir*, ſaid he, *I am to go to a foreign univerſity, and ſo have the benefit of travelling and univerſity learning at the ſame time.* — I was going to ſpeak to my friend on this ſubject, when he himſelf thus ſpoke to me: *I ſee, Mr* Stonecaſtle, *you are ſurpris'd at this; but the people of faſhion all come into this way of education; it ſhews young people the world, and brings them early to a juſt knowledge of mankind: I don't care if my ſon has not ſo much* Greek *and* Latin; *I don't intend him for a parſon.* — *No, Sir*, adds his Lady, *we don't intend him for any eccleſiaſtical preferment; therefore there is no neceſſity to ſend him to one of our univerſities, where his morals will be rather corrupted than improv'd, for I hear they learn nothing there but to drink ale and ſmoak tobacco.* — I attempted to correct this falſe notion they entertain'd, but ſoon found they were too bigotted to their *faſhionable education* to be convinc'd; and, beſides, our diſcourſe was interrupted by two or three young Ladies of about Miſs's age, who were come to pay her a viſit. My young ſpark, whoſe *morals* were not to be *corrupted* by a *univerſity education*, took his leave to meet his *party* and go to the play, and at his departure my friend ſaid to me with ſome paſſion, *Is not that boy, Mr* Stonecaſtle, *a perfect man?* — The young Ladies and Mrs *Airy* were now retir'd into another room, and *Will* and I had half an hour's chit-chat by ourſelves. I again endeavour'd to ſhew him the error of his educating his children; but he ſmil'd at me with a genteel kind of contempt. Juſt as I was going to take my leave, *Miſs* came running in to make a requeſt to her papa: *Dear papa*, ſays ſhe, *Miſs* Lucy Forward *goes next Monday to the maſquerade; and you ſaid I ſhou'd go ſoon: pray, papa, let me go now; and I know mamma goes, becauſe ſhe beſpoke a habit this morning.* — I muſt own that my friend had prudence enough to deny this requeſt; but with a promiſe ſhe ſhou'd certainly go *next ſeaſon*. Miſs retir'd in the dumps, and I took my leave with amazement at ſuch a faſhionable education of children. I cannot omit another circumſtance before I conclude: I accidentally dropt into the play-houſe that evening, and ſaw my *young man* of *morals* in one of the gallery-boxes, with two other young ſparks, and two noted *courtezans* of the town.

I need make no reflections on this kind of education, the miſconduct muſt be evidently ſeen; I could wiſh it was leſs practiſed, and that parents, inſtead of learning their children to *know* the *world*, would teach them to know *themſelves*.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR, *London, March* 11.

ORPHEUS and EURYDICE, an opera, draws the whole town to Covent-garden theatre; whether for the opera itſelf, (the words of which are miſerable ſtuff) or for the pantomimical interlude with which it is intermixed, I cannot determine. The muſick is pretty good, and the tricks are not fooliſher than uſual, and ſome have ſaid they have more meaning than moſt that have preceeded them. — The performance is grand, as to the ſcenery. What pleaſes almoſt every body, is, a regular growth of trees, repreſented more like nature than what has yet been ſeen upon the ſtage; and the repreſentation of a ſerpent, ſo lively, as to frighten half

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the Ladies who ſee it. It is, indeed, curious in its kind, being wholly a piece of machinery, that enters, performs its exerciſe of head, body and tail, in a moſt ſurpriſing manner, and ruſhes behind the curtain with a velocity ſcarce credible. It is about a foot and half in circumference, at the thickeſt part, and far exceeds the former cuſtom of ſtuffing a boy into ſuch likeneſs. It is believed to have coſt more than 200 l. and when the multitude of wheels, ſprings, *&c.* whereof it conſiſts, are conſidered, the charge will not appear extravagant. — The whole Royal Family have ſeen this performance; and, from what can be judged, every body elſe will ſee it before the end of the ſeaſon: the houſe being every day full at three o'clock; though ſeldom empty till after eleven.

ELMERICK, a tragedy, written by poor *Lillo*, was lately permitted to crawl ſix nights upon the ſtage at *Drury-lane*. — It is a hideous piece. The character of *Elmerick* is unjuſt; moſt of the others are mangled. The King of this tragedy is a fool; and the Queen, the ſecond character of the play, is a bawd, and pimps to her own brother in ſight of the audience.

Our taſte for *ſenſible muſick* is ſaid to have increaſed greatly of late. — Perhaps it has: but I am at a loſs how to prove we are thereby grown one bit the wiſer. I was lately at the opera of *Morode e Selinunte*, and heard about twelve words of the whole: laſt night I heard Mr *Addiſon*'s ROSAMOND, and could diſtinguiſh more than twenty. By the firſt I was a little pleaſed, and learned nothing; by the latter I was as well pleaſed, and learned juſt as much.—Wherein, then, conſiſts the difference? The one contained words I heard not, nor underſtood; the other ſuch as I knew, but not by aid of the muſick: nor did a ſuppoſition of the ſound's meaning ſenſe any way help my underſtanding. — Wherefore, ſay what they will of *David's Lamentation*, *Roſalinda*, and all the modern *Engliſh* operas, that are at preſent endeavoured to be cramm'd down our throats, I am yet for having our own language uttered in a manner to be underſtood; and if we mangle any for the ſake of muſick, let the effeminate *Italian* ſqueak through an eunuch's throat as long as you will, but let the language of *Britain* roll rough, from our own ſtern organs, or our cannons mouths. — In *Roſamond*, how impatient was my whole unpoliſh'd frame at hearing Queen *Elenor*, in the full tempeſt of rage, deſpair and jealouſy, ſtop ſhort of her dark purpoſe, and, while the malignant draught was in the cup, take time to oblige the good company with a ſong! — and the fair victim, on the brink of diſſolution for her crimes, is chearful enough to perform an air with the utmoſt ſerenity, before her exit. — This, I am every day told, is allowable in an opera; but if an opera has in it any thing inconſiſtent with nature, wherefore muſt that be allowable? — You ſee, Sir, I am going to be ſerious; but I am ſo fond of our old-faſhion'd tragedies and comedies, *&c.* that any innovation upon a ſtage I think ſacred to their uſe is far from pleaſing

Your moſt obedient,
S. TOUPEE.

As the three following letters are upon a ſubject of great importance, and handle the argument differently, we think it not amiſs to inſert them all.

To the author of the letter in the Scots Magazine *for* January *laſt, ſubſcribed* PHILATHANATUS. [*p.* 32.]

SIR,

IT is with pleaſure I ſee any argument uſed for ſupporting the important doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul ſifted to the bottom. A good cauſe can loſe nothing by being narrowly look'd into; and it muſt always ſuffer by being propp'd with inſufficient arguments. The *Natural Deſire of Immortality* which we find in the breaſts of all mankind, I look upon as an argument which, taken alone, perhaps is not directly concluſive: but when conſidered along with the reſt of the ſtructure of the human mind, affords a conſiderable probability of our being deſign'd for ſomething beyond this imperfect

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imperfect order of things. As the objection againſt this argument which you have communicated to the publick, ſeems to me writ with candor and an honeſt intention, I offer you the following remarks upon it.

The whole of your objection may be ſumm'd up thus: *A deſire of immortality is inſeparable from the human nature; that is, ſuch a creature as man being ſuppoſed, it was impoſſible he could be without it, whether the Deity directly intended that deſire to be a part of his conſtitution, or no: therefore, we have no ground to conclude its exiſtence to have been in fact intended by the Deity; nor can reaſon from it under ſuch a view.* Now, Sir, to make your reaſoning good, this ſuppoſition is neceſſary, *viz.* That though it be certain the Deity intended the *eſſential principles* of human nature, it cannot from thence be inferred that the affections, which are the *neceſſary conſequences* of theſe principles, were as directly in his intention; a ſuppoſition which, I think, cannot be allowed. For if we do not grant the *whole plan* of human nature to have been equally the object of the intention of the Deity when he firſt framed it, we muſt ſuppoſe that there are *affections, natural affections*, in our frame, which either did not enter at all into the divine plan, or, as it were, crept into it, only becauſe he could not help it. You ſeem to make the *neceſſary connection* there is betwixt our deſire of immortality, and the principles of Reaſon and Self-love, an argument why we have ground to doubt if this deſire was *formally deſigned* by God to be in our conſtitution: whereas I ſhould think it evident, that the *more neceſſary* the connection is betwixt any one deſire and the human nature in general, the *ſtronger* our *proof* is that this deſire was *deſigned* to be a part of the human nature. For what is it that we call human nature? It is not barely the principles of Reaſon and Self-love; but, together with theſe, ſuch affections as naturally flow from them: and ſince, among other affections, we have this natural deſire of immortality, we have juſt as much reaſon for thinking it was *intended* by God to be a part of our nature, as if he had placed it in our minds as a principle *independent* of the reſt of our conſtitution. There are indeed no ſuch *independent principles* there. Human nature is a *connected ſcheme*. All our affections are *neceſſarily linked* with one another, and with the fundamental principles of Reaſon and Self-love: ſo that, if the *connection* betwixt *theſe* and the deſire of immortality were a good argument to prove, that this deſire was not directly intended by the Deity, the ſame reaſon would hold good to ſhow that *no one* of our affections was in his intention when he created man; for they ſtand *all equally connected* with the Rational faculty and principle of Self-love. A being, you ſay, poſſeſſed of Reaſon to the extent that man is, *cannot chuſe* but have the idea of immortality; and loving himſelf in the degree he does, *muſt* alſo deſire it. All this is very true: but then, if God had not *actually deſigned* that man ſhould both have the idea and the deſire of immortality, is it not highly probable he would have given us *ſuch faculties* as ſhould have produced *narrower views* and more *bounded deſires* of happineſs; ſuch as would have been *adequate* to the gratifications intended for them? Is it not eaſy to conceive that we might have been formed in ſuch a manner as to have had as little concern about immortality, as we now have about being made Gods or Angels, if the *one* had been as little to be our lot as the *other* is?

It is not now my buſineſs to enlarge further upon this argument of the natural deſire of Immortality, or to ſtate its force in determining the queſtion. All I intended was, to remove the difficulty you propoſed about it: how far I have done this, I muſt leave others to judge. I can only wiſh that what I have ſaid may have given you full ſatisfaction for that purpoſe. I am,

SIR,

Your very humble ſervant,

PHILANTHROPOS.

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To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR,

THE ſtronger a virtuous man's deſire of immortality is, he will be the keener of ſtarting objections to it, in order to have ſatisfying anſwers to them. If therefore the following ſhall be any way ſatisfactory to your correſpondent *Philathanatus*, my pains will be well beſtowed.

I muſt own, Sir, that I can't at all ſee any thing in your correſpondent's arguments againſt the deſire of immortality being a *natural one*, and *directly intended*, or implanted in us, *by God*; but the contrary. The manner of this deſire's making its appearance in the human mind, is well enough deſcribed by *Philathanatus*; but his inference, *That the deſire of immortality may be where it was not deſigned*, has, I think, no connection with the premiſſes whence he would draw it. He is pleaſed to affirm, *that a creature like man being ſuppoſed, this deſire will inevitably coexiſt with it*. This I don't doubt. But he adds, *whether the Deity intended it or not*. What! could not God have ſhewn mankind, that the nature of things could not admit of their immortality, or that it would be incompatible with their happineſs; being capable of no enjoyment (not even of that of *virtue* and *God* himſelf; for which good men deſire immortality) but what would prove *deteſtable* to them in *time?* And what *rational* creature would then *deſire immortality?*

In fine, Sir, as *Philathanatus* owns that the deſire of immortality neceſſarily coexiſts with man; and, I think, he won't deny that it is no leſs *uſeful* than *neceſſary*; unleſs therefore he can ſhew, that it is not well founded in the nature of things, or that it cannot have ſuitable objects or gratifications, and yet it was neceſſary for us to have ſuch a deſire though we are to be deceived in the gratification of it, he can, in my opinion, no other way invalidate the proof of the ſoul's immortality built upon it; which I humbly ſubmit to his conſideration. *I am*, &c.

A third Anſwer to the Objection.

THE argument objected againſt, is that one taken from the natural deſire of immortality implanted in the human mind, which 'tis preſum'd the author of nature, who does nothing in vain, will gratify with its proper object. The objection to it runs thus: "What if this deſire was not in the deſign of God when he created man? — That the Deity might not, properly and directly, intend the exiſtence of any ſuch deſire, ſeems to follow from hence, That a creature like man being ſuppoſed, this deſire will inevitably coexiſt with it, whether the Deity intended it or no, having a neceſſary connection with the faculty of Reaſon and the principle of Self-love. And therefore, if it was not deſigned by the Deity, (as from this conſideration it appears it might not) it cannot any way engage him to gratify it, or warrant us to conclude he will do ſo." The author of this objection ſhould have obſerved, that we are not at liberty to ſuppoſe the exiſtence of a finite being, any other way than by its being communicated from the firſt cauſe and ſource of all being, God; that the firſt cauſe being intelligent, gives to every creature an eſſence and exiſtence, exactly anſwering its idea in the divine mind; that, conſequently, every finite being actually exiſting, will be conformable to its archetype; that is, be as to its eſſence and exiſtence properly and directly intended by the Deity.

Why ſhould we ſuppoſe the Divine Being at variance with himſelf? He intended the exiſtence of a rational creature, with which in the very nature of the thing the deſire of immortality muſt coexiſt: Might he will the exiſtence of ſuch a nature, and not intend what was involv'd in it? No; he might not be inconſiſtent with himſelf, nor will an untruth.

The objector, by ſaying God might not properly and directly intend the exiſtence of any ſuch deſire, means, perhaps, he might have a deſign in creating man inconſiſtent, or no way concerned

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cerned with this desire, or its gratification. But what is there in the thing itself, or in our most natural conceptions of the blessed and good God, that should incline us to harbour in our breasts the least suspicion of this? Is there any thing in his conduct towards the rational world, or the ends of his government, so far as they lie within the ken of mortals, why we should think that God, in this respect, had indeed made all men in vain? Nothing certainly. He gives being that he may communicate happiness; he cannot communicate happiness without implanting desires; rational happiness, without rational desires: and therefore, from this desire, congenial to the mind of man, we conclude him design'd for immortality.

A. R——D.

An account of the taking of Porto Bello, *as published by authority in the* London Gazette, *dated*, Whitehall, Mar. 15.

ON Thursday last in the evening Capt. Rentone arrived here express with letters from Vice-Admiral Vernon, dated on board his Majesty's ship the Burford in Porto Bello harbour, the 12th of December last, to the Duke of Newcastle; which give the following account.

On the 5th of November last Vice-Admiral Vernon sailed from Jamaica with his Majesty's ships the Burford, Hampton-court, Princess Louisa, Worcester, Strafford, Norwich, and Sheerness, the last of which he ordered to cruize off Cartagena. On the 20th of November in the evening he came in sight of Porto Bello, having been delay'd in his passage by contrary winds. There being but little wind that evening, tho' a very great swell, he anchor'd for that night six leagues off the shore, being apprehensive of driving to the eastward of the harbour.

On the 21st in the morning, the Admiral plyed to windward in line of battle, having given the proper orders for the attack; but the wind proving easterly, he was obliged to confine his attack to the Iron fort only; close to which the squadron was piloted by Capt. Rentone.

Commodore Brown, in the Hampton-court, who led the attack, executed his part as became an officer of experience and resolution; and being well followed by Capt. Herbert in the Norwich, and Capt. Mayne in the Worcester, the Admiral perceived that some of the Spaniards fled from several parts of the fort; upon which he made the signal for the boats in which the soldiers were, to make the best of their way in order to their landing, whilst he was coming up to the fort to batter it. The Admiral luffing up as near to the fort as he could, the fire of his small arms commanded the enemy's lower batteries, and had a good effect in driving them from those batteries, from which they could do most harm; and by this means the men were also secured at landing: And this (as the enemy afterwards confessed) was the principal occasion of their deserting the lower batteries, the small-shot from the former ships not having reach'd them, though their cannon had beat down some of the upper part of the fort. As the boats came near the Admiral's ship, he called to them to go directly on shore under the walls of the fort, tho' there was no breach made: but this answered as was expected, by throwing the enemy into a general consternation, the officers and men who had stood to the lower battery, flying to the upper part of the fort; where they held up a white signal for capitulating. The Admiral answered with a white flag; but it was some time before he could stop his own men, and those on board the Strafford, Capt. Trevor, which followed him, from firing.

In the mean time the seamen had climb'd up the walls of the lower battery and struck the colours, and then drew the soldiers up after them; to whom the Spaniards, who had retired to the upper part of the fort, soon after surrender'd at discretion. Their number was only 5 officers and 35 men, out of above 300, the rest being either kill'd or wounded, or having made their escape.

The ships that went in before the Admiral were fallen to leeward, so as to

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to be out of sight of the Gloria castle; but the Admiral's ship lying open to the said castle, they kept firing one of their longest guns at him till night: but not being within point-blank, their shot either fell short, or went over him; only one shot went thro' the head of his foretop-mast, just above the rigging, so that it did no harm.

The Admiral finding they continued their firing, tried some of his lower tier at them; which being new guns, answer'd beyond expectation, carrying over the Gloria castle into the town; none of the shot falling short, and one of them going thro' the Governor's house, and some thro' other houses in the town.

This successful beginning was attended with a very inconsiderable loss, there being only three men killed and five wounded on board the Admiral's ship; the like number were kill'd and wounded on board the Worcester, and one man had both his legs shot off on board the Hampton-court. The other ships had none killed or wounded, and only two soldiers were shot going ashore, one of which died soon after of his wounds.

The next morning, being the 22d, the Admiral went on board Commodore Brown, to call the Captains to consult together, and give out the necessary orders for warping the ships up the next night, in order to attack the Gloria castle the night following, as it would not have been practicable to attempt it in the day-time. But in this he was prevented by the enemy's putting up a white flag at the Gloria castle, and sending a boat with a flag of truce to the Admiral, with the Governor's Adjutant, and a Lieutenant of a man of war, who brought the conditions signed on which they desired to capitulate. In answer to which, the Admiral immediately drew up the terms on which he would admit them to capitulation, and dispatched them back again, allowing them only a few hours to take their resolution; and within the time limited they accepted the conditions offered them. And before night on Thursday the said 22d of November, the Admiral sent Capt. Newton, who commanded the detachment of soldiers from Jamaica, with about 120 of the said soldiers, who took immediate possession of Gloria castle and St Jeronimo fort, being the remaining fortresses that guarded the harbour of Porto Bello, the Gloria castle lying just below the town, and St Jeronimo fort just above it.

Articles of capitulation granted by Edward Vernon, *Esq*; *Vice-Admiral of the* Blue, *and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels in the* West-Indies, *and Commodore* Brown, *to Don* Francisco Martines de Retez, *Governor of* Porto Bello, *and Don* Francisco de Abaroa, *Commandant of the* guarda costas *at the same place, the 22d of* November 1739. *O. S.*

I. That the garrison be allowed to march out as desired, upon condition the King of G. Britain's troops be put into possession of the Glory castle, before four of the clock this evening, and the garrison to march out by ten of the clock to-morrow morning.

That the inhabitants may either remove, or remain, under a promise of security for themselves and their effects.

II. That the Spanish soldiers may have a guard if they think it necessary.

III. That they may carry off two cannons mounted, with ten charges of powder for each, and their match lighted.

IV. The gates of the Glory castle must absolutely be in possession of the King our master's troops, by four of the clock, and the Spanish garrison shall remain in all safety for their persons and effects, till the appointed time for their marching out, and to carry with them the provisions and ammunition necessary for their safety.

V. That the ships with their apparel and arms be absolutely delivered up to the use of his Britannick Majesty; but that all the officers, soldiers and crew, shall have three days allowed them to retire with all their personal effects; only one officer being admitted on board each ship and vessel, to take possession for the King our master, and to see this article strictly complied with.

VI. That

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VI. That, provided the articles above mentioned are ſtrictly complied with, and that poſſeſſion be given of caſtle St. Jeronimo, in the ſame manner as is ſtipulated for the caſtle Gloria, then the clergy, the churches and town ſhall be protected and preſerved in all their immunities and properties.

And that all priſoners already taken ſhall be ſet at liberty before our leaving the port.

Given under our hands on board his Majeſty's ſhip Burford, *in* Porto Bello *harbour, this 22d day of* November 1739. *O. S.* E. VERNON.
CHA. BROWN.

There were in the harbour two Spaniſh men of war, of 20 guns each, and a ſnow; the crews of which ſhips, ſeeing the regular and bold attack which was made on the Iron fort, and deſpairing of being able to defend themſelves, fell to plundering the town in the night of the 21ſt, and committed great outrages on the inhabitants.

The Admiral took on board his ſhips from the ſeveral fortreſſes, 40 pieces of braſs cannon, 10 braſs field-pieces, 4 braſs mortars, and 18 braſs patteroes; and render'd unſerviceable above 80 iron cannon, by knocking off the trunnions, and ſpiking them up: He alſo took on board all their ſhot and ammunition, except 122 barrels of their powder, which he expended in ſpringing mines; by which all the fortifications of the forts were blown up, and entirely demoliſhed, and the harbour left open and defenceleſs.

Ten thouſand dollars, that were arrived and deſign'd for paying the King of Spain's troops at Porto Bello, falling into the Admiral's hands, he diſtributed them among his Majeſty's forces for their encouragement.

The Admiral was joined at Porto Bello on the 27th of November, by his Majeſty's ſhip the Diamond, Capt. Knowles, and on the 29th by the Windſor, Capt. Berkeley, and the Angleſea, Capt. Redmiſh; he having left orders at the leeward iſlands for the ſaid ſhips to follow him.

The principal engineer in the mining work was Capt. Knowles of the Diamond, aſſiſted by Capt. Boſcawen (who deſired he might ſerve in this expedition as a voluntier, his ſhip the Shoreham not being fit for the ſea) and by Mr Barnes Purſer of the Worceſter, who having been an officer in the army, was very uſeful on this occaſion. Commodore Brown had the chief direction of what was neceſſary to be done at Gloria caſtle and St Jeronimo fort; and Capt. Watſon, Captain of the Admiral's ſhip, took care of the execution of all that was to be done at the Iron fort, which was built on a rock. The walls of the lower battery, which conſiſted of 22 guns, were nine foot thick, and of a hard ſtone, cemented with ſuch a fine mortar, that it was a long work to make any impreſſion in it to come to mine at all.

The lower battery at Gloria caſtle conſiſted of two regular baſtions, and a curtain between them, mounted with 22 guns, beſides a line of eight guns, that pointed to the mouth of the harbour; and all the other guns they had on the mooriſh parts of both caſtles, beſides their battery on St Jeronimo, rendered the entrance of the harbour very difficult and dangerous.

In conſideration of the ſervices performed by Capt. Rentone (who acted as a pilot in this expedition) the Admiral thought fit to appoint him Commander of the Spaniſh ſnow taken in the harbour of Porto Bello; and to ſend his diſpatches by him to England in the ſaid ſnow; and the two 20 gun ſhips, which were Spaniſh guarda coſtas, were by the Admiral's order fitted up, and taken along with him.

On the 6th of December the Admiral was joined at Porto Bello by his Majeſty's ſhip the Sheerneſs, Capt. Stapleton, which he had ſent to cruize off Cartagena, and which had taken two veſſels, with ſupplies of ammunition, ſtores and proviſions that were going to Cartagena. On the 7th in the evening Capt. Stapleton having taken in water, was ſent by the Admiral to cruize on his former ſtation.

During the Admiral's ſtay at Porto Bello,

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Bello, he sent a letter to the President of Panama, demanding the releasement of the factors and servants of the S. S. company, who were confined at that place; in consequence of which, the President of Panama sent an officer with Mr Humphreys and Dr Wright, factors, and also with the servants of the S. S. company, who were delivered to the Admiral at Porto Bello.

The Governor and inhabitants of Porto Bello, expressed the greatest sense of the humanity and generosity, with which they were treated by the Admiral, and his Majesty's squadron under his command.

On the 13th of December, Vice-Admiral Vernon, with his squadron, sail'd from Porto Bello for Jamaica; and being off Cartagena, on the 28th of December, sent away Capt. Rentone in the Spanish snow for England.

LONDON EVENING-POST, *March* 29.

The following is a letter from a Gentleman on board the Burford *at* Porto Bello *to his friend at* Newcastle, *which, as it contains a more particular account of Admiral* Vernon's *glorious atchievement at that place than any yet published, we thought we could not refuse it a place.*

Dear Sir,

AGreeable to my promise at parting, I beg leave to acquaint you, that I arrived safely in Port-Royal harbour on the 23d of October, after an exceeding good passage. Hostilities had been committed against the Spaniards by our fleet under Commodore Brown five weeks before we came to Jamaica, and several captures had been made; so that the anxiety we were under of being attacked by the guarda costas as we passed along the coasts of Porto-Rico and Hispaniola, being without a convoy, was more than made amends for by the pleasure we had of coming up with the Diamond man of war, leading in tow a large register-ship bound from La Vera Cruz to the Havanna, laden with treasure to the value of 40,000 l. Sterl. The Diamond had also got another prize in company, a brigantine laden with provisions, but not near the value of the register-ship.

As we made these sails first about Point Morant, we were under great concern till we could distinguish the English colours; but you cannot easily conceive the joy we were flushed with on espying the two prizes with Spanish colours drooping under English ensigns. On coming up with them, Capt. Knowles gave us a relation of the manner of his taking them, and convoyed us that evening safe to Port-Royal. On my arrival, I was acquainted by the Admiral that he intended to go to sea with such ships of the squadron as could be got ready in a few days; and accordingly, on the auspicious 5th of November, we weighed anchor and sailed for Porto Bello; the Burford, Admiral Vernon; the Hampton-court, Commod. Brown; the Louisa, Capt. Waterhouse; the Strafford, Capt. Trevor; the Worcester, Capt. Mayne; and the Norwich, Capt. Herbert; being two of 70, three of 60, and one of 50 guns. On the 10th we made a sail at ten in the morning, in latitude of 12 deg. N. which we gave chace to till four in the evening, when we came up with her, and she struck her Spanish pendant on the first gun. She proved to be a large sloop with provisions from Carthagena to Porto Bello; and as all our pilots were strangers to the coasts westward of Chaugre, the Spanish pilot was of good service to us. On the 16th we made four sail of ships close in shore at a great distance; so that night coming on we had no hopes of reaching them, and next morning they were out of sight. We rightly conjectured them to be guarda costas from Porto Bello; for bearing away with all speed for that harbour, they got in the day before us, and alarmed the place, unshipping all their men to assist in defending the fortifications, which we found to be exceeding strong both by art and nature.

Porto Bello is situate in the cod of a bay, above a mile deep, and near half a mile broad at the mouth of the harbour; where a strong castle and fort stood

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ſtood on the ſide of a ſteep rock, with 300 men and 100 great guns. On the different ſide, but about a mile further up, ſtood caſtle Gloria, larger than the other, which was called the Iron Caſtle, having 400 men and 120 guns, moſt of them the largeſt ever ſeen. This was alſo ſituate on the ſide of a very high rock; and under the cannon of it and fort St Jeronimo, which was a ſtrong battery nearly oppoſite, all the ſhips rode at anchor belonging to the harbour. But in order to give you a clearer idea of the whole, you have below a ſmall ſketch of the caſtles, fort, town and harbour, together with the ſtation of the Spaniſh ſhips, and the place where we engaged the Iron caſtle. On the afternoon of the 21ſt, about two o'clock, we came up with Porto Bello harbour; where the Spaniards had hoiſted upon the Iron caſtle the flag of defiance; and, as we were told by themſelves afterwards, they wiſhed earneſtly for our attempting to come in, as believing they could ſink us all immediately; but ſaid they feared we were only making a ſecond Baſtimento expedition, and would not give them the pleaſure of engaging us.

But they were ſoon gratified in their wiſhes; for the Hampton-court made directly oppoſite to the caſtle, being in the van; and, as the wind had died away, ſhe dropped her anchor before it, receiving a very briſk fire from the Spaniards at the diſtance of little more than a cable's length. She ſoon convinced them that ſhe was both willing and able to return it; for in about 25 minutes ſhe fired above 400 ſhot againſt the caſtle; ſo that nothing was to be ſeen but fire and ſmoke on both ſides. The Norwich then came up next, who met with the ſame reception; and although ſhe did not fire quite ſo quick as the Hampton-court, yet we could obſerve that her ſhot was ſo well aimed as to put the Spaniards a good deal off their metal, hardly returning her one gun for three. In 28 minutes the Worceſter got up alſo; who, anchoring cloſe by the other two, did no ſmall execution againſt the caſtle, in a little time knocking down the higher part of it, and driving many of the Spaniards from their guns. We made all the ſail poſſible, and came before the caſtle with the blue flag at our fore-top-maſt head, and the bloody flag at the main-top-maſt head, in 20 minutes after the Worceſter. The Admiral, whoſe conduct and courage is hardly to be parallelled, ordered our anchor to be dropp'd within half a cable's length of the caſtle, as being reſolved to convince them we were no way afraid of all they could do. Notwithſtanding they had diſcharged very few guns for ſome minutes before we came up; yet, as if they had reſolved to ſummon up all their courage againſt the flag, they welcomed us with a terrible volley, which, being at ſo ſhort a diſtance, took place with almoſt every ſhot. One ſtruck away the ſtern of our barge; another broke a large gun upon our upper deck; a third went through our fore-top-maſt; and a fourth, paſſing thro' the arning within two inches of our main-maſt, broke down the barricado of our quarter-deck, very near the Admiral, and killed three men in a moment, wounding five others which ſtood by them. This looked as if we ſhould have bloody work, but was far from diſcouraging our brave fellows, (who in every ſhip were ſo zealous as hardly to be reſtrained from firing) for we returned their ſalute in ſuch a manner, that although they fired a ſhot now and then, yet they never did us the leaſt damage afterwards. We drove them from all their lower guns the firſt broad-ſide, and by a ſpring upon our cable, bringing about our ſtar-board guns, we gave them another in three minutes, and ſo on for ſix or ſeven rounds; which made them quite ſick of the affair, and we could obſerve them flying for refuge into the ambuſcades. The Admiral, taking the advantage of this remiſſion, ordered out the boats with our third Lieutenant Mr Broderick, and about 40 ſailors, as alſo a company of marines and their officers, whom he commanded to land under the fire of our guns in the very front of the lower battery; and making a ſignal for two other ſhips to follow the ex-

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example, they all landed safe but two soldiers, which were killed by the small-arms from the castle. One man set himself close under an embrasure, whilst another climbed upon his shoulders and entered under the mouth of a great gun. This so dismay'd the Spaniards, that they threw down their arms and fled to the top of the castle; from whence scaling backwards, we could see them run into the woods by hundreds, and fly for their lives.

All the boats crews were on the platform in three minutes after landing, and struck the Spanish flag of defiance, hoisting the English colours. The Capitano and officers which were taken in the castle, shut themselves up in a strong lodgment; but upon our Lieutenant's firing a gun or two through the door, they quickly opened it and begged quarter. Thus this Iron castle was taken by four English ships (for the Louisa and Strafford were not come up) in two hours, which, in the hands of so many Englishmen, might have been defended against all the naval force of Spain. The Gloria and Jeronimo forts kept firing towards us all the time of action, but most of their shot fell short, or flew over our rigging. After we had got possession of the Iron castle, we tried to reach them with our lower deck guns, and could observe that in a few minutes we were so fortunate as to have struck down their flag-staff at the Gloria castle, and beat down several houses in the town; we also sunk a sloop near fort St Jeronimo and the Gloria. The contest lasting till night put an end to the engagement, when it was resolved in full council, that as there was no wind, every ship should warp up to the fortifications, and come to action as soon as possible in the morning: but just as we began to move about break of day, we observed a boat coming towards us with a flag of truce and terms of capitulation, *viz. That the government would deliver up all the fortifications, provided they might be allowed to march out with the honours of war; have an indemnity for themselves, the town, and the inhabitants; and be permitted to enjoy all the ships in the harbour.* This last alone was rejected; for the Admiral resolved to have all the ships, being *the very ships* which had done our merchants all the injuries complained of in these coasts, as also the English factors and effects of the S. S. company, delivered up to us.

They readily complied, and we took possession of the ships and forts accordingly. In the Gloria we found 120 guns, 200 small arms and blunderbusses, as many swords, 200 barrels of powder, four large mortars, thousands of iron and copper balls, with the guns and ammunition in the Iron castle, of which about 87 (in all) are of brass, together with two men of war of 24 guns, one snow of 14, four good sloops, a petiagury, and half-galley. We have also had the good luck to find about 10,000 dollars belonging to the King of Spain, which I had the pleasure of being present at the searching for, when we found it in the custom-house, hid, most of it, in a close-stool.

We have broke the trunnions of all the iron guns, which will render them useless, and blasted all the foundations, and burnt the superstructures of the castles, so that some millions will hardly compensate the damage. It is absolutely impossible ever to restore them to the condition in which we found them, because the foundations are so much shattered and split by mining, as to render it impracticable to attempt rebuilding them on the same spot.

Porto Bello is no large town, consisting only of about 500 houses, two churches, a treasury, a custom-house, and exchange. The inhabitants depend entirely upon the fair which is held here about six weeks every two or three years in the time of peace, accordingly as the galleons happen to arrive from Carthagena, where they always first dispose of part of their goods, and then come down here, where they are met by all the merchants from the great cities of Lima and Panama, with millions of money to purchase their merchandize. I am told by the inhabitants, what is almost incredible, that the town can hardly find room enough for the chests of money during

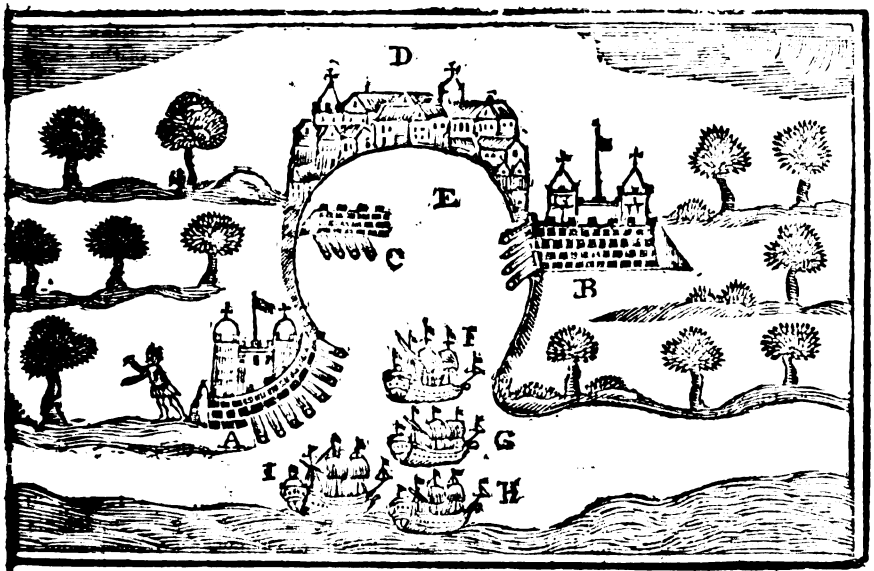
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during the time of the fair, and that ſeveral rooms are let for 500 dollars a-week, and very poor ones for 150 or 200; ſo that ſome people make 10,000 dollars by the convenience of their houſes whilſt the fair laſts. As it is impoſſible for Lima and Panama to be ſupplied through any other channel than that of Porto Bello, and as the galleons dare not now preſume to come there, the fortifications being demoliſhed, a fine opportunity is afforded the Dutch at Curacco, who always ſtole a trade in a peddling way, but now may deal without interruption. As the Diamond, Windſor and Angleſea have now joined us here, we intend to beat up to Carthagena, to try if we can tempt Don Blaſe, who lies there with four men of war and the galleons, to come out and engage us, eſpecially as we hear he is to be joined by ſeveral French men of war from Martinico.

We wait now only for the S. S. factors and the company's effects, ſo that we ſhall ſail in a day or two at fartheſt.

I have the pleaſure to acquaint you that I have got over two or three ſmall fevers, which every one muſt expect to be attacked with as a ſeaſoning to this warm climate; though, what is very ſurpriſing, we have much cooler weather here in the lat. of 9 d. N. than at Jamaica in 18. The Gentlemen on board with me deſerve a character much ſuperior to that generally given to ſailors in point of civility, no men in life behaving with greater friendſhip, candour, and good nature. I am, *&c.*

WM. RICHARDSON.



A The Iron caſtle on the north-ſide of the mouth of the harbour, with 100 guns.
B The caſtle Gloria, with 120 guns, on the ſouth-ſide of the harbour, and a mile from the Iron caſtle.
C The fort of Jeronimo, with 20 guns.
D The town of Porto Bello, lying along the extremity of the harbour.
E The ſtation of the Spaniſh ſhips.
F The Hampton-court's place of action, Commod. Brown, which fired 400 ſhot.
G The Norwich's ditto, Captain Herbert, which fired 203 round ſhot, 11 double head, 112 lb. muſquet ſhot, 8 grape ſhot, 3 cohorn ſhells, 1182 lb. powder.
H The Worceſter's ditto, Captain Mayne, which fired 194 round ſhot, 2 cohorn ſhells, 1236 lb. powder.
I The Admiral's ſhip, the Burford, which fired 113 round ſhot, 114 lb. muſquet ſhot, 17 lb. piſtol ſhot, 967 lb. powder.

N. B. *The account from the Gazette, p.* 117. *mentions alſo the Strafford, Captain Trevor, which fired* 106 *round ſhot,* 7 *double head,* 5 *grapes,* 9 *cohorn ſhells,* 7 *barrels and a half powder.*

JOURNAL of the Proceedings and Debates in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from *vol.* I. *p.* 542.

I shall now give you an account of the debate occasioned by his Majesty's message to parliament on the 10*th of* May *last.* Cn. Domitius Calvinus *opened the debate with a speech to the following purpose*, viz.

My Lords,

AS his Majesty's most gracious message to this house consists of two parts, one of which relates to the treaty lately concluded with the King of Denmark, which he has been so good as to order to be laid before us, and the other to the augmentation of his forces, and the other measures that may, in this critical juncture, become necessary; I shall beg leave to consider them distinctly, and in order, as they stand in the message. As to the treaty with Denmark, I believe, the expediency, and even the necessity of concluding such a treaty, upon the present occasion, will be acknowledged by every Lord that considers the remarkable turn of affairs which has lately happened in Sweden, and the precarious state the tranquillity of this nation now stands in. It is a misfortune attending a free government in every country, to have their people divided into factions or parties; and this misfortune Sweden of course relapsed into, as soon as they had recover'd and established their liberties, upon the demise of their late Sovereign. That kingdom is now divided into two parties, one of which is for preserving the peace with all its neighbours, particularly Muscovy, and strictly observing those treaties that have been concluded since the accession of their present King; whereas the other, which is the most turbulent, and of course the most popular, is for taking the first opportunity for endeavouring to recover those provinces which were dismembered from that kingdom by the misfortunes of the late reign, notwithstanding their having been yielded to the potentates now in possession of them, in the most solemn manner, and by the most express and explicit treaties of peace.

Of these two parties, my Lords, the first has always been for cultivating a good correspondence with this nation; because they may depend upon being supported by us, in case their country should be unjustly attacked by any ambitious neighbour. They have nothing but just and peaceable views; and in these, they stand in no need of any alliance but that of this kingdom. But the views of the other party, my Lords, are very different: Their views are unjust; and in the prosecution of such, they can expect no encouragement or assistance from this nation. They can expect assistance from no power in Europe but France; and this makes them ready to second the views of that kingdom, and to enter into any alliance that may be proposed to them by the court of France. This party, by their intrigues among the members of the last diet, and by the hopes they gave the people of recovering their lost provinces, which, however improbable, will always be popular, have got themselves established in the administration of publick affairs; and, as soon as they had effected this, they immediately concluded an alliance with France, and began to make preparations both by sea and land, as if they had some grand project in view.

What the design of these preparations may be, or what design the French may have in giving so large a subsidy to Sweden, and in offering so considerable a subsidy to Denmark, are secrets which the world is not as yet let into; but, considering the precarious footing upon which the peace between Spain and us stands at present, and considering the uncertainty of the measures France may take, in case of a war between this nation and Spain, it would have been very imprudent in us to have allow'd France to engage both the northern crowns in an alliance, in which there would probably have been some secret articles, which

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which might have been of great prejudice to this nation. I have already shewn, why it was impossible for us to prevent the now governing party in Sweden from entering into the alliance proposed to them by France; therefore, the only thing we could do, was to prevent the accession of Denmark to that alliance; and there was no other method for doing this, but by concluding, with Denmark, such a treaty as his Majesty has now ordered to be laid before you. For this reason, I am convinced, there is no Lord in this house, that will not readily approve of this treaty, and most chearfully concur in enabling his Majesty to make good the engagements he has thereby enter'd into.

My Lords, the advantages that must accrue to this nation from the treaty now before us, appear upon the face of the treaty itself; but, when I tell your Lordships, that no alliance was ever more earnestly sollicited, than the alliance of Denmark was by France upon this occasion, these advantages will appear to be more considerable, and the necessity we were under of concluding this treaty will become manifest. The subsidy we are to pay to the crown of Denmark, is, 'tis true, a little extraordinary; but when we consider, that a much larger subsidy was offered by France, we must conclude, that nothing more evidently points out to us the wisdom of the King of Denmark, and his good inclinations towards this nation, than his rejecting, upon this occasion, the offers of France, and accepting from us a much smaller subsidy than was offered to him by that kingdom. I shall grant, it was more for the interest of Denmark to join in an alliance with this kingdom, than to join in an alliance with France; but, when the interest of a court happens to be opposite to that of the country, it requires some address in those that apply to them, it requires wisdom in the court applied to, for prevailing upon them to prefer the latter. This was the case in our late negotiations with Denmark: It was the interest of that court to accept of the larger subsidy offered by France; it was the interest of the country to accept of the lesser subsidy offered by G. Britain. This, we may suppose, was set in its true light, by those who were employed by his Majesty in that negotiation; and his Danish Majesty's natural good sense prevailed with him, as it ought, and, I hope, always will, to prefer a future interest to a present advantage, and to sacrifice his own immediate interest to the happiness of his country, and the security of his posterity.

I hope your Lordships will excuse my having said so much upon the first part of the message now under your consideration, which is, indeed, of such a nature, that I cannot suggest to myself any objection that can be made against our complying with it: And as to the other part of the message, it appears, in my way of thinking, as reasonable as the former. I have often heard those plausible arguments that are commonly made use of against votes of credit and confidence. Perhaps they may be repeated upon this occasion; and, I shall allow, that such votes ought not to be passed, but in cases of an extraordinary nature. I shall grant, it would be dangerous to introduce the custom of concluding every session of parliament with a vote of credit and confidence, to the King then upon the throne: but this is what was never contended for; and whatever may be done upon any extraordinary emergency, can be no precedent for doing the like, when no such emergency exists. Upon such occasions, therefore, we are to consider the situation of our affairs at that instant of time; in order, from thence, to determine, whether such a vote be then necessary or no. If we do this, I believe, every Lord that hears me must agree, that a vote of credit and confidence was never more necessary than it is at this present conjuncture. We have, 'tis true, a convention with Spain; but that convention is only a sort of preliminary: The principal articles in dispute between Spain and us, remain yet to be adjusted; and even those

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thoſe articles, which by this convention were finally ſettled, remain ſtill uncomplied with. The beſt way of ſecuring a compliance, is to be in a condition to compel it; and the only method by which we can expect to have the other articles adjuſted to our own liking, is to ſhew that we are ready to vindicate our rights by force of arms, in caſe the Spaniards ſhould continue obſtinate in refuſing to acknowledge them by peaceable means.

The ſeſſion, my Lords, is now drawing towards a concluſion. The parliament will probably be prorogued; the ſeaſon of the year is now ſo far advanced, that it will even become neceſſary for his Majeſty to prorogue it, before he can know what may be the reſult of the preſent councils of Spain; and, if we ſhould ſeparate, without enabling his Majeſty to put the nation into a warlike poſture, as ſoon as the exigency of our affairs may require, it will encourage the court of Spain, not only to refuſe giving us ſatisfaction with regard to thoſe diſputes that remain as yet to be adjuſted, but alſo to refuſe performing thoſe ſtipulations which they have expreſly promiſed by that convention, which has been ratified by both crowns. Thus, by neglecting to furniſh his Majeſty with thoſe powers that are neceſſary for enabling him to engage in a war, we ſhall render a war unavoidable: By a groundleſs apprehenſion of running ourſelves into a danger of a domeſtick nature, we ſhall run ourſelves into a real foreign danger; and by refuſing to impower his Majeſty to put the nation to a ſmall expence, which, by his being impowered to do ſo, may become unneceſſary, and which we are ſure his Majeſty will not put us to unleſs it be neceſſary, we may ſubject the nation to an immenſe charge, which in its preſent circumſtances, I am ſorry to ſay, it is not well able to bear.

From theſe conſiderations, my Lords, I muſt be of opinion, that there is as much reaſon for our complying with the ſecond part of this meſſage, as with the firſt; and as I can apprehend no danger from our complying with both, I ſhall take the liberty to move your Lordſhips to reſolve, *That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to thank him for laying before this houſe the treaty lately concluded with the King of Denmark; and to aſſure his Majeſty, that this houſe will not only concur in enabling him to make good the engagements he has entered into by that treaty; but alſo in enabling and ſupporting him to make ſuch further augmentation of his forces either by ſea or land, as may become abſolutely neceſſary; and in concerting ſuch meaſures as the exigency of affairs may require.*

The next that ſpoke was M. Agrippa, *whoſe ſpeech was to this effect*, viz.

My Lords,

THE Noble Duke has very properly divided his Majeſty's meſſage into two parts. It conſiſts, indeed, of two parts; and they are of ſo different a nature, and ſo diſtinct from one another, that I am ſurpriſed at his Majeſty's having been adviſed to join them together in one and the ſame meſſage. They are ſo diſtinct, that it is impoſſible to ſpeak to them both together; and therefore I muſt conſider them ſeparately, as the Noble Duke has done before me.

With regard to the firſt part, my Lords, which relates to the treaty lately concluded with Denmark, if the meſſage had been confined to that treaty alone, I am perſuaded no objection would have been made, by any Lord in this houſe, to our complying with what his Majeſty deſires; and, as I have often taken the liberty to find fault with our late meaſures, I am glad to have this opportunity of giving my approbation to ſomething that has been done by thoſe now at the head of our adminiſtration. In our preſent circumſtances, my Lords, and conſidering the preſent unlucky poſture of affairs in Europe, to which we have, by our late meaſures, not a little contributed, the concluding of this treaty was abſolutely neceſſary for us, in order to prevent Denmark's entering into any engagements that might be of dangerous conſequence to the intereſt of this nation in particular, and

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and the tranquillity of Europe in general. Therefore, however expenſive this treaty may be to us, yet, in the main, I muſt think it was a wiſe, a right, and a neceſſary meaſure. But, at the ſame time, I cannot help obſerving, what can eſcape the obſervation of no man, who compares this treaty with thoſe that have been concluded upon former occaſions between the two crowns, that a nation, like a private man, the lower it ſinks in its credit, the dearer it muſt pay for every favour it is obliged to ſue for.

This obſervation occurs the more readily to me, my Lords, becauſe I was once concerned in negotiating a treaty of the ſame kind with the crown of Denmark. When I had the honour to be employed by his late Majeſty in his negotiations with the northern crowns, a treaty was concluded between him and the King of Denmark, of the ſame nature with this now before us: but by that treaty, we paid but 70 crowns for each horſeman his Daniſh Majeſty was to keep in readineſs for our ſervice; whereas, by this treaty, we are to pay 80 crowns for every ſuch horſeman: which difference, though it may appear inconſiderable when conſidered with reſpect to each ſingle man, yet, upon 1000 horſemen, the number ſtipulated by this treaty, it amounts to a very large ſum; and it is the more conſiderable, becauſe, by the treaty, we are obliged to pay immediately one moiety of this 80 crowns for each horſeman, and 30 crowns for each foot-ſoldier, whether we have occaſion for theſe troops or no. In this light, the difference of 10 crowns upon each horſeman, will appear to be of ſome conſequence; eſpecially, if we conſider the preſent unfortunate circumſtances of this nation, and the great charge we muſt be at, if a war ſhould enſue between us and Spain; which I have, indeed, long thought inevitable, and I have now more reaſon to think ſo than ever I had before.

Beſides this diſadvantage, my Lords, there are ſeveral others, which every Lord may ſee, by comparing the two treaties; but what is ſtill worſe, this treaty can be of no advantage to us, except that of preventing Denmark's engaging againſt us, unleſs we can engage in our intereſt ſeveral other powers upon the continent, beſides Denmark. We can, by this treaty, make no uſe of the Daniſh troops, in any expedition we may think fit to undertake againſt Spain; becauſe it is expreſly provided, by the 6th article of this treaty, That this corps of Daniſh troops ſhall not be made uſe of either in Italy, or upon the fleet, nor is it to be tranſported, in whole or in part, beyond ſea, after it is come out of the territories of Denmark, except for the defence of the kingdoms of G. Britain and Ireland. Nay, if France ſhould join with Spain againſt us, we could make no uſe of this body of Daniſh troops, either againſt Spain or France, unleſs we ſhould have occaſion to form an army in Germany or Flanders againſt France; and this we neither can, nor ſhall have the leaſt occaſion for, unleſs we can form a confederacy amongſt the princes and ſtates, who have dominions in that part of the world; which we have, as yet, I believe, no great hopes of being able to accompliſh.

This treaty with Denmark, my Lords, is but a preparatory ſtep towards accompliſhing ſo great and neceſſary a deſign. Several other ſteps muſt be made; and, particularly, there is another power upon the continent, who I may likewiſe call a northern power, whoſe alliance we ought to ſeek, upon the preſent occaſion, as much as that of Denmark. When I ſay ſo, I believe, every Lord that hears me will ſuppoſe, I mean the King of Pruſſia. He is a powerful prince: he is a Proteſtant prince, my Lords; and one of the chief ſupports of the Proteſtant cauſe in Germany. It is hardly poſſible, that ever any natural difference can ariſe between this nation and that crown; therefore we ought always to cultivate a good correſpondence with him: we ought even to promote his intereſt, and ſupport his pretenſions, as far as may be conſiſtent with our own ſafety. While we do this, we may depend upon a grateful return; becauſe, it will always be his intereſt to be grateful,

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ful, which, amongſt princes, is the only gratitude that can, with aſſurance, be depended on. By our religion, we are embarked upon the ſame bottom with the King of Pruſſia; and as there can be no jarring of intereſts between the two crowns, we ought to ſupport one another in all juſt pretenſions, we ought to aſſiſt one another againſt every unjuſt attack. Therefore, I wiſh the ſecond part of this meſſage had been to acquaint us of a new alliance concluded with the King of Pruſſia, and to deſire, that his Majeſty might be enabled to perform the engagements thereby entered into; which, I am ſure, would have been a ſecond part more agreeable to the firſt, than that which now ſtands ſecond in this meſſage.

The danger of Sweden's diſturbing the tranquillity of the North, by attacking Muſcovy, was not our only motive for concluding this treaty with Denmark. If it had, I am ſure, it would have been ridiculous in us to put ourſelves to ſuch an expence. We might have truſted to Muſcovy for defending itſelf; and Denmark was not only by treaty, but in intereſt obliged to aſſiſt Muſcovy, in caſe it had been attacked by Sweden: therefore, it would have been ridiculous in us, to engage Denmark, by a large ſubſidy, to do what was neceſſary for their own ſafety. But this, my Lords, was far from being our only motive: It was our own ſafety that made it neceſſary for us to conclude this treaty: It was to prevent the fleets of Denmark and Sweden from being joined with that of France. Such a conjunction we had, we have ſtill great reaſon to guard againſt on our own account, and without regard to the tranquillity of the North; becauſe, in caſe of a war between us and Spain, we do not know what part France may take in the war: We are pretty certain, I believe, it will take no part with us; and, if the French ſhould join with the Spaniards againſt us, it would be of the moſt dangerous conſequence, to have the navy of France increaſed and ſupported by the ſhips and ſeamen of Denmark as well as Sweden.

This, my Lords, is what makes me in general approve of the treaty now laid before us. If our credit had been better, we might probably have obtained it upon more reaſonable terms, and at a leſs expence; for tho' France offered perhaps a larger ſubſidy, yet the terms were far from being ſo advantageous for the King or country of Denmark. It was not poſſible they ſhould be ſo; becauſe, in conſideration of the ſubſidy offered by the court of France, that court would certainly have inſiſted upon a number of ſeamen and ſhips of war from Denmark, as ſoon as they might have occaſion for them. They ſtood in no need of any of the land-forces of Denmark; they ſtood in great need of their ſeamen and ſhips of war: therefore, they would certainly have ſtipulated a number of the latter, as a return for the ſubſidy they were to pay. This the King of Denmark could not furniſh, or keep in readineſs, without putting himſelf to a very extraordinary and a new expence: whereas, we deſired only a number of land-forces, which the King of Denmark can furniſh without putting himſelf to any new expence, becauſe, he keeps in conſtant pay ſo great a number of regular troops, that he can furniſh us with the 6000 ſtipulated by this treaty, without adding one man to the number he has now in his pay.

With regard therefore to the court of Denmark, it was their intereſt to accept of the leſſer ſubſidy from us, rather than the larger ſubſidy from France; and, with regard to the country, I am ſure it was more for the intereſt of the people of Denmark to ſend away 6000 of their regular troops, than to ſend away 6000 of their ſeamen. The latter they could not ſpare without diſtreſſing their trade; but, as to their regular troops, it is for the intereſt of the people of Denmark, it is the intereſt of every country where ſuch troops are kept up, to have them quartered any where, rather than at home. To this, I muſt add, my Lords, that the terms offered, and the engagements deſired by France, could not but be inconſiſtent with thoſe treaties which are now ſubſiſting between Muſcovy and Den-

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Denmark; and, I believe, every man in Denmark saw, that no subsidy that was or could be offered by France, would be equal to the prejudice the crown and country of Denmark might sustain, by the forfeiture of its alliance with the Russian empire.

But, my Lords, the forfeiture of the friendship and confidence of the court of Russia, was not the only prejudice the crown and kingdom of Denmark would have suffered, by engaging in an alliance with France upon this occasion. Such an alliance would have been a breach of that ancient friendship, which has so long subsisted between Denmark and this kingdom; and this might have been in many respects of fatal consequence to Denmark. Their chief nursery for seamen depends upon their trade with this kingdom: it depends upon their being allowed to import into this kingdom, their timber and all sorts of naval stores, in their own shipping; which is an advantage we may take from them whenever we have a mind; and, if we should take this advantage from them, their alliance would soon come to be despised by France; because it could be of little or no service to that kingdom. Nay, without a considerable number of seamen, and a large squadron of men of war, they would not be able to keep a communication and a mutual dependence between the several parts of their own dominions: their King would then be obliged to depend upon France, for the preservation of his crown; and the certain consequence of this would be, an absolute subjection to the King of France: which is a danger they have no reason to apprehend from the King of G. Britain; because, by the nature of our government, our King must consult the happiness of his people more than his own ambition; and it is inconsistent with our happiness to attempt to make conquests upon any part of the continent of Europe.

Thus it must appear, my Lords, that though this treaty with the Danes be a measure which in our present circumstances I highly approve, yet, in our having brought about such a treaty, we have no great cause to boast of our wisdom in politicks, or our skill in negotiation: it was what common sense dictated to us, and the circumstances of the two nations rendered extremely convenient, if not absolutely necessary for them. I wish we had allowed ourselves to be as much governed by common sense in all our former treaties and negotiations: if we had never deviated from the dictates of common sense, in order, I believe, to amaze the world with the profoundness of our politicks, neither the circumstances of this nation, nor the circumstances of Europe, would have been in the untoward posture in which they are at present.

But now, my Lords, with regard to the second part of this message; I am, indeed, not a little surprised, how it came to be tack'd to the first. As all messages are, in this house, supposed to be messages from the minister, I may say, without giving any just offence, that the two parts of this message seem to have been designedly tack'd together, in order to make the first part serve as an alluring vehicle, for enticing us to swallow down the bitter pill contained in the second. A general and unlimited vote of credit and confidence, is a thing of a most dangerous nature. Such a demand our ancestors would have been amazed at, and would certainly have rejected with scorn. The practice is but of a modern date in this kingdom. It was never heard of before the revolution; and never became frequent, till this nation was blessed with our present wise administration. Since that happy period began, I shall grant, that such messages have been frequent, and always punctually complied with, notwithstanding our having been in a continual course of peace, tho' I cannot say, tranquillity, during the whole time. What the reasons were for making such demands, or what the reasons were for complying so punctually with them, I shall not now enquire; but, I must think, that such demands, and such compliances, are rather an omen of our bad conduct in time to come, than a demonstration

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Bello, he ſent a letter to the Preſident of Panama, demanding the releaſement of the factors and ſervants of the S. S. company, who were confined at that place; in conſequence of which, the Preſident of Panama ſent an officer with Mr Humphreys and Dr Wright, factors, and alſo with the ſervants of the S. S. company, who were delivered to the Admiral at Porto Bello.

The Governor and inhabitants of Porto Bello, expreſſed the greateſt ſenſe of the humanity and generoſity, with which they were treated by the Admiral, and his Majeſty's ſquadron under his command.

On the 13th of December, Vice-Admiral Vernon, with his ſquadron, ſail'd from Porto Bello for Jamaica; and being off Cartagena, on the 28th of December, ſent away Capt. Rentone in the Spaniſh ſnow for England.

LONDON EVENING-POST, *March* 29.

The following is a letter from a Gentleman on board the Burford *at* Porto Bello *to his friend at* Newcaſtle, *which, as it contains a more particular account of Admiral* Vernon's *glorious atchievement at that place than any yet publiſhed, we thought we could not refuſe it a place.*

Dear Sir,

AGreeable to my promiſe at parting, I beg leave to acquaint you, that I arrived ſafely in Port-Royal harbour on the 23d of October, after an exceeding good paſſage. Hoſtilities had been committed againſt the Spaniards by our fleet under Commodore Brown five weeks before we came to Jamaica, and ſeveral captures had been made; ſo that the anxiety we were under of being attacked by the guarda coſtas as we paſſed along the coaſts of Porto-Rico and Hiſpaniola, being without a convoy, was more than made amends for by the pleaſure we had of coming up with the Diamond man of war, leading in tow a large regiſter-ſhip bound from La Vera Cruz to the Havanna, laden with treaſure to the value of 40,000 l. Sterl. The Diamond had alſo got another prize in company, a brigantine laden with proviſions, but not near the value of the regiſter-ſhip.

As we made theſe ſails firſt about Point Morant, we were under great concern till we could diſtinguiſh the Engliſh colours; but you cannot eaſily conceive the joy we were fluſhed with on eſpying the two prizes with Spaniſh colours drooping under Engliſh enſigns. On coming up with them, Capt. Knowle gave us a relation of the manner of his taking them, and convoyed us that evening ſafe to Port-Royal. On my arrival, I was acquainted by the Admiral that he intended to go to ſea with ſuch ſhips of the ſquadron as could be got ready in a few days; and accordingly, on the auſpicious 5th of November, we weighed anchor and ſailed for Porto Bello; the Burford, Admiral Vernon; the Hampton-court, Commod. Brown; the Louiſa, Capt. Waterhouſe; the Strafford, Capt. Trevor; the Worceſter, Capt. Mayne; and the Norwich, Capt. Herbert; being two of 70, three of 60, and one of 50 guns. On the 10th we made a ſail at ten in the morning, in latitude of 12 deg. N. which we gave chace to till four in the evening, when we came up with her, and ſhe ſtruck her Spaniſh pendant on the firſt gun. She proved to be a large ſloop with proviſions from Carthagena to Porto Bello; and as all our pilots were ſtrangers to the coaſts weſtward of Chaugre, the Spaniſh pilot was of good ſervice to us. On the 16th we made four ſail of ſhips cloſe in ſhore at a great diſtance; ſo that night coming on we had no hopes of reaching them, and next morning they were out of ſight. We rightly conjectured them to be guarda coſtas from Porto Bello; for bearing away with all ſpeed for that harbour, they got in the day before us, and alarmed the place, unſhipping all their men to aſſiſt in defending the fortifications, which we found to be exceeding ſtrong both by art and nature.

Porto Bello is ſituate in the cod of a bay, above a mile deep, and near half a mile broad at the mouth of the harbour; where a ſtrong caſtle and fort

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ſtood on the ſide of a ſteep rock, with 300 men and 100 great guns. On the different ſide, but about a mile further up, ſtood caſtle Gloria, larger than the other, which was called the Iron Caſtle, having 400 men and 120 guns, moſt of them the largeſt ever ſeen. This was alſo ſituate on the ſide of a very high rock; and under the cannon of it and fort St Jeronimo, which was a ſtrong battery nearly oppoſite, all the ſhips rode at anchor belonging to the harbour. But in order to give you a clearer idea of the whole, you have below a ſmall ſketch of the caſtles, fort, town and harbour, together with the ſituation of the Spaniſh ſhips, and the place where we engaged the Iron caſtle. On the afternoon of the 21ſt, about two o'clock, we came up with Porto Bello harbour; where the Spaniards had hoiſted upon the Iron caſtle the flag of defiance; and, as we were told by themſelves afterwards, they wiſhed earneſtly for our attempting to come in, as believing they could ſink us all immediately; but ſaid they feared we were only making a ſecond Baſtimento expedition, and would not give them the pleaſure of engaging us.

But they were ſoon gratified in their wiſhes; for the Hampton-court made directly oppoſite to the caſtle, being in the van; and, as the wind had died away, ſhe dropped her anchor before it, receiving a very briſk fire from the Spaniards at the diſtance of little more than a cable's length. She ſoon convinced them that ſhe was both willing and able to return it; for in about 25 minutes ſhe fired above 400 ſhot againſt the caſtle; ſo that nothing was to be ſeen but fire and ſmoke on both ſides. The Norwich then came up next, who met with the ſame reception; and although ſhe did not fire quite ſo quick as the Hampton-court, yet we could obſerve that her ſhot was ſo well aimed as to put the Spaniards a good deal off their metal, hardly returning her one gun for three. In 28 minutes the Worceſter got up alſo; who, anchoring cloſe by the other two, did no ſmall execution againſt the caſtle, in a little time knocking down the higher part of it, and driving many of the Spaniards from their guns. We made all the ſail poſſible, and came before the caſtle with the blue flag at our fore-top-maſt head, and the bloody flag at the main-top-maſt head, in 20 minutes after the Worceſter. The Admiral, whoſe conduct and courage is hardly to be parallelled, ordered our anchor to be dropp'd within half a cable's length of the caſtle, as being reſolved to convince them we were no way afraid of all they could do. Notwithſtanding they had diſcharged very few guns for ſome minutes before we came up; yet, as if they had reſolved to ſummon up all their courage againſt the flag, they welcomed us with a terrible volley, which, being at ſo ſhort a diſtance, took place with almoſt every ſhot. One ſtruck away the ſtern of our barge; another broke a large gun upon our upper deck; a third went through our fore-top-maſt; and a fourth, paſſing thro' the arning within two inches of our main-maſt, broke down the barricado of our quarter-deck, very near the Admiral, and killed three men in a moment, wounding five others which ſtood by them. This looked as if we ſhould have bloody work, but was far from diſcouraging our brave fellows, (who in every ſhip were ſo zealous as hardly to be reſtrained from firing) for we returned their ſalute in ſuch a manner, that although they fired a ſhot now and then, yet they never did us the leaſt damage afterwards. We drove them from all their lower guns the firſt broad-ſide, and by a ſpring upon our cable, bringing about our ſtar-board guns, we gave them another in three minutes, and ſo on for ſix or ſeven rounds; which made them quite ſick of the affair, and we could obſerve them flying for refuge into the ambuſcades. The Admiral, taking the advantage of this remiſſion, ordered out the boats with our third Lieutenant Mr Broderick, and about 40 ſailors, as alſo a company of marines and their officers, whom he commanded to land under the fire of our guns in the very front of the lower battery; and making a ſignal for two other ſhips to follow the ex-

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example, they all landed safe but two soldiers, which were killed by the small-arms from the castle. One man set himself close under an embrasure, whilst another climbed upon his shoulders and entered under the mouth of a great gun. This so dismay'd the Spaniards, that they threw down their arms and fled to the top of the castle; from whence scaling backwards, we could see them run into the woods by hundreds, and fly for their lives.

All the boats crews were on the platform in three minutes after landing, and struck the Spanish flag of defiance, hoisting the English colours. The Capitano and officers which were taken in the castle, shut themselves up in a strong lodgment; but upon our Lieutenant's firing a gun or two through the door, they quickly opened it and begged quarter. Thus this Iron castle was taken by four English ships (for the Louisa and Strafford were not come up) in two hours, which, in the hands of so many Englishmen, might have been defended against all the naval force of Spain. The Gloria and Jeronimo forts kept firing towards us all the time of action, but most of their shot fell short, or flew over our rigging. After we had got possession of the Iron castle, we tried to reach them with our lower deck guns, and could observe that in a few minutes we were so fortunate as to have struck down their flag-staff at the Gloria castle, and beat down several houses in the town; we also sunk a sloop near fort St Jeronimo and the Gloria. The contest lasting till night put an end to the engagement, when it was resolved in full council, that as there was no wind, every ship should warp up to the fortifications, and come to action as soon as possible in the morning: but just as we began to move about break of day, we observed a boat coming towards us with a flag of truce and terms of capitulation, *viz. That the government would deliver up all the fortifications, provided they might be allowed to march out with the honours of war; have an indemnity for themselves, the town, and the inhabitants; and be permitted to enjoy all the ships in the harbour.* This last alone was rejected; for the Admiral resolved to have all the ships, being *the very ships* which had done our merchants all the injuries complained of in these coasts, as also the English factors and effects of the S. S. company, delivered up to us.

They readily complied, and we took possession of the ships and forts accordingly. In the Gloria we found 12 guns, 200 small arms and blunderbusses, as many swords, 200 barrels o powder, four large mortars, thousand of iron and copper balls, with the gun and ammunition in the Iron castle, o which about 87 (in all) are of brass together with two men of war of 24 guns, one snow of 14, four good sloops a petiagury, and half-galley. We have also had the good luck to find abou 10,000 dollars belonging to the King of Spain, which I had the pleasure o being present at the searching for, wher we found it in the custom-house, hid most of it, in a close-stool.

We have broke the trunnions of al the iron guns, which will render them useless, and blasted all the foundations and burnt the superstructures of th castles, so that some millions will hard ly compensate the damage. It is abso lutely impossible ever to restore them t the condition in which we found them because the foundations are so much shattered and split by mining, as to ren der it impracticable to attempt rebuild ing them on the same spot.

Porto Bello is no large town, con sisting only of about 500 houses, tw churches, a treasury, a custom-hous and exchange. The inhabitants depen entirely upon the fair which is held her about six weeks every two or three yea in the time of peace, accordingly as th galleons happen to arrive from Carth gena, where they always first dispose part of their goods, and then come dow here, where they are met by all t merchants from the great cities of Lim and Panama, with millions of money purchase their merchandize. I am to by the inhabitants, what is almost i credible, that the town can hardly fi room enough for the chests of mon

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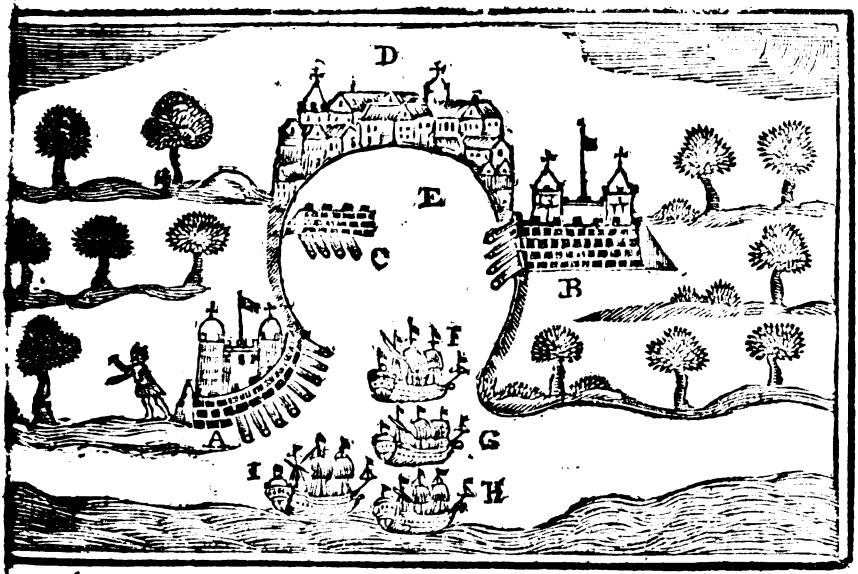
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during the time of the fair, and that several rooms are let for 500 dollars a-week, and very poor ones for 150 or 200; so that some people make 10,000 dollars by the convenience of their houses whilst the fair lasts. As it is impossible for Lima and Panama to be supplied through any other channel than that of Porto Bello, and as the galleons dare not now presume to come there, the fortifications being demolished, a fine opportunity is afforded the Dutch at Curaceo, who always stole a trade in a piddling way, but now may deal without interruption. As the Diamond, Windsor and Anglesea have now joined us here, we intend to beat up to Carthagena, to try if we can tempt Don Blas, who lies there with four men of war and the galleons, to come out and engage us, especially as we hear he is to be joined by several French men of war from Martinico.

We wait now only for the S. S. factors and the company's effects, so that we shall sail in a day or two at farthest.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you that I have got over two or three small fevers, which every one must expect to be attacked with as a seasoning to this warm climate; though, what is very surprising, we have much cooler weather here in the lat. of 9 d. N. than at Jamaica in 18. The Gentlemen on board with me deserve a character much superior to that generally given to sailors in point of civility, no men in life behaving with greater friendship, candour, and good nature. I am, *&c.*

WM. RICHARDSON.



A The Iron castle on the north-side of the mouth of the harbour, with 100 guns.

B The castle Gloria, with 120 guns, on the south-side of the harbour, and a mile from the Iron castle.

C The fort of Jeronimo, with 20 guns.

D The town of Porto Bello, lying along the extremity of the harbour.

E The station of the Spanish ships.

F The Hampton-court's place of action, Commod. Brown, which fired 400 shot.

G The Norwich's ditto, Captain Herbert, which fired 203 round shot, 11 double head, 112 lb. musquet shot, 8 grape shot, 3 cohorn shells, 1182 lb. powder.

H The Worcester's ditto, Captain Mayne, which fired 194 round shot, 2 cohorn shells, 1236 lb. powder.

I The Admiral's ship, the Burford, which fired 113 round shot, 114 lb. musquet shot, 17 lb. pistol shot, 967 lb. powder.

N. B. *The account from the Gazette, p.* 117. *mentions also the Strafford, Captain Trevor, which fired* 106 *round shot,* 7 *double head,* 5 *grapes,* 9 *cohorn shells,* 7 *barrels and half powder.*

JOURNAL of the Proceedings and Debates in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from *vol.* I. *p.* 542.

I shall now give you an account of the debate occasioned by his Majesty's message to parliament on the 10*th of* May *last.* Cn. Domitius Calvinus *opened the debate with a speech to the following purpose*, viz.

My Lords,

AS his Majesty's most gracious message to this house consists of two parts, one of which relates to the treaty lately concluded with the King of Denmark, which he has been so good as to order to be laid before us, and the other to the augmentation of his forces, and the other measures that may, in this critical juncture, become necessary; I shall beg leave to consider them distinctly, and in order, as they stand in the message. As to the treaty with Denmark, I believe, the expediency, and even the necessity of concluding such a treaty, upon the present occasion, will be acknowledged by every Lord that considers the remarkable turn of affairs which has lately happened in Sweden, and the precarious state the tranquillity of this nation now stands in. It is a misfortune attending a free government in every country, to have their people divided into factions or parties; and this misfortune Sweden of course relapsed into, as soon as they had recover'd and established their liberties, upon the demise of their late Sovereign. That kingdom is now divided into two parties, one of which is for preserving the peace with all its neighbours, particularly Muscovy, and strictly observing those treaties that have been concluded since the accession of their present King; whereas the other, which is the most turbulent, and of course the most popular, is for taking the first opportunity for endeavouring to recover those provinces which were dismembered from that kingdom by the misfortunes of the late reign, notwithstanding their having been yielded to the potentates now in possession of them, in the most solemn manner, and by the most express and explicit treaties of peace.

Of these two parties, my Lords, the first has always been for cultivating a good correspondence with this nation because they may depend upon being supported by us, in case their country should be unjustly attacked by any ambitious neighbour. They have nothing but just and peaceable views; and in these, they stand in no need of any alliance but that of this kingdom. But the views of the other party, my Lords, are very different: Their views are unjust; and in the prosecution of such they can expect no encouragement or assistance from this nation. They can expect assistance from no power in Europe but France; and this makes them ready to second the views of that kingdom, and to enter into any alliance that may be proposed to them by the court of France. This party, by their intrigues among the members of the late diet, and by the hopes they gave the people of recovering their lost provinces, which, however improbable, will always be popular, have got themselves established in the administration of public affairs; and, as soon as they had effected this, they immediately concluded an alliance with France, and began to make preparations both by sea and land, as if they had some grand project in view.

What the design of these preparations may be, or what design the French may have in giving so large a subsidy to Sweden, and in offering so considerable a subsidy to Denmark, are secrets which the world is not as yet let into; but considering the precarious footing upon which the peace between Spain and us stands at present, and considering the uncertainty of the measures France may take, in case of a war between this nation and Spain, it would have been very imprudent in us to have allow'd France to engage both the northern crowns in an alliance, in which there would probably have been some secret articles which

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which might have been of great prejudice to this nation. I have already shewn, why it was impossible for us to prevent the now governing party in Sweden from entering into the alliance proposed to them by France; therefore, the only thing we could do, was to prevent the accession of Denmark to that alliance; and there was no other method for doing this, but by concluding, with Denmark, such a treaty as his Majesty has now ordered to be laid before you. For this reason, I am convinced, there is no Lord in this house, that will not readily approve of this treaty, and most chearfully concur in enabling his Majesty to make good the engagements he has thereby enter'd into.

My Lords, the advantages that must accrue to this nation from the treaty now before us, appear upon the face of the treaty itself; but, when I tell your Lordships, that no alliance was ever more earnestly sollicited, than the alliance of Denmark was by France upon this occasion, these advantages will appear to be more considerable, and the necessity we were under of concluding this treaty will become manifest. The subsidy we are to pay to the crown of Denmark, is, 'tis true, a little extraordinary; but when we consider, that a much larger subsidy was offered by France, we must conclude, that nothing more evidently points out to us the wisdom of the King of Denmark, and his good inclinations towards this nation, than his rejecting, upon this occasion, the offers of France, and accepting from us a much smaller subsidy than was offered to him by that kingdom. I shall grant, it was more for the interest of Denmark to join in an alliance with this kingdom, than to join in an alliance with France; but, when the interest of a court happens to be opposite to that of the country, it requires some address in those that apply to them, it requires wisdom in the court applied to, for prevailing upon them to prefer the latter. This was the case in our late negotiations with Denmark: It was the interest of that court to accept of the larger subsidy offered by France; it was the interest of the country to accept of the lesser subsidy offered by G. Britain. This, we may suppose, was set in its true light, by those who were employed by his Majesty in that negotiation; and his Danish Majesty's natural good sense prevailed with him, as it ought, and, I hope, always will, to prefer a future interest to a present advantage, and to sacrifice his own immediate interest to the happiness of his country, and the security of his posterity.

I hope your Lordships will excuse my having said so much upon the first part of the message now under your consideration, which is, indeed, of such a nature, that I cannot suggest to myself any objection that can be made against our complying with it: And as to the other part of the message, it appears, in my way of thinking, as reasonable as the former. I have often heard those plausible arguments that are commonly made use of against votes of credit and confidence. Perhaps they may be repeated upon this occasion; and, I shall allow, that such votes ought not to be passed, but in cases of an extraordinary nature. I shall grant, it would be dangerous to introduce the custom of concluding every session of parliament with a vote of credit and confidence, to the King then upon the throne: but this is what was never contended for; and whatever may be done upon any extraordinary emergency, can be no precedent for doing the like, when no such emergency exists. Upon such occasions, therefore, we are to consider the situation of our affairs at that instant of time; in order, from thence, to determine, whether such a vote be then necessary or no. If we do this, I believe, every Lord that hears me must agree, that a vote of credit and confidence was never more necessary than it is at this present conjuncture. We have, 'tis true, a convention with Spain; but that convention is only a sort of preliminary: The principal articles in dispute between Spain and us, remain yet to be adjusted; and even those

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thoſe articles, which by this convention were finally ſettled, remain ſtill uncomplied with. The beſt way of ſecuring a compliance, is to be in a condition to compel it; and the only method by which we can expect to have the other articles adjuſted to our own liking, is to ſhew that we are ready to vindicate our rights by force of arms, in caſe the Spaniards ſhould continue obſtinate in refuſing to acknowledge them by peaceable means.

The ſeſſion, my Lords, is now drawing towards a concluſion. The parliament will probably be prorogued; the ſeaſon of the year is now ſo far advanced, that it will even become neceſſary for his Majeſty to prorogue it, before he can know what may be the reſult of the preſent councils of Spain; and, if we ſhould ſeparate, without enabling his Majeſty to put the nation into a warlike poſture, as ſoon as the exigency of our affairs may require, it will encourage the court of Spain, not only to refuſe giving us ſatisfaction with regard to thoſe diſputes that remain as yet to be adjuſted, but alſo to refuſe performing thoſe ſtipulations which they have expreſly promiſed by that convention, which has been ratified by both crowns. Thus, by neglecting to furniſh his Majeſty with thoſe powers that are neceſſary for enabling him to engage in a war, we ſhall render a war unavoidable: By a groundleſs apprehenſion of running ourſelves into a danger of a domeſtick nature, we ſhall run ourſelves into a real foreign danger; and by refuſing to impower his Majeſty to put the nation to a ſmall expence, which, by his being impowered to do ſo, may become unneceſſary, and which we are ſure his Majeſty will not put us to unleſs it be neceſſary, we may ſubject the nation to an immenſe charge, which in its preſent circumſtances, I am ſorry to ſay, it is not well able to bear.

From theſe conſiderations, my Lords, I muſt be of opinion, that there is as much reaſon for our complying with the ſecond part of this meſſage, as with the firſt; and as I can apprehend no danger from our complying with both, I ſhall take the liberty to move you Lordſhips to reſolve, *That an humb addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to than him for laying before this houſe the treat lately concluded with the King of Den mark; and to aſſure his Majeſty, that thi houſe will not only concur in enabling hi to make good the engagements he has en tered into by that treaty; but alſo in en abling and ſupporting him to make ſuch further augmentation of his forces either by ſea or land, as may become abſolutely ne ceſſary; and in concerting ſuch meaſure as the exigency of affairs may require.*

The next that ſpoke was M. Agrippa *whoſe ſpeech was to this effect*, viz.

My Lords,

THE Noble Duke has very properly divided his Majeſty's meſſage into two parts. It conſiſts, indeed, of two parts; and they are of ſo different a nature, and ſo diſtinct from one another, that I am ſurpriſed at his Majeſty's having been adviſed to join them together in one and the ſame meſſage. They are ſo diſtinct, that it is impoſſible to ſpeak to them both together; and therefore I muſt conſider them ſeparately, as the Noble Duke has done before me.

With regard to the firſt part, my Lords, which relates to the treaty lately concluded with Denmark, if the meſſage had been confined to that treaty alone, I am perſuaded no objection would have been made, by any Lord in this houſe, to our complying with what his Majeſty deſires; and, as I have often taken the liberty to find fault with our late meaſures, I am glad to have this opportunity of giving my approbation to ſomething that has been done by thoſe now at the head of our adminiſtration. In our preſent circumſtances my Lords, and conſidering the preſent unlucky poſture of affairs in Europe, to which we have, by our late meaſures not a little contributed, the concluding of this treaty was abſolutely neceſſary for us, in order to prevent Denmark's entering into any engagements that might be of dangerous conſequence to the intereſt of this nation in particular and

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and the tranquillity of Europe in general. Therefore, however expenſive this treaty may be to us, yet, in the main, I muſt think it was a wiſe, a right, and neceſſary meaſure. But, at the ſame time, I cannot help obſerving, what can eſcape the obſervation of no man, who compares this treaty with thoſe that have been concluded upon former occaſions between the two crowns, that a nation, like a private man, the lower it ſinks in its credit, the dearer it muſt pay for every favour it is obliged to ſue for.

This obſervation occurs the more readily to me, my Lords, becauſe I was once concerned in negotiating a treaty of the ſame kind with the crown of Denmark. When I had the honour to be employed by his late Majeſty in his negotiations with the northern crowns, a treaty was concluded between him and the King of Denmark, of the ſame nature with this now before us: but by that treaty, we paid but 70 crowns for each horſeman his Daniſh Majeſty was to keep in readineſs for our ſervice; whereas, by this treaty, we are to pay 80 crowns for every ſuch horſeman: which difference, though it may appear inconſiderable when conſidered with reſpect to each ſingle man, yet, upon 1000 horſemen, the number ſtipulated by this treaty, it amounts to a very large ſum; and it is the more conſiderable, becauſe, by the treaty, we are obliged to pay immediately one moiety of this 80 crowns for each horſeman, and 30 crowns for each foot-ſoldier, whether we have occaſion for theſe troops or no. In this light, the difference of 10 crowns upon each horſeman, will appear to be of ſome conſequence; eſpecially, if we conſider the preſent unfortunate circumſtances of this nation, and the great charge we muſt be at, if a war ſhould enſue between us and Spain; which I have, indeed, long thought inevitable, and I have now more reaſon to think ſo than ever I had before.

Beſides this diſadvantage, my Lords, there are ſeveral others, which every Lord may ſee, by comparing the two treaties; but what is ſtill worſe, this treaty can be of no advantage to us, except that of preventing Denmark's engaging againſt us, unleſs we can engage in our intereſt ſeveral other powers upon the continent, beſides Denmark. We can, by this treaty, make no uſe of the Daniſh troops, in any expedition we may think fit to undertake againſt Spain; becauſe it is expreſly provided, by the 6th article of this treaty, That this corps of Daniſh troops ſhall not be made uſe of either in Italy, or upon the fleet, nor is it to be tranſported, in whole or in part, beyond ſea, after it is come out of the territories of Denmark, except for the defence of the kingdoms of G. Britain and Ireland. Nay, if France ſhould join with Spain againſt us, we could make no uſe of this body of Daniſh troops, either againſt Spain or France, unleſs we ſhould have occaſion to form an army in Germany or Flanders againſt France; and this we neither can, nor ſhall have the leaſt occaſion for, unleſs we can form a confederacy amongſt the princes and ſtates, who have dominions in that part of the world; which we have, as yet, I believe, no great hopes of being able to accompliſh.

This treaty with Denmark, my Lords, is but a preparatory ſtep towards accompliſhing ſo great and neceſſary a deſign. Several other ſteps muſt be made; and, particularly, there is another power upon the continent, who I may likewiſe call a northern power, whoſe alliance we ought to ſeek, upon the preſent occaſion, as much as that of Denmark. When I ſay ſo, I believe, every Lord that hears me will ſuppoſe, I mean the King of Pruſſia. He is a powerful prince: he is a Proteſtant prince, my Lords; and one of the chief ſupports of the Proteſtant cauſe in Germany. It is hardly poſſible, that ever any natural difference can ariſe between this nation and that crown; therefore we ought always to cultivate a good correſpondence with him: we ought even to promote his intereſt, and ſupport his pretenſions, as far as may be conſiſtent with our own ſafety. While we do this, we may depend upon a grateful return; becauſe, it will always be his intereſt to be grateful,

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ful, which, amongſt princes, is the only gratitude that can, with aſſurance, be depended on. By our religion, we are embarked upon the ſame bottom with the King of Pruſſia; and as there can be no jarring of intereſts between the two crowns, we ought to ſupport one another in all juſt pretenſions, we ought to aſſiſt one another againſt every unjuſt attack. Therefore, I wiſh the ſecond part of this meſſage had been to acquaint us of a new alliance concluded with the King of Pruſſia, and to deſire, that his Majeſty might be enabled to perform the engagements thereby entered into; which, I am ſure, would have been a ſecond part more agreeable to the firſt, than that which now ſtands ſecond in this meſſage.

The danger of Sweden's diſturbing the tranquillity of the North, by attacking Muſcovy, was not our only motive for concluding this treaty with Denmark. If it had, I am ſure, it would have been ridiculous in us to put ourſelves to ſuch an expence. We might have truſted to Muſcovy for defending itſelf; and Denmark was not only by treaty, but in intereſt obliged to aſſiſt Muſcovy, in caſe it had been attacked by Sweden: therefore, it would have been ridiculous in us, to engage Denmark, by a large ſubſidy, to do what was neceſſary for their own ſafety. But this, my Lords, was far from being our only motive: It was our own ſafety that made it neceſſary for us to conclude this treaty: It was to prevent the fleets of Denmark and Sweden from being joined with that of France. Such a conjunction we had, we have ſtill great reaſon to guard againſt on our own account, and without regard to the tranquillity of the North; becauſe, in caſe of a war between us and Spain, we do not know what part France may take in the war: We are pretty certain, I believe, it will take no part with us; and, if the French ſhould join with the Spaniards againſt us, it would be of the moſt dangerous conſequence, to have the navy of France increaſed and ſupported by the ſhips and ſeamen of Denmark as well as Sweden.

This, my Lords, is what makes in general approve of the treaty laid before us. If our credit had b better, we might probably have tained it upon more reaſonable ter and at a leſs expence; for tho' Fra offered perhaps a larger ſubſidy, yet terms were far from being ſo advan geous for the King or country of D mark. It was not poſſible they ſho be ſo; becauſe, in conſideration of ſubſidy offered by the court of Fran that court would certainly have inſiſ upon a number of ſeamen and ſhips war from Denmark, as ſoon as th might have occaſion for them. Th ſtood in no need of any of the land-for ces of Denmark; they ſtood in great need of their ſeamen and ſhips of war: therefore, they would certainly have ſtipulated a number of the latter, as a return for the ſubſidy they were to pay. This the King of Denmark could not furniſh, or keep in readineſs, without putting himſelf to a very extraordinary and a new expence: whereas, we deſired only a number of land-forces, which the King of Denmark can furniſh without putting himſelf to any new expence, becauſe, he keeps in conſtant pay ſo great a number of regular troops, that he can furniſh us with the 6000 ſtipulated by this treaty, without adding one man to the number he has now in his pay.

With regard therefore to the court of Denmark, it was their intereſt to accept of the leſſer ſubſidy from us, rather than the larger ſubſidy from France; and, with regard to the country, I am ſure it was more for the intereſt of the people of Denmark to ſend away 6000 of their regular troops, than to ſend away 6000 of their ſeamen. The latter they could not ſpare without diſtreſſing their trade but, as to their regular troops, it is ſo the intereſt of the people of Denmark it is the intereſt of every country where ſuch troops are kept up, to have them quartered any where, rather than at home. To this, I muſt add, my Lords that the terms offered, and the engagements deſired by France, could not be inconſiſtent with thoſe treaties which are now ſubſiſting between Muſcovy and Den-

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Denmark; and, I believe, every man in Denmark saw, that no subsidy that was or could be offered by France, would be equal to the prejudice the crown and country of Denmark might sustain, by the forfeiture of its alliance with the Russian empire.

But, my Lords, the forfeiture of the friendship and confidence of the court of Russia, was not the only prejudice the crown and kingdom of Denmark would have suffered, by engaging in an alliance with France upon this occasion. Such an alliance would have been a breach of that ancient friendship, which has so long subsisted between Denmark and this kingdom; and this might have been in many respects of fatal consequence to Denmark. Their chief nursery for seamen depends upon their trade with this kingdom: it depends upon their being allowed to import into this kingdom, their timber and all sorts of naval stores, in their own shipping; which is an advantage we may take from them whenever we have a mind; and, if we should take this advantage from them, their alliance would soon come to be despised by France; because it could be of little or no service to that kingdom. Nay, without a considerable number of seamen, and a large squadron of men of war, they would not be able to keep a communication and a mutual dependence between the several parts of their own dominions: their King would then be obliged to depend upon France, for the preservation of his crown; and the certain consequence of this would be, an absolute subjection to the King of France: which is a danger they have no reason to apprehend from the King of G. Britain; because, by the nature of our government, our King must consult the happiness of his people more than his own ambition; and it is inconsistent with our happiness to attempt to make conquests upon any part of the continent of Europe.

Thus it must appear, my Lords, that though this treaty with the Danes be a measure which in our present circumstances I highly approve, yet, in our having brought about such a treaty, we have no great cause to boast of our wisdom in politicks, or our skill in negotiation: it was what common sense dictated to us, and the circumstances of the two nations rendered extremely convenient, if not absolutely necessary for them. I wish we had allowed ourselves to be as much governed by common sense in all our former treaties and negotiations: if we had never deviated from the dictates of common sense, in order, I believe, to amaze the world with the profoundness of our politicks, neither the circumstances of this nation, nor the circumstances of Europe, would have been in the untoward posture in which they are at present.

But now, my Lords, with regard to the second part of this message; I am, indeed, not a little surprised, how it came to be tack'd to the first. As all messages are, in this house, supposed to be messages from the minister, I may say, without giving any just offence, that the two parts of this message seem to have been designedly tack'd together, in order to make the first part serve as an alluring vehicle, for enticing us to swallow down the bitter pill contained in the second. A general and unlimited vote of credit and confidence, is a thing of a most dangerous nature. Such a demand our ancestors would have been amazed at, and would certainly have rejected with scorn. The practice is but of a modern date in this kingdom. It was never heard of before the revolution; and never became frequent, till this nation was blessed with our present wise administration. Since that happy period began, I shall grant, that such messages have been frequent, and always punctually complied with, notwithstanding our having been in a continual course of peace, tho' I cannot say, tranquillity, during the whole time. What the reasons were for making such demands, or what the reasons were for complying so punctually with them, I shall not now enquire; but, I must think, that such demands, and such compliances, are rather an omen of our bad conduct in time to come, than a demonstra-

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tion of our good conduct in time past.

Whatever we may think, my Lords, here, at home, I have good reason to believe, that the frequency of such demands, and the ready compliance they have all met with, renders our constitution the common jest of every man abroad. Our pretences to liberty will, I fear, in a short time, become as much the ridicule of foreigners, as our late conduct has already rendered our pretences to the holding of the balance of power in Europe. I was confirmed in this opinion, by a question lately put to me by a French Nobleman: he was a man of good sense, and yet, he one day seriously ask'd me, what difference there was between the parliament of England, and the parliaments they have in France. I readily answered, and I hope I had some ground for saying, That, in France, the King makes their laws or edicts, and their parliaments must comply with whatever the King desires; but, in England, our laws are made by King and parliament, and our parliaments may refuse to comply with what the King desires. To which he as readily reply'd, In your late history, we read of several extraordinary messages or demands sent by your King to his parliament, no one of which was ever refused; and pray, where is the difference between an edict made by the King, and an edict made by King and parliament, if the parliament never refuses what the King is pleased to demand? for, our parliaments claim the privilege of refusing as well as yours; and, if a trial were to be made, such a refusal might, perhaps, be found as insignificant in England, as it now appears to be in France.

This, I am apt to believe, my Lords, is the way of thinking in other countries, as well as France; and, if a general vote of credit and confidence should once become a sort of customary compliment from the parliament to the crown, at the end of every session, or as often as our ministers may think fit to desire it, this may become the way of thinking at home as well as abroad. If this should ever come to be the case, our parliaments will of course become despicable in the eyes of most of our own people; and, when the form of an act of parliament begins to be contemned, a proclamation may easily and safely be substituted in its stead. It would, indeed, be happy for the nation, it were so; for, when a parliament ceases to be a check upon ministers, it becomes an useless and unnecessary burden upon the people. The representatives of the people in parliament, must always be paid, some way or other, by the people: If their wages are not paid openly and fairly by their respective constituents, as they were formerly, a majority of them may, in future times, be always ready to accept of wages from the administration; which must, at last, come out of the pockets of the people, and will fall with a much greater weight upon them, at the same time that it renders their representatives of no use to them. There is no way of preventing this, but by putting it out of the power of ministers to pay wages, either to the electors or elected; and this can be no way done, but by strictly confining publick grants to publick services, according to the estimates previously delivered in to parliament.

But suppose, my Lords, our constitution could be no way endangered by a compliance with this extraordinary demand, I do not think it is in our power to comply with every article of it. To enable his Majesty to augment his forces by land, is what, I think, we cannot do, by a vote of this house. We have already, by the Mutiny-bill, limited the number of land-forces, for the service of this ensuing year, to 17,704 men. By that bill, which is already passed into a law, we say, that the whole number of men for guards and garrisons in G. Britain, to be kept up for the ensuing year, shall be 17,704 men; and shall we pretend, by a vote of this house, to enable his Majesty to keep up a greater number? Would not this be repealing an act of parliament by a vote of this house? Will any Lord pretend to say we have such a power? By the Mutiny-bill, my Lords, a certain limited number of men are divested of the privileges they enjoy

as

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as Britiſh ſubjects, and made liable to martial law: can we add to this number by a vote? can we, by ſuch a method, diveſt any one ſingle man in the kingdom of any privilege he enjoys as a ſubject of G. Britain? Such a pretence, my Lords, may be of the moſt dangerous conſequence: if we once begin to aſſume ſuch a power, I ſhall expect, in a little time, to hear it inſiſted on, that the *Habeas corpus* act, or *Magna charta* itſelf, may be ſuſpended by a vote of this houſe; and as ſuch a vote may be obtained by ſurpriſe, and the parliament immediately diſſolved or prorogued, we may judge what a precarious ſtate the liberties of this nation would be in, ſhould the leaſt pretence be given for introducing ſuch a maxim.

Therefore, my Lords, however fond we may be of complying with the firſt part of this meſſage, I think, it is evident, that we neither can nor ought to comply with the ſecond. Let us but conſider the circumſtances we are in with regard to Spain, and we muſt think it a little odd, that ſuch a meſſage ſhould have been ſent to us at ſuch a time. In leſs than a fortnight we ſhall be able to determine poſitively, whether we are to have peace or war. If we are to have peace, there was no occaſion for ſending ſuch a meſſage, there can be no neceſſity for our complying with it; unleſs we have a mind to make a breach in our conſtitution, out of mere compliment to the miniſter: and, if we are to have war, we ought to provide for the proſecution of that war, in a regular and parliamentary method. The 24th of this month, is the laſt day Spain has for paying the 95,000 l. ſtipulated by the late convention. If they fail of performance, we muſt go to war: it would be diſhonourable to the laſt degree, to ſue for a performance of that article, by any other means than the mouth of our cannon. But, if they pay that ſum of money, on or before that day, tho' it be but a ſmall recompence for the damages we have ſuſtained, yet I ſhall think it a certain omen of peace, becauſe I ſhall look upon it as a teſtimony of their having a real inclination to do us juſtice. For this reaſon, I think, the only proper method we can take upon this occaſion, is to reſume the houſe *, and adjourn the conſideration of his Majeſty's moſt gracious meſſage, to the 25th of this month; for, if it ſhould then appear, that we muſt go to war, I am ſure, no Lord in this houſe can be more zealous than I ſhall be, for enabling his Majeſty to proſecute the war, in the moſt vigorous and effectual manner.

* N. B. *Our club, upon this occaſion, ſuppoſed themſelves to be in what is called, in the language of parliament, a committee of the whole houſe.*

[*This Journal to be continued.*]

On complimenting a Lady with a Bird.

GO little charmer, happieſt creature go,
Where circling pleaſures ſhall around thee flow;
More bleſt by far in thy ſoft ſilken chain,
Than in th' unbounded pleaſures of the plain.
Happieſt ſlavery! while her gentle care
Protects thee ſafe from each ſurrounding ſnare.
Her finger oft thy little ſelf ſhall bear;
Her lips ſhall pour ſoft accents in thy ear,
To guide thy voice, to make thy ſong more true,
And teach thee notes to Stella's *beauty due.*
While ſhe's ſo fond, be this thy grateful part,
To gain her liking by each little art;
To hop from ſpoke to ſpoke before her eye,
And ſhow thy feathers tipt with brighteſt dye:
Be pleas'd and chatter when ſhe's looking on,
Seem dull and heavy when perhaps ſhe's gone:
Uſe every little trick to make her ſmile,
When ſhe in fondneſs gazes all the while,
Commends thy beauteous form, thy nimble leap,
Thy ſhining outſide, and thy ſlender ſhape.
Then, then be mindful, ſnatch the lucky hour,
And recompenſe me when 'tis in thy power:
In ſweeteſt accents whiſper ſoft my name,
Hid in the notes of ſome melodious theme,
By her alone perceiv'd, by others thought,
"Theſe are the fineſt notes that e'er were taught."
Go, little ſongſter, much envy'd by me;
Go where thy maſter even wou'd happy be.
Scarce had I done when joy flaſh'd in his eye,
Whoſe every glance darted this kind reply:
Beſt of all mortals, without meaſure good,
How can return be grateful as it ſhou'd?
O tell me how thee beſt I can repay;
In that command I'm ready to obey.

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So pleas'd I'm now, no tongue could make me yield,
Tho' tempted with the freedom of the field.
Her voice and gentle touch I'd far prefer,
To all the blessings of the open air.
She no ignoble slave in me will find,
None of the meanest of the feather'd kind.
In Dalkeitheian wilds there is a grove,
Retir'd, and sacred to the Queen of Love;
My sires were Sovereigns of this little thing,
And own'd subjection to no other King.
There have my fathers had their neat snug nest,
There kept their brood for many ages past;
There we were born our parents early joys,
(Three were of female kind, and two were boys,)
When, direful thought! a stripling boy came,
And snatch'd us cruel from our weeping dame.
She try'd to move by what she could devise,
With doleful plaints and hideous shrieking cries.
But all in vain! the little impious fiend
Went off well pleas'd, as having gain'd his end,
And gave me captive to thy generous friend.
He willingly has gifted me to thee;
Thou, giving me to her, hast made me free.
For her I'll tune melodious my voice,
And sweetly sing the notes that are her choice;
All day I'll please her with such things as those,
At night I'll gently guide her to repose.
Then steal a balmy kiss from off her mouth,
And whisper low — "That you're the guilty youth.
I'll tell her in soft notes, for well I may,
What you perhaps have oft resolv'd to say;
I'll tell her all — But now I must away;
I go, I go. — Farewell, — great thanks to you,
Kindest of men, — once more I bid adieu.

Dalkeith.

On a WATCH.

COuld but our tempers move like this machine,
Not urg'd by passion, nor delay'd by spleen;
But true to nature's regulating pow'r,
By virtuous acts distinguish'd ev'ry hour:
Then health and joy would follow, as they ought,
The laws of motion and the laws of thought;
Sweet health, to pass the present moments o'er,
And everlasting joy, when time's no more.

To Mrs EMELIA S——

Even is thy temper, piercing is thy wit;
Modest thy looks, as vestal virgins wear;
Each virtue that's for friend or consort fit,
Life's best delights you can bestow or share:
If thus thy life for bliss to us is given,
Are not thy friends oblig'd for thee to heaven?

To CLOE.

BElieve me, Cloe, it is true,
I never lov'd a lass like you:
No lass with more prevailing art
Ever did engage my heart;
No lass with more persuasive charms
E'er allur'd me to her arms.
More than I can express I love;
Can such a passion constant prove?
Passions that are hot they say
At most last only for a day.
'Faith, Cloe, I must own the truth,
(Blame not the passion of a youth)
Youth is fickle, warm, and keen,
And apt to shift the am'rous scene:
Variety can never cloy
The wanton, wild, endearing boy.
The fiercest flame must soonest die;
Why mayn't it so with you and I?

Edinb.

Anacreon. Ode 53. The ROSE. By Charles Chester, M. D.

COme, Lyrist, tune thy harp, and play
Responsive to my vocal lay:
Gently touch it, while I sing
The Rose, the glory of the spring.
To heav'n the Rose in fragrance flies,
The sweetest incense of the skies:
Thee, joy of earth, when vernal hours
Pour forth a blooming waste of flow'rs,
The gayly-smiling Graces wear
A trophy in their flowing hair.
Thee Venus, Queen of Beauty, loves,
And crown'd with thee more graceful moves.
In fabled song, and tuneful lays,
Their fav'rite Rose the Muses praise:
To pluck the Rose the virgin-train
With blood their pretty fingers stain;
Nor dread the pointed terrors round,
That threaten, and inflict a wound.
See! how they wave the charming toy,
Now kiss, now snuff the fragrant joy!
The Rose the poets strive to praise,
And for it would exchange their bays;
O! ever to the sprightly feast
Admitted, welcome, pleasing guest!
But chiefly when the goblet flows,
And Rosy wreaths adorn our brows!
Lovely, smiling Rose, how sweet
The object where thy beauties meet!
Aurora with a blushing ray,
And Rosy-fingers spreads the day:

The

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The Graces more enchanting shew,
When Rosy *blushes paint their snows,*
And ev'ry pleas'd beholder seeks
The Rose *in* Cytherea's *cheeks.*
When pain afflicts, or sickness grieves,
Its juice the drooping heart relieves,
And, after death, its odours shed
A pleasing fragrance o'er the dead:
And when its withering charms decay,
And sinking, fading, die away,
Triumphant o'er the rage of time,
It keeps the fragrance of its prime.
Come, Lyrist, join to sing the birth
Of this sweet offspring of the earth!
When Venus *from the ocean's bed*
Rais'd o'er the waves her lovely head;
When war-like Pallas *sprung from* Jove,
Tremendous to the pow'rs above,
To grace the world the teeming earth
Gave the fragrant infant birth,
And, "This, [she cry'd,] I this ordain
My fav'rite, Queen of Flow'rs to reign."
But first th' assembled Gods debate
The future wonder to create:
Agreed at length from heav'n they threw
A drop of rich nectareous dew;
A bramble-stem the drop receives,
And strait the Rose *adorns the leaves.*
The Gods to Bacchus *gave the flow'r,*
To grace him in the genial hour.

Ode 16. The power of Beauty. By the same.

Some sing of Thebes, *and some destroy*
In lofty numbers haughty Troy.
I mourn, alas! in plaintive strains,
My own captivity and chains!
No navy, rang'd in proud array,
No foot, no horseman, arm'd to slay,
My peace alarm! far other foes,
For other hosts, create my woes:
Strange, dang'rous hosts, that ambush'd
In ev'ry bright love-darting eye: [lie,
Such as destroy, when beauty arms
To conquer, dreadful in its charms!

Ode 55. The Mark. By the same.

THE stately steed expressive bears
A mark imprinted on his hairs;
The turban that adorns the brows
Of Asia's sons, the Parthian *shows;*
And marks betray the lover's heart,
Deeply engrav'd by Cupid's *dart:*
I plainly read them in his eyes,
That look too foolish or too wise.

To Miss E—— S——

ONce free as air, or the smooth gliding streams,
Calm was my sleep, and undisturb'd my dreams;
Or as the warblers that, from spray to spray,
Dance to their song, content, and always gay,
I was as free, and as well pleas'd as they:
Till that Eliza's *charms did love inspire,*
And am'rous wishes fann'd the glowing fire.
Then, then confus'd ideas fill'd my brain;
Then love gave pleasure, and that pleasure, pain:
Absent from her, all nature seems to mourn;
If present she, then spring and joy return.
All means I us'd to gain this lovely fair,
Yet still deny'd, I now must needs despair,
Except the Gods grant this my constant prayer:
Be this my fate, ye powers above, decree,
(No more I wish, no more I ask of thee)
To some sweet cottage I with Bess *repair,*
There to be bless'd with that celestial fair;
In healthful rural sports each day to spend,
A favourite author read, or see a friend;
And to each other freely let's impart
The various dictates of our youthful heart:
Hence flows a blessing of unbounded joys,
Whose pleasure never surfeits, never cloys.
Thus may our days in pleasure pass away,
That, when we're dead, the just and wise may say,
There liv'd the happiest swain and loveliest fair,
Who ne'er harrassed were with anxious care,
But, as they liv'd in joy, they dy'd in peace,
And left a good example to a lovely race.

Scoticus.

EPITAPHIUM.

PArce precor lacrymis mea fata gravare, quid urges?
Omnibus hoc solido est scripta adamante dies.
Pulvis & umbra sumus tantum, post funera virtus
Nomen inextinctum sola superstes habet.
Nil aurum, nil pompa juvat, nil sanguis avorum:
Excipe virtutem, cætera mortis erunt.
Hanc cole & ante oculos imitanda exempla parentum
Pone: sed interdum sit tibi cura mei.

An Advice to a Girl of sixteen.

LET no rude hand thy tender bosom touch;
Dread nothing more than handling it too much.
These rip'ning breasts, that in smooth orbits rise,
"Firm to the touch and grateful to the eyes,"
If handled often will their virtue lose,
No more excite our love, our passion rouse.
Gods! how I start when first they strike my view,
The snowy field, with veins of purple blue

In

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In clear meanders winding thro' the skin,
So fair without, so delicate within. —
But beauty, if abus'd, will quickly fade,
And you become a poor deserted maid:
Beauty, if common, loses all its charms,
And makes the harlot wither in our arms.
Edinburgh.

From COMMON SENSE.

Upon Admiral VERNON, who was found at the Plough, when sent for to go upon the Expedition of *Porto Bello*.

LET Rome *no more with ostentation shew*
Her so long fam'd Dictator from the plough;
Great Britain, *rival of the* Roman *name,*
In arts, in elegance, in martial fame,
Can, from the plough, her Cincinnatus *fellow,*
And shew a VERNON, *storming* Porto Bello.
O! would some God but set her lions free
From warlike peace, and martial pageantry;
Uncag'd, as once in Anna's *glorious reign,*
They soon would break all Europe's *threaten'd chain,*
Tame proud Iberia, *shake the* Gallic *throne,*
Give freedom to the world, and keep her own.

To the Earl of M———T, on the Death of his Father. An Ode.

ENough of tears! *the pious son*
Enough hath wept the honour'd sire;
Thy race of glory just begun,
'Twere more than impious to retire:
Then spite of hard, unequal laws,
Rise in thy sinking country's cause.
Thrice happy youth! whose first essays,
Judicious, honest, warm, and bold,
In — gain'd impartial praise,
Where conscience, honour, faith were sold;
And strength'ning truth with graceful art,
Pour'd St John's *words from* Cobham's *heart.*
Strange force of virtue thus express'd,
The guilty catch the sacred flame;
And truth and nature shine confess'd,
Thro' adverse pow'r, and pride, and shame:
T— the potent influence own,
And villains screen'd beneath their —
Lo! where the lash'd offender stands,
Aghast with anger, fear, surprise,
And now he lifts his trembling hands,
And now he rolls his haggard eyes;
While all around the conscious tribe,
Half wish away the taunting bribe.
Yet farther still, brave youth, proceed!
Still farther spread the patriot rage!
Heaven gave the pow'r and claims the deed:
Then write, and eternize thy page!
And unconfin'd by time or place,
Exhort and save a better race.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

AFfairs between PERSIA and the OTTOMAN Porte are in no very promising situation with respect to the latter; the behaviour of Kouli Kan creating jealousies in the divan; and the populace at Constantinople giving several instances of an inclination to rebel, on the slightest pretence for dissatisfaction: and it is probable the extraordinary success the Schach Nadir has in every thing he undertakes against the empire and grandees of Indostan, will greatly prejudice the Turks against a war with that conqueror; though the Grand Seignior seems not inclinable to *purchase* his friendship.

The conspiracy lately formed in RUSSIA is reported to have been of the most extraordinary nature; but as in advices from Petersburg the wisdom of that court is loudly extolled for *concealing* the particulars of the offence, though the aggressors have been *publickly* punished with death, we cannot venture to applaud, till we know cause why we should approve.

The conclave at ROME has lost the Cardinals Ottoboni and John Baptist Altieri; of the first of whom the following account may not be disagreeable to our readers, as it was most generally expected he would be elected Pope.

"Cardinal Peter Ottoboni was 72 years of age, 7 months and 26 days; being born at Venice, July 1. 1667. He had been 50 years a Cardinal, his uncle Peter Ottoboni, who was Pope Alexander VIII. having advanced him to the purple November 7. 1689, when he was but 22 years of age. He dy'd possess'd

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poſſeſs'd of 9 abbeys in the eccleſiaſtick ſtate, 5 in that of Venice, and 3 in France, which laſt only amounted to 56,000 livres. He was Dean of the ſacred college, and in that quality Biſhop of Velletri and Oſtia, Protector of France, Arch-prieſt of St John de Lateran, and Secretary of the office of the Inquiſition.

His Eminency has by his laſt will made the Dutcheſs de Fiano his univerſal heireſs, and ſettled upon her younger ſon a penſion of 12,000 crowns, which he enjoy'd in the ſtate of Venice. He has order'd that his ſteward ſhall not be obliged to give any account, and he has given him all his cloaths, linen and woollen. He had a particular inclination, when young, to muſick, poetry, and claſſical learning, compoſing words for airs, comedies, and oratorios. He might once have marry'd the late Dutcheſs of Monterano; but chuſing prieſt's orders, in a few days after his uncle's advancement to the papacy he was made Prelate Prothonotary Apoſtolick, Participant, and in a month promoted to the Cardinalſhip, and was made Vice-chancellor and Sommiſt of the Holy See, and in a ſhort time the Pope conferred on him church-benefices to the value of above 30,000 crowns a-year; which, tho' an exceſſive ſum during the ſhort term of his Nepotiſm (for his uncle reign'd but 16 months) was nevertheleſs too ſcanty for his generoſity; but after his death he ran himſelf vaſtly in debt, and he perceived that he had, while he was the favourite, and governing Cardinal, inſenſibly contracted a debt of 25,000 crowns, which, by the year 1720, were increaſed to above 100,000. He then loſt his credit with the publick to ſuch a degree, that not finding money to take up at intereſt, he was forced to ſell many jewels, and to pawn a great many more; and at laſt too he ſold off a great many penſions that were due to him, to raiſe ready money. In ſhort, he made the greateſt figure of any of the Cardinals, or, indeed, of any other perſon in Rome; for he had the ſoul of an Emperor, nor was there any princely action but what he endeavoured to imitate, entertaining the people with comedies, operas, puppet-ſhews, oratorios, academies, &c. He was magnificent in his alms, in his preſents, and in his entertainments on feſtivals. In the eccleſiaſtical functions he likewiſe ſhew'd great piety and generoſity, and his palace was the refuge of the poor, as well as the reſort of all the virtuoſi. In his own pariſh he entertained a phyſician, a ſurgeon, and an apothecary, for the uſe of all that wanted their aſſiſtance. He diſtributed a great many dowries among the young women of his pariſh, and enriched his own as well as all other pariſh-churches of which he was Protector, with plate, and other neceſſary ornaments. Moreover, there was no quarrel but what he ſtrove to accommodate, no misfortune but what he endeavour'd to remedy; nor did he let ſlip any opportunity wherein he could do good to his neighbour, or ſervice to any body.

When he was firſt made a Cardinal, he got the character of leading a licentious life; and altho' he was not indeed very orderly, yet he was not ſo ſcandalous as his father Don Antonio was, to boaſt of his own lewdneſs. His adverſaries, who were not a few, traduc'd him as being inconſtant, punctilious, and of a vulgar ſpirit, by countenancing ſome abject perſons, and making them his favourites. 'Tis true enough, that of this he gave ſome ſigns in his younger days; but in that he might deſerve ſome pity, becauſe in the ſtraits to which he was reduced by the avarice of his uncle when he was only a Cardinal, he not being able to appear with that ſplendor which his noble and generous ſoul aim'd at, choſe rather to debate himſelf by a familiar acquaintance with thoſe mean perſons, than to expoſe himſelf publickly in more honourable converſations, without being able to make the ſame figure there as the reſt of his equals. Being afterwards advanced to the degree of Nepotiſm, he removed thoſe perſons from his ſervice, after having firſt gratify'd them, and as vacancies happen'd afterwards, he took none but noble and virtuous perſons into his ſervice."

Extract

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Extract of a private *Letter from Amsterdam.*

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The execution of this important ſervice, with ſo ſmall a force, and with ſo much intrepidity, muſt greatly redound to the reputation of your Majeſty's arms, and ſtrike a terror into the enemy; who will now by experience be convinced (whatever miſtaken notions they may have form'd from this nation's long forbearance) that the maritime power of Great Britain, being at length exerted, is able effectually to vindicate the glory of your Majeſty's crown, revenge the injuries of your people, and retrieve the honour of the Britiſh flag.

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May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, in common-council aſſembled, beg leave to congratulate your Majeſty on the glorious ſucceſs of your Majeſty's fleet in the Weſt-Indies, under the command of Vice-Admiral Vernon; who with ſix men of war only, and the aſſiſtance of about two hundred land-forces from Jamaica, entered the port, and took the town of Porto Bello, demoliſhing and levelling all the forts and caſtles thereto belonging, deſtroying or bringing away all the guns and ordnance with which they were defended, at the ſame time treating the inhabitants with the utmoſt humanity, opening their harbour, and reclaiming from captivity your Majeſty's ſubjects in the ſervice of the South Sea company, unjuſtly detained at Panama.

The execution of this important ſervice, with ſo ſmall a force, and with ſo much intrepidity, muſt greatly redound to the reputation of your Majeſty's arms, and ſtrike a terror into the enemy; who will now by experience be convinced (whatever miſtaken notions they may have form'd from this nation's long forbearance) that the maritime power of Great Britain, being at length exerted, is able effectually to vindicate the glory of your Majeſty's crown, revenge the injuries of your people, and retrieve the honour of the Britiſh flag.

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This auſpicious beginning of the war muſt give your Majeſty's faithful ſubjects the moſt reaſonable expectation of obtaining ſuch future ſucceſſes, by your Majeſty's wiſe application of your forces in the further proſecution of the ſame vigorous meaſures, as may put your Majeſty in poſſeſſion of a real and effectual ſecurity for the navigation and trade of your people.

We think it in a particular manner incumbent upon us, as repreſentatives of the greateſt trading body in the nation, to aſſure your Majeſty, that we will chearfully contribute to the utmoſt of our abilities in ſupport of a war ſo neceſſary for the protection of our long injur'd trade, and entor'd into at the unanimous deſire of your Majeſty's ſubjects.

The King's Anſwer.

I thank you for your congratulation. You have no reaſon to doubt but that in all my meaſures, as I have hitherto had, ſo I ſhall continue to have a due regard to the honour and intereſt of my crown and kingdoms, and to the ſafety and protection of all my ſubjects.

Extract of a letter from on board the Seahorſe, Capt. Cleland, at Oporto, Feb. 17.

" We drove a Spaniſh privateer on ſhore here, [*See page 90.*] which had 6 carriage and 14 ſwivel guns, and 100 men, who quitted her directly. Our Captain was reſolved ſhe ſhould do no farther miſchief, and therefore ſent me with twenty men to deſtroy her. We met with a very warm reception from the ſhore, where ſome of the Spaniards had intrenched themſelves in the ſand, and the reſt got into a houſe, from both which places they made a terrible fire upon us; but this did not hinder me from cutting away her maſts and rigging, and rendering her quite unfit for ſervice. While this was doing, we had the misfortune to loſe one of our boats, and the other not being able to come to our aſſiſtance, we were in a terrible dilemma, eſpecially as we could have no help from our ſhip; but as there was no time to be loſt, we came to an immediate reſolution, one and all, to fight our way thro' the Spaniards, notwithſtanding the inequality of their number; in which we ſucceeded, after two hours engagement, within half-muſket ſhot of each other. We were all the time expoſed to their fire, without any ſhelter, and yet it pleaſed God not one man was hurt, except myſelf, and that but ſlightly in the leg; and upon a lucky ſhot of mine killing their Captain, the whole body moved off, and left us in poſſeſſion of their arms and ammunition; and in good time they did, for we had but two ſhot a-piece left. — We have ſunk another privateer."

Other letters from Oporto adviſe, That the above Capt. Cleland, has retaken the Richard and Elizabeth, Capt. Howel, from Philadelphia for Liſbon, and three other Engliſh veſſels, from the Spaniards: And that he has taken a Spaniſh brig, laden with gunpowder, iron and ſtores, bound from St Sebaſtian's to Cadiz.

'Tis confirm'd from Cadiz, that four of Adm. Haddock's ſquadron have taken a Spaniſh man of war of 80 guns, and one of 60, carrying together 1000 men, but that the laſt, being much ſhattered, ſunk immediately after being taken.

Sir Chaloner Ogle writes from Gibraltar, That it was confirmed, that an Aviſo and tobacco ſhip were arrived at Cadiz, and a regiſter ſhip at Lagus from the Havannah. That the latter was chaced into that bay by the Aſſiſtance, Capt. Ruſſel.

They write from Liſbon, that the Durſley galley man of war, Capt. Tho. Smith, had brought a veſſel in there which he took for a privateer. She had nothing in her but requiſites for that trade, ſuch as guns, powder, ſhot, and grenado ſhells, with 27 Spaniards and 17 Frenchmen on board. They pretended to be French property, and to have a French paſs, but every circumſtance appeared Spaniſh.

Extract of a letter from S. Carolina.

" The King of Spain, while at peace with G. Britain, having publiſhed a proclamation at Auguſtine, promiſing protection and freedom to all negro ſlaves

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ſlaves who ſhould reſort thither, ſome negroes belonging to Capt' Davis and Macpherſon eſcaped to them. Thoſe of the laſt took his horſes with them, wounded his ſon, and killed another man; but one of them was killed and another wounded by the Indians in their flight. They were received there with great honour: one of them had a commiſſion given to him, and a coat faced with velvet. Several Spaniards have been for ſome time ſtrolling about Carolina, and two of them, who will give no account of themſelves, have been committed to goal in Georgia. Several other negroes having attempted to eſcape, were taken, and one of them hanged at Charles-Town.

On the 9th September, being Sunday, (which is the day the planters allow them to work for themſelves) 20 negroes aſſembled, and one Jemmy was their Captain. At Stonehow they ſurpriſed a warehouſe belonging to Mr Hutchinſon, killed Mr Robert Bathurſt and Mr Gibbs, plunder'd the houſe, and took a pretty many ſmall arms and powder which were there for ſale. Next they plunder'd and burnt Mr Godfrey's houſe, and killed him, his daughter and ſon. Going along Pons Pons, the road to Auguſtine, they paſſed Mr Wallace's tavern about day-break, and ſaid, they would not hurt him, for he was a good man, and kind to his ſlaves; but they broke open and plunder'd Mr Lemy's houſe, and killed him, his wife and child. They went on towards Mr Roſe's, reſolving to kill him; but he was ſaved by a negro, who having hid him, went out and pacified the others. Several negroes joined them; they calling out *Liberty*, marched on with colours diſplay'd, and two drums beating, purſuing all the white people they met with, and killing man, woman, and child when they could come up to them. Lt Col. Bull, riding along the road, was purſued, and with much difficulty eſcaped and raiſed the country. They burnt Col. Hext's houſe, and killed his overſeer and his wife. They then burnt Mr Sprye's, Mr Sacheverel's and Mr Naſh's, and killed all the white people they found in them. Mr Bullock got off, but they burnt his houſe. By this time many of them were drunk with the rum they had taken in the houſes. They increaſed every moment by new negroes coming to them; ſo that they were above ſixty, ſome ſay a hundred; on which they halted in a field, and ſet to dancing, ſinging, and beating drums, to draw more negroes to them, thinking they were now victorious over the whole province, having march'd ten miles and burnt all before them without oppoſition. But the militia being rais'd, the planters purſued them, and when they came up, diſmounting, charged them on foot. The negroes were ſoon routed, and ſeveral were killed on the ſpot, tho' they behaved boldly. Such as were taken in the field, were, after being examined, ſhot on the ſpot. Many ran back to their plantations, thinking they had not been miſſed, but were taken and ſhot there. About 30 eſcaped from the fight, of which 10, being overtaken by the planters on horſeback, fought ſtoutly, and were all killed on the ſpot. In the whole action about 40 negroes and 20 whites were killed."

Capt. Bayard, a New-York privateer, has taken a Spaniſh veſſel of 50 tons, laden with tallow, hides, *&c.* and a ſloop with wine, *&c.* near St Jago, and carried them into Antigua, where they have been condemned, and are valued at 5000 l.—The firſt is the N. S. del Pilar, commanded by Don Lewis Miranda. [*See p.* 90]

'Tis advis'd from Madera, Feb. 12, that a New-England privateer, Capt. Dumareſque, with 30 guns, and 80 men, had brought in there a Spaniſh ſloop of 14 men and 4 guns, a Swediſh ſhip of about 300 tons, a Dutch ſloop, and a large ſhip of 600 tons, 18 guns, and 30 men, all valuable prizes.

'Tis aſſured by Capt. Farmer, lately from New-York, that Capt. Charles Hall, of the Virgin Queen privateer, well mann'd, ſail'd laſt September from Rhode-iſland, and made a deſcent upon Port Plata, in Cuba, and, after a briſk action, routed the garriſon of 100 men, plundered the churches, and car-

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ried off a vaſt treaſure.— He likewiſe took two Spaniſh launches on the coaſt of Cuba, laden with ſilver brocades, and other rich goods.

We have advice that one of our privateers having taken and carried into Providence, a Spaniſh prize, by which each man (35 in number) had 500 pieces of eight.— A French ſhip, taken off the Bahama iſlands, has been condemned at Charles-Town as a lawful prize.

We have accounts, ſince our laſt, of the following Britiſh ſhips having been taken by the Spaniards, *viz.* The Vigilance, Hill; the Eleanor, Swan; and the Palma, Woodrope, carried into Porto Specie: The Molly, Tape, into Viana: The Induſtry, Whiting, into Vigo: The Oratava, Maxey, into the Caraccas: The James and Chriſtopher, Graham; and the Anne and John, Curling, both taken in the mouth of the channel, and carried into the Groin. Two Topſham veſſels, loaded with coals, one from Ireland with corn for Roterdam, one from Liverpool, and one from Penzance, were taken, on the 16th March, within a league of the Lizard. The Spaniards kept the maſters and mates, but having ſtript the men of every thing, put them in a boat with bread and water, to get on ſhore as they could; who accordingly landed at Helford paſſage. The ——, Stampert, of Amſterdam, from Cork for Port-mahon; and after killing ſeveral of her men, was carried into Cadiz, on pretence of carrying warlike ſtores for the Engliſh: The Sarah, John Addis, and two other Engliſh veſſels, into Corunna: The Unity, William Fell, taken in the mouth of the channel.

Dublin, March 11. 114 cheſts of arms are ſent to Charles's Fort, Derry, and Limerick. Several pieces of cannon have likewiſe been ſent to the ports and garriſon; and they are now putting the kingdom in the beſt ſtate of defence.

The parliament of Ireland have voted the ſum of 35,262 l. 10 s. for furniſhing 20,000 firelocks and bayonets for the militia of that kingdom. It was alſo reſolved, that the moſt ſpeedy and effectual care be taken to diſarm all Papiſts.

John Ledwell, one of the perſons concerned in the murder of Lt Hume in Ireland, is taken and committed to the barracks of Roſcrea. He made a deſperate reſiſtance, and ſhot one Mr Neale, the perſon that firſt attacked him, through the breaſt, by which he died next morning.

P. S. *London, April* 3. This Afternoon S. S. trading ſtock was 99. Ditto Old annuities, 111, 5 8ths. Ditto New, 110, 1 qr. a 3 8ths. Bank ſtock, 141, 1 half. India ditto, 158, 1 half. Three per cent. annuities, 100, 3 qrs. Million bank, 115, 1 half. Royal aſſurance, 87. London aſſurance, 11, 1 qr. Mine adventure ſhares, no price. Engliſh copper, 3 l. 7 s. 6 d. Welch ditto, 15 s. African, 10. Seven per cent. Emperor's loan, 109. Five per cent. ditto, 91, 1 qr. Bank circulation, 4 l. 7 s. 6 d. Three per cent. S. S. bonds, no price, prem. India ditto, 4 l. 13 s. prem. Three 1 half per cent. Exchequer orders, 1, 1 half prem. Three per cent. ditto, 3, 7 8ths diſcount. Salt tallies, 1 qr. a 1 half, prem.

EDINBURGH.

On the 11th March [*See p.* 94.] the Lords of Juſticiary pronounced ſentence againſt Sir James Stewart of Burray and Robert Sinclair, as follows: "The Lords having conſidered the verdict of the aſſize returned againſt Sir James Stewart and Robert Sinclair, pannels; and likewiſe their former ſentence given upon the verdict of the aſſize returned againſt James Earl of Morton, Andrew Roſs Stewart-depute of Orkney, John Riddoch Stewart-clerk, David Rendal Stewart-officer, William Green ſervant to the Earl, and Donald Roſs ſervant to Tankerneſs, (*all purſued at the Inſtance of Sir James and Mr Sinclair*) aſſoilzieing them *ſimpliciter, &c.* and having likewiſe conſidered the petition of the ſaids Andrew Roſs, *&c.* together with the accompt of expences deburſed in both proceſſes by the Agent for the Earl and the petitioners: They ordained Sir James to pay

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pay to the Earl, for his damages and expences, L. 400 Sterling; to Henry Mowat complainer, 40; to Andrew Roſs, 50; to John Riddoch, 40; to David Rendal, 10; to William Green, 5; and to Donald Roſs, 5: fined him in 1000 merks Scots for his Majeſty's uſe; and ordained him to be impriſoned in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh till the 11th of April, and thereafter till he ſhould pay the above ſums, and find caution, under the penalty of L. 500 Sterling, to keep the peace for three years: And fined Robert Sinclair in 100 merks Scots for his Majeſty's uſe, and ordained him to find caution, under the penalty of 500 merks Scots, to keep the peace for three years." Upon a petition for James Baikie of Tankerneſs, who had likewiſe been purſued by Sir James, but againſt whom the diet was deſerted after the firſt or ſecond compearance, the Lords ordained Sir James to pay to him L. 50 Sterling.

The Earl of Morton generouſly gave the L. 400 decerned to him to publick uſes; 200 towards building a tolbooth in Kirkwall in Orkney, 100 to the Royal Infirmary, and the other 100 to the Univerſity of Edinburgh, towards building an obſervatory.

The court had likewiſe before them the trial of Thomas Davies and Charles Wiltſhire ſentinels in Gen. Howard's regiment, for the murder of John Mather reſidenter in Brechin, on the 6th of December laſt, near Balgray-dikes, two miles weſt of Cowpar of Angus; to which place they were returning with Elias Harriſon Corporal, and Simeon Freeſton and John Slater ſentinels.

The counſil for the purſuers relate the fact thus: That the deceas'd and another carter, driving two carts, each loaded with three half hogſheads, were ſtopt on the highway by the ſoldiers, on pretence of the goods being prohibit, and commanded to looſe their horſes, and ſtay till an exciſe-officer ſhould be brought from Cowpar; whither the Corporal immediately diſpatched Slater. The carters anſwered, That the liquors were not ſpirits, but white wines; that they had a permit; which they offer'd to the ſoldiers to be read, and deſired them to pierce the caſks to ſee whether the liquors did not agree with it; and that they were ready to go to any office of cuſtoms or exciſe the ſoldiers pleas'd: but, notwithſtanding, the carters were obliged to unyoke their horſes. Soon after, they obſerved carriers coming that way with three horſeloads of brandy and tobacco; which the carriers, on ſeeing the ſoldiers, let down at a ſmall diſtance, and went to an ale-houſe: whereupon ſome of the ſoldiers went to enquire after theſe goods. The carters, whoſe patience was now near worn out, beginning at this time to yoke their horſes, Wiltſhire called out to the deceas'd, that if he offered to do ſo, he would ſtick him with his bayonet; which, being ſcrewed on his gun, he preſented to him. But the deceas'd diſarm'd him, and holding the piece in one hand, yoked one of his horſes with the other, and was proceeding to yoke his other horſe: whereupon Wiltſhire cried to Davies and the Corporal to fire on the deceas'd, for he had his muſket. The deceas'd, who all the while held the gun by the barrel, with the butt to the ground, without offering to uſe it either as an offenſive or defenſive weapon, beſeeched them not to fire: notwithſtanding which, Davies deliberately took aim at him, and ſhot him dead on the ſpot. The ſoldiers preſently made a circle round the dead body; and when the country people came to ſee if any help could be given to the poor man, the ſoldiers ſwore they would fire at any that ſhould come near. At laſt an exciſe-officer having come, and finding the liquors to be truly white wine, he would not ſeize them: upon which the party went off to Cowpar.

It was alledged for the pannels, That Wiltſhire being left alone to guard the carts when the other three went to look after the brandy, &c. was attack'd and diſarm'd by the deceas'd and ſome country men: That the Corporal, having ordered Davies and Freeſton to watch the brandy, &c. returned to Wiltſhire: That Davies, while in this ſitu-

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situation, obſerv'd at a diſtance the Corporal and Wiltſhire attack'd by a crowd of eight or ten people, and heard a cry for aſſiſtance: That, running to the place, he found Wiltſhire diſarmed, and down in a ditch, and the Corporal attack'd by others of the crowd, who were endeavouring to diſarm him: That at the ſame time the deceas'd, having Wiltſhire's firelock in his hand, preſented and levelled it at Davies, and cried out that he would fire unleſs Davies and the other pannels ſhould immediately throw down their arms: That Davies knew the gun in the deceas'd's hand was loaded with ball, having ſeen her ſo loaded the day before at Cowpar.—From which it was pled, That, in thoſe circumſtances, if Davies ſhot the deceas'd, it was in ſelf-defence: And as to Wiltſhire, That as he had no authority over Davies, it could not be preſumed that it was in conſequence of his crying to fire that the firing happened.

The Lords, having heard counſil on both ſides, pronounced the interlocutor following: *Find, the pannels, or either of them, having, time and place libelled, diſcharged a firelock at the deceas'd John Mather, whereby he received a mortal wound of which he ſoon after died; or that the pannels, or either of them, are guilty, or art and part thereof, relevant to infer the pains of law; but allow the pannels to prove all facts and circumſtances alledged in their defence; repel all objections to the libel, and remit,* &c.

The court next examined the witneſſes; after which the jury incloſed, and, on the 15th of March, returned their verdict, as follows: *All with one voice find it proven, That, at or about the time libelled, Thomas Davies pannel diſcharged a firelock at the deceas'd John Mather, whereby he received a mortal wound of which he ſoon thereafter died: And find it likewiſe proven, That Charles Wiltſhire, the other pannel, deſired the ſaid Thomas Davies to fire: But do not find the exculpation proven.*

The Lawyers having pled upon the import of the word *deſired*, the Lords, after a ſhort reaſoning, ſentenced both pannels to be hanged in the Graſs-market of Edinburgh upon the 7th of May next.

Since our laſt ſailed from Leith for London, the John and Margaret, George Steill, having on board the following Scots manufactures, *viz.* 32,682 yards linnen, 6835 ſpynels linnen yarn, 52 lb. white thread, 1100 dozen linen handkerchiefs, and 1300 yards tartan. As alſo, the Glaſgow Packet, Richard Jerment, with 36,825 yards linnen, 64,307 yards woollens, 5444 lb. thread and yarn, 3275 dozen ſkins, 9071 lb. ſnuff, and 250 dozen linnen handkerchiefs. They carried great numbers of volunteers for the navy.

P. S. Edinb. April 8. Advice is come that the houſe of Peers have affirm'd the interlocutory ſentences of the Lords of Seſſion, in relation to the eſtate of the late Earl of Selkirk; as they did ſome days before thoſe in relation to the action which long depended between Sir James Cuningham and Capt. Chalmer, a few circumſtances excepted.

Marriages.

Counſellor William Hamilton, of Lincoln's-inn, to Miſs Smith of Binderton, Suſſex.—John Spottiſwoode of that Ilk, Eſq; to Miſs Mary Thomſon, eldeſt daughter of Mr John Thomſon of Charleton, Writer to the Signet deceas'd. — John Niſbet merchant in Edinburgh, to Miſs Roſina Purvis, ſiſter to Sir William Purvis. — Robert Colvill of Ochiltree, Eſq; to Miſs Charles Preſton, eldeſt daughter of Sir George Preſton of Valleyfield.

Births.

The Dutcheſs of Marlborough delivered of a ſon.—The Lady of Ld Henry Beauclerk, of a ſon and heir.—The Lady of Mr Arundel, ſon and heir of Ld Arundel of Wardour, of a ſon and heir.—The Lady of Ld Arniſton, of a ſon.

Deaths.

At his ſeat of Broomhall, on the 25th March, Thomas Bruce Earl of Kincardine. — On board the Ruby man of war, going to Liſbon for his health, John Lord King, ſon of the late Lord Cha

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Chancellor King. He is succeeded by his next brother Peter. — Lady Charlotte Hyde, daughter of the Earl of Clarendon and Rochester, and sister to the Dutchess of Queensberry. — Miss Somervell, only child of Ld Somervell by his present Lady.—At London, aged 72, Sir William Culpepper, uncle to the D. of Roxburgh.—John Ogle Esq; father to Adm. Ogle.—Mr Justice Denton, one of the Judges of the Commonpleas, and Chancellor to the Prince of Wales.—George Dennis, Esq; member for Leskard. — Joseph Hinxman, Esq; member for Christchurch. — Sir Conrade Springal, physician to King George I.—Laurence Armstrong, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor of Anapolis-Royal, and Lieutenant-Colonel of Gen. Philips's regiment. — Capt. Thomson of Brig. Harrison's regiment.—Dr Felton, author of the Defence of the reformation. — Mr James Græme of Newton, Advocate. He was Sollicitor in the reign of K. James VII.—David Shewwright of Meggetland, Esq;—Roger Ayton of Inchdairny, Esq;—David Henderson of Tennochside, Esq;—The Lady of Sir Alexander Burnet of Leyes. —The Lady of Sir William Gordon of Invergordon.—The Lady of David Græme of Orchil, Esq;—William Mitchel, White-iron-smith, Edinburgh, well known by the name of *Tinclarian Doctor*.

Preferments.

The Earl of Hopeton, *Governor of the bank of Scotland*, in the room of the Earl of Marchmont, deceas'd. — Ld Visc. Barrington, *Representative for Berwick*; John Garth, Esq; *for the Devizes*; Samuel Heathcote, Esq; *for Bedwin*; and Charles Trelawny, Esq; *for Leskard*. — Thomas Bootle, Esq; member for Midhurst, *Chancellor to the Prince of Wales*. — John Tinker, Esq; *Governor of the Bahama islands*, in the room of Richard Fitzwilliam, Esq; who has resigned. — Benjamin Whitaker, Esq; *Chief Judge of South-Carolina*. — George Selwyn, *Surveyor of the meltings, and Clerk of the irons, in the mint*, in the room of Gen. Evans, deceas'd. — John Griffin, Esq; *Comptroller of the state-lotteries*. — Murray Crimbler, Esq; *Receiver of the duties in Jamaica*, in the room of Richard Mill, Esq; deceas'd. — Mr Tatton, son of the late Gen. Tatton, *a Page of honour to the Duke*. — Madam Amelia Sophia Walmoden, *Countess of Yarmouth*. — Mr Michael Potter, Minister at Kippen, *Professor of Divinity in the university of Glasgow*.— Col. Spotiswood of Virginia, *a Major-General, and Colonel of the three regiments of* 1000 *men each, to be raised in New-York and Virginia*. — The promotions in Gen. Philips's regiment, resulting by the death of Lt-Col. Armstrong, are gone in the regiment by seniority. — Mr Abbot, of the pay-office, *Paymaster to the troops on the intended expedition*. — Mr Daniel Martin, *Surgeon to Brig. Robinson's marines*. — Capt. Townshend, of the Berwick, *Commander of the Shrewsbury*; and Capt. Davers, *of the Suffolk*, two 70 gun ships put in commission. — Capt. Langstoff, *Commander of the Stromboli*; Capt. Isaac Barnard, *of the Firebrand*; and Lt Fenwick, *of the Ætna*, three fire-ships. — Ld George Graham, of the Mercury fire-ship, *Commander of the Adventure*; and Capt. Lushington, *of the Rye, one of the new* 20 *gun ships*.

Died within the walls of the city of Edinburgh, and buried in the Gray-friars church-yard, March 1740.

Men 26, women 30, children 62. In all, 118. Decreased this month, 42.

	Age.	N°.	Diseases.	N°.
Under —	2	31	Old age —	6
Betwixt 2 &	5	28	Consumption	33
5 &	10	3	Apoplexy —	1
10 &	20	3	Gout ——	1
20 &	30	6	Chin-cough	2
30 &	40	7	Fever ——	18
40 &	50	11	Suddenly —	4
50 &	60	12	Teething —	14
60 &	70	10	Small-pox —	30
70 &	80	5	Asthma ——	2
80 &	90	2	Palsy ——	2
			Meagrum —	2
			Still-born —	3

NEW

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The SCOTS *Magazine.*

APRIL, 1740.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR, London, April 15.

HUMAN crimes are frequent: but thoſe that reach beyond the length of what nature can meaſure, demand a more than common notice; and in this light I think a ſhort account of the murder of Mr Drew, and of the manner of apprehending and bringing to juſtice the unnatural murderer, may be acceptable to your readers.

By the beſt accounts given of this fact, in ſeveral private letters and publick narratives, it appears, That Mr Charles John Drew, the murdered Gentleman, was an Attorney at Long-Melford, in the county of Suffolk. He marry'd a Lady of ſome fortune; but was not ſo fortunate as to enjoy that harmony in his family, which is abſolutely neceſſary to the happineſs of a married life. For, ſome time after his marriage, jealouſies and uneaſineſſes aroſe between him and his Lady, which occaſion'd a ſeparation; and for ſome years before his death they did not cohabit together, but lived in ſeparate houſes; he at an upper houſe in Melford town, and ſhe at another, call'd the *lower houſe*: yet the old Gentleman would very frequently go thither, to dine with his ſon and five daughters; at which times his wife never uſed to appear; and he being a man of ſome ſeverity in his temper, ſeldom ſuffer'd any of the family to ſpeak to him, unleſs to anſwer ſuch queſtions as he thought proper to aſk. And it may not be improper here to obſerve, that the very day he was murder'd he din'd at this houſe, with one Mr Smith, a clergyman, and his ſon, without ſpeaking one word to each other.

In this manner the old Gentleman had lived for ſome years; and as it was his conſtant practice to make a freſh will every other year, and to keep the old ones likewiſe in his cuſtody, it is imagined that the unhappy ſon, upon ſearching the houſe after the murder, found them all, and produced that he liked beſt; and which happened to be one made when he was about eleven years of age.

Before his wife and he parted, he had ſeveral children born; all daughters except this ſon; and great rejoicing was made at his birth: but family-diſcords afterwards growing high, and ſeparation reſolved upon, there was very little care taken of the ſon's education; who was a compleat well made youth, and the nearer he approach'd manhood, the finer was his appearance, and the more his perſon was admir'd. But as to his natural capacity, it was dull and mean; and his mind being uncultivated, and no education given him, as he grew up, he became ſordid and perverſe in his temper.

He was now about twenty five years old; and having never had any taſte for rational entertainments, or polite amuſements, unleſs courſing and poaching may be reckon'd ſuch, he was naturally led to herd with mean people, and with thoſe of his own ſize of underſtanding. By this means he fell into bad company, ſuch as ſmugglers, poachers, *&c.* and growing fond of women, whoſe characters were not extraordinary, want of means to ſupply his extravagancies, occaſion'd it frequently to be buzz'd in his ears by his companions, that it was pity his father ſhould poſſeſs ſo plentiful an eſtate, and he (the ſon) be in continual neceſſity for money.

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Theſe inſinuations firſt put him on meditating the horrid deed, which he ſoon after reſolved to put in execution.

For among the many women with whom he kept company, there was one E— B—, who was houſe-keeper to Mr R—; and with this woman he ſeem'd to be particularly enamour'd. She likewiſe appear'd very fond of him; and after he had been intimate with her ſome time, ſhe urg'd him to marry her; inſiſting upon it, that as he had ruin'd her character and reputation, he could make her amends no other way. *Betſy* [ſaid he] *pray let us ſtay a little longer: it will be worſe for us both if I do it now; for my father will certainly diſinherit me.* She upon this ſaid, *I wiſh ſome body would ſhoot him.* And accordingly, on the 1ſt of February laſt, the old Gentleman was found dead in the morning early, in his dwelling-houſe in Melford.

Several informations, taken before Sir Cordell Firebrace, Knight of the Shire and Juſtice of the Peace for Suffolk, made very plain that Mr Drew was ſhot by a gun in the cuſtody of the ſaid Mrs B—; and from the depoſition of Mr Thomas Allen, vintner of London, a perſon of credit and character, it appeared, that the ſaid Mr Allen having informed Mrs B— where Mr Drew lodged, did, the ſecond morning after her arrival in London, go in to the chamber of the ſaid Mr Drew; where he found Mrs B— in bed, very much diſordered, and calling out, *The jaylor will come for me, and I ſhall be put in irons.*

Young Drew acted with ſuch marks of guilt, from the firſt diſcovery of his father's murder, to his being apprehended, that many have wondered he was not ſooner ſecured. When the jury ſat upon the body of his father, he could by no means be prevailed upon to attend the enquiry; and, though in the houſe all the time, poſitively refuſed to appear. When the Coroner's inquiſition was finiſhed, it was generally ſaid by the whole neighbourhood, that one Edward Humphries was the aſſaſſin; a deſperate fellow, a notorious ſmuggler, and one whom all who knew, thought capable of the horrid fact. Humphries was immediately apprehended: but ſo far was young Drew from carrying on, or ſo much as countenancing the proſecution, that he ſhewed the utmoſt concern at his being taken into cuſtody; declaring, that if the family made no enquiry, no body elſe had any thing to do about it: he publickly ſupplied him with money, and threatened to proſecute to utter ruin the officer that took him up; and being aſked the cauſe of his concern for Humphries, he replied, *As the fact is done, the beſt muſt be made of a bad market.* This behaviour raiſed ſuch whiſpers as made Mr Drew leave Melford, and go to London; where he endeavoured to ſuborn witneſſes to ſwear Humphries innocent: but thoſe he applied to for that purpoſe, though perſons of very indifferent characters, could not be prevailed upon to anſwer his purpoſes. Whereupon he ſet out on his way to Melford: but hearing at Sudbury that officers were in ſearch for him, he gave an Attorney of that place letters of attorney for tranſacting his affairs, and inſtructions for drawing his will, and for ſettling the whole of his eſtate, and returned to London, taking upon him the name of *Thomas Roberts*; where being apprehended, the evidence againſt him was ſo ſtrong, that he was upon the firſt examination committed to Newgate.

By the evidence given it appeared, that on the 31ſt of January, the night the murder was committed, Humphries went a private way to Melford about nine o'clock; and coming (as was before concerted between them) to Mr Charles John Drew's orchard's back-gate, there he ſaw Charles Drew waiting for him, with a gun in his hand; and in his confeſſion he ſays, he knew him well. As ſoon as they met, they agreed to hide the gun in the little houſe in the orchard, while they went to old Mr Drew's lower houſe, in order to fluſh themſelves with brandy, and fit them for the commiſſion of the horrid deed. When they had drank a quantity ſufficient to prevent remorſe, they returned to the little houſe; and Mr Drew

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Drew took out the gun, and went a little way before Humphries, the back-way into the open ſtreet, about 11 o'clock. Mr Drew being firſt got to his father's fore-door, Humphries ſtood at ſome diſtance, and, according to his confeſſion, heard the report of the gun. Immediately after which, Mr Drew came to him and told him, *The job was done.* Then they both went towards Lyſton-hall, about a mile from Melford; where Mr Drew hid the gun in a hollow tree, and Humphries left him, and returned back to Melford, and immediately took horſe and came for London: but Mr Drew went to Lyſton-hall; where he immediately pull'd out his watch, and took notice before the maid, that it was then a quarter of an hour after 11 o' clock by his watch.

Humphries got to London the next day, the 1ſt of February, and came to his acquaintance, Capt. Ratt, in Fleet-lane, in the evening; telling him, he came to town about a law-ſuit, and had rode very hard, and that he was tired to death, and would go to bed. The next morning he told Capt. Ratt, that he expected a letter to be ſent him; but it would be directed for John Smith, a ſurgeon, to be left at the Angel and Crown in Fleet-lane; deſiring the Captain to take care of it, for there would be a bank-bill for 100 l. incloſed in it. The letter came the day following; but upon opening the letter, and finding no bank-bill, he ſaid his law-ſuit was at an end, and he muſt return to Melford; which he accordingly did; and was ſoon after taken in a field with the very gun upon him, with which Mr Drew was ſhot.

Drew being in London, and Humphries in goal at Bury, and in ſome neceſſity for money, he wrote two letters, and ſign'd each of them with his fictitious name *John Smith.* The one was directed, *To William Mace, at the Angel and Crown in Fleet-lane, London:* An exact copy of which follows:

SIR, March 9. 1739.

I Bagg *youd be ſo kind as to find up the Gentleman as the incloſed is* drickted, *for I* mouſt *put you in mind, that they may be no* delais, *but have it* don *this night if you can. I am your humble ſervant,* John Smith.

The other letter was incloſed in the foregoing, and was directed,

To Charles Drew, Eſq; with ſpeed and care.

SIR, March 9. 1739-40.

THis day *I received your* king *(kind)* faver, wich *I return you* thinks *(thanks) for the ſame. I am very* ſore *(ſorry)* thatt *you ſhould* leve *your home on this account; I make no* dotuh bot *all things will goe well. I* mouſt *bagg you will* bepleaſ *to ſend me ſome money, for this place is very* expenſit *(expenſive) and* ther *is nothing to be done without, as the caſe ſtands with me at this time. If you pleas to ſend me about one houndred pound, I make no* fare bot *all thing will go well. You may ſend your man to me* uery *ſafe, and let him com by the way of* New-Marked *to me. If you can no way ſend your man, you may* drick *(direct) to be left at my wife brother* Jamas Ambroſ *in* Ballington. *If you have not ſo much caſh by you, you may ſend it in bank-nots, and maket up in a paſſel. I ſhall* etain *(retain) counceł in the country. I have* implid in Turney *(employ'd an Attorney) in* bury. *Pray let me hear from you by* Wedneſday *at night without fail, from, Your* John Smith.

Theſe letters were accidentally intercepted by a Gentleman of the ſame name with Mr Drew; whoſe vigilance, prudence and courage in puniſhing this parricide well deſerves the thanks of his country: for which reaſon I ſhall be more particular on that head; as his behaviour will ſerve to ſhew how neceſſary (and generally ſucceſsful) reſolution is in ſervices of this kind.

The above letters were ſent from Humphries, by the Bury coach, to Mr Mace (call'd *Capt. Ratt*); who, not knowing where to find Mr Charles Drew, enquired next morning at Mackrell's coffee-houſe in Bartlett's-buildings, Holbourn, if they knew one Mr Drew. The people in the houſe told him they know Mr Drew very well;

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and immediately ſent for Timothy Drew, Eſq; As ſoon as Capt. Ratt ſaw Mr Timothy Drew, he told him he was not the Gentleman he wanted. Mr T. Drew told him his name was Drew, and aſked him what he wanted. The Captain ſaid, I have a letter here (ſhewing it Mr T. Drew); but I have forgot where the Gentleman lives I am to deliver it to. Mr T. Drew told him it was ſtrange he did not know how to deliver his letter; and aſked him if he ſhould aſſiſt him? Yes, with all my heart, Sir, ſays the Captain; and deliver'd the letter to Mr T. Drew; who aſſured him it ſhould go to the right Mr Drew. Mr T. Drew having got the letter into his poſſeſſion, left the coffee-houſe and read it; after which he returned to the ſame place, and told Capt. Ratt he had taken care of the letter; but pray, Sir, will you be ſo kind as to tell me where you live, what buſineſs you follow, and what you deal in. Sir, ſays the Captain, I am a ſ—g—r, and have very good teas, brandies, and chintſes to diſpoſe of. O dear! replies Mr Timothy Drew, I ſhould be very glad of ſome good teas: I'll go with you and look at ſome. Accordingly he went with him to his lodgings, and bargains for two pounds of tea; which he begg'd the favour of the Captain to carry to his chambers, and told him he would go with him. As they went along, Mr Timothy Drew took the Captain into Seagoe's coffee-houſe, where he ſaid he would taſte the tea; and calling for a bottle of wine, Mr Timothy Drew drank tea, and the Captain drank wine pretty freely. After which Mr Timothy Drew call'd a coach, telling the Captain he would treat him with the coach to his chambers; and having got the Captain into the coach, he privately bid the coachman drive to Colonel De Veil's; where the Captain behaved very indecently, and told the Colonel he was a ſ—g—r, and had broke 13 goals already, and ſwore he would break another, and would be next week in France; upon which he was committed to the gate-houſe.

The next morning, Mr Timothy Drew ſent to the Crown-inn, in Holbourn, to enquire for Mr G—; who not being in town, Mr Timothy Drew left word, that he deſired to ſpeak with him: and he came the next day to Mr Timothy Drew; who telling him he had buſineſs with Mr Charles Drew, they agreed to ſup all together that evening at the King's-arms tavern.

At the time appointed Mr G— met Mr Drew, and they ſupp'd together; but Charles Drew not appearing, Mr Timothy Drew aſked him why Mr Charles Drew had diſappointed him? Mr G— reply'd, Becauſe there are a great many people in the houſe, and ſome of them are officers.

Mr Timothy Drew had Colonel De Veil's warrant to apprehend Charles Drew in his pocket, back'd by an Alderman of London; and intended to have taken him that night, but was diſappointed. However, he was inform'd, that he had been at the tavern-door that night; but, ſuſpecting ſomething, he durſt not venture into the houſe: and he likewiſe got intelligence that he went by the name of *Thomas Roberts*, and lodged in Sheer-lane.

Upon this information, Mr Timothy Drew got proper aſſiſtance, and went the next morning to the Old Boot-ſhop, where he enquir'd for Mr Roberts. The people of the houſe deny'd him, and ſaid, no Gentleman lodg'd there. But this not ſatisfying Mr Timothy Drew, he with ſome Conſtables ſearched the houſe, and found Mrs B— in bed, and the priſoner's watch and ſeal hanging by the chimney. Mr Timothy Drew look'd at the ſeal, and ſaid the coat of arms engrav'd upon it belong'd to the family: upon which a Gentleman went to the bed-ſide, and putting his hand under the bed-cloaths, he told Mrs B—, he was ſure ſome body elſe had lain there lately, becauſe that part of the bed was warm. She immediately threw off the cloaths, and ſaid her nurſe had lain in that place. Mr Timothy Drew, being unſatisfied, proceeded to ſearch the houſe. While he was buſy in another part of it, the officers told him they had ſeen a pair of piſtols in a cloſet in the

room

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room where Mrs B— lay. Mr Timothy Drew immediately returned to the closet to look at them, but in the interim they were convey'd away, and were not to be found.

Mr Timothy Drew then order'd the officers to keep the door, while he ſearch'd the chimneys, and every part of the houſe, and even a cock-loft, which he could not enter, 'till he had order'd a ladder to be brought. The officers would have perſuaded him from ſearching this place, leſt he ſhould be kill'd; but he (being very unwilling a parricide ſhould eſcape juſtice) got a candle, and pok'd into every hole in the cock-loft with his cane, and ſatisfied himſelf that he was not there.

Upon this diſappointment he ſearch'd ſeveral coffee-houſes in Leiceſter-ſtreet and Leiceſter-fields, without getting any intelligence of him. At laſt, he thought of enquiring after him at ſome bagnio's; and immediately went to Eaſtmead's at the Crown, in Leiceſter-fields, and enquired if a young Gentleman, one Mr Roberts, did not come in there late laſt night, or early that morning? One, whom Mr Timothy Drew took to be the maſter of the houſe, told him, ſome Gentlemen had lodged there laſt night, but now they were all gone, and there was no man in the houſe; and immediately on having ſaid this he went backwards. Mr Timothy Drew tripp'd ſoftly after him, and heard him ſay to the ſervants, Do you hear? there is no body above. Upon which they all declar'd there was no one in the houſe. Mr Timothy Drew told them, if Mr Roberts was there, they muſt not deny him; for he came from Mr G—, and had a letter to deliver into his own hands. Still every one deny'd him; but Mr Timothy Drew, having ſome ſuſpicion of his being there, ſat down in the houſe, and call'd for a pint of wine: which being brought him, he told the waiter he was alone, and aſk'd him to ſit down and drink with him, and whether he was the landlord of the houſe? The man drank with Mr Drew, and told him he was not the maſter of the houſe, but that it was kept by one Eaſtmead. Pray, Sir, [ſays Mr Drew,] what is your name? My name, Sir! why my name ſignifies nothing; — there's no Gentleman in the houſe, I aſſure you; and I am but a ſervant. Well; if you are but a ſervant, you have a name: — Tom, Jack, or Dick, pray what is your name? Why, Sir, my name is Matt. Then pray, Mr Matthew, what's your other name? Sir, [ſays Matt.] I tell you there's none but Ladies in the houſe, nor in the bagnio; we have no Gentleman here; and what ſignifies enquiring after ſervants names? It may be ſo, reply'd Mr Drew, and perhaps I have loſt my labour; but yet you have another name. Well, Sir, my name is Manning. Very well, Mr Manning; my ſervice to you, [drinking to him]: but, Mr Manning, I muſt tell you, that I know Mr Roberts is here, and his right name is Charles Drew; he has murder'd his father, [ſpeaking very loud], and if you ſecrete a murderer, I will blow Mr Eaſtmead's houſe up. Pray, Sir, [ſays Matt.] don't ſpeak ſo loud. I tell you, [ſaid Mr Drew] I will ſpeak louder ſtill, and will have you all taken up for hiding a murderer; therefore, tell me the truth immediately. Matt. then acknowledged, that truly there was ſuch a Gentleman in the houſe, and he was juſt come from ſerving him with tea. Mr Timothy Drew bid him go immediately to him, and tell him a Gentleman waited on him with a meſſage from Mr G—, and muſt ſpeak with him. Upon this Charles Drew order'd the Gentleman to be brought into his room. As ſoon as he enter'd, he aſk'd him if his name was not Roberts? Yes, Sir. Then Sir, I have a meſſage to you from Mr G—; he deſires to ſpeak with you at the Crown-inn, in Holbourn. Very well, [ſays Charles Drew]; I'll wait upon him directly. But, Sir, [ſays Mr Timothy Drew, with an angry voice.] I have ſomething elſe to ſay to you, [holding up his cane]; you have been the murderer of your own father, and you muſt go directly with me before Colonel De Veil: your name is *Charles Drew*, and not *Roberts*; why did you tell

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tell me lies? Pray, Sir, [ſaid Charles] uſe me like a Gentleman, and let me ſend for my friends. Mr Timothy Drew conſented, and Charles wrote to Mr G—, and Mr R—, to come to him immediately. Mr R— deny'd himſelf to the meſſenger, and Mr G— ſent word he would come preſently; but he not coming in two hours, Mr Timothy Drew call'd a coach, and took him before Col. De Veil; who was near ſix hours examining Mr Timothy Drew, Charles Drew, Capt. Ratt, and others. During theſe examinations Mr G— came in; and being likewiſe examined, was very much reprov'd for his conduct in this affair. While Charles Drew was under examination he ſeem'd wholly unconcern'd; and, diſplaying his diamond-ring, he ſmil'd upon two young Ladies; who hearing of his being apprehended, came to the Juſtices, to know the event; and when the evidence grew ſtrong againſt him, one of them was ſo much concerned for him, that ſhe ſaid, ſhe would give her right arm to ſave him. The other wept, and wiſh'd ſhe was a King for his ſake. But they were both put in mind, that though he was a very perſonable man, yet *fronti nulla fides*: And, the examinations being over, Mr Charles Drew was committed to Newgate, under a ſtrong guard; whither the two Ladies went the next day to viſit him, as they likewiſe did ſeveral times afterwards.

Notwithſtanding the many endeavours of Mr Drew to ſtifle truth at his approaching trial, he was very fearful of the determination of juſtice, and uſed all means in his power to make his eſcape from Newgate: for this purpoſe he made over half his eſtate to Jonathan Keate, an under-turnkey in that priſon, on condition the ſaid Keate would give him his liberty, and accompany him to France; and for Keate's ſecurity executed a bond to him of 2000 l. penalty for performance of the ſaid agreement.— But Keate made no other uſe of theſe, than to divert him from any other project for eſcaping, and for removing him to a ſtronger part of the jail, and ſetting a double watch upon him day and night.

The defence he made at his trial at St Edmond's Bury aſſizes was too trifling to mention; and being found guilty of murdering his father, March 27. he was, on the 9th of April, executed for the horrid fact, before a prodigious number of ſpectators.

He died ſtupid and inſenſible, without any publick confeſſion.— His eſtate was, by his Majeſty, reſtored to his unfortunate ſurviving ſiſters.

Humphries, who was admitted an evidence, plainly equivocated at Drew's trial; but has not yet got his liberty; being detained on the oath of a Gentleman, who has ſworn the peace againſt him for threatening his life.

Thus a father and ſon are in the moſt deplorable manner loſt to a family, which, beſide the affliction ſuch a ſcene of wo muſt occaſion at preſent, muſt ever with the deepeſt concern remember the dreadful occaſion. I am,

Your humble ſervant, &c. *P. H.*

CRAFTSMAN, *April* 12.

A converſation between Mr John Tar, *Mariner, lately returned in the* Triumph, *Capt.* Renton, *and Mr.* Thomas Lobſter, *a Foot-ſoldier in one of his Majeſty's royal regiments of guards.*

Lob. DEar *Jack*, thou art welcome home.— What news from the *Weſt-Indies?*

Tar. Tom, han't you heard of our glorious ſucceſs at *Porto Bello?* — Why I'll tell you now. — We took *this place*, and ſeveral damn'd *guarda coſtas* lying there, blew up all the fortifications, brought away, or deſtroy'd all the cannon, and—

Lob. Prethee, *Jack*, hold a little; for you ſeem to talk like a *traveller*.—— Why you muſt have had a vaſt fleet and a very great army to do all this.

Tar. No, you fool; we did it with *ſix men of war only*, and about a *couple of hundred of you landmen*, whom the noble Governor of *Jamaica* was kind enough to lend us; for the *Admiral* had none ſent with him *from home*.

Lob. Surely, *Jack*, this can't be true. — You muſt rodomontade a little.

Tar. Ey, ey; that's juſt like one of you

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you *fair weather ſparks*, who make a very pretty figure in *Hyde-park*, at a review, with your tuck'd-up hair, and powder'd ſhoulders. — No, no, *Tom*; Meſs, we went to work in good earneſt; and I believe the *proud Spaniſh Dons* will think to alter their note for the future. — Marry! they have now reaſon enough to repent of calling us *tame Engliſh hens*; for they have found us to be *true-bred fighting cocks*. — Not take *Porto Bello* with *ſix ſtout ſhips of war*, and ſuch a *brave commander* at their head! — Why, I'll tell thee, *Tom*; I heard our Purſer ſay that Admiral *Vernon* declar'd, in a *certain place*, ſeveral years ago, that he would undertake to make himſelf maſter of *that place* with the *ſame number of ſhips*: and I verily believe o' my conſcience that if he had had the whole navy-royal of *G. Britain* under his command, he would not have taken *one ſhip more* with him; for he was reſolved, d'ye ſee? to make his word good; and faith ſo he has. — May hap, ſome people, who laugh'd at him for the *propoſal*, as I am told, don't thank him in their hearts for the *execution* of it; but I am ſure every honeſt ſailor does: and whenever he wants recruits for *his fleet*, there will be no occaſion for *preſſing*, and (what do you call them?) *embargoes*. They'll be ready enough to enter *volunteers*, when they ſee that ſomething is to be done.

Lob. Well but, *Jack*, did'nt you loſe a power of men in this action?

Tar. A power of men! — No. — We had'nt above twenty men kill'd and wounded; but tho'f an hundred or two of us had been knock'd o' the head, what's that in ſo glorious a victory? — Ah! *Tom*, I wiſh you had took my advice, when you got *Dolly* the milk-maid with child, and gone to ſea with me, inſtead of liſting for a *ſoldier*, and loitering away your time at home.

Lob. Look ye, *Jack*, don't grow ſcurrilous, and abuſe your *betters*; for you can't be ſo ignorant as not to know that we have the title of *Gentlemen ſoldiers*; whereas you are called nothing but *Tarpawlians* at beſt. — Why look ye here, *Jack*; does not this new red coat, lac'd hat, and a ſword by my ſide, look more genteel than your old pitch'd jacket, and dirty'd pair of trowſers? — If *you* have done your King and country more ſervice than *us*, as you pretend, it is not *our fault*. We durſt not fight without *orders* any more than you; and whenever we receive them you ſhall ſee that we'll execute them with the ſame reſolution. — As for your ſlears about *loitering at home*, I defy your words; for I aſſure you I am no *faggot*, and therefore am obliged to do *double duty*, for much leſs pay than you. — But what reaſon have I to believe all your braggadocios about taking *Porto Bello*, and God knows what?

Tar. Why, you ſilly dog, have you never ſeen the fine congratulating addreſs, as I think, they call it, to the King's Majeſty, with another from the city of *London* to the ſame tune, and how as Admiral *Vernon* was preſented with the *freedom of the city*, to be ſent over to him in a *great gold box*?

Lob. No, not I. We never read any thing but the *Gazetteer* and the *Farthing-poſt*. The *firſt*, you muſt know, is always ſent free-coſt to our quarters, and we now and then make a ſhift to club for the *other*. As for your (what d'ye call them?) *Craft* — *Craftmen*, and *Common Senſes*, we ſhould ſtand a fair chance of running the gauntlet, or being ty'd neck and heels, if we were caught reading of them; for our *Serjeant* ſays that they are filled with nothing but *treaſon* and *ſedition*, and *faction*, and *Popery* and *blaſphemy*. — 'Sblood! if theſe fine wits were to be tried by the *mutiny-act* and a *court-martial*, as we poor devils are, they'd ſoon be ſick of that lay.

Tar. May be ſo; for I don't pretend to know any thing of your politicks at land; but I am told that they go to every ſea-port town in all the King's kingdoms. — I have read above an hundred of them at *Jamaica*, without any danger of the *bilboes*, or a *cato'ninetails*. — Nay, I have many a time ſeen our Captain himſelf read them upon quarter-deck; and methought he ſeem'd to look as tho'f he was pleas'd with'n. —

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By the Mess, I am sure they are no friends to the *Spaniards*, and speak very civilly of us *poor Jailors*. —— What have you *red coats* done to put'n out of humour?

Lob. Why *nothing* at all, *Jack*, that I know of.

Tar. Flesh! *Tom*, I believe thou hast nick'd it; for I don't hear that you have done *any thing* of late, besides playing the devil at your *quarters*, and burthening the parishes with *base children*.

Lob. 'Sblood! what's all this to the purpose about your mighty doings at *Porto Bello*?

Tar. Why I tell thee, *Jack*, once and again, and am ready to take my corporal oath on't, that every tittle I have told thee is as true as the Bible-book. — God forbid that I should take the name of the holy scriptures in vain, as you *reprobate landmen* do.

Lob. Nay, as for that, *Jack*, I believe we are much upon the square; for I have heard say that there is as much swearing, and cursing, and damning, in the midst of a *sea-fight*, as there ever was amongst us at the *tilt-yard*. So let us e'en shake hands upon that score. — But how came it to pass that *Porto Bello* was not taken long ago, since it might have been so easily done? For I am told that a fleet was sent thither upon the same errand, I don't know how long ago, of above three times the number of ships; but after lying there for several months, and losing a mort of men, they were obliged at last to come away without *doing any thing*, as you say of *us landmen*. Nay, and I was farther told that *this fleet* was commanded by as *brave an Admiral* as *yours*, let he be as brave as he will.

Tar. Prethee, *Tom*, hold thy tongue. — Comparisons are odious. — I hadn't the honour to serve the crown of *England* at that time. — But several men in our fleet, who were there, spoke mainly in the praise of Admiral *Hoster*; what a brave man he was, and what a longing he had to thrash the jackets of the *Spaniards*. — But what then? — 'Tis not in every body's power to do as they would. — Some people talk as tho'f his hands were tied behind him, and then you know, *Tom*, that no body can stir. — Others pretend that his *orders* miscarried by the way. — And all of them agree that the *Admiral* himself was not in fault. — But what's that to me? I don't care, d'ye see? to meddle nor make with states affairs. — I'll vouch only for what I have seen with my own eyes; and leave the rest to my betters. — I'll do my duty, whenever I am commanded; and that, I think, is enough in all conscience for *Jack Tar*.

Lob. Ay, and for *Tom Lobster* too. — There I agree with you. — But prethee, *Jack*, give me a little account how you perform'd all these great exploits.

Tar. Why I'll tell thee, *Tom*, if so be thou can'st have any patience. — We sail'd from *Jamaica* on the glorious 5th of *November*, and on the 21st of the same month we arrived before the *Iron castle*.

Lob. An *iron castle!* — Nay, now I am sure, *Jack*, you begin to rodomontade.

Tar. No, you puppy, I didn't say an *iron castle*; that is to say, I did not say that it was all made of *iron*; but it was made of thick stone walls, as strong as *iron*, and stronger too, for aught I know, and therefore it is called the *Iron castle*, or the *Iron fort*. — Now I hope you are satisfied.

Lob. Well, but how did you take this *Iron-stone-castle*, or whatever you call it? for it is a riddle to me.

Tar. How did we take it? — *He, he, he!* — Why our *Admiral* plied to the windward in line of battle; but the wind proving easterly, he luff'd up as near to the *fort* as he could, and ——

Lob. A pox upon all your damn'd *sea-phrases!* — I know nothing of your *winds* and your *windwards*, nor your *luffing* and *puffing*. — Let me have it in plain, downright *English*.

Tar. Why then I'll tell thee in one word, as I told thee before, that we took the *place* with all their *ships* and *cannon*, blew up their fortifications, and left the *port* without any defence.

Lob. Well, *Jack*, I find that you got a deal of *honour* by this expedition; but

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but what ſignifies *honour*, without ſome *profit*?

Tar. Profit, you fool!—Why we got a great deal of *profit*.—Look ye here, *Tom*, how this pocket is lin'd with *yellow-boys*, and the other with *pieces of eight*.—Come, there's one for you, which is as much as your whole week's pay; and if thou'lt drink the *Admiral*'s health, with all the brave officers and ſeamen under his command, I'll treat thee with a *can of flip*, or a *tiff of good rum punch*, which we took from the *Spaniards*.—Egad! we ſwam in it at *Porto Bello* and *Jamaica*, and I have made a ſhift to bring a parcel of it home, tho'f the cuſtom-houſe officers made a good look-out after us.

Lob. Ay, now *Jack*, thou begin'ſt to talk reaſon.—Shew me only a little of that ſame *Spaniſh rum punch*, and I ſhall be convinced; for I once happened to hear the *Chaplain of our regiment* ſay that *rum* was much more wholeſome, and pleaſanter to the palate, than *gin*.

Tar. Here, *Kate*, make a good ſneaker of *rum punch*.—Nay, don't run away, before the words are out of my mouth.—An', d'ye ſee? put a biſket and ſome nutmeg in't.—That's our way at *ſea*, friend *Tom*. May hap, it may'nt be to your liking.

Lob. Yes, yes; I never quarrel with a bowl of punch, make it how you will.—But, *Jack*, I ſuppoſe by all this, that you had rare plunder in the town.

Tar. No, *Tom*.—Our *Admiral* was a little ſqueamiſh-ſtomach'd about that; for all your *brave men*, d'ye ſee? are apt to be too *good-natur'd*.—Egad! we were all going to gut the houſes firſt, and then pull them down about their ears; but the *Spaniſh Governor* hung out a cowardly *white flag*, as much as to ſay, 'We have *enough*; and ſent a meſſage to the *Admiral*, deſiring to ca-ca-capitulate; ay, capitulate, that's the word; with an offer of a good round ſum of money to ſave the town; which our *Admiral* accepted, and generouſly diſtributed it amongſt us.

Lob. Zounds! I muſt needs ſay that was bravely done, indeed.

Tar. Bravely done! Why I'll tell thee what he did beſides.—You muſt have heard as how Capt. *Jenkins* had one of his ears cut off by a damn'd bloody-minded Captain of a *Spaniſh privateer*.

Lob. Heard it!—Ay, and ſo hath every body.

Tar. Why then, *Tom*, you muſt know that we took this barbarous dog at *Porto Bello*.

Lob. Ay! and what did you do with him?

Tar. Od's-fiſh! we were going to cut off *both his ears*, and then hang him upon the *yard-arm*; but our *Admiral*, as I ſaid before, being a very good-natur'd Gentleman, would'nt let us.—But egad! he gave'n a flea in's ear, and told'n, tho'f he forgave him this time, if ever he met with'n again, he ſhould be us'd as he deſerved.

Lob. Why faith, *Tom*, I muſt confeſs that was very handſomely done.

Tar. I could tell thee a thouſand things more in his praiſe.—But 'oons! where is *Kate* with the punch? O! here ſhe is.—Set it down.—Come, *Tom*, here's a health to Admiral *Vernon*, with all the *brave officers* and *ſailors* under his command.

Lob. With all my heart, *Jack*; and confuſion to the *Spaniards*.

Both. Huzza! huzza! huzza!

Lob. Well, *Jack*, ſince thou art ſo generous, I'll drink another health, or a curſe, call it which you pleaſe, which I'm ſure you'll toaſt.—Here's confuſion to all the *friends of the Spaniards*, and all the *enemies of Admiral Vernon*; for no *brave* and *good man* can be without *enemies*.—D—n them both, with all my heart!—God forgive me for ſwearing!

Tar. I'll pledge thee, *Tom*, with all my heart and ſoul, in a bumper.

Both. Confuſion to the *Spaniards*; confuſion to all the *friends of the Spaniards*; and confuſion to the enemies of Admiral VERNON!——— *Huzza! huzza! huzza!*

DAILY GAZETTEER, *April* 15.

To the writer of the CRAFTSMAN *journal.*

Mr Craftſman,

I Have heard ſome folks ſay you have been of rare ſervice in vindicating the

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honour of our flag, and keeping a sharp look-out after any nation that has ventured to interrupt our commerce: and for these reasons, I have often forced myself to give you a reading, when my messmates have laughed at me: but I heeded them not; for while I believed you meant good to *Old England*, I thought you intitled to a quiet hearing.

Before we sailed last summer, I remember you were deadly arch upon what you called the *peaceful squadrons*; and as soon as I got sight of you in *Jamaica*, I was in full hope of finding that you approved of our departure. But, instead of that, you might have struck me flat with a feather, when I found you *sneering* at our expedition, and making as if we missed the *Assogue* ships on purpose.—I can tell you, Sir, such a sneer was as disagreeable as a cross-wind, and we weren't half pleased to find you strive to make us laugh'd at in *England*, when our arrival was sounded thro' *America* with the loudest acclamations.— And to shew we went neither without *orders* nor *courage*, we had been but a short time in those seas, before we went to work, and soon made the proud *Spaniard* feel the weight of *British* resentment.

As I had the good fortune of being one of the foremost in the action at *Portobel*, and likewise one of those employ'd to bring the tidings to *England*, I think myself intitled to complain of your treatment of our brave Admiral, and all the bold fellows I left with him.

On our landing, the hearty welcome we met where-ever we came, more than repaid the fatigues we had undergone; and the first *Saturday* after we reached *Wapping*, I and all the boat's crew were agog, by six o'clock in the morning, to see what praises you had given us in your paper. But you soon made us fall our top-sails; for when we had called up our landlady to hear your expected commendation of the valour we had shewn in the service of our country, instead of finding ourselves compared to *Achilles*, *Hercules*, *Alexander*, *Cæsar*, *Pompey*, and the rest of them, we were all struck dead as so many herrings, at being told, That though we had taken *Portobel*, yet it ought to have been done long ago; so that where *we* hoped to have heard you praise *us* for performing that action *now*, your readers were put upon blaming *others* that it was not done *sooner*. Nay, what gave us yet more offence, was, your interpreting the noble courage and resolution of our Admiral, into nothing more than a furious desire, at hap-hazard, of proving *some folks liars*.— This, Sir, whatever you may think on't, is but a scurvy trick, and tends so much to diminish the honour of our commander, that I would advise you never to fall athwart any who share with him the glory of *Portobel*. Besides, if I an't out in my sounding, there is something plaguy foolish in this same insinuation: for is it not strange to hear you assert, that when a war was begun with *Jack Spaniard*, the chief command in the *West-Indies* was given to a Gentleman whom the government did not wish success? which is just all one, as if our Captain should send a boat *for water*, and wish she might return with *empty casks*.

Whenever you handle this subject again, say what you will of us rather than represent us as the tools of any private resentment. For, I assure you, when we landed at *Gloria castle*, our heads were free from any thoughts of *speeches* made *within* doors or *without*. The Admiral acted only by the *King*'s authority; for *him*, and for our *country*, we fought, and conquer'd. ENGLAND was the word, and away ran the *Spaniards*.

You may wonder, that I blame only *you* for this *new turn* to our glorious conquest; since you have a messmate who runs as many knots against the government as yourself. But, as our Boatswain assures me, *he* is a *Papish*, it would be no credit to be found in his company, unless it were to push him on board the *St Joseph*, to succour his brother *Jesuit*, *Friar*, or *Priest*, in tribulation.

But tho' you have always declar'd yourself a *Protestant*, you cannot hate a *Spaniard* more than I do: and in my judgment, Mr *Danvers*, we ought to agree

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agree in every ſtep toward puniſhing our publick enemies, and, like a jovial ſhip's crew, every man to his birth; with no other difference between our *governors* and *other ſubjects*, than we ſee between the *quarter-deck* and *forecaſtle*; lay us but long-ſide the enemy, and in time of an engagement all the diſpute is, who ſhall face moſt danger?

You muſt not think, becauſe we are no politicians, that you may do what you will with us. No; our brave Admiral, I am ſure, went heart and hand with every man in his ſquadron; and I muſt again tell you, 'tis but a dirty trick to cloud the glory of his ſucceſs, by making it only the effect of pique and reſentment. He has too much wiſdom, to hazard a ſquadron upon any thing beſide the ſervice of his King and country; and too much honour, to uſe a fleet ſent to ſerve the nation, to his own purpoſes.— And he that inſinuates the contrary is — a *Spaniard*, put on what coat he will.

What I have here advanced is no more than what I have heard from the *Lieutenant*, and the whole crew. And as we ſoon hope to return to *America*, the beſt atonement you can make for the diſappointment we have ſuffered, will be to write us ſome rare ſongs to reliſh our punch when we rejoin the Admiral; but be ſure, when you make us rejoice, let it be like *ſailors* and *Engliſhmen*, as the obedient ſervants of our King, and the hearty friends of our country.

I have often heard, that you writers can turn things which way you will; that you can make black white, and white black, with as much eaſe as we can reef a main-ſail: and I find it true enough; elſe, how the d—l could you have turn'd our *overcoming his Majeſty's enemies* into a *ſatire upon the government?* — But, however merry you may be with your landmen, and whatever mirth you make of reviews at *Hounſlow* and *Hyde-park*, it won't be beſt for you to run the ſame lengths with us tarpawlins: we are undiſguis'd and honeſt; rough as the ocean we live upon; but as jealous of our honour as he who never reach'd three leagues from *Whitehall*. We are ſtrict to our duty; and, when we are ſent on any expedition, think ourſelves better able to put it in execution than the beſt book-worm in Chriſtendom; for, let me tell you, Mr *Danvers*, there's more art wanted to run a hundred leagues on an enemy's coaſt, than to miſrepreſent that labour in a two-penny news-paper.— I find myſelf grow warm; but you muſt excuſe it: we ſeamen are above diſguiſe; I am thoroughly out of humour; and, till you have done juſtice to the character of our Admiral, and recanted the d—n'd cold-water innuendos you have thrown upon our glorious exploit, I would not adviſe you to viſit the TRIUMPH prize, as you may not altogether approve of being keel-haul'd.— *I am (as you acquit yourſelf) your friend or enemy,*

WILL. WINLASS.

CRAFTSMAN, *April* 19.

THE late Lord *Moleſworth* obſerves, "That there are no *ſeditions*, *mutinies*, or *libels* againſt the government in *Denmark*."— The reaſon is very plain; for there is no ſuch thing as *liberty* in *Denmark*; it having been long ago given up by the corruption and degeneracy of the *Nobility*, and the reſentment of the *Commons*.

This, I ſuppoſe, is the ultimate deſign of the *miniſterial writers* and their *patron*, who are perpetually crying out againſt *ſedition*, *faction*, and *libelling*; though moſt of them have been formerly notoriouſly guilty of theſe practices themſelves, when they were out of *power*, and *places*, or *penſions*, or *pay*; for I ſhall conſider them all in the ſame light; and therefore I have been long conſidering of a *project*, which I think is now almoſt brought to maturity, and I hope will anſwer their intentions. — I muſt confeſs I ſtole the whole plan of it from *Machiavel*'s PRINCE; which I ſhall apply to a MINISTER, and therefore deſign to purſue the ſame method. —

The MINISTER.

Chap. I. *Of the different ſorts of* MINISTERS.

As *Kings* are call'd *Gods* in holy writ,

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and every where acknowledged to be *God*'s vicegerents; so a *Minister* is certainly the vicegerent of a *King*, and superior to *all the rest of the people*. But of these there are several sorts.

The greatest *Minister* of all is the *Grand Vizier* in *Turkey*, who is actually a *Viceroy*, or a *Prince*, himself, tho' he often falls a sacrifice to the *people*.

The next are those, who are call'd *Prime Ministers* in all the arbitrary courts of *Europe*, such as *France*, *Spain*, and others.

In *free governments*, or *mix'd monarchies*, to which I shall confine myself in this discourse, the name of a *Prime Minister* was formerly unknown; for the *administration* always used to be divided into different branches, and every *minister* was answerable only for the business transacted in his own department: but since some *free countries* have lately admitted a *Prime Minister* to be established and prevail amongst them, as a wholesome restraint upon the *people*, I will give my best advice by what means it may be done.

Chap. II. *How a Minister may make himself absolute in a free government.*

He, who designs to make such an attempt, ought to consider that it is not in the power of the *Prince* to support him in it, till the spirits of the *people* are in a good measure subdued, and their purses drain'd. He must therefore endeavour to form a *party* strong enough to oppose them, by a proper distribution of *titles*, *honours*, *places*, *pensions*, and *other gratuities*.

Chap. III. *Of* Armies.

As *such a scheme* may probably meet with great opposition at first, however well design'd, it will be absolutely necessary to keep up a large body of *regular forces*, under the command, and at the disposal of the *Minister*, in order to quell *mutinous spirits*. This may be easily done, under various and plausible pretexts; such as the apprehension of *foreign invasions*, *domestick insurrections*, *popular discontents*, *secret plots*, or *publick expeditions*.

Chap. IV. *Of* Peace *and* War.

But as it is the interest of *such a Minister* to keep up a *numerous standing army*, for his own protection and support, it follows, of consequence, that he ought by all means to avoid a *war*, either by *sea* or *land*, lest it should prove successful, and turn the eyes of the people from *him*, to *those*, whose conduct and bravery should do their country any eminent service and honour.— No; *such a Minister*, when he hath securely guarded himself at home with a sufficient number of *creatures* and *dependents*, both *civil* and *military*, his next business is to amuse the *people*, and lull them asleep with *negotiations* abroad: which he may diversify by whatever names he pleases; such as *preliminaries*, *pacifications*, *plans of a pacification*, *conventions*, or even the most *solemn treaties of peace*, just as it suits his own private interest and the particular circumstances of the times: and if any malecontents should have the presumption to complain of his conduct, let him stop their mouths with that excellent maxim, *Pax bello potior*, amongst the ancient *Heathens*, or that divine beatitude, *Blessed are the peacemakers!*

Chap. V. *How* Libellers *ought to be used.*

But if all these precautions and regulations should be found insufficient to restrain *factious tongues*, and *seditious pens*, without openly employing a *military force*, (which ought to be avoided as much as possible) let the *Minister* take a band of *mercenary writers* into his pay, in order to combat his *adversaries*, at their own weapons; and if they should happen to be defeated, let him hire *another mercenary band* to worry them in form of *law*.— This is no hard matter, in any country, which abounds with *lawyers*, *penal laws*, *stanch witnesses*, and *chosen juries*; for I am speaking only of *free countries*, where *juries*, of some kind or other, are commonly allowed: but if *turbulent* and *seditious tradesmen* should prove unruly and disobedient, let the *court*, or the *court-officers*,

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cers, nominate *such persons* as they think most fit for their purpose; and I must humbly recommend it to them as a rule, though I have reason to believe this caution quite unnecessary, That they will never suffer any *private, independent man* to be concern'd in a prosecution, where the character, or interest, of a *publick Minister* is at stake.

Chap. VI. *Of* PLOTS, REBELLIONS, *and* ASSASSINATIONS.

As no stone must be left unturn'd to raise up and support *such a powerful Atlas of the state* as I have been recommending, I shall, in the next place, observe, that a *plot*, a *rebellion*, or an *assassination*, hath often proved of great use, whether *true* or *false*: for it is always in the power of a *wicked* and *arbitrary Minister* to foment a *real plot*, or *rebellion*, by oppressing the *people*; or to trump up a *sham one*, and prove it too, by *subornation*, and *hired witnesses*, provided he was never guilty of the same practices before; for it is an old observation, that few *Ministers* have skill enough to forge above *one plot*, or credit enough to cram it down the throats of the people.

Chap. VII. *Of* SENATES, *or* ASSEMBLIES OF THE PEOPLE.

In *free countries*, where the collective body of the people have a right to chuse representatives, no pains or costs ought to be spared to secure a majority of them in the *Minister's* interest and service, as I observed before, by *places*, *pensions*, and *bounties*; for it is much easier to govern a people, who fancy themselves *free*, by the name and outward appearance of a *senate*, than by an open exercise of *arbitrary power*. This is demonstrable from the *Roman* history; for *Tiberius*, and his infamous minister *Sejanus*, as well as the succeeding Emperors, kept up the form of a *senate*, and the names of their *ancient magistrates*, in order to sanctify their *own measures*, and preserve the appearance of their *old constitution*, which this *mock-senate*, and these *mock-magistrates* were continued only to destroy.

Chap. VIII. *How governments, which were formerly free, and afterwards enslaved, may be kept in subjection.*

Machiavel observes to his *Prince*, "That there are but three ways of governing a *conquer'd people*, who have been accustom'd to *liberty*, and liv'd under *their own laws*. The *first* is, *utterly to ruin them*. The *second* is, to *live personally among them*. The *third* is, contenting himself with a *pension from them*, to permit them to enjoy their *old privileges* and *laws*; erecting a kind of *council of state*, to consist of a *few*, which may have a care of his *interest*, and keep the *people* in amity and obedience; which *council* being set up by *him*, and knowing that it subsists by *his favour* and *authority*, will not omit any thing that may propagate and enlarge them." In another place, speaking of *mix'd principalities*, he says, "That men are either to be *flatter'd* and *indulg'd*, or *utterly destroy'd*; because, for *small offences*, they do usually *revenge themselves*; but, for *great ones*, they cannot: so that *injury* is to be done in such a manner, as not to fear *any revenge*." — This is true *Machiavellian policy*, and hath been pretty well imitated by some of our *northern statesmen*, to their great advantage: for as the *Popish inquisitors* say, *Turn or burn*; so a *Protestant inquisitor* ought to say, *Follow me, or starve, and be d—n'd.*

Chap. IX. *The dernier resort of an* ARBITRARY MINISTER *in a* FREE COUNTRY.

Though I am against all *sanguinary measures*, as long as *lenitives* will prevail; yet, in cases of necessity, a *Minister*, as well as a *King*, must have recourse to his *ratio ultima*, and plant his cannon against all opposers, without giving quarter to any.

DAILY GAZETTEER, *April* 21.

Sequel *to the* CRAFTSMAN *of the* 19*th*.

The ANTI-MINISTER.

Chap. I. *Different sorts of* ANTI-MINISTERS.

AS a GOOD MINISTER is a blessing to a people; to make the bene-

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benefits arising from a mild and wise administration the more sensibly felt, nothing is of such force as an association against it, of men as *opposite* to the views of those they oppose, as *inferior* in their true, known characters. Of these (all equally different from the true *patriot Minister*) there are various sorts.

The most glaring example our age has afforded, of the mischiefs brought upon a people by worthless men grasping at authority, is the entire destruction of the *Persian* empire, the extirpation of the whole family of the *Sophi's*, and the reduction of the *native Persians* to the *lowest* rank of all who enjoy *their* country. — This was effected by a *party* raised against an administration; the preservation of which (though but a weak one) would have prevented that dreadful instance of what may be done when a people are once brought to *despise* their *governors*.

As the most powerful Minister in *Europe* is the *Grand Vizier* at *Constantinople*, parties against him are the most frequent, are actuated with the most fury, oftenest succeed in their attempts, and, consequently, are most frequently overthrown by the intrigues of *new* parties. In all these changes the people are active to their own cost; for scarce one of these changes ever happened, but the people severely suffered, however their leaders escaped.

In countries where freedom is allowed, every member of the community, as the name of a Minister is not used, those who labour to distress the people, in hope of rendering odious all who are intrusted with the direction of publick affairs, are sure to appear in colours least liable to suspicion. To which end, by whatever motives such pretenders have been actuated, nothing has been found of such effect as pretending to be *friends* and *patriots* of the *people*.

Chap. II. *How* ANTI-MINISTERS *may gain credit with the people.*

As those who have estates of their own, or employments under a government, will not easily be drawn into measures destructive of their political constitution; it will be necessary to allure the less discerning among the families of distinction, by repeated and earnest promises of such advantages as they can never hope for without an *alteration* in the administration: and the more to make them confide in those promises, their *capacities* for the grand employments they keep in view, should be often echoed to the people; who may be brought to apprehend less danger from a change, when prevailed on to believe others, more capable, ready to succeed their present governors.

Chap. III. *Of* ARMIES.

As nothing is more dangerous to the designs of an *Anti-minister*, than a *military force* maintained to *defend* the liberties of a people against their foreign or domestick enemies; it is necessary to insist, with all possible plausibility, that instead of an army's being kept up to *protect* the people, it is maintained to *distress* them; that, though it be commanded by Gentlemen of the best families and fortunes in the nation, yet it is only intended for *bad* purposes; and that *foreign invasions, domestick insurrections, popular discontents, secret plots*, or *publick expeditions*, ought all to be left to the management of a militia of husbandmen and tradesmen, who, on any attempt from abroad, can never fail to defeat *regular forces!*

Chap. IV. *Of* WAR *and* PEACE.

As tranquillity cannot any way conduce to the completion of his wishes, the *Anti-minister* must cry aloud for war in time of peace; when *Bellona* appears, he must paint the horrors of a camp in the most horrid colours. And if he should be asked, wherefore, by a *brave* and *powerful* nation, war should be *avoided* when *necessary?* let him answer, Because — because — the administration might not gain honour by success; as it is — impossible for any one Gentleman to be in the *cabinet* and *camp* at the same time.

Chap. V. *How attempts to defeat an* ANTI-MINISTER *may be overthrown.*

If he be charged with plain falsehoods, let

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let him defend them, at all events, and rely on his votaries for *belief*. If any ſhould venture to *write* againſt him, he muſt have creatures of his own, free from byaſs of any kind, from *reaſon* or *morality*; tho' to *religion* ſome favour may be indulged, where it is of a kind that regards neither *virtue*, *truth* nor *humanity*. And if at any time the *Anti-miniſter*, or his creatures, fall beneath the ſcourge of juſtice, let all the *laws*, *witneſſes*, and *juries* of his country be condemned, ere he be blamed: for, as all courts of judicature in ſome meaſure may be ſaid to act *under* the government which preſerves them in the full exerciſe of their authority, it may be inſinuated, that when his tools are puniſhed, favour to the government prevailed more than equity; ſhould lenity be extended to ſuch as could not reaſonably expect it, leſt praiſe redound to any who act in concert with the adminiſtration, the Anti-miniſter muſt inſinuate, the indulgence they meet with ought to be attributed more to *fear* than *mercy*.

Chap. VI. *Of* PLOTS, REBELLIONS, *and* ASSASSINATIONS.

As nothing can be more dangerous to his deſigns, than *jealouſy* and *apprehenſion* in the people; every rumour of any *plot*, *rebellion*, or *aſſaſſination*, muſt be turned into a *jeſt*: To warn the people againſt any impending danger, muſt be called a *feint of ſtate*; and then, when danger is really near, it will be impoſſible to eſcape it.

Chap. VII. *Of* SENATES, *or* ASSEMBLIES OF THE PEOPLE.

No force can be ſo formidable to a man who would ſubvert the liberties of a country, as the importance and weight that is almoſt inſeparable from an aſſembled body of repreſentatives, choſen by the people themſelves. To leſſen the credit they naturally claim, *no ſtone muſt be left unturn'd*. As their *abilities* muſt be ſuppoſed ſuitable to their honourable truſt, or their electors be blamed for inveſting them with it, their *honour* muſt be diſputed; they muſt be repreſented as *venal* and ſwayed by *low* influence; as mindful only of their own intereſts, where thoſe of their principals alone ought to be conſidered: And if the ſervice they do the publick ſhould be urged, it muſt be remarked, that even *Tiberius* had a *ſenate*; from whence it may be naturally enough inferred, that as under the *mere appearance* of a ſenate, *Rome* was ſubverted, under *no ſenate whatever* the full liberties of a people can be preſerved!

Chap. VIII. *How Governments formerly* free, *were* enſlaved.

Machiavel obſerves, that "nothing has been more fatal to good governments, than *calumny*;" experience evinces, that few free ſtates have been ſubverted without the aid of ſecret calumny and abuſe againſt its moſt zealous friends. In another place, *Machiavel* ſays, "the people are often, by the proſpects of *imaginary good*, deceived into their own ruin:" And (tho' he makes *Camillus* an exception) he gives it for a general rule, "That more countries have ſuffered from the intrigues and reſentment of men who have formerly been baniſhed from their native land, than from ſuch as never juſtly incurred that puniſhment." Examples of this truth every age has afforded; but our own prevent any referring to times that are paſt, for its illuſtration.

Chap. IX. *The dernier reſort of* ANTI-MINISTERS *in a free country.*

Lies wholly in the weakneſs and credulity of the people: Where *they* prove jealous and diffident of their true friends, the *Anti-miniſter* is ſecure; but if in their conduct they are too wiſe to be deceived, too prudent to be impoſed upon, *he* is *defeated*, and *they* are *happy*.

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PROCEEDINGS of the *Political Club*, continued from p. 131.

The ſpeech made by C. Plinius Cæcilius, *in the debate begun in our laſt, was as follows*, viz.

My Lords,

AS moſt of the arguments that have been urged againſt our complying with this meſſage, have been chiefly directed againſt that part of it, by which his Majeſty hopes to be enabled and ſupported by his parliament, in making ſuch further augmentation of his forces, either by ſea or land, as may become abſolutely neceſſary, and in concerting ſuch meaſures as the exigency of affairs may require: I ſhall confine what I have to ſay upon the ſubject, to that part of the meſſage: for I cannot think the Noble Lord who propoſed reſuming the houſe, was ſerious when he made that propoſition. I cannot think, he really intended we ſhould defer a moment giving his Majeſty the utmoſt ſatisfaction, as to that part of the meſſage which relates to the treaty with Denmark. The Noble Lord himſelf gave one of the beſt reaſons that can be thought of, for an immediate compliance with that part of the meſſage. He told us, that in our preſent circumſtances, it was neceſſary for us to bring ſeveral other powers, beſides that of Denmark, into an alliance with us. Whether this be ſo or not, I ſhall not pretend to determine; but if it is, I am ſure, we ought not to delay one moment, our coming to a reſolution to approve of this treaty with Denmark, and to declare that we will enable his Majeſty to make good the engagements he has thereby entered into. What a damp would it throw upon his Majeſty's negotiations, for concluding treaties of alliance with the other powers of Europe, if they ſhould hear, that the parliament had delayed approving of the very firſt treaty of that kind, which his Majeſty has thought fit to make upon the preſent occaſion? This would of courſe put a ſtop to all his Majeſty's negotiations at foreign courts, and at ſome of them, it might be the occaſion of an abſolute diſappointment; becauſe it might, it probably would make ſome of them immediately reſolve to accept of the terms offered by our enemies, who are now endeavouring to outbid us at every court in Europe.

Therefore, my Lords, I hope we ſhall immediately agree to what the Noble Duke has been pleaſed to propoſe, with regard to the firſt part of this meſſage, whatever we may do as to that which regards the ſecond. But, even as to the ſecond, I cannot think there is the leaſt weight in any of the objections that have been made againſt our complying with it. Our conſtitution can be no way endangered by the parliament's giving the crown their authority, to do what it may do without any ſuch authority. By the very nature of our conſtitution, the crown has, during the receſs of parliament, a ſort of dictatorial power to take care *ne quid detrimenti reſpublica capiat*; and, in conſequence of this power, his Majeſty may augment his forces, both by ſea and land, if it ſhould become abſolutely neceſſary, and he may concert ſuch meaſures as any ſudden exigency may require, without a previous authority from parliament for that purpoſe. When it can be foreſeen, that ſuch a neceſſity may probably happen, or that ſuch an exigency may probably ariſe, the authority of parliament ought to be previouſly aſked; and, when that probability appears to be in any high degree, either from the circumſtances of affairs at the time, or from what his Majeſty then communicates, the parliament ought to grant the authority demanded. Such a meſſage from the crown, or the parliament's complying with that meſſage, is ſo far from being inconſiſtent with, that it is highly agreeable to our conſtitution; becauſe, the ſending of ſuch a meſſage, is a token of that regard which the crown ought always to have for the authority of parliament; and a compliance with it, is a teſtimony of that concern which the parliament ought always to have for the publick ſafety.

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I am not at all surprised, my Lords, that no such message was ever heard of before the revolution. Before that happy settlement of our constitution, most of our Kings shewed as little regard to our parliaments as they possibly could. They never asked either the advice or authority of parliament, but when it was absolutely necessary for them to do so. Nay, they were so fond of prerogative, and of acting by that alone, that they attempted too many things by virtue of prerogative, which ought not to have been done without the authority of parliament. But as K. William never made use of the prerogative of the crown, but in cases in which only it ought to have been made use of, that is, when the publick safety made it necessary, he applied by message for the authority of parliament as often as he had occasion: Q. Anne did the same: his late Majesty could not fail of following so good an example; and if such messages have been more frequent in this reign than in any former, it must have proceeded from the many changes that have lately happened in the affairs of Europe, and the extraordinary regard his present Majesty has for the privileges and authority of parliament. It could proceed from no sinister design; because no bad use has been made of the ready compliance his Majesty has met with from his parliament upon every such occasion. It cannot be so much as insinuated, that, in consequence of these compliances, his Majesty has put the nation to any unnecessary expence, or that the expences the nation has been put to, in consequence of the confidence reposed from time to time in his Majesty, have not been regularly and strictly accounted for; and therefore, during his present Majesty's reign at least, I should think, that our past experience ought to be sufficient for removing all future jealousy.

But suppose, my Lords, that our former Kings had all endeavoured as much to shew a regard for the authority of parliament, as some of them did endeavour to shew a contempt of it; yet, before the revolution, there was no occasion for any such message, because the custom of appropriating the publick grants to their respective services did not till then take place. Before that time, the publick grants were made without any appropriation; so that the King, or his servants by his authority, could apply the money to such services as they thought most pressing; and, if any sudden emergency happened, which required an extraordinary and immediate expence, the services that were not so pressing were put off, or left unsupplied, till the parliament should meet, in order to make a new provision for them; and the money designed for them was applied to those unforeseen exigencies which demanded an immediate supply: Whereas, since the custom prevailed, of appropriating all parliamentary grants to their respective services, no minister can, even by his Majesty's authority, apply to one service, however urgent, what has been appropriated by parliament to another; and therefore, when there is a probability, that some services may accidentally arise, during the recess of parliament, that could not be foreseen, or that could not be regularly provided for by parliament, it becomes necessary to furnish his Majesty with such a credit and confidence, as is demanded by the second part of the message now under our consideration.

As this credit and confidence, my Lords, can last no longer than till next session of parliament, and as every following session of parliament must necessarily begin within seven or eight months after the expiration of the preceeding, it is impossible to suppose, that any such vote of credit and confidence can ever be of dangerous consequence to our constitution; because, in so short a time, it will always be impossible to raise and discipline such a number of forces, or to levy such sums of money, as would be necessary for overturning the liberties of this nation; especially, if we consider, that, by virtue of such a vote of credit and confidence, his Majesty can impose no taxes, nor force any loans, nor can any man thereby be compelled to list in his Majesty's land-ser-

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vice. If the administration should attempt to levy forces, or borrow money, without any apparent necessity, the people would immediately become jealous of their having designs against the liberties of their country; and, in that case, no man would lend money to the government, or list in the government's service: even the officers of the army themselves, would be apt to declare against such new levies, and if they did not refuse to obey, they would certainly be very negligent in fulfilling the orders issued for that purpose; which would of course render the designs of the administration abortive, and next session of parliament would certainly punish them for the attempt.

Thus it must appear, my Lords, that our constitution can be brought into no danger, by our complying with what is proposed; and as to our having a power to comply with every thing demanded by this message, I wonder to hear it made the least doubt of. We have not, my Lords, by the Mutiny-bill, confined or limited the number of troops to be kept up for the ensuing year. We had no occasion to do so; because, the keeping up of any number of troops within this kingdom in time of peace, without consent of parliament, is, by the nature of our constitution, illegal, and is expressly declared to be so, not only by the claim of right, but by the preamble to that very bill itself. For this reason, a certain number of troops is mentioned in the preamble to that bill, in order that we may give our consent to the keeping up of that number. But none of the enacting clauses relate to that number, or any other number. They relate to all the troops that shall be kept up; and if, by any future vote, we give our consent to the keeping up of a greater number than is mentioned in the preamble of that bill, the enacting clauses relate to, and comprehend the additional number, as well as the number mentioned in the preamble. Therefore, the resolution we may come to upon this occasion, can no way be understood as a repeal, or as an alteration of the Mutiny-bill: it can be considered only as a signification of the consent of parliament, to the keeping up of a greater number of troops than were thought necessary when the Mutiny-bill was passed; and surely the consent of parliament may be signified by a vote or resolution, in pursuance of a message from his Majesty, as well as by the preamble to a bill.

We do not, my Lords, by the resolution now proposed, subject any man in the kingdom to martial law, nor do we divest any man in the kingdom of the privileges he enjoys, or ought to enjoy, as a subject of G. Britain. It is already done to our hands, by the Mutiny-bill, which is now passed into a law. By that bill, every man that shall voluntarily list himself in his Majesty's land-service, without any restriction as to the number of men so to be listed, is made liable to martial law; and, by the resolution now proposed, we only give our consent to his Majesty's taking a greater number into that service, than we consented to by the preamble of that bill. There is nothing therefore in what is now proposed, that can furnish the least pretence for laying it down as a maxim, That the *Habeas corpus* act, or any other act, can be suspended by a vote of both, or either house of parliament.

From what I have said, my Lords, I hope it will appear, that there is no weight in any of the objections made to our complying with this message. But, in my opinion, our refusing, or even delaying to comply, may, in the present ticklish conjuncture of affairs, be attended with the most fatal consequences. Spain has already long depended upon gaining some advantage from our intestine divisions. It is to this only, we can with justice impute the obstinacy they have shewn in refusing to do us justice. They have, at last, promised to make us some satisfaction for past injuries; and the term allowed them for performing that promise, is now near expired; but, if the 95,000 l. which they are to pay to us on that account, were now in London, and ready to be paid, I do not know but our delaying to give

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give his Majesty the satisfaction of complying with his most gracious message, would prevent that sum's being paid within the term limited. The agents for Spain would immediately begin to expect a breach between his Majesty and his parliament; which would of course encourage them to delay making that stipulated payment, till they had new instructions from Spain: and thus, by delaying to agree with his Majesty's message, we should render a war unavoidable, at the same time that we rendered it impossible for his Majesty to provide for it, either by alliances abroad, or armaments at home. For these reasons, I shall most heartily join with the Noble Duke in the motion he has made, and I hope we shall have the concurrence of a majority of this house.

The next speech I shall give you was made by L. Æmilius Paullus, *the purport of which was as follows*, viz.

My Lords,

IT is no new thing to see the demands and the projects of ministers ushered into this house under the name of our Sovereign: when any extraordinary demand is to be made, or when any dangerous powers are to be asked for by our ministers, it has always been their custom, to screen themselves under the sacred name of Majesty; and when such demands are opposed by those who have a true regard for their Sovereign, but no very great regard, perhaps, for his ministers, the advocates for those demands are sure to follow the example that has been set them, by introducing his Majesty's name into every part of the debate. Our ministers ask a power to put the nation to what expence they please, and as an argument for our complying with this demand, we are told, his Majesty never put the nation to any unnecessary expence: our ministers ask such powers as will, of course, if they are frequently granted, render parliaments of no use to the people, whatever they may be to an administration; and to induce us to render ourselves useless, we are told, that this modest demand proceeds from the great regard his Majesty has for the authority of parliament.

This, my Lords, is a way of arguing, that must lay your Lordships under great difficulties, and is, I am sure, no sign of any true regard for the King, whose name ought never to be introduced into any debate; therefore I wish that all such messages were sent hither in the name of those that advise them, whom I shall always look on as the persons that really send them. It is upon me particularly a great hardship, to see any thing sent hither in his Majesty's name which I do not approve of; for as the King is not only my Sovereign, but my master, it is with the utmost reluctance I can say any thing against a proposition that appears in his name. But, my Lords, I know his Majesty so well, I am so well assured of the regard he has for our constitution, that I cannot look upon this anticonstitutional message as coming from him. I must consider it as a message from some of his ministers, and I shall treat it accordingly.

It is a message, my Lords, of a most dangerous nature; for if such messages should be frequently sent, and frequently complied with, it will end in a total overthrow of our constitution. The business of parliament is to prevent its being possible to run the nation into any needless expence; for after a needless expence is incurred, we may punish the advisers, but there is no recalling the expence. The guilty head of a wicked or weak minister is but a poor atonement to the nation; and his fortune, however immense, may prove but a very insufficient recompence for the damage the nation may suffer, and the charge it may be put to, by one ridiculous or imprudent measure. For this reason the parliament ought to examine and judge of the services, before they think of granting funds for supplying those services; and it is for this reason that particular estimates of the respective services necessary for the ensuing year, are always laid before parliament. From those estimates we can judge, not only of the services intended, but also of the sums necessary for supplying those ser-

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vices: and if we disapprove of the services, we may, and ought to refuse granting any funds for their supply; or if we think the sums demanded too large, we may, and ought to grant no more than what shall appear to be absolutely necessary for the supply of those services we approve of. But by granting such a vote of credit and confidence as is demanded by this message, we can neither judge of the measures intended, nor of the sums necessary for the execution of those measures; whereby we render ourselves quite useless, as to that of being able to prevent the nation's being put to any unnecessary expence: therefore, if such a vote as this now demanded, should once come to be an usual methodical conclusion to each session of parliament, I shall then begin to think parliaments of no use to, I shall think them a most unnecessary burden upon the people.

We are told, my Lords, that an account shall be laid before next session of parliament, of all the extraordinary expences the nation may be put to, by virtue of the credit and confidence now demanded. What signifies this to the nation? will this make good the expence that may be unnecessarily incurred? will this atone for the damage the nation may sustain by a rash or ridiculous project? Such an after-account can, in my opinion, never be of the least signification. I shall never think, that a parliament that will grant such a credit and confidence, will ever find fault with any expence the nation may be put to in pursuance of that credit and confidence, or that they will find fault with any article in the account. In such a parliament, I shall always expect to see panegyrical votes of approbation passed in every following session, with regard to those measures that were undertaken, and those expences that were incurred, in pursuance of a vote of unlimited credit and confidence passed in the preceding. And if a new parliament should intervene, there is nothing can be of more service to a minister, for enabling him to get a house of Commons to his mind, than his being appointed the sole and whole executor of the expiring parliament. Therefore, if a check be not put to the sending of such messages as this now under our consideration, I shall soon expect to see every session of parliament open with a general approbation of all the minister has done in time past, and conclude with a general power to do whatever he pleases in time to come.

My Lords, let us but examine the arguments made use of upon this occasion, and we shall find, that most of them may, with equal weight, be made use of at the end of every session. We are told, that during the recess of parliament, his Majesty has a sort of dictatorial power, which would enable him to do all that is desired by this message; and that therefore our constitution can never be in any danger, by our giving him an authority to do what he might do without any such previous authority. Is not this, my Lords, an argument that may be made use of with equal weight at the end of every session? can we suppose a time when it may be positively affirmed, that no sudden emergency can arise during the recess? We can now, or at least we may in a few days, as certainly foresee what will happen during the recess, as we can ever do at the end of any session of parliament. Therefore, the timing of this message deserves our particular notice. It seems calculated for establishing it as a custom, that at the end of every session, our parliament ought to invest our ministers with an absolute power, and an unlimited credit. I shall grant, that in case of a very sudden and very imminent danger, the crown has a sort of dictatorial power; but I will say, that in such a case, the parliament ought to be assembled as soon as possible. I will say, that no good man, no wise minister would advise the crown to make use of that power for one week longer than necessity required; so that the exercise of it can never, by our constitution, last for above five or six weeks; whereas, by granting such a parliamentary authority as is now demanded, we give our ministers an authority, or at least a pretence, for exer-

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exercising that dictatorial power for seven or eight months. In the former case, the exercise of it can never be of any dangerous consequence, because our people would not submit to it, if exercised without an apparent necessity, or without summoning the parliament to assemble as soon as possible; and in so short a time no dangerous use can be made of it. But when the exercise of this power is founded upon a previous authority from parliament, the people will submit to it without enquiry; and, in so long a time, such an use may be made of it, as may render it perpetual; for our ministers, in such a case, would never allow the parliament to assemble, unless they were sure of having such a parliament as would begin the session by approving of the use they had made of their power, and conclude the session with giving them a renewal of their term.

If we are to have peace, if there is the least probability that Spain will comply, even with that nominal satisfaction we have submitted to accept of, there can be no reason for our complying with this message, there could be no reason for sending it, beside that I have mentioned. But, my Lords, I am far from thinking that we shall have peace. I believe we must at last go to war. The Spaniards will do nothing, as long as they have such a contemptible opinion of us. We must beat them into a better, I hope a righter opinion of us, before we can expect they will give us either satisfaction or security. If this be the case, why do not our ministers tell us so? The King, I know, is for laying every thing before us. The ministers ought: it is their interest to do so. It is the interest, at least of the majority of them, to lay every thing fairly and openly before parliament. We could then provide for war in a regular parliamentary method. But this, we are told, would be divulging the secrets of the government: it would be declaring war against Spain, before we have provided for carrying it on. What! are we then to steal a war upon the Spaniards? are we to steal a satisfaction from that contemptible, tho' insolent nation?

My Lords, we have no occasion to do so; and I am sure we ought not to make an incroachment upon our constitution for such a needless, such an insignificant purpose. If the war be prosecuted in a proper and vigorous manner, we now have, or may have, before they can prepare for their defence, a sufficient force both at land and sea; a force that may fully enable us, not only to defend ourselves, but to revenge, in the most ample manner, the insults they have put upon the nation, and the depredations they have committed upon our merchants. This, I say, we have a power to do; but God knows what may be done, if our warlike measures be conducted with the same sort of spirit, that our peaceable measures have been for so many years past. I have, my Lords, lived a long while in the world: I have lived so long as to wonder at nothing.——I beg pardon, there is still one thing I should wonder at: I should wonder, if those who have brought us into such a deplorable and contemptible state, should ever be able to bring us out of it, or to recover either our character or their own.

For God's sake, my Lords, what are we afraid of? Are we afraid of Spain? That cannot be. Are we afraid lest Spain should be supported by France? What then? must we do nothing but what France gives us leave to do? must we make a sacrifice of our trade, our navigation, our honour, because France commands it, and threatens us with correction if we do not obey. My Lords, we had better submit to become a province to France, because they would then think themselves obliged to defend us. But this I shall never submit to, I shall chuse to die with my sword in my hand, rather than meanly live to see my country made a French province; and if this should ever come to be the question, I hope I should still find in this kingdom many companions; I am sure every *true Briton* would share the same fate with me. With such men, to live or not to live, can never

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never be the queſtion of moſt importance. To live freely, or die bravely, has been the reſolution of our anceſtors in all ages paſt; I hope it is the reſolution of the preſent generation, I hope it will be the reſolution of our poſterity in all ages to come.

With regard to Spain, my Lords, if they do not give us immediate ſatisfaction, we are under an abſolute neceſſity of declaring war, let who will take their part. The principal affair in diſpute between them and us, is of ſuch a nature, that even France will not, I believe, take their part; and I believe it, becauſe it is neither her intereſt to do ſo, nor is ſhe prepared for it. It is not the intereſt of France to eſtabliſh thoſe claims which the Spaniards have lately ſet up againſt us; becauſe they may one day be made uſe of againſt France as well as againſt us. And ſuppoſe the French ſhould miſtake their intereſt, which they ſeldom do, what can they do againſt us? they can make uſe of nothing but a naval force againſt us, which they are at preſent unprovided with; and in caſe of an open war, we may take care they never ſhall. The French court may encourage the claims of Spain, whilſt they are made to operate only againſt this nation; becauſe every thing that is a diſcouragement to our trade, is an encouragement to that of France. They may even bully and hector, in order to make us ſubmit as patiently to the claims of Spain for *twenty* years to come, as we have done for *twenty* years paſt; becauſe, by ſuch a ſubmiſſion, the trade of this kingdom would be very much leſſened, and their trade as much advanced: but if we once begin to reaſſume our ancient character, if we once reſolve to vindicate the rights of our country, notwithſtanding the unfortunate ſituation the affairs of Europe are by ſome late meaſures reduced to, yet, I believe, France will be extremely cautious of engaging in a war, for ſupporting Spain in claims which all the world muſt ſee to be unjuſt. Againſt this nation their numerous land-armies ſignify nothing, without a ſuperior naval force; and that, they know, they neither have, nor could provide themſelves with in time of war. The certain conſequence of a war with this nation, would be a full ſtop to their trade; and if well conducted on our part, it might be attended with the ruin of moſt of their ſettlements in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies: which is a riſk we can hardly ſuppoſe the French will run, for the ſake of ſupporting Spain, in claims that may hereafter be made to operate againſt themſelves. Beſides this danger, whatever our own miniſters may think, the French miniſters know, that this nation has many natural and powerful allies upon the continent; and they likewiſe know, that vigorous reſolutions, vigorouſly and wiſely executed, would reconcile to us thoſe allies whom our late conduct has eſtranged from us. From all which, my Lords, I muſt be of opinion, that the danger of France's engaging in the war, is not near ſo hideous as the daſtardly imaginations of ſome people may repreſent. I am perſuaded, they will not venture to engage, unleſs they foreſee, that the ſame ſpirit which has rendered our peaceable meaſures ineffectual, may probably have ſuch an influence, as to render moſt of our warlike meaſures abortive.

But, my Lords, if we do go to war, I hope the natural ſpirit of this nation will revive, I hope it will begin to exert itſelf; and if it does, I am ſure it will get the better of every thing that can, of every man that dare oppoſe it. I muſt therefore think we have nothing to apprehend, for this year at leaſt, from France; and againſt Spain alone, we have no occaſion to make a ſecret of our deſigns. We have now a fleet at ſea, ſuperior to any they can fit out againſt us: We have a number of troops to put on board, ſufficient for attacking them in that part, where alone we ought to attack them. What then ſhould hinder us from declaring war, the moment we find they deſpiſe us ſo much as to diſregard every engagement they make with us? Why ſhould we make an incroachment upon our conſtitution for the ſake of concealing that reſentment, which, the ſooner it is manifeſted,

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miſeſted, the more it will tend to our honour? In leſs than a fortnight the chance of peace or war will be determined. If the court of Spain does not, in that time, comply with what they have ſo ſolemnly promiſed, it will be proper for his Majeſty to come to his parliament, and declare from the throne, that we muſt provide for war. The ſending of ſuch a meſſage as this, at ſuch a time, ſeems therefore to have been calculated by our miniſters, for nothing elſe but to render the ſending of ſuch meſſages familiar to the people, and the complying with them habitual to the parliament.

Our not complying with the laſt part of this meſſage, can be attended with no bad conſequence. We may comply with, and approve of the firſt, without taking notice of the laſt. We ought to comply with the firſt, becauſe it is reaſonable, and becauſe we may do ſo without any breach of our conſtitution. It is a certain limited demand, and ſuch a demand as ought to be provided for by parliament. Therefore I ſhall readily agree to the addreſs of thanks propoſed, ſo far as it relates to the firſt part of this meſſage; but that addreſs ought, I think, to be accompanied with another of a very different nature. However, as this is not the queſtion now before us, I ſhall wave ſaying any thing upon it, till I ſee the fate of the preſent queſtion.

The laſt ſpeech I ſhall give you upon this ſubject was made by L. Piſo, *who ſpoke to this effect.*

My Lords,

AS the firſt part of this meſſage bears no reſemblance nor relation to the laſt, and as moſt Lords who have ſpoke upon the preſent queſtion ſeem to approve of it, ſo far as it relates to the firſt part of the meſſage now before us, I ſhall give your Lordſhips no trouble upon that head. But as to what is demanded by the laſt part of this meſſage, your Lordſhips may call it a vote of credit, or a vote of confidence, or both, if you will: Let the demand be what it will, our complying with it will, in my opinion, be placing a much greater confidence in, and giving a larger credit to our preſent miniſters, than any miniſters ought, by our conſtitution, to be truſted with. I ſhall never be for giving to any miniſters an unlimited power to raiſe what number of troops, and what ſums of money, they may think neceſſary; and upon this occaſion I am the more againſt it, becauſe of its being aſked at ſuch a critical conjuncture. We may, perhaps, be under ſome uncertainty at preſent: There may, perhaps, be at preſent a probability, that we ſhall ſoon be obliged to declare war againſt Spain; but in a few days that uncertainty will be at an end, and that which ſome are now pleaſed to call a probability only, will, in my opinion, within a fortnight, become a certainty: For if the 95,000 l. be paid on the 24th of this month, we may look upon it as an earneſt of peace; we may from thence conclude, that the Spaniards are at laſt reſolved to do us juſtice; in which caſe we can have no occaſion for raiſing more troops, or larger ſums of money, than have been already agreed to by parliament, in a regular parliamentary method. On the other hand, if this ſum of money be not paid upon the day appointed, I hope we ſhall at laſt have done with negotiation: I hope no man will imagine, we are to purchaſe another ineffectual and colluſive convention, at a new expence of 4 or 500,000 l. This ſeſſion is, 'tis true, drawing towards a concluſion; but there is no neceſſity for putting an end to it before the 24th of this month; and if the parliament be then ſitting, and the money not paid by Spain, what ſhould hinder us from providing for war, in that method which is moſt agreeable to our conſtitution.

This meſſage therefore, my Lords, ſeems to me, to be deſign'd for nothing but that of eſtabliſhing the cuſtom of concluding each ſeſſion of parliament with a vote of credit and confidence, without the leaſt neceſſity or occaſion; and this I cannot agree to, becauſe I think it will be of the moſt dangerous conſequence to our conſtitution. During

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ring the receſs of parliament, the crown may have, by our conſtitution, a ſort of dictatorial power; but that power will become much more dangerous when founded upon the previous authority of parliament. Our people have a ſort of implicit faith in their parliaments, and will always be leſs jealous of the exerciſe of any extraordinary power, when it is founded upon the authority of parliament, than when it is founded upon an emergent neceſſity only. The dictatorial power was upon many occaſions of great ſervice to the Romans, and whilſt it was kept within its ancient bounds, it was never attended with any inconvenience or danger. It was originally limited to the term of *ſix months* at fartheſt, and was generally reſigned before that term expired; but the ſecond man to whom it was granted for a longer term, put an end to the liberties of that republick.

This ſhews, my Lords, how dangerous it is, in a free ſtate, to depart in the leaſt from any of thoſe regulations, that were eſtabliſhed by our anceſtors, for limiting the power of our miniſters, which is always what is really meant, when we talk of the power or prerogative of the crown. Under thoſe regulations we have lived happy, we have lived free, for many ages; but no one can tell what conſequences the leaſt departure may be attended with. It is allowed, that no vote of credit was ever granted before the revolution, therefore every ſuch vote muſt be a departure from our ancient conſtitution, and conſequently muſt be dangerous; and every one will allow, that we ought not in prudence to expoſe ourſelves to any danger, without an apparent neceſſity. If the crown has, during the receſs of parliament, a ſort of dictatorial power, may it not be now as freely exerciſed, as it was before the revolution? May it not in time to come be as ſufficient for protecting us againſt ſudden and unforeſeen dangers, as it has been for ſo many ages paſt? We are told, that the method of appropriation, introduced ſince the revolution, makes this impoſſible. My Lords, let us but conſider the ſtate our publick revenues were in before the revolution, and we ſhall find there is nothing in this argument. Before the reſtoration the crown had no eſtabliſh'd revenue, but what was ſcarcely ſufficient for ſupporting what we now call the *civil liſt*; and they had ſeldom any credit to borrow money from private hands, even upon the moſt preſſing emergency. After the reſtoration, indeed, we became a little more generous: A large publick revenue was ſettled upon the crown; but that revenue was appropriated as much as it is now, tho' not in ſo expreſs terms. A part of it was allotted for ſupporting the civil liſt, another part for paying the few guards and garriſons, that were then kept up, and a third part for ſupporting the navy. If any of theſe ſervices had been neglected, and the money converted by our miniſters to other uſes, I believe the parliament would have then been more ready to have enquired into, and puniſhed ſuch miſapplication, than they have ever appear'd to be ſince that time; and the crown had, after the reſtoration, as well as before, but very little credit for borrowing money from private hands. During the receſs of parliament, the crown had no reſource againſt ſudden emergencies, but that of making uſe of the little credit it had for borrowing money from private hands, or that of leaving the penſions and ſalaries of courtiers unpaid, and converting that money to the ſervice of the nation. This made it always neceſſary for the crown to call a parliament as ſoon as poſſible, and the parliament replaced what had been laid out for the publick ſervice, if they approved of it, or they put a ſtop to the expence, if they diſapproved of the ſervice.

Now, my Lords, let us conſider our publick revenue, as it ſtands at preſent, by which I mean the whole money raiſed yearly upon the people by the annual or perpetual grants of parliament. It is now above three times as much as it ever was before the revolution, and every ſhilling of it paſſes now through the fingers of our miniſters, as well as it

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it did then. One part of it is allotted for the ſupport of the civil liſt, another part of it for paying our armies and garriſons abroad and at home, a third part of it for paying our ſeamen, and ſupporting our navy, a fourth for paying the intereſt growing due yearly to our publick creditors, and a fifth for paying off yearly ſo much of the principal, when we can keep our miniſters from laying hold of it for warlike preparations in peaceable times. Theſe, my Lords, are the uſes it is deſigned for, and to theſe it is appropriated; but in caſe of a ſudden emergency, during the receſs of parliament, what ſhould hinder our miniſters from leaving the penſions and ſalaries of courtiers unpaid for a few months, and applying that money to the ſervice of the nation? I believe the parliament would be as ready to ſupply the deficiency thereby occaſioned in the civil liſt, as ever they were to ſupply any pretended deficiency in that revenue: I am ſure they would have more reaſon; and no man in the kingdom could find fault with our miniſters, for adviſing the crown to apply to the ſafety of the nation, in a caſe of neceſſity, that which was particularly appropriated to the ſupport of the crown. But if this ſhould not be ſufficient, what ſhould hinder our miniſters from contracting a ſmall debt for the immediate ſafety of the nation? For that they may and do contract debts without any previous authority from parliament, the great navy-debt lately paid off, the great navy-debt ſtill remaining due, and the many grants that have been made for making good deficiencies in the civil liſt, are ſufficient teſtimonies. Therefore, as the penſions and ſalaries paid out of the civil liſt now amount to a much larger ſum, than they ever amounted to before the revolution; and as the crown has now much more credit both for contracting and running in debt, than it ever had before that time, I muſt conclude, that a vote of credit is now leſs neceſſary than it ever was, or could be, at any time before the revolution.

Thus, my Lords, it muſt appear, that ſuch a vote of credit and confidence, as is now deſired, is not only dangerous, but unneceſſary; and no experience, no precedent can warrant our running ourſelves into an unneceſſary danger. We are not in this houſe, nor any where elſe, to ſay, that his Majeſty has ever put the nation to an unneceſſary expence: It is, in my opinion, a failure in the reſpect due to our Sovereign, to bring his name into any ſuch queſtion. But we may make a little more free with his miniſters; and that they have, upon ſome occaſions, put the nation to an unneceſſary expence, has been ſaid in this houſe, and is now ſaid in every corner of the kingdom: nor will it be ſaid, I believe, by many perſons in the kingdom, that they have regularly and ſtrictly accounted for every ſhilling of the *many millions* that have paſſed thro' their hands, for theſe *twenty* years bypaſt. Therefore, if we judge from experience, we can have no great reaſon for giving them a power to run the nation as much in debt as they pleaſe. Such a power muſt always be of the moſt dangerous nature: becauſe the more they run the nation in debt, the more they may depend upon having that power renewed, the more ſecure will they be againſt being called to a ſtrict account. Like the Spaniſh Governor, who, for his many oppreſſions and extortions, was recalled from his command in America, their ſecurity againſt puniſhment will depend upon their having been guilty of every crime that is laid to their charge.

But ſuppoſe, my Lords, there were no danger in our complying with every part of this meſſage, and ſuppoſe there were a greater neceſſity for it than there ſeems to be at preſent; yet, when I conſider to whom we are to give the extraordinary powers aſked for, I cannot agree to it. I ſhall never agree to the nation's giving an unlimited credit to miniſters, who, with me, never had any credit; nor can I give my conſent to the nation's putting ſo much confidence in a miniſtry, in which I never could put any confidence. My Lords, we have granted them ſuch powers as

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this before now: We have never refuſed them any thing; and yet they have never ſo much as once deviated into what, I think, may be called right. But on the contrary, they have, in my opinion, proſtituted the honour, ſunk the reputation, ſquandered the wealth, and almoſt ruined the trade of this nation. To me, my Lords, they ſeem to have been playing, for almoſt theſe *twenty* years, at a ſort of game of hazard for peace or war; and at laſt, by a lucky nick, out ſtarted a thing they call a *convention*, which is neither one nor t'other; but is to be made either the one or the other, they cannot yet tell which, if we will but grant them ſome extraordinary and unuſual powers, for enabling them to continue their game. What their future ſucceſs may be, I ſhall not now pretend to divine; but, I am ſure, I ſhall never be for giving unlimited credit to ſuch aukward gameſters.

As for that of impowering his Majeſty to augment his forces: In caſe of a war, my Lords, he has no occaſion for ſuch a power; he may augment his forces both by ſea and land, without any ſuch power: and if there is to be no war, I am ſure, he ought not to augment them, and much leſs ought we to give our conſent. Nay, I do not think we can give our conſent in the method propoſed. The conſent of parliament ought always to be underſtood to be by a law regularly paſſed, and agreed to by the three ſeveral branches of our legiſlature. It is upon this the ſecurity of our conſtitution depends, becauſe it prevents ſurprize. Both houſes of parliament may be ſurpriſed into a vote of the moſt dangerous nature, by our miniſters taking advantage of an opportunity when there are few members in town, but ſuch as they order to attend. Precedents, my Lords, are of an improving nature: If it ſhould once be received as a maxim, That the parliament may, by a vote, conſent to an augmentation of our army in time of peace, that maxim may at laſt be extended to the altering, repealing, or making any law the crown may, by a meſſage, pleaſe to deſire; therefore, I cannot agree to what a Noble Lord has been pleaſed to ſay in this debate, That the conſent of parliament may be ſignified by a vote or reſolution, in purſuance of a meſſage from his Majeſty, as well as by the preamble of a bill. I am far from contending with that Noble Lord in law learning or diſtinctions, but notwithſtanding what he has ſaid, I muſt look upon the preſent motion, if it be agreed to, as a repeal of the mutiny-bill. I muſt ſuppoſe, that by the word *whole*, in the preamble of that bill, we did not mean *a half*, or any number of *parts*: I muſt ſuppoſe, we thereby meant to limit the number of troops to 17,704 men; and as every clauſe in a bill muſt relate to the preamble, therefore, when there is a general limitation in the preamble of a bill, that limitation, without being repeated, muſt run through the whole, and muſt be ſuppoſed to be a limitation upon every clauſe; for which reaſon, I muſt be of opinion, that no clauſe in the mutiny-bill we have already paſſed, can relate to, or comprehend any number of troops above that which is mentioned in the preamble. Nay, I do not know, but that the raiſing and keeping up a greater number of men, may render the whole bill ineffectual, by making it impoſſible to determine who are within, or who are without the enacting clauſes of that bill.

In my opinion, my Lords, it is a moſt dangerous doctrine, to pretend, that when a law is paſſed for keeping a certain limited number of troops in order, it muſt relate to, and comprehend all the troops which our miniſters may think fit to raiſe and keep up during the continuance of that law; becauſe, in ſuch a caſe, it may be made to ſerve for obliging our army to ſubdue, inſtead of defending their country: and if it does not comprehend all the troops which our miniſters may think fit to raiſe and keep up, we muſt allow, that it cannot be made to do ſo by a vote of either, or both houſes of parliament, unleſs we allow, that an act of parliament can be altered or amended by a vote;

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vote; and if it can be altered or amended, we must allow, that it may be repealed by the same method.' Thus, by agreeing to this message, we must establish a most dangerous, and, I think, a false doctrine, of the one side or the other.

It signifies nothing, my Lords, to say, that by our complying with this message, no man is to be compelled to enter into his Majesty's land-service. We know how ready young Gentlemen are to accept of commissions in the army, and a great number of new officers will always get a great number of men to list voluntarily into the service. When commissions are granted, and orders for new levies issued, we are not to suppose, that the officers, when they accept their commissions, will be told, that they are to be employed in subduing the liberties of their country; nor are we to suppose, that the men, when they are prevailed on to list, will be told, that they are to fight against their country. Our warlike preparations will always, in such a case, be said to be intended against some neighbouring nation that has insulted and injured us, though our ministers be secretly resolved to submit to every indignity that can be put upon the nation by neighbouring powers, rather than be interrupted, by a foreign war, in the hostilities they are carrying on against the constitution and liberties of their country. By such a pretence, my Lords, many Gentlemen may be induced to accept of commissions, many private men may be induced to list as soldiers, with the honest and brave view of serving their country against its foreign enemies; but after they have once entered into the service, they may, by our mutiny-bill, thus interpreted, be compelled to serve against their country, by assisting its domestick and most dangerous enemies: for they cannot then leave the service, when they have a mind, nor can they safely refuse to obey any order they receive from their commanding officer; because the court-martial is to determine, whether the order be lawful or not; and a court-martial, chosen by a minister, will probably determine every command to be lawful, that proceeds from his authority, secret or revealed.

Having now shewn, my Lords, that it is dangerous, unnecessary, and inconsistent with the bill already passed into a law, to comply with this message, I need not, I think, expatiate upon the consequences of our not complying with the latter part of it; for let those consequences be as dangerous as they will, I hope I have made it appear, that it ought not to be complied with. But the consequences of our not complying with it, are so far from being dangerous, that, I think, it will be attended with great advantages. Spain, I am convinced, has no hopes from a war, if on our side it be wisely and vigorously prosecuted. Their only hopes, I believe, are founded upon the continuance of our present administration. They have by experience found, that our present ministers may be amused, and they hope to amuse them with negotiations for some years longer; or if they cannot amuse them with peaceable negotiations, they hope, that our warlike measures will be carried on in the same languid and ill-judged manner, our peaceful measures have been; in which case they may, like the terrier with the fox, by mere teazing, at last force us to accept of unequal and dishonourable terms. We can no way put an end to these hopes so effectually, as by shewing, that our parliament is not under the absolute direction of our administration. If the Spaniards see, as they must see by our refusing to comply with this message, that the parliament has seriously taken the state of the nation into consideration, and that we have resolved to be what we really are, his Majesty's chief and supreme council, their flattering hopes will all evanish, and then they will of course comply with our just demands. The 95,000 l. will be paid upon the day appointed, and all other disputes will soon be settled to the honour and advantage of this nation; so that if the 95,000 l. should not be paid, or if a war should ensue, I shall impute it to our complying with the message now before us.

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I am ſurpriſed, my Lords, to hear it ſaid, that our refuſing to comply with this meſſage, would give the court of Spain, or any other court in Europe, cauſe to imagine that there would be a breach between his Majeſty and his parliament. Can we ſuppoſe that court, or any court, ſo ignorant of our conſtitution, as not to diſtinguiſh between his Majeſty and his miniſters? Can we ſuppoſe them ſo ignorant of his Majeſty's regard for our conſtitution, as to imagine, that he would eſpouſe the cauſe of his miniſters againſt his parliament? God forbid that any of his illuſtrious family ever ſhould; I am ſure he never will: therefore all the court of Spain could expect from ſuch a parliamentary contumacy as I am now pleading for, is, that it would produce a change of miniſters; and from ſuch a change, I am convinced, they can expect no advantage. If they ſaw but the leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect it, I am perſuaded, they would be glad to comply, not only with what they have promiſed, but with every thing we could in juſtice demand. If an honourable peace, therefore, be a deſirable thing, as it ſurely is, I muſt think our refuſing to comply with this meſſage, the moſt ready way to obtain it; and for this reaſon, among many others, I ſhall give my negative to the queſtion.

I Shall now give you the ſubſtance of two ſpeeches that were made in our club, upon occaſion of an act paſſed laſt ſeſſion of parliament, intitled, *An act for granting a liberty to carry ſugars of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any of his Majeſty's colonies in America, from the ſaid colonies, directly to foreign parts, in ſhips built in G. Britain, and navigated according to law.* As this act made a conſiderable alteration in our ſugar trade, it occaſioned a diſpute in our club, between two Gentlemen who are both thoroughly acquainted with the nature of trade in general, as well as with every particular branch of the Britiſh trade, and who, for the moſt part, are of the ſame opinion, though they happened to differ upon this occaſion.

The firſt ſpeech was made againſt the bill by L. Æmilius Mamercinus, *and was to this effect, viz.*

Mr Preſident,

I Am againſt the bill now under our conſideration, becauſe, I think, it will be a prejudice to this kingdom in general, by turning our trade into a new channel, and ſuch a channel as will, in my opinion, make it run chiefly into the hands of foreigners. We have, by long experience, found the great benefit of the ſeveral laws which, by this bill, are to be in part repealed; and that benefit we ſhould not, I think, in any part give up, without a very evident neceſſity for ſo doing. The great number of ſhips and ſeamen that at preſent belong to this iſland, and are daily reſorting to, or departing from ſome of our own ports, is in a great meaſure owing to the acts of the 12th & 15th of K. Charles II. which by this bill are to be in part repealed. By that of the 12th, and another of the 22d & 23d of the ſame King, every ſhip that ſhall load in any of our plantations, ſugars, tobacco, cotton-wool, indicoes, ginger, ſuſtick, or other dying wood, (which are therefore called enumerated goods, and to which ſeveral other ſorts of goods have been ſince added) of the growth of any of our plantations in America, Aſia, or Africa, is obliged to give bond with one ſecurity, under a very high penalty, to carry thoſe goods to ſome port of G. Britain, or to ſome port in our plantations; and by that of the 15th, it is enacted, That no commodity of the growth or manufacture of Europe, ſhall be imported into any of our plantations, but what ſhall have been ſhipped in G. Britain, and in Britiſh ſhipping, whereof the maſter and three fourths of the mariners are Britiſh ſubjects.

By theſe regulations, Sir, our plantations have been of much greater ſervice to the trade and navigation of this iſland, than they could otherwiſe have been. With regard to our trade, as moſt of theſe commodities, eſpecially ſugars, require ſome ſort of manufacture, before they are fit for uſe, that manufacture has hitherto been carried on entirely by our people

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people here at home, which has, and does now support many of the inhabitants of this island; and as the ships must all be victualled and refitted in this island, it not only consumes, or procures a vent for a great many of our native or imported materials that are necessary for that purpose, but also employs, and gives bread to multitudes of useful subjects here at home: to which I must add, that as most of the imports and exports to and from our plantations, must pass through this island, their passage employs many factors and agents here at home, and the commissions payable upon that passage, brings large sums of money into this nation yearly. Then, with regard to our navigation, as by these regulations it is made necessary for almost every ship employed in our plantation trade, to be often in some of the ports of G. Britain, we are thereby furnished with a large and constant supply of seamen, which adds greatly to our naval power, and contributes not a little to that tranquillity and security, which this nation has enjoyed ever since those regulations took place.

In my opinion therefore, Sir, it would be madness in us to give up any of the advantages we enjoy by means of these regulations, without an apparent necessity; and that we are, by this bill, to give up several of them without any apparent necessity, is what I shall now endeavour to shew. As the sugar trade is the only branch now in question, I shall confine myself to that trade only; but I must, by the way, observe, that we have already given leave to export rice from Carolina and Georgia, directly to foreign parts; we are now desired to give the same liberty with respect to sugars; and as the same reasons which are now made use of in favour of sugar, may hereafter, I think, with equal weight, be made use of in favour of every one of the enumerated commodities of our plantations, I make no question but that upon the precedent we are now to make, and the precedent we have already made, a free trade will in a few years be opened between our plantations and every country in Europe; which will of course render them more beneficial to foreigners than to their mother-country. But that this danger may appear in its proper light, I shall just mention the several advantages we must lose by allowing sugars to be exported to foreign countries directly from our plantations. As the law now stands, their sugars must be all landed in G. Britain, and as soon as they are landed, the ship is generally put into some of our docks to refit, the seamen are paid their wages and discharged, and the freight is divided among the owners, who are generally subjects residing here in G. Britain. By this means our people here at home have the advantage of refitting the ship, and of furnishing the seamen with every thing they stand in need of upon their landing; so that not only the freight, but also the seamens wages are wholly laid out in this kingdom. Then, upon the ship's clearing out for a new voyage, a fresh advantage accrues to our people here at home, from furnishing the ship and seamen with every thing they want upon their out-set; and every ship carries out large quantities of our own produce and manufacture, and such other commodities as are proper for the plantation market.

These are advantages, Sir, that arise from the sugar's being unloaded in G. Britain; and then, if it is to be re-loaded for exportation, our people have an advantage by having a double commission, and by the rent for warehouse room while it is here; and they have another advantage, by furnishing the ship and seamen employed in the exportation, with every thing they stand in need of upon their out-set. But the great advantage we reap by our sugar's passing thro' this island to foreign parts is, that of its being manufactured and refined by our people here at home, and thereby made to sell for a much higher price at every foreign market. It is chiefly owing to this, that the sugar-baking trade has been for so many years a thriving trade in this nation, a trade by which some Gentlemen have got large fortunes, and many of our poor a comfortable subsistence.

But,

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But, Sir, if we allow ſugars to be exported from our plantations to foreign parts, we ſhall in a great meaſure loſe every one of theſe advantages. They are beginning already to ſet up ſugar-baking at Hamburg, and ſeveral other parts of Europe, where the neceſſaries of life, and conſequently labour, is much cheaper than it is here; ſo that if we allow our ſugars to go to them directly, we may in a ſhort time be entirely cut out of the ſugar-baking trade; and tho' the ſhips that carry theſe ſugars be by this bill obliged to come to G. Britain before they return to the Weſt-Indies, yet as refitting in moſt foreign ports is cheaper than it is here, they will certainly refit at thoſe ports, and the ſeamen will lay out at leaſt the moiety of their wages, which by this bill is allow'd to be paid them, at the foreign port where the ſhip is unloaded. By this means, a great part of the freight will be laid out among foreigners; and in a little time, I believe, no part, or a very ſmall ſhare of it, will ever come to G. Britain; becauſe, I make no queſtion, but that in a few years our planters, and other ſubjects in our plantations, will have ſhips of their own for carrying their ſugars to a foreign market: and of theſe ſhips foreigners may perhaps be the chief owners; for this may be done in a clandeſtine manner, and by borrowed names, without the maſter's knowing any thing of it; and if the nature of the trade make it neceſſary or profitable, I do not doubt, but it will be done, notwithſtanding all the precautions that can be taken againſt it.

But the greateſt diſadvantage and danger attending this bill is, that it will, in my opinion, very much increaſe the conſumption of foreign manufactures in our ſugar plantations. I could mention ſeveral particulars, Sir, but to give you as little trouble as poſſible, I ſhall confine myſelf to the article of linens only. Every one knows, that beſides foreign linens, there are now great quantities, both of Scottiſh and Iriſh linens conſumed in our plantations. But if by this bill we render it more convenient or cheaper for them to have foreign linens, than it was heretofore, it muſt neceſſarily diminiſh the conſumption of Scottiſh and Iriſh linens, and increaſe that of foreign. Now, that by this bill, if it paſſes into a law, our plantations may have foreign linens more conveniently and cheaper than heretofore, is, I think, manifeſt; for as the law ſtands at preſent, no foreign linens can be ſent to our plantations without paying at leaſt two commiſſions, one to the foreign or London factor upon importation, and one to the Weſt-India factor upon exportation; and beſides, they muſt generally pay warehouſe rent here in Britain for ſeveral months, before they can be ſent to the Weſt-Indies: all which charges theſe linens will be free from, if this bill ſhould paſs into a law; becauſe the maſter of the ſhip, by order from the planters, may, as ſoon as he has unloaded his ſugars at the foreign port, take in a cargo of linens, and by landing them at any port in Britain, and paying the duties, he may reload them immediately, receive the draw-back, and proceed with them directly to the Weſt-Indies; and theſe charges they are now ſubject to, beſides the other charges I have mentioned: ſo that foreign linens muſt neceſſarily come cheaper to the planter in the Weſt-Indies, after this bill is paſſed into a law, than they could do before; and, conſequently, it will increaſe the conſumption of foreign, and diminiſh that of our home manufacture of linen. To which I muſt add, that the maſter and mariners of every ſuch ſhip, will certainly furniſh themſelves with linen, and all other wearing apparel, which, by reaſon of our high duties, they may have at moſt foreign ports, cheaper than they can have in G. Britain.

Another danger is, Sir, that I'm afraid this bill will turn the courſe of our African trade quite away from G. Britain: for as that trade is chiefly ſupported by the ſlaves we purchaſe for the Weſt-Indies, as the poor people in that country have, for the moſt part, nothing elſe to give us in return for the produce and manufactures of this kingdom, which we carry to them, I am afraid, that moſt of

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of our West-India ships bound to Holland or Hamburg with sugars, will there take in a loading for Africa, and after making a proper entry at some of our out-ports, and re-loading directly, proceed to Africa, and there purchase a cargo of slaves for our plantations; by which means the people of this island would lose the whole benefit of the outward cargo to Africa, and would have little or no benefit by the sugars which purchased that cargo, or by the cargo of slaves from Africa to the West-Indies. And the last disadvantage I shall take notice of is, that this bill may probably make us lose the benefit of insurance upon most of the ships bound from our plantations with sugars to foreign ports: for as they must settle a correspondence at those foreign ports, and will stay but a very short time at any port in G. Britain, they will probably insure the ship and cargo at that port where they have settled their chief correspondence; which must diminish the business of our British insurers, and will be a loss to the nation in general.

From what I have said, Sir, I hope it will appear, that the disadvantages and dangers of passing this bill into a law are manifest, and I cannot think there is the least necessity for our running such a risk. I shall readily grant, that our sugar colonies deserve all the encouragement we can give them, consistently with the trade and happiness of their mother-country; and I shall likewise grant, that they stand in need of being relieved from some of those pressures they at present labour under: but the decay of our sugar trade, and the difficulties our sugar planters labour under, do not proceed from the necessity of landing all their sugars in G. Britain, before they can be exported to a foreign market. They proceed from the oppressions of our Governors, the taxes which planters are obliged to pay upon slaves, and many other things necessary for their sugar plantations, and particularly, from that monstrous tax of 4 and a half *per cent.* which is payable upon all sugars exported from most of our sugar islands. This last is really a most monstrous grievance. After so visible a decay of our sugar trade, and so many complaints upon that head, the continuance of this tax is surprising; and it is the more surprising, considering the small revenue from thence arising to the publick. The annual amount of this revenue does not exceed 7000 l. There is, I believe, a larger sum accounted for, and a much larger raised upon the planters; but even that raised upon the planters, is not, I think, computed to amount to much above 27,000 l. yearly; and 20,000 l. of this, it seems, either sticks to the fingers of those whose hands it comes through, or is expended in pensions and salaries, which are either quite useless to the colony, or such as might be much better supplied in another way.

We have been of late, Sir, extremely generous, we have this year granted 5000 l. publick money, for a remedy we know nothing of; [*vol.* 1. *p.* 281.] we have for several years granted 10,000 l. a-year to our African company, for supporting our trade to Africa; we have for some years granted 20,000 l. to Georgia, for supporting I do not know what trade; nay, even this year, we have given them 20,000 l. tho' by the late convention, ratified by his Majesty, and approved by both houses of parliament, a full stop has been put, not only to their fortifications, but even to their extending their plantations. To me it is amazing, that with all this generosity, we cannot think of giving up a tax which brings in but 7000 l. a-year to the publick revenue, for the sake of recovering and preserving the sugar trade, which has saved or brought in so many millions to this kingdom. This is a profusion and a parsimony, which I cannot comprehend the reason of: It looks as if we had a greater regard to the trade of pensions and perquisites, than to any other trade in the kingdom; but those who deal in that trade should consider, that if we lose all other trade, the trade they deal in will soon come to decay.

As all our complaints in the sugar trade, Sir, are founded upon the heavy charges

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charges our ſugars come loaded with to market; and as this is the heavieſt and the moſt uſeleſs and unneceſſary charge laid upon them, it ſhould in the firſt place be removed. Then, if to this we ſhould add ſome new regulations for laying our Weſt-India Governors under ſuch reſtrictions as the French Governors are laid under: if we ſhould prevent its being in the power of any of our Governors to aſk or accept of any preſents from thoſe ſubjected to their government, it would remove another moſt heavy charge, which all our ſugars come loaded with to market; becauſe it would prevent our planters being under a temptation to lay taxes upon thoſe materials that are neceſſary for producing and manufacturing their ſugars, in order to raiſe money for ſatisfying the avarice, or ſupplying the luxury of their Governors, whoſe favour they muſt, and always will contentiouſly endeavour to gain.

I could mention ſeveral other expedients, Sir, for recovering and even improving our ſugar trade, which might be accompliſhed with great eaſe, and without any danger; but the two I have mentioned would alone be ſufficient for giving our ſugars an advantage at every market in Europe, and therefore, there can be no neceſſity for our trying ſuch a dangerous experiment, as that intended by the bill now before us; for which reaſon, I muſt be againſt its being paſſed into a law.

The next ſpeech was made in favour of the bill, by M. Valerius Corvus, *and was in ſubſtance thus:*

Mr Preſident,

I Am ſorry to differ from my Hon. friend, who has given you his ſentiments upon the bill now before us; and the more ſo, becauſe it is what ſeldom happens. I have generally the good fortune to find him of the ſame opinion with me, in moſt things that come to be diſputed in this club; and even upon the preſent occaſion, I ſhall moſt readily join with him in the latter part of his diſcourſe. I am as much ſurpriſed as he can be, that the 4 and a half *per cent.* duty has not been long ago taken off: I am likewiſe ſurpriſed, that care has not been long ſince taken, to reſtrain our Governors from oppreſſing and ſkinning the plantations committed to their care, or tempting our planters to oppreſs and ruin themſelves, in order to gain their favour. If thoſe whoſe buſineſs it is, had our trade as much at heart, as they ought, both theſe things would have been done long before now; and in that caſe, I am perſuaded, we ſhould not now have been complaining of the loſs of our ſugar trade. But, as neither my Hon. friend, nor I, can hope for being able to make either of theſe propoſitions effectual, I cannot allow myſelf to be diverted by hopes I at preſent think chimerical, from purſuing the propoſition now before us; becauſe I think it will be of ſome ſervice, and can be attended with no danger.

The Navigation-act, Sir, and the other laws mentioned in the preamble of this bill, have certainly been of great benefit to this nation. They were certainly right, at the time they were enacted; and if circumſtances were now the ſame, I ſhould be againſt altering them in any part: but that may be prudence in one age, which in another would be the height of madneſs. When thoſe laws were paſſed, we had a monopoly of the ſugar trade: no nation in Europe could then have any large quantity of ſugars, but what they had from us; and if the caſe were now the ſame, I ſhould be for loading them with as many charges as Gentlemen could reaſonably contrive: I ſhould be for enabling our own people to make as great an advantage of them as they could wiſh for. But the caſe is now very different: We have now a rival, and a dangerous rival in the ſugar trade; and if we do not allow foreigners to have our ſugars, at leaſt as cheap as they can have the ſame ſort of commodity from our rival, they will have none of ours: They will take every ſhilling's worth they have occaſion for from our rival in the ſugar trade.

This, Sir, is the caſe at preſent. Since the

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the treaty of Utrecht the French have with great induſtry enlarged their ſugar plantations in the Weſt-Indies; and by prudent and ſeaſonable regulations they have greatly improved that trade. If we had been as wiſe and vigilant, as we ought to have been, we might have prevented that improvement: we might have ruined the French ſugar trade in its infancy, by taking off all thoſe unneceſſary charges that enhanced the price of our ſugars at the foreign market; but either thro' ignorance or neglect, or perhaps from worſe motives, we perſiſted in thoſe regulations, which were well enough, as long as we had no rival, tho' they became ruinous, as ſoon as we began to have one. By this we have eſtabliſhed the French ſugar trade, and quite ruined our own, ſo far as relates to the foreign market; for we now export but very little ſugar, either refined or unrefined, to any market in Europe; and if the trade remains in its preſent circumſtances but a very few years, we ſhall export none at all: nay, I do not know, but that we may ſoon ſtand in need of as ſevere laws for preventing the running of French ſugars, as we now have for preventing the running of French brandies.

The diſpute therefore, Sir, is not upon this occaſion, between our planters in the Weſt-Indies and our people here at home: the queſtion is, Whether we ſhall encourage and entirely eſtabliſh the French ſugar trade, by giving up to them all foreign markets for ſugar? If we export no ſugars, neither the nation, nor our planters in the Weſt-Indies, nor our people here at home, can reap any advantage by a foreign exportation. Therefore, the loſs our people here at home may ſuſtain by allowing a direct exportation from our plantations, is quite out of the preſent queſtion; for if there can be no exportation of ſugars from G. Britain, our people here at home can ſuffer no loſs, by our encouraging an exportation from another part of our dominions. The only queſtion now in diſpute is, Whether we ſhall encourage the exportation of ſugars from France, or from our own ſugar colonies? In this light, I am ſure, no Gentleman that hears me will make it a queſtion; becauſe, by encouraging an exportation from France, we add to the riches and ſtrength of our moſt dangerous rival in power as well as trade; and by encouraging an exportation from our own colonies, we diminiſh the riches and ſtrength of our rival, and we add to the riches and ſtrength of this nation, without doing the leaſt damage to our people here at home.

For this reaſon, Sir, Gentlemen ſhould carefully conſider, upon this occaſion, whether or no it be poſſible for us, in our preſent circumſtances, to export any ſugars to a foreign market; for if it be not, every objection that has been made againſt this bill, falls to the ground. And then we ought to conſider, whether the regulation now propoſed, may not ſome way contribute towards rendering it poſſible for us to export ſugars to a foreign market; for if it can in the leaſt contribute towards that end, we ought to agree to it. From theſe two conſiderations, we ought to determine ourſelves in the caſe now before us, and both are, I think, evidently in favour of this bill. The accounts upon our table, ſhew what large quantities we uſed to export before the French began to rival us in that trade, how gradually our exportation has decreaſed as they have improved, and what an inconſiderable triſle it is now reduced to. Nay, the very nature of the trade muſt ſhew, that unleſs we allow of a direct exportation from our ſugar colonies, the French will always be able to underſell us at, and conſequently exclude us from every foreign market in Europe. While they allow of a direct exportation, and we do not, the caſe is plain, becauſe the charge of a double freight, double commiſſion, warehouſe room, reloading, and ſeveral petty expences, will always be a charge upon our ſugars at every foreign market, which their ſugars are free from. But ſuppoſe they ſhould not allow of a direct exportation no more than we, with regard to an exportation to the Baltick, Hamburg or Holland, their

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ports in the Channel, especially Dunkirk, which we have allowed them to make a port of, contrary to express stipulation in the treaty of Utrecht, lie more convenient than either the ports of London or Bristol, which are the two where our chief importations are made; and with regard to an exportation to Flanders, and to the southward of Cape Finisterre, their ports lie more convenient than ours, which will always give them an advantage over us at all foreign markets, unless we allow of a direct exportation from our sugar colonies.

From hence it is plain, Sir, that unless we allow of a direct exportation, it will always be impossible for us to export any sugars to a foreign market: and that the regulation now proposed, will contribute towards rendering it possible for us to export our sugars to a foreign market, we may be convinced of from experience; for tho' the French have for many years allowed of a direct exportation from their colonies, and tho' we have, during that whole time, most ridiculously persisted in our resolution not to allow of any such exportation from ours, which loaded our sugars sent to foreign markets, with a charge of 8 or 10 *per cent.* at an average, the French sugars were free from, yet we continued till very lately to export large quantities; which shews, that if we had been upon an equal footing with the French, we should have undersold them; and that if we were now put upon that footing, notwithstanding their great improvement in the sugar trade, we should at least rival them, if not beat them out of every market in Europe.

But, Sir, there is nothing more clearly shews the advantage of the regulation proposed, than the precedent my Hon. friend was pleased to mention with regard to rice. It is not many years since we had not a pound of rice produced in any of our dominions, and were therefore obliged to have all our rice from foreigners. By chance our planters in Carolina began to produce that useful commodity, and soon supplied us here at home with all we wanted, and at a much cheaper rate than we used to have it. As soon as they began to do us this favour, by way of a grateful return, we restrained them in their rice trade, by making it an enumerated commodity, in pursuance of that wise maxim, of confining the trade of our colonies to their mother-country, whether the nature of the trade will admit of it or no. Whilst rice continued under this restraint, we sent but little to any foreign market; but at last we grew wise enough to allow them to export rice from Carolina, directly to any part of Europe southward of Cape Finisterre, and since that time we have yearly sent large quantities of rice to foreign markets. This is a full proof, that a direct exportation from our colonies, will always enable us to sell any commodity at a foreign market much cheaper than it can be sold, when it must be first landed in G. Britain; and as we now find by experience, that we can sell no sugar at any foreign market, as long as it must be first landed in G. Britain, we ought at least to try that expedient, which we have found to answer so well with regard to rice. We have found no inconvenience or disadvantage from allowing the direct exportation of rice, and if we can otherwise export no sugars, which is really the case, I am sure we shall find as little inconvenience or disadvantage from allowing a direct exportation of sugars. But to make this the more evident, I shall particularly consider the objections that have been made to it.

As for its being a dangerous precedent with regard to our other enumerated commodities, there can be no weight in the objection; for this can be no precedent, unless our trade in some of our other enumerated commodities should be in danger of falling under the same circumstances that our sugar trade is in at present; and whenever this happens to be the case, we ought to allow a direct exportation of that commodity, even tho' there were no precedent in its favour. If the French, Sir, should become our rivals in the tobacco trade, and if they continue their improvements upon the river Mississippi, they may,

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may, I ſhould be for allowing our tobacco planters a direct exportation, rather than allow the French to ſupply all the foreign markets in Europe with tobacco: and I am ſure, every man who ſedately conſidered the intereſt of his country, or even his own, would be of my opinion; for if a tobacco factor ſaw the value of his commiſſions for exportation dwindling away daily, by reaſon of the foreign markets being ſupplied by the French with tobacco, he muſt foreſee that he would ſoon entirely loſe the benefit of the commiſſion, and his country the benefit of the production and ſale; therefore, he would willingly reſign a private benefit, which he foreſaw would ſoon dwindle to nothing, in order to ſecure to his country the benefit of the production and ſale. This precedent, therefore, can never be of any dangerous conſequence, but may be of advantage, by putting us into a method of preventing our trade in any other enumerated commodity, from falling under the misfortune our ſugar trade has now fallen into; for when a branch of trade is once loſt, it is not ſo eaſily regained.

I ſhall allow, Sir, that our people here at home have an advantage by commiſſion, and by ſeveral other Articles, when ſugars are exported; but when none are, they can have no ſuch advantages. They have already loſt thoſe advantages, and therefore cannot be ſaid to be in danger of loſing them by this bill: but their private loſs is not the only one; the nation, by endeavouring to preſerve the advantage they had by commiſſion, has loſt the advantage of the production and ſale. The advantage they had by commiſſion, is what we cannot recover; the national advantage in the production and ſale we may recover, and I have ſhewn, that the regulation propoſed by this bill, is the proper way of doing it. With regard to refining, the caſe is the ſame, our people can have no advantage by refining for exportation, unleſs we do export; and if foreigners can underwork us in the refining trade, may not they do it in French ſugars, as well as thoſe of our own growth? We had better, therefore, furniſh them with ſugars unrefin'd, than with none at all. Our ſugar-bakers could no way ſuffer by it, becauſe they now refine little or nothing for exportation: nay, if foreigners ſhould refine all we ſent them, our ſugar-bakers could no way ſuffer; for as none of thoſe ſugars could be re-imported, our ſugar-bakers would retain the refining trade for home conſumption, which is the only trade they now enjoy. But the great decay in our exportation of refined ſugars, is not ſo much owing to our people's being out-done or underwork'd in the refining of ſugars by foreigners, as to the high duties paid upon importation, which the refiner muſt advance and lie out of, till he has made his ſugars fit for being exported. This is the cauſe that none but rich men can engage in the trade; and when a trade is confined to a few hands, or to the rich only, tho' the labourers may have but ſmall wages, the maſters will not be ſatisfied with ſuch ſmall profits, as they would be, if there were a great number of men of moderate fortunes engaged in the trade.

I am indeed ſurpriſed, Sir, to hear it ſo much as imagined, that our ſhips employed in the direct exportation of ſugars would refit at foreign ports, or that planters or foreigners would become the chief owners of ſuch ſhips. As the ſeamen muſt all be continued in pay, till the ſhip returns to Britain, the maſter would certainly put off refitting, till he returned hither, becauſe he could here immediately diſcharge his ſeamen, and thereby ſave all their wages during the time his ſhip was refitting, whereby he would ſave more than the difference, if there be any, between refitting at this port, and refitting at any other port in Europe; and as the major part of his owners muſt, by this bill, be ſuch as are reſiding in G. Britain, they would generally chuſe to have a concern in refitting their ſhip, and would therefore oblige him to return hither before he refitted. But ſuppoſe theſe ſhips were all to be refitted in foreign ports, ſuppoſe the ſeamen ſhould ſpend all their wages there, and ſuppoſe the ſhips were all to belong to planters and foreigners, our

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people here at home could lose none of the advantages they now enjoy; because we now export no sugars, and consequently can have no ships or seamen employed in that trade. We can now have no ships employed in the sugar trade, but such as are employed in bringing hither our sugars for home consumption; therefore, for example's sake, I shall suppose, we have now *twenty* ships employed in the sugar trade, and that by regaining a sale for our sugars at foreign markets, *ten* other ships should be employed in the direct exportation: our people here at home would still have all the advantages they now have by the *twenty* ships; and, allowing every thing that can be supposed, they would get some advantages, which they do not now enjoy, by the other *ten* ships being obliged to repair to some port in Britain before their return to the plantations. Therefore, if by allowing a direct exportation, we should recover our foreign sugar trade, our people here at home would certainly reap some benefit they do not now enjoy, and the nation would reap a great deal.

With regard, Sir, to what has been said about foreign linens, I do not think, that our allowing a direct exportation of sugars would make the least alteration in the price of that commodity to the planter; for if he employed the master of a ship, as his supercargo, to purchase linens for him, he must allow the master commission for what he does as supercargo, and the master must go to a factor at Hamburg for purchasing such linens, as well as a West-India factor must go to a Hamburg factor at London. In both cases the planter must pay double commission, the freight and insurance is the same, and as the linens must be landed in G. Britain, and must be put into a warehouse, whilst the ship is refitting, I believe the planter would find the linens come dearer than if he had commissioned them from London, or any other port in G. Britain. I shall, indeed, allow, that the master and seamen might, perhaps, furnish themselves with a few shirts, or the like; but must we never allow any of our ships to put into a foreign port, for fear our seamen should lay out a little of their money at that port? or shall we grudge their laying out a moiety of their wages among those foreigners, who pay them the whole of their wages? for those that purchase the cargo, are the persons that pay the freight, and consequently pay both the master and seamen their whole wages.

Now, Sir, with regard to the African trade, if a cargo for Africa can be got better or cheaper in Holland, or at Hamburg, than in G. Britain, I shall allow, that people will always purchase that cargo, as well as every other cargo, where they find they can have it best and cheapest; but, I am sure, it is more probable, that a ship designed from London for Africa, will sail to Holland or Hamburg, there take in her cargo for Africa, and proceed with it directly to Africa, than that a ship will take in a cargo in Holland or at Hamburg, which she is obliged to land in G. Britain, and reload again, before she can proceed to Africa. Therefore, if any thing can serve to secure to us the whole benefit of our African trade, it will be this, of allowing a direct exportation of our sugars; for as many of those ships may return by the way of Africa to our plantations, and as it will be extremely inconvenient for them to take in any part of their cargo for Africa, at the port where they unload their sugars, they must all resolve to purchase the whole in G. Britain, even though they should pay a little dearer for it, than they could have it at the port where they unload.

The only other objection I can think of, Sir, is that relating to the insurance; upon which I must observe, that sugar is a very dangerous commodity to insure, and custom has, I think, settled the price at a rate not equal to the risk: so that, if we should lose the insurance upon our sugars designed for a foreign market, it would be no great loss with respect to our future gains; and with respect to our present, it could be no loss at all, because we export none, and consequently can get nothing by ensuring sugars for a foreign market: for this

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this is the miſtake that runs through the whole of the argument againſt this bill; it is ſuppoſed, that we now make great advantages by the exportation of ſugars, and that we are to loſe ſome of thoſe advantages by admitting a direct exportation; which is a ſuppoſition that appears to be falſe, by the accounts upon our table. But even as to our future gains, if we do recover an exportation of ſugars by means of this bill, I believe they will be all inſured in G. Britain; for as every planter muſt have a correſpondent in Britain, and as our planters will always put a greater confidence in Britiſh inſurers than in foreign, I think it highly probable, that every one of them will order all the ſugars he ſends to Britain, or even directly to foreign parts, to be inſured at ſome of our own offices; ſo that with reſpect to inſurance, we ſhall, probably, rather increaſe than diminiſh that trade by the bill now before us.

Having now, I think, Sir, anſwered all the objections that have been made to this bill, I ſhall take notice of one advantage we muſt reap, if we can, by means of this regulation, recover the exportation of ſugars to Holland, Hamburg, or the Baltick. As our ſhips that carry ſugars directly to either of theſe places, muſt return to G. Britain, and muſt return in ballaſt, if they cannot find a cargo where they are, they will accept of any freight, rather than go without; which will of courſe bring the rate of freight from theſe places to London ſo low, that none but they, beſides the uſual regular ſloops, will ever be employed; ſo that we ſhall recover the advantage of freight from thoſe countries, which is an advantage we have in a great meaſure loſt, becauſe moſt of the goods we take from them, are now ſent to us in their own bottoms.

Upon all which, Sir, I muſt conclude with ſaying, that I can ſee no inconvenience we can be expoſed to, by having this bill paſſed into a law. The only danger I apprehend is, that it will not anſwer the end propoſed, eſpecially, conſidering the many reſtrictions this direct exportation is to be loaded with. But if this does not do, we muſt, I hope we ſhall, have recourſe to what my Hon. friend has propoſed, and to every thing that can be propoſed, with the leaſt appearance of ſucceſs; for the ſugar trade is a trade of vaſt conſequence to this nation, and it is of the more conſequence, becauſe it is like to go to a nation, of which we ought to be more jealous, than of any other in Europe. Let us not therefore, from little local views, from views of preferring one part of our own people to another, refuſe any thing that may contribute towards enabling our planters, either to produce their ſugars, or to ſend them to a foreign market, with a leſs charge, than they can do at preſent. I ſhall always have a due regard for our mother-country; I ſhall always be for giving this iſland the preference in every branch of trade, as long as that preference does not expoſe us to the danger of being ſupplanted by foreigners; but where-ever I ſee an apparent danger of this kind, I ſhall be for preferring our own people to foreigners; and therefore ſhall be for taking off every reſtraint, that was contrived by the wiſdom of our anceſtors for giving an advantage, or a monopoly of that trade, to the people of this iſland. It is this that makes me for the bill now under our conſideration, and this ought to make every Gentleman for it, that has a greater regard for the trade of Britain, than he has for the trade of France. Whether we ſhall endeavour to recover the former, or eſtabliſh the latter, is the only proper queſtion now before us; but I am convinced my Hon. friend did not view it in this light: If he had, I am abſolutely certain, he would have ſaid nothing againſt it.

EPITAPH on the deceas'd Mr JOHN HUNTER, lately ordain'd Miniſter at *Gateſhall*, by the Aſſociate Preſbytery.

THis mighty HUNTER, *well employ'd*
Between the diſtant poles,
His mortal body ſoon deſtroy'd,
To ſave immortal ſouls.

SONG, to the tune of *Happy Dick.*

HOW comes it, neighbour Dick,
Juſt in your age's winter,
You needs will try a trick,
And on a young one venture?

Silly Dick.
Doſt

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Dost think that youth can warm
That frozen trunk of thine, man;
Or thy gray hairs can charm
A virgin in her prime, man?
Silly Dick.

Or that you can prevent,
With your cough-broken kisses,
The wrong'd and suffering saint
To send to heav'n her wishes?
Silly Dick.

Think, ere you turn a child,
(If yet your head's not addle)
The nurse you have beguil'd
To rock you in a craddle,
Silly Dick.

How will her maiden-bloom
Become so odd an action,
To wait you in your room,
And serve you with decoction?
Silly Dick.

Or, when the cough is clear'd,
To 'tend you with a towel;
And wipe the chops besmear'd
Of her old doating jewel!
Silly Dick.

If you must have an heir,
And for her sake had rather,
That she the lad should bear;
Then let her chuse the father,
Silly Dick.

For, granting you shou'd do
A marvel when you marry,
The wrinkles on your brow
Wou'd make your spouse miscarry,
Silly Dick.

'Tis waggish love betrays
To frolick thus and caper,
So like the mid-night maze
Of a sepulchral vapour,
Silly Dick.

An Epistle to Mr. *POPE*.

— Diram qui contudit hydram,
Notaque fatali portenta labore subegit,
Comperit invidiam supremo fine domari.
Urit enim fulgore suo, qui prægravat artes
Infra se positas: extinctus amabitur idem. ———
Naturam expellas furcâ licet, usque recurret. HOR.

DEar POPE, *the Muses favourite and friend,*
Kindly accept such verse as I can send.
Take not amiss what here I shall indite,
Thro' friendship and experience join'd, I write.
Long have you been to virtue a defence,
A dread to folly, vice, and insolence!
Tho' thy just ridicule *has oft sham'd such,*
The bar, nor pulpit's pow'r, e'er yet could touch;
And men who were ev'n not afraid of God,
Yet, trembling, dreaded thy chastising rod.
But now not so—Vice now is strong and bold,
Takes deeper root, and spreads as it grows old.
Wherefore accept th' advice of me, your friend,
And cease to strive this vitious age to mend.
Your lines they read—But do they strive to shun
The follies you point out,—or not to run
In search of new?—No, no, my friend! not they;
You may write on, they'll keep their good old way:
Not lose an inch of folly's fertile ground,
But one leads thousands, and so dance they round.
Then what avails all your laborious pains?
The days and nights, in which you've rack'd your brains,
Rais'd Horace *up:* Horace, *who long ago*
In courtly stile, could let his Romans *know*
Their faults; in English *now you make to tell,*
How far in vice, our *age does* theirs *excell.*
'Tis all in vain,—in vain your honest zeal!
To rouze the watchmen of the publick weal.
The gaudy insects that at court attend,
You vex them;—but, alas! you do not mend!
"You are replete, they say, with such ill-nature,
That even where you praise, it still is satire;
Peevish, morose, your morals too severe,
That neither patron, friend, or foe, you spare.
Cou'd you lash vice, and not the person name,
How wastly 'twou'd contribute to your fame?"
Yes; such would please: But who!—the venal
Then they *might sin, go on, corrupt and bribe.*
But do you name, or ever point out those,
Who to the town do not themselves expose,
Whose vice we know not, when the name we hear?
If so, I then should think you too severe.
Call B——ns *pimp; stile* W***n *a whore;*
Is ought in this, the town knew not before?
Name S—b—gh, *the man whom late you prais'd,*
Whom late your verse t'immortal glory rais'd,
The whole town rings.—No more you need to name;
One desp'rate action, forfeits all his fame.
Peace with the dead,—the living let's pursue;
'Tis they expose themselves,—it is not you.
When aged mothers to pollution offer,
Oh shocking verity! themselves and daughter,
In such a case, what satire can forbear?
It is a sin such incest *sure to spare.*

Why

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Why shou'd you be so delicate, so nice,
As B——n *not to name and fix the vice?*
Lest there be some, with malice so intent,
T'impute the crime unto the innocent;
And that which you design'd for satire's *use,*
They thus may turn to scandal *and* abuse.
When that of late, you lash'd the pois'ning dame,
Did you do right to screen her guilty name?
D***'s *fatal skill, who has not heard?*
A b—b—d victim, the whole town has scar'd;
Esculapius' *aid, almost too late,*
To make M*** *void the chocolate.*
How is a secret rival to be fear'd,
When lust prevails, and reason is debar'd!
'Tis not alone your satire, but your praise,
'Tis this that galls, 'tis this does envy raise.
Nor Pultney, Cobham, Argyle, Wyndam *name;*
Let L—v—l, H—vy, Y—ng *enjoy your fame.*
Libel good Cart'ret, *libel* Littleton,
Praise great Sir R——t, *traitorize* St J—n.
Then Gazetteers *would even give thee praise,*
And you, perhaps, might write the birth-day lays.
See Wh—th—d, *whom they stile thy darling son,*
When, late, melodious, he of M—nn—rs *sung,*
Display'd the P—r, *gone mad with martial pride;*
His sufferers!—But the contagion spreads wide.
Cooks have commissions, all runs in extremes,
Mechanicks, valets, boys, command marines:
While gallant men, who fought in Marlbro's *day,*
Are forc'd to live upon their small half-pay.
Now view the town, and search all o'er to find,
But one improv'd, in habit, or in mind.
Corruption spread o'er all the land we see,
Nor tribunal, nor mitr'd bench, are free.
Religion's now no more; we scarce can find
That she has one bright footstep left behind.
In Whitefield *first a glim'ring dawn appear'd,*
The lawn *has bid him graze among st the herd:*
The new light straight to youthful frenzy turn'd,
And saints *had like, once more, with zeal t'have*
Hypocrisy and Atheism's *all remain;* [burn'd.
The Priests *mind nothing, but t'increase their gain:*
Whilst brazen Henley, *with an impious sneer,*
From rostrum *cries*—The true religion's here!
Poor C———s *hires weekly to dispute,*
At once one theme defends, and yet confutes.
If these, the fruits of all your time and care,
Essays on man, *and* Satires *ev'ry year;*
Lord Fanny's *partial* † Hist'ry of these times,
Will serve to palliate a nation's crimes.——
Lay down your pen,—the task assume no more,
Since vice prevails, why, ev'n give virtue o'er.
'Tis time to cease, when all's corrupt we 'spy,
And Peers premeditate which way to die.

† A piece which has been composing some time.

A New BALLAD.

COme attend, British *boys,*
I'll make you rejoice,
I will tell you, how Vernon *did scare*
PORTO-BELLO *the strong,*
Laid its castles along;
And all this, with but six men of war.
When he first came in sight,
Cries the Governor,—"Shite!
From this fellow what have we to fear?
Did not Hosier *the brave,*
Hither sail to his grave, [war.
Tho' with more than thrice six men of
Thirteen Captains outright,
Subalterns, a damn'd sight,
And of sailors each one a stout fellow,
Full three thousand and odd
Perish'd, rotten by G-d,
Without firing against PORTO-BELLO.
Hence our Queen did declare
The blue string'd cavalier
Her good friend, since he serv'd her so
And did kindly incline [well;
His convention to sign,
For his care to preserve PORTO-BELL.
Then, my lads, have no dread
Of this hectoring blade;
For I'm certain, tho' sent from so far,
He instructions has none,
To let fly one poor gun,
Neither he, nor his six men of war."
But soon Vernon's *hot fire*
Prov'd the Spaniard *a liar,*
To capitulate, soon is his story,
And to save his retreat;
Sees his castles laid flat,
Both his castles of Iron *and* Glory.
Whence these fortresses came
Such high titles to claim
I forbear to recite in this place,
Tho' our swaggering foes,
One might fairly suppose,
Did assume them on Hosier's *disgrace.*
Now their castle of Glory
You have levell'd before you;
To its title yourself may pretend;
It is made your own prize,
And where-e'er your sail flies,
Shall on you, noble Vernon, *attend.*
Of this victory rare
You secur'd the best share;
For the Spanish *King's dollars and pelf*
You

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You most gallantly gave
To your mariners brave,
And with glory rewarded yourself.
Now, old England, *tho' long*
Thou hast been but a song
Of reproach to the meanest of nations,
Tho' thy flag has been sham'd,
And thy strength has been maim'd
By our debts and our negotiations;
Be no more in the dumps,
Thou may'st still stir thy stumps,
And recover; for in this contention,
I may venture to swear,
Thou has nothing to fear,
By St George, *but another convention.*

Verses addressed to the WEST-WIND, upon carrying off a private paper from a window into the publick street.

POX on thee, Zephyrus! *false hated name!*
Thy gales no more shall whisper in my theme.
The dying lover ne'er shall send a sigh,
With thee to Phillis, *as thou'rt brushing by.*
The swains, the nymphs, the songsters of the grove,
And all who swear by friendship, or by love,
Shall echo their Amen, *whilst I prefer,* [*pray'r.*
Thus, 'gainst thy treach'rous blast, our common
May rapid Eurus *and fierce* Boreas *join*
Their airy forces to rebuffet thine:
Let Auster *'tend the spring; and whilst the sun*
Calls forth the flowers, be his their sweet perfume:
Let all their scents enrich his fragrant wing,
And gain him grace. Him let the muses sing,
And hail th' inspiring breeze; while mortals bow
Beneath the gusts that from thy quarter blow,
And wish a quick succession to their foe.

SIR, Kelso, 6th April.

THE following was transmitted me from *London*; by inserting of which in your *Magazine*, you will oblige most of your readers here; among the rest,

Your's, &c. M—Y.

On hearing of the death of Mr H——R, M——r in G———.

A Meteor strange, a Levite *deem'd,*
Late from a quagmire sprung;
He much was follow'd, much esteem'd,
And fools his praises sung.
He led a while the vulgar crowd
A new found way to God;
Vast numbers at his altar bow'd,
And worship'd at his nod.
But while his wond'ring votaries spy'd
This sacred shining light,
He, like a meteor, quickly dy'd,
And vanish'd from their sight.
Thus Willie with the wisp *a while*
Leads fools to his desire,
Goes slily out, does them beguile,
And leaves them in the mire. J. M.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

THE GREAT MOGUL having concerted measures to defeat KOULI KAN's army, was overcome by him, and obliged by a treaty to resign three fine provinces into the conqueror's hands.

The PORTE has lately been under considerable apprehensions of an insurrection in Egypt, to prevent which the most proper measures have been taken.

Repeated advices from Constantinople confirm the march of the army with which Kouli Kan subdued the Great Mogul, against the Ottoman dominions; and the preparations for war are vigorously carried on through the whole Turkish empire.

The Kan of CRIM-TARTARY lately died, and his son Achmet Girey Kalga Sultan is raised to the throne. He is a valiant prince, and much beloved by his subjects.

The RUSSIAN empire seems at present more intent on the motions of its near neighbours, than inclined to disputes with nations remote from Peterburg: and the same apprehensions are renewed that alarmed the North last year.

Petersburg, March 10. This court has sent orders to Capt. Spanberg, who has discovered 34 islands in the North sea, to repair hither with all speed. This Captain has been for several years upon the coasts of Siberia, to seek a passage for establishing a direct navigation with Japan and China: He has been furnish'd with vessels necessary for his undertaking, together with Dutch pilots and experienced sailors. Besides what has been mentioned heretofore [*p.* 87.] of the discovery he has made, he has wrote the following particulars to

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to some of his acquaintance here. "I spent all the month of August last in cruizing in the sea of Great Tartary. Among the islands I there discovered, there were several inhabited only by wild beasts. I cast anchor at an island which I thought the most considerable, where we landed, and met some of the inhabitants; who both in shape and dress resembled savages, and fled into the woods as soon as they saw us, making a hideous noise when they saw they were pursued. The inhabitants of some of the neighbouring islands I found more sociable. The soil appears every way exceeding fruitful. The curious will be pleased with the journal I shall give of my discoveries, which at the same time will shew the advantages which the Russians will reap by trade to China and Japan."

VIENNA, *March* 23. Besides the late conferences in the privy council in presence of the Emperor, there have been other extraordinary ones for some time past among his ministers at court, and at the house of the Great Chancellor the Count de Zinzendorf, not only upon affairs in general, but upon the war betwixt Spain and England in particular. The Emperor declared indeed at the beginning of the war, that he would have no hand in it; but 'tis very well known that this declaration was only conditional, and that if France does not adhere to her declaration, that she would observe an exact neutrality, his Imperial Majesty will not be long before he declares in favour of G. Britain. And indeed it is but too much apprehended at court that they shall soon be obliged to take this step: for the reduction of the forces so much talked of is entirely put off; and it is observed, that the march of the regiments designed for the Netherlands and the empire is so far hasten'd, that their very rout is settled, and the places where they are to perform quarantine. And we hear that the Commissary-General of war has received orders to repair to Italy, to visit the magazines there, and form new ones.

The intended introduction of the Jews into the TWO SICILIES meets with so much obstruction from the ecclesiasticks, and their eternal dupes, the vulgar, that it is thought his Neapolitan Majesty will be obliged to make some alteration in his resolutions on that head.

Naples, March 29. *N. S.* On the 25th in the evening, M. Odea Colonel of the King's regiment of foot, lately called Limerick, as he came out of the Duke di Charny's house on his return home, was attacked by Messr. Linch and Machlain, both Captains of the said regiment; one of whom drew his sword, and the other shot the Colonel with a pistol into his mouth; of which he expired a few hours after. The occasion of which, 'tis said, was, because the Colonel had, with the King's approbation, promoted his brother to the post of Major, vacant in the said regiment, in exclusion of these two, who pretended to be injured by that nomination, as they were of more ancient standing. They fled afterwards to the convent of Monte Calvario; which was immediately surrounded by 500 soldiers, where they were arrested and put in irons, and where they are closely guarded by a party of 25 grenadeers. On the 27th five officers of the said regiment were also arrested and conducted prisoners to the castle Nuovo, it being surmised that they were accomplices of the assassins. Notice thereof was sent immediately to the King at Portici, who has shewn such a displeasure, that 'tis expected, upon receiving the approbation from the Spanish court, (as this regiment was by the Catholick King lent to the King of Naples) a severe course will be taken.

It is agreed, on all hands, that since Admiral Haddock went to Port Mahon, the Spanish squadron of nine ships of the line, well mann'd, ventured from Cadiz, and have been joined by four more. Where they are gone, is yet a secret; though they are more generally thought to have steer'd towards America, than to Minorca. In either case, some important action may be expected.

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Letters from Gibraltar of the 22d of March ſay, that there remain but 13 men of war ſince Admiral Haddock ſailed towards Port Mahon. They add, that they have had letters from Tetuan, with advice, That the civil wars which have raged in Barbary between the competitors for the crown of Morocco ever ſince the death of Muley Iſmael, which is 13 years, are at length ended; and that Muley Abdallah has been unanimouſly proclaimed King of Morocco and Fez, not only by the inhabitants, but by the army of the Blacks: That the chief Baſhaws of the country have been at Mequinez to recognize him, and at the ſame time made him great preſents: That all his ſubjects are the better pleas'd, becauſe they hope this new King, who is the ſon of Muley Iſmael, will equal him in his abilities for the good government of his people, and maintaining them in tranquillity: That he diſcovered a vaſt regard for the Europeans: That he was remarkably deſirous to ſee trade flouriſh in his dominions; of which he gave an undoubted proof; when paſſing with his army before St Croix, the inhabitants whereof did not pay him the honours that were due to him, he diſcovered no reſentment, for fear trade ſhould ſuffer by it: That the Kings Muley Muſtardi and Muley Ariba, two more brothers, and two Santons, who had diſputed the crown for ſome time, were entirely quelled, and gone no body knew whither, being no longer able to ſupport their pretenſions: And that the Baſhaw of Tetuan, one of the moſt powerful Baſhaws of the kingdom, and who had always favoured the ſecond brother, Muley Muſtardi, being very much confounded what to do, becauſe he had all the reaſon in the world before to dread this prince's reſentment, has given him freſh cauſe of diſcontent, by cauſing Reuben Ben Quilli, a Jew, to be ſtrangled; who being Muley Abdallah's favourite, the Baſhaw was afraid leſt he ſhould diſcover ſome things of importance to him, and put him in a way to make himſelf maſter of Tetuan.

A letter from the HAGUE, *April* 29.

"Some politicians here will have it, that the court of France will ſpeedily take part with the Spaniards againſt the Engliſh: and this opinion they found upon the declaration that the Cardinal made to a certain miniſter ſoon after the taking of Porto Bello; which was, That his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty could not look indifferently upon the progreſs which the Engliſh were making in America, ſeeing this country might properly be ſaid to belong to divers European nations, for whoſe benefit Spain only held it, as it were, in truſt. But his Eminence has been ſilent upon this ſubject, ſince he finds that the Engliſh do not attempt to eſtabliſh themſelves in the places they take from the Spaniards, contenting themſelves with only deſtroying their fortifications. The anſwer which is made to theſe politicians, who ſeem to think of nothing but a general war, is, That if France ſhould ſhew the leaſt deſign of interfering in the quarrel, the republick would no longer continue inactive. It is even in ſome degree certain, that the reaſon of their H. Mightineſſes putting off the augmentation of their forces, is becauſe they would not give occaſion to France to make any increaſe of her's, or put them into an equivocal motion."

They write from Georgia, Feb. 12. That Gen. Oglethorpe has taken the forts Picola and St Francis de la Padra from the Spaniards. The firſt they burnt to aſhes, and they impriſoned 11 Spaniards and one Indian in the laſt. That the council and aſſembly of S. Carolina have granted 120,000 l. currency, for raiſing a troop of horſe and 400 pioneers, to aſſiſt in an intended enterpriſe againſt St Auguſtine.

LONDON, *April* 1740.

PART of Adm. Haddock's ſquadron have (after a ſmart ſcuffle, in which 70 Spaniards were killed and many wounded) taken two Spaniſh ſhips, having on board a great number of officers and ſoldiers for the iſland of Majorca. The Marquis de la Mina's brother is among the ſlain; and the Count d'Aitres,

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d'Aitres, a Knight of Malta, and several other officers, among the prisoners. —A Spanish privateer, with 150 hands, is carried into Portmahon, and another sunk, with all her men, by the Ipswich, Capt. Martin. — Admiral Balchen is sailed with ten men of war. — The 12th April a proclamation was published in the London Gazette, signifying, That, by the act for encouraging our trade to America, and for encouraging seamen to enter into his Majesty's service, it is enacted, That his Majesty, his heirs, &c. be impowered, during the present or any future war, to grant charters or commissions, to any person or society, for enabling them to attack, take, or destroy, any ships, goods, moveables or immoveables, settlements, factories, creeks, harbours, places of strength, lands, forts, castles and fortifications, now belonging, or that may belong to any enemy, or be possessed by any enemy in America; and to assure to the said societies or persons concerned, their heirs, &c. full and undoubted properties to the same, but so as not to exclude any other British subject from having a free trade to America. — The 14th April the embargo was taken off all outward bound ships in G. Britain and Ireland. The condition mention'd in granting protections to the merchant ships, since that date, is, That they shall be obliged to carry one third of their crew landmen. — The city of London have order'd Adm. Vernon to be presented with the freedom of the city in a gold box. — The 26th April 12,200 lb. gun-powder, 24 C. lead-shot, and 2 tons iron ordnance, were shipt off for Virginia.

The Spaniards, according to accounts received since our last, have taken the Boston snow of London, John Dun, 35 leagues west of Scilly; the Amity of Biddeford, Philips, off the Lands-end; and the William and John of Hull, John Legat, 8 leagues from Oran.

From the London Gazette.

St Helens, April 26. His Majesty's ships, Lenox, Kent, and Orford, have brought in a Spanish man of war of 68 guns and 650 men, taken between 30 and 40 leagues westward of Cape Finisterre.

The 29th April the King went to the house of Peers, and gave the royal assent to the following acts, *viz.*

An act for granting to his Majesty 1,000,000 *l. out of the sinking fund for the service of the year* 1740; *and for raising* 200,000 *l. out of the growing produce of the said fund, and for granting to his Majesty* 21,000 *l.* 1 *s.* 8 *d. half-penny, remaining in exchequer, arisen by sale of lands in St Christophers.* — *An act for continuing the premiums upon the importation of masts, yards and bowsprits, tar, pitch, and turpentine; to British made sail-cloth; to the Greenland and whale fishery; for granting a further bounty for ships employed in the whale fishery during the present war; for exempting harpooneers, and others employed in the Greenland fishery, from being impressed; and for giving further time for the payment of duties omitted to be paid for indentures and contracts.* — *An act for prohibiting commerce with Spain.* — *An act for amending and enforcing the laws relating to vagabonds,* &c. — *An act to prevent the increase of horse-racing.* — *An act for more effectually preventing deceitful gaming.* — *An act for preventing the wilful destruction of coallieries and coal-works.* — *An act for punishing such persons as wilfully destroy turnpikes; for preventing exactions of the occupiers of locks and wears upon Thames westward, and for ascertaining the rates of water-carriage upon the said river; for preventing frivolous and vexatious arrests; and for better securing the East-India trade, and preventing his Majesty's subjects trading thither under foreign commissions,* &c. — *An act for the increase of mariners and seamen to navigate merchant ships.* — *An act for preventing fraudulent qualifications of voters in elections of members of parliament in England.* — *An act for confirming and enlarging the powers of the Governors of the foundling-hospital.* — *An act to enable the Commissioners for building Westminster bridge to raise a further sum for finishing it.* — And private bills.

After which his Majesty made the following most gracious speech, and the par-

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parliament was prorogued to the third day of June next.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE zeal which you have ſhewn for the ſupport and proſecution of the juſt and neceſſary war in which I am engaged, is a freſh proof of your concern for the honour and intereſt of my crown and kingdoms. As this great and national undertaking is the principal object of our attention and expectations, ſo the juſtice of our cauſe, and the ſucceſs which hath hitherto attended my arms, give us the moſt reaſonable hopes, that, by the continuance of the divine aſſiſtance, we may ſee a happy iſſue of it.

Gentlemen of the houſe of Commons,

I thank you for the effectual ſupplies which you have granted me for the ſervice of the current year. The beſt return I can make, is to aſſure you, that they ſhall be duly employed to the purpoſes for which they were given.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have formerly recommended to you union amongſt yourſelves, as being highly conducive to the carrying on this great work with honour and advantage, and to the more ſpeedy obtaining of all poſſible juſtice and ſatisfaction from the crown of Spain, for the many grievous injuries ſuffered by my ſubjects, and effectual ſecurity for the freedom of our commerce and navigation for the future. I do now earneſtly exhort you to promote and extend that union in your reſpective countries. Let the ſupport of the common cauſe of the nation prevail, to attain this deſirable end. Our enemies muſt already have been made ſenſible, in ſome degree, of the weight of our juſt reſentment. They ſee my kingdoms in ſuch a poſture of defence, as muſt render all attempts from them, without encouragement from amongſt ourſelves, vain and deſperate. They ſee the trade and navigation of my ſubjects protected, as far as the nature and circumſtances of a maritime war will poſſibly admit; and, at the ſame time, the moſt valuable branches of the Spaniſh commerce greatly interrupted, and ſubjected to many difficulties and loſſes. From theſe happy effects of my early endeavours, and your ready concurrence at the firſt entrance into the war, I cannot but hope, that the preparations which I am now making, for carrying it on in the moſt proper places, and in the moſt vigorous and effectual manner, will be bleſs'd with ſucceſs, equal to our juſt expectations.

On Friday the 4th of April, came on at Taunton aſſizes the trial of Mrs Elizabeth Branch and her daughter, for the murder of Jane Butterſworth, their ſervant girl, in their houſe at Hemington, near Philips-Norton, in the county of Somerſet; when they were both found guilty, and received ſentence of death. In the courſe of the evidence it appeared, That the deceas'd had been ſent to a neighbouring place for ſome barm; but, forging a lie, ſo exaſperated the daughter, that ſhe violently ſtruck her with her fiſt about the head, and pinch'd her ears: That then the priſoners jointly flung her upon her face upon the floor, and, in preſence of Anne Somers, (who was the dairy-maid, and the principal evidence) Elizabeth the daughter kneel'd upon the deceas'd's neck, and both mother and daughter whipp'd her with twigs for a conſiderable time, till ſhe run with blood: That then the daughter took off one of the deceas'd's ſhoes, and beat her about the breech and hips with the heel thereof, keeping her with her knee on the ground, and the mother ſtill whipping: That the deceas'd getting up, ran into the parlour; and was preſently followed by both the priſoners, who now had got ſticks; with which they beat her about the head and ſhoulders, driving her from place to place, till the deceas'd was quite mazed, and unable to ſtand: That then the daughter threw part of a pail of water upon the deceas'd, to cool her, as ſhe called it: That the daughter afterwards rubb'd her breech with ſalt, which was all bloody with whipping: That the evidence Somers, on her return from milking, found both her miſtreſſes ſitting by the fire, and the deceas'd lying on the floor: That ſhe obſerved that the bloody cap which the deceas'd had on before ſhe went a milking, had been changed, and a clean one put on, and the blood

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blood had run thro' that likewise: That presently she told her old mistress the girl was dead; on which she call'd her *Wekbbitch:* That the deceas'd was put into a bed; with whom the said Somers was order'd to lie; but she did not touch her, knowing her to be dead. — That shortly after the deceas'd was buried, under the notion of her dying suddenly; but there being a muttering among the neighbours, the body was taken up, and examined by Mr Salmon, who depos'd, That he went with the Coroner and some of the jury to examine the body, and found a violent bruise in the *os frontis*, and both tables of the scull broken: he also saw a wound a little above the temple bone, which he thought to be the most dangerous; and another in the coronal suture: That he also observed in the region of the loins a dangerous wound; the fingers of one hand with the true skin beat off, so that he saw the flexor muscles and tendons bare; the anguish whereof, with the other wounds, he thought might be mortal: That her arms, thighs and legs were greatly bruised, scarce any part but the breast and belly free; and in general she appeared to be so barbarously and inhumanely used, that it was enough to have kill'd the stoutest man: That he apprehended there must have been a vast effusion of blood, from the appearance of some of the wounds being pale and of a cherry colour; for wounds given in a plethorick state will be livid and blackish: That the wounds must been given in life, whilst the blood was in its circulation; for when that is ended, no blow or bruise will make any alteration of colour in the flesh.

Henry Butler also depos'd, That he was servant to Mrs Branch, and often saw her and her daughter beat the deceas'd very cruelly, and break her head on slight occasions: that they often beat him barbarously; and once till he be— himself, and they took his excrements in their hands, and thrust it into his mouth, and made him eat it.

The prisoners in their defence confessed, they did beat the deceas'd, but if she had any wounds in her head, they were occasion'd by a fall with a pail of water; but own'd they could not prove it, no person being in the house but themselves: concluding, that the persons who took up the body had malice enough to make the wounds in the deceas'd.— But the surgeon's accurate description of the case, was sufficient to wave so artful an insinuation.

Another material circumstance of guilt appear'd from the prisoners refusing to admit any one to see the deceas'd, who was buried in the most private manner.

When sentence of death was pass'd, old Mrs Branch appear'd very little concern'd; but the daughter continued at the bar suing for mercy.

Mrs Branch was possess'd of 200 l. a-year. There were eight counsil to plead their cause, and great plenty of money expended to save their lives.

When they were brought to take their trial, the country all around rose, crying vehemently against Mrs Branch; and after condemnation they were convey'd back to Ivelchester under a strong guard in the dead of the night.

They write from Dublin, That the parliament there have congratulated his Majesty on the success of Adm. Vernon in the West-Indies; that they were prorogued on the 31st March by the Lord Lieutenant; that the city of Dublin have ordered Adm. Vernon to be presented with the freedom of the city in a gold box; that the common-council of that city have petitioned for 12,000 l. in half-pence, to be coin'd in the tower of London, and transmitted thither; and that John Leadwell, one of the persons concerned in the murder of Lt Home, was condemned at Clonmel-assizes, the end of March, to be hang'd and gibbeted, which was accordingly done.

P. S. *London, May* 3. M. Bussy, Minister from the court of France, is arrived here.

'Tis credibly reported, that the Duke of Argyle is removed from all his employments.

S. S.

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S. S. trading ſtock, 100, 1 half. Ditto Old annuities, 110, 1 qr. Ditto New, 111. Bank ſtock, 140, 1 half. India ditto, 160, 1 half. Three per cent. annuities, 101, 1 half, a 3 qrs. Million bank, 114, 1 half. Royal aſſurance, 87. London aſſurance, 11. Mine adventure ſhares, no price. Engliſh copper, 3 l. 7 s. 6 d. Welch ditto, 15 s. African, 10. Seven per cent. Emperor's loan, 109 3 qrs. Five per cent. ditto, 92. Bank circulation, 5 l. Three per cent. India bonds, 5 l. prem. Three 1 half per cent. Exchequer orders, 3 prem. Three per cent. ditto, 4 diſcount. Salt tallies, 1 qr. a 1 half, prem.

EDINBURGH.

The beginning of April the Managers of the Royal Infirmary received 10 guineas from the Barber-Surgeons company at Newcaſtle. — The celebrated Miſs May Drummond [*See vol.* 1. *p.* 483.] has paid in to the Treaſurer the benefactions of ſeveral of her friends in England, amounting to 51 l. 9 s. Sterl. and the quarterly meeting of that people at Durham have likewiſe ſent a preſent of 20 l.

The 12th April James Ratcliff, [*See vol.* 1. *p.* 329.] a noted houſe-breaker, was apprehended at James Coventry's in Buckhaven, and brought again to the priſon of this city, from whence he made his eſcape on the 21ſt of July laſt, while under ſentence of death.

About the middle of April there was entred at the cuſtom-houſe of Leith from Holland, 488 hogſheads lintſeed, and 58 tuns and one half of undreſſed flax.—Since our laſt ſailed from Leith for London, the Providence, Duncan Pollock, having on board the following Scots manufactures, *viz.* 27,866 yards linen, 4926 yards ſarges, 1700 lb. thread, 346 dozen linen handkerchiefs, 100 dozen thread ſtockings, 2618 lb. ſnuff, and 1120 dozen ſkins.

P. S. *May* 5. Two copies of a reprieve for one month to Davies and Wiltſhire, two centinels, [*See above p.* 141.] came here by different packets, in caſe of neglect; and it was this day intimated in form.

May 8. This day the General Aſſembly of the church of Scotland met, when the Rev. Mr George Logan, Miniſter of the College church, Edinburgh, was choſen Moderator.

MARRIAGES, *&c.*

JAmes Earl of Moray, to Lady Margaret Wemyſs, ſiſter to the Earl of Wemyſs.—Lord Charles Noel Somerſet, brother to the Duke of Beaufort, to Miſs Berkeley, daughter of the Viſcounteſs-dowager of Hereford by Mr Berkeley. — Capt. James Colquhoun of Luſs, to Lady Helen Sutherland, ſiſter to the Earl of Sutherland.— Mr James Graham of Damſide, Writer to the Signet, to Miſs Betty Deans, daughter of ——Deans of Woodhouſlie, deceas'd.———The Lady of the Marquis of Bowmont, eldeſt ſon of the Duke of Roxburgh, delivered of a ſon, ſtiled *Lord Ker*.

DEATHS.

The Counteſs of Warrington.— The Counteſs-dowager of Dyſart.— Lady Katharine Jones, daughter and heir of the late E. of Ranelagh, Paymaſter-general of the forces to K. William. She is ſaid to have died worth 100,000 l.— Lady Mary Caryll, daughter of the E. of Seafort by a ſiſter of the preſent D. of Powis.— Sir Francis Child, member for Middleſex, formerly Lord Mayor of London.— Dr Francis Hare, Biſhop of Chicheſter, and Dean of St Paul's. —Dr Robert Howard, Biſhop of Elphin in Ireland.—Claud Fonnereau, a Hamburg merchant, London. He has left among his children upwards of 160,000 l.— John Tarver, Eſq; one of the Remembrancers of the Exchequer in Scotland.—Mr William Boyle, brother to the Earl of Glaſgow.—Thomas Wylde, Eſq; a Commiſſioner of Exciſe, South Britain.—Charles Downing, Eſq; Comptroller of the cuſtoms, London. — At Black-river in Jamaica, on the 26th January laſt, Col. Campbell, a native of Argyleſhire, who went abroad in the Darien expedition, and after-

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afterwards ſettled in Jamaica. — At Porto Bello, after it was taken by Admiral Vernon, Lt Alexander Cuningham, of one of the independent companies in Jamaica, brother to the Earl of Glencairn.—Major Benjamin Gregg, of Col. Robinſon's marines. — Capt. John Carmichael, formerly Captain of an independent company, and Governor of Penſylvania. — Capt. William Lorrance, of the Royal North-Britiſh dragoons. — Capt. Otter, of the firſt regiment of foot-guards.—Cornet Sybourg, of Gen. Ligonier's horſe.—Brig. Gough, of the ſecond troop of horſe-guards.—Aged 110, Mr Davies, who lately kept Harry's coffee-houſe, Fleet-ſtreet, London. He retained all his ſenſes till his death, and could read the ſmalleſt print without ſpectacles.

PREFERMENTS.

His R. H. William Duke of Cumberland, *Colonel of the ſecond regiment of foot-guards, called the Coldſtream.*—John Earl of Hyndford, *High Commiſſioner to the General Aſſembly of the church of Scotland.* — John Lord Hervey, Vice-Chamberlain of the houſhold, *Keeper of the privy-ſeal*, in the room of the E. of Godolphin. — Lord Sidney Beauclerk, *Vice-chamberlain of the houſhold.*—Peter Lord King, *Out-Ranger of Windſor foreſt.* — George Speke, Eſq; *Comptroller of excife, South-Britain.* — Ambroſe Stanyford, Eſq; *Agent and Conſul at Algiers*, in the room of Edward Holden, Eſq; deceas'd.— Horatio Mann, Eſq; *Reſident at the court of Tuſcany.* ——— [*The above taken from the Gazette.*] —— The Earl of Kintore, *Grand Maſter of the Free Maſons in South-Britain.* — Sir Humphrey Howarth, member for Radnorſhire, *a Commiſſioner of exciſe, South-Britain.* — Colonel William Herbert, member for Wilton, *a Groom of the bedchamber to the King.*— Onſlow Burriſh, Eſq; one of the Clerks of the Trade and Plantation office, *Secretary and Conſul at Peterſburg.*— John St John, Eſq; ſecond ſon of the Ld Viſc. St John, *Comptroller of the cuſtoms, London.* — Joſhua Pocock Eſq; *Store-keeper at Jamaica.*— Col. Pawlet, *Repreſentative for Chriſt-church.*— Lord George Graham, Commander of the Adventure, *Governor and Commander in Chief of Newfoundland*, in the room of Capt. Medley. — Capt.-Lieut. Littler, of the firſt regiment of foot-guards, *Colonel of the company of grenadeers*; Capt. Charles Fitzroy, member for Thetford, *Colonel of the company late Col. Fuller's*; and — Carr, *Captain-Lieutenant, all in ſaid firſt regiment of foot-guards.*— John Savy, Eſq; who had been ſome years in the Spaniſh ſervice, and in 1738 ſurrendered himſelf priſoner to the Lord Tyrawley at Liſbon, whence he was brought to London, and detained as a ſtate-priſoner, *a Captain-Lieutenant of one of the three regiments to be raiſed in America.*— Thomas Copleſton, Eſq; member for Kellington, *a Commiſſioner for victualling the navy.*— Sir John Norris, *Commander in Chief of the ſhips of war deſigned for ſecuring our coaſts.* — Capt. Griffin, of the Princeſs Carolina, *Commander of the St George*, of 90 guns.—Capt. Savage, *Commander of the Winchelſea*, of 40 guns; Captain Harcourt Maſters, *of the Fox*, of 20 guns; and Capt. Renton, who came expreſs with the news of the taking of Porto Bello, *of the Experiment*, alſo of 20 guns.

Died within the walls of the city of Edinburgh, and buried in the Gray-friars church-yard, April 1740.

Men 20, women 28, children 61. In all, 109. Decreaſed this month, 9.

	AGE.	N°.	DISEASES.	N°.
Under —	2	46	Old age —	5
Betwixt	2 & 5	9	Conſumption	27
	5 & 10	6	Child-bed	2
	10 & 20	4	Chin-cough	5
	20 & 30	5	Convulſion	3
	30 & 40	9	Fever ——	15
	40 & 50	7	Suddenly —	8
	50 & 60	10	Teething —	16
	60 & 70	6	Small-pox —	21
	70 & 80	6	Palſy ——	1
	80 & 90	1	Dropſy	2
			Iliack-paſſion	1
			Killed by a fall	1
			Meagrum —	1
			Still-born —	1

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The SCOTS *Magazine.*

MAY, 1740.

COMMON SENSE, *May* 3.

Remarks on a new way of commemorating victories.

——Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
Sacra fames?

SIR,

AMONGST all the ingenious devices which the wit of man has framed, amongſt all the various triumphs which conquerors have made over the vanquiſh'd, one cannot, I think, meet with any which comes up to the late invention of a right worthy and loyal citizen, who has found out a way to make us all partners of the glorious enterpriſe, and more glorious victory obtained by our Admiral, and the brave ſailors under his command, at *Porto Bello*: burning a Pope, hanging a M——r in effigy, will no more be looked upon as pieces of wit and humour.

A conquered fort ſerved up in a deſert, perfumed ramparts, and ſweetmeat fortifications have ſomething more facetious in them, as well as more warlike, than any thing of this ſort I have yet met with either in ancient or modern hiſtory.—The *Greeks*, indeed, as *Homer* informs us, took care to indulge themſelves in feaſts both before and after a battle; but never had the wit to think of this admirable method of enjoying their victories when they were over. This is entirely adapted to the genius, humour, and (if I may ſo expreſs myſelf without being ſuſpected of a pun) to the taſte of our nation; for whilſt every man is ſatisfying his own appetite, he will at the ſame time be doing a ſervice to his King and country, by a laudable commemoration of our victories, and the ſucceſs of the *Britiſh* arms: beſides, that by this means the Ladies will not be exempted from the pleaſure of humbling the pride of *Spain*; and it is to be hoped that every fair patriot will prepare a keen appetite for the next Lord Mayor's feaſt, by which time we hope to ſee a great part of his Catholick Majeſty's dominions ſerved up and expoſed to be plundered in the ſame manner.

It muſt be a pleaſing reflection to every true *Engliſhman* when he thinks on the happy turn of affairs which has lately come to paſs in this kingdom. The proſpect of a difficult, unavoidable war, together with the terrors of a hard froſt, put a great many of his Majeſty's ſubjects in fear of ſtarving; but I heartily rejoice that I can now congratulate my countrymen on a firm belief that

Hæc erat illa fames, hæc nos ſuprema manebant
Exitiis poſitura diem.

This gives us a double enjoyment of our conqueſts; it puts me in mind of *Alexander*'s feaſt, where the conqueror (as *Dryden* tells us) in the height of his rage,

——Fought all his battles o'er again,
And thrice he routed all his foes, and
thrice he ſlew the ſlain.

The method of teaching children their alphabet by ginger-bread letters, by which means they learn to eat, and eat to learn, has been found to be of excellent uſe towards the advancement of their learning and their growth: And why mayn't this new invention of feaſting on our enemies dominions have the like effects on our warriors?—This, no doubt, will ſharpen our ſoldiers ſtomachs for new victories;—it will make them, properly ſpeaking, feed themſelves with the hopes of conqueſts,

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when they know that whatever their hands deſtroy, their bellies will reap the benefit of. — I humbly propoſe therefore, that, during the continuance of the preſent war, no muſick ſhall be made uſe of, either at a Lord Mayor's, or Sheriff's feaſt, or at the feaſt of any of the companies of the good city of *London*, except drums and trumpets, I mean till after dinner, any cuſtom or uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding: becauſe it hath been ſaid by a wiſe man and moſt excellent poet,

It is the trumpet and the drum
That makes the warrior's ſtomach come.

I am only apprehenſive that our enemies may object, that this voracious kind of triumph has ſomething ſavage and inhumane in it; they will reſemble us to *Canibals*, *Hottentots*, and what not? they will perhaps cry out,

O may they ne'er digeſt
The horrors of ſo ſad a feaſt,

with a thouſand other bitter reflections, full of malice and cenſoriouſneſs; but let them look back upon, and bluſh at their own real cruelty, and they will forgive (if they can forgive) ſuch innocent barbarities as we are guilty of.— However, I would not adviſe our ingenious Epicures, according to the old ſaying, to count their chickens before they are hatched. Let nothing be devour'd in effigy, the reality of which is not already conſumed, or at leaſt ſubjected to us. Let us earn our bread before we eat it; for if we are ſo imprudent as to do it before, it may perhaps fit ſo heavy upon our ſtomachs that we ſhall be obliged to diſgorge, or at leaſt to wiſh we had not been quite ſo luxurious. But the conſequences which muſt attend ſuch inadvertencies, I leave every man's private judgment to preſent to him, with free leave to act according to it in this particular. *I am, &c.*

UNIVERSAL SPECTATOR, *May* 3.

Friendly reproof the greateſt mark of eſteem.

SIR,

AMong all the duties of *friendſhip*, there is none more neceſſary, yet leſs practis'd, than giving a juſt *reproof* for any errors committed. This omiſſion of a very proper and generous office, is owing to the impatience which is in moſt mens tempers on hearing a relation of their miſconduct; therefore few perſons will venture to give this inſtance of their regard for their friend's welfare, as it may probably occaſion a breach in their acquaintance. Without doubt, to *reprove* any perſon for their errors of life is a very nice point, and requires ſome tenderneſs and due obſervation of a proper time to convey it in; for if the manner of *reprehenſion* is *unſeaſonable* or *unaffecting*, it may turn the intended benefit into a real injury, and rather ſtrengthen the error than correct it. Whoever therefore would execute this *duty* of *friendſhip*, ſhould perform it when he obſerv'd the paſſions of his *friend* to be unruffled; obſerving at the ſame time the utmoſt ſecrecy: for many may be convinced in private, who could not endure an accuſation in *publick*. — *Publick reproof* is like ſtriking of a *deer* in the *herd*; it not only wounds him, but betrays him to the hound his enemy, and makes him by his fellows be puſh'd out of company. Even a temporary concealment of a fault argues ſome charity; and when we tell him of it in ſecret, it ſhews we wiſh he would amend before the world cenſures his errors.—Sometimes indeed a word only, ſeaſonably given, will, like a rudder, ſteer a man into another courſe. When *Philip* of *Macedon* was antickly dancing among his ſlaves, *Demades* cry'd out, *As Fortune has made you like* Agamemnon, *why will you ſhew your ſelf like* Therſites? And this reflection chang'd him to what he ought to be.— The reproof which *Auguſtus* received from his intimate friend was more ſhort and more ſevere, yet had a proper effect. *Auguſtus* was hearing the trial of ſome ſtate-priſoners, when his friend obſerv'd, by the features in his face, that his paſſion was mov'd, and he was loſing that impartial ſedateneſs of mind which his judicial dignity requir'd. He immediately flung a paper into his lap with theſe words written on it, *Riſe, hangman. Auguſtus,*

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gustus, sensible of the justice of the reproof, immediately rose and pardon'd the criminals. Such behaviour shew'd a greatness of mind worthy his character, who could so well make use of so bold a reprehension, and, instead of becoming an *executioner*, approve himself a *conqueror*.

There is a prudent fear of incurring the character of a *busy-body*, which restrains many from giving any advice to others. But a friend should know nothing of such prudence: his careful observance should tell him when he is to speak, and his friendship alone tells him what he is to say on the occasion. As he endeavours much less to please than to do good, he often says that which may not be agreeable to hear: he does not put balsam into that wound where fire is more necessary. At the same time that a crowd of flatterers will have the boldness to applaud you, he will have the courage to reprehend you: for, being free from that passion that blinds you, he only abridges your will this day, the better to enable you to do that which you wish you had done every day. But it is not necessary, to approve himself true, that he still be troublesome: for if he reproves you with freedom, if he advises you with warmth, if he takes great liberty in persuading you, he will not be behind-hand in commending you with vehemence and satisfaction; for it is as essential a tie in friendship to give commendation where it is deserv'd, as it is to rebuke at a proper season. Whoever seems to do nothing but find faults, will appear to be very unjust, or at least vexatious and prejudiced; but by indifferently approving what is valuable in us, as well as condemning what is not so, does make us believe that he perfectly knows us. Hence it is that none succeed better in correcting others, than those, who having study'd what is praise-worthy in them, begin first to praise them for it, and then diminish the fault which they fell out with. The delight we naturally take in the applauses that are given us, is a spur to quicken us to deserve those which are refus'd us: by lessening our crime, and concealing a part of miscarriage, we thence take heart to confess it all, and such a confession engages us to amend.

Upon the whole, All reprehensions should appear affectionate, arising from truth, and a desire to have them prove beneficial; and when convey'd in such a manner, though they may be receiv'd at first with some indignation, they will afterwards be judg'd of as the effects of a sincere esteem.— But should they not, what ill consequence could follow? The best way to lose a friend, is by seeking by my love to save him. 'Tis best for others that they hate me for vice; but if I must be hated, it is best for *myself* that they hate me for any virtue. *I am, &c.*

Englishman's Evening Post, *May* 6.

Reflections on the report of the removal of a certain great man from his employments. [See p. 189.]

SIR,

IT has been objected to the character of my Lord *Clarendon*, who was one of the honestest ministers that ever served the crown of *England*, that after the restauration he dictated this *Machiavelian* piece of policy to his master, That his *friends would still be his friends, but that he ought to take care to make friends of enemies*. Now, though nothing can be more different from what was that Nobleman's way of thinking and acting too, than this weak and wicked maxim, yet we can easily account in what manner that calumny has arisen and spread. Upon the restauration, they who had joined with K. *Charles* I. in all those arbitrary measures that made it *necessary* for the parliament to interpose for saving the *liberties of the nation*, look'd on all those who had joined with the parliament in this great and necessary work as so many *old rebels*, and thought themselves alone intitled to all the places of power and trust in the government. My Lord *Clarendon*, who himself had pretty freely opposed those measures under *Charles* I. which he thought tended to encroach on the rights

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of the subject, very wisely judged, that to bring in those men again into play, would be to hazard the renewing the same scene of calamity that had been acted in the last reign. He therefore was honest enough to his country to advise his prince to employ those men whose known principles led them to oppose every arbitrary step, and to set the privilege of the people, as well as the prerogative of the prince, above the attacks of power on the one hand, or of faction on the other. This alarmed those zealots, who had expected that the very forms of our constitution were to be abolished, and no difference made betwixt those who had rescued the just rights of the people, and those who had imbrued their hands in the blood of their sovereign. For this reason, it was suggested from the press, and from the pulpit, that this worthy minister had adopted the *Machiavelian* principle we see above; and to this day, some people are so weak as still to insist on that falshood.

I shall pursue this subject, as it relates to my Lord *Clarendon*, no farther than to observe, that the absurdity of those who after the *restauration* imagined that the nation never would be happy till the King could rule without parliaments, is not near so great as the wickedness of those who since the *revolution* have endeavoured to persuade their princes that no man can be *faithful* to the *King* unless he is *servile* to the *minister*. The *old Cavaliers*, who had seen the miseries which the country had undergone by the parliament carrying their resentment against the name and authority of a King a little too far, were in some measure excusable if they thought that no good thing could arise from parliaments. But since the revolution, when the nature of the royal trust, of the subject's privileges, and of ministerial authority, have all been so clearly and so fully adjusted; when *jealousy of power* enters even into the *composition of the constitution*, and forms the most *solid beam* in all the *structure* of our *government*; the supporting the *power of a wicked minister*, by the *ruin of a faithful subject*, plainly tends to renew all those principles and measures, which will always endanger to a King of *G. Britain* the affections of his best and wisest subjects, which are his truest support.

It is true, if a prince is advised to require a thing of a subject, which the latter thinks he cannot in honour comply with, the reasons of his refusal ought to be laid before the crown; and if they are found inconsistent with his duty, if it appears that he is not equal to his post, if it appears by some overt act that he entertains dangerous views, the minister will be justified by every wise man if such a subject is laid aside. But if we can suppose a case wherein a subject of the first rank for quality, family, experience, loyalty, courage and eloquence, is dismissed from the service of his sovereign, is stript of all his posts and employments, at the critical juncture when the dangers with which his country is threatened point him out as the only man in the nation who is capable to fill them; should such a subject, I say, be disgraced for no other reason, so much as pretended, but because he opposed the minister, into what a dangerous situation may the liberties of this kingdom be brought, and how *infamous* may the enjoyment of the most useful and the most honourable employments soon become? Let us add to these considerations, if the person thus disgraced is one, descended from ancestors, who had fought and *bled* in the cause of liberty, whose attachment to those very principles, by which the house of *Hanover* now sits on the throne of *Britain*, was the cause why they left their brave descendent, scarce any thing of their once great fortune but his sword, which has been ever employed in defence of his prince and country, and which by the assistance of as great natural parts, and as much honesty as any man alive can boast of, has now fixed the eyes of the publick on his virtues, and set him up in that amiable point of light, beyond which the wishes of a good man, and the ambition of a dutiful subject will never aspire; if we add still farther, that this great person has, amidst many

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many alterations of ſtate, and many revolutions even of his own private circumſtances, always preſerved a uniformity of conduct peculiar to himſelf, in which his zeal for the preſent eſtabliſhment in his Majeſty's perſon and family has been always the diſtinguiſhing character: I ſay, when thoſe who are diſſatisfied give out, that ſuch a perſon as I have deſcribed is diſgraced merely for *ſpeaking his mind freely*, and for doing a duty which no other man in the kingdom can do ſo well, it is a dangerous ſymptom that *diſaffection* begins to mingle with *diſſatisfaction*; for nothing can tend ſo much to alienate the minds of the people from the duty they owe to the government, as ſuch ſcandalous reports.

Therefore, when I hear that ſuch a man, as one of whoſe qualities and virtues I have endeavoured to draw the above faint ſketch, is removed from all his poſts, I conſider it in one of theſe two lights; either as a direct falſhood, as I hope it is; or as done for reaſons on the part of the ſ——n juſt, wiſe, and honourable in themſelves. A prince of the houſe of *H——r* never, without wiſe and weighty cauſes, could, in the day of danger, deny himſelf the ſervice of a ſubject who aſſured the crown on the head of the father, who in the infancy of the laſt reign (that I may uſe the words of his own b——r on a late occaſion) *ſuppreſſed a rebellion that, according to the opinion of a Noble Lord, whoſe words uſed to have great weight in the houſe of Peers*, MADE THE SCEPTRE TREMBLE IN THE HANDS OF THE KING, *and ſeemed to threaten a deciſive battle for the crown in the bowels of the kingdom.* Was he *puniſhed, was he diſgraced for his immortal ſervice to his country?* Does every man in the nation think that he at that time ſuffered unjuſtly? and ſhall it be ſaid that at this time, while through his means the people in *G. Britain* are united in their duty and allegiance to his royal houſe, he is puniſhed for endeavouring a ſecond time to reſcue his ſ——n from more dangerous and powerful enemies? No; ill would it become a ſubject to reaſon thus on the conduct of his ſ—n. His preſent Majeſty, as a King, *can*, and as a man, *will* do no wrong. We are therefore wiſely and dutifully to conclude, that whatever may be in this report, his Majeſty, ſo far as relates to his own conduct, is ſtrictly juſtifiable; and if any are to be blamed, it is they who think nothing ſo criminal as honeſty, virtue and reſolution.

It was with the higheſt degree of ſatisfaction that all good ſubjects reflected, that there was a man alive who had ſerved under the deliverer of *G. Britain*, who had fought in the great battles that reſcued the liberties of *Europe*, and who was of ſuch a character as to unite the hearts, and command the hands of any army, which this nation may find neceſſary again to raiſe for the ſame wiſe purpoſes. Even a ſtanding army, under the command of ſuch a man, loſes a great many of its terrors; becauſe the ſubjects are ſatisfied that no attempts will ever be made by an army, thus commanded, that can affect their liberties. The experience and abilities of ſuch a General only can make amends for the rawneſs of troops who have never ſeen the face of an enemy; and the dread of our having a General of that character at the head of our army, may, perhaps, as much as any other motive, contribute to bringing the open enemies of the nation to reaſon, and preventing her more reſerved foes from declaring againſt us. To conclude, So many improbabilities attend the common report of this great man being diveſted of all his poſts and employments, in the manner and for the reaſons given out, that our duty, as well as common prudence, dictates to us that we ought to ſuſpend any reflections on that head till time and circumſtances ſhall bring the truth to light. *I am, &c.*

COMMON SENSE, *May* 17.

Marriage a moral duty.

Aſpiring to be gods, if angels fell;
Aſpiring to be angels, men rebel.

ESSAY on MAN.

AS the riches of a country conſiſt more in the number of its inhabitants,

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bitants, than in the extent of its dominions, *marriage* has always been encouraged by politick societies. The immunities granted by the *Roman* commonwealth to such as had three children are well known: and the custom of *free-bench*, as well as *tenancy by the courtesy*, which is peculiar to this nation, shews it was not formerly discountenanced in *England*.— Its being an advantage to society, is itself a sufficient proof that it is a *moral perfection*: yet there is no occasion to rest it upon that single argument.

If whatever promotes the great ends of the creation is a duty of morality, certainly that upon which the continuance of it does depend must be an essential one: and if the not forwarding the designs of providence in the creation is a moral evil, that must be so in a much greater degree which tends necessarily to defeat them.—Yet, notwithstanding this plain demonstration of the moral obligation of marriage, it has been too much discouraged by some of our church, as well as by those of the church of *Rome*; and *celibacy* inculcated as a Christian virtue.

To suppose it possible for religion to contradict morality in a single instance, is at once to overturn all the evidences of it.— If then marriage is a moral duty, how much must those be mistaken, who recommend celibacy as a Christian perfection, and publish set forms of prayer to implore the divine assistance to continue in a single state, which is living in a constant breach of a moral, and consequently religious obligation!

Let us consider the force of their arguments, That we ought to subdue our passions, and imitate the angels, *who are neither married nor given in marriage*.

Our appetites and passions were given us to promote the designs of providence in our creation, and when properly regulated tend admirably to that end. They were intended to instigate us to action, and under the government of reason are productive of every good quality and virtue: and whoever will argue that we ought to extinguish any passion because an irregular indulging it is vicious, should *starve* sooner than eat; because *hunger* is an human *appetite*, and *gluttony* a *vice*.— The other argument scarce deserves an answer. We should, indeed, imitate the angels in conforming to the several laws of our state, as religiously as we suppose they do to theirs; but where-ever our duties *differ*, our actions ought not to be *the same*: and whoever agrees to the pleasing as well as rational system of Mr *Addison*, will not be at a loss to shew why our duties vary *in this particular*.— The eternal progression of the human soul is knowledge, and its constant approaches to the divinity, like a mathematical line that still draws nearer to another without ever being able to touch it, is the noblest idea human conception is capable of. Our present state is the *first link* of this great chain; and as it is reasonable every soul should begin its progress from *the same point*, we *alone* seem properly calculated by the divine pleasure to give existence to new creatures; that so the gradation of beings perpetually rising in perfection, may be continued as long as the author of this admirable scheme shall think fit. *Thus* we ought not to aspire at being angels *too soon*, but be contented to fill the space design'd for us by nature.— Tho' we cannot be certain that the neglect of this duty will be *positively* punished, yet I think it capable of almost mathematical demonstration that it will *negatively* be so, by making us *less happy*: for if the performing the duties of this life is productive of future happiness, (and that it necessarily is so, is undeniably proved by Mr *Wollaston* in his *Religion of nature delineated*,) the increasing the number of *those duties* by the addition of the conjugal and parental *ones*, must be an infallible means of increasing *that happiness*.

After so strenuous a recommendation of marriage, it will be expected I should lay down some rules concerning a proper choice; but as *example* sways more than *precept*, I will conclude with a story, from whence either sex may draw instruction.

EUGENIO was a young Gentleman from

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from the nature of his education addicted to gaiety and expence; which he supported by the assistance of good sense and a plentiful fortune, without injuring his reputation or estate. Having no family of his own, he made a visit to a friend with a design of passing the summer with him in the country. SOPHRONIA happen'd to be there at the same time, by the invitation of the Lady of the house, with whom she had always been educated. Her person was nothing remarkable; but a sweet disposition and a good natural understanding made her conversation agreeable. Upon his first arrival EUGENIO was too well-bred not to shew a particular civility to one so much respected by the family; and SOPHRONIA knew how to return it by a suitable behaviour. They had not been long acquainted before the sprightliness of *his* conversation, and the amiable innocence of *her's*, begot a *mutual* desire of rendering themselves agreeable to each other. EUGENIO's education had been too ingenuous to harbour a wish that was dishonourable; and SOPHRONIA willingly encouraged a virtuous inclination, that would be so much for her advantage. She knew he possessed no ill qualities; and thought he would easily be wean'd from his love of shew and expence by a more settled way of life. But his desire to live splendidly got the better of his passion: he would not *throw himself away* upon one, who had but 3000 *l.* for her portion; so determined to return immediately to *London*, and obliterate his fondness by the diversions of the town.

THEANA came up about the same time to spend the winter with her aunt. She was the only daughter of a Gentleman of fortune, by whose death she was lately come into the possession of above 15,000 *l.* She was determined never to marry a man, who could not support her in the magnificence that such a fortune *might expect*; and *for that reason only* had refused EUPHORBUS, who was a young Gentleman bred up to a profession, in which his natural abilities, join'd to a steady application, promised him the greatest success. They had long been acquainted, and so perfectly agreeable to each other, that EUPHORBUS had just reason to hope he should prevail over her desire for grandeur, which was the only failing she possess'd. But that passion was predominant: she was afraid it should be said she had *acted imprudently*, and that she should not be able to stand the reflections of the world for having only one footman behind *a chariot and pair*, when she might have had half a dozen powder'd valets attending *her coach and six*.

Upon her coming to *London*, EUGENIO made his addresses among the rest; and as his fortune enabled him to make a *suitable settlement*, preliminaries were soon agreed on. Before they had been ten times together, the lawyers were bribed not to be *dilatory*. Several thousands were expended *in plate and jewels*. The *gay livery* and *gilded car* proclaim'd them the happiest couple of the season. — But they soon found that happiness did not consist in *shew*. Little contrarieties of temper were the cause of continual differences; which in less than two years arose to such height that they were just *not parted*. To avoid the uneasiness of home, EUGENIO *publickly* indulged himself in his amours; and THEANA was only *more private*. *His* money was thrown away at Hazard; *her's* as religiously devoted to Quadrille. *He* was regardless of the education of his sons, because he was not sure they were his own; *she* instructed her daughters in nothing but cards and romances. — But it is time to make some enquiry after the other two. The next winter after her disappointment, SOPHRONIA came to *London* with her female friend. EUPHORBUS accidentally fell into her company. Frequent meetings created an acquaintance. That acquaintance increased gradually into a mutual esteem; which, as it was not founded *upon interest*, but *a thorough knowledge of each other*, they had good reason to believe would continue. With this prospect they intermarried. The smallness of their fortunes was compensated by contentedness and œconomy. The desire of providing for his children made *him* double

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double his application to his profeſſion; and *ſhe* was in the mean time as agreeably entertain'd in taking care of their education. *He* was daily adding to their fortune; *ſhe* to their virtue. In the decline of life they retired to a country-houſe and eſtate, which *his* profeſſion and *her* œconomy had enabled them to buy of EUGENIO, whoſe extravagance and ill-management had obliged him to ſell the greateſt part of his eſtate, as ſoon as a booby ſon was old enough *to be bribed* to cut off the entail. *There*, in the words of *Agamemnon*,

They know a paſſion ſtill more deeply charming
Than fever'd youth e'er felt; and that is love,
By long experience mellow'd into friendſhip.

Thus are EUPHORBUS and SOPHRONIA, by a marriage *founded on good ſenſe*, poſſeſs'd of happineſs, riches, and reputation; which EUGENIO and THEANA have loſt by the contrary means.

The SPEECH of the Rt Hon. A----R O--W, *Eſq*; *S-----r of the Hon. h--ſe of C----ns, at the bar of the h--ſe of P--rs, upon preſenting the money-b--ls to his M-----y*, April 29. 1740.

May it pleaſe your moſt ſacred Majeſty,

THE Commons of G. Britain, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to preſent to your Majeſty the money-bills for the ſums that are neceſſary to carry on the great and important buſineſs of this nation. They amount, in all, to four millions of money: an immenſe ſum indeed! but granted by your Commons not only with chearfulneſs, but unanimity, and a great part of it with unuſual diſpatch. This, Sir, aroſe from the aſſurance they have that it will be expended for the great and neceſſary purpoſes for which it is granted.

Thus, your Majeſty has the ſatisfaction to perceive, that your faithful ſubjects have done their duty in enabling your Majeſty to ſupport thoſe vaſt armaments both by ſea and land, which are, under your Majeſty's wiſe direction, to procure them ſatisfaction for thoſe wrongs that have been wantonly inflicted upon this nation by an inſolent enemy, who vainly imagined that a prudent forbearance was the effect of puſillanimous councils, and that willingneſs to avoid, if poſſible, a deſtructive war, proceeded from an inability to puniſh their injuſtice. But, thanks to heaven, there is yet a ſtrength and ſpirit in the nation that may convince them how fatally they are miſtaken; and the ſum which your faithful Commons have now the honour to preſent to your Majeſty, is a proof of the great power which this nation is able to exert, when the glory of your Majeſty's crown, and the preſervation of their own juſt and undoubted rights calls it forth. At the ſame time, the unanimity and chearfulneſs which appears among your faithful Commons to ſupport your Majeſty in this juſt and neceſſary war, may give other, and more formidable powers to underſtand, what they are to expect if they ſhall join with the preſent enemies of your Majeſty's crown and people. It is perhaps owing to this unanimity and chearfulneſs, that we are as yet engaged in a war with Spain alone, and that, during the courſe of this war, your Majeſty's ſubjects have been enabled, without any material interruption, to proſecute their moſt valuable branches of trade; while their enemies have met with the ſevereſt checks, and have fatally experienced how feeble their riches and wealth are againſt the efforts of a brave people, united under a prince who knows no intereſts ſeparate from theirs, nor aſpires at any glory greater than that of preſerving them in the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges.

Let the enemies of this nation therefore boaſt of their far-brought treaſure, let them rely upon their wide extended dominions, while all Europe are witneſſes how little the advantages that ariſe from either, avail againſt that irreſiſtible ſtrength which ariſes from *Induſtry*, *Liberty* and *Commerce*. Theſe invaluable mines of the Britiſh treaſure have been fully protected under your Majeſty, and your faithful Commons reflect with plea-

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pleasure and gratitude, that it is owing to this constant attention in your Majesty to the great concerns of your subjects, that they are now enabled to grant to your Majesty the great sums contained in these bills.

The great success of your Majesty's arms under your Majesty's brave Admiral in America, is an illustrious proof of your Majesty's wise and prudent care in giving the proper orders for *distressing the enemy in the most sensible parts.* The bravery of your Majesty's subjects on that occasion, will, no doubt, convince the enemy of the superiority which a just sense of the most ignominious treatment of your Majesty's crown, and the barbarous inhumanities inflicted upon their fellow-subjects, will always produce in a people jealous of their sovereign's honour and their own rights. The other successes that in the course of this war have attended your Majesty's arms, are so many instances of the vast power of this nation when she exerts her true and natural strength, and give your faithful Commons the pleasing prospect of your Majesty's ending this just and necessary war with that glory to your Majesty, with that security to their own undoubted rights of navigation and commerce, and with that honour to the nation in general, which the goodness of your Majesty's cause, the wisdom of your councils, and the bravery of your forces, deserve.

It will be owing to ourselves if we are disappointed in this expectation, and we can only have ourselves to blame if this war is not attended with numberless advantages to your Majesty's dominions. But if we are united at home, we have nothing to dread from abroad; and we have every thing to hope from your Majesty's known attachment to the rights and liberties of your people. Our situation, as an island, defends us from all attacks of foreign power; and your Majesty's faithful Commons hope, that no disunion among ourselves shall ever give the common enemies of the nation, whoever they are, those advantages which they now despair of obtaining by arms. It is union alone, and we may say with pleasure we are all united in the present great work, that can take from our enemies the least shadow of hope to succeed, either by open force, or domestick treachery. It is by each of us in our several stations endeavouring to promote that duty and zeal for your Majesty's person and government, that regard for the laws and constitution of this kingdom, and that abhorrence of those principles which have ever tended to subvert our liberties; it is by such a behaviour alone that we can reap those blessings, which your Majesty's wise and mild administration, and the glorious success of your Majesty's arms in the course of this war, gives us the most solid foundation for expecting.

At the end of the last great war, in which the very power that your Majesty's arms are now chastising was a party against us, we might have secured those advantages in the most effectual manner, had we been but true to ourselves, and had we not given up in a shameful manner all the terms which this nation had a right to expect from a long, glorious, and expensive war. Providence has again brought the same opportunity about; and your Majesty will, we hope, soon retrieve, by your wise and successful conduct in the prosecution of this great and important war, those advantages in point of commerce and navigation, that were then sacrificed to our domestick animosities, which would not suffer us to discern our real interests. But your Majesty's regard for the rights and privileges of your subjects on this great occasion, has united all parties in a just sense of the wrongs the nation has suffered: They are all agreed upon the terms your Majesty has a right to require; and your Majesty's faithful Commons will think themselves happy, they will think all the treasure employed at this important juncture wisely and usefully applied, if it shall procure to the nation those advantages of commerce and navigation which we then gave up.

It is from the regard your Majesty has always shewn for the just rights of your

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your subjects, from that inviolable attachment to the interest of this nation which has been always the rule of your Majesty's administration, that your faithful Commons promise to themselves such a full security in the exercise of their navigation, as may raise this nation to a higher pitch of grandeur than she could have hop'd for even on the conclusion of that great war. The measures which have hitherto been pursued, give them the strongest reason to believe that all their just expectations will be fulfilled, and that the reputation, commerce, and influence of this nation, under your Majesty, will be put upon such a footing, as to put them beyond the possibility of all future violation, even from the most powerful and most formidable enemy, which this nation now has, or may hereafter have to encounter.

As your Majesty, by the attention you have still paid to the just desires of your people; as by your Majesty's continual application to the sense of your great council upon every step that has been taken in the prosecution of this great work, you have convinced your subjects that you pursue no interests separate from theirs; so there is nothing that may be necessary for them to fulfil in the future management of the war, that your Majesty may not justly promise to yourself from their affections and gratitude. As they and all Europe are witness with what reluctance your Majesty entered into this war, while there remained any hopes of obtaining in the way of negotiation that which your Majesty endeavours now to obtain by force of arms; as they feel no other inconveniencies from it, but such as must unavoidably happen in the course of a maritime war: so they have reason to hope that it will be as gloriously ended, as it has been hitherto successfully conducted; and that all Europe will be convinced from the fate of Spain, how dangerous it is to provoke the resentment of your Majesty, or to attack the rights of a nation who derive their riches and strength from commerce. And indeed, who can say, that this war may not be critical to G. Britain, by opening channels of trade hitherto denied to your Majesty's subjects? Who can say, it is not reserved to be the peculiar glory of your Majesty's reign, that G. Britain shall from the event of this war extend her commerce, and enlarge her possessions, so as to acquire a degree of strength and power unknown to her under the most glorious of your Majesty's predecessors?

Their glory often desolated their kingdoms, and impoverished their subjects; but it may be your Majesty's happiness to reconcile your glory to the noblest, the richest gifts of peace and commerce, by the encouragement given to your Majesty's subjects to attack the possessions of your Majesty's enemies in America. A bill to which your Majesty has already given your royal assent has this same session passed both houses for the purpose: by that bill such encouragement is given to your Majesty's adventuring subjects, or other your Majesty's forces if they shall attack and conquer any part of the enemy's distant possessions, as cannot fail of obtaining those advantages, in trade and navigation, which we were formerly so wanting to ourselves as to overlook; advantages that may raise the power and reputation of this nation to the highest pitch upon the most solid foundation, and unalterably fix the balance of Europe in the hands of your Majesty, and your august house. These are the consequences which your Majesty's subjects may reasonably promise to themselves from the event of this war. They are consequences that will distinguish your Majesty's reign to all posterity, by making this war as productive of happiness and riches to your Majesty's subjects, as others have been of desolation and ruin.

The great aids which your Majesty's faithful Commons now present to your Majesty, will enable your Majesty, to retain the dominion of the seas; which will render it impossible for any power in Europe to give your Majesty's enemies such assistance, as to wrest from your Majesty any of the advantages which

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which your Majesty's subjects promise to themselves from this war; and which will be such a source of wealth to this nation, as may give posterity reason to reflect with pleasure upon the generous views of your Majesty, and the provident wisdom of this parliament.

And now may that God, to whom your Majesty has now appealed, bless your Majesty's councils and arms with the success which the justice of your Majesty's cause deserves; and make this war as glorious and happy to your Majesty, and your subjects, as it has been wisely and necessarily enter'd into by your Majesty. And that your Majesty's faithful Commons may not be wanting to your Majesty, to the nation, or to themselves, in providing for what lies at their door towards making this a glorious and a successful war, they beg your Majesty's gracious acceptance of the following bills; which will convince your Majesty and all the world, that under whatever difficulties this nation may labour from its great publick debts, yet your Majesty's subjects will always find the means of supporting your Majesty, while your Majesty so effectually employs your power in protecting them.

The SPEECH of the D——ke of A---LE, *upon the state of the nation*, April 15. 1740.

IT was proposed in the h--se of P--rs to resolve, *That the unexpected taking and demolishing of Porto Bello by Admiral Vernon, with no other land-forces than 240 men lent him by the Governor of Jamaica, might not only have been rendered certain and infallible, but likewise have been attended with further and greater success, if some of our land-forces, commanded by experienced officers, had been sent to the West-Indies about the same time that Admiral sail'd; and that the sending of no land-forces hitherto into America, is a manifest piece of ill conduct in the prosecution of this just and necessary war.* And a question being stated thereupon, after a debate, it was order'd to leave out the words, *not only have been rendered certain and infallible, but likewise.* And the question being put upon the said proposition, without these words, it was resolved in the negative. —— On which occasion the D—ke spoke as follows.

My Lords,

THE present question is of so great importance, that I could wish that every Lord in this house was to declare his opinion with the same sincerity, with the same unreservedness which I think is my indispensable duty to use, when I lay my poor thoughts before your Lordships. I, my Lords, have no view in speaking upon publick affairs, but to do that service to my master and my country, that I think every Lord in this house ought to aim at, without regarding who takes his honest endeavours amiss: for my own part, my Lords, I have, ever since I had the honour to sit in this house, spoke my mind with equal freedom upon all occasions; and will continue to do it the more sincerely, as I have neither hopes nor fears from this administration, and as few from the next: and, my Lords, so void is my breast of all partial considerations, of all interested views, that I don't care, if all my thoughts were read at Charing-cross; all my ambition being to be thought a man who speaks and acts as he thinks: and, my Lords, it has been long my opinion, that by such a conduct a man may even force the esteem of his enemies.

I, my Lords, have lived long enough in the world, to be able to compare the once flourishing state of this country, with its present melancholy situation; I have seen, my Lords, a time when G. Britain was glorious, triumphant and terrible abroad, her government lov'd, respected and envy'd at home; when her enmity was dreaded, and when her alliance was courted. Is there a subject in this kingdom, my Lords, who can reflect that these were once the happy circumstances of this country, and yet sees the deplorable alteration which a few years has made, who will not feel a sensible concern upon the comparison, however self-interest may alleviate his grief?

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I know, my Lords, what has been ſaid in favour of thoſe who have been the inſtruments of bringing this melancholy change about; I know it has been attributed to Fortune, and to unforeſeen cauſes. My Lords, I am very ſenſible that Fortune has very often a very great hand in publick events, and that a nation may ſuffer a great deal from events, that no human foreſight could prevent or guard againſt; but I am far from thinking that this has been our caſe. I am apt to believe, my Lords, that Fortune has been favourable to us, and preſented us with many opportunities of raiſing the honour and intereſt of this nation to as high a pitch as ever, even while they have been ſuffering the moſt; but that theſe opportunities have been all wantonly ſlighted, and neglected. It is, my Lords, I am afraid, owing to a long ſeries of miſconduct, to a long train of weak meaſures, unſucceſsful and unnatural expedients, and not to Fortune, that this nation has ſuffered ſo much in her character and intereſt in all the courts of Europe. A very ſlight review, my Lords, of our conduct for ſome years paſt, may convince any man of this truth.

The treaty of Utrecht, my Lords, is a meaſure that we have been often told is the ſource of all thoſe inconſiſtencies that appear in our conduct for theſe laſt five and twenty years. My Lords, I had the honour of ſitting in this houſe at that time, and to have ſome ſhare in the ſucceſſes that might have intitled us to a much better treaty. I am very ſenſible it was not a good treaty; and when it came to be conſider'd by the houſe, no Lord ſpoke with greater freedom on that occaſion than I did. At the ſame time, my Lords, my oppoſition to that treaty could not proceed from any diſſatisfaction, from any ill-will that I could bear to thoſe who concluded it; I liv'd on good terms, nay had perſonal friendſhips with ſeveral who had a large ſhare in the negotiations that brought it about; but I oppos'd it becauſe I thought it might have been better, and becauſe it gave up many advantages that we might have then juſtly claim'd. But, my Lords, bad as it was, I don't think you have made a better ſince: and had even the advantages which the nation gain'd by the treaty of Utrecht, been improved by the next miniſtry; had they made a right uſe of their power, in cementing the ſhort-liv'd miſunderſtandings that ſoon after broke out among our allies, and thus depriving France of all the means of retrieving her power upon theſe differences, you might, notwithſtanding all that then happen'd, have gone on from glory to glory till you had fix'd the balance of power unalterably in your own hands.

But, my Lords, the ſucceeding miniſtry took no warning from the miſconduct of their predeceſſors; they took no care to avoid treading in their footſteps, tho' the ruin to which they led, was ſo clearly and ſo evidently pointed out; they fell into a train of fooliſh negotiations, which diſoblig'd and detach'd your beſt friends from your intereſts, and which gave your natural enemies an opportunity of retrieving all they had loſt. They adopted a maxim, my Lords, That any, even the moſt diſhonourable peace, was preferable to a war; and by their inviolable adherence to this maxim, they have led you into all that diſcredit, I had almoſt ſaid ſcandal, that has come upon you from all quarters. This ſituation, my Lords, is the more dreadful, as it is attended with no ſecurity. We have negotiated ourſelves out of all reputation; and tho' we have been doing nothing, but forming alliances and making treaties, for theſe twenty years paſt, we have not at this day one ally in the world, nor one treaty that at this time ſtands us in any ſtead. My Lords, I appeal to facts: Where are your allies? Have you receiv'd the leaſt aſſiſtance from any power in Europe ſince you enter'd into this war; or, is there any appearance of their declaring in your favour?

Having ſaid thus much, my Lords, upon the general ſtate of the nation at this time, I ſhall now trouble your Lordſhips with my opinion as to this particular queſtion. And here, my Lords, I cannot help declaring, that I think the words

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words of the question are extremely proper, and that it is very becoming your Lordships wisdom and dignity, while you have the state of the nation under your consideration, to enquire into the particulars which this resolution comprehends. It consists, my Lords, of two plain undeniable facts, and one consequence: therefore I cannot see the least grounds for supposing, with a Noble Lord who has spoken in this debate, that our agreeing to this resolution can ever reflect the least dishonour upon the glorious success at Porto Bello; or that it is a censure upon the congratulations which have been presented already to his Majesty on that account. My Lords, truth will be truth, whatever glosses are made to disguise it, and whatever attempts are made to pervert it. The present question contains nothing but what every Lord must admit of. The parts of which it consists, are no way complicated, and must be understood by every body who takes the pains to consider the fact; which, my Lords, is, "That if Admiral Vernon had been furnish'd with a proper body of land-forces, the taking of Porto Bello might have been render'd not only more certain and infallible, but have been attended with greater consequences to the nation." My Lords, the Noble Lord who made the motion, gave your Lordships no ground for thinking that he meant a scriptural infallibility, such an infallibility as the church of Rome vests in her Popes, by the words *certain* and *infallible* contain'd in this motion: no, my Lords. As I understand the words of the resolution, they mean no more than that if Admiral Vernon had been furnished with land-forces, it was fifty thousand to one if he had fail'd in his attack upon Porto Bello; whereas, there were many chances to one against his success, as he was not furnished with them. The words *certain* and *infallible*, therefore, are here put in opposition to the precariousness and uncertainty he was under in making such an attack with so trifling a number. For, my Lords, give me leave to say it, had the Spaniards behav'd with resolution, had they defended the place as well as its fortifications might have admitted of, Admiral Vernon could not have succeeded. And as it was, my Lords, nothing but his own intrepidity and good conduct could have prevented his ships coming very indifferently off. But he acted with the resolution that became an English Admiral; he said he *can't take the place, and he would take it*: and, my Lords, it was owing to him, and him only, that it was taken; for it appears that his ship did all the damage to the Spaniards. Now, my Lords, can any Lord doubt, that if Admiral Vernon had been properly supported by a sufficient body of land-forces, that he might not have attempted greater matters than the taking and demolishing of Porto Bello?

Having said thus much, my Lords, in defence of the facts contained in the question, I come now to the consequence; which I suppose to have been that part of the motion that has given rise to all this debate. This consequence, my Lords, is, "That the not sending land-forces with Mr Vernon, was a piece of mismanagement in the prosecuting *this just and necessary war*." My Lords, who doubts that it was? A Noble Lord who spoke first in the debate, was pleased to say, that a great many things were necessary to be provided, in order to embark any number of land-forces for so distant a voyage. My Lords, it is now a long time since I serv'd, and it is possible that at my years I may have forgot a good deal; but, my Lords, I hope, that what I have forgot is amply supply'd by the experience and capacity of my cotemporaries and fellow-officers, and that they (several of them, my Lords, sit in this house) will set me right if I should mistake in any point. My Lords, I have been a little us'd to embarkations, and I do agree with the Noble Lord, that the embarkation of troops is a very tedious and difficult matter. But your Lordships will be pleas'd to observe one distinction which the Noble Lord did not make; and that is, my Lords, that there is a great difference betwixt embarking horse and foot.

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foot. I have had experience of both, and it certainly is no eaſy matter to embark any number of horſe; but, my Lords, it is by no means ſo difficult a matter to embark 5, or 6, or 8000 foot. And had ſuch a number been embark'd at the time when the troops were brought over from Ireland, my Lords, I make no doubt but by this time we might have been in the poſſeſſion of a place in the Weſt-Indies, which might have paid us for all the expence of this war, had we kept it. The taking of Porto Bello, my Lords, was a brave action; it ſhew'd what an Engliſh ſquadron, if rightly commanded, can do: but had Mr Vernon been at that time furniſhed with a proper body of land-forces, I don't know how far he might have carried his conqueſts. Common fame reports, that he is now before Carthagena; and I wiſh him all the ſucceſs which his bravery and conduct deſerve: but does any Lord here doubt, that if at this time, ſuppoſing him to be before Carthagena, he had eight or ten battalions along with him, that he might not promiſe himſelf a much more certain and eaſy conqueſt? Had he eight or ten battalions on board, my Lords, might he not attempt a conqueſt of more importance to this nation than even that of Carthagena itſelf? My Lords, I ſpeak of theſe things according to the light in which they appear to me: what private reaſons there might be for not ſending land-forces along with that Admiral, I ſhall not pretend to account for, becauſe I am no otherwiſe acquainted with the publick tranſactions, than all the good people in England either are or may be.

A Noble Duke who has ſpoke in this debate has ſaid, that the ſeaſon of the year is to be conſidered, and that the ſending troops to America at certain ſeaſons is attended with the worſt conſequences to the perſons of the men. My Lords, I am extremely ſenſible of that, and know, that if you ſend men from this kingdom at ſuch a ſeaſon as that they muſt land in America during the unwholeſome months, you ſend them to their death. For which reaſon, my Lords, when I heard a great deal of talk about an expedition, and that we were to ſend over 10 or 12,000 men to America, in order to take the Havannah or ſome important place from the Spaniards, I thought it was a very right meaſure; but when I heard that the troops deſign'd for that expedition, were to be ſent off from Britain about the end of February or the beginning of March, I ſaid that it was impoſſible, and that they muſt land in America at the very time when the violent heats and unwholeſomneſs of the climate muſt kill, at leaſt, one half of them. Therefore, my Lords, I was very glad to hear that this expedition was delay'd to a more proper opportunity. But, my Lords, when Admiral Vernon ſail'd from this, it was the propereſt ſeaſon in all the year for ſending men over to America; for they muſt have landed there at the beſt time, and in the mildeſt ſeaſon of all the year: ſo that no objection of that kind can be brought againſt our not ſending land-forces with Mr Vernon. As we did not think proper to ſend them at that time, my Lords, we loſt that year; and if we ſhall let the approaching ſeaſon paſs without ſending out the troops deſign'd for the expedition that is ſo much talk'd of, we muſt loſe another year, and ſo give the Spaniards more time for fortifying and putting themſelves upon their guard. So that, my Lords, I take it this is a plain argument why we ought to agree to this reſolution: for if we knew at the time of Mr Vernon's ſailing from this, that we muſt loſe another year, in caſe we did not ſend the land-forces then; to be ſure, they who were in the direction of affairs were the more inexcuſable, as they brought another year's expences upon the back of the nation, which is ſo little able to bear it. For, my Lords, it is there that we can moſt effectually diſtreſs them, it is there that their moſt ſenſible parts lie, and it is only by attacking them there, that we can ever hope to get out of this war with honour and advantage.

The ſame Noble Duke was pleaſed to aſſert, that all had been done that was to be expected on the coaſt of Old Spain, where

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where we have had a ſtrong ſquadron lying for near two years paſt. All has been done, my Lords! What ſingle thing has been done (except the taking a ſhip or two) that could make the Spaniards feel that you had a ſquadron there? and, my Lords, give me leave to ſay, a ſquadron fitted out at a vaſt expence to this nation. It conſiſted of more and better ſhips than even Sir John Jennings, who will always be remembred on thoſe ſeas to his immortal honour, ever had the command of. It was a ſtronger fleet, my Lords, than ever was given to Sir John Norris; who certainly, in his way as a ſea-officer, is ſuperior to any man in Europe. My Lords, I think the ſervice upon which Mr Haddock was ſent, deſerv'd to have been committed to one of your Admirals, the beſt and ableſt officer in his Majeſty's ſervice. I ſay this, my Lords, without any intention to reflect upon any Gentleman who has the honour to ſerve his Majeſty as a ſea-officer; I have a great eſteem for all, and no exceptions to any of them. But, my Lords, as our reputation was beyond all things to be regarded, eſpecially at the beginning of this war, I think we ought to have employed thoſe who had rank and ſtanding in the fleet, beſides courage, which every man is ſuppoſed to have; and this would have, perhaps, given the Spaniards to underſtand that we were in earneſt, as much as any thing, except ſome vigorous ſtroke.

But, my Lords, give me leave to aſk, What has this great fleet done? What return has the nation had for all the immenſe expences ſhe has been at in fitting it out? Has it done any thing to retrieve your honour, any thing to revenge your wrongs, any thing that may anſwer the great and neceſſary purpoſes for which this war was entered into? No; the trade of the nation has ſuffer'd vaſtly in thoſe very ſeas where this fleet lay. The Spaniards have indeed been prevented from ſending out their ſhips; but at the ſame time they have got a great many ſafely home, notwithſtanding the vigilance of this fleet of ours. Then has nothing been done, my Lords, and will any man ſay that nothing was to be done? Unexperienced as I am, in naval affairs, I could point out ſeveral things that might have been done, beſides blocking their ſhips up in the bay of Cales.

And here, my Lords, I muſt beg your Lordſhips indulgence a little, if I give the houſe my ſentiments, with regard to that favourite piece of ſervice, I mean the blocking up the Spaniſh fleet in the bay of Cales. I know I am ſingular in my opinion on that head, and I don't expect that many Lords will be of my way of thinking in this particular; but, my Lords, I think it was a very uſeleſs, ill-judg'd piece of ſervice. It was a piece of ſervice that this nation had much better been without. I am ſorry, my Lords, that I differ with thoſe who gave the orders in this reſpect; but I think it had been much better that the Spaniſh fleet had ſailed. For, my Lords, if it had ſailed, we could have followed them to America, perhaps overtaken them at open ſea; in any event we muſt have met with them in their Weſt-Indies: and then, my Lords, we could have deſtroy'd or taken them; which would have been a brave and a ſeaſonable piece of ſervice to the nation. Nay, my Lords, if we had had a proper land-force on board, we could at the ſame time have made other puſhes, which could not have failed of being of vaſt advantage to this nation, and putting the differences betwixt us and Spain upon a very ſhort iſſue.

But, my Lords, to what purpoſe has this fleet been blocking up the Spaniſh ſhips all this time in their harbour? If I am rightly inform'd, or if I am to give any credit to what is very publickly talk'd, that ſervice has been ineffectual; for the Spaniſh ſhips have eſcaped. So that, my Lords, we have for two years, at a vaſt expence, been endeavouring to do what we find turns out to no manner of account; while there were many ſervices which that fleet might have perform'd, that muſt have put an end to the war in our favour before this time. I know, my Lords, it is given out that Portmahon was in danger, and that our Admiral has

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has failed to prevent any surprise from that quarter: but when I reflect upon the long time he has now been at sea, and the nature of the seas where he has been lying, I doubt his ships have been so dreadfully out of order, that he has been obliged to leave his station. From what I have said, your Lordships may see that it is evident, the war on that quarter has been very ill manag'd: and Fortune is not to blame; for we have met with no cross accidents, no losses, that have disabled us from performing services that might have been solid and lasting advantages to the nation, besides saving the vast sums that we have been obliged to expend. I shall not, my Lords, pretend to point out by whose fault all this has happened. I know Admiral Haddock to be a very brave worthy man, and one who I'm sure would, as far as the force he had with him could reach, perform any piece of service for the honour of his King and country, that he was sent out on: in short, my Lords, I know him to be a man who as a sea-officer has every good quality, except that of great experience in great command. For all these reasons, my Lords, when I reflect upon the unactive state he has been in ever since he sailed from England; when at the same time I reflect upon the great services which it was in his power to have perform'd, I cannot in charity but doubt that his instructions bound up his hands. There is not, my Lords, a common sailor that won't tell you, if you ask him, that fifty things might have been done to annoy the Spaniards upon those very seas.

Having said thus much with regard to Admiral Haddock, and what has been done in the Mediterranean, I shall now take the liberty to make some observations upon what a Noble Duke has said in excuse for our not sending a sufficient number of troops to the West-Indies. His Grace took notice, that when Mr Vernon sailed, the battalions from Ireland had been arrived but two days, and therefore that they were in a very bad condition to be shipped on board for such a voyage. It is very true, my Lords, that it must have been impracticable to have sent these troops on board at that time. But what I would be informed of is, Why those troops from Ireland were not sooner brought over? Can it be pretended, that it was uncertain we should enter into a war with Spain before that time? My Lords, I appeal to the papers upon your Lordships table to prove, that, even in the opinion of our m——y, the war was then inevitable: I appeal to what passed in this very house, when several Lords, who certainly knew a great deal of what was passing at that time, declared that all speaking and treating was now at an end, and that then was the time for acting. But, my Lords, where could the harm have been, if, upon even the suspicion that the nation was to enter into war, these troops had been brought from Ireland? My Lords, the very letters which Geraldino wrote up and down this kingdom before he went away, don't leave us the least room to question, but that the ministry, long before that time, knew that a rupture with Spain was unavoidable.

My Lords, I come now to speak a little with regard to the management of our affairs at land, the element to which my services have been mostly confined. And here, my Lords, give me leave to say, that I must give up all pretensions to common sense, if there have not been many wrong steps taken in the affairs of the army, so far as appears to me, since our entering into this war. I am glad of this opportunity of disclaiming my having any hand in such a conduct, as I every day observe. If they who give the orders shall reap any honour from their management, I shall rob them of no share of it, and I wish them much joy in it; but at the same time, while that I renounce the honour, I refuse to have any part of the discredit that may arise from the present measures that are pursued. The Noble Duke who spoke in the debate said, that he should have looked upon himself as a traitor to his prince, if he had advised him to any other measures than what have been pursued.

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My Lords, there the Noble Duke and I widely differ. Had I had the honour to have adviſed his Majeſty, I ſhould have been clearly of opinion, that a body of 6 or 8000 men had been ſent out with Mr Vernon, and thoſe too of the very beſt troops we have. It was owing to Mr Vernon's courage, my Lords, that he ſucceeded as he did. And he has been nobly rewarded. He has, my Lords, had the very ſame reward that was beſtowed upon the late Duke of Marlborough upon the victories of Hochſted, Ramelies and Malplaquet; and that is the addreſſes of both houſes of parliament, and of the city of London, congratulating his Majeſty upon his ſucceſs. So that there cannot, my Lords, be greater honours done to a ſubject, than what has on this occaſion been done to that brave honeſt man Mr Vernon: that is the greateſt character that I can give any man; and that character I know he deſerves. But, my Lords, no officer in the King's ſervice has for ſome years paſt made ſo little a figure in his way as this gallant Admiral has done. I cannot ſay what this is owing to, but his preſent glory makes him ample amends for all his late obſcurity. And, my Lords, give me leave here to obſerve, what a vaſt encouragement it is for all his Majeſty's officers to do their duty, when they reflect that their ſucceſs procures them the greateſt rewards and honours.

* *

My Lords, I am far from believing the Gentlemen of the navy, when they tell us, that their ſhips are a ſufficient guard to our coaſts, and that we can by means of them prevent all invaſions: I do admit, my Lords, that the French may take an opportunity to throw over 10 or 12,000 men here; and that our ſhips can't prevent their landing. But, my Lords, tho' we had ſent out ten battalions with Mr Vernon, we ſtill had 18,000 men left to guard the nation; and theſe muſt have been an over-match for any number of men the French could have landed here. All the number, my Lords, which they can throw over to this country before our fleet come to our aſſiſtance, are ſo inconſiderable, that their landing would deſerve the name of a *ſurpriſe* rather than of an *invaſion*.

Let us ſuppoſe the worſt, my Lords, and that we had been invaded with a greater number, our 18,000 men muſt ſtill have made head againſt them; and I dare ſay, it could have been no difficult thing for the government to have rais'd recruits, as many as they could have occaſion for.

But, my Lords, I cannot for my life conceive what ſhould tempt France to invade you. She has at the head of her councils a miniſter who knows how to make peace and how to make war, and both equally to the honour of his country. If that miniſter, my Lords, entertains any deſigns to the prejudice of this nation, he will never invade us while he has us in the very ſituation he could wiſh for. We are now paying great fleets, great armies, my Lords; we have been paying them for ſome years paſt, and all to no purpoſe. This plays the game of France, if ſhe has a deſign to break with you, more effectually than any invaſion can do, while the nation reaps no advantage from the vaſt expence ſhe is at. My Lords, I am afraid we are now ſuffering more than if ſhe were actually at war with us; we from year to year keep up uſeleſs armaments by ſea and land, which muſt ruin our finances; and finances, my Lords, are the blood and ſinews of war.

The Noble Duke took notice, that our agreeing to this reſolution looked like paſſing a cenſure upon what we had already congratulated his Majeſty for. No, my Lords; I ſee no reaſon for viewing it in that light. It is very poſſible that this houſe may approve of one ſtep and diſapprove of the reſt, and I believe there are many precedents of it. The Noble Duke likewiſe ſaid, that the infamous libels which are daily publiſhed againſt the government, are a proper conſideration for this houſe, when we are upon the ſtate of the nation. My Lords, I have occaſion to ſee a good many papers wrote upon

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publick affairs upon both ſides of the queſtion. My opinion of them, my Lords, is, that on one ſide they are weak, ſcurrilous, void of reaſoning, and never can be accuſed of wit. On the other ſide, they are wrote with at leaſt a ſhew of reaſoning and argument, and with regard to good ſenſe and good manners. And, my Lords, it is notorious, that in the papers of the former, ſome of the greateſt characters in the nation have been attack'd and blacken-ed; ſo that an enquiry of that kind, would, I believe, come out no way in favour of thoſe who write for the a——n.

Upon the whole, my Lords, I don't ſee the leaſt inconveniency that can attend your Lordſhips agreeing to the reſolution: to me it contains nothing but a plain demonſtrable fact; and all the arguments I have heard againſt it have rather confirmed me in favour of it. I ſee no reaſon why your Lordſhips ſhould be in any pain about agreeing to a thing that can affect but a very few, and may occaſion the future management of this war to be put upon a more ſure and advantageous footing for this nation than it has hitherto been. I am perſuaded, my Lords, that if the thing that is cenſured in this reſolution had been properly provided againſt, we ſhould have by this time brought our enemies very low, and have either obliged thoſe who are neuter to be our very good friends, or to declare themſelves in ſuch a manner as might put us upon our guard, and let us know what we are to expect. My Lords, I aſk your Lordſhips pardon for having troubled you thus long, but I thought the importance of the occaſion required it. I ſhall conclude with declaring, THAT I AM FOR AGREEING TO THE MOTION.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR,

PLeaſe allow the following queſtion a place in your *Magazine*, that your ingenious correſpondents may have an opportunity of anſwering it, for the information of, *Your's, &c.*

Is Reſentment an original paſſion in the human conſtitution?

The reaſons of my aſking this queſtion are, That if it is ſaid reſentment is an original paſſion, then, in a ſtate of innocence, we had a paſſion without a proper object; for though mere harm might have happened now and then by accident, yet we cannot ſuppoſe injuries, which are the alone objects of reſentment, to have prevailed in that happy ſtate: and this would be a reflection upon the wiſdom of that Creator who made nothing in vain and without deſign. If again it is ſaid, That this paſſion was originally put into our conſtitution, in view of the preſent circumſtances of mankind, then this was providing man for a ſtate of guilt, which ſeems to be foreign to the deſigns of God.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR, *London, May* 17.

THE inclemency of the ſeaſon has ruined the whole *Beau-monde:* our *ſpring-cloaths* have been, for two months, hanging on ſolitary wooden pins; while our thick, rough, heavy, croſs-button'd coats, have preſs'd our ſhoulders till the ſummer calls us from town, though our new cuts have ſeen neither Kenſington-gardens, Hyde-park, nor the Mall.— Nay, the only evening that has yet ſeem'd favourable I ſlipt to Vaux-hall, but I vow to G—, before I had ſtepp'd the walks quite round, I was blown through and through, in ſuch a manner, as to drink four full glaſſes of *French* wine, before I knew I was alive. And, in that cold condition, as returning by water would have endanger'd my life, I was forced to be ſhook in a moſt unmerciful hack, till one half of my joints were diſtorted, and the other bruiſed to a jelly. If the weather does not mend very quickly, I ſee no avoiding new winter-coats, and ordering my gard'ner to come to London to ſtir my fire; for, what with cold and idleneſs, to be ſure the poor fellow is ſtarv'd to death in the country.

It may not be amiſs to tell you, that the ſpirit of *imitation* increaſes amongſt us every day. *Vaux-hall* has produced tickets

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tickets and accommodations of the same nature, at *Marybone*, on this side the Thames; and at *Cuper's gardens*, on t'other: — and at *Marble-hall*, near Vaux-hall, a ball is established to relieve us from the necessity of coming home at ten; where parties bent on pleasure, may be favour'd with an opportunity of sitting up till day-light, amidst company enough to keep them awake.

The cut of our sleeves varies not much from last year, in general; though some Gentlemen strive to introduce a *small dog's ear*, which I do not think genteel. Our *hat-brims increase*, and the *crowns deepen* a little; to suit a camp, I believe; for we fall most amazingly into warlike apparel, a cockade being become as essential a part of dress as a perriwig. — *White stockings* reign, in spite of dirty weather; and *Spencers* have push'd our ties almost out of sight; the former being now worn by Gentlemen of fifty, to the great advantage of the thin cheek.

The Ladies are, if it be possible, less settled in their spring-fashions than we. As the weather requires flower'd silks, few are used; and 'tis most diverting to behold a brisk young Lady in a thin lutestring gown, covered up, neck and shoulders, with a *lined velvet handkerchief*, loaded with lace! Perriwigs are in great use with the Ladies, and there was, t'other day, a dispute at *White*'s, whether we should not, by way of reprisal, take intirely to our *own hair? Sacks* are yet admired for hiding ANY imperfection of the shape: and *broad straw hats* ty'd like the milk-maids, are permitted to shade the finest features in the three kingdoms.

I have had a most intolerable inclination toward fighting, ever since the commencement of the present war; and once or twice almost resolved upon purchasing a commission; — by my money I mean, for I have some doubt whether my services to my country would be sufficient.— But what has prevented my *putting on a sash*, has, principally, been a fear of becoming a laughing-stock to the whole circuit of my acquaintance: for, such is at present the disreputation of peaceable soldiers, that if it be not soon their good fortune to be sent abroad, I know no possible way of retrieving their characters, but by beating one another's brains out, to convince the world they are not afraid of fighting.— But, in all likelyhood, there will be no occasion for that; we may have employment enough abroad: for I can't tell what to think of *France*; and, should she declare against us, the *land-men* may be wanted.— But, till then, I will wave all thoughts of a commission; being determined, if ever I put on a soldier's face, and leave the fair circle of the boxes, to do it only in the road of fame; which I doubt not pursuing with as much vigour as ever I yet did the voice of pleasure.— I hope you are fashionable enough to toast the *West-India hero*; for, I am persuaded his name has had its full effect here, more than ten thousand pretty fellows, at a moderate computation, having got drunk to the short tune of ADMIRAL VERNON; so zealous are we in our country's cause!

I am, &c.

S. TOUPEE.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR,

AS the following questions may expose an absurdity in the doctrine of the church of *Rome*, which I have not seen noticed by any who write on that subject; by allowing them a place in your *Magazine*, you will perhaps oblige some others, as well as,

Your reader, and humble servant,

PHILOGAMOS.

1. *Is marriage a sacrament?*

2. *Does every sacrament*, opere operato, *confer grace upon the receiver?*

And if these two are answered in the affirmative, as they certainly must by all Papists, then I would ask,

3. *Why the church of Rome denies that to clergymen which confers grace?* a thing which all men need, and clergymen more than others, from the very nature of their office and function.

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PROCEEDINGS of the *Political Club*, continued from p. 181.

ABout the middle of November laſt, our club, as uſual, made the queſtions that aroſe in parliament the ſubject of their debates, and continued to do ſo during the whole ſeſſion; of which I ſhall give you a regular account, beginning with the debate occaſioned by his Majeſty's ſpeech. [*See vol.* 1. *p.* 542. *& ſeqq.*]

Upon this occaſion, L. Caſſius Longinus *ſtood up, and ſpoke as follows,* viz.

My Lords,

AS you have heard his Majeſty's moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne, and as it is our duty to return ſome ſort of anſwer by way of an addreſs, I ſhould not think myſelf under a neceſſity to ſay any thing in favour of the motion which I am to make, in purſuance of a cuſtom ſo reaſonable and ſo long eſtabliſhed, if it were not that, upon ſo extraordinary and ſo important an occaſion, I think we ought to expreſs our duty and affection to our ſovereign, in terms more explicit than uſual. For this reaſon, I muſt beg leave to ſay ſomething with regard to the meaſures his Majeſty has purſued, and with regard to the ſituation in which we are at preſent.

As to the meaſures purſued by his Majeſty, my Lords, it is well known, that he has in every thing followed the advice given him by his parliament. According to that advice, he endeavoured as much as poſſible to obtain juſtice and ſatisfaction from Spain by peaceable means. He even avoided putting the nation to the expence of warlike preparations, till he was adviſed by his parliament to inſiſt peremptorily upon immediate ſatisfaction for paſt injuries, and abſolute ſecurity againſt future; and when the Spaniards ſaw that his Majeſty, by the advice of his parliament, not only threatned, but was preparing to make the juſt reſentment of this nation fall heavy upon them, they then thought fit to procraſtinate at leaſt the effects of that reſentment, by agreeing to reaſonable terms.

To a trading nation, my Lords, eſpecially a nation like this, whoſe intereſt it is to remain ſatisfied with its own poſſeſſions, without attempting to make conqueſts upon its neighbours, a ſtate of war muſt always be dangerous and inconvenient, and can never be attended with any great advantage. This his Majeſty was fully ſenſible of, and therefore he ratified the convention agreed to by Spain; this the parliament was fully ſenſible of, and therefore that convention was laſt ſeſſion approved of by a majority in each houſe of parliament: though both his Majeſty and his parliament ſaw that it was not ſo ſatisfactory as might have been expected, and that as to moſt of the articles in diſpute, it was rather a preliminary than a definitive treaty. But by a fatality, happy, I hope, for this nation, the Spaniards refuſed to comply with the terms they ſo ſolemnly agreed to by that convention, tho' thoſe terms were the moſt moderate this nation could accept of, and more moderate by far than the Spaniards had reaſon to believe we would accept of. Theſe terms, I ſay, without the leaſt failure on our part, the Spaniards thought fit not to comply with; and thereby they rendered it neceſſary for his Majeſty to begin hoſtilities againſt them, in purſuance of that advice which had been given him by his parliament. This he accordingly did as ſoon as he could find an opportunity; and when he found, that the gentle method of repriſals would not be ſufficient for bringing them to reaſon, he declared war againſt them in form.

Thus, my Lords, his Majeſty has, in every ſtep of his paſt conduct, purſued that advice which was given him by his parliament. From hence we may preſume, he will follow the ſame advice in every ſtep of his future conduct; and from hence we may promiſe ourſelves ſucceſs in all our publick undertakings; for this nation has always been happy and ſucceſsful, when our ſovereign followed the advice of his parliament. In all ſuch caſes, the parliament unanimouſly

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unanimously agreed to support their sovereign, in the pursuit of those measures which they themselves had advised: It was their duty to do so; and the people heartily concurred in rendering every step successful. This has been the happy state of this nation in some former reigns, and as none of our Kings ever shewed a greater regard for the advice of parliament, than his present Majesty has always done, I hope that, in duty and affection to their sovereign, the present generation will take care not to fall short of their ancestors in any former reign.

His Majesty, my Lords, by your advice, is now engaged in an open and declared war. It is one of the most just and necessary wars this nation was ever engaged in; for the Spaniards have not only heaped many injuries upon us, but have broke thro' the most solemn engagements that were ever made by any nation. What their reason was for treating us in this contemptuous manner, his Majesty has told us in his speech from the throne, and I am convinced it was the only true reason. They saw there were great animosities and divisions amongst us; and from these they hoped to reap some advantage, in case of a war; or perhaps they imagined our government would not, on account of these animosities and divisions, dare to vindicate the honour, or assert the rights of the nation. If their hopes of impunity were founded upon the latter of these expectations, they have already found themselves disappointed; and if upon the former, I hope, they will at last find themselves equally mistaken. I hope the unanimity that shall this day be shewn, in agreeing to what I am to propose, will convince them, that if there were any divisions amongst us, they are now at an end; and that therefore they can from thence expect no advantage in the prosecution of the war.

This, my Lords, may probably put a speedy, as well as honourable end to the war; which is, I am sure, what every one of your Lordships most heartily wishes to see. His Majesty has already taken all possible care, by providing for our defence at home, to prevent its being in the power of our enemies to hurt us; and as soon as the season will permit, we may attack them with such a force, as they cannot, in all human probability, resist. They can, therefore, have no hopes in prosecuting, no more than they had in provoking the war, but such as are founded upon divisions amongst ourselves. If it had not been for such hopes, I am fully convinced they would never have provoked us to war; and if, by a cordial union amongst ourselves, we should put an end to these hopes, I am as fully convinced, they will soon begin to think of preventing a farther prosecution by a speedy submission.

For this reason, my Lords, we ought this day, I think, to be more full and explicit in our expressions of duty and affection to his Majesty, than is usual upon such occasions; and, for the same reason, we ought to be unanimous in those expressions of duty and affection that are necessary upon this occasion. This is what I most heartily wish for, and therefore I have taken all possible care to avoid inserting any thing in my proposition, that may occasion the least objection or difficulty. If there is any thing in it that, to some Lords, may appear a little extraordinary, I hope I have given sufficient reasons for it: Therefore shall add no more, but conclude with moving your Lordships, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, To return thanks for his most gracious speech from the throne: — To declare, That the great regard, which his Majesty, &c. [*This motion goes on in the very words of the address presented by the house of Lords; which see vol.* 1. *p.* 543, 4.]

This Motion being seconded by C. Fabricius, M. Agrippa *stood up and spoke to the following effect*, viz.

My Lords,

AS the motion the Noble Lord has been pleased to make, is pretty long, I cannot pretend to remember exactly the words; and as upon hearing it read, I observed some words which, to me,

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me, seemed not quite so right, I must desire the favour to have the motion in my hand. [*The motion being delivered to him, after perusing it, he went on thus.*] My Lords, as this is one of the greatest, one of the most important conjunctures that ever happened to this nation, I desire and wish as heartily as the Noble Lord who made you this motion, or any Lord can do, that we may be unanimous in the resolution we come to upon this occasion. The greatest part of the Noble Lord's motion, I highly approve of. There are only a few words towards the latter end, which I think might have been left out; and as they are, in my opinion, quite unnecessary, I hope the Noble Lord will, for the sake of that unanimity he so much desires, agree to have them left out of his motion. The words I mean are, *That it gives us an inexpressible concern, that there should be any occasion for his Majesty to repeat his gracious admonitions against those heats and animosities, which have been fomented throughout the kingdom: that as we cannot but most seriously lament the unhappy divisions thereby occasioned, so nothing shall be wanting on our part to heal them, by promoting that good harmony and unanimity, which are so necessary at this juncture: and that we trust in God, that any hopes and views formed by our enemies upon such circumstances, will be found utterly vain and groundless; since all his Majesty's subjects must be convinced, that the security of our religion and liberties, and the safety and prosperity of these kingdoms, do entirely depend on the preservation of his sacred person and government, and of the Protestant succession in his royal house.* These words, I humbly think, my Lords, are quite unnecessary; and, as they may give offence to some Lords, and may occasion an opposition to a resolution which would otherwise be unanimously agreed to, I hope the Noble Lord will not insist upon their standing a part of his motion. But I offer this as my opinion only; I do not make it my motion, because I am resolved to wait till I hear what may be said by other Lords upon this head.

My Lords, we have now weathered the point of negotiation, and are fairly launched out in the open sea of a declared war. God grant we may meet with a prosperous gale. We have human probability of our side; and as we have justice likewise of our side, we have reason to expect the favour of providence: therefore, I have no doubt of a successful voyage, if we take care to put ourselves under the direction of good pilots. Ministers and negotiators will not, I hope, I am sure they ought not now to be our adversaries. We have good Generals, we have brave and experienced Admirals: we must now chuse them for our pilots; we must take their advice: and if their advice be taken, and vigorously pursued, I shall not hereafter find fault with events, on account of any cross accidents we may meet with in the prosecution of the war. Providence only can direct events, but men can plan; and if the plan be good, if the scheme be well laid, no man ought to find fault with the event. But, if the forming of our schemes for the prosecution of the war be left to ignorant and pusillanimous counsellors, we cannot expect they should be right; and a wrong scheme may be found fault with, even tho' the event should, by an extraordinary interposition of providence, prove successful.

In the prosecution of the present war, I hope every man will, in his proper sphere, contribute as much as he can towards the success of his country. My Lords, I am persuaded every man will; because no war was ever entred into with greater unanimity amongst all ranks and degrees of men. We cannot therefore, justly say any thing, upon this occasion, of animosities and divisions. If there were ever any domestick animosities or divisions amongst us, they were occasioned by our tamely submitting to so many foreign insults. These his Majesty's declaration of war has put an end to, and nothing can revive them but a slackness in the prosecution. For this reason I wish they had not been mentioned upon this occasion. I'm afraid it is ominous: It looks as if some people were suspicious that the war will not

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not be pushed in such a vigorous manner as a people greatly injured, and justly enraged, may have reason to expect. If this be the case, they have good reason to warn us against animosities and divisions; but their warnings will be in vain. Our former divisions will revive, and our animosities may increase to such a degree, as to endanger the domestick tranquillity of the nation, unless they be appeased by a sacrifice of those who were the cause of their being revived.

For this reason, I say, my Lords, I wish I had heard nothing of animosities or divisions upon this occasion; and I am surpris'd how any such thing could creep into his Majesty's speech. In a free country, such as this, Lords or Gentlemen may differ in their opinions about publick measures; and as the interest of their country is concerned, they may, they ought to support their opinions with fervency and zeal: but that difference in opinion is not to be called a *division*, nor is that fervency to be called *animosity*. Something of our divisions and animosities was, I remember, mention'd in a piece that was handed about as the manifesto of Spain. This I was no way surprised at; because in Spain they can have no difference in opinion about publick measures, at least, if they have, they dare as little declare it, as they dare declare their difference of opinion about matters of faith or religion: therefore, they might probably mistake the one for the other, by supposing that to be a division amongst us, which was really nothing but a difference in opinion. But, I hope, his Majesty's ministers are better acquainted with the constitution of their country, than to fall into any such mistake; and they should, particularly upon this occasion, have avoided saying any thing about divisions or animosities; because it will confirm the Spaniards in the mistake they are in, and may, as the Noble Lord apprehends, encourage them to continue the war, in hopes that they may be able to reap some advantage from our divisions.

From hence your Lordships must see, that no such thing ought to have been mentioned in his Majesty's speech from the throne; and much less, I am sure, ought it to be mention'd in our address. If his Majesty's ministers have fallen into a mistake, and a mistake too that may be attended with such a bad consequence, as that of prolonging the war; shall we in our address, out of pure complaisance, echo that mistake back to the throne, and thereby render infallible the bad consequence which we might otherwise have prevented? Shall we, my Lords, be so uncharitable as to think, and much less to say, that all those who differ from us in opinion about publick measures, are promoters of divisions, and fomenters of heats and animosities? It is impossible that any Lord should expect an unanimous concurrence in such expressions. They are expressions that can properly be made use of by none but the arbitrary ministers of an absolute monarch; and therefore, I was not a little surprised at seeing any thing like them in his Majesty's speech from the throne: but I was much more surprised, to find the obstinacy of the Spaniards imputed to the heats and animosities that have been fomented amongst us. It is a maxim in this house, to look upon his Majesty's speech from the throne, as the speech of his ministers; and nothing can contribute more to shew the justness of this maxim, than that of imputing the obstinacy of the Spaniards to any heats or animosities that have been fomented amongst us.

Almost every man in the nation, I believe, is now convinced, at least every man that thinks at all about publick affairs, must be convinc'd, that the strange obstinacy of the Spaniards has all along proceeded from the known passivity of our ministers. We submitted tamely to the first insult they put upon us; that encouraged them to put a second: We bore the second with patience; that encouraged them to put a third: Upon the third we modestly complained, and humbly prayed to negotiate; that encouraged them to put a fourth: and thus we continued submitting and go-

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gotiating, and they continued plundering and insulting, till at last, I really believe, they began to think that no sort of treatment could provoke us to commence hostilities, or declare war against them. Thus, by the tame and submissive temper of our ministers, the Spaniards have been encourag'd to hold such a conduct towards us, as to make it necessary even for our ministers to have recourse to arms: and now those very ministers, in order to remove the load off their own shoulders, come and tell us, that those who complained of their submissive conduct, and often told them what it would end in, were fomenters of heats and animosities; and that those heats and animosities were the chief cause of that obstinacy which Spain has shewn in her conduct towards us.

I shall readily grant, my Lords, that the just complaints of our plundered merchants, and the regard shewn to those complaints by the whole nation, excepting a very few persons, were the immediate cause of the war; because they forced our ministers to alter their conduct: but, I hope, neither the complaints of the merchants, nor the regard shewn to them by the people, are to be called *heats and animosities*. Call them by what names you will, they were not the cause, but the effect of that obstinacy in Spain, of which the tameness of our ministers was the cause: consequently, it is in this tameness alone we are to seek for the original cause of the present war: for if our ministers had resented, as they ought, the first injury that was done to our merchants by the Spaniards, it would have prevented a second; and for the first we might by reprisals, if not by fair means, have obtain'd redress, without coming to an open rupture: or, if we had then come to an open rupture, we should have prevented a very great prejudice the nation has suffered by an interruption of its trade, and many considerable losses our merchants have sustained by the plundering and seizing their ships; and I believe no man will say, we had not then as favourable an opportunity for engaging in a war against Spain, as we have at present.

Having thus, my Lords, shewn what it really was, that encouraged the Spaniards to provoke us to war, I must observe, that if they still continue obstinate, it will, I believe, be owing to the same cause. They are sensible of the superiority of our naval force; which, at the same time that it enables us to hurt them in the most sensible part, may prevent their being able to hurt us in any: and they can have no hopes to reap any advantage from those divisions and animosities, which, if there were any amongst us, his Majesty has put a final end to by declaring war against them. Their hopes, therefore, can depend upon nothing but upon our not prosecuting the war with wisdom and vigour. They may, perhaps, hope, that the same perplexed and timorous spirits will hereafter prevail in our warlike measures, that formerly prevailed in our peaceful negotiations; and if they continue obstinate in prosecuting the war, I shall conclude that they entertain some such hopes: but I trust in God they'll find themselves disappointed. Our Generals and our Admirals are men of a different cast from what they have experienced in our ministers and negotiators; and if the conduct of the war be committed to the care of our Generals and Admirals, as I hope it will, the Spaniards will soon find they have nothing to trust to, but our mercy and forgiveness.

I shall join with the Noble Lord in supposing, that every one of your Lordships wishes to see a speedy, as well as honourable end to the war. It is very much the business of this nation to make the war as short as possible; and the most effectual method for rendering it short, is to make it violent. War is a sort of storm; and, like other storms, the more violent it is, the sooner it will be over. If we push it vigorously, and in the right place, it cannot be of long continuance. For this purpose the West-Indies is the only proper place. We may plague and harrass the enemy by making incursions upon the continent of Old Spain, and by burning the ships in their harbours

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bours, as often as we can get an opportunity; but America is the place where we ought to direct our chief force. There the Spaniards cannot reſiſt us, and there we may do more than make incurſions. We may there take and hold ſuch places, as we think may be either convenient or uſeful. It is what Spain cannot hinder; it is what Europe cannot prevent: and by holding the places we take, we add to our own ſtrength, at the ſame time that we diminiſh the ſtrength of our enemy.

The late K. William I ſhall always, my Lords, have a gteat regard for. His actions were right: even his thoughts were right. He knew the moſt proper way for this nation to puſh a war againſt Spain. He knew that the Weſt-Indies was the place where we could moſt injure the enemy, and benefit ourſelves. For this reaſon, in the treaty of grand alliance concluded between the Emperor, England and Holland, in the year 1701, he took care, by the 6th article of that treaty, to ſtipulate, That it ſhould be lawful for him, and the Lords the States General, *by common advice*, and for the benefit and enlargement of the navigation and commerce of their ſubjects, to ſeize, by their forces, what lands and cities they could, belonging to the Spaniſh dominions in the Indies; *and that whatſoever they ſhould ſo take, ſhould be their own.* That great and wiſe prince did not live to proſecute his deſign; but this article ſhews what were his thoughts; and even the thoughts of ſuch a man may be of great uſe to his country. After his death, we had not ſuch an influence upon the councils of the States General, as we had before. They began to think it was more for the intereſt of the confederacy to make conqueſts in Europe, than to make conqueſts in the Indies; therefore they refuſed to join with us in any undertaking againſt the Spaniſh dominions in the Indies; and we could not engage in any ſuch without their concurrence. The war, 'tis true, could hardly be more glorious and ſucceſsful than it was; but it would probably have been of ſhorter duration, and would certainly have been more advantageous for this nation, if the ſcheme formed by K. William had been followed in every part.

If we have now, my Lords, the misfortune of having no allies, we have, at leaſt, this advantage reſulting from it, that in our preſent war againſt Spain, we may follow the plan laid down by that glorious prince without any reſtraint, and without aſking the advice of any power in Europe; therefore, I hope this is the plan now reſolved on, for our future operations. I hope they will be chiefly directed towards ſeizing ſuch lands and cities, belonging to the Spaniſh dominions in the Indies, as may contribute towards the benefit and enlargement of our navigation and commerce; or at leaſt, ſuch as are neceſſary for ſecuring the freedom of that navigation and commerce, which we have now a right to in thoſe parts of the world. We have met with ſuch provocations from Spain, as muſt render this war juſt on our part, in the eyes of every impartial judge; and, in the proſecution of a juſt war, no power in Europe has a right, few of them can have an inclination to direct us, or to reſtrain us from making ſuch conqueſts as may be ſufficient for anſwering the charge of the war, as well as ſuch as may be neceſſary for preventing our meeting with any injuſtice for the future.

The Spaniards, my Lords, have for many years behaved towards us, not only in the moſt unjuſt, but in the moſt cruel and barbarous manner. They have not only in the moſt contemptuous manner inſulted the crown, but they have in the moſt barbarous manner injured the ſubjects of theſe kingdoms; and that, at a time when they were profeſſing the greateſt friendſhip toward us, and receiving many acts of friendſhip from us. They have for ſeveral years been dealing with us in the moſt treacherous manner. But I ſhall avoid giving hard names. I would not give hard words even to the Spaniards; but I would, and I hope we ſhall give them very hard blows; and that upon the moſt ſenſible part. Every one knows,

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knows, my Lords, where that is. It is in America, where we can make them feel moſt ſenſibly the weight of our reſentment; it is by conqueſts in that part of the world, where we can moſt effectually ſecure or enlarge our commerce and navigation; and it is there, where they can leaſt reſiſt us. If they have none to aſſiſt them, we muſt, by attacking them vigorouſly in that part of the world, bring the war to a ſpeedy iſſue, and to an iſſue that will be advantageous, as well as glorious to this nation.

What then have we to fear, my Lords? From a war with the Spaniards we have nothing to fear; but from a peace with them, unleſs it be ſuch a one as we ſhall preſcribe, we have a great deal to fear. Former experience has ſhewn, that we have nothing to fear from the force of their arms in time of war; but late experience has ſhewn, that we have ſomething to fear from their treachery in time of peace. But ſome perſons amongſt us may, perhaps, be frightned, leſt the Spaniards ſhould be aſſiſted by ſome of the other powers of Europe. My Lords, they can be aſſiſted by none but the French; and France, in its preſent circumſtance, and according to that which ſeems to be its preſent ſcheme of politicks, will, I believe, be very loth to engage in a war with this nation. The great age of him who now ſo worthily preſides over the councils of that kingdom, muſt make him deſire to end his days in peace; and therefore it is not probable that he will engage in a dangerous war, for ſupporting the romantick and unjuſt pretenſions of the court of Spain; pretenſions which may one day prove as troubleſome and prejudicial to France, as they have lately proved to England. Beſides, the French ſeem now to be more intent upon extending their trade, than upon extending their dominions; and, in a war with this nation, their trade muſt ſuffer in every branch: nay, if we exert ourſelves as we ought, it muſt be entirely ſuſpended.

But the difference, my Lords, between this nation and France is, that our trade is our chief ſupport; and therefore we muſt ſacrifice every other view to the preſervation of our trade: whereas the chief ſupport of France does not depend upon its trade; and for this reaſon the French may, on account of other views, make a ſacrifice of their trade for a time. But ſuppoſe they ſhould reſolve to make a ſacrifice of their own trade, in order to diſtreſs the trade of this nation, by joining openly with Spain againſt us, what can they do? They muſt fight us by ſea, or not at all; they can attack us no other way: and there we are greatly ſuperior. The navies of France and Spain joined together, are no match for the navy of G. Britain; and, if we ſhould deſtroy the firſt ſquadron they fit out, we might ruin the dominions of both in the Weſt-Indies, before they could be able to fit out another. To talk of their invading us here at home, as long as we are united amongſt ourſelves, is a mere bug-bear. We have already properly provided againſt it, by augmenting our land-forces, and by covering the ſea with our ſhips of war. The ſea, my Lords, when ſo covered, is our defence and our ſafe-guard; when not ſo covered, it is our priſon. His Majeſty's declaration of war againſt Spain, has healed all our diviſions. There is now no animoſity in the kingdom, but a moſt general one againſt the Spaniards; and an invaſion from France, upon the preſent occaſion, would unite us more firmly than ever. They cannot therefore attempt to invade us, without ſending at once ſuch an army as would be ſufficient for conquering the kingdom. For this purpoſe, they muſt ſend a very great army of horſe, as well as foot; and the providing of ſhips for tranſporting ſuch an army, would take up ſo much time, and make ſuch a noiſe abroad, that we muſt hear of it: in which caſe, we could eaſily ſend a ſquadron ſuperior to any they can fit out, to burn their ſhips in the harbour, or to intercept them, if they dared put to ſea.

In ſhort, my Lords, France, by joining in the war, muſt ruin her own trade, and may diſtreſs ours a little; but ſhe cannot

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cannot otherwiſe hurt us: and if we are not obliged to maintain great armies upon the continent of Europe, as we were in the laſt war, we may ſend ſuch a naval force to the Weſt-Indies, as both France and Spain joined together cannot reſiſt; the conſequence of which would be, the loſs of all the dominions belonging to both theſe nations in that part of the world. Therefore, if the French ſhould reſolve to join with Spain in the preſent war, they can do it no way with any effect againſt us, but by endeavouring to overturn the balance of power in Europe, and for that purpoſe raiſing a new war upon the continent; which would of courſe make our former allies ſue to us, for renewing the ancient confederacy againſt France and Spain.

Our former allies, nay, all the powers of Europe, my Lords, are already ſurpriſed at our declaration of war. If we purſue it with wiſdom and vigour, it muſt, in all human probability, be ſucceſsful; and this will make the powers of Europe begin to reſpect us, as much as they have lately deſpiſed us. His preſent Majeſty may be made the greateſt and moſt glorious prince that ever ſate upon the Britiſh throne. But if our warlike meaſures ſhould ſtill be interrupted, or rendered languid, by that ſpirit of negotiation which has ſo long prevailed, the opportunity will ſoon be loſt; and if it ſhould, God forgive them that ſhall be the cauſe of ſo much reproach to their ſovereign, and of ſuch irretrievable hurt and ignominy to their country.

In the preſent war, my Lords, we have as yet no occaſion for any allies; I do not know that we ſhall: but if we ſhould, we may ſtill find great and powerful allies in Europe. The power of the houſe of Auſtria is not yet become ſo deſpicable, as our advocates for peace have endeavoured to repreſent; and I hope no man in Britain is now afraid of the overgrown power of that houſe. It was never in this kingdom a national jealouſy; nor could it ever be made ſo, notwithſtanding the great pains that were taken, a few years ſince, to inculcate and propagate ſuch a jealouſy through all parts of his Majeſty's dominions. The Emperor, therefore, may ſtill be a moſt uſeful ally to us; and certainly would be ſo, if we were in any real danger: becauſe we ſhall always be a moſt uſeful ally to him, when the balance of power is in danger; at leaſt, I am ſure, we ought to be ſo. The King of Pruſſia likewiſe is a power whoſe alliance we may always depend on, if we follow right meaſures; and another power, which is now as formidable as any in Europe, will always, I believe, be fond of cultivating a cloſe alliance and friendſhip with this nation. Even the Dutch, I believe, might eaſily be brought in to purſue more vigorous meaſures than they have done of late years. But theſe things are not to be done by negotiation. They are to be done by vigorous meaſures on our ſide, eſpecially in thoſe affairs that particularly regard ourſelves. If we ſhew the powers of Europe, that we dare reſent our wrongs, and vindicate our rights, and that we can do it in a wiſe and vigorous manner; if we ſhew them, that we can ſtand upon our own legs, they will apply to us: they will court our favour, becauſe they will from thence ſee, we can give them aſſiſtance. A nation, like a private man, muſt in vain expect aſſiſtance from its neighbours, if they believe it cannot help itſelf. Notwithſtanding the great pains taken by ſome of our late dealers in negotiation, to make the world, as well as ourſelves, believe, that we are in a weak and helpleſs condition; I hope we ſhall now ſhew, that we are ſtill able to make the proudeſt nation in Europe repent her having dared to inſult us.

The hypotheſis of our politicks is now, I hope, quite altered. We are now, my Lords, I hope, upon a right hypotheſis; and if that hypotheſis be vigorouſly and ſteadily purſued, no matter by whom; for it is not men, but the hypotheſis of our late conduct, that I have found fault with. If the ſame men ſhould alter the courſe of their meaſures; if they ſhould lay down a right hypotheſis, and follow that hypo-

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theſis in a proper manner, I ſhall be as ready to approve, as ever I was to blame their conduct. But if they have a mind to alter their conduct in time to come, they will forget, they muſt even approve of the oppoſition that was made to their conduct in time paſt; and therefore, they will be far from preſuming to ſay, that the authors of that oppoſition were fomenters of heats and animoſities, or that there is now ſubſiſting any diviſion in the nation. There is really no ſuch thing now amongſt us; nor can there be any ſuch thing in the courſe of the preſent war, if it be carried on with a deſign to revenge us, and not with a deſign only to amuſe us. Therefore, I was ſurpriſed to hear any thing of diviſions and animoſities mentioned in his Majeſty's ſpeech; but I am much more ſurpriſed to hear our diviſions and animoſities made a part of a motion in this houſe, and that by a Noble Lord, who at the ſame time ſays, he has taken all poſſible care to avoid inſerting in his motion, any thing that may occaſion the leaſt objection or difficulty, and that he moſt heartily wiſhes we ſhould be unanimous upon the preſent occaſion.

But ſuppoſe, my Lords, there had been any real diviſions and animoſities amongſt us; ſuppoſe theſe diviſions and animoſities were ſtill ſubſiſting; would it be right in us to publiſh it to the world? Our enemies are apt enough to ſay we are a factious and divided people: we find they do ſay ſo; and they will certainly endeavour to propagate that opinion among thoſe who incline to be our friends. Shall we then, by an addreſs, which we know will be publiſhed in all the foreign Gazettes, give the world good ground to believe ſo? Will not this encourage thoſe who are already our declared enemies to prolong the war? will it not encourage thoſe who are as yet our ſecret enemies to declare openly againſt us? will it not diſcourage our friends from giving us any aſſiſtance? If we ſhould come to ſtand in need of any alliance, there is nothing, in my opinion, can be more effectually done for preventing its being in our power to procure one; therefore, I hope, the Noble Lord will agree to leave out of his motion every expreſſion that may ſeem to inſinuate, as if there were diviſions and animoſities ſtill ſubſiſting amongſt us; eſpecially ſince thoſe expreſſions muſt be look'd on as a reflection upon Lords who have, upon former occaſions, happened to differ from him in opinion; and conſequently muſt occaſion an oppoſition to a motion which would otherwiſe be unanimouſly agreed to.

Theſe, my Lords, are my thoughts upon the preſent occaſion. It was incumbent upon me to offer them to your Lordſhips; but I ſhall make no motion, till I ſee how other Lords think, with regard to the motion now under our conſideration.

Cn. Domitius Calvinus *ſpoke next, to the purport following*, viz.

My Lords,

I Shall be heartily glad to ſee the reſolution we come to upon this occaſion unanimouſly agreed to; but I would not have us, even for the ſake of unanimity, be guilty of any ſort of diſreſpect to his Majeſty. As he has mentioned, and, I think, properly and ſeaſonably mentioned diviſions, heats, and animoſities, we ought, in reſpect to him, to make ſome ſort of anſwer to that part of his ſpeech; and, in my opinion, we cannot make a more proper anſwer, than what the Noble Lord has been pleaſed to propoſe. That there have been diviſions amongſt us, and that thoſe diviſions have been fomented, and even carried the length of heats and animoſities, is what, I think, no man can deny. I beg pardon, my Lords; I do not mean in this houſe, or among your Lordſhips. Your Lordſhips may differ in opinion, and you may ſupport your reſpective opinions with fervency and zeal. I know you always will, becauſe you have the good of your country ſincerely at heart. But your Lordſhips ſupport your opinions with temper and diſcretion, and never allow a difference in opinion to tranſport you into any heat or animoſity.

This,

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This, my Lords, has been, this, I hope, will always be the laudable behaviour of your Lordſhips both within doors and without. But this cannot be ſaid of the reſt of the nation. Their differences in opinion may ſometimes flow from a difference that has ariſen in this houſe: they may follow your Lordſhips in their differences; but few of them know how to imitate you in temper and moderation. This is the cauſe that differences in opinion, about matters of a publick nature, often create diviſions among the people without doors; and thoſe who are diſaffected to his Majeſty's perſon and government, always endeavour to nurſe theſe diviſions up into heats and animoſities, and too often ſucceed in their attempts. Whatever is ſaid, therefore, in his Majeſty's ſpeech from the throne, whatever may be ſaid in your addreſs, about diviſions, heats or animoſities, can relate only to the people without doors; it can no way relate to your Lordſhips: and, conſequently, no Lord in this houſe can have reaſon to think himſelf reflected on by any ſuch expreſſion, either in his Majeſty's ſpeech, or in our addreſs.

But ſuppoſe, my Lords, there never had been, nor were now, any ſuch thing as diviſions, heats or animoſities in the nation; yet, as ſuch misfortunes are too frequent in every free country, it was right in his Majeſty to caution us againſt them. It was a moſt ſeaſonable advice upon the breaking out of a war, which may be heavy, dangerous, and tedious, tho' it has at preſent the appearance of not being ſo. The Noble Lord that ſpoke laſt, expreſſed a great regard for the late K. William. I ſhall readily join with him in teſtifying my eſteem for that great prince; and, therefore, I muſt approve of his Majeſty's giving us a caution at this juncture againſt heats and animoſities, becauſe K. William did the ſame upon a like occaſion. That prince, in his laſt ſpeech to his parliament, when war againſt France and Spain was reſolved on, tho' not then declared, recommended it particularly to his parliament to avoid all manner of diſputes and differences, and to lay aſide thoſe unhappy fatal animoſities which divided and weakened this nation. For this reaſon, if the example of K. William can be of any weight, and, I muſt think it ought, we muſt approve of the advice his Majeſty has given us upon this occaſion; and if we approve of it, we ought to ſay ſomething in return.

In this, my Lords, his Majeſty has done no more than follow the example of K. William; and as he equals that prince in many other virtues, ſo he equals him in a true regard for the glory and happineſs of his kingdoms; which, I am convinced, will be manifeſted in a prudent and vigorous proſecution of the preſent war. K. William, in my opinion, and, I believe, in the opinion of every man that hears me, judged right when he ſuppoſed that the Indies was the proper place for carrying on a war againſt Spain. His preſent Majeſty we may ſuppoſe, from what he ſays in his ſpeech, to be of the ſame opinion. He has told us that he has augmented his forces by ſea and land, as the neceſſary means of diſtreſſing and annoying our enemies *in the moſt ſenſible parts*; by which he certainly means the Indies; and, believe, no man ſuppoſes that we ought to exhauſt our ſtrength in attacking any of their dominions in Europe. We may, therefore, ſuppoſe, that his Majeſty will certainly puſh the war againſt Spain with the greateſt vigour in the Indies: and if he had occaſion for it, he would as certainly make ſtipulations in every alliance he enters into, for our keeping poſſeſſion of the conqueſts we may make in that part of the world. It was neceſſary for K. William to make ſuch a ſtipulation in the alliance he at that time concluded with the Emperor, becauſe by that alliance the dominions of Spain were to be given to a branch of the houſe of Auſtria. But as his preſent Majeſty has no ſuch deſigns, he has no occaſion for any ſuch ſtipulation. If we now make any conqueſts in that part of the world, as I hope we ſhall, no ally we can have in the preſent war, will have a right to prevent our keeping poſſeſ-

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ſion of what we conquer: whereas, by the alliance we then entered into, the Emperor would have had a right to prevent it, if it had not been for that ſtipulation.

I do not ſee, my Lords, how any of our former meaſures can be properly brought under our conſideration in this debate. I wiſh we could all forget our differences about paſt meaſures, and heartily unite in ſuch meaſures for the time to come, as may redound to the glory and advantage of our country. But as the Noble Lord that ſpoke laſt, was pleaſed to throw out ſome things that may be look'd on as reflections upon our paſt meaſures, I think it incumbent upon me, conſidering the poſt in which I have the honour to ſerve his Majeſty, to ſay ſomething in their juſtification. I have approved of our publick meaſures, my Lords, for ſeveral years paſt: I ſtill approve of them: nay, I ſo much approve of them, that if any one of them had been otherwiſe than it was, I am convinced, I ſhould have diſapproved of it. The Noble Lord has found fault with ſeveral of our meaſures: he has particularly, upon this occaſion, found fault with our negotiations for preventing a war; which, of all others, are, in my opinion, the moſt juſtifiable. His Majeſty, out of his tender regard to his people, was reſolved, if poſſible, to avoid a war: he endeavoured as much as he could, to obtain redreſs by peaceable means. For this purpoſe it was neceſſary to negotiate; and from the ſame motive he continued to negotiate, as long as there were any hopes of ſucceſs. I hope the Noble Lord would not have had us declare war before we demanded redreſs; and we could not, in juſtice, declare war, as long as we had reaſon to believe our demand would be complied with. Our negotiations were not altogether fruitleſs: they procur'd a convention, by which, if Spain had been ſincere, an open rupture might have been avoided: for I muſt ſtill approve of that convention; I muſt ſtill think, we acted prudently in agreeing to it. Reparation for our damages was thereby expreſly promiſed; and, if that promiſe had been fulfilled, the other articles in diſpute might have been eaſily adjuſted. But when the court of Spain refuſed to comply with what they ſo ſolemnly promiſed, then, and not till then, it became in vain to negotiate; and then his Majeſty, according to the advice of his parliament, reſolved upon forcible means, for obtaining that which he ſaw he could no longer expect to obtain by negotiation.

Trade, my Lords, is our chief ſupport; even the Noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, has acknowledg'd it to be ſo: therefore, it is neceſſary for us to avoid war as much as poſſible; for our trade muſt ſuffer by every war we can be engaged in. It muſt of courſe occaſion an entire ſtop to our trade with that nation againſt which we happen to be engag'd, and this breaks the chain of the general trade we carry on; for our trade with every nation depends, in ſome meaſure, upon our trade with every other nation where we carry on any commerce. Beſides, our trade muſt ſuffer in every branch, by the privateers of that nation we are at war with; for it is impoſſible ſo to cover the ocean with cruiſers, as to prevent their ſending out privateers: and, if they have any ſuch at ſea, our merchant-ſhips cannot proceed ſafely on their voyage without convoy; which is always a great expence, and often occaſions a diſappointment to the merchant. To which I muſt add, that a war with Spain, muſt always be more injurious to our trade, than a war with any other nation in Europe; becauſe of the great trade our merchants carry on in that kingdom, either in their own or in borrowed names; and becauſe of that country's lying ſo convenient for interrupting, by their privateers, our trade with Portugal, Turkey, Italy, Africa, and with our own plantations in America.

No man therefore, my Lords, who conſiders theſe things, can, in my opinion, blame our endeavouring to avoid a war with Spain, by means of a negotiation. We were in the right to negotiate as long as we had the leaſt hopes left

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left of obtaining ſatisfaction in that way. If his Majeſty had plunged the nation into a war, upon the firſt inſult offered by Spain, I am convinced we ſhould then have had as much ſaid, and I am ſure with more reaſon, againſt a raſh and precipitate war, as we have lately heard againſt long and tedious negotiations. The inconveniencies and loſſes our trade was expoſed to by a war, would have been ſet forth with great vehemence: the advantage of our trade with Spain, would have been magnified to a high degree; and the prudence of waiting a more favourable conjuncture for obtaining redreſs from that crown, might have been with juſtice inſiſted on; becauſe, as it is the intereſt of that nation not to fall out with us, it was reaſonable to expect, that a change of meaſures at that court, or a change in their adminiſtration, would have put an end to their injurious treatment of us, and would have inclined them to give ear to a friendly accommodation.

But, my Lords, as his Majeſty, like a tender father, was loth to engage his people in a war, which muſt be fatal to ſome of them, and prejudicial to great numbers; as he endeavoured to prevent a war by negotiation, as long as there were any hopes left of ſucceeding in that way, thoſe who are reſolved to find fault with the conduct of our publick affairs, (which, I am ſure, is not the caſe with regard to any of your Lordſhips) have now nothing to ſay, but againſt our negotiations: which have, indeed, at laſt failed of the wiſh'd for ſucceſs; but this, I am ſure, no man could foreſee. Before the end of May laſt, no man could pretend to ſay, that this would be the event. As ſoon as this happened to be the caſe, his Majeſty began to prepare for war, and took the firſt opportunity to commence hoſtilities; and we have, at leaſt, gain'd this advantage from our negotiations, that all the powers of Europe muſt now ſee we have juſtice of our ſide, becauſe we did not offer to attack them, till they had broke through one of the moſt ſolemn and explicit ſtipulations that one nation can make with another. The other powers of Europe could not eaſily, or perhaps would not be at the pains to underſtand the diſputes between the Spaniards and us about ſearching our ſhips on the ſeas, or about our reſpective rights and limits on the continent or in the iſlands of America; but every power in Europe muſt underſtand, and muſt look on their refuſing to pay the 95,000 l. ſtipulated by the convention, as an open and notorious violation of faith.

His Majeſty's declaration of war has, 'tis true, put an end to thoſe clamours that were raiſed againſt our peaceable negotiations; but I am afraid, my Lords, it has not put an end to our diviſions. Thoſe who in time of peace cried out for war, cannot certainly find fault with the declaration of war: this would render them ridiculous. But, I am afraid, the ſame ſpirit that prompted them to find fault with our peaceable negotiations, will prompt them to find fault with our warlike operations; and the very nature of the thing muſt furniſh them with a greater abundance of materials for complaint. In time of war ſome croſs accidents muſt happen: the beſt concerted ſchemes may fail of ſucceſs: the former will be aſcribed, by the malicious, to want of care; and the latter, to want of conduct. The Noble Lord who ſpoke laſt has, indeed, with his uſual candour, declared, that if the plan be right, he will not find fault with the event; therefore I do not queſtion our having his approbation in every ſtep of our future conduct: and as we have juſtice of our ſide, and may conſequently expect the protection of divine providence, I hope the moſt malicious will have but very little room to find fault. We have already met with ſome ſucceſs; which, in all probability, will ſoon be follow'd by others: we have failed in no attempt but one; and that was ſo viſibly occaſioned by contrary winds and ſtorms, that no man can have the aſſurance to impute it to any defect in our conduct. At the ſame time, ſo great care has been taken to provide for our

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ſafety at home, and for the protection of our dominions and trade abroad, that we are in no great danger of being attack'd in any part of our dominions: and, conſidering the extenſive trade we carry on, and the vaſt number of ſhips our merchants have at ſea, ſo few of them have fallen into the hands of our enemies, and all this has been done with ſo much prudence and œconomy, that the moſt fertile malice cannot, I think, invent an objection againſt our conduct ſince the commencement of the war.

I ſhall join with the Noble Lord in ſaying, that it is our buſineſs to make this, as well as every other war we engage in, as ſhort as poſſible; and, I hope, the war we are now engaged in, will not be of any long duration. It cannot continue long, if Spain gets no aſſiſtance from any other power in Europe. We have already provided, I hope ſufficiently provided, for our defence; which was certainly the firſt thing neceſſary. We are now to provide for attacking the enemy; and I make no doubt, but that as ſoon as the ſeaſon will permit, we ſhall be able to attack them in the proper place, with ſuch a force as they cannot reſiſt. Our negotiations to prevent a war were, perhaps, more tedious than was agreeable to ſome people amongſt us; but, now the war is begun, I hope we ſhall be able to puſh it with ſuch vigour and ſucceſs, as muſt produce an honourable peace, before any man in the kingdom can have time to be tired of the war. As his Majeſty has ſecured us, by an augmentation of his land-forces, againſt the deſigns of our enemies at home; and, by covering the ſeas with his ſquadrons, againſt an attack from our enemies abroad; the Spaniards muſt ſoon find themſelves diſappointed in the hopes they had, of reaping advantage from our diviſions: and being deprived of theſe hopes, when they ſee that we are ready to attack them in the moſt ſenſible part, and with an irreſiſtible force, they will probably ſubmit to reaſonable terms. They muſt ſubmit, unleſs they are ſure of having the aid of a neighbouring power, for preventing that vengeance which will ſoon be ready to burſt upon them.

My Lords, the Noble Lord that ſpoke laſt has allowed, that there is ſome danger of France's declaring againſt us in the preſent war. He has allowed that France may ſacrifice her trade to other views. I do not know that we are as yet in any danger from that quarter; I hope we are not: but no man can tell how ſoon we may; for, notwithſtanding the great age of the preſent prime miniſter of that kingdom, notwithſtanding his preſent peaceable diſpoſition, we cannot entirely truſt to it. We know he can alter that diſpoſition, when he finds it proper or neceſſary ſo to do. We know the animoſity that has ſo long ſubſiſted between that nation and this: we know the regard the people of France have for the royal family of Spain; and therefore the prime miniſter of that kingdom, notwithſtanding the arbitrary form of their government, may, like the miniſters in other countries, be forced to chime in with the general inclinations, perhaps the general whim, of his countrymen. Many things may induce the French to alter their preſent meaſures; and as their King is abſolute maſter within his dominions, the effects of that alteration may, and probably will be inſtantaneous, and may be fatal to us, if we are not fully provided againſt them. On this account it is prudent, it is neceſſary for us to make more formidable preparations, and to put ourſelves to a greater expence, than might perhaps be neceſſary, if we were ſure of having none but the Spaniards to deal with.

But this, my Lords, is far from being the caſe. We cannot depend upon the councils of any foreign nation. The only ſure method we have for preventing an alteration in their councils with regard to us, is to prevent its being in their power to hurt us, by providing ſufficiently for our defence at land, as well as by ſea; and as the court of France is nearly allied with that of Spain, as the coaſt of France lies more convenient for invading this kingdom than any other

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ther coaſt in Europe, we ought, in the preſent war, to provide againſt a ſudden attack from thence, as well as againſt an attack from Spain. It is a little, I may ſay, diverting to obſerve the different opinions of ſome without doors at different times. It is not many years ſince the power of France was repreſented in a terrible light: we were but a few years ago told, that the power of France was become dangerous to the liberties of Europe; and from thence an argument was drawn for our engaging againſt that crown in a war, in which we had no immediate concern. I am ſure the power of France is no way diminiſhed ſince that time, nor can I think that the power of this nation is any way increaſed: and yet now we are told, that the power of France is ſo inconſiderable, that even this nation alone has nothing to fear from the united power of France and Spain; and that France, by joining with Spain in the preſent war, may hurt herſelf, but cannot hurt us. This way of talking is ſomething ſtrange; but I am no way ſurpriſed at it. We were then in peace, and our adminiſtration were againſt involving their country in war, unleſs France ſhould puſh her conqueſts ſo far, as to endanger the liberties of Europe: we are now in war, and our adminiſtration think it neceſſary to provide againſt France's taking a ſhare in the war againſt us. This is the ſole cauſe of this difference in opinion, with regard to the power of France. Our adminiſtration have, for good reaſons, altered their meaſures; and therefore thoſe who oppoſe them muſt, without any reaſon, alter their opinions.

I am far from accuſing any Lord in this houſe of ſuch a conduct. Your Lordſhips always form your opinions upon reaſons that appear at leaſt to you ſubſtantial. But this, my Lords, cannot be ſaid of many without doors. The chief reaſon for the opinion they form, often ſeems to be, becauſe the adminiſtration happens to be of another; and ſuch a conduct muſt proceed from a ſpirit of diviſion and animoſity: I am ſure, it does not proceed from a ſpirit that can, in any ſenſe, be called rational. It muſt from thence appear, that there is a ſpirit of diſſenſion and animoſity reigning without doors; and thoſe who are diſaffected, will always endeavour to cultivate and improve that ſpirit as much as they can, eſpecially at the beginning of a foreign war. This made it neceſſary for his Majeſty, upon the preſent occaſion, to caution us againſt heats and animoſities: and for the ſame reaſon we ought to pay a due reſpect to that caution, not only in our addreſs, but alſo in our future conduct. This ought to prevail with us, to be as unanimous as poſſible in all our future reſolutions; for, tho' no difference of opinion ever ariſes to any heat or animoſity in this houſe, yet it adds feuel to thoſe heats and animoſities that are induſtriouſly fomented by the diſaffected without doors: and, as it cannot be ſuppoſed, that any of your Lordſhips are in the leaſt concerned in thoſe diviſions, heats, or animoſities that prevail without doors; therefore, I hope, the Noble Lord's motion will be unanimouſly agreed to without any amendment.

A. Poſthumius *roſe up next, and ſpoke to this effect*, viz.

My Lords,

AS I have not the honour to have any ſhare in his Majeſty's councils, I cannot pretend to ſay, what is meant by the diviſions, heats and animoſities, mentioned in his Majeſty's ſpeech from the throne; but as that ſpeech, and all ſuch ſpeeches are directed to the two houſes of parliament, the moſt obvious, and, I think, the moſt natural conſtruction that can be put upon it, is, that his Majeſty means the diviſions, heats and animoſities, that have ariſen in one or other houſe of parliament. This is the conſtruction, I am convinced, that will be put upon it by our people at home, and by our friends as well as enemies abroad: and as his Majeſty can know nothing of theſe diviſions, heats or animoſities, but by information, I am ſure thoſe that have told him of there being any ſuch thing in either houſe, have done no ſervice to

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their King or country. No man can, with the leaſt ſhadow of truth, ſay, there has been any ſuch thing in parliament; and therefore I muſt think, that thoſe who have given his Majeſty ſuch a falſe information, if they are not guilty of treaſon, they are at leaſt guilty of a very high miſdemeanor. It is a miſrepreſenting of the parliament to the King, which may be attended with conſequences fatal to the nation; and therefore muſt be a crime of a moſt heinous nature. What then ſhall we be guilty of, if by any words in our addreſs, we confirm this miſrepreſentation that has been made of us to his Majeſty? Will it not make his Majeſty, as well as every perſon without doors, both abroad and at home, be convinced, that there have been great heats and animoſities in parliament, and that thoſe heats and animoſities are far from being allayed or alleviated? What an encouragement will this be to our enemies, what a diſconſolation to our friends?

Surely every Lord that hears me muſt be conſcious, that there have been no heats or animoſities in this houſe; and I have heard of none in the other. Even with regard to the people without doors, I cannot think, my Lords, there is the leaſt ground for ſaying, there is any diviſion or animoſity among them. I am ſure it cannot be ſaid, there is any number of men in the nation, that diſapprove of the war his Majeſty has declared againſt Spain. I have not lately been in many parts of the country, but here in London there never was a meaſure more univerſally approved of, by all ranks and degrees of men. The people have ſhewn their approbation by every method they could think of; and I do not think, that a meaſure ſo highly approved of in and about the city of London, can meet with any cenſure or oppoſition in the country.

What circumſtances the nation was in, towards the latter end of K. William's reign, I cannot at preſent, my Lords, take upon me fully to explain; but I remember two or three circumſtances, which make our caſe very different now, from what it was then. But three or four months before that prince made the ſpeech to his parliament, which the Noble Duke has been pleaſed to mention, the late unfortunate K. James having died at St German's in France, his ſon was publickly proclaimed King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, at St German's, and ſolemnly and openly acknowledged as ſuch by the King of France; which was a good reaſon for K. William's admoniſhing his parliament to beware of diviſions and animoſities, and a reaſon which does not now ſubſiſt. This, I ſay, was a good reaſon; but there was ſtill a much ſtronger. In the very ſeſſion of parliament immediately preceeding that which he opened with the ſpeech the Noble Duke has mentioned, there had been great conteſts and great heats and animoſities in both houſes: ſeveral Noble Lords who were the King's chief miniſters and favourites, and who had done ſignal ſervices to their country, had been impeached by the houſe of Commons; which not only raiſed heats and animoſities in each houſe, but occaſioned a ſort of breach between the two; and was, perhaps, the occaſion of diſſolving that parliament about the end of the enſuing ſummer. To this I may add, that even as to the war then about to be entered into, there were great diviſions in the nation; ſome being for entering into it as auxiliaries only, and ſome for entering into it as principals: nay, the party for the former of theſe two methods was ſo numerous and powerful, that, had it not been for the indignity put upon theſe kingdoms by the French King, as I have juſt mentioned, the nation could hardly have been prevailed on to enter into the war as principals.

K. William, therefore, had ſome reaſon to caution his parliament, being a new one which he had no experience of, againſt thoſe heats and animoſities that had actually happened in the former. But ſurely, my Lords, no ſuch reaſon exiſts at preſent. His Majeſty has had ſeveral years experience of this parliament. There have been no heats or animoſities in parliament. There has been

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been no animosity among the people, but a very general one against Spain, and as general a one against the tameness with which our ministers bore the insults of that nation. The latter is now put an end to, by his Majesty's declaration of war: The former, I hope, will continue till we have fully revenged ourselves of our enemies. By divisions, heats and animosities, nothing can be meant but the opposition which the people in general, and many members of both houses of parliament, have shewn, and the indignation with which they have treated the late peaceful negotiating humour of our ministers: and to call that opposition a division, or to complain of its being carried on with heat or animosity, is throwing an unjust reflection upon the whole nation, and upon many members of both houses, merely for the sake of making a compliment to our ministers; which, I hope, this house will give no countenance to: and therefore, I think we ought to avoid saying any thing in our address about divisions, heats or animosities. I am sure, if the Noble Lord intends to have his motion unanimously agreed to, he will take the advice that has been offered, and leave out of his motion every one of those expressions that have been objected to.

[*This Journal to be continued.*]

In our introduction to the Political Debates, *vol.* 1. *p.* [289.] we informed our readers, that it was agreed in the club, to speak and argue as much as possible in the stile and manner of parliament. — For this purpose, the speakers on each side assume the characters of some of their superiors, and endeavour to speak in the character they have assumed.—The following list contains the names of the Noblemen and Gentlemen whose characters the members of the club have assumed.

Sinius Pollio, Lord Polwarth, now Earl of Marchmont.
A. Posthumius, Duke of Bedford.
C. Calpurnius Piso, John Campbell of Pembrokeshire, Esq;
C. Cicerejus, Earl of Cholmondeley.
C. Duillius, Sir Charles Wager.
C. Fabricius, Lord Visc. Falconberg.
C. Helvius, Lord Hervey.
C. Mucius Scævola, E. of Scarborough.
C. Plinius Cæcilius, Lord Chancellor.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus, Duke of Newcastle.
Julius Florus, William Pitt, Esq;
L. Æmilius Mamercinus, Mr Alderman Perry.
L. Æmilius Paullus, Duke of Argyle.
L. Cassius Longinus, Lord Hinton.
L. Hortensius, John Howe, Esq;
L. Icilius, Earl of Ilay.
L. Junius Brutus, Samuel Sandys, Esq;
L. Piso, Earl of Chesterfield.
L. Porcius, Duke of Portland.
L. Quintius Cincinnatus, William Shippen, Esq;
L. Valerius Flaccus, Sir William Yonge.
M. Agrippa, Lord Carteret.
M. Cato, William Pulteney, Esq;
M. Crassus, Edward Montagu Wortley, Esq;
M. Furius Camillus, Sir Wm Wyndham
M. Giganius Macerinus, Lord Gower.
M. Tullius Cicero, Sir Robert Walpole.
M. Valerius Corvus, Sir John Barnard.
Mecænas, George Lyttleton, Esq;
Pomponius Atticus, Horace Walpole, Esq;
P. Sempronius Tuditanus, Sir Thomas Saunderson, now E. of Scarborough.
P. Valerius Publicola, Walter Plummer, Esq;
P. Ventidius, Earl of Westmoreland.
P. Villius Tappulus, Mr Ald. Willimot.
Q. Fabius Maximus, Lord Bathurst.
Q. Salonius Sarra, Bishop of Salisbury.
Scipio Africanus, Lord Noel Somerset.
Servilius Priscus, Henry Pelham, Esq;
T. Manlius Torquatus, Col. Mordaunt.
T. Quintius Capitolinus, John Talbot, Esq;

The Ceremony of the Espousals of the Most Serene Prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassel, with her Royal Highness the Princess Mary, fourth daughter of the King of Great Britain, in the chapel-royal of St James's, the 8th of May.

THE Princess Mary, the Duke of Cumberland, (constituted Procurator for the Prince of Hesse-Cassell) with their attendants, and all the Nobility

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bility and Gentry, were in the great Council-chamber by 7 o'clock; his Majesty in his own apartments, and the Princesses in theirs: whence they went in procession to the chapel. The Duke and the Princess were conducted to the chairs placed upon the *haut-pas:* and the King, the Princesses, the Nobility, &c. being seated, the Archbishop of Canterbury said the collect, *Prevent us*, &c. and the Lord's prayer. Then the Duke of Newcastle publickly read the procuration in Latin, signed by Prince William of Hesse, and Prince Frederick of Hesse, father and son, and asked the Duke whether he accepted it. To which his R. Highness answer'd, that he did accept it. Then the Duke took the Princess by the right hand, and the Duke of Newcastle read the following words, his R. Highness repeating the same after him audibly and distinctly: "The Most Serene Prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassel doth, by me William Duke of Cumberland, duly authorised and appointed for this purpose, by letters of procuration now read and published, take thee Princess Mary, to be his wedded wife, to have and to hold, &c. till death him and you do part, &c. and thereto he plights thee his troth by me, by virtue of the said letters of procuration." Then their hands being withdrawn, the Princess did immediately with her right hand take the Duke by his right hand, and repeated the words following: "I Mary do, by you William Duke of Cumberland, duly authorised and appointed for this purpose, by virtue of the letters of procuration now read and published, take the Most Serene Prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassell, to be my wedded husband, to have and to hold, &c. till death him and me do part, &c. and thereto I give him my troth, by you his Procurator." Then the Duke and the Princess signed the instrument of contract, the words of which each of them had previously repeated, and exchanged the instruments; the same having been first attested by Dr Paul, his Majesty's Advocate-general, and Edward Greenly, Esq; his Majesty's Procurator-general, Notaries-publick. After which the Duke did put a ring on the fourth finger of the Princess's left hand, and repeated these words: "The Most Serene Prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassell, by me William Duke of Cumberland, duly authorised, &c. doth present and deliver this ring to thee Princess Mary." And the Princess repeated the words following: "I Mary do accept, from the Most Serene Prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassell, this ring, delivered to me by you William Duke of Cumberland, his Procurator." Then the Archbishop of Canterbury pronounced the following speech and benediction.

IIS, quibus privatorum hominum nuptiis, vel sponsalibus, datur interesse, haud quidquam fere prius est, vel solennius, quam ut sponsi sponsæque indole, moribus, toto denique anteactæ vitæ decursu, perpensis, eorum futuræ felicitatis omina captent. Hæc parentibus, hæc amicis gratulantur; hæc aliis passim prædicant.

Quem morem, si alias unquam, hoc certe tempore, atque hoc loco, sequendum monent, suadentque, cum egregiæ magnanimi juvenis, quas fando accepimus, virtutes, tum spectata regiæ virginis modestia, insignis morum probitas, ac mite illud ingenium, quod suspicimus, quod miramur, quod ei cum aliis admodum paucis commune est.

Quæ vero, quantaque felicitas est, quam ex his animi virtutibus sperare non liceat? De corporis enim dotibus tacemus, quamquam hæ quoque eximiæ sint, & omnium oculos in se trahant. Majora nos vocant; quæ ad veræ religionis tutamen, publicæ libertatis defensionem, nec hujusce tantum regni aut Hassiacæ ditionis, sed universæ etiam Europæ utilitatem atque salutem spectant; quibus omnibus, per hæc sponsalia, quoad humanum ingenium assequi potuit, sapienter admodum, ac perinde feliciter (sic enim augurari liceat) provisum est.

Vobis igitur, qui læti hic adestis, omnibus, reliquisque concivibus nostris, quibus nolentibus atque invitis a solenni hoc conventu abesse contigit, de prosperis tantarum rerum principiis, vere atque ex animo, gratulamur, quibus parem etiam exitum, favente Deo, non defuturum confidimus.

Tibi

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Tibi vero, Regum optime ac maxime, patriæ noſtræ pater, decus atque columen, gratias, quas poſſumus, maximas habemus, agimuſque, quod nihil humile ſentiens, nihil a tanto illo faſtigio alienum, ad quod te rerum omnium arbiter, nobis ſumme benevolus, evexit, noſtræ ſaluti ſemper invigiles, nec, vel in privata tua domo (ſiquid privatum dicere liceat, quod talis tantique Regis interſit,) agi quicquam, aut ſuſcipi patiaris, niſi quod publicæ etiam utilitati inſerviat. Deum igitur, cæli terræque conditorem, ardentiſſime precamur, ut te nobis, Domine, diutiſſime ſervet incolumem; ut regiæ tuæ familiæ univerſæ ſemper adſit propitius; ac vota veſtra omnia, hodierna præcipue, ſecundet.

Quo, denique, in hoc tanto illuſtrium virorum ac fœminarum choro, nemo ſit, qui mobiſcum non comprecetur, vernaculo noſtro ſermone utentes,

Let us pray,

THat God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghoſt, Three Perſons and One God, would bleſs theſe eſpouſals; that he would make them proſperous to his church, to theſe kingdoms, and to the dominions of Heſſe; and that he would direct them to the temporal and eternal welfare of the two illuſtrious perſons now eſpouſed and engaged to each other. Amen.

After which an anthem was ſung; and a proper inſtrument, atteſting that the ceremony was performed in the manner above mentioned, was ſigned by a great many of the Nobility and Gentry, in preſence of Dr Paul and Mr Greenly, Notaries-publick, who atteſted the ſame. Then the proceſſion returned, and at the door of the King's little drawing-room all perſons filed off. The city of London, *&c.* have preſented congratulatory addreſſes to the King and the Princeſs upon this occaſion.

Written on an Alehouſe window.

O Chalk! to me, and to the poor, a friend:
On thee my life, and happineſs depend:
On thee with joy, with gratitude I think;
For by thy bounty, I both eat and drink.

On the approach of SPRING.

*E*Nough hath Boreas, *with tyrannick ſway,*
Vex'd th' world with rugged adamantine face,
Deep cruſted o'er with ſnows; his direful rage
Hath felt enough; while ſwains, with longing eyes,
Mourn'd o'er their labours bury'd in the fray:
The Northern Monarch, all his treaſures ſpent,
Peaceful at length reſigns his boiſt'rous reign;
And Flora's *face, tho' languid, we behold.*
See! how the groves begin to ſhift their hue,
Into pale verdure; and the tender buds,
From each reviving bough, begin to ſhoot.
Hark! how the winged ſongſters charm the ear
With vocal ſays,— they had almoſt forgot:
With double ardour, how they raiſe their ſtrains,
As if reſolving to make up the loſs
Of their unhappy fellow-warblers, ſlain
By Boreas' *cruel, unrelenting hand!*
No more the ſtreams are pav'd above with boards
Of ſolid ice, which chain'd them to their banks;
No more, in wild diſorder, do they ruſh
Beyond all bounds, when ſwell'd with winter rains,
Or melting ſnows; —— but now their chryſtal waves,
In ſoft meanders down the channels roll.
Mark! how the ſwains in yonder fertile vale,
With chearful hearts, their wiſh'd for toils renew;
Hear how the pendent rocks, on every ſide,
Reverberate the rural flying ſtrains.
All hail! the genial Spring, of every joy
The kindly parent, and the ſource of bleſs.
In thee, nor ſultry heats, nor chilling bloſts,
With foul diſeaſes, and the ſeeds of death,
Taint the mild æther: but the Zephyrs *now,*
In ſoothing gales, from their ambroſial wings,
Waft healthful fragrance thro' th' extended ſky.
Now is the time when heavenly raptures ſeize
Th' inſpired bard, and his embolden'd muſe,
In daring flights, ſoars up th' ætherial tracts.
'Tis now, that youth the ſoft infection feels
Creep on the ſoul, till in a wild ferment
Their turged veins beat light with tides of love.

'W. H——N.

'To

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To the LONDON GAZETTE.

Lately perusing thy authentick page,
Th' Addresses there my raptur'd heart engage;
Th' Addresses to the FATHER *and the* FAIR,
That, in the choicest flowers of stile declare,
The prosp'rous omens that th'espousals bless
Of BRITAIN'S DAUGHTER *with the* PRINCE *of* HESSE.
But, there, *th'* Address *which* VERNON'S *valiant deed*
So high extoll'd, in vain I look'd to read.
Say, suits *it not,* alike *the praise t' approve,*
That paints the Thund'rer, *and the* Queen of love;
That paints the power of Beauty *and of* Arms,
Of VERNON'S *valour, and of* MARY'S *charms?*

On Admiral *H———k.*

SOme people ask, What has this H——k *done?*
He cruizes, takes their ships. — How many?
One.

A dying Lady's Adieu to her Husband at a distance from her.

THou who dost all my worldly thoughts employ,
Thou pleasant source of all my earthly joy,
Thou tend'rest husband, and thou deerest friend,
To thee this last, this fond adieu I send.
At length the conqu'ror Death asserts his right,
And will for ever vail me from thy sight.
He woes me to him with a chearful grace,
And not one terror clouds his awful face:
He promises a lasting rest from pain,
And shows that all life's fleeting joys are vain.
The eternal scenes of heaven are in my view,
And tell me that no other joys are true.
But Love! fond Love — would yet resist his power,
Would fain a while defer the parting hour:
He brings thy weeping image to my sight,
And stops my passage to the realms of light.
But say, thou dearest, thou unweary'd friend,
Say, should thou grieve to see my sorrows end?
Thou know'st a painful pilgrimage I've past,
And would'st thou mourn that rest is come at last?
Rather rejoice to see me shake off life,
And die, as I have liv'd, thy faithful wife.

EPIGRAM on a Gentleman who had been a great Penitent.

WHen Phœbus *sets, he leaves the earth to night,*
Sets in the sea to rise from thence more bright:
The same advantage your great penance shares;
You rise a Phœbus *from a sea of tears.*

The PHILOSOPHER'S Prayer on New-year's-day.

FAther and friend of human race,
Thou greatest, first and best,
Fountain of light, and life and grace,
Supremely good and blest;
Whose hand unseen conducts us still,
Unseen moves all below,
Whose power and goodness most we feel;
Whose nature least we know:

Hail! let the year a-new begin
Its circling course with thee,
Whose voice first taught the year to run,
And bade all nature be.

Thee teach me through thy ways to tract,
And in thy works explore;
Through nature look to nature's cause,
And that first cause adore.

Save me from vanity and vice,
Teach me myself to know,
Point out the path to real bless,
And guide me where I go.

Bestow the clear and judging head,
Bestow the heart humane;
That let no prejudice mislead,
In this no passion reign.

Instruct my breast, from envy free,
With social warmth to glow;
To joy, when others bless'd I see,
And mingle in their wo.

Teach me to drop the friendly tear,
To heave the tender sigh;
Nor ever shut my harden'd ear
Against the orphan's cry.

Let not my love in narrow bound
Be to a sect confin'd;
But stretch its wide embrace around,
A friend to human kind.

Oh! send contentment, health and peace,
Ought else if thou ordain,
That teach me chearful to embrace,
Nor vex myself in vain.

Bless'd, may I thankfully receive;
Distress'd, thy hand adore;
Rejoice in what thy bounty gave,
Nor envy who have more.

Riches, thou know'st, if best, or not;
Be that to thee resign'd:
Let ease and leisure be my lot,
And bless me with a friend.

Then

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Then grant, when life's short scene is o'er,
In peace to lay me down,
In conscious innocence secure,
And dare the world unknown.

My prayer, when fit thou seest, allow;
Reject, when fit thou see:
My will to thine shall ever bow,
And own the wise decree.

Great soul of all this mighty frame,
May loud thy praise resound:
Let all creation hymn thy name,
And earth rejoice around.

Admiral H——R's Ghost. A Ballad.

Tune, *Come and listen to my ditty.*

AS, near Porto Bello *lying*
On the gently-swelling flood,
At midnight, with the streamers flying,
Our triumphant navy rode;
There, while VERNON *sat all glorious*
From the Spaniards *late defeat,*
And his crews, with shouts victorious,
Drank success to England's *fleet,*

On a sudden, shrilly sounding,
Hideous yells and shrieks were heard:
Then, each heart with fear confounding,
A sad troop of ghosts appear'd;
All in driry hammocks shrowded,
Which for winding-sheets they wore;
And with looks by sorrow clouded,
Frowning on that hostile shore.

On them gleam'd the moon's wan lustre,
When the shade of H——R *brave,*
His pale bands were seen to muster,
Rising from their watry grave.
O'er the glimm'ring wave he hy'd him,
Where the Burford *rear'd her sail,*
With three thousand ghosts beside him,
And in groans did VERNON *hail:*

"Heed, oh heed our fatal story!
I am H——R's *injur'd ghost:*
You, who now have purchas'd glory,
At this place, where I was lost;
Tho', in Porto Bello's *ruin,*
You now triumph free from fears,
When you think on our undoing,
You will mix your joy with tears!

See these mournful spectres sweeping
Ghastly o'er this hated wave; [ing:
Whose wan cheeks are stain'd with weep-
These were English *Captains brave!*

Mark those numbers pale and horrid,
Who were once my sailors bold;
Lo! each hangs his drooping forehead,
While his dismal fate is told.

I, by twenty sail attended,
Did this Spanish *town affright;*
Nothing then its wealth defended,
But my orders not to fight.
Oh! that in this rolling ocean
I had cast them with disdain,
And obey'd my heart's warm motion,
To reduce the pride of Spain.

For resistance I could fear none,
But with twenty ships had done
What thou, brave and happy VERNON,
Hast atchiev'd with six alone.
Then the Bastimento's *never*
Had our foul dishonour seen,
Nor the sea the sad receiver
Of this gallant train had been.

Thus, like thee, proud Spain *dismaying,*
And her galleons leading home,
Tho' condemn'd for disobeying,
I had met a traitor's doom;
To have fallen, my country crying,
He has play'd an *English* part,
Had been better far, than dying
Of a griev'd and broken heart.

Unrepining at thy glory,
Thy successful arms we hail;
But remember our sad story,
And let H——R's *wrongs prevail:*
After this proud foe subduing,
When your patriot friends you see,
Think on vengeance for my ruin,
And for England *sham'd in me."*

FOREIGN HISTORY.

THE appearance of peace continues between the GRAND SEIGNIOR and his IMPERIAL MAJESTY; and, among other presents which the former is sending the Emperor, are, A very magnificent tent, 2 horses, whose harness is adorned with gold and precious stones, 2 silver chains for fastening the horses to the manger, 2 bridles wrought with gold and silk, 2 large silver vessels fit for the horses to eat and drink out of, 4 carpets embroi-

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broidered, a ſuit of tapeſtry-hangings adorned with precious ſtones, another of ſilk, 2 of wool, and 15 ſmaller ſuits, 28 pieces of ſtuffs, moſt of them very rich, 38 Bezoar ſtones of the beſt ſort, 130 veſſels with amber, and 400 full of all ſorts of perfumed waters, &c. The preſents which the Emperor intends to ſend to the Grand Seignior, valued at 300,000 florins, are expoſed to the view of the publick at Vienna.

As the Baſhaw of Bender was blamed for the ill ſucceſs of the laſt campaign of the Turks towards the Nieſter, people were ſurpriſed that the Porte had not all this while ſhewn their reſentment againſt him: But it appears to have been only delayed: for, about the end of March laſt, the Baſhaw received orders to repair to Conſtantinople, to know the Grand Seignior's pleaſure; and on his arrival at Adrianople, he there found a Capigi Baſhaw; who, after having reproached him for the faults he committed laſt campaign, ſhewed him a warrant by which he was condemned to loſe his head: and the ſentence was accordingly executed on the ſpot; after which the ſkin was ſtripp'd off of his head, and being ſtuffed with cotton, was ſent to Conſtantinople, to be ſet up in the Seraglio.

The Emperor, in conſideration of the faithful and uſeful ſervices of the Baron de Schmettau, has not only made him Governor of Temeſwaer, in the room of General Suckau deceas'd, but has of his own accord ſent him a full power to ſettle the limits of Servia and Sclavonia with the Turks, with leave to chuſe a ſubſtitute if he finds it neceſſary for that affair. He has alſo appointed him Firſt Commiſſioner for the exchange of the Ambaſſadors of his Imperial Majeſty and the Grand Seignior; and the Baron has already received a conſiderable ſum from the Imperial chamber for that purpoſe.

Conſtantinople, April 2. A great fire has happened here, by which the palace of the Grand Vizier is burnt down to the ground. Upon this occaſion the populace, who are naturally inclined to ſuperſtition, began to forebode ill conſequences from the event; and the faction who are enemies to that prime miniſter took the opportunity, by encouraging and exciting them, to make another puſh in order to depoſe him: and it is not unlikely that they would have ſucceeded in the attempt, if the Kaimacan, whom they would be glad to ſee in his place, had not at that very time been dangerouſly ill. The Grand Vizier's ſituation is ſo very tottering, that it looks as if it would be a hard matter for him to keep his poſt.

The court of RUSSIA ſeems equally intent on treaties of peace, and warlike preparations. The arrival of Mr Finch, the Britiſh Ambaſſador, at Peterſburg, has put the Marquis Chetardie, the French miniſter, upon his mettle. And the accounts ſent Cardinal Fleury by that miniſter, of his reception at Peterſburg, are ſaid to puzzle his Eminence; as the Marquis is there treated juſt as the Cardinal does the publick miniſters at Paris, being uſed with the utmoſt ceremony, but without any poſitive anſwer to his buſineſs. And while he is every day loaded with reſpect, a treaty is ſaid to be concluded between the Czarina and his Britannick Majeſty, to the utter excluſion of any hopes of his ſucceſs in his negotiation.

The Empreſs being deſirous to expreſs her ſatisfaction with the ſervices of Major Gen. Bruce, a Scotſman, her Majeſty has conferred on him the title of *Count*, which is to deſcend to his heirs.

They write from *Warſaw*, that the Dutcheſs of Bouillon, daughter of the late Prince James Sobieſki, died the 27th April at the caſtle of Zolkiew.

On the 31ſt of May, N. S. died, in the 52d year of his age, FREDERICK-WILLIAM, King of Pruſſia, Margrave of Brandenburg, Arch-chamberlain and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Prince of Magdeburg, Cleves, Julier, Bergues, Stetin, Pomerania, Caſſubia, of the Vandals, and Croſſen in Sileſia, Burgrave of Nuremberg, Prince of Halberſtadt, Camin, and Neufchatel, Count of Valengin, Lawenburg, &c. He was ſon of Frederick III. Elector of Brandenburg, who having aſſiſted in con-

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concerting the revolution, was made a Knight of the Garter by K. William; and in the year 1700 took upon himſelf the title of *King of Pruſſia*, which title was acknowledged by France and Spain in the treaty of Utrecht. The late King's mother was Sophia Charlotta Princeſs of Hanover, daughter of the Princeſs Sophia of G. Britain.

His late Pruſſian Majeſty married Sophia Dorothea Princeſs of Hanover, his couſin-german, and only ſiſter to his Majeſty our ſovereign; by whom he has left iſſue, four ſons, and five daughters. Four of the latter are married, *viz.* the eldeſt, to the Prince of Bareith; the ſecond, to the Margrave of Anſpach, nephew to the late Q. Caroline; the third, to the Prince of Beveren, nephew to the Empreſs; and the fourth, to the Margrave of Sewedt: the youngeſt is ſeventeen years old. Charles Frederick, Prince Royal, now King of Pruſſia, was born in January 1712, and was married in the year 1733 to the Princeſs of Beveren. Margrave William Auguſtus is about ſixteen years of age, and the other young princes much younger.

The Family of Brandenburg is not leſs ancient than any in the empire. They are reckoned next in ſtrength to the houſe of Auſtria. Their dominions are large and fruitful. The late King's annual revenues were ſaid to be about 1,500,000 l. Sterl. He had an army from 60,000 to 80,000 men conſtantly on foot. The troops of his houſhold were 8000. His palace at Berlin is eſteemed ſecond to none in Europe, Verſailles excepted; and its furniture invaluable, in paintings and ſtatues, in collections of medals and rarities, and a library full of the choiceſt manuſcripts.

The inhabitants of SAN MARINO are re-inſtated in the full enjoyment of their privileges, to the ſatisfaction of all the lovers of liberty throughout Europe.—When ſhall we be ſo happy as to ſay the ſame thing of the brave, and greatly-injur'd CORSICANS! — But they grone under the fetters of France, and their next change ſeems the Spaniſh yoke.—A melancholy reflection to any who have obſerved their ardent ſtruggles for their native rights, and the innumerable diſtreſſes they have ſuffer'd, to obtain thoſe privileges which none could juſtly deprive them of.

Affairs of SPAIN in *America*, go very ſwimmingly at *Madrid*; the Commander of the galleons having beat Admiral Vernon, and cleared thoſe ſeas of every ſhip but their own: Nay, a French Captain from Martinico, ſwears he ſaw the action; though he confeſſes, that, notwithſtanding the Engliſh were beat, the approach of night prevented his telling diſtinctly how many of their ſhips were taken.

Equally fortunate have the Spaniſh arms (at *Madrid*) been againſt the Britiſh fleets in the *Mediterranean*; the Admirals Haddock, Balchen and Ogle, having all been taken by the Cadiz ſquadron, who crept out when no ſhip was there to hinder them.

Theſe conqueſts are the more remarkable, as they have ſo ſpeedily ſucceeded one another, without the loſs of one man on either ſide.— What a loſs has it been to Spain, to have a ſquadron ſo fit for action, pent up eighteen months, ſometimes by ſix, ſometimes by no more than four ſhips!

LONDON, *May* 1740.

ON the 6th May, M. de Buſſy, Ambaſſador of France, had his firſt private audience of his Majeſty.—The 13th, in the morning, his Majeſty ſet out from St James's for Gravеſend; the 22d he ſailed from Sheerneſs; and on the 25th, in the evening, a meſſenger brought advice, that his Majeſty arrived at Helvoetſluys the 24th in the morning. The Counteſs of Yarmouth and her ſiſter are likewiſe gone abroad.

The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland has ordered the officers on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment to repair to their reſpective poſts.

War-office, *May* 12. His Majeſty has pardoned all perſons that have deſerted from their regiments before the 30th inſtant incluſive, and are now in other corps; and orders, that they ſhall continue

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tinue in the regiments where they now are, without being moleſted or claimed by their former officers.

The Sea-horſe, Capt. Read, taken ſome time ago within cannon-ſhot of the fort of Civita Vecchia, by a Spaniſh privateer, was reſtored the 29th May, by order of the government of Rome, with power to ſue for damages and reſtitution of ſuch goods as may have been taken out of her.

The Greenwich, Capt. Wyndham, chaſed athore and deſtroyed a Spaniſh privateer, near St Jago de Cuba, as ſhe was towing in an Engliſh brigantine, which the Captain retook, and carried into Port-Royal. [*The above articles are taken from the London Gazette.*]

Letters from Jamaica adviſe, that on the 27th February three Spaniſh prizes, *viz.* a ſnow, a brigantine, and a ſloop, were brought in there by Capt. Snee, one of their privateers, with about 250 boxes of gun-powder, a large quantity of flour and ſoap, and about 50,000 pieces of eight in caſh, on board. And that on the 4th March, a New-York ſloop brought two Spaniſh ſloops into Old-Harbour, taken between Porto-Bello and Carthagena, with an immenſe treaſure on board, partly belonging to the King of Spain.

Capt. Barnard, in a New-England ſloop, met and fought a Spaniſh ſhip for ſix hours, which he carried into Antigua, valued at 10,000 l.

The Spaniards, on the other hand, have taken the following ſhips, *viz.* the Unity, Cannon; the Madera Merchant, Parker; the Hannah, Deering; the Hannah and Elizabeth, White; the Nativity, of Ireland, White; and the Richmond, Sherwell; which they carried into St Sebaſtian's: The Hardwicke, Offering, and the Cleland, Daws, into Ferrol: The Adventure, of Exon, Watkins, into Cadiz: The Halſey and Suttle, Howard, and the ——, Breſt, into Port-Paſſage: The Barbadoes Packet, Dawſon, into Morlaix: The Diſpatch, Ladd, a letter of marque ſhip, taken near the Maderas: The Happy Return, of Mountſbay, Baſſet: The John, Samuel Rowland: The Endeavour: Alſo a Portugueſe ſcooner, of 70 tuns, which loaded in the Thames with biſcuit for the King of Portugal, they carried into Ferrol. They have taken other two Portugueſe veſſels off the Maderas, for having Engliſh paſſes on board.

The 3d May Mrs Branch and her daughter, the one 67 years old and the other 24, were executed at Ivelcheſter, for the murder of their ſervant maid. [See above, *p.* 188, 189.]

P. S. *June* 5. The 2d inſtant the Deptford, Capt. Pocklington, brought into Plymouth the St Sebaſtian, Capt. Paul Arvies, a Spaniſh privateer, who mounts 12 guns, and has 112 men. She had two Engliſh ſhips in tow when taken by the man of war, who are releas'd.

This afternoon South Sea trading ſtock was 101, 3 qrs. Ditto Old annuities, 112, 5 8ths. Ditto New, 112, 5 8ths. Bank ſtock, 143, 1 qr. India ditto, 164, 1 half. Three per cent. annuities, 102, 3 qrs. Million bank, 116. Royal aſſurance, 95. London aſſurance, 11, 1 qr. a 1 half. Engliſh copper, 3 l. 10 s. Welch ditto, 15 s. African, 10. Seven per cent. Emperor's loan, 111, 3 qrs. Five per cent. ditto, 94. Bank circulation, 5 l. 7 s. 6 d. Three per cent. India bonds, 5 l. 4 s. prem. Three 1 half per cent. Exchequer orders, 3 1 half prem. Three per cent. ditto, 3 diſcount. Salt tallies, 1 qr. a 1 half prem. Lottery tickets, 5 l. 1 s. 6 d.

EDINBURGH.

The General Aſſembly, after having choſen Mr Logan Moderator [*p.* 190.] and gone thro' the uſual formalities, went upon the affair relating to the SECEDING MINISTERS.—The preceeding Aſſembly, tho' they found the libel againſt theſe brethren not only relevant to infer depoſition, but alſo proven in its moſt material articles by the *Acts and Declinature* read and given in by them to that Aſſembly, forbore at that time to proceed to a final ſentence; but earneſtly recommended to the then enſuing Aſſembly to inflict the cenſure of *depoſition*, without further delay, upon ſuch

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such of them as should not retract the said declinature, and ordered the Commission to cite them to appear and abide judgment accordingly: and to remove all colour of informality, *Mr Thomson*, tho' included in the libel and determination above mentioned, was ordained to be cited by the Commission, *de novo*, to answer for the matters contained in the *libel* and *declinature*, in regard his secession was posterior to the act of the Assembly 1738 which appointed the libel to be drawn up, and upon that account the competency of the process as to him rendered somewhat doubtful. [See *vol.* 1. *p.* 183, 4. 135, 6. 239, 1, 2, 3.] — Agreeable to the above recommendation, on the 10th May the warrants and executions of citation were read, and the eight brethren thrice publickly called at the doors of the Assembly-house and New church. — On the 12th they were again called; but none of them appeared at either diet. Then the Assembly took under consideration the libel raised and executed of new against Mr Thomson: which being read, and other papers relative to it, after reasoning, the question was *again* put with respect to him, in the same terms as was found by the Assembly 1739, "Is the libel against Mr Thomson relevant to infer deposition, and proven as to its most material articles, *viz. That the said Mr Thomson has seceded and separated from this church, and that he, with his said other brethren, associate themselves into a presbytery, and as such have framed and published, and do adhere to the pretended* Act, Declaration and Testimony *libelled, wherein they endeavour to assign the grounds of their unreasonable and irregular conduct, and take upon them to condemn this church, and the judicatures thereof, for their proceedings, and to cast many groundless and calumnious reflections upon her and them; and that the said Mr Thomson, with the other defenders, by the paper given in to the last Assembly, had the unparallelled boldness to appear before the highest judicature of this church, to which they had vowed obedience, and, instead of answering as panels and defenders at the bar, pretended to appear as a separate, independent and constituted judicature, and to read or pronounce an act of theirs, condemning this church and the judicatures thereof, upon several groundless pretences, and to decline the authority of the same; and that he the said Mr Thomson, with the other defenders, did, in presence of the Assembly, by their said paper, take upon them to speak in most injurious, disrespectful and indecent terms concerning the highest civil authority:* FIND, or NOT?" And it carried FIND by a very great majority. — The affair was resumed on the 15th. The arguments on this occasion were in substance much the same with those insisted on before the Assembly 1739. And the question being put, DEPOSE, or NOT? it carried DEPOSE 140, NOT 30, and some *Non liquet*. Whereupon the Assembly past an *act* or *sentence*, dated, *At Edinburgh, Thursday the fifteenth day of May* 1740; which, because of its importance, we shall give *verbatim, viz.*

THE General Assembly, pursuant to the resolution of the 12th instant, resumed the consideration of the process against the eight seceding Ministers: And having caused them to be again called, and none of them compearing, nor any person for them, the Assembly caused to be read the minute of their proceeding in this affair on Monday last, and also the act of the last Assembly of May 19. 1739, and then proceeded to consider, Whether, upon the libel found relevant to infer deposition, and proven as to its most material articles, by the last General Assembly against the whole Ministers therein named, and again found relevant and proven by this Assembly, in so far as concerns Mr James Thomson, upon the new libel executed against him, in pursuance of the said act of the last Assembly, this Assembly should proceed to inflict the said censure of deposition? And after full reasoning upon the expediency thereof, and prayer to God for direction how to judge in this weighty affair, and for his blessing on such decision as the Assembly should come to, it was agreed to put the question, DEPOSE, or NOT? And rolls being called, and votes mark-

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marked, it carried, by a very great majority, DEPOSE: And therefore the General Assembly, in respect of the articles found relevant and proven against the persons therein and hereafter named by the last and this Assembly, as aforesaid, *did*, and hereby *do*, in the name of the LORD JESUS CHRIST, the sole King and Head of the Church, and by virtue of the power and authority committed by him to them, actually DEPOSE Messr. Ebenezer Erskine at Stirling, William Wilson at Perth, Alexander Moncrief at Abernethy, James Fisher at Kinclaven, Ralph Erskine at Dumfermline, Thomas Mair at Orwal, Thomas Nairn at Abbotshall, and James Thomson at Burntisland, Ministers, from the office of the Holy Ministry, prohibiting and discharging them, and every one of them, to exercise the same, or any part thereof, within this church in all time coming: And the Assembly *did*, and hereby *do declare* all the parishes or charges of the persons above named vacant from and after the day and date of this sentence: And *ordains* copies hereof to be sent to the several presbyteries of Stirling, Perth, Dunkeld, Dumfermline and Kirkaldy; and the said respective presbyteries are hereby *ordered* to send copies hereof to the kirk-sessions of Perth and Dumfermline, and session-clerks of the other respective parishes hereby declared vacant, to be communicated to the Elders: And the Assembly *appoints*, that letters be wrote by their Moderator to the magistrates of the respective burghs concerned, with copies of this sentence: And the Assembly *recommends* to the presbyteries, within whose bounds the parishes or charges, now declared vacant, do lie, to be careful in using their best endeavours for supplying the same during the vacancy, and for promoting the speedy and comfortable settlement thereof.

Messr. George Gillespie at Strathmiglo, Lawrence Brown at Lentrathen, Andrew Cuming at Largs, Robert Steadman at Beith, William Thomson at Strathmartin, John Thomson at Liberton in Biggar presbytery, John Allan at Kirkmichael in Lochmaben presbytery, Robert Boyd at Muiravenside, John Gilchrist at Bedrule, John Johnston at Eckford, David Hunter at Salin, James Ramsay at Bendochy, Simon Riddel at Tinrom, Robert Stark at Torieburn, John Squire at Forres, Ministers, and Colonel John Erskine of Carnock, Mr Alexander Gordon of Ardoch, Sir Thomas Gordon of Earlston, and Albert Monro of Coul, Ruling-Elders, dissented; and though a committee, appointed for that purpose, dealt with them to retract, they next day gave in their reasons of dissent subscribed.— The Assembly, it is thought, of purpose delayed passing sentence till the afternoon of the 15th, which is the term-day, that the deposed Ministers might have a legal title to the curent half-year's stipend. — On the 16th, the Assembly impowered the Commission to decide finally in any process relating to the settlement of the parishes declared vacant by the above sentence.

As to private causes, the Assembly *transported* Mr William Aitken from Larbert to South-Leith; — *ordered* the settlement of Mr Charles Cuningham, the King's presentee, as Minister of Tranent, which had been opposed by a party of the parish, who appeared for Mr John Rogers, their deceas'd Minister's assistant; — upon a complaint against a sentence of the late Commission, (by which a sentence of the Presbytery of St Andrew's, affirmed by the Synod of Fife, appointing Mr John Lowdon to be Minister of Ceres, was reversed, and Mr Thomas Scot ordained to be settled in that parish,) *dismissed* the complaint, and ordered Mr Scot's settlement to be proceeded in; — and, in a competition between several heritors, Elders, &c. of the parish of Currie, and the magistrates of Edinburgh, who claimed a right of patronage, and in consequence thereof presented Mr James Mercer at Aberdalgie to be Minister of that parish, *found* that there was sufficient evidence of the town's having been in use to present; but, in order to bring about a comfortable settlement, named a committee to confer with the parties,

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parties, who, after a meeting, at which the magiſtrates attended, but not the other party, brought in an overture; which, after ſome amendments, was, upon the queſtion put, agreed to, on the 17th of May, in the following terms, *viz. The General Aſſembly do declare, That, in reſpect of the difficulties attending the call to Mr Mercer to the pariſh of Currie, they cannot proceed to ſettle him in that pariſh while theſe difficulties remain; and therefore, in caſe the magiſtrates and council of Edinburgh, as patrons, ſhall offer a leet of ſix to the Preſbytery of Edinburgh at their firſt meeting after the Aſſembly, to be by the ſaid Preſbytery tendered to the heritors and Elders, in that caſe the Presbytery are hereby ordained to appoint a day for the moderation of a call by the heritors and Elders, to one of the ſaid leet, ſo as the Preſbytery may report to the magiſtrates and council, betwixt and the firſt of Auguſt next, which of the ſaid leet ſhall be the choice of the majority of heritors and Elders; and the Aſſembly recommend to the magiſtrates and council of Edinburgh, to give a preſentation to the perſon that ſhall be ſo choſen: declaring, That, in caſe no ſuch choice ſhall be reported by the Preſbytery betwixt and the firſt of Auguſt next to the magiſtrates and council, and in caſe the ſaid magiſtrates and council ſhall preſent any perſon they ſhall think fit at any time within ſix months after the date hereof, the Aſſembly do hereby appoint and ordain the Preſbytery of Edinburgh to proceed and ſettle the perſon to be preſented by the magiſtrates and council of Edinburgh, in either of the events above mentioned, according to the rules of the church.*

The royal warrant for payment of 1000 l. Sterl. to be employed for the reformation of the Highlands and Iſlands, was given in as uſual. — On the 20th the court adjourned till the 14th of May 1741, and, after Prayers, *&c.* diſmiſſed.

His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales has made a preſent of 200 l. Sterl. to the Managers of the Royal Infirmary, towards building the houſe.

The 14th May, late at night, Thomas Davies and Charles Wiltſhire, [See above, *p.* 141, 190.] were ſet at liberty in virtue of a remiſſion.

Since our laſt the Edinburgh and Glaſgow Packet, Capt. Hamilton, cleared out of Leith for London, with the following Scots manufactures, *viz.* 19,409 yards of linen, 1450 lb. of thread and yarn, 1467 dozen of linen handkerchiefs, 760 dozen of ſkins. As alſo, the Iſabel and May, Capt. Haxton, with the following Scots manufactures, *viz.* 13,722 yards linen, 6900 yards tartan, 2037 lb. ſnuff, 1105 lb. thread and yarn, 446 dozen linen handkerchiefs, and 22,888 ſkins dreſt in allum and oil.

P. S. *June* 12. For ſome time paſt there has been a very great drought, which occaſioned a great increaſe in the price of proviſions. Oatmeal roſe to 15 d. *per* peck; but, by ſome refreſhing ſhowers and fine weather within theſe few days, the markets begin to fall.

Marriages.

THE Earl of Holderneſs, to Lady Caroline Sackville, only daughter of the Duke of Dorſet. — The Ld Viſc. Primroſe, to Miſs Drelincourt, daughter of the late Dean of Ardmagh in Ireland. — Philip Yorke, Eſq; eldeſt ſon and heir of Ld Hardwicke, Lord High Chancellor of G. Britain, to Miſs Jemima Campbell, only daughter of the Ld Viſc. Glenorchy.

On the 8th of May the ceremony of the eſpouſals, or contract of marriage, between the Moſt Serene Prince Frederick of Heſſe-Caſſel and her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs Mary, his Majeſty's fourth daughter, was ſolemnly performed in the royal chapel of St James's palace, his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland proxy for the Prince of Heſſe. [*See above, p.* 227.]

Deaths.

At Bruſſels, aged 70, the Marquis of Deveniſh, a Major-General in the Emperor's ſervice, and Governor of Courtray. He was a native of Ireland. — At his ſeat of Kelburn, John Boyle, Earl of Glaſgow. He is ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, John Ld Boyle. — The Lord

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Lord Dudley and Ward. — Thomas Lord Onſlow, one of the Tellers of exchequer, brother to the Speaker of the houſe of Commons. — Chriſtian Dundas, Counteſs of Bute, relict of William firſt Earl. — At Bath, the Counteſs of Ailesford. — At Aix-la-Chapelle, William Cecil, Eſq; brother to the Earl of Saliſbury. — Dr Mills, Biſhop of Waterford and Liſmore in Ireland. — Thomas Tickel, Eſq; Secretary to the Lords Juſtices of Ireland. — Leonard Smelt, Eſq; member for Northallerton, and Clerk of the ordnance. — Denham Hammond, Eſq; Comptroller of the city of London. — Francis Pereira, a noted Jew of Change-alley, ſaid to be worth 100,000 l. — Dr John Inglis, Aſſiſtant-Maſter of ceremonies to the King. — Sir Robert Henley, Commander of the Eleanor fire-ſhip, belonging to Admiral Vernon's ſquadron. — Col. Cavalier, an old officer. — Lt-Col. Wyvill, of the horſe-guards blue. — Capt. Merchant, of the ſecond troop of life-guards. — Lieut. William Carleton, and Cornet Thomas Orr, both of Gen. Cope's dragoons. — William Robertſon, merchant, late one of the Bailies of Edinburgh. — Mr Alexander Symmer, who was a Travelling-governor to ſome perſons of diſtinction of this kingdom. — Mr Auchinleck, Miniſter at Auchterderner. — At Quarryhill, near Tunbridge, Sarah Beecher, aged 103. — Mr John Paiſly, ſurgeon in Glaſgow, author of ſeveral tracts in the Edinburgh Medical Eſſays. — Eraſmus Jones, author of the Trip thro' London. — At Paris, Father Rouille the Jeſuite, compiler of the Roman hiſtory jointly with Father Catrou. — Mr Ephraim Chambers, author of the *Cyclopædia*. Among his papers was found the following epitaph, of his own hand-writing:

Multis pervulgatus,
Paucis notus,
Qui vitam inter lucem & umbram,
Nec eruditus, nec idiota,
Literis deditus, tranſegit; ſed ut homo,
Qui humani nihil a ſe alienum putat,
Vita ſimul & laboribus functus,
Hic requieſcere voluit,
EPHRAIM CHAMBERS.

PREFERMENTS.

John Abp of Canterbury; Philip Ld Hardwicke, Lord Chancellor; Spencer Earl of Wilmington, Lord Preſident; John Ld Hervey, Lord Privy Seal; Lionel Cranfield Duke of Dorſet, Lord Steward; Charles Duke of Grafton, Lord Chamberlain; Charles Duke of Richmond, Maſter of the horſe; Charles Duke of Bolton; William Duke of Devonſhire, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; John Duke of Montagu; Thomas Duke of Newcaſtle, one of the Principal Secretaries of State; Henry Earl of Pembroke, Groom of the Stole; Archibald Earl of Ilay; William Ld Harrington, one of the Principal Secretaries of State; Sir Robert Walpole, Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and Sir Charles Wager, Firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, *Lords Juſtices for the adminiſtration of the government during his Majeſty's abſence from the kingdom.* — John Conrand and Andrew Stone Eſqs; *Secretaries to the Lords Juſtices.* — John Duke of Montagu, *Maſter-General of the Ordnance, and Colonel of the Queen's regiment of horſe.* — Charles Duke of Bolton, *Captain of the band of penſioners.* — Algernoon Earl of Hertford, *Colonel of the King's own royal regiment of horſe-guards.* — Charles Ld Cornwallis, *Conſtable of the tower of London, Lord-Lieutenant of the Tower-hamlets, and one of the privy council.* — Charles Duke of Marlborough, *Captain and Colonel of the ſecond troop of horſe-guards.* — Maj. Gen. Henry Hawley, *Colonel of the regiment of dragoons lately commanded by the Duke of Marlborough.* — Gen. Thomas Whetham, *Governor of Berwick upon Tweed, and of Holy Iſland.* — Lt-Gen. Philip Honywood, *Governor of Portſmouth.* — Lt-Gen. James Dormer, *Governor of Hull.* — Sir Robert Rich, *Governor of the royal hoſpital near Chelſea.* — William Earl of Jerſey, *Chief Juſtice in Eyre on the ſouth-ſide of Trent.* — The Duke of Kent, *a Marquis of Great Britain, by the ſtile of Marquis Grey*; which dignity, failing heirs-male, goes to Jemima Campbell, his Grace's granddaughter by his eldeſt daughter Lady Amabella Grey deceas'd, late wife of Ld Glen-

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Glenorchy, and to the heirs-male of said Jemima Campbell, now wife of Philip Yorke, Esq;--Dudley Ryder, Esq; Attorney-General, and John Strange, Esq; Sollicitor-General, *Knights.* — Dr Matthias Mawson, Bishop of Landaff, *Bishop of Chichester.* — Dr John Gilbert, Dean of Exeter, *Bishop of Landaff.* — Dr Alured Clark, *Dean of Exeter.* — Dr Edward Synge, Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns in Ireland, *Bishop of Elphin* in that kingdom. — George Stone, M. A. Dean of Londonderry, *Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns.* — Dr Joseph Butler, Bishop of Bristol, *Dean of St Paul's.* —— [*The above taken from the London Gazette.*] —— Sir Hugh Smithson, *Representative for Middlesex.* — John Potter, Esq; *Secretary to the Lords Justices of Ireland.* — Thomas Burnet, Esq; *Serjeant at law to the King.* — Sir William Wynne, *Lieutenant*, and Harbottle Grimston, Esq; *Standard-bearer, of the band of Pensioners.* — The Earl of Home, *a Captain in Gen. Churchill's dragoons.* — Capt. Thomas Forth, *Major of the first troop of horse grenadeer guards.* — Capt. Dyshon, C. Ogilby, and Capt. Robert Douglas, brother to the Earl of Morton, *Colonels in the third regiment of foot-guards.* — Alexander Vanderdusson, Esq; *Colonel of a regiment in S. Carolina.* — Charles Spencer, Esq; *a Captain in Brig. St Clair's regiment.* — —— Newport, *a Captain in Gen. Howard's regiment.* — Capt.-Lieut. Robert Boyle, *a Captain*, and Lieut. Lionel Beecher, *Captain-Lieutenant, of Colonel Wynyard's marines.* — —— Hemmington, *Captain-Lieutenant in the first regiment of foot-guards.* — Lieut. Adam Parker, *a Captain in Col. Wentworth's regiment.* — Ld George Graham of the Adventure, *Commander of the Lark*, of 40 guns, put in commission. — Capt. Jolly, *Commander of the Lively*, Capt. Coates, *of the Lime*, Capt. Lisle, *of the Scarborough*, and Capt. Allen, *of the Biddiford*, four 20 gun ships. — Mr Roberts, *Lieutenant of the Biddiford.*

Died within the walls of the city of Edinburgh, and buried in the Gray-friars church-yard, May 1740, *as follows:*

Men 16, Women 26, Children 48. In all 90. Decreased this month 19.

Age.		N°.	Diseases.	N°.
Under —	2	34	Old age —	9
Betwixt 2 &	5	9	Consumption	25
5 &	10	5	Chin-cough	2
10 &	20	1	Fever ——	9
20 &	30	5	Suddenly —	7
30 &	40	6	Teething —	17
40 &	50	5	Small-pox —	14
50 &	60	4	Cancer ——	1
60 &	70	11	Apoplexy —	1
70 &	80	9	Still-born —	2
80 &	90	1	Child-bed —	3

NEW BOOKS.

THE history of Thamas Kuli Khan. pr. 6 *d.*

An encomium on amber beer. 6 *d.*

A satirical epistle to Mr Pope. 6 *d.*

Plain truth; or downright Dunstable. A poem. 1 *s.*

The ruin and recovery of mankind. 6 *s.*

The Christian free-thinker. 1 *s.*

The true doctrine of repentance vindicated. By Benjamin Holloway, L. L. B. 1 *s.* 6 *d.*

The eucharistical service. By S. Johnson, A. M. 1 *s.* 6 *d.*

The principles and connexion of natural and revealed religion. By A. Ashley Sykes, D. D. 6 *s.* 6 *d.*

A practical essay concerning Christian peaceableness. By H. Brooke, M. A. 1 *s.* 6 *d.*

The divine authority of the Old and New Testament asserted. By J. Leland, D. D. vol. 2. 5 *s.*

An historical catechism. By Abbe Fleury. 1 *s.*

A letter from a counsellor of the parliament of Paris, to the King. 1 *s.*

A supplement to G. Britain's mistakes. 6 *d.* [And 'tis said another will soon be published.]

A state of the national debt. 6 *d.*

The importance of an uncorrupted parliament. 6 *d.* [Taken out of the Englishman's Evening Post.]

The history of Thamas Kouli Kan, Sophy of Persia. 1 *s.* 6 *d.* [This, and the above on the same subject, are mangled

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mangled translations from the French.]

The life and glorious actions of Edward Prince of Wales. By A. Collins, Esq; [A Gentleman well skill'd in works of this kind.] 5 *s.* 6 *d.*

A collection of the Lord Burleigh's papers. Folio.

A true and genuine history of the two last wars against France and Spain.

A true and impartial history of the life and adventures of somebody.

Q. Horatii Flacci poemata, ex castigationibus Bentleii, &c. 2 *s.* 6 *d.*

Horace's odes, &c. Translated into English prose. N°. 4. 1 *s.*

A copy of a remarkable journal lately found by Capt. Mawson. 6 *d.* [*N. B.* This was first published in the year 1709, in the year 1716 as a new piece, and in the year 1725, under the title of *Sod——y punished.*]

An apology for the life of Mr Colley Cibber. [Reduced from a guinea to the reasonable price of 5 s.]

A genuine account of the life, trial, &c. of Mrs Branch and her daughter. 6 *d.*

A second letter to the Rev. Mr. Bate, M. A. 6 *d.*

The works of Sir William Temple, Bart. with his life and character. 2 *voll. folio.* 1 *l.* 16 *s.*

An alarm to all persons, touching their health and lives. 9 *d.*

The impertinence and imposture of modern antiquaries displayed. 1 *s.*

The institution of a prince. From the French of the Abbe Duguet. 2 *voll.* 8*vo.* 9 *s.*

A musical dictionary. By James Graisfinean, Gent. 6 *s.*

The general laws of estates; or the freeholders companion. 6 *s.*

Matho; or, the cosmotheoria puerilis. A dialogue. 2 *voll.* 8*vo.*

Antonius Musa's character represented by Virgil. A dissertation by Bishop Atterbury. 1 *s.* [The editor has not advertised that the original manuscript may be seen by the curious.]

Tracts and sermons. By the late Rev. Mr Venn.

An irregular dissertation, occasioned by reading Du Hald's description of China. 1 *s.* 6 *d.*

G. Martinii, M. D. de familibus animalibus & animalium calore. 4 *s.* 6 *d.*

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Seasonable admonitions. A satire. 1 *s.*

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Satirical and panegyrical instructions to Mr Hogarth, on Admiral Vernon's taking Porto Bello. 1 *s.*

A vindication of revealed religion, against Mr Chubb. By John Phelps. 1 *s.*

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An essay towards an instruction for the Indians, with suitable prayers. By the Bishop of Sodor and Man. 2 *s.* 6 *d.*

An essay on the Sabbath. By Robert Cornthwayte. 1 *s.* 6 *d.*

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A conference betwixt a ruling-elder and his neighbour, concerning the present divisions of the church of Scotland. 3 *d.*

A new and full vindication of the seceding brethren. 3 *d.*

The session of Dumfermline's answers to the reasons of secession given in by nine of their elders. To which is added a copy of the secession, &c. 2 *d.*

Remarks on the associate presbytery's act, declaration and testimony. 6 *d.*

The Duke of Argyle's conduct for the four last years reviewed. 6 *d.*

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The SCOTS *Magazine.*

JUNE, 1740.

PROCEEDINGS of the *Political Club*, continued from p. 227.

After A. Posthumius, *whose speech we gave in our last*, T. Quintius *spoke next, in substance thus*:

My Lords,

THAT there have been heats and animosities amongst us, I shall admit, but they are now wisely put an end to; and I shall beg leave to shew, how they were occasioned, and in what manner they have been put an end to. If we look back upon the conduct of our publick affairs for almost these twenty years, we may easily find the cause of all our heats and animosities: we may justly admire, that they have not been more violent, and more fatal to those that were the cause of them. We have been, during that long period, in what some amongst us are pleased to call a state of tranquillity; but that tranquillity has been attended with all the expence, and almost all the misfortunes of a real war, without a chance of reaping any of that glory, or any of those advantages, that may be reaped by open hostilities. We have been negotiating when we ought to have been fighting, and we have been concluding treaties with those, against whom we ought to have declared war; and to render those negotiations effectual, or to enforce the observance of those treaties, we have been keeping up expensive armies, that have raised terrors among our own people at home, because they could not guess for what they were designed, and fitting out expensive squadrons, that have raised no terrors among our enemies abroad, because, I suppose, they very well knew for what they were designed.

This, my Lords, is a summary of our conduct for almost these twenty years past; and such a conduct could not, in my opinion, fail of begetting heats and animosities at home, as well as contempt and infamy abroad; but to make this the more evidently appear, I must examine into some of the particular steps of our conduct, and for that purpose, shall begin with the famous treaty of Hanover; for, I think, I need go no farther back at present. In the beginning of the year 1725, the courts of Vienna and Madrid thought fit, by themselves, to accommodate all the differences that subsisted between them, and to conclude treaties of peace, commerce and guaranty, in which there was not any one article contrary to the treaties that either of them had made with us. What offence we could take at this step in either of these courts, I do not know: nay, suppose it had been true, that they had concluded such a private treaty as was represented, we had no occasion for taking any extraordinary measures against it; because the Emperor having no naval force, he could give Spain no assistance against us. However, we allowed ourselves to be so much alarmed, that the same year we concluded at Hanover an alliance with France, which, I am sure, is the last nation in Europe we ought to enter into an alliance with; and the whole nation was terrified with an invasion in favour of the Pretender, though every one knew, that the Emperor and Spain, joined together, could not fit out such a naval force, as would have been equal to that which we can, at any time, fit out upon a week's notice.

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But we did not reſt here, my Lords: we did not ſatisfy ourſelves with providing, by ſuch an alliance, for our defence: the very next year, we raiſed armies and fitted out ſquadrons, as if we had been to attack thoſe whom we thus repreſented to be our enemies. We ſent one powerful ſquadron to the Baltick, another to the coaſts of Spain in Europe, and a third to their coaſts in America. At the ſame time we augmented our army to above 26,000 men; and the whole nation expected that our enemies would have been made to ſuffer ſeverely for the ridiculous deſigns they had formed againſt us. But our armies and ſquadrons produced no other effect than to load our own people with expences, and to make Spain begin actual hoſtilities againſt us, by ſeizing all our merchants effects they could find in their dominions, by fitting out privateers and taking all our trading ſhips they could meet with at ſea, and by laying ſiege to Gibraltar.

Though we had at firſt, my Lords, no provocation for attacking Spain, yet theſe hoſtilities were, ſurely, a good reaſon for declaring war againſt them: And, by the treaties we made, and the ſubſidies we engaged to pay, it look'd as if we really deſigned to do ſo: for, after near a year's negotiation, we got the Dutch to accede to the treaty of Hanover, under many conditions and reſtrictions: in about 18 months we obtained a promiſe from the Landgrave of Heſſe, to keep in readineſs for our ſervice 12,000 men, for which we engaged to pay him 125,000 l. Sterling; which was continued to him for ſeveral years, though his troops were never employed in our ſervice: about the ſame time, we obtained the acceſſion of Sweden to the Hanover treaty, under condition of paying them a yearly ſubſidy of 50,000 l. for *three* years certain; one half of which was to be paid by France: in about 19 months we obtained the acceſſion of Denmark, under condition of paying them a large ſubſidy for *four* years certain; which was all to have been paid by France, though we afterwards thought ourſelves obliged to pay a part of it: and upon the 25th of November 1727, we obtained the alliance and guaranty of the Duke of Wolfenbuttle, upon condition of paying him 25,000 l. yearly, for *four* years certain. By all theſe preparations, negotiations, and alliances, I ſay, my Lords, it look'd as if we had, at that time, really a deſign to declare war againſt Spain, and to revenge ourſelves fully, for all the inſults they had put upon the nation. But this was far from being the caſe: our armies, as well thoſe at home, as thoſe we paid ſo dear for abroad, remained quiet in their reſpective native countries, and our ſquadrons continued inactive upon the coaſts of Spain, at the very time they were beſieging Gibraltar, and making prize of every one of our merchant-ſhips they could meet with at ſea. Inſtead of declaring war, or committing hoſtilities againſt Spain, we were treating and negotiating with them, or at leaſt with the Emperor on their behalf; for the court of Spain itſelf carried it at that time ſo high, and held us in ſuch contempt, that they would not ſo much as treat with us; and in May, 1737, preliminary articles were concluded at Paris, between the Hanover allies and the Emperor, by which we promiſed, that all hoſtilities ſhould on our ſide immediately ceaſe, though Spain was no contracting party in this preliminary treaty; which promiſe we religiouſly kept, though Spain refuſed to agree to the preliminaries, and continued hoſtilities for near a year longer, when, by the intervention of the French Ambaſſador at Madrid, we obtained from Spain a convention for the execution of thoſe preliminaries, in purſuance of which, a congreſs was appointed; but this congreſs was rendered abortive, by our joining in a new alliance with France and Spain againſt the Emperor, by the famous treaty of Seville.

By this treaty, my Lords, we had got of our ſide, almoſt all the powers of Europe that have any naval force, ſo that we could have no pretence for fitting out a ſquadron with any warlike intention; but this did not prevent our

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putting ourſelves to the expence of fitting out one. In order to pay a compliment to the Spaniſh court, we ſent a ſquadron of above 20 men of war, all capital ſhips, to the Mediterranean, in the year 1731, to conduct the Infant Don Carlos to Italy; and this we did, when they were erecting forts and batteries againſt our town and bay of Gibraltar, and committing many depredations upon our merchants in the Weſt-Indies; which we took no notice of, tho' ſtrong repreſentations had been made, by our people at Gibraltar, againſt the former, and an application had been made to parliament, by our merchants, againſt the latter. Nay, tho' the court of Spain had evaded making that reparation for paſt injuries, which they had promiſed by the treaty of Seville, we took no effectual notice of it. We contented ourſelves with ſending Commiſſaries to wrangle and diſpute about the injuries we had ſuffered before that treaty, and with ordering our miniſter at that court to preſent long, perplexed memorials againſt thoſe we ſuffered afterwards.

This, my Lords, was the ſtate of affairs between Spain and us in the year 1733, when they attacked our ally, the Emperor, in Italy, with thoſe very troops which we had aſſiſted them to carry thither, and at a time when, from the many evaſions they had before made uſe of, we had no reaſon to expect any ſatisfaction from them by peaceable means. If we were, at that time, under no obligation, or if we had no inclination to aſſiſt the Emperor; yet ſurely our own intereſt ſhould have inclined us to take that opportunity of declaring war againſt Spain, if they refuſed to give us the moſt ample reparation for our former loſſes, and abſolute ſecurity againſt our being expoſed to any ſuch for the future: but, inſtead of this, our Commiſſaries and miniſter continued ſoliciting at the court of Spain for that which we might, with great juſtice, and then probably with great ſucceſs, have inſiſted peremptorily upon; and the Emperor, for want of that aſſiſtance which he thought he was, by treaties, intitled to from his allies, was at laſt obliged to ſubmit to thoſe terms which were preſcribed to him by his enemies.

Whilſt the war continued, my Lords, the Spaniards, 'tis true, put a ſort of ſtop to their depredations in the Weſt-Indies, and entertained our miniſters with ſome hopes of a final adjuſtment: but no ſooner was the war over than, as might have been eaſily foreſeen, they began to renew their depredations with freſh vigour in the Weſt-Indies; and, I ſuppoſe, they plainly told us, that they would give no farther ſatisfaction than they had done, with regard to any of our loſſes ſuſtained ſince the treaty of Seville; for, I do not find, that it was ever afterwards ſeriouſly inſiſted on: I am ſure, the ſum ſtipulated by the late convention, was ſo far from being any ſatisfaction for thoſe loſſes, that it was not near equal to the loſſes our merchants have ſuſtained, by depredations committed ſince the concluding of that treaty.

Thus, my Lords, we loſt all the advantages we might have reaped from the war between Spain and the Emperor, and I am afraid we loſt a great deal of our character into the bargain; but, tho' we let ſlip that opportunity for vindicating the honour, and ſecuring the trade of the nation, we took care to lay hold of it for putting the nation to an extraordinary expence, by raiſing armies, fitting out ſquadrons, forming alliances, and engaging to pay ſubſidies. Soon after the war broke out, we increaſed our land-force to near 27,000 men; and for augmenting our naval force, we increaſed the number of ſeamen, employed in his Majeſty's ſervice, to 30,000: we ſent a miniſter extraordinary to Holland, tho' we knew that the States General had before concluded with France, a treaty of neutrality; and in September 1734, we concluded a treaty with the King of Denmark, by which we engaged to pay him an annual ſubſidy of upwards of 56,000 l. Sterling for *three* years certain. From theſe extraordinary warlike preparations, and moſt extraordinary expences, the people ſuppoſed

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that we were to exert ourſelves in the moſt vigorous manner, for retrieving an ancient ally from the diſtreſs he was then in, for procuring juſtice to our injured merchants, and for vindicating the honour, and ſecuring the trade of the nation: but the Emperor, it ſeems, knew better, and therefore he ſubmitted to the hard terms that were offered him by his enemies; which threw the affairs of Europe into a ſituation, perhaps the moſt unfortunate that they ever were in for this nation.

Upon this, my Lords, we diſbanded the additional forces we had raiſed both by ſea and land, and ſeemed to think we had nothing more to do: for, tho' the depredations of the Spaniards upon our merchants, and their inſults upon the nation, in the Weſt-Indies, were now become more frequent, and more open, than they had ever been before, it ſeemed to give us no real concern. We took no ſtep for redreſſing theſe grievances, or for protecting our trade, till an application to parliament by our merchants, two years ago, made it neceſſary for ſome perſons to take a little more notice of their juſt complaints. We then again began to make ſome warlike preparations: we raiſed an additional number of 10,000 ſeamen; and we ſent one ſquadron to the Weſt-Indies, and another to the Mediterranean. But ſtill we truſted to our favourite, tho', by experience, ſo often found to be ineffectual, methods of negotiation: our ſquadrons did nothing; but our negotiators, 'tis true, did ſomething: they procured us that famous convention, which we had before us laſt ſeſſion of parliament, and which we have now found to be as frivolous, with regard to this nation at leaſt, as the other treaties we had before entered into with Spain: And thus, all our negotiations and treaties have, at laſt, ended in a war, perhaps the moſt dangerous, I am ſure the moſt unſeaſonable, that this nation was ever engaged in.

I ſhall now, my Lords, give you a ſhort account of the charge the nation has been put to, by theſe warlike preparations, and pacifick meaſures; but, in order to ſet this charge in the cleareſt light, I muſt obſerve, that if we kept no greater number of regular troops, nor any greater number of ſeamen, in our pay, than are neceſſary for our ſecurity in time of peace, I am convinced, the annual publick expence could never amount to above 1,500,000 l. ſo that, by means of a land-tax of 2 s. in the pound, and the uſual malt-tax, inſtead of contracting a new debt yearly, which has been our caſe for many years, we ſhould have been able to provide annually for the ſervice of the year, and to pay off above 100,000 l. yearly of our old debt; and, if all uſeleſs poſts, and uſeleſs or extravagant ſalaries or perquiſites, had been enquired into, and aboliſhed or reduced, I am ſure, it would have added a conſiderable ſum to our annual ſavings. However, I ſhall wave taking notice of this laſt article of frugality, and ſtate the neceſſary annual expence of the nation at 1,500,000 l. in order, from thence, to compute the ſupra-charge that our warlike preparations, and unneceſſary ſquadrons and armies have coſt us.

Upon computing the ſums granted every year by parliament, for the ſervice of the enſuing year, I find, my Lords, that the firſt ſeſſion after the famous treaty of Hanover, granted, for the ſervice of the year 1726, 1,939,285 l. but this was not all that was expended in that year; for, by a vote of credit and confidence paſſed near the end of that ſeſſion, his Majeſty was impowered to augment his forces both by land and ſea, and to take ſuch meaſures as the exigency of affairs might require: which power was accordingly made uſe of; and therefore, by the next ſeſſion, there was granted, for the ſervice of the year 1727, and for deficiencies in the former year, 2,980,801 l. for the ſervice of the year 1728, there was granted 3,123,449 l. for 1729, 3,087,859 l. for 1730, 2,166,400 l. for 1731, 2,060,232 l. for 1732, (the tranquillity of Europe being then, as ſome wiſe politicians amongſt us judged, eſtabliſhed upon a laſting foundation, though it was really upon a moſt precarious one, as ſoon after appeared)

1,743,359 l.

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1,743,359 l. for 1733, (the war between France and its allies of one ſide, and the Emperor of the other, having broke out in that year) 1,835,056 l. for 1734, 3,821,714 l. 1,200,000 l. of which was to be applied towards paying off ſo much of the debt of the navy, and 287,343 l. for the deficiency of the preceeding year: but, as the war I have mentioned was then juſt broke out, and as we reſolved that this nation ſhould have a ſhare in the expence, though it was to have no ſhare in the war, this was far from being all that was expended that year; for, by a vote of credit agreed to about the end of the preceeding ſeſſion, his Majeſty was impowered to augment his forces both by ſea and land, and to take ſuch other meaſures as the exigency of affairs might require; in purſuance of which, the augmentions were made, and the other expences incurred, which I have before mentioned; and therefore, for the ſervice of the year 1735, and the deficiencies of the former year, there was granted by parliament the ſum of 3,070,129 l. for the ſervice of the year 1736, 2,181,859 l. for the ſervice of the year 1737, 1,952,725 l. and for the year 1738, 2,356,719 l.

In theſe computations, my Lords, I have omitted all thoſe ſums that were granted for making good the deficiencies of former funds, and likewiſe all thoſe that were granted for paying off any part of our debt; I have reckoned nothing but what was granted for current ſervices, or for extraordinary expences incurred in the preceeding years: and, from theſe computations, it will appear, that the grants for the *thirteen* years I have mentioned, amount in the whole to 32,319,587 l. Sterl. whereas, if we had kept within 1,500,000 l. yearly, which we may always do in time of peace, the whole of our expence for theſe *thirteen* years, would have amounted to no more than 19,500,000 l. So that by keeping up armies, paying ſubſidies, and fitting out ſquadrons, which we made no uſe of, nor had any occaſion for, we have waſted very near *thirteen millions*; which, if it had been regularly and annually applied to its proper uſe, would have paid off near *ſeventeen millions* of our publick debt. And, ſuch a payment would have been attended with this farther advantage, that it would have enabled us, ſome years ago, not only to have reduced the intereſt upon the remaining publick debt, but alſo to have reduced the intereſt of money in general, to 3 *per cent.* which would have made it much eaſier, than it is at preſent, for many landed Gentlemen to pay the taxes neceſſary for the annual ſupport of our government.

Conſidering the ſituation we are now in, conſidering the ſituation the affairs of Europe are in, conſidering the misfortunes one of our moſt ancient and beſt allies has met with, and conſidering the inſults this nation has met with, and the many depredations and cruelties our merchants and ſeamen have been expoſed to; I believe I may, I do, my Lords, with confidence appeal to every man that hears me, whether we have reaped one ſhilling's worth of advantage by the numerous armies we have kept up, the powerful ſquadrons we have fitted out, the great ſubſidies we have paid, and the many negotiations and treaties we have carried on and concluded ſince the memorable year 1721? Shall we then be ſurpriſed, that there have been heats and animoſities amongſt us? Can we be at a loſs in aſſigning the cauſe? Could it be ſuppoſed, that a brave and a free people would bear, with patience, being expoſed, by pacifick meaſures, to the inſults and contempt of their enemies; and that at a time when they were loaded with an expence that might have made them the terror of their foes?

It is evident, my Lords, that all the heats and animoſities, that have been amongſt us of late years, have ſprung from thoſe pacifick counſels, that have made us tamely ſubmit to ſo many inſults, and thoſe warlike appearances, that have ſubjected us to ſo great an expence; and, when we conſider from whence our heats and animoſities have proceeded, we may eaſily ſee, how they have

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have been put an end to. His Majesty's declaration of war has put an effectual end to them; and, if the war be carried on in a warlike manner, if the naval and land force of this nation be wisely and vigorously employed, I dare answer for it, no heats or animosities will arise amongst us whilst it lasts. But, if the same negotiating humour, which has so long prevented our declaring war, notwithstanding the many just provocations, and the many good opportunities we have had for it, should now prevent our pushing it with vigour, as the consequences will be more fatal, I am afraid, the heats and animosities, that must ensue, will be much more violent.

For this reason, my Lords, as his Majesty's speech from the throne is always, in this house, understood to be a speech from the ministers, and as our address by way of answer to that speech, must consequently be supposed to be an answer made to the ministers; therefore, if we make any mention of heats or animosities, we ought to tell them, that as there are now no heats or animosities amongst us, we hope they will take care to prevent any such for the future, by a vigorous prosecution of the war. This should be the amendment I would propose, if I could expect that my advice would be taken; but, as this I cannot expect, and as some Lords may think, that this would be a more free way of addressing our sovereign, than has been usual of late years, tho' not more free than has been practised by our ancestors, I shall content myself with being for the amendment proposed; and, I hope the Noble Lord, who made the motion, will endeavour as much as he can to prevent prejudices or animosities having a share in our deliberations, by agreeing to leave these two ugly words out of his motion.

The next that gave his sentiments in this debate, was L. Piso, *whose speech was as follows, viz.*

My Lords,

UPon such a solemn and important occasion, I am sorry to find that a dispute should arise, or the unanimity of this house be disturb'd, on account of a few words or expressions, which no Lord will pretend to be of any importance in themselves, either to the crown or the nation, whatever they may be to the minister; and therefore, when they were taken notice of, and objected to by my Noble friend near me, I expected that the Noble Lord who, I supposed, had accidentally made them a part of his motion, would have so far contributed to that cordial union which he was pleased to recommend, as to stand up and agree to the amendment proposed. But, when I found those words and expressions insisted on, not only by him, but by other Lords, who may be supposed to have had some hand in advising and framing his Majesty's speech from the throne, I then began to suspect that those words had not dropt into the motion by accident; but that they had been inserted with design, to make this house confirm a representation that has been made to his Majesty, by some who are, perhaps too often, near his person: and in this light I must acknowledge, they are of the utmost importance to the crown, to the nation, and above all, to the honour and dignity of this house.

I know, my Lords, it has been of late years a custom, to make the address of this house a sort of *Eccho* to his Majesty's speech from the throne; and, as *Eccbos* never fail to repeat the last words of a sentence, so, it seems, we must never fail *eccboing* back the last paragraph of his Majesty's speech. This, I say, has been a custom for some years past; but I cannot think that a religious observance of this custom, is either consistent with the character we ought to preserve, or necessary for shewing our respect to our sovereign. I am sure, upon the present occasion, it will be a failure in our duty to the King, and an exposing of ourselves to the censure at least, if not to the contempt, of the whole world.

Can any one, with justice, say, my Lords, that prejudices, heats, or animosities have of late been intermixed in

n our deliberations? can any one, with juſtice, ſay, that there has lately been any diviſion among the people of this nation? I am really aſtoniſhed, how ſuch words could creep into his Majeſty's ſpeech from the throne. The ſpeech, 'tis true, is generally ſaid to be the ſpeech of the miniſter; but I wonder what miniſter dared to tell his Majeſty, that there have been, or ever were, any heats or animoſities in our deliberations, or that there have lately been any diviſions amongſt his people. I believe there is no aſſembly in the world, where deliberations and debates are carried on with more decency and calmneſs: I believe, the people of this nation were never leſs divided in their ſentiments, than they have been of late years. Therefore, if any one has of late preſumed to ſay to his Majeſty, that there were heats or animoſities in any of our deliberations, or that there are diviſions amongſt his people, it muſt be one of the groſſeſt miſrepreſentations that was ever whiſpered in the ear of any ſovereign potentate: and ſhall we, by any expreſſion in our addreſs, give credit to ſuch a miſrepreſentation, and enter, as it were, into a combination for putting an impoſition upon our prince, that muſt give him a bad opinion, not only of his people, but alſo of this aſſembly, of which we have the honour to be members? Such a conduct, with regard to the people, would be moſt unjuſt; but with reſpect to ourſelves, it would be a ſort of *felo de ſe*.

The people of this nation, my Lords, were never, I believe, ſo unanimous in any one thing, as they have, for ſeveral years, been in that of deſiring to have an opportunity of revenging themſelves againſt the Spaniards. The only diviſion, if it can be called ſo, that has of late appeared amongſt us, has been between the people of one ſide, and a few of our miniſters of the other. I ſay, my Lords, a few of our miniſters; for, I will not do ſo much injuſtice to the adminiſtration, as to ſay, that all thoſe who have a ſhare in the adminiſtration, are of that party which has ſo long obſtinately withſtood the general voice of their country. I hope I may ſay, all thoſe that have a ſhare in our adminiſtration: I hope our adminiſtration conſiſts of a great number of perſons: I am ſure it ought, by our conſtitution, to conſiſt of a great number, that have no other dependence upon one another, but that which reſults from their duty to their country, and their affection to their ſovereign. If it be otherwiſe, I am ſorry for it, and glad I have not ſo much as the character of having a hand in it. But let it conſiſt of what number it will; let it be a *ſole corporation* (a term well known to the Reverend bench) if the world pleaſe to think it ſo; I am ſure, it has had, with regard to its late pacifick meaſures, no party among the people for theſe dozen of years paſt: and, if any one has endeavoured to make his Majeſty believe that it has, I am ſure the parliament, and particularly this houſe, ought to take a proper method for undeceiving him; for while our parliaments continue to be of any uſe to the nation, they will always take care that the King may ſafely reſort to them, as to the fountain of truth, in order to know the real diſpoſition of his people, and the true character of his miniſters.

This diviſion, my Lords, between a few of our miniſters, or one ſole miniſter and his immediate dependents, of one ſide, and the whole body of the people of the other, has been the only diviſion that has appeared of late years amongſt us: and, ſuch a diviſion can in no light be called a diviſion among the people; for in this country, I think, the *people* and the *adminiſtration* are two terms that are generally made uſe of as oppoſite to each other; and there was never greater reaſon for making uſe of theſe two terms in this ſenſe, than there has been for ſeveral years paſt. Then with regard to heats and animoſities, can any one ſay, that there has been lately any heat or animoſity amongſt the people, that is, amongſt any one ſet or party of them againſt another? There have, indeed, been great heats and animoſities in the nation; but, in this too, the people

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people have been all united. They have most justly shewn heats and animosities against the Spaniards, and as justly against those who have so long prevented their doing themselves justice. Our heats and animosities therefore, like our divisions, have been between the whole body of our people upon on side, and our ministers and enemies upon the other: And this shews, that whatever obstinacy Spain may have shewn in her late conduct towards this nation, it could not be owing to the divisions, heats, or animosities amongst us; because she could not but foresee, that if, by her obstinacy, she provoked us to declare war against her, the whole nation, both people and ministers, would unite in a vigorous prosecution of that war; which, I hope, is now our case. I hope no man will dare to check the progress of our arms, or to interrupt the prosecution of the war, by any negotiation, unless such preliminaries be offered as will atone for all past injuries, and secure us against all future.

My Lords, it was not by our divisions that the Spaniards were encouraged to treat us in the contemptuous manner they have done: it was by the hopes they had, that our ministers would not dare to give a loose to our vengeance, by declaring war against them; and, for these hopes, the long patience of our ministers, and their fondness for negotiation, had given them but too much reason. But, if there had been divisions amongst us, and if those divisions made the Spaniards contemn us so much, as to refuse fulfilling their part of the last solemn convention they made with us, I will then say, that our divisions have done a most signal service to the nation. The most unlucky thing that could have befallen this nation, would have been the court of Spain's making that stipulated payment which they had wisely promised, and we had generously, I cannot say wisely, accepted of in full of all demands. If the Spaniards had made that payment, which I am surprised they did not, our ministers would, from thence, have got a pretence to negotiate for the eight months following, with the same success they had negotiated for the eight years preceeding; and the Spaniards would have got a sort of license, to plunder our merchants for eight months longer, by which they might have fully reimburs'd themselves the inconsiderable sum paid for that licence. But why should I say eight months? Upon the expiration of that term, I am convinced, our ministers would have found reasons for giving them several renewals, without any new fine; because these renewals, and the several negotiations for that purpose, would have been most excellent expedients for putting off two or three sessions more.

This, my Lords, has been our case for many years past: We have, every year, and from session to session, been put off with hopes, that before next session, we should be able to obtain ample satisfaction, and undoubted security, by those negotiations which every man, except those that carried them on, foresaw would end in nothing but loading us with expence at home, and with ignominy and contempt abroad. It is this, my Lords, that has created all the divisions, and all the heats and animosities, that have been amongst us. The people were for resentment and revenge; our peace-makers for patience and forgiveness: The people called out for reparation for past injuries; our peace-makers submitted tamely to fresh insults: The people were for bravely vindicating; our peace-makers for meanly prostituting the rights of the nation. Thank God! the people have at last prevailed; and this has healed up all our divisions, and put an end, I hope a final end, to all our heats and animosities.

His Majesty's declaration of war has now, I hope, brought all his ministers to be of the same sentiments his people have been of for many years; at least, if they are not so in their hearts, they must be so in appearance: and this must of course put an end to the only division that has of late appeared in this na-

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nation: it must put an end to every animosity but that just one against our enemies; which will now, I hope, be allowed to take its full swing. Perhaps some of our ministers may still have a hankering after negotiation: if they have, let them but look upon his Majesty's declaration of war, and they must stifle every such affection. They cannot suppose, that his Majesty will submit to treat with a nation, that has exercised great cruelties and barbarities upon the persons of divers of his subjects; they cannot suppose, that his Majesty will submit to treat with a nation, that has insulted the British colours in the most ignominious manner; unless that nation shall, in the humblest manner, sue for peace, and offer, by way of preliminary, the most signal satisfaction, for the cruelties and barbarities they have exercised upon his subjects, and for the ignominious insults they have put upon his crown and dignity: for I will be bold to say, that without such a signal satisfaction, there is no future security we can, with any certainty, rely on. Nay farther, my Lords, no man who reads his Majesty's declaration of war can, I think, suppose, that he will treat with a nation, that has been guilty of so many breaches of promise, and of so many infractions of the most solemn treaties, unless they offer, by way of preliminary, to put a real security in our hands, as a pledge for their performance of what shall be afterwards agreed on: And when the Spaniards are brought, by the vigour of our arms, (for they can never be brought to it by negotiation) to offer these things by way of preliminary, I know so much of the generous forgiving temper of my countrymen, that I can engage for their unanimous approbation of any treaty our ministers shall conclude upon such safe and honourable preliminaries.

Thus, my Lords, his Majesty's declaration of war has put an end to all the divisions, heats, and animosities, that have lately been raised and fomented, by the conduct of some of our ministers; and, the form and method in which it was drawn up, will, I hope, secure us against a renewal of any of those divisions, heats, or animosities. For this reason, I cannot let slip this opportunity, to declare my approbation of it. I not only approve of the measure, but I highly approve of the declaration itself. I do not know who it was that had the honour of drawing it up: Be who he will, the nation is, I think, highly obliged to him; for it is expressed in the most proper, the most just, and the strongest terms that could be devised. But, my Lords, I must observe, that it is expressly contrary to the reasoning that was made use of last year, in favour of the convention; and therefore, I was surprised to hear the Noble Duke make a fresh attempt to justify that convention. I am sure, no Lord has a greater respect for his Majesty, than he has: I am sure, no man more heartily wishes to see our late heats and animosities utterly extinguished. But, when I consider the terms in which the declaration of war is express'd, I cannot think it altogether consistent with the respect due to his Majesty, to attempt now, to justify a convention, by which no satisfaction was so much as stipulated, for those cruelties and barbarities the Spaniards had exercised upon his Majesty's subjects, or for those ignominious insults they had put upon the British flag: and, I must look upon a fresh attempt to justify the convention, as an attempt to revive those heats and animosities that were raised in the nation, by that most extraordinary measure. I shall call it by no worse a name, lest I should be accused of falling into the error I am finding fault with: I hope it has now met with the fate it deserves, and which, for the honour of Britain, I wish it may meet with: I hope it is fallen into eternal oblivion; and I wish it could be raised out of every historical record.

Having thus shewn, my Lords, what were the divisions, heats and animosities, that have lately appeared amongst us; and having shewn that, by their very nature, they must have all ceased, as soon as his Majesty declared war; I

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ſhall conclude with ſaying, that, I believe, the beſt way to prevent their being renewed, is to forget that there were ever any ſuch amongſt us. Our miniſters have now changed their meaſures; they have now entered into meaſures, which the whole nation approves of: why ſhould they now ſeek to juſtify thoſe former meaſures, which the whole nation condemned? If they purſue with vigour the meaſures they have now entered into, the nation ſeems willing to forget the errors of their former conduct: why then ſhould they now ſeek to brand with the odious names of *prejudices, heats,* and *animoſities,* the objections which the people thought they had reaſon to make to their former conduct? This is doing what they can to raiſe heats and animoſities, inſtead of endeavouring to ſtifle them; therefore, in my opinion, it was moſt imprudent to allow any ſuch words to have a place in his Majeſty's ſpeech from the throne; and, for this reaſon, I muſt be againſt their being *eccho'd* back to the throne, by our addreſs.

C. Helvius *ſpoke next, to this effect,* viz.

My Lords,

THE word *Eccho* is, I find, a favourite term, which is generally made uſe of upon all ſuch occaſions as the preſent, for turning into ridicule a cuſtom which has for many years been eſtabliſhed. I know, it is eaſy for one who has ſo much wit at command, as the Noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, to give a ridiculous turn to the moſt reaſonable cuſtom that can be introduced; but I likewiſe know your Lordſhips diſcernment to be ſo good, that you can eaſily diſtinguiſh between what is ridiculous in itſelf, and what is rendered ſo only by the happy genius of him who has a mind to explode it; and therefore, I need not ſay much in favour of a cuſtom which I think moſt reaſonable, and which has met with the approbation of many years, and of ſeveral ſucceeding generations. In private life, it has always been reckoned one of the higheſt degrees of contempt or diſreſpect, to take no notice of what a Gentleman ſays, when his diſcourſe is particularly addreſſed to you: in publick life, I muſt think it is the ſame; and therefore I muſt think, it would be a failure in that reſpect which is due to our ſovereign, if we ſhould, in our addreſs, omit to take notice of any one material paragraph in his Majeſty's ſpeech from the throne.

Who it was, my Lords, that had the honour to be conſulted by his Majeſty about the ſpeech he has now made to us, or who it was that adviſed him to inſert that paragraph, by which his Majeſty recommends to us, to avoid heats and animoſities, I do not know; but, if his Majeſty had thought fit to conſer that honour upon me, I ſhould have adviſed the very ſame thing: and what has already happened amongſt us, would, in my opinion, have juſtified that advice. There has, 'tis true, no heats or animoſities happened this day amongſt us; there never do happen any ſuch in our debates: but the debate of this day will, I am afraid, add freſh fuel to the heats and animoſities that ſtill ſubſiſt without doors: And, if Lords would conſider, that this is generally the conſequence of every debate that ariſes in this houſe, I am convinced, we ſhould not have ſo many of them as we have; becauſe, in this caſe, I believe, no Lord would raiſe a debate, by oppoſing any propoſition made by another, unleſs he thought the honour or the intereſt of his country deeply concerned in the queſtion.

I ſhall not diſpute with the Noble Lord that ſpoke laſt, whether the few words objected to, dropt by accident into the motion made by my Noble friend, or whether they were inſerted with deſign. In either caſe, I think, they ought not to have occaſioned a debate; eſpecially, at a time when we ought not only to be unanimous, but to avoid the leaſt appearance of diſcord. If they dropt in by accident, the Noble Lord who ſpoke laſt has acknowledged they are of no importance, and might therefore, for the ſake of unanimity, have been agreed to without any dangerous conſequence. And, if they were inſerted

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ſerted with deſign, I cannot ſo much as ſuppoſe any other deſign, than that of ſhewing a proper reſpect to his Majeſty; which no Lord ought to oppoſe. The Noble Lord has, 'tis true, found out another deſign: he ſuppoſes, that they were inſerted on purpoſe, for juſtifying ſome repreſentation made to his Majeſty. I do not know of any repreſentation that has been made to his Majeſty; nor do I think there was the leaſt occaſion for repreſenting to him, that there have been diviſions amongſt us: it is what he could not but know, by looking upon the journals of either houſe of parliament; which, I hope, either he or his ſervants may do, without any offence: and we cannot, in juſtice, ſuppoſe him ſo much unconcerned about what paſſes amongſt his people, as not to know, that there have been great heats and animoſities among them. None of his ſervants, therefore, had the leaſt occaſion to make any ſuch repreſentation to him; and if any of them have made ſuch a one, it was ſo far from being a miſrepreſentation, that it has been confirmed by every Lord that has ſpoken in this debate. It is acknowledged on all ſides, that there have been diviſions, heats, and animoſities in the nation; but, on one ſide, it has been ſaid, that they are all now put an end to, by his Majeſty's declaration of war, and that they were not between one ſet or party of the people and another, but between the whole body of the people on one ſide, and his Majeſty's ſervants or miniſters, as ſome always affect to call them, on the other.

My Lords, I am extremely glad to hear, that our diviſions are all put an end to, by his Majeſty's declaration of war: I wiſh it may be ſo. If it is, it ſhews his Majeſty's wiſdom; and his recommending to us, to avoid any ſuch for the future, in my opinion, ſhews his goodneſs. But, I do not know what the Noble Lord means, by diviſions between the whole body of the people of one ſide, and a few of his Majeſty's miniſters of the other. He muſt be an unhappy miniſter, that has no ſet of men, no party in the nation, that approves of his conduct. I do not know that I ever read of ſuch a miniſter in our hiſtories; and, I believe, we have had as bad, as any we have at preſent. But for God's ſake what is the meaſure, that has been approved of, by a few of his Majeſty's miniſters, and condemned by all the reſt of the nation? If his Lordſhip means any of our late negotiations, or even the late convention, I muſt deſire him to recollect, that they were all not only approved of, but adviſed by both houſes of parliament, as well as by all his Majeſty's miniſters. I ſhall grant, that there was a party in the nation, as well as in each houſe of parliament, that diſapproved of thoſe meaſures; and, I do not pretend to find fault with them for ſo doing. Thoſe that are not employed by his Majeſty, may differ in opinion with thoſe that are; and, thank God! they may, in this free country, avow their ſentiments, and declare them openly. This, I ſhall never find fault with; I hope we ſhall always retain this valuable liberty: but, I muſt find fault, when heats and animoſities are mixed with that liberty which is indulged us by our conſtitution; and this is what his Majeſty moſt graciouſly, I think, adviſes us to avoid; this is what we are to declare we ſhall avoid, by the addreſs my Noble friend has been pleaſed to propoſe; and this, I think, is the leaſt we can do, in return to that moſt gracious advice his Majeſty has vouchſafed to give us from the throne.

I am far from ſaying, my Lords, that any heats or animoſities have lately appeared in this houſe; but there have been diviſions amongſt us, and, by what the Noble Lord has ſaid of the late convention, he has ſhewn, that thoſe diviſions ſtill ſubſiſt. I am ſorry that affair ſhould now be brought into any of our debates. I am certain it is what we have nothing to do with, upon this occaſion: but, when fault is found with any paſt meaſure, or ſatyrical things thrown out againſt it, it is natural, and even reaſonable, in thoſe who adviſed or approved of it, to ſay ſomething in its vindication. The conven-

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tion, my Lords, was attended with this benefit at leaſt, that it gave us time to prepare for war, and to give notice to our merchants to withdraw their effects out of the Spaniſh dominions; and I muſt think, that Spain's refuſing to perform what was therein ſtipulated, is now a ſtrong argument for convincing us, that it was both honourable and advantageous on our part. To which I muſt add, that it was not only ratified by his Majeſty, but approved of by both houſes of parliament; and therefore, if the reſpect that is due to our ſovereign does not, the reſpect we ought to have for that aſſembly, of which we are members, ought now to prevent our giving it ill names, or loading it with any invidious epithet.

I ſhall not now, my Lords, take upon me to determine, whether it would have been happy for this nation or no, to have had the convention punctually performed, on the part of Spain. But, I cannot think it would have been any loſs to us, to have had 95,000l. of Spaniſh money, to have divided amongſt our injured merchants; and I am ſure it would have been happy for the nation, to have obtained juſtice without a war, if ſuch a thing could have been any way accompliſhed. This conſideration muſt, of itſelf, juſtify our endeavouring to obtain ſatisfaction, by negotiation; and the convention ſhewed, that our hopes of ſucceeding in that way, were not without ſome foundation. Therefore, when I hear ſarcaſtical reflections thrown out againſt our pacifick meaſures, which, now war is declared, muſt be allowed to be quite out of the queſtion, I muſt ſuppoſe that it proceeds from that ſpirit of diviſion, which has ſhewn itſelf formerly even in this houſe, and which has, without doors, often broke forth in violent heats and animoſities.

By his Majeſty's declaration of war, I ſhall grant, my Lords, that this ſpirit ſeems to be ſomewhat allayed; but, I'm afraid, it is far from being extinguiſhed. The ſame ſpirit that made ſome part of the people ſhew ſuch heats and animoſities againſt thoſe meaſures his Majeſty was pleaſed to take for preventing a war, will, I believe, prevail with them to find fault with every meaſure his Majeſty may be pleaſed to take, for bringing it to a happy and ſpeedy concluſion. The misfortunes we may meet with, and ſome we muſt meet with, will be aggravated; the advantages we may gain, and, I hope, we ſhall gain a great many, will be depretiated: in ſhort, unleſs your Lordſhips begin to ſhew a good example, I expect that every ſtep of his Majeſty's conduct in time of war, will be oppoſed or miſrepreſented, as well as every ſtep of his conduct has been in time of peace. The calm we now ſeem to enjoy, is not, I'm afraid, owing to the utter extinguiſhment of thoſe flames of ſtrife and contention, which too often prevail in this kingdom; but to their wanting materials to feed on. The war has been ſo lately declared; the incidents that have happened, or could have happened, are ſo few, that the moſt diſcontented have, as yet, no room for ſhewing their ſpleen againſt the adminiſtration: but, from what has happened to-day, we have, I think, no reaſon to conclude, that our diſcontents or diviſions are at an end. No fault can be found with the declaration of war; no fault can, as yet, be found with the conduct of the war; but fault muſt be found with ſomething: therefore, we have this day had the conduct of our publick affairs for *twelve* or *fourteen* years paſt examined into, and every ſtep of it, I think, condemned; tho' no part of it any way relates to the queſtion now before us. For my part, my Lords, I ſhall not give your Lordſhips the trouble of entering into a minute and particular juſtification of our conduct, and of all the publick expences that have been incurred, during that long, — very long period, as ſome have thought it: the taſk would not be difficult; but it would be tedious, and, I think, unneceſſary: therefore, I ſhall only obſerve in general, that every ſtep of our conduct, during that period, has been approved by both houſes of parliament, and every article of our publick expence, has not only been approved,

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ved, but provided for by parliament; conſequently, as there have been ſeveral general elections within that period, I muſt think, that not only the conduct of our publick affairs, but all the publick expence the nation has been put to, has met with the approbation of a great majority of the people.

We are now, my Lords, engaged in a war, and in a war too, that may prove a very heavy and dangerous one; eſpecially, if, by our diviſions, ſome of our neighbours ſhould be encouraged to join with Spain againſt us, and our allies diſcouraged from giving us any aſſiſtance: therefore I wiſh ſome Noble Lords would do what they acknowledge to be right; I wiſh they would forget all former contentions, and heartily unite in every thing that may tend to ſhew our friends, as well as enemies, that whatever diviſions there may be amongſt us, whatever faults we may find with the conduct of our miniſters, in time of peace, we will do nothing, nor ſay any thing, that may diſconcert or interrupt them, in the proſecution of a juſt and neceſſary war. If this had been the caſe, I am ſure no part of his Majeſty's ſpeech, nor any part of the addreſs now propoſed, would have been objected to: for, ſuppoſe there were now no diviſions amongſt us, nor any heats or animoſities in the nation; ſuppoſe there never had been any ſuch; yet, I cannot think it would have been wrong in his Majeſty now, at the beginning of a war, to caution us againſt diviſions, heats, and animoſities, nor in any of his miniſters to adviſe him to do ſo; and far leſs would it have been wrong in us, to make a proper return to that part of his Majeſty's ſpeech, by declaring in our addreſs, that we would take care to follow the advice his Majeſty had ſo graciouſly and ſo properly given. It is what has been often done, by the ſovereign, from the throne; and it is what this houſe has never failed to make a proper return to: therefore, if we ſhould, upon this occaſion, neglect to do ſo, I ſhould think, I am ſure the whole world without doors would think, it proceeded from that very thing which his Majeſty complains of in his ſpeech, and to which he moſt juſtly, in my opinion, imputes the late, and otherwiſe unaccountable obſtinacy, or rather contumacy of Spain. For this reaſon, my Lords, I ſhall be ſo far from diſagreeing with any part of the addreſs my Noble friend has been pleaſed to propoſe, eſpecially that part which ſome Noble Lords have thought fit to object to, that if he had omitted to propoſe it, I ſhould have ſtood up in my place, and endeavoured to ſupply the defect, by way of amendment.

The next ſpeaker was C. Mucius Scævola, *whoſe ſpeech was in ſubſtance thus:*

My Lords,

ALthough I have often had the misfortune to find what I approved of, oppoſed by ſome Lords for whom I had a very great eſteem; yet I never could allow myſelf to call that oppoſition a diviſion, or to think that it proceeded from any party-prejudice, or private diſcontent: and, I am ſure, it cannot, with the leaſt juſtice, be ſaid, that any late oppoſition has, in this houſe, been carried on with heat or animoſity. I have been always ſo candid as to think, that if any Lord oppoſed what I approved, he did it becauſe he thought it was wrong; and, if he propoſed any thing in which I could not join, I have always ſuppoſed, he did it becauſe he thought it was right. This has always been my way of thinking, about the conduct of thoſe who differed from me in opinion; and I hope it has been their way of thinking, about mine. Therefore, I cannot think there has been lately any thing amongſt us that could properly be called a diviſion; and I am ſure, there has of late no heat or animoſity appeared in any of our debates. I have, indeed, obſerved great heats and animoſities expreſſed, both within doors and without, againſt the inſulting treatment we have, for many years, received from Spain; but I was ſo far from diſapproving, that I have always joined in ſuch heats and animoſities:

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fities: I have always reflected upon the insults offered us by Spain, with as great indignation as any man in the kingdom, tho' I differed perhaps with some, as to the method, or rather as to the time of shewing our resentment in a proper manner, against the conduct of that insolent and impotent nation.

It is long since their conduct deserved the highest and most immediate resentment; it is long since we might, with justice, have made them feel the most fatal effects of our vengeance: and whatever the natural haughtiness of that nation may make them suppose, the rest of Europe must be convinced, that our forbearance has been owing to a compassion for their weakness, and not to any dread of their power. It was this, that made his Majesty resolve, by accepting of the late convention, to give them a fresh opportunity, for seeing the foolishness of their conduct towards us, and for preventing, by a submission, that severe correction it deserved to meet with. But I am surprised to hear some Lords insist so strongly, and as it were triumphantly, upon that convention's meeting with the approbation of both houses of parliament. I believe, there were a great many, who approved of the address proposed upon that occasion, tho' they were very far from approving of the convention. I remember, one of the chief arguments insisted on in favour of that address, was, that it did not imply an approbation of the convention. If such a thing had been proposed, I believe, instead of meeting with the concurrence of both houses of parliament, it would have been rejected by both with disdain.

I am convinced, that several Lords gave their consent to the address proposed upon that occasion, because they thought it did not imply an approbation of the convention; and as I had the honour to be so well acquainted with the measures his Majesty had resolved on, that if Spain did not soon yield to a great deal more than was expressly stipulated by the convention, I was thoroughly convinced that a war would speedily ensue: therefore, tho' I did not approve of the convention, nor of the address that was proposed upon that occasion; yet, I was against our doing any thing in this house that might hurry our ministers into a war, before they had sufficiently provided for prosecuting it with vigour: and, as a resolution proposed in this house, towards the end of last session, would have been a sort of parliamentary declaration of war against Spain, and consequently would have precipitated the nation into a war, before we were sufficiently prepared, either for defending ourselves, or offending the enemy; therefore I was against that resolution, tho' it was proposed and supported by several Lords for whom I shall always have the greatest regard.

So much I thought necessary to trouble your Lordships with, for explaining my conduct last session, lest it should be inferred from what has been said in this, that, if Spain had made the payment stipulated by that convention, I should have been for continuing to negotiate with them for *eight* months, or *one* month longer, and allowing them, in the mean time, to search and seize our ships in the American seas. This, my Lords, I should have been against, notwithstanding my having been against the resolution proposed at the end of last session; and, if this had happened to be the case, it would, indeed, have made a division amongst us: but then, it would have been such a division as a Noble Lord has represented; it would have been a division between the whole people of the nation on one side, and a very few of his Majesty's ministers of the other. About the time the convention was concluded, there was, I shall grant, some sort of dispute, tho' not properly a division, about the most proper time for declaring war against Spain. Some thought that it ought then immediately to be declared, whilst others thought that it was prudent to wait *four* months longer. But no man thought, at least, no man, minister or other, dared to say, that, if Spain refused to make the stipulated payment within the time limited, or pretended to evade any longer settling

ſettling the chief point in diſpute between the two nations, we ought not, even in that caſe, to declare war, or begin repriſals againſt them. About this there never was any diſpute, much leſs a diviſion amongſt us; and therefore, upon their failing to perform what they had promiſed, hoſtilities were begun, and war at laſt declared, as I expected, with as great unanimity among all ranks and degrees of men, as any publick meaſure ever met with. For this reaſon, I cannot but diſapprove of that paragraph in his Majeſty's ſpeech, which relates to diviſions, heats, and animoſities; and much more muſt I diſapprove of the return propoſed to be made to it in our addreſs. The former, in my opinion, bears, and the latter confirms, an inſinuation, that is evidently and abſolutely falſe. They both tend to inſinuate, as if there were a party amongſt us that, with heat and animoſity, oppoſed and condemned our having declared war againſt Spain. If a foreigner, who knew nothing of the diſpoſition of the people of this nation, were to read his Majeſty's ſpeech, this, I am convinced, would be the conſtruction he would put upon the paragraph found fault with; and, in this opinion he would be confirmed, by reading, in our addreſs, the anſwer propoſed to be made to that part of his Majeſty's ſpeech.

This, I ſay, my Lords, will be the opinion of every foreigner that reads his Majeſty's ſpeech from the throne, and our addreſs by way of return; and as it is not only a falſe opinion, but likewiſe an opinion that may be of great prejudice to this nation, I ſhall be againſt our ſaying any thing in our addreſs that may tend towards eſtabliſhing, among foreigners, a belief in an opinion ſo injurious to the people of this kingdom, and ſo miſchievous with regard to its conſequences in the preſent war.

I have, my Lords, the ſatisfaction to think, that no man doubts of my eſteem for his Majeſty's perſon, or my zeal for his ſervice; but I ſhall always be for ſhewing that eſteem, and teſtifying that zeal, by declaring my ſentiments freely in every place, and upon all occaſions, where my duty calls upon me to do ſo: and, upon the preſent occaſion, I think, I am called upon to do ſo, by all the ties of honour, loyalty and friendſhip; becauſe, I am convinced, his Majeſty would not, in his ſpeech, have made uſe of any ſuch words as thoſe now complained of, if ſome malicious inſinuations had not been made to him againſt thoſe who have, with great calmneſs and decency, oppoſed ſome late meaſures, for no other reaſon, I believe, but becauſe they thought them inconſiſtent with the honour or intereſt of their country. As ſuch inſinuations muſt tend towards giving his Majeſty an ill impreſſion of thoſe, whom I ſhall always look on as good ſubjects, tho' they may ſometimes differ with me in opinion, therefore, I ſhall be againſt our doing any thing in this houſe, that may confirm ſuch inſinuations; and for this reaſon, I muſt be againſt inſerting in our addreſs the words or expreſſions objected to, by ſome of the Noble Lords who have ſpoke before me in this debate.

C. Plinius Cæcilius *got up next, and ſpoke in ſubſtance as follows*, viz.

My Lords,

AS nothing is more neceſſary at the beginning of a war, than concord and unanimity amongſt ourſelves; and as our unanimity at preſent ſeems to be interrupted by a miſapprehenſion of what his Majeſty has ſaid in his ſpeech from the throne, and likewiſe of what the Noble Lord has been pleaſed to propoſe by way of anſwer; I hope your Lordſhips will excuſe my riſing up, to endeavour to reſtore that unanimity which I wiſh to ſee eſtabliſhed, by explaining and removing that miſtake which, I think, has occaſioned the preſent interruption.

The objections that have been made to ſome part of the addreſs propoſed, have, in my opinion, my Lords, been occaſioned by ſuppoſing, that the heats and animoſities there mentioned, relate to the preſent time, and to the late par-

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particular measure, of declaring war against Spain. Now, if your Lordships will but consider the expressions themselves, which the Noble Lord was pleased to make use of, in that part of the proposition he has made to you, which has been objected to, and the expression in that part of his Majesty's speech to which they refer, you will see, that neither the one nor the other can be supposed to relate to the present time, or to any particular measure. The expressions made use of by his Majesty in his speech from the throne, and by his Lordship in the proposition he has made for an address by way of answer thereto, plainly refer to the time past, and to heats and animosities in general, without the least application to any particular measure; and when this is maturely considered, I am of opinion, no reasonable objection can be made, either to his Majesty's speech, or to any part of the proposition now before you.

Upon the present occasion, my Lords, I do not think it necessary for me to shew, what sort of heats and animosities have been amongst us, or how, or between whom, our late divisions have arisen. It is acknowledged by all, that there have been divisions, heats, and animosities, amongst us: nay, they become so notorious, that even our enemies took notice of them, as appears by the Spanish manifesto; and I am convinced they were, as his Majesty has told us, the chief cause of that obstinacy which Spain has of late years shewn in all her negotiations with us. Therefore, whatever these divisions were, they must be allowed to be a good foundation for that fatherly and tender exhortation to peace and unity, which his Majesty has most graciously given us in his speech from the throne. Suppose our late divisions had been between the people of one side, and his Majesty's ministers or servants on the other; and that those divisions had occasioned heats and animosities in the kingdom, even such a division, if any such could be, would be unhappy for the nation; and as his Majesty is the political father of us all, as he is the father of his servants, as well as of his subjects, it became, in that case, necessary for him, especially at the beginning of a foreign war, to endeavour to reconcile them to each other, by recommending peace and unity to both; at least it must, I think, be acknowledged, that it was gracious in him to do so, and that it shewed his concern for the general welfare of his kingdoms.

But, my Lords, I am far from being of opinion, that any such division can ever exist, in which the whole people are of one side, and the King's ministers, or a few of them only, of the other. I believe, the most hated or despised administration that ever was in this kingdom, had a great many friends among the people, and a great party that approved of their measures; and therefore, I cannot approve of the custom mentioned by a Noble Lord in this debate, of making use of the words *people* and *administration* as two opposite terms: I think it is an invidious sort of distinction; and therefore I must think, that the custom is at all times somewhat seditious. If any one has of late made use of this distinction, and endeavoured to recommend the use of it to others, the doing so could proceed from nothing but heat and animosity; for none of his present Majesty's ministers have done, or advised any thing, that could give the least room for thinking, that they were in any interest opposite to that of the people. Gentlemen may differ in their opinions; and those who have the honour to serve his Majesty, may think that for the good of their country, which others think not to be so; but those who differ from them, ought to judge of their conduct with that candour and charity, which the Noble Lord who spoke last has recommended, and which, I am convinced, is a way of judging practised by him upon all occasions. If every man, both within doors and without, would follow his Lordship's example, we should have no heats or animosities in the kingdom, nor would any one suppose such a division, as that of the whole body of the people upon one side,

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side, and a few of his Majesty's ministers upon the other.

Such a division, my Lords, can never, as I have said, exist in any country, and much less in this than any other, unless our constitution should be first overturned, or at least suspended; and I am sure we have lately had nothing like it. We had, indeed, a very great division amongst us, but last session of parliament: some were for an immediate war against Spain, notwithstanding the convention they had agreed to, and others were for waiting a few months longer, to see if we could obtain justice by peaceable means. His Majesty's servants knowing the great regard he had for the trade and welfare of his subjects, were very generally, I believe, of the latter party; which was so far from consisting of his Majesty's ministers only, that it had a majority in both houses of parliament; and consequently, by our constitution, we are obliged to suppose, that it had a majority among the people. Notwithstanding this majority, they supported their opinion, both within doors and without, with great moderation and tranquillity; but I cannot say so of the other party. In this house, I shall grant, there was no heat or animosity appeared; but the party without doors did break out into heats and animosities, and endeavoured, as is usual upon all such occasions, to support by noise and clamour without doors, what they could not support by reason and argument within. This division, and these heats and animosities, are now, 'tis true, at an end; but others may arise, and therefore it was very natural, and even necessary, I think, for his Majesty, the next time he met his parliament, to recommend unity and concord, and to exhort us to avoid heats and animosities. He does not so much as suppose there are any at present subsisting; he gives us only a gracious exhortation to avoid such in time to come: this surely can never be taken amiss in any country, or at any time; and much less in a free country, where divisions, heats and animosities are apt to arise, notwithstanding the utmost caution; and at the beginning of a heavy and dangerous war, when they may be of more pernicious consequence than at any other time.

Having thus explained to your Lordships, what is meant by that paragraph in his Majesty's speech, in which divisions, heats, and animosities are mentioned, I hope it will appear, that no reasonable objection can be made to it: I hope it will appear, that it is only a general exhortation to peace and unity; and shall we so much neglect, or rather, in my opinion, contemn such a kind, such a gracious, and such a fatherly exhortation, as not to make the least return to it in our address? What the Noble Lord has proposed, is, I think, the least return we can make: his Lordship's proposition, like what his Majesty has said in his speech, does not relate to the present time, nor to any particular division that has been amongst us. It is only a general declaration, that we will promote harmony and unanimity in time to come. This is, I hope, what every Lord in this house is resolved on, and therefore, I hope, no Lord will oppose our giving his Majesty and his allies the satisfaction, and his and our enemies the mortification, to declare it in the terms proposed, or in more express terms, if such could be contrived and were thought necessary.

C. Claudius Nero *was the next that spoke, whose speech was as follows*, viz.

My Lords,

IF I were to consider his Majesty's speech from the throne, as a speech really framed by himself, and without the advice of any of his ministers, I should be apt to join with the Noble Lord that spoke last, in looking upon it as a fatherly and tender exhortation; but it is well known, that in this house we always do, nay, we ought to consider his Majesty's speech as the speech of his minister; and, when I consider it in that light, I cannot look upon that part of it, which relates to divisions, heats and animosities, as a friendly exhortation: I must look upon it as a designed reflection upon those, who, not

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only last year, but for many years preceeding, took the liberty to condemn his tame submissions and pacifick negotiations, which have, as was long since foretold, at last ended in an open and declared war; and that at a season, which, if we consider the present situation of affairs in Europe, we must allow to be the most unlucky for this nation, of any we could have chosen, ever since Spain began to insult and plunder, and he to negotiate and submit.

In this light, I say, my Lords, I must consider it, and I consider it in this light, because we have of late years had no appearance of any division, much less of any heat or animosity, but what has been occasioned by his measures. We have lately had none of those party-divisions amongst us, with which this nation used formerly to be perplexed: The Jacobite party is now, thank God! intirely broke: Whig and Tory, High Church and Low, have been many years ago quite forgot: we are all united in a resolution to support and preserve our constitution under the present happy establishment: nothing like a division has for many years appeared amongst us, but what was occasioned by some ministerial measure, which was thought ruinous to the trade, or inconsistent with the honour of the nation; and in such circumstances, when the minister comes and tells us, that heats and animosities have been, with the greatest industry, fomented throughout the kingdom; that our divisions have encouraged our neighbours to use us ill; and that we ought to avoid all such for the future; I must look upon it as a designed reflection upon those, who have found fault with any of his measures in time past, and as an imperious sort of exhortation to approve and submit blindly, in time to come, to every thing he may vouchsafe to propose to us, and to every measure he may think fit to pursue.

This, my Lords, is the construction that must be put upon what is said in his Majesty's speech about divisions, heats, and animosities, by every Lord who considers the speech in that light in which alone it ought to be considered in this house; this is what could not but be foreseen by those who advised the speech: and therefore, if they have this day heard any unwelcome and galling truths relating to their past conduct; if their past measures have not been allowed to sink into that oblivion they deserve; those who advised the speech have themselves only to blame: for when an opposition, that experience as well as reason has justify'd, is called animosity, and is assigned as the cause of that misfortune, which evidently proceeded, not from the opposition, but from the measures that were opposed, it became necessary for those who had joined in that opposition, to justify their opposition, by exposing and again demonstrating the weakness of those measures they had opposed. The disagreement therefore that has this day happened amongst us, and which ought, certainly, by all means to have been prevented, is not owing to those who have this day found fault with past measures, but to those who most unnecessarily, I shall not say arrogantly, revived the memory of them, by giving the invidious names of *division*, *heat*, and *animosity*, to the opposition that was made to them.

From this consideration, every Lord that has this day found fault with any of our late measures, must be justified, and from this likewise, I hope, I shall be justified, in taking some notice of what has been this day said in favour of our late convention with Spain. The disadvantages and dishonour of that treaty were last session so fully exposed, that I should not have given your Lordships the pain to hear that treaty again mentioned, if some arguments had not been now advanced in its vindication, that neither were, nor could be made use of, when it was last year under our consideration. We have been told, my Lords, That this treaty now appears to have been an honourable and advantageous treaty for this nation, because Spain refused to perform it on their part. So far otherwise, that their refusing to pay the 95,000 l. confirms what was said last year by those that opposed our approving

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ving of the treaty. They then foretold, that Spain would not pay a ſhilling of that money, unleſs our S. S. company firſt paid them the 68,000 l. they demanded; and the event has confirmed what was then propheſied: which ſhews, that the treaty was really more diſhonourable, than what upon the face of it appeared; tho' even this pretty clearly appeared, by the King of Spain's declaration, which our negotiators had, it ſeems, accepted of as the condition upon which his very ſigning, and much more his performing of that treaty, was to be proceeded on. Their inſiſting upon our receiving that declaration, ſhewed the contempt they had of our conduct, and their adhering ſo cloſely to what they thereby declared, was only a farther and a ſtronger manifeſtation of that contempt.

Another new argument this day made uſe of in favour of that convention, is, That it was neceſſary for us to prepare for war before we declared it; and that the convention gave us time to be prepared for war, and to ſend notice to our merchants to remove their ſhips and effects out of the Spaniſh dominions, which we could not otherwiſe have had. This argument, my Lords, is built upon the ſuppoſition of a fact, which every one knows to be falſe. Did we make the leaſt preparation for war during the *four* months the convention held us in ſuſpence? did we in all that time give the leaſt hint to our merchants to withdraw their effects? It is well known, that we did not begin to prepare for war till the month of June laſt, nor did we ſend notice to our merchants to withdraw their effects, till the month of July; and might not this have been done in the month of June or July was a twelvemonth, as well as in the month of June or July laſt? Certainly it might. Nay, we can always, in a month's time, prepare ſufficiently for commencing a war againſt Spain alone, and therefore have no occaſion for entering into a diſhonourable negotiation, much leſs for concluding a diſhonourable treaty with them for ſuch a purpoſe.

As theſe, my Lords, are the only new arguments I have this day heard in favour of that moſt diſhonourable treaty, I ſhall give your Lordſhips no farther trouble upon a ſubject, that I ſhall always mention with reluctance, becauſe the leaſt mention of it muſt, I think, be grating to every man that hears it, if he has any regard for the honour or intereſt of this kingdom. What I have ſaid, when added to what has been before ſaid upon the ſame ſubject, will ſufficiently juſtify the oppoſition that was made to it; therefore, I muſt think, it was wrong to adviſe the inſerting of any thing in his Majeſty's ſpeech, that might ſeem to caſt a reflection upon that oppoſition; and conſequently, I muſt be againſt our enforcing, and, as it were, redoubling that reflection, by any words in our addreſs. I know, that the cuſtom of *ecchoing* back, (I muſt, my Lords, make uſe of the word *Ecchо*; if I knew a more burleſque word, or a word that more ſtrongly ſhewed my contempt, I would certainly uſe it;) I ſay, my Lords, I know that the cuſtom of *ecchoing* back his Majeſty's ſpeech from the throne, in the addreſs of this houſe, is of ſome ſtanding: but I likewiſe know, that miniſters have, ever ſince that cuſtom began, had more influence in parliament, than they had in former reigns, and more, perhaps, than they ought to have in any reign. Such a cuſtom is rather a ſign of complaiſance to the miniſter, than of reſpect to the ſovereign. The greateſt and beſt ſign of reſpect we can ſhew to the ſovereign, is ſincerity; and, if this cuſtom continues for any time longer, our ſincerity to our ſovereign will, I am afraid, be loſt in a fawning complaiſance to his miniſter.

Let us therefore, my Lords, take this opportunity, which I think a good one, to interrupt the cuſtom, leſt it ſhould, as other cuſtoms have done, become Common Law, which the lawyers ſay is Common Reaſon, even though it be inconſiſtent with the reaſon of every man but a lawyer. But, if your Lordſhips are reſolved, that your addreſs ſhall be a compleat and faithful *Ecchо* to the ſpeech, I think you ſhould go farther

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than has yet been propoſed: I think you ſhould take ſpecial care to declare it as your opinion, that the heats and animoſities fomented amongſt us, has been one of the chief encouragements to the court of Spain, to hold ſuch a conduct towards this nation, as to make it neceſſary to have recourſe to arms; becauſe, this I take to be, with regard to the miniſter, the moſt important ſentence in the whole ſpeech; and therefore ought not, ſurely, to be neglected by thoſe, who think that every material ſentence in his Majeſty's ſpeech ought to be moſt dutifully *ecchoed* back to the throne by the addreſs of this houſe.

L. Æmilius Paullus *roſe up next, and ſpoke to this effect*, viz.

My Lords,

I Muſt begin what I have to ſay to your Lordſhips upon this occaſion, with obſerving, that I am very much diſappointed in the hopes I with pleaſure entertained for ſome time before we met in this houſe. Our ſituation before this ſeſſion opened, was very different from what it was before the opening of the laſt. We had then juſt received the ſorrowful tidings of a new convention between us and Spain, which, before we ſaw it, had great encomiums beſtowed upon it, by thoſe who had been concerned in the negotiation. This new treaty was to put a happy and an honourable end to all our differences with Spain. It was to give reparation to our injured merchants, and to procure ſatisfaction to the nation, and ſecurity to our trade in time to come. In ſhort, it was to give us all we wanted, and more than we could have expected. But theſe encomiums I could put no faith in. I knew the haughtineſs of thoſe we had been treating with; I knew the contemptible opinion they had of the perſons they treated with; and therefore, I expected, that this new treaty would reſemble ſome former treaties we have lately made, in nothing ſo much as in diſhonour and diſgrace. This made me expect to ſee, during that ſeſſion, great contention within doors, and great murmurings and diſcontents without; and in this I was not diſappointed.

But before the opening of this ſeſſion, my Lords, we were in a very different ſituation. Our negotiations, with Spain at leaſt, were, thank God! at an end. A war was actually declared, which was what all, but a very few amongſt us, had long and ardently wiſhed for; and this nation was in a way, by which we have never failed doing ourſelves juſtice, when our arms were prudently and vigorouſly conducted. From this ſituation, I expected to ſee nothing, during this ſeſſion of parliament, but concord and unanimity within doors, and joy and acclamations without. I expected to hear nothing of paſt meaſures, eſpecially from thoſe who could not be inſenſible of the diſcontents their paſt meaſures had occaſioned. I expected nothing but a moſt cordial and unanimous concurrence in proper meaſures for enabling his Majeſty to convince our enemies, that we are better fighters than negotiators; and that tho' they had for many years eluded the force of our rhetorick, they ſhould be unable to elude, for as many months, the force of our arms.

Theſe, my Lords, I ſay, were my expectations before the opening of this ſeſſion of parliament, and in theſe, I can aſſure your Lordſhips, I took great delight. But thoſe who had the adviſing and drawing up of this ſpeech now under our conſideration, have, I find, taken the very firſt opportunity to diſappoint me in my hopes. Inſtead of applying to us in a modeſt, prudent, and conciliating manner, for thoſe ſupplies that may be neceſſary for carrying on the war; they have begun with throwing unjuſt and ill-grounded reflections upon their country, and upon all thoſe that oppoſed the fruitleſs and deſtructive meaſures they took for preventing it: meaſures, which every one foreſaw would be fruitleſs, before the event ſhewed them to be ſo; and meaſures, which, in the mean time, ruined the trade, exhauſted the treaſure, and expoſed the character of their country.

This, my Lords, to me looks as if they were more ſollicitous about juſtifying their pacifick meaſures, than they are

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are about meriting the approbation of their country as to their warlike; and this, I may say, is but a bad omen of our future success, if they be intrusted with the conduct of the war; for nothing can contribute more to the justification of their late pacifick schemes, than an unfortunate issue of the war we are now engaged in.

I shall grant, my Lords, that an advice or caution against divisions, heats, and animosities, has been often repeated to us in speeches from the throne; and I do not at all wonder at it, for nothing is so like one minister as another minister. Ministers must always be, they ought to be, the advisers of the King's speech to his parliament. As great a man, and as good a judge of our constitution, as ever sat in this house, often gave it at his opinion, that if ministers were not, they ought to be the advisers of every speech the King makes from the throne, and were answerable for every expression made use of upon such occasions; therefore we are not to be surprised at the frequent repetition we find of this caution against heats and animosities; for ministers are apt to look upon every opposition to their measures as an animosity; and peevish ministers often prevail with their master to declare it so from the throne: but however this may serve the peevishness of a minister, it is of great disadvantage to the crown, because it engages the King in the party with his minister, which is very seldom either the honestest or most numerous party in the kingdom.

For this reason, my Lords, I shall never think it very dutiful in a minister to put such a caution in the mouth of his sovereign; and to put such a caution or advice into the King's speech, at a time when there neither is, nor has been, any division, heat, or animosity, in the kingdom, but such as have been occasioned by his measures, I shall always think, in some degree, criminal. In former reigns, particularly in K. William's reign, there was some reason for the sovereign's giving a caution to his parliament against divisions, heats, and animosities, because there were contending parties in the kingdom, which no way proceeded from any publick measures pursued by the ministers; but, in this reign, there have been no such parties; and yet, these exhortations have been oftner made use of in this reign, than in any former: I think they have been in the speech at the opening of every session since the famous *Excise-scheme*, except the first session of this parliament, when the complexion of the other house was not perhaps so well known as it was soon after.

Who was the author or drawer-up of the speech now under our consideration, I do not pretend to know; but in this house, my Lords, it is certain, we are not to say, the King was; we must suppose it was some of his Majesty's ministers: and considering there is now the greatest unanimity that, I believe, ever was in this nation; considering there has not lately been any division, heat or animosity in the kingdom, unless that opposition be called so, which was made to their late pacifick schemes, I cannot think it was right or modest in them, to put those expressions in his Majesty's speech, which are now found fault with. The Noble Lord who spoke last but one says, they do not relate to the present time, or to any particular measure. I must beg pardon to differ from him, though I am far from pretending to be so good a judge of language as he is. The expressions both in the speech, and in the address proposed, plainly relate to the present time. His Majesty says, *The unhappy divisions amongst my subjects*, are *the only hopes of the enemies to my government*. Do not these words, does not the word *are* in particular, relate to the present time? Again, with regard to the address proposed, can we with any propriety say, that nothing shall be wanting on our part to heal up our divisions, if there are none such now subsisting in the kingdom? Can we say, that his Majesty had *any occasion* to repeat his admonitions, if our divisions are all entirely healed up, and no such thing as any heats or animosities in the kingdom?

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As to the measures, my Lords, which those expressions were designed to relate to, I shall not pretend to determine; but I know of no publick measure that has been lately opposed with any sort of warmth, but our negotiations with Spain, and the convention that was the unhappy issue of those negotiations: and I cannot think it right to say, that those who opposed these measures, or indeed any measures, were industrious fomenters of heats and animosities; which is expressly said both in the speech, and in what the Noble Lord has proposed to be our address by way of answer to that speech. In this country, and by our constitution, whoever thinks any publick measure inconsistent with the happiness of his country, has a right, nay, he is in duty bound, to take every legal method he can think of, to warn the people of their danger: he is not, for that reason, to be called a fomenter of heats and animosities: no man will call him so, but a peevish assuming minister, who, by a long possession of too much power, begins to think, that no man in the kingdom ought to oppose his good will and pleasure.

I must likewise observe, my Lords, that I differ from the same Noble Lord in another thing he was pleased to advance. I must think, that a division between the people of one side, and the ministers of the other, is such a division as may exist, even in this country. I shall grant, that ministers must always have a party for their support; but when that party consists of men that list themselves in the minister's party, not because they approve his measures, but because they receive his pay, I cannot look upon them as any part of the people: I must look upon them, as well as him, as the enemies of the people; and the more of them he has in his pay, the more criminal he must always be. If such a minister and such a party should ever happen, to our misfortune, to exist in this kingdom, they would, it is true, be the King's subjects; but, like other criminals, they would be such subjects as ought to be hanged. I shall also grant that, whilst our constitution remains entire, no such minister can long stand his ground in this kingdom; because, if our parliament should be allowed to sit, and if both houses should continue as incorrupt as, I hope, they are at present, such a minister would soon, by a parliamentary prosecution, be brought to what he deserved: but we know that some ministers have found means to govern, or rather to oppress the nation for several years, without any parliament at all; and others have done the same thing, by means of a pensionary parliament. Therefore, such a division may exist even in this country, though it has never yet long existed: these overgrown ministers have, generally hitherto, fallen a sacrifice to their own insolence and ambition, soon after the body of the people declared against them; but the misfortune is, that the sovereign has sometimes been overwhelmed in the ruins.

I shall always, my Lords, be ready to judge charitably of other mens conduct, either in publick or private life. I shall always be ready to suppose that men act from right principles, and that they at least think they are doing what is right; but this rule can take place only in cases of a disputable nature. If a highway-man, or pick-pocket should tell me, that he thought he did people a service by robbing them or picking their pockets, or by holding their hands and preventing their being able to defend themselves, or secure the villains that plundered them, I believe no charity would oblige me to believe such a one to be an honest man; and much less would complaisance prevail with me, or a reward induce me, to call him so. In publick life, it is the same. When a minister engages in no measures but what may be supposed to be for the publick good, charity may induce me to believe, that he thinks he is doing right, tho' I differ from him in opinion; and such a minister, tho' his measures be found fault with by some, yet he may depend upon having always a great part of the people of his side: but when a minister engages in such measures as evidently

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idently tend to the ruin of his country, here is no room for charity; one muſt believe him to be either an egregious fool, or an arrant knave.

This, my Lords, muſt be every honeſt man's way of judging, in caſes that admit of no diſpute; but, even in caſes that are diſputable, tho' charity obliges me to believe that miniſters think their meaſures calculated for the good of their country, yet, if I think otherwiſe, I am obliged to oppoſe them, and may take ſuch legal methods as I think fit, to prevent or defeat them, without deſerving to be called a fomenter of heats or animoſities. This was the caſe, with regard to the late convention: it was thought, by many, to be a moſt ſcandalous and deſtructive treaty: I thought ſo as ſoon as I ſaw it: I think ſo ſtill; for I do not think myſelf in the leaſt concluded by the ſide-wind approbation it met with. A treaty's being approv'd by a majority in parliament, does not oblige the minority to approve of it. Your Lordſhips have all a right to ſhew that you diſapprove of what meets with the approbation of the majority, and to leave a teſtimony of your diſapprobation upon record. Nay, even a future parliament is not obliged to approve of what, perhaps, met with a very general approbation in the preceeding. The treaty of Utrecht was approved of by a majority in both houſes of parliament. I remember, I then diſapproved of it, and gave my ſentiments very freely in this houſe againſt it; and I remember the reward I met with for ſo doing. That very treaty was, in a future parliament, ſo highly diſapproved of, that ſome of thoſe who had the chief hand in making it, were puniſhed by parliament; and others had, perhaps, been more ſeverely puniſhed, if they had not fled from juſtice. This, my Lords, may perhaps be the fate of the convention in ſome future parliament, tho' the father of it ſeems now extremely fond of his child; for I cannot but look upon his Majeſty's ſpeech, and the addreſs now propoſed, as a ſecond approbation of that convention: I muſt think them deſigned as a new triumph over thoſe that oppoſed it; which can give no great joy to the nation, whatever it may do to the father of the convention; and therefore I wiſh that, in order to make his country rejoice as well as himſelf, he would hereafter take as much care o triumph over thoſe that broke it, as he now takes to triumph over thoſe that oppoſed it.

This ſecond approbation, this new triumph, I ſhould have been eaſy about, I ſhould have given myſelf no trouble in oppoſing it, if I had not thought it an encroachment upon the conſtitution of my country, and an impoſition upon my royal maſter. I think it a moſt dangerous encroachment upon the freedom of our conſtitution, to have the legal oppoſers of any publick meaſure repreſented as fomenters of heats and animoſities, and promoters of diviſions among the people. If they had been guilty of any illegal or violent practices, there might have been ſome room for giving them ſuch hard names; but, as no ſuch practices have been lately attempted, it muſt be allowed, by every one who underſtands our conſtitution, to be a downright miſrepreſentation; and it is a moſt dangerous impoſition upon our ſovereign, to make him the author of ſuch a miſrepreſentation. I muſt likewiſe look upon it as a moſt dangerous impoſition, to make him believe, that there are unhappy diviſions, or any diviſions, amongſt his ſubjects, from whence his enemies can have the leaſt room to hope for ſucceſs. I wiſh they may have no other foundation to build their hopes on; for, if they have not, they will ſoon ſee that they have nothing to hope for, but from his Majeſty's juſtice and moderation.

Whatever diſputes our late pacifick meaſures occaſioned, and theſe were the only diſputes that can be ſaid to have produced any diviſions, or any thing like heats or animoſities amongſt us, they are all now happily ended by his Majeſty's declaration of war. That declaration, my Lords, I muſt join with a Noble Lord that ſpoke ſome time ago, in applauding. I think it is extremely right: It is well and ſtrongly word-

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worded; the facts are well chosen, and the thoughts expressed with great energy: but I must observe, that it is a sort of summary of the arguments made use of last year against the convention, and part of it, I believe, expressed almost in the very words of the protest signed by many of your Lordships upon that occasion, and entered upon the journals of this house as a testimony to posterity, of your having disapproved of what was then agreed to by a majority. [*See vol.* 1. *p.* 479. 519.] This declaration, my Lords, has given full satisfaction to every man that was displeased with our former pacifick measures; and surely, no man can suppose, that it is disagreeable to those that advised it. It is therefore unjust to say, that there are any divisions in this nation: it was wrong to say so to his Majesty; it was more wrong to advise him to say so in his speech from the throne; and it would be still more wrong in us to confirm that misrepresentation by any sort of insinuation in our address.

War, my Lords, was what the whole nation, except a very few, long since desired. The few that were against it, have done what was their duty: they have yielded to the general voice of their country; and the war is now declared. I have already said, and I must again say, that I thank God for it; for I think it a most providential war for this nation. It could be nothing but providence that could so harden the hearts, or rather blind the understandings of the Spaniards, as to make them refuse, or neglect to perform, on their part, a treaty which was both honourable and advantageous for them, but most inglorious and destructive for us. To us it would have been most unlucky, if they had paid the sum stipulated by that treaty. It was a providence most propitious to this nation, that put them into a humour to hold us in such contempt as to refuse making that payment, which they had so solemnly promised; and as providence has been favourable to us in forcing us into the war, I hope it will be as favourable to us in the prosecution. It is hardly possible the event should be unfortunate for this nation, unless we render it so by our own conduct; and as an uncorrupt and independent parliament is the best check upon a minister's conduct, I shall look on it as a bad omen of our future conduct, if we should, in this first session after the commencement of the war, shew so much complaisance to any minister, as to confirm a misrepresentation made by him to the crown; especially as that misrepresentation is of such a nature, that, if it be believed, it must render our enemies more obstinate, and our friends less ready to join in any alliance with us.

[*This Journal to be continued.*]

T. Quintius, in the character of Lord Talbot.

C. Claudius Nero, in the character of the Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham. [*See p.* 227.]

To the D. of A——E.

WHat could our gracious K— do more?
All he could give was thine before;
Ribbands, titles, riches, place,
Ev'ry honour, but disgrace:
This one glory still remain'd,
Thus to lose what virtue gain'd.

On the three young LIONS whelp'd in the Tower of London in June 1740.

WHilst at such distance from their native lands,
From, southern climes, and hot Getulia's *sands,*
The captive lions join in love's embrace,
And propagate with us their tawny race;
We quit the prodigy, before unknown,
And claim the royal species for our own.
In this fair omen let BRITANNIA *see*
The pledge of rule, and destin'd victory;
And, whilst she meditates her dread alarms,
And farthest India *trembles at her arms,*
Let her triumphant navies, on the main,
From sun to sun assert her ancient reign,
And check the Gallic *pride, and humble haughty* Spain.

DAILY

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DAILY GAZETTEER, *June* 20.

The pleasures of a Country Life.

THere are no words in the *English* language, which, I think, are pronounced in so just a tone, as, *Well, I'll get me into the country*. Every man who speaks them is an actor; the prospect of the rural scene transports him so much, that, without knowing it, he assumes a theatric air, and seems discourfing to an audience. The love of the country is to man a natural and hereditary passion. Before our nature was corrupted, a rural life was man's employment; and when he was most favoured by his Creator, his dwelling was in a *garden*, and his business, as 'tis emphatically expressed by *Moses*, to till the earth from which he was taken. No wonder then that all men conserve an affection for that life which was first designed for them; or that following, as in other things, the customs of their ancestors, they are delighted with what, if experience, poetry, or history, may be depended on, always gave extreme delight.

We readily perceive, and as readily acknowledge, that trade and wealth, grandeur and magnificence, the seat of justice and the throne of empire, belong to cities; yet what are all these but gaudy contrivances to cover needs, and set a gloss upon necessity? Peace and tranquillity of mind, to which these all are or ought to be subservient, are best enjoy'd in the country. On this account we find, that where-ever there are any very large and opulent cities, we miss not pleasant and convenient villages and country-retreats in their neighbourhoods. This was the case of *Rome* and *Carthage* when in their glory, and still is so of *Leghorn*, *Marseilles*, and other great marts; but above all of *London*; which as it is the greatest and richest city in this part of the world, so its grandeur and riches appear in nothing more than in its adjacent villages. But to what end are these? Will not any one answer, that they serve for retreats and places of refreshment for those who are tir'd out with the fatigues of business? What an encomium is this of the country? We quit it originally because necessity compels; and when labour hath put us under cover from necessity, what do we next? — We fly into the country again. All the eloquence of which *Cicero* was master, we see display'd often on this subject, and yet the voice of nature in these unavoidable replies is as strong as all his eloquence, and perhaps more convincing.

While we are in our greener years, while we taste the pleasures of youth, and are unwearied by manly sports, the country is the sole scene of joy. There all things conspire with our inclinations, and nature appears as youthful and vigorous as we. The fields invite us to walk, the distant prospects lure us on farther and farther; the hounds seem to sollicit us to try their speed and scent, and the crystal brooks and rolling rivers encourage us to search them with lines and nets, and all the other inventions by which we prey upon the scaly race. To the young all hours in the country have their peculiar endearments. Hunting, fowling, and fishing, employ the morning-moments, when the sky is yet gray, and seems to participate alike of light and darkness. As the day grows older, new employments present themselves; the surveying the country-labours, the mowers, reapers, or the threshers; in the afternoon visits; and, to close the day, what so proper as that rural blessing, an evening walk? in which whatever can charm all the senses, and employ in the most pleasing manner our eyes, our ears, our taste, our feeling, and our smell, arise spontaneous, and require only our attention. After all we sleep; but that we do in country and in town: with some difference however: for here all things are still and hush; or, if there is any noise, 'tis towards morning, when crowing cocks, warbling larks, and merry swains, confess the influence of the season, and seem to chide the sun for not rising as early as they.

Yet are the pleasures of the country no less grateful to the old. When

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years have ground away the edges of our paſſions, when we are no longer inſtigated by warm deſires and itching appetites, then we naturally deſire to enjoy that reſt and reſpoſe which can be no where found but in a rural ſtate. There the clear air refreſhes us, after having paſſed years in a city, as bacon does weeks in a chimney, invelop'd with clouds of ſmoak. There we taſte fleſh, fiſh, and fruits, in their purity, and thence diſcern the mighty diſtance between tricks of art and the prerogatives of nature; whence ſauces prove ſo much inferior to wholeſome flavour, and ſerve in reality to extinguiſh what they only ſeem to inſpire. There, after being abſolutely worn out with care and labour, we find reſt in new employments, and ſee with aſtoniſhment that we may be buſy without being fatigued. The chearing rays of the ſun ſupply that warmth in nature which time has decayed; the ſerenity of the ſky inclines us to a correſponding temperament; and a ſeries of beautiful proſpects, if they cannot eradicate, at leaſt alleviate our pains. Beſides, to the old the converſation of country folks is moſt agreeable; they talk of things new and ſtrange to ſuch as have lately quitted a buſy life. Their dialect is no leſs entertaining than the ſubject: we admire in years what youth deſpiſes, and are charmed with that *Dorick* which makes ſo pleaſing an ingredient in paſtoral. Above all, we are delighted with that ſimplicity which ſeems deriv'd from the manners of former ages; for when we grow old ourſelves, we like whatever is antique.

It is not the greateſt of the country-privileges (though it is in truth a great one) that it finds pleaſures for all ages; it poſſeſſes another more wonderful, that it contents all humours; or, to ſpeak with greater propriety, furniſhes what might content them. I ſay this becauſe 'tis the humour of ſome (and a curſe it is, as well as a humour) never to be contented. The gayeſt creature finds matter of delight in rural ſcenes, and the dulleſt may be ſolaced by them. What is there more pleaſant than country aſſemblies, where people come in their native tempers, and not as to ſome politer places, even by daylight, in maſquerade? What ſo humorous as country ſports, where we diſcover that freedom which we value ſo much, and our anceſtors fought for? What ſo entertaining as rural commerce, the buſineſs of a village-fair, and the diſplay of human ware at a ſtatue? A diſpoſition of a graver turn will amuſe itſelf in ſhady walks, in converſations with the learned ſhepherds, whom experience, not books, hath furniſhed with ſcience, in a morning's ride when the calmneſs of the ſeaſon prompts to contemplation, or a moon-light jaunt when the ſtill ſweetneſs of the evening engages the ſoul to elevated inquiries. So that ſprightly or ſerious, in high glee or in a gloomy fit, the country has its charms.

This leads me to another of its perfections, variety. Of all things pleaſing to man, this pleaſes moſt. Some cynical ſatiriſts on human nature have endeavoured to repreſent the love of variety as a foible; but this is ſurely a chimera. He who made us, beſt underſtands us; and he gave us this paſſion for variety to be, like all other paſſions, the inſtrument of pleaſure when guided by reaſon, and productive of pain when conducted by folly. This happens alike in all places and in all ſtations; but chiefly in the country we are able to indulge this paſſion with the higheſt ſatisfaction and the leaſt danger to ourſelves. A man differs not more from other men at times, than he differs from himſelf; now he is merry, by and by in the ſpleen; to-day he is inclin'd to exerciſe, to-morrow indolent. In all theſe ebbs and flows of temper, if he can be in humour at all, the country will furniſh wherewith to content his humour, and of all places is the leaſt likely to produce that black humour which, as I ſaid, is rather a curſe than a humour, *viz.* peeviſh diſcontent.

Poſſeſſing therefore, as indubitably it doth, all theſe points of pre-eminence, need we wonder that men rejoice when they find an opportunity of eſcaping

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escaping from the plague, pains and perplexity of a busy town-life, to the calm and peaceful shadow of a rural retirement? This is a case hitherto unconsidered, I mean these occasional rustications which are the refreshments of men of business. They have in them questionless something singularly sweet, and almost inconceivably pleasant. Travellers tell us, that when the *Egyptians* have been long out of their own country, and thereby deprived of their favourite pleasure of drinking the waters of the *Nile*, nothing can equal their transports when they are restored to the capacity of quaffing them freely. It is the same thing with such as have strong inclinations for the country, when they make occasional trips thither. They fancy themselves for a while in paradise, and scarce possess so much cool reason as to be able to account for this extraordinary delight. Of this we have some illustrious instances in the odes and epistles of *Horace*, to which, tho' at a distance, I would join some of the pathetick poems of *Cowley*, who died a martyr to his love for rural pleasures, and is therefore properly commemorated in a paper like this.

The country has every where its charms and its admirers, but no where more than in the isle of *Britain*, from *Drayton* down to *Dryden*. To speak no more than truth, our country well deserves it. If we boast not the rich fruits or fragrant odours of *Italy*, at least our ground is more steady and our rivers more gentle. We have not such warm summers; but our weather is more healthy, and not less agreeable. If we partake not the riches of the *Indies*, we are exempt from many of their incommodities; we rarely meet with a year's accounts from those countries, but hurricanes and turnadoes, earthquakes and epidemick diseases take up various pages, which (such is the goodness of God) are very infrequent here. In our summer retreats we regale ourselves with the produce of both *Indies*, though we feel the sultry heat of neither; and we see those trees and flowers naturalized to our soil, which originally grew in the most distant climes. Thus art and nature unite to make our villa's pleasant; and what in one age a prince esteems a rarity, becomes in the next common to every peasant. Such are the effects of liberty and industry acting in concert.

We may to all these add another consideration, which gives us a peculiar relish to the present pleasant season, *viz.* That it frees us in some measure from our apprehensions of the last winter's effects. To this cause I attribute that extraordinary propensity discovered by all degrees of people to visit the country this summer, and that unusual gladness which appears in every face on viewing the promising prospect of the ensuing harvest. We are yet indulged by providence in that plenty which makes us the envy of our neighbours; while the happiness of our soil and climate (a very rare case) is still inferior to that other of the inhabitants, with plenty enjoying property, and tho' they are but too much infected with luxury, retain their liberty in its highest extent. May it be always our glory to merit the protection of heaven, by making a generous use of its bounty; and may the sole dispute amongst us be, who shall serve that country most, which is so dear to our hearts, and so pleasant to our eyes?

CRAFTSMAN, *June* 14.

A Letter writ by the Duke of EPERNON, *and a character of that great man.*

GOvernment has been so copiously wrote upon, in this and the last century, and so thoroughly canvassed, that I may presume to say, the dross is taken from the pure gold, and that, in speculation at least, all *Englishmen* agree, the word *Government* signifies a good order and command to be exercised by few, for the service and protection of the whole; and that princes, or rulers, have no right, wantonly to exercise the trust reposed in them, in order to satiate ambition, or to gratify their own private passions, but that they are equitably obliged to employ their utmost a-

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bilities for the publick, and general ſervice of the people.

When I ſpeak of *government*, I don't mean only the ſimple and individual perſon of the prince, or firſt rulers, in his or their natural capacity; but branch'd out into *miniſters*, with all the luxuriant excreſcences, called *placemen*, and their ſubordinate ramifications and twigs of office; including every one which, from the *principal Comptroller of the finances*, to the loweſt Collector of a turnpike, are accountable for their conduct, not to the *perſon* who gave them their place, implicitely to follow his commands, but to the publick; and that the firſt ruler, and all his immediate miniſters, and ſuch as have a right to depute and employ others, ought not only themſelves to act according to the rules of œconomy and juſtice, but, without regard to affinity, or ſelfiſh views, are obliged in honour and conſcience to diſpenſe the management of publick affairs to ſuch men under them, whoſe character for prudence, honeſty and integrity, have render'd them exemplary in private life. — I further conceive, that it is abſolutely neceſſary for the good of the community, that the high employments ought to be kept free and independent of each other, and that a *Chancellor, Treaſurer, General, Admiral, Secretary, &c.* ought to act ſeparately and diſtinctly; and that no one ought to have a pre-eminence over the reſt, unleſs what wiſdom and experience may give in a council of ſtate, which will not often happen, where the greateſt places are fill'd with men of the greateſt abilities.

Sovereigns muſt chiefly ſee, and be principally informed, of the diſpoſition of publick affairs, from the miniſters immediately about them. If therefore any one ſhould aſſume a ſuperior authority to the reſt, or ſhould obtain any coercive influence above the others, it would be cutting off ſo many avenues to information, and robbing the publick of the free and uninfluenced capacities of ſo many counſellors.

Perhaps, few nations are ſo bleſs'd as to have prudence and integrity look'd upon as the neceſſary requiſites to ſtate-preferments; but I may ſay without offence, thoſe nations are beſt governed, where ſuch regulations are moſt attended to, and thoſe nations are worſt governed, where ſuch qualifications are ridiculed: for where-ever other paths lead to preferment, than what virtue guides, that people are loſing all thoſe advantages which virtue would ſecure to them. — Would it not be wonderful to ſee a man in his ſenſes wade up to the neck in mire, only to have the pleaſure of cleaning himſelf, when he arrived at the fountain-head? The caſe is the ſame; and there never can be hopes that any miniſter will turn that power to the advantage of the publick, whoſe ambition has prompted him unjuſtly to uſurp it; ſince it never can be ſuppoſed that men of free and generous minds will ſerve in the higheſt nominal places ſubject to ſuch a controul. It is therefore evident, that a ſubordination of power, which is not founded upon the principles of *honeſty* and *liberty*, muſt tend to *ſlavery*.

Were we to ſcrutinize a little farther into the conduct of a *miniſter*, who would advance his authority in prejudice to that equilibrium which ought to be preſerved amongſt counſellors, it may perhaps appear that he doth not advance his own authority ſo much as he debaſes the authority of others; for, allowing his endeavours to be crown'd with ſucceſs, will he be left a free agent? or ſhould it be poſſible for him to repent, and have it in his inclination to do good, which is abſurd to ſuppoſe, can he have it in his power? He may, indeed, borrow power from his *maſter*, to oppreſs and miſlead him into arbitrary meaſures; but, let deſtruction threaten in any ſhape, durſt he diſpute againſt abſolute commands? Durſt a *Wolſey*, or a *Mazarine*, provoke the anger of their monarch, by offering unpleaſing counſels? Where would be the men of character, the high officers of ſtate, to aid and animate, to remonſtrate and enforce? Could ſervile reptiles, which had lick'd the duſt, think to reſtrain the wills, or pleaſures of a prince? They might,

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might, indeed, cling round his feet till they were ſpurn'd; but authority and dignity are properties belonging to the wiſe and honourable.

I have been more immediately led into theſe thoughts, which however I do not ſet up for new ones, by reading over ſome *French* memoirs, written at the beginning of the laſt century, relating to the cataſtrophe of that creature of power the Duke *D'Ancres*, but particularly a letter written by the Duke of *Epernon* to *Lewis* XIII. a little before the other's exit.

This letter is written with ſo worthy a ſpirit, with ſo true a dignity, and ſo bold a decency, that it would be injuſtice to the *noble author* to mention it, without reciting it. But it may not be improper firſt to give a ſhort character of *that great man*, which I ſhall briefly take from the hiſtory of his life.

The Duke of *Epernon* was of the houſe of *la Valette*, one of the moſt illuſtrious families of *Gaſcony*; ſo ancient that it was continued by a train of anceſtors in the male line for five hundred years; many of which diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their noble atchievements.

As to his perſonal endowments, he was temperate, wiſe, and brave, even to an extremity. He had a natural, and expreſſive eloquence; ſo that in him were found all the requiſites to form a great man. He was early bred to arms, and continued long in the uſe of them; for war was the ſcience which beſt ſuited his high genius. By turns he was the favourite, or rather, by turns he was in favour with ſeveral ſucceſſive princes; and if we may give any credit to the author who writes his life, no Nobleman was ever more courted by different adminiſtrations than he was. But his nature was ill-faſhion'd for the fawnings of a court; and no miniſter could engage him in meaſures derogatory to his honour, or what he thought deſtructive to the real intereſt of the crown, in the ſervice of which he had ſhed much of his blood; though, at different periods, he was, by the natural call of ſelf-defence, forced to arm himſelf againſt various ſtate-attacks. The regard he had to truth will be manifeſt, from his open and undiſguiſed ſentiments, which he would ſcarce have expreſſed in ſuch plain terms to his ſovereign, had he not been well aſſured of his facts. We likewiſe ſee that no name could daunt him, from making proper remonſtrances, where he found his right invaded. The perſon alluded to in the letter was the Duke of *Ancres*, a perſon widely different from the Duke of *Epernon*, in almoſt every qualification; yet had *that minion of power*, by his tricks and cabals, ſo far prevail'd, as to drive the perſons of the higheſt rank from the royal preſence, even the Princes of the Blood. — I will now produce the letter itſelf, as tranſlated by *Cotton*.

" I have hitherto, *Sir*, preſerved my hands clean, my conſcience uncorrupt, my reputation entire, and my fidelity without reproach; I have never conſpired but to do you ſervice. Neither do I find myſelf guilty of the leaſt thought diſconſonant to the duty I owe to your Majeſty and your crown; and although I am not uſed with that equity, nor rewarded with that gratitude which (without preſumption) I conceive I have deſerved, and that every day I find ſomething attempted upon my offices, by the diminution and cutting off their juſt and lawful privileges, (which were ever preſerved inviolable to me, during the reign of the *late King* your father;) yet nothing, *Sir*, can prevail with me above my duty: neither is there any ſo ill uſage, nor ſo ſenſible unkindneſs, that can hinder me from perſevering to do well, being reſolved, to the laſt hour of my life, to conquer whatever juſt reſentments I may have, to forget all thoſe injuries, for which I can obtain no ſatisfaction, but at the publick expence; a reſolution, *Sir*, in which I am infinitely fortified, by the firm belief I have, that all the diſgraces I receive, and all the foul play is continually practiſed againſt me, proceed from no diſaffection your Majeſty hath conceived againſt my perſon. I know, *Sir*, that, being naturally quick-ſighted to diſtinguiſh between your falſe ſervants

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ſervants and your true, you have ever honour'd me with your favour. But I have this obligation to thoſe who are enemies to your crown, that they have upon all occaſions diſcovered themſelves to be particularly ſo to me, and have endeavour'd, by their artifice, to repreſent things otherwiſe to your Majeſty, than they really are, to reſtrain the liberty of your own royal diſpoſition, from obeying the natural inclination you have to love and cheriſh good men; that, as much as in them lies, they may alienate your Majeſty's good opinion from ſuch, as by their long and faithful ſervices have deſerved the beſt room in your heart. I hope, *Sir*, nevertheleſs, that truth will one day prevail in your royal breaſt over thoſe little arts, and that your Majeſty will then be pleaſed to diſtinguiſh your true and faithful ſervants from ſuch as, authoriſed by your name and preſence, oppreſs your people, invade your authority, and continually diſturb your Majeſty's peace, by their inordinate and unruly ambition."

The writer of the *Duke*'s life, in the paragraph following, ſays,

"I have the rather inſerted the expreſs words of this letter, that you may ſee after what manner the *Duke* took his diſgrace, and how he behaved himſelf towards his enemies, notwithſtanding they carried the whole favour and ſway of the court; the Marſhal *D' Ancre* being manifeſtly pointed at in the diſpatch."

Perhaps, it may be ſome ſatisfaction to the curioſity of people unacquainted with the hiſtory of *France*, to know how *theſe two Noblemen* ended their days. The Marſhal *D' Ancre* was not long after, by the King's command, aſſaſſinated within the gates of the *Louvre*; by which fact, though the King relieved his ſubjects from the oppreſſion of that wicked and rapacious miniſter, he denied them the ſatisfaction of calling him before a tribunal of juſtice; ſo that he died by as avow'd a breach of liberty as any he himſelf had adviſed. His illegal death could be of ſmall conſolation to the ſubject, though it is an admirable leſſon to *thoſe ſlaves of power*, who are willing to make all things bend to the pleaſure of the *prince*. The Duke of *Epernon* died in the 88th year of his age, in a ſort of honourable impriſonment by *Richlieu*, and his ſon baniſhed the kingdom.

Though I have already brought this Noble Duke to his end, I can't leave him without relating another circumſtance of his life; for I am never more delighted, than when I can ſhew what the conduct of a Nobleman ought to be by his own behaviour. He took an opportunity of complaining to *Henry* IV. of *France*, of the partial diſtribution of the *finances*, with regard to ſome ſtations and garriſons under his command; which provoked *the King* to the following ſevere reproof.

"You are perverſe and importunate, and ſeek all occaſions to diſpleaſe me; and you would have done me a greater kindneſs to have kept ſtill at the diſtance you was at, than to come into my preſence only to offend me; and I have long obſerved that you do not love me."

To which the *Duke* inſtantly replied,

"*Sir*, Your Majeſty hath not a more faithful ſubject than myſelf in your kingdom; and I had rather die, than do any thing, the leaſt particle, contrary to my duty: but, *Sir*, for what concerns friendſhip, your Majeſty knows very well that is a thing not to be acquired but by *friendſhip*."

COMMON SENSE, *June* 21.

Story of a Man-Monſter.

I Took up the *Perſian Tales* the other day, and met with a ſtory which entertained me agreeably: it is one of the adventures of the great voyager; which I ſhall, without further preamble, preſent to our readers.

"Having ſail'd almoſt round the iſle *Serindib*, we entered the gulph of *Bengal*, the greateſt gulph in *Aſia*; at the lower end of which are the kingdoms of *Bengal* and *Golconda*. Juſt as we entered it, there aroſe a violent ſtorm, the like of which had never been ſeen in thoſe

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thoſe ſeas. We lower'd our ſails, and the ſeamen did all they could to ſave the ſhip, which they were forced at laſt to let drive at the mercy of the winds and waves. The ſtorm laſted 15 days, and blew ſo furiouſly, that we were driven 600 leagues out of our way. We left the long iſles of *Sumatra* and *Jæva* to our larboard, and the ſhip drove to the ſtreight of the *Moluccas*, ſouth of the *Philippines*, into ſeas unknown to our mariners. The wind changed at laſt, and turned eaſterly; it blew gently, and great was the joy of the ſhip's company. But their joy was ſoon diſturbed by an adventure, which you will hardly believe, it being ſo extraordinary.

We were beginning merrily to reſume our courſe, and were got to the eaſt point of the iſland of *Jæva*, when we ſpied a man quite naked, ſtruggling with the waves. He held faſt by a plank that kept him up, and made a ſignal to us to come to his aſſiſtance. We ſent our boat to him, and found, by experience, that, tho' pity be a laudable paſſion, it is ſometimes dangerous. The ſeamen took up the man, and brought him on board. He looked to be about 40 years old, was of a monſtrous ſhape, had a great head, and ſhort, thick, briſtly hair: his mouth was exceſſive wide, his teeth long and ſharp, his arms nervous, his hands large, with a long crooked nail on each finger; his eyes, which are not to be forgotten, were like thoſe of a tyger; his noſe was flat, and his noſtrils wide. We did not at all like his phiſiognomy, and his mien was ſuch, that it ſoon changed our pity into terror.

When this man, ſuch as I have deſcribed him, appeared before *Dehaouſch* our maſter, he thus addreſſed him: My Lord, I owe my life to you: I was at the point of deſtruction when you came to my aſſiſtance. Indeed, replied *Dehaouſch*, it would not have been long before you would have gone to the bottom. I am not afraid of the ſea, replied the man; I could have lived whole years in the water without any inconvenience: what torments me is hunger, which hath devoured me above theſe 12 hours; for ſo long it is ſince I have ate any thing; therefore let me have ſomething as ſoon as poſſible, to repair my ſpirits half-ſpent with ſo long a faſt; you need not look for niceties, I am not ſqueamiſh, I can eat any thing.

We looked upon one another, very much ſurpriſed at his diſcourſe, and doubted not but the peril he had been in had crack'd his brain. *Dehaouſch* was of the ſame mind; and, imagining he might indeed want ſomething to eat, ordered meat enough for ſix hungry ſtomachs, and cloaths to be brought him for his covering. As for the cloaths, ſays the ſtranger, I ſhall not meddle with them; I always go naked. But, replied *Dehaouſch*, decency will not permit that you ſhould ſtay with us in that condition. The man took him up ſhort: Oh, ſays he, you will have time enough to accuſtom yourſelf to it.

This brutal anſwer confirmed us in the opinion that he had loſt his ſenſes. Being ſharp ſet, he was very impatient that he was not ſerved to his mind. He ſtamped with his foot upon the deck, ground his teeth, and rolled his eyes in ſo ghaſtly a manner, that he looked both furious and menacing. At laſt, what he wanted appeared. He fell upon it with a greedineſs that ſurpriſed us, and though there was ſufficient for any other ſix men, he diſpatched it in a moment.

When he had cleared the table of all that had been laid upon it, with an air of authority he made us bring him more. *Dehaouſch* being reſolved to try how much this devouring monſter could really ſwallow, ordered that as much ſhould be ſet before him as at firſt. This ſecond ſervice was alſo devoured in a moment.

We thought he would ſtop here; but we were miſtaken: he demanded more meat ſtill. Upon which, one of the ſailors, going up to this brute, was about to chaſtiſe him for his inſolence; which the other obſerving, prevented, by laying his two paws upon his ſhoulders, fixing his nails in his fleſh, and tear-

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tearing him to pieces. In an inſtant there were 50 ſabres drawn to revenge this dreadful murder. Every one preſſed forward to ſtrike him: but they ſoon found, to their terror, that the ſkin of their enemy was as impenetrable as adamant; their ſabres broke, and their edges turned without ſo much as raiſing the ſkin. Though he received no hurt by their blows, they did not ſtrike him with impunity. He ſeized on one of the moſt forward of his aſſailants, and, with amazing ſtrength, tore him to bits before our eyes.

When we found our ſabres were uſeleſs, and that we could not wound him, we threw ourſelves upon him to endeavour to fling him into the ſea: but we could not ſtir him. Beſides his huge limbs, and prodigious nerves, he ſtuck his crooked nails in the timber of the deck, and ſtood as immoveable as a rock in the middle of the waves. He was ſo far from being afraid of us, that he ſaid, with a ſullen ſmile, You have taken the wrong courſe, Friends; you will fare much better by obeying me; I declare, if you continue to oppoſe my will, I will ſerve you all as your two companions have been ſerved.

Theſe words made our blood freeze in our veins. We a third time ſet a large quantity of proviſions before him: he fell aboard it, and one would have thought, by his eating, that his ſtomach rather increas'd than diminiſh'd. When he ſaw we were determin'd to ſubmit, he grew better humour'd. He ſaid he was ſorry we had forced him to do what he did, and pretended he loved us for taking him out of the ſea, where he muſt have ſtarved, if he had remained a few hours longer; that he wiſhed he could meet with ſome other veſſel loaden with good proviſion, becauſe he would throw himſelf on board it, and leave us in quiet. He talked thus all the while he was devouring; he laugh'd loud, and banter'd like other men.

At the fourth ſervice he gave over, and was two hours without eating at all. During this exceſs of ſobriety he was very familiar in diſcourſe. He aſked us, one after another, what country we were of, what were our cuſtoms, and what had been our adventures?

We were in hopes that the fumes of what he had eaten would have got up into his head, and have made him drouſy; we impatiently expected that ſleep would have ſeized on him, and were reſolved to take him napping, and fling him into the ſea before he had time to look about him. This hope was our only reſource; for, though we had great ſtore of proviſion on board, yet, after his rate of eating, he would have devoured all in a very little time. But, alas! in vain did we flatter ourſelves with theſe hopes: the cruel wretch, gueſſing our deſign, told us he never ſlept; that the great quantity he ate, repaired the weariſomeneſs of nature, and ſupplied the want of ſleep. To our grief we found what he ſaid to be true. We told him long and tedious ſtories, on purpoſe to lull him aſleep; but the monſter never ſhut his eyes.

We then deplored our misfortune, and the maſter deſpaired of ever ſeeing *Golconda* more; when on a ſudden we ſaw a cloud over our heads. We thought at firſt it was a ſtorm that was gathering: and we rejoiced at it; for there was more hope of our ſafety in a tempeſt, than in the ſtate we were in: our ſhip might be driven aſhore on ſome iſland; we might ſave ourſelves by ſwimming, and by this means be delivered from this monſter, who doubtleſs intended to devour us when he had ate up all our proviſions.

We wiſhed therefore that a violent ſtorm would overtake us; and, what never happened before, we prayed to heaven to be drown'd. However, we were deceived: what we took for a cloud was the greateſt rook that ever was ſeen. This monſtrous bird darted himſelf on our enemy; who, miſtruſting nothing, had no time to guard himſelf againſt ſuch an attack. The rook ſeized him with his claws, and flew up into the air with his prey.

We then were witneſſes of a very extraordinary combat. The man recollecting himſelf, and finding himſelf hoiſted

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hoisted in the air betwixt the talons of a winged monster, resolved to defend himself. He struck his crooked nails into the body of the rook, and, setting his teeth in his stomach, was devouring his flesh, feathers and all; nay, he ate the very heart of the rook: who, recollecting all his force, at the last gasp struck his beak so forcibly into his enemy's head, that they both fell dead into the sea, not many paces from the ship.

Thus was it written in the table of predestination, that we should be deliver'd from this dangerous man. General was the joy of all the ship's company, when they saw themselves rid of such a monster: We could not enough admire our good fortune, and were sorry for the death of the rook, to whom we were indebted for it."

As I conceive these tales are to be taken in a figurative sense, I never read one of them, but I endeavour to draw some moral from it.—By the ship, therefore, I understand a commonwealth. The naked man struggling with the waves, I take to be some person of ruined fortunes, who, when he is ready to sink, is relieved at the expence of his country: he is taken into the ship; that is, he is taken into some employment in the state, out of charity to give him bread. He is no sooner relieved, but he sets about him to ruin his benefactors: He devours as much at once as would satisfy six other reasonable men; he calls for more and more, is never satisfied; the more is given him, the more his greediness increases. The ship's company, that is to say, the people, begin to repent their having relieved such a monster. They have store of provision on board; that is, the nation is rich: but yet they plainly perceive they shall soon be beggar'd, if they cannot get rid of this insatiable wretch. It is the common cause; one and all begin to stir in it: but he is grown so strong by the nourishment he has drawn from them, they are not able to stir him. He mocks, he insults, and sometimes threatens them: he tells them, if they will not submit, and become his slaves, he will destroy them all. They wish for a tempest, that is, for war, or any thing that may give them a chance to be freed from this devourer. Now behold the justice of providence: Just at the time he thinks himself most secure, destruction hangs over him, and they are reliev'd at once from their dangers and their fears. —— This gives a lesson of instruction to the people, never to despair, though under oppression: for providence will never suffer such an unsatiable and ungrateful monster, as is here described, to go unpunished.

DAILY GAZETTEER, *June* 12.

Extract of a Letter from St Christopher's, March 30.

OUr privateers of America have taken many prizes already; a noble action of one of them, a sloop of 25 hands, whose master's name was *Hall*, deserves particularly to be mentioned. This privateer sloop went to a town on the main, named *Porto de la Plata*, in the day time, with only 7 or 8 hands appearing on the deck, four of which he took ashore with him in the long-boat. As soon as he landed he went to the Magistrate and Priest, and told them he had got a fine cargo, and that if they would step on board the sloop and see it, they might either have the whole or part as it suited their conveniency. Accordingly the Magistrate and the Priest went on board with Capt. Hall; who having carried them into his cabbin, and given them a glass or two of wine, asked them what kind of a man the Governor of the fort was, and desired them to give him a line of recommendation to him, because otherwise, as he came upon the private trading account, it might be unsafe for him to continue there till his goods were disposed of. The two Spaniards, not suspecting any thing, wrote a letter accordingly; which as soon as Capt. Hall had got into his possession, he immediately put them under confinement, and went ashore himself, with *four men only*, the Captain and each of his men being armed with

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two pair of piſtols, which they hid under their cloaths; Capt. Hall had likewiſe wrapt the penant of the veſſel round his waiſt inſtead of a ſaſh, which, when he was maſter of the fort, was to be hoiſted up for a ſignal for the men on board the ſloop to come on ſhore. Capt. Hall waited upon the Governor of the fort with the letter from the Magiſtrate and the Prieſt who were on board: the Governor received the Captain very courteouſly, deſired him to walk in and accept of a ſmall collation; and the Governor and Capt. Hall being alone, the Captain clap'd a piſtol to the Governor's breaſt, told him he was his priſoner, and bid him, as he valued his life, to make no noiſe; the *four ſailors* who were without, at the ſame time ſecuring the guard and the gate of the fort: for the Spaniards, who had no apprehenſion of what happen'd, were intirely unarm'd and unprepared to make any defence. Immediately upon this, Capt. Hall took the penant from his waiſt, and hoiſted it upon the flag-ſtaff, for a ſignal for the reſt of the ſloop's company to come to their aſſiſtance. As ſoon as they got aſhore they run up to the fort, and loaded the guns next the town; who, having by this time received ſome intimation of what was doing at the fort, were beginning to aſſemble together to attack Capt. Hall and his men; but the Captain making a terrible fire upon them from the guns in the fort, ſoon drove the Spaniards away, and laid the greateſt part of the town in aſhes. The Spaniards having now quite deſerted the town, Capt. Hall marched into it, and plundered it, and it is generally reported he got above the value of 6000l. Sterling. When he left the place he nailed up all the guns in the fort, and there being a deep well there, he threw all the powder into it, to prevent the Spaniards moleſting him in his retreat; which he performed with extraordinary conduct and in exceeding good order, and got ſafe on board his ſloop without any loſs at all, after having been maſter of the town and fort above 12 hours. The Captain took two of the Spaniards and a boat belonging to the town with him, which he ſent away with the Magiſtrate and the Prieſt, who had been aboard the ſloop all the time of this tranſaction, after he had weighed anchor. As for what Admiral Vernon has done, I ſhall ſay nothing; you perhaps have a better account of his expedition to Porto Bello than we have here. I am, &c.

We hear an addreſs will be preſented to his M—, from that illuſtrious and auguſt aſſembly the c—n c—l of the city of L—n, to congratulate his M—— on the glorious ſucceſs of the brave Capt. Hall, who took the fort and town of Porto de la plata *with four men only*:

And that the ſaid Capt. Hall will have the freedom of the city preſented him in a gold box, and be put in nomination for one of their repreſentatives at the enſuing election.

We are informed likewiſe, that Capt. Hall is going upon ſome other expedition of great importance, but that he keeps the ſame a ſecret, for fear orders ſhould be ſent to countermand him.

I think an obſervation or two may naturally ariſe from the foregoing account of Capt. *Hall*'s expedition, which may not greatly redound to the honour of the m——y. For,

If Capt. *Hall* could take the town and fort of *Porto de la Plata with four men only*, why are not ſome land-forces immediately ſent him? Is there any reaſon in the world to doubt but that ſuch a brave and experienced officer, with a file or two of muſketeers, which might eaſily be ſpared off *St James's guard*, would ſoon make himſelf maſter of all the *Spaniſh* dominions in *America*; and thereby enable us to command a peace upon our own terms, without any negotiations or mediation whatever? But it is plain the m—y could never have been in earneſt in carrying on this war; for if they had, not only *Porto Bello*, and *Porto de la Plata*, but all *Peru* and *Mexico* might by this time have been in our poſſeſſion; for is not the meaneſt citizen in *London* politician enough to be able to inform them? have they

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they not been told a thousand times by the *Craftsman*, *Common Sense*, the *Champion*, the *Farthing Post*, and almost every paper that comes out, how cheap, how easy and expeditious it is, to transport troops, ammunition, provision, and warlike stores of all kinds to the *West-Indies*? how healthy a climate it is, how plentiful a country, and how agreeable in every respect to the *English* constitution and manner of living? that the passage is so short, and the accommodations of all sorts are naturally so good on board of all transports whatever, that it seldom or never happens that any man dies in the voyage, unless it is of such disorders or distempers as would, in all probability, have killed him if he had stayed at home? that there can be no manner of danger of losing any of our men in action, because the *Spaniards* will most certainly all run away as soon as our troops appear, and leave them in the free and uninterrupted possession of every place where they land? or if any *Spanish* governor shall happen to be so obstinate and *fool-hardy* as to make a shew of resistance, and render it necessary for us to make an encampment, or form a siege; what can be more pleasant or healthy for the soldiers, or contribute more to make them strong, active and vigorous, than to lie in tents, or work in the trenches, in a country where there is so much bright and fine sunshine in the day, and such cool refreshing dews in the night, and where they may amuse themselves so agreeably, when they are off of duty, with catching mosquitoes, and killing rattle-snakes? But what is to be expected from a m—y who are such enemies to their country in general, and to trade in particular, which all the world knows never flourishes so well as in a war with *Spain*, as to check that noble ardour of their countrymen for war, which so eminently distinguishes itself at present, when the advantages of it are so great, so immediate, and so apparent, and the loss so little and so inconsiderable, if it was to be prosecuted with vigour and effect in the manner that has been above mentioned?

CRAFTSMAN, *June* 21.

Answer to the preceeding.

WHen I did Admiral *Vernon* the justice to pay him my poor mite of praise for the great service and honour which he had done to his King and country, the *ministerial writers* immediately attempted to divest him of the whole merit, and transferred it to their *patron*, who projected the plan of operation, as they pretended, and gave the *Admiral* orders to put it in execution; but when the affair was thoroughly canvassed, and *these profligate fellows* could no longer support their assertions, they tack'd about, and rack'd all their dull brains to ridicule and condemn the action itself, as an obstruction to their *patron*'s scheme of a *pacification, accommodation, mediation, convention, preliminaries*, or by whatever other name he may be pleased to christen his next treaty.

I need not produce any other proof of this fact, than the *Gazetteer* of *Thursday, June* 12. where the *infamous author*, whoever he may be, (whether a *prime minister*, or one of his *lowest hirelings*) makes an aukward attempt not only to ridicule Admiral *Vernon*, but to abuse the *common council of London*, for having addressed his Majesty upon that head, and presented the *Admiral* with the *freedom of the city in a gold box*. I wonder he did not pay the same compliment to *both houses of parliament*, who had likewise the insolence to congratulate his Majesty upon the same occasion. This scandalous abuse is founded upon a pretended parallel between the taking of *Porto Bello* with *six ships only*, and a *privateer*'s plundering a little *Spanish* town in *America* with *four men only*. Whether the fact is true, or whether there is any such man as Captain *Hall*, the *Gazetteer*'s hero, I know not; but it is evident that this idle story, whether true or false, could be introduced with no other view than to depreciate Admiral *Vernon*'s expedition, and to cast a scurrilous reflection upon the *city of London*, for congratulating his Majesty upon it. For this purpose,

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we are told that the *common-council*, who are ironically called *that illuſtrious and auguſt aſſembly*, deſign to do the *brave Captain Hall* the ſame honours, by addreſſing his Majeſty on his glorious ſucceſs, preſenting him with the *freedom of the city in a gold box*, and putting him in nomination for *one of their repreſentatives*, at the enſuing election.

It is likewiſe ſaid, with the ſame impudent ſneer, that Captain *Hall* is going upon ſome *other expedition of great importance*, but keeps the ſame a ſecret, leſt orders ſhould be ſent to countermand him; and the whole concludes with a piece of dull drollery upon ſending none of our numerous *land-forces* to the aſſiſtance of Admiral *Vernon*, or any of our *other commanders at ſea*, notwithſtanding the regiments tranſported from *Ireland*, and the *marines* raiſed here, were deſign'd, as it was pretended, for that purpoſe.

Are not all theſe facts a plain proof, that a *certain Gentleman* and his *creatures* will never forgive our *Britiſh Hercules* for diſconcerting *their ſchemes*, by the eminent ſervice he hath done *his country?* or will any of his *mercenary ſcriblers* have the front, for the future, to aſcribe the ſucceſs of that expedition to the wiſdom and inſtructions of *their patron?*

Of EXCHANGE,

Extracted from a French *book, intitled,* Eſſai Politique ſur le Commerce, *which the* Engliſh *reader may aptly apply to his own country.*

EXCHANGE is a manner of remitting money from one place to another by bill, which directs how 'tis to be paid.—The *par of exchange* conſiſts in receiving at the place of payment as much coin of the ſame weight and fineneſs as is paid for the bill.

Thus he who, at this time (1730.) for *three livres* given at *Paris* receives in *Amſterdam fifty four deniers groſs*, or in *London thirty pence* Sterling, receives as much as he paid. If he receives leſs, he loſes; if more, he gains.—The ſcarcity of bills obliges the remitter to pay more than he is to receive at the place of payment; then is the *exchange* diſadvantageous: but when there is plenty of bills, the remitter pays leſs than he is to receive; and then the exchange may be ſaid to be advantageous.

The advantageous *exchange* then ariſes from a greater plenty of bills of exchange than are wanted. Now a trader draws not upon a foreign country, but becauſe he hath a fund there: wherefore, if there are more bills than are wanted, there are certainly more dealers that have funds in the country to be drawn upon, than there are that want to pay their debts there; and conſequently the country upon which the bills are offered is debtor. From whence this concluſion is obvious: That *exchange* doth not render a country either creditor or debtor, but is only an indication which of the two it is.

There may be an exception to this general rule, but it can be of no long duration; that is, when upon any ſudden national diſcredit every man is in haſte to ſend his effects into another country, for the better ſecurity of his fortune. In ſuch caſe, without being debtor to a country, the great demand for bills will occaſion a great and ſudden fall in the exchange; but as ſoon as the panick ceaſes, the riſe of exchange will exceed the fall, becauſe the country to which the bills were ſent becomes thereby more indebted.

If in the late reign the exchange with the *Dutch* was always to our diſadvantage, it proceeded from the uſurious loans by them to the farmers of our revenue, and to thoſe who undertook to ſupply our armies. Thus, ſuppoſe that the exchange with *Holland* ſhould become diſadvantageous to us, either by ſome national diſcredit, as aforeſaid, or uſurious loans, then all the art or management of exchangers would prove ineffectual, perhaps detrimental; and in ſuch caſe the only and beſt remedy could be to pay off the debt in ſpecie.

Theſe propoſitions, *viz. That the art of exchangers ought never to be recurr'd to for ſupporting exchange*, and, *That money in ſpecie ought to be ſent abroad*, will,

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I say, be controverted; the first, by such as don't see beyond the present; the other, by those, who, being unacquainted with the principles of exchange and commerce, fancy that money so sent to a foreign country is lost to *France*. We will endeavour to answer these objections.

The art of exchangers, or management upon the exchange, can consist in nothing else than the offering bills upon terms advantageous to remitters. This is the only way to support the price of exchange. But this, far from discharging the debt due from the nation, will render it yet further indebted for the overplus of the *par* of the bills. We must always return to the balance of the account.

As to the second proposition, it must be remembred, that the exchange is disadvantageous to us, only because we are debtors; and we must continue so till the debt is discharged. Now the payments can't be made by bill, because that would be but continuing the debt; or rather a transfer of the debt from the taker to the drawer of the bill. So that the exchange will continue to our disadvantage till the debt be paid either in goods or money.

And supposing *Holland*, during the time of our sending the amount of the debt, in specie, should take goods from us equal in value to the debt; yet that country would become debtor to us for all the money sent thither, and must be obliged to return it back again, or the exchange would always be to the disadvantage of *Holland*.

'Tis evident, that the balance of trade between two nations cannot be made even but by goods or money; and if it be supposed that one of the nations, by the industry of its inhabitants and fertility of its soil, furnish more goods, the other must of necessity pay the balance in money. — Spain *and* Portugal *are the only countries capable of supplying this money so necessary for carrying on trade, and for adjusting a general balance between the other nations of* Europe.

Let us add a word or two about sending money into a foreign country, which most people look upon as hurtful. Do they imagine it is given away for nothing? If the balance of trade be against us, we can't discharge that balance by any other way than this. If the account be even, the foreign country becometh our debtor or tributary, and the exchange will always be in our favour. One would think, that to remove this prejudice, it were sufficient to shew the absurdity of it; and yet it still subsists.

COMMON SENSE, N°. 173.

To the author of COMMON SENSE.

SIR,

I Am a man of little ceremony, and must take the freedom to tell you, that you are a villain, a rascal, and a liar, and a son of a wh—. I wear no cockade, Sir; but I have such to stand by me as do. I will prove what I say, Sir, that you are a liar, and an impudent traducer of our most excellent m——r.

You say, Sir, that the nation is dissatisfied with the conduct of a certain great person employed, and who makes so shining a figure in state affairs. Now first I say, Sir, what of that, Sir? what of that? are we bound to take notice of the mob, or their fine thoughts?

But then, Sir, I affirm that you lie; for the nation is on our side. The majority of the nation is the nation, and this majority I shall prove to be with us.

I scorn to take advantage by saying, that we have a majority in the most critical place: and yet I don't care; make your best of it: I do say so. There's a majority for us upon the whole.

But where is the majority that you falsely brag of? — Let us suppose, that in *G. Britain* there are 12,000,000 of souls. Dare you say, that you have one soul under the age of 12? No; they are silent, and consequently give consent to what we do. As I take it, the number of persons under that age surpasses that of those that are older. There's another plain majority.

Well,

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Well, for once I will count noſes with you, to convince the world, and, if poſſible, yourſelf, that you are an impudent lying rogue, villain, raſcal, ſon of a w—, &c. &c. &c.

You cannot deny us 350 Gentlemen, or of higher degree. Theſe, you feel, we have. Now call their eſtates, at an average, 1000 l. *per annum* each. Is that too much?

It is no ſtretch, I am ſure, to ſay, that on an eſtate of 1000 l. yearly rent there ſhould be 10 tenants, who will take their maſter's word for the juſtification of their conduct, as in duty they are bound to do.

Each of theſe tenants muſt have a family; but I ſhall only reckon that, one with another, they have each a ſon grown up; and one married ſervant, whoſe ſon may alſo be ſuppoſed to be of man's eſtate.

To ſuch Gentlemen I would allow a ſervant for each tenant; but as it is to be conſidered that they live for the moſt part in town, which is a polite place, and that they have more money to ſpend than what ariſes from their eſtates, which you would laugh, if I ſhould compute at leſs than 350,000 l. yearly; I cannot but double the numbers of their ſervants; and as moſt of their ſervants make money as faſt as their maſters ſpend it, I might alſo allow a ſervant to each, but ſhall content myſelf with allowing each a ſon.

Their tradeſmen muſt be a very numerous body, who will be obſequious for the honour of their cuſtom, and that their courtly behaviour may ſome time or other procure payment of their bills. To each of theſe I allot a ſon, and one obliging journeyman. The tradeſmen, at a moderate rate of 10 to each Gentleman, amount to ſo ſcandalouſly ſmall a number as but 7000, with double that number of ſons and ſervants.

The civil liſt we ſhall only eſtimate at 5000 men, tho' you know it is more. To each may be allowed a ſon, a ſervant, and a ſervant's ſon, beſides one creditor (it is too low) with a ſon and a journeyman to each.

As for the militia, we have at preſent an eſtabliſhment for 18,000 men; you ſee I don't reckon about 18,000 more, rais'd within this laſt year; but then there are the penſioners of *Chelſea-college* without and within, which amount to 4000 more. Giving to each common ſentinel, trooper, and dragoon, only 6 wives (which is unconſcionably little) we cannot value their offſpring, including acknowledg'd baſtards, at leſs than 2 to each father. I will admit that the common men will have no great influence over their creditors, but thoſe of the officers cannot well be leſs with their ſons and ſervants than 10,000.

Next, we come to the army of tax-gatherers, who may be modeſtly computed to amount to 10,000 men, with a ſon and a ſervant to each. Every one has his province, and his faithful ſlaves, conſiſting of thoſe whom he allows, as every body believes, to cheat the crown, and ſuch as he can detect when he will. I ſhall only aſk 4 to each man, in fear or favour, and theſe with their ſons and ſervants will amount to 90,000 grown men.

But as ſalaries are ſometimes too large for the humble deſires of the incumbents, this gives birth to a ſort of animal called a *rider*, who (not to aggravate matters) we ſhall only ſay are in equal number to the others. Theſe then muſt be added, with their ſons and ſervants. It is true, many are too low to keep ſervants; but thoſe that are higher keep the more, which makes up the average.

And again, there is the formidable hoſt of expectants. I cannot reckon a man to be an expectant of an office, unleſs he has an actual promiſe for it: Allowing but three promiſes of each place, (and whoever knows the world, will agree to the computation) this tribe will be found to conſiſt of 30,000 good men and true, with 60,000 more of ſons and ſervants.

Next, let us ſurvey the modern converts to Whiggiſm, the Papiſts in *G. Britain*. Theſe (abſtracting from women and children) are about 200,000; and let me ſuppoſe then, one with another, each man can perſuade a Proteſtant

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ſtant tenant or dependent, they and their ſons and ſervants, as before, will amount to 800,000 men in all. That the Papiſts are with us to a man, appeared a few years ago; and to them may be added about 100 Proteſtant Jacobites, who conſtantly pray for the m——r next to ſome body elſe; their ſons, ſervants, and influence, may make them up a round thouſand men.

The Diſſenters muſt not be forgotten. Sons, ſervants, and ſervants ſons included, let us call them 200,000 men.

Dr *Codex*'s black ſquadron come next, whoſe aſſiſtance was moſt ſeaſonable and cordial at a remarkable occaſion, a few years ago. Say they are but 5000, with 5000 more of Grave-diggers, Pariſh-clerks, and Sextons; 5000 expectants, and, to ſpeak within bounds, four ſots to each man: All this runs very high.

The battalion of informers is likewiſe a numerous corps. I ſhall call them only 2000, beſides ſons, without ſervants; though it is well known ſome of them keep ſervants and coaches too. Each of theſe may be well ſtiled a Decurion, or Commander of ten, over whom he holds the rod.

The articles of pardons and *noli-proſequi*'s for revenue offences, and penalties, may fetch a body of about 20,000 men more.

Country poſt-maſters and keepers of exciſe offices are ſcarcely worth mentioning. But ſpies, ſecret ſervice-men, gazetteers, and penſioners at large, being added to them, with ſons and ſervants, may make up at leaſt 10,000 in all.

The laſt article I ſhall mention, is that of Directors, Stock-jobbers, and Exchange-brokers. Theſe I ſhall but reckon at 500, and their ſons at as much: But here I have no room for an average; becauſe theſe gains being unmeaſurable, and their eſtates overgrown, I cannot in conſcience allow fewer ſervants, tenants, and retainers to each man, than 100, including ſons, under-ſervants, *&c.* which will figure pretty well in an article. The dependents of the great companies themſelves I ſhall not ſtate at above ——.

And thus I have gone through the account, except one article, of the navy and ſhipping of *England*, where, I own, we have but ſlender footing; and another of the ſturdy beggars, who ſurely muſt be inconſiderable.

The account then ſtands thus:

To N° of ſouls in G. Britain	12000000
Of which children	6000000
And of the remainder, women	3000000
Total of grown men	3000000

Of which we have, according to the calculations above mentioned,

By the 350 Gentlemen, *&c.*	43850
By the civil liſt,	35000
By the army in red,	76000
By the army of Publicans, Riders, and Expectants	240000
By Papiſts and their influence,	800000
By Proteſtant Jacobites,	1000
By Diſſenters,	200000
By the army in black,	35000
By Informers,	22000
By penalties and offences,	20000
By Spies, Penſioners, Poſt-maſters, Gazetteers, *&c.*	10000
By Directors, Stock-jobbers, and Exchange-brokers,	50200
By dependents on the great companies	*****
In all	1533050
Remains in the oppoſition only	1466950
Balance on our ſide	66100

If this undeniable majority makes you bluſh, I have my end. If not, I have bid you defiance, and thrown down my gage. Take it up if you dare.

Your's, as you behave,

PETER PLUNDER.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR, Aberdeen, June 24.

LOoking over your *Magazine* for *May*, I met with a philoſophical queſtion, *viz. Is Reſentment an original paſſion in the human conſtitution?* [*p.* 210.] The propoſer ſeems to think, that if this queſtion be anſwered in the affirmative,

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mative, there will arise a twofold difficulty; either that in a state of innocency there would have been a passion without an object; or if it be said that this passion was put in man in view of his present circumstances, then God had provided him for a state of guilt.

What appears to me to be the occasion of difficulty in this matter, is a mistaken, tho' common notion of the human constitution; — which is represented as made up of a certain number of affections and passions united together, and forming the nature of man; and as man is a creature separate from all others, these principles are deem'd peculiarly his, and as inseparable from him as his existence.

All this, if taken in a loose and popular sense, is undeniably true; but if we should understand it in a literal and philosophick strictness, we would find ourselves pressed with unanswerable difficulties.

The solution of your correspondent's question may, in my opinion, be gather'd from the following particulars; which I have thrown into the form of a few propositions; each of them, I think, so clear, that they stand in no need of a particular proof.

1. *Man*, as a *sentient* and *percipient being*, is a distinct thing from the *sensations* and *perceptions* he feels.

2. *Sensations, ideas*, or *perceptions*, have no existence but in *perception*; and when they are not *perceived*, they can in no sense be said to have any *being* or *existence*.

3. The *passions* and *affections* of *human nature*, are certain *sensations*, or *modes of perception*, excited in our minds uniformly according to certain *laws* established by the governor of the universe.

4. *Affections* and *passions* are called *natural*, from the *regularity* and *uniformity* of their *production*; in the same manner as the variety of the seasons, the movements of the heavenly bodies, or any other *phænomena*, are stiled *natural*, from their *constancy* and *uniformity*.

5. *Man*, in one part of his existence, may have *passions* and *affections* which he *wanted*, or *will want* in another; and if these be excited on *given occasions* uniformly for some part of his duration, at that period of time they will be natural, and make part of his constitution. — Thus children are so far from having all the passions and affections of men, that any being, prior to experience, would judge them to be different creatures. And it will not be I hope questioned, that in a future state we will feel and perceive by another *law* than at present, *i. e.* we will have other *affections* and *passions* given us.

Though then we feel a *passion* named *Resentment* when we are injured, *now-a-days*; it does not follow, that man had such a passion in a state of innocency; or that God at that time gave it him, and so provided him for a state of guilt. 'Tis no absurdity to say, that *Resentment* was no part of the *human frame*, till men were obnoxious to *injury*; and that when they are put in such a state as to be out of its reach, *Resentment* will be *natural* to them no more.

I am, &c. CAJUS.

P. S. I will propose, in my turn, a question or two, which I would beg your learned correspondents to consider, and give the publick their thoughts of.

1. *Is not every* Cause *active?*

2. *Does not* Activity *always imply* Intelligence?

3. *Is not then every* Cause intelligent?

To the Month of MAY, 1740.

Quantum mutatus ab illo! VIRG.

Alas! how chang'd thou month of May!
That us'd to smile so sweet, so gay:
Nipt by the chilly eastern blasts,
A sullen gloom thy brow o'ercasts;
Each flow'ret hangs its drooping head;
The trees their verdure slowly spread;
And even the warblers of the groves,
Unfeeling, faintly, sing their loves;
The blooming nymph, whose panting breast
With thee unwonted warmth confest,
Now chill'd, no soft desire she knows,
Nor more than frigid Vestal glows.
Nature herself will soon decay,
Unless thou smil'st, O! month of May.

In

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In praise of VANITY.

O Wild aspiring passion, kindly given;
Hope and Desire are less the gifts of heaven.
Hope springs th' eternal solace of the soul;
But dark Distrust and Fear its flights controul:
Desire extends, and grasps the distant joys;
Its gust unsatiate, hurts, and, glutted, it destroys.
In thee alone secure repose we find,
Blest amplitude of body and of mind:
By thee we clearly see, tho' grosly blind.
By thee above their spheres all mortals rise,
The fool's a wit refin'd, the madman wise;
The grov'ling mortal seen by reason's eye,
Discern'd by thee, struts godlike in the skie.
Too nice a taste would all delight destroy:
Surmount this passion, you renounce all joy;
And O! the draught of life, too harsh and sour,
Without thy sweet infusion won't go o'er.
Of brutal strength if Milo *were not vain,*
Nor Tully *proud of his diviner brain,*
For him to act, for him to think were pain.
Search thro' the various objects of your wish,
Opinion is the measure of our bliss.
The Frenchman *glories in base slavery; we*
Exult and boast of our blest liberty:
The cow'rd in wanton fancy open glides
On stormy tumult, and on swelling tides;
And, in a morning-dream, a potent beau
Takes Cuba, *'cause he's nothing else ado:*
An arrant babbler, if by thee inspir'd,
In spite of scorn, would be by all admir'd:
A belle assembly rečreas, propp'd by thee,
Aspires unstopp'd, and reaches majesty.
Do but the assembl'd modish train survey,
Their mirth and sport flows all from Vanity;
It flushes every face, and sparkles in the eye.
The beau's grimace, the coquet's air and dress
Are full of joy, tho' full of emptiness:
Flush'd with the lustre of a dazling coat,
How wise, how pleas'd, how witty is the sot!
The trifling thing with beauty tinctur'd o'er,
Thinks she's divine, 'cause all the beaus adore.
Thus we the lordship of the world do claim,
'Cause of our fellow-brutes we find a stem.
From thee th' infamous Ratcliff *finds relief,*
Proud 'midst his chains, and an illustrious thief.
Thus every blemish, each defect supply'd,
All love themselves, but all this love is pride.
These are thy vulgar praises; to explore
Thy more exalted charms, thy latent store
Of science, glory, liberty and fame,
My muse is grov'ling, and my verse is lame.

Edinb.

THESEUS and ARIADNE.

To Miss *Katie* ——.

IN ancient times, (for even then
The world was fill'd with faith-
Theseus, *spite of fifty vows [less men,)*
To make the pliant nymph his spouse,
Hemm'd in by Naxos' *watry wall*
Left Ariadne, *good and all.*
Strange! that the ruler of the skies
But smiles at lovers perjuries;
To blast the rogue no lightning flew,
To sink his ship no tempests blew;
The sun shone bright, and gentle gales
Distend the rover's crowded sails.
The nymph along the sounding deep
Retir'd, her lover's crime to weep;
She beat her breast, and tore her hair,
With all th' expressions of despair.—
But hark! the tinkling cymbals heard,
Surpris'd she turn'd, and straight ap-
pear'd,
From hills descending to the plain,
Gay Bacchus *with his jolly train.*
The God advanc'd, and sooth'd her care,
And in a moment gain'd the fair:
For him the traitor Theseus *scorn'd;*
And all her wonted peace return'd.
Now, each Philosopher and Sage,
Who liv'd 'twixt that and present age,
All take this tale in lit'ral sense,
And Bacchus *hold a real prince;*
But wiser we think all this story
Not true, but part an allegory.
And sure 'tis with reason we opine,
That Bacchus *here meant only wine;*
With swinging draughts of which,
she quell'd
The raging grief her bosom swell'd;
Each thought drown'd of her cruel lord,
And all her wonted peace restor'd.—
Nor cures her sex, in modern days,
The same disease, by diff'rent ways.
Scarce one, when left by faithless he,
But Bacchus *weds in ratafie.*
And, dearest Kate, *with such a grace*
These coral pimples patch your face,
That ruby nose, that settled flush
Not ruddier shows Aurora's *blush;*
Like Ariadne's *too, your spark*
Sneak'd off, and left you in the dark:
These circumstances all assure,
That in her case, you seek her cure.

Edinb. April 28.

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From a *Country Parson* to a *Country Squire*.

EXil'd *from* Claremont, *to dull home confin'd,*
How shall I chase the spleen that sours my mind?
'*Sure cordials sage philosophy prescribes.*'—
As soon the senate *you may hire with bribes.*
'*The volumes of our grave divines explore,*
'*What casuistick piles, an endless store!*—
Endless indeed, their hours who thus misspend,
Pore to no purpose, puzzle to no end.—
'*Turn* politician, *curb the pride of* Spain,
'*A* mitre *merit, and a* mitre *gain,*
'*The* patriot's *glorious prize.*'—*In troth as well*
Sincerity might win a modern belle—
'*Climb the tall summits of* Parnassus *hill,*
'*And quaff the streams of* Aganippe's *rill;*
'*Mount* Pegasus,'—*Alas, too soon you'll find it,*
The jade is miserably broken winded.
Come then, O come, and let the jocund bowl
Dispel the vapours, and revive the soul.
The circling glass with lively vigour fires,
Warms the chill'd spirits, and gay mirth inspires.
With nuptial fetters gall'd, thus hen-peck'd Jove
Seeks a retreat from jarring realms above;
He flies up-born, upon his eagle's back,
Stunn'd by the din of an eternal clack,
At Baucis' *peaceful hut descends to dine,*
* *There many a goblet fills with chearing wine,*
On earth enjoys the bliss, which heav'n deny'd,
His cares are drown'd, and he forgets his bride.

* ——— Haustum Cratera repleri
Sponte sua, per seque vident succrescere Vina.

Verses by a young Lady, on her seeing the Duke of ARGYLE pass thro' *Newcastle*.

WHen conq'ring death shall ravish from your eyes,
Those trifling glories that the courtiers prize;
When crowns shall fall, and empire shall be lost;
And all that's mortal be dissolv'd in dust:
Then shalt thou live immortal to thy fame,
And future ages shall extol thy name.

ANACREON, Ode 15. *Happy Life.*
By CHA. CHESTER, M. D.

THE *wealth of* Gyges *I despise,*
Gems are useless glittering toys.
Gold I leave, and such vain things,
To the low aim and pride of Kings.
Let my hair with unguents flow,
With rosy garlands crown my brow!
The present moment I enjoy,
Doom'd in the next, perhaps, to die!
Then while the hour serenely shines,
Toss the gay dye, and quaff thy wines:
But ever, in the genial hour,
To Bacchus *the libation pour,*
Lest death in wrath approach, and cry,
Man — taste no more the cup of joy.

Imitation of ode 5. book 1. of *Horace*.

WHat youth, in rosy bowers laid,
His locks with liquid odours spread,
Now hugs thee to his panting breast,
And thinks no mortal half so blest?
For whom dost thou, enchanting fair,
In ringlets wreathe thy flowing hair?
For whom, my Pyrrha, *dost thou deign*
To deck thus elegantly plain?
Th' unwary wretch, who sees no guile,
Drinks poison in at ev'ry smile;
And figures to his flattering mind
Thee, always vacant, always kind:
Unwont to see, unwont to bear
One chiding word, or look severe;
How shall he view, with secret dread,
That heavenly face with clouds o'erspread?
How often curse his fatal love?
His Gods? which so inconstant prove.
Ah hapless they! who view thy face
Adorn'd with ev'ry winning grace;
Unknowing Pyrrha's *fickle heart,*
Full-fraught with all deceiving art.
In yonder votive tablets read,
How I, from dreadful shipwreck freed,
My dropping weeds hung up to thee,
Great Neptune, *ruler of the sea.*

To FAVONIUS, an ODE.

FAvonius, *come, and in thy train,*
Enlivening warmth and verdure bring:
Breathe thy soft fragrance round the plain,
And o'er the woodland pour the spring.
Dire Boreas, *with tyrannic laws,*
Too long restrains thy genial powers:
Break then thy chain, assert thy cause;
Give us the sun to wake the flowers.
But chief indulge thy favourite breeze,
To Pæan's, *to the* muses *shade* *;
Give vigour to the shiv'ring trees;
With living tap'stry deck the glade.
Sweet spot! where sculpture, painting, join
With music, to improve the bowl;

* Vaux-hall gardens.

Where

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Where art and nature both combine,
To raise the mind, and glad the soul.
O how I long to tread thy maze!
To wander thro' its fairy rounds;
On groops of gliding beauties gaze,
And listen to the warbling sounds.
To these blest bowers of vivid green,
If Chloe *come, as snow-drops fair,*
Her presence will enrich the scene,
And all Elysium *open there.*

CUPID made Prisoner to Miss A——y H——n.

WHen *in the mid-day's sultry heat,*
Young ANNY *sought some cool retreat,*
Tempt' by the stilness of a grove,
Where sleeping lay the God of Love,
Thither with haste she bent her way,
To that thick shade where Cupid *lay;*
His arm thrown careless round his head,
His bow and arrows by his side.
The fair-one stopt, struck with surprise,
Could scarce believe her dazzl'd eyes:
At length with falt'ring lips she cries,
"Am I awake? or do I dream?
Can this be Cupid? — *'Tis the same."*
His bow she snatch'd with eager haste,
And then his hands and feet made fast.
Young Cupid *wakes, and rubs his eyes,*
As yet not knowing where he lies;
Then thus he spoke, whilst fear and joy
By turns possess'd the heavenly boy:
"Ah! is it you, O lovely maid,
By whom thus sleeping I'm betray'd!
With you confinement is no pain:
I'll hug the dear enchanting chain,
That binds me thus to all that's fair.
Such chains who would not wish to bear!"
Oft have I seen the rosy God,
Proud of his lovely new abode,
Along her snowy bosom move,
O'er all her charms luxuriant rove;
And with a Majesty divine,
About her flowing locks he'd twine;
Often, with sweet enchanting grace,
He'd hang upon her godlike face,
Where, with his golden headed dart,
He'd pierce th' unwary gazer's heart.
No fear his bow shall want suplies,
So near his storehouse, — ANNY's *eyes.*

ISAAC.

An Ode upon DEATH.

IN *vain we think that free-will'd man has pow'r*
To hasten or protract th' appointed hour;
Our term of life depends not on our deed:
Before our birth our fun'ral was decreed.
Nor aw'd by foresight, nor misled by chance,
Imperious Death directs the ebon lance.
Alike must ev'ry state, and ev'ry age,
Sustain the universal tyrant's rage:
Wisdom, and eloquence in vain would plead
One moment's respite for the learned head:
The ancient Sage, who did so long maintain,
That bodies die, but souls return again,
With all the births and deaths he had in store,
Went out Pythagoras, *and came no more.*
Some from the stranded vessel force their way;
Fearful of fate, they meet it in the sea.
Some who escape the fury of the wave,
Sicken on earth, and sink into a grave.
In journeys, or at home; in war, or peace,
By hardships many, many fall by ease.
Each changing season does its poison bring;
Rheums chill the winter, agues blast the spring:
Wet, dry, cold, hot, at the appointed hour
All act subservient to the tyrant's pow'r:
And, when obedient nature knows his will,
A fly, a grape-stone, or a hair can kill;
For restless Proserpine *for ever treads,*
In paths unseen, o'er our devoted heads,
And on the spacious land and liquid main
Spreads slow disease, or darts afflictive pain.

Edinburgh. J. B.

HORACE, Ode 8. Lib. iv. Imitated.

THE *snows are gone, and genial spring once more*
New clothes the meads with grass, the trees with leaves;
And the proud rivers that disdain'd a shore,
Within their banks now roll their lessen'd waves.

The Nymphs and Sister-graces, ever gay,
Dance naked now beneath a warmer sky:
The Year, *the rapid* Hour *that whirls the* Day,
Describe our state, and tells us we must die.
Soft Zephyr's *breath unbinds the* frozen Earth,
And Summer *treads upon the heel of* Spring;
Then fruitful Autumn *pours his plenty forth,*
And Winter *next returns with sluggish wing.*

Luna *her monthly loss can soon supply;*
But we, alas! must mingle with the dead,
Where good Æneas, Tullus, Ancus *lie,*
Reduc'd to crumbling dust, and empty shade.

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Who knows if heav'n, propitious to thy pray'r,
Will to this laſt adjoin another day?
And what thou ſtill art ſcraping for thy heir,
May ſlip his greedy hands and fly away.

For when thou once are paſt the Stygian *lake,*
And Minos *has pronounc'd th'impartial doom,*
Nor birth nor eloquence can bring thee back,
Nor heaven-born piety unſeal the tomb.

Ev'n to releaſe the chaſte Hippolytus,
From hell's black ſhades, Diana *ſtrives in vain:*
Nor can the ſtrength of mighty Theſeus *looſe*
His dear Pirithous *from th' infernal chain.*

DEUT. xxxii. to VERSE 6. Paraphraſed.

STand ſtill, ye heavens, and with attention hear,
Thou liſt'ning earth, incline thine ear.
Doctrine ſalubrious as refreſhing ſhow'rs,
Or morning dew to riſing flow'rs,
Or rain, that in ſmall, pearly drops deſcends,
And to the tender graſs its chearing moiſture lends,
My opening lips ſhall utter; I'll adore
Jehovah's glorious name, his wondrous works explore.

Juſtice and truth, in bright array,
See round his throne their wings diſplay,
Stedfaſt, unſhaken, and ſecure;
As harden'd rocks amid the main,
Its ſwelling waves, and boiſt'rous ſtorms diſdain,
And all its laſhings, fix'd, endure.

His choſen offspring from his paths have ſtray'd,
By corrupt inclinations ſway'd.
No more his heavenly form they wear;
No more his ſacred image bear,
But all defil'd, degenerate appear.

Fond, fooliſh race, who thus requite
Th' Almighty Sov'reign of the earth,
Whoſe pow'rful hand firſt gave thee birth,
And from the fetters of a foreign land,
Redeem'd thee captive; whoſe command
Can ſend thee ſwift to ſhades of endleſs night;
Cloſe thy dim eyes, reſtrain thy panting breath,
And lock thee faſt within the gloomy realms of death.

EPIGRAM.

HOneſt HARRY's *alive! How d'you know it, ſays* Ned!
O I'm perfectly ſure; for Dick *ſaid he was dead.*

FOREIGN HISTORY.

REPORTS vary widely as to the ſituation of the PERSIAN Monarch. 'Tis ſaid, that as he was paſſing his army over the river Indus in his return from Indoſtan, one of the bridges broke, by which part of his ſoldiers and baggage were loſt; that the Kan of Candahar, and the Ogoboons, a people who inhabit the mountains, had laid hold of that opportunity to take arms againſt him; and that, on his arrival at Iſpahan, he augmented his army with 60,000 men.

On the other hand, the apprehenſions that that Prince, who, according to the lateſt advices, was on the frontiers of Aſia, will ſpeedily attempt ſomething againſt the OTTOMAN PORTE, increaſe daily. The conqueror having formerly demanded paſſports of the Grand Seignior to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca, and the Sultan not thinking proper to grant them, 'tis not doubted but he will force his way to it ſword in hand; as he pretends that place ſhould be common to both nations, the tomb of Mahomet being there. What confirms this opinion is, that the Perſian Monarch has cauſed large magazines to be erected in the neighbourhood of Erzeruin, Erivan, and Babylon; and 'tis well known thoſe orders were iſſued while he was among the Uſbecks, whither he marched after his expedition againſt the Great Mogul, in order to ſubdue thoſe Tartars, moſt of whom have made themſelves tributaries to him.

As the inſurrection which lately happened at Grand Cairo was chiefly imputed to the avarice of the Baſhaw of that city, the Sultan has depoſed him, and put the Baſhaw of Boſnia in his room.

The 7th June, N. S. the citadel of the fortreſs of Belgrade was delivered to the Turks.

It ſeems as if RUSSIA was to be for ever expoſed to conſpiracies and other wicked deſigns. The miniſter of ſtate, M. Wolinſki, was at firſt accuſed only of miſbehaviour. The interrogatories put to him were general, and not fixed

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to any particular point. At present he is charg'd with having carried on a dangerous foreign correspondence. There has been found concealed in his house a small box full of papers, by which, it is pretended, great discoveries are made. What is most certain is, that orders have been dispatched to the Governors of Moscow, Novogrod, &c. to take up several persons, which are said to amount to about two hundred. What aggravates M. Wolinski's crime is, that these papers have discovered that he was a sworn enemy to the German interest, and was determined, if possible, to overthrow it. He is likewise charged with having formed designs very prejudicial to the house of Biron, and particularly to the Duke of Courland, to whom notwithstanding he owes the foundation of his fortune. Count d'Osterman was ill, and so could not be employed in examining into this affair. Since his recovery he has discovered, that the seized papers before mentioned contain some measures greatly to his disadvantage. M. Wolinski's brother is likewise seiz'd and imprison'd. Four of the prisoners in the fortress were put to the torture, in order to make them confess. Orders are given to reinforce the troops on the frontiers, and to let no one pass unless provided with a passport signed by the Empress's own hand. However, four Muscovites of the first rank have found means to get into Germany, and thence into Holland, in order to retire into a country where there are also many more of their own nation. Besides the many satires which are exhibited daily at Petersburg, a paper was pasted up at the gates of the senate-house, with these words, *viz. The blood of Dolgborucki cries for vengeance. If out of a thousand lives there remained but two, these two would be sufficient to revenge their death.*

A treaty of peace is concluded between the Porte and SWEDEN, but the articles are so contradicted by the different courts interested in them, that we cannot pretend to say any thing certain on that head.

A French officer writes from BASTIA, that they had heard there, that 6000 Imperialists were to be transported from Tuscany to Corsica, and that every thing was preparing for them, pursuant to orders from the French court, and the consent of the republick of Genoa. In the mean time the Marquis de Maillebois was fortifying Calvi, and several other places, with the utmost diligence, and repairing the principal roads.

A treaty of commerce is concluded between the King of the TWO SICILIES and the Ottoman Porte, much on the same foot as that which subsisted when these dominions were subject to the Emperor.

Mess. Linch and Machlain, both Irish, [See above, *p.* 185.] who murdered their Colonel, having been tried by a court-martial, were condemn'd, and beheaded in presence of their own as well as other regiments, which were drawn up at the time of the execution.

An Ambassador from France is arrived at LISBON; on which the Lord Tyrawley, by order of the King of G. Britain, assumed the character of his Britannick Majesty's Ambassador to that court.

By letters arrived at Smyrna from Bengal we learn, that 50,000 Indians, together with a great train of artillery, appeared before Goa, which highly embarrassed the Portuguese, the garrison being weak, and the succours they expected from Europe not arriv'd. The Indians began the siege with such fury, that the merchants, fearing the city would be taken, and plunder'd, intreated the Viceroy to make it up with the enemy, by offering them a considerable sum of money to retire. The Indian General demanded 800,000 crusadoes, but accepted 300,000, and they withdrew accordingly.

Upon the accession of the new sovereign of PRUSSIA to his father's throne, as there was a great scarcity of corn in his dominions, he immediately order'd his granaries to be opened for the support of the poor, and that the commerce between his dominions and other countries should be entirely free. His Majesty, on his way to Potsdam,

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was accosted by a thousand little boys from five to ten years of age, who, after the acclamations of *Long live Frederick, our gracious Lord*, encompassed his coach, and cried out, *Merciful Lord, deliver us from our bondage, and rescue us from slavery*. The King promised them their liberty, and next day they had it. These poor children were all inrolled by order of the late King, and wore a red cravat as a badge that their parents had nothing to do with them; which collar they call the *cravat of slavery*. The King has ordered his recruiting officers to strike them out of the roll, and to take off the ignominious ornament which they wore about their neck. His Majesty has given leave to the foreigners in his army to continue or retire, and discharged the old soldiers that were unfit for service, but settled a pension on them. The Czarina having sent several tall Turks to the late King, which were taken captive in the late war with Russia, and his present Majesty knowing one of them was the son of a Bashaw, gave him liberty to return home when he pleased, offered to assist him in his journey, and complimented him with a magnificent dress. The young Turk having accepted his Majesty's kindness, the King has order'd the Minister he is about to send to Vienna to conduct him thither, and to procure him the means of returning to his own country.—It was generally expected the King would endeavour to dissolve his marriage; but, upon the arrival of the young Queen at Charlottenburg, every body was agreeably surprised to hear him say to her, "You are sensible, Madam, that your becoming Princess Royal was contrary to my inclination; but, having observed the amiableness of your character, and the regard you have manifested for my person, I find myself under a kind of necessity to make you equal returns of friendship: and now therefore, as I am King, I acknowledge you for my Queen consort, and my lawful wife."—In the orders sent by his Majesty to the Governors and Regents of the provinces, he expresses himself thus: "We thank you very truly for the faithful services you have rendered our dear father; notwithstanding which, our intention is, that you do not endeavour to enrich us by oppressing our subjects, but, on the contrary, that you make no difference between our interest and that of the publick." The late King followed the advice of Counsellor Eckard, which, generally, was disadvantageous to the subjects; but his present Majesty has order'd him to quit his dominions.

The Princess Mary, consort to Prince Frederick of HESSE-CASSEL, made a publick entry into Cassel on the 27th June, N. S. accompanied by his Serene Highness, who went to meet her about two leagues out of town. On her arrival at the palace a crown was put upon her head, and, having put on wedding apparel, was conducted to the marriage-chamber, where the marriage-ceremony was performed by a Protestant Divine. The Prince and Princess of Orange were present.

The college of commerce at Cadiz have agreed to lend his CATHOLICK MAJESTY 800,000 piastres, the finances of that kingdom being at a low ebb. According to a list publish'd by the court of Spain, 37 ships were taken from the English by the Spanish privateers during the months of January, February, March, and April last; which, including the cargoes, are valued at 625,175 pieces of eight.

The naval armaments of FRANCE are carried on briskly, and we are every day threatned with their fleet's setting sail, but whither, is yet a secret.

Mr Charles Smith Merchant in Boulogn *sur mer* having, about a year ago, purchased a quantity of wheat and barley in Scotland, upon its arrival at Picardy, in commiseration of the necessity of the poor there, he opened his granaries, and sold it out in bushels, at prime cost, with a trifle of charges. This extraordinary piece of generosity reached the ears of Cardinal de Fleury, who acquainting the King his Master with it, his Majesty ordered him to pay Mr Smith his deficiencies of the highest mar-

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market-price in France, and to make a proper record of the whole, ſo that Mr Smith might afterwards taſte of the royal favour.

The STATES GENERAL begin to be alarmed at the extraordinary armaments of France; and, while the Deputies of the Aſſembly are buſy providing a fund for defraying the expences of the equipment of twelve men of war, the Admiralty is diligently fitting them out.

LONDON.

ON the 27th May his Majeſty arrived at Hanover in good health. —On the 24th June Sir John Norris hoiſted the Union flag on board the Victory at Spithead. —The regiments of Gen. Harriſon, Brig. Wentworth, Col. Blakeney, Lord James Cavendiſh, and Col. Bland, beſides the marines, are to embark directly. The Lord Cathcart is ſet out for Portſmouth.—An expreſs is arrived from his Majeſty, with orders for the fleet forthwith to ſail on the intended expedition, and for the Duke of Cumberland to ſerve as a volunteer on board. Accordingly his Royal Highneſs's baggage, being brought from Honſlow camp, is on the road to Portſmouth. — On the 3d July moſt of the Lords of the Regency took leave of him, and on the 4th, in the evening, he arrived on board the Victory at Spithead, and received the proper ſalutes from the fleet. Stephen Poyntz, Governor, and Thomas Wyndham, Deputy-Governor to his Royal Highneſs, Col. Lemoniere, and William Campbell, Eſq; go volunteers with his Royal Highneſs.— Seven thouſand 13 and 15 inch bomb-ſhells, and *cheveaux de friſe*, have been ſent from the Tower to the iſle of Wight.—They are buſy in the Tower making cradles for wounded ſeamen.—The yatches are order'd to be got ready to ſail for Holland, to wait his Majeſty's return.

A Spaniſh privateer, taken by the Lilliputian tender, is brought into Portſmouth.

About the middle of June three Spaniſh ſhips, navigated by French captains and crews arrived in the river Thames, loaded with iron and wool, and fall within the limits of the proclamation againſt Spain.

Their Excellencies the Lords Juſtices have ordered that the act of the 5th and 6th of Edward VI. againſt foreſtalling, regrating, and engroſſing of corn be ſtrictly put in execution. They have likewiſe ordered the diſtribution of the Spaniſh prizes, and have offered 20 s. extraordinary bounty to ſeamen.

The Superbe man of war has taken four Spaniſh barca longa's, going from Faro to Lugos.

The Gray-hound man of war, Capt. Peyton, has brought in a Spaniſh privateer to Gibraltar, launched but very lately at Cadiz, exceeding well armed, with 71 men on board, 9 of her crew having ſailed with a Dutch ſhip which they took, loaded with Engliſh tin.

The Conſtantine, Whitchurch, has taken a Spaniſh tartane, worth about 8000 dollars, loaded with oil for the Canaries, and carried her into Gibraltar.

A New-York privateer, Capt. Luſh, carried into Boſton, April 26th, two Spaniſh prizes, with 32,000 pieces of eight, 458 ſerons of cocoa, *&c.* on board. He alſo took a Spaniſh Gentleman out of a French ſhip bound for Carraccas, with his effects, valued at 22,000 pieces of eight.

The Revenge, Capt. Allen of Newport in New-England, has taken two Spaniſh prizes, one of them with powder for Carthagena.

The Shoreham man of war has taken a large Spaniſh ſcooner privateer off of the Havannah, with 10 carriage and 12 ſwivel guns, and 87 men, and carried her into S. Carolina. And the Squirrel man of war has brought in a Spaniſh ſloop there, taken as ſhe was going from the Havannah for St Auguſtine with 8000 pieces of eight.

It ſeems confirmed, that Admiral Vernon, being requeſted, gave a paſs to a perſon to go to Carthagena unmoleſted; but when the Engliſh fleet departed from Porto Bello, he return'd to that place, and freighted a ſhip with money and valuable effects, and ſailed

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for Carthagena. In his passage he met with one of our men of war, that obliged him to bring to; but, on seeing the pass, let him go immediately. Soon after he met with a letter of marque ship, which made him hoist out his boat and come on board. He there shewed the pass again, which the Captain examined, but judiciously distinguished that it was granted for his person, without a word of ship or cargo; whereupon he told him, that as he had the highest regard for any order of Admiral Vernon, he would take the utmost care that his person should not be injured; but as to the ship and cargo, he should make bold to seize them, as belonging to the enemies of his country. The ship has been since condemn'd. and the common sailors divided 400 dollars a-piece.

On the 29th June Mr Thomas, Purser of the Strafford man of war, arrived at Whitehall, with letters from Admiral Vernon, dated Porto Bello, April 5. to the Duke of Newcastle, with the following account, *viz.*

THat on the 25th of February last, he sailed from Port Royal in Jamaica with a squadron of his Majesty's ships, and, having a favourable wind, got sight of the high land of Sta Martha on the Spanish main the 1st of March; that he ordered Capt. Wyndham in the Greenwich to ply up in the night, and lie to windward of the port, for intercepting any thing that might be coming in there the next day; and himself bore away with an easy sail for Carthagena; that the 3d at noon he was joined by the Falmouth, Capt. Douglass, off point Canoa, and that evening anchored with the squadron before Carthagena in nine fathom water, in the open bay called Playa-Grande, and on the 6th he ordered in all the bomb-ketches, and the small ships and tenders for covering and assisting them, and continued bombarding till 9 in the morning; that the squadron had received no damage from the town, but the shells fell into the town pretty successfully, particularly into the principal church, the Jesuits college, the customhouse, and beat down several houses between them, and a shell that fell into the south bastion, silenced a battery of 10 guns there for a long time. That he drew off his bomb-ketches and small craft on the 9th, and weighed with his squadron on the 10th in the morning, and making the signal for the line of battle, he coasted the shore towards Boca Chica; that they fired at him from the three small castles without Boca Chica, but none of their shot reached him: and that having left the Windsor, Capt. Berkeley, and the Greenwich, Capt. Wyndham, to cruize off the port of Carthagena for 20 days, he made sail for Porto Bello, to repair there the damages the small craft had received, and on the 14th anchored with his squadron in Porto Bello harbour, detaching his cruizers from time to time to lie off Chagre to block up the enemy; and having got his ships watered, put to sea on the 22d with his squadron, except the Louisa and Falmouth, which had not compleated their watering, that had his orders to hasten it and follow him; but an accident in the fore-top-sail yard of his ship the Strafford, retarding her progress, he ordered Capt. Herbert in the Norwich to make all the sail he could in before him, with the bomb-ketches and all the fire-ships and tenders under his orders, and Capt. Knowles, as engineer on board the bomb-ketches for placing them to play on the castle, and to cover them with his own ship and the rest; that Capt. Knowles got to an anchor by 3 in the afternoon, and began bombarding and cannonading that evening, and by 10 o' clock at night he got also to an anchor with his own ship the Strafford, and the Falmouth and Princess Louisa that followed him the same night; and continued bombarding and cannonading with three ships, firing leisurely only from the lower tire till 11 o' clock on Monday the 24th, when the Spaniards hung out a flag of truce from the fort; and he answered it from his own ship, and stopt all firing as soon as possible, and sent Capt. Knowles on shore, who soon returned with the Governor; to whom having granted the capitulation hereto subjoined, he sent him ashore again with Capt. Knowles, whom he appointed

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pointed Governor of the caſtle for his Majeſty, and ſent a garriſon along with him of 5 Lieutenants and 120 men, and all the boats of the fleet to land them, and and by 3 o' clock that afternoon Captain Knowles entered the fort with his garriſon. The ſame evening Capt. Knowles ſent and placed a guard upon the cuſtomhouſe on the oppoſite ſide of the river Chagre, and Vice-Admiral Vernon went on ſhore himſelf by day-break next morning, to give all neceſſary orders, and found the cuſtomhouſe full of goods for the lading of the galleons, ſuch as Guayaquil cocoa, Jeſuits bark, Spaniſh wool; and gave immediate orders for their being ſpeedily ſhipt off. The number of ſerons and bags of the ſaid mentioned goods amounted to 4300; that the two guarda coſta ſloops in the river, (which were all the guarda coſtas that were left in thoſe parts) were ſunk juſt above the cuſtomhouſe, carpenters having been ordered to break up their decks, and entirely deſtroy them. The cuſtomhouſe being entirely cleared by Friday the 28th, was filled with combuſtible matter of the neighbouring huts, and ſet on fire that evening, and it burnt with great fierceneſs all that night. The 29th, in the morning, the braſs cannon being embarked, which were 11 guns and 11 patereroes, and a good part of the garriſon, the mines were ſprung under the lower baſtion, which entirely demoliſh'd it. Then two mines were ſprung to blow up ſome of the upper parts of the works, and afterwards all the inner buildings of the caſtle were ſet on fire, and were burning all the night of the 29th. On the 30th Vice-Admiral Vernon put to ſea with his ſquadron, and on the 1ſt of April in the evening got to the mouth of the harbour of Porto Bello, and was joined there by the Windſor and Greenwich, juſt returned from their cruize off Carthagena; and on the 3d was joined alſo by the Burford, which he had left at Jamaica to be repaired.

Articles of capitulation granted by Edward Vernon, Eſq; Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and Commander in Chief of his Britannick Majeſty's ſhips and veſſels in the Weſt-Indies, to Don Juan Carlos Gutierez de Zauollos, Captain of foot, and Caſtillano of the caſtle of St Lorenzo, at the mouth of the river Chagre.

I. *That upon his Britannick Majeſty's troops being put into immediate poſſeſſion of the fort St Lorenzo, at the mouth of the river Chagre, the ſaid Caſtillano, and all his garriſon, be at free liberty to march without any moleſtation; and may retire into the village of Chagre, or where elſe they pleaſe.*

II. *That the inhabitants of Chagre may remain in all ſafety in their own houſes, under a promiſe of ſecurity to their perſons and houſes.*

III. *That the guarda coſta ſloops be delivered up to the uſe of his Britannick Majeſty, in the condition they are, at the King of Spain's cuſtomhouſe.*

IV. *That the clergy and churches in the town of Chagre ſhall be protected and preſerved in all their immunities.*

Given under my hand on board his Britannick Majeſty's ſhip the Strafford, at anchor before the river Chagre, this 24th March 1739-40.

E. VERNON.

The Spaniards have taken the Biddeford, Finney, the Durſley, Wilſon, both of Briſtol; the Owners Endeavour, Fox; and the ——, Bromart, and carried them into St Sebaſtian's: The William and Anne, Jobſon, into Ferrol: The Barbary Factor, Copeland, and a veſſel from Ireland, Hays, into the Canaries: A Guinea ſhip, with 350 negroes, into the Caracças: The Hamburgh merchant, Samuel French, into Genoa: The Anna Maria, Janſon, a French ſloop, into Tariffa, near Gibraltar: The Robert and Sarah, Darlow, taken coming over the bar of Oporto; the ——, John Davis of Chicheſter, taken in ſight of Penzance; the ——, Rob. Eames, off of Guernſey; and the Vineyard, Villacot, from Northam bound for Morlaix.

The 19th June a great riot began at Newcaſtle, on account of the Corn factors keeping up the price of grain, which ſo alarmed the magiſtrates, that the militia was immediately raiſed. The mob inſiſted on having rye at 2 s. 6 d.

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6 d. *per* buſhel, wheat at 3 s. 6 d. and oats at 1 s. 3 d. which the merchants, by the perſuaſions of Alderman Ridley, agreed to, though the wheat coſt themſelves 5 s. 6 d. the rye 4 s. 6 d. and the oats 2 s. or better. On which the mob diſperſed; but the factors not keeping their words, and the Mayor innocently diſmiſſing the militia the 24th in the evening, the next morning a vaſt number of keelmen entered the town with colours flying, and a drum beating, opening the priſon-doors, and letting out the priſoners that had been taken up. On this Alderman Ridley propoſed to defend the rye ſhip on the key till the poor were ſupplied; but, conſidering their former diſappointment, they knock'd down the Alderman, which occaſion'd ſome Gentlemen to fire, by which one of the rioters was killed on the ſpot, and ſeveral others were dangerouſly wounded. Being thus exaſperated, they fell upon the Gentlemen in the town-hall, and wounded moſt of them dangerouſly. Some of them conducted the Mayor to his houſe, one on each ſide, and another with a drawn ſword before. They ranſack'd the guildhall, town's court, and chamber, deſtroying and defacing every thing they met with, not even the town-books and accounts excepted. In the afternoon they were joined by about 400 ſmiths from Crawley's factory, when they robbed the town's cheſt of, 'tis ſaid, about 1800 l. About nine in the evening three companies of Gen. Howard's regiment from Berwick entered the town, the mob, in a body, marching up, and ſwearing they were not afraid of the ſoldiers, but would deſtroy them too. Capt. Sowell, commander of the troops, obſerving the approach of the mob, ordered the ſoldiers to fix their bayonets, and load their pieces with ball. When the mob came up, ſome of them got hold of the bridle of the Captain's horſe, but, upon hearing him order the ſoldiers to fire, they fled with the utmoſt precipitation; ſo that there was no blood ſhed. Upwards of 40 of them are taken priſoners.—They had almoſt deſtroy'd all the arms of the town, ſo that it had been defenceleſs if the ſoldiers had not arrived.

Several other mobs have happened in England upon the ſame account.

EDINBURGH, *July* 4.

The general convention of the royal burrows of this kingdom having appointed the members for the burrows of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, Aberdeen, Stirling, Linlithgow, St Andrews, Glaſgow and Inverbervy, as a committee of their number, to wait on the Duke of Argyle, to aſſure him of the great regard they have for his Grace's perſon and family, and to declare their entire ſatisfaction with his Grace's appearances for the honour and intereſt of his Majeſty, the preſervation of the liberties of his Majeſty's ſubjects, the commerce of the nation, the rights and privileges of the royal burrows, and the city of Edinburgh in particular; the committee accordingly waited upon his Grace, and the Lord Provoſt of Edingburgh, as Preſes, having addreſſed his Grace, with great eloquence, to the purpoſe above mentioned, his Grace anſwer'd, "I am unworthy of the great honour the royal burrows are pleaſed to do me. I have, in all my actions, moſt ſincerely meant the ſervice of my King and country. It was my indiſpenſible duty ſo to do. Merit I have none."

Since our laſt the May and Anne, Capt. Robert Angus, cleared out of Leith for London, with the following Scots manufactures, *viz.* 18,750 yards linen, 1850 yards tartan, 2450 pounds thread and yarn, 647 dozen linen handkerchiefs, 2686 dozen ſkins.

MARRIAGES.

THE Duke of Leeds, to Lady Mary Godolphin, daughter of the Earl of Godolphin. —Lt-Gen. Gordon, to Miſs Moncrief, eldeſt daughter of Sir Thomas Moncrief of that Ilk, deceas'd. —Thomas Aſhburnham, an alehouſe-keeper in Fleet-ſtreet, aged 85, married to his eighth wife, aged 45.

BIRTHS.

The Dutcheſs of Weiſſenfels, delivered of a ſon, the ſecond now alive.—

The

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The Dutchess of Manchester, of a daughter. — The Countess of Gainsborough, of a son. — The Viscountess Falconberg, of a son and heir — The Lady of Lord Vere Beauclerk, of a son.

DEATHS.

At Laxenburg, June 6. N. S. the eldest Princess of Lorrain, daughter of the Great Duke of Tuscany. — At Dresden, Baron Loewendahl, Prime officer of the court, Great Marshal, and first of the cabinet-council. — At Paris, June 18. N. S. aged 89, Peter Butler, Lord Visc. Galmoy, Earl of Newcastle, a Peer of Ireland. He was First Gentleman of the bedchamber to K. James VII. and a Lieutenant-general of the French forces. His title devolves to James Butler his nephew, a Captain in the Irish regiment of Bulkeley; but his estate in Ireland was forfeited upon his attainder. — At London, June 5. Henry de Grey Duke of Kent, Knight of the Garter, one of the privy council, &c. By his death the Lady of Philip Yorke, Esq; becomes Marchioness Grey. [*see p.* 237, 8.] — Ld Wallingford, Major of the first troop of horse-guards, and member for Banbury. — John Lawton Esq; member for Newcastle under Line. — Corbet Kynaston, Esq; member for Salop. — George Liddell, Esq; member for Berwick upon Tweed. — Samuel Holden, Esq; Governor of the Russia company, one of the directors of the bank of England, and member for Eastlow. — Edward Ventris Esq; Master of the King's-bench office. — Mr. Benjamin Mann, Deputy-clerk of the crown. — Major Gosling of Gen. Anstruthers regiment. — Major John Pawlet, of Col. Ponsonby's regiment — Capt Thomas Marsham of Gen. Howard's regiment. — Capt Morgan, of the first regiment of foot-guards. — Capt Wentworth, of a company of invalids, who lost a leg at the battle of Preston — Capt John Stanley, Commander of the Tyger man of war. — Charles Thomson Esq; aged 104, who had the command of the Boyne man of war in Q. Anne's reign. — Mr Robert Gordon, Deputy-clerk of Justiciary. — Sir Gilbert Kennedy, King's Falconer. — Mr Thomas Eliot, Agent for the Prince of Wales in Scotland, and Secretary to the Insurance company against fire. — Mr John Anderson, Minister at Drummond. — Mr John Campbell, Comptroller of the customs at Alloa. — Mrs. Crawford, Dowager of Auchinames. — Sir William Wyndham, member for Somersetshire, an able statesman, a finished orator, and every way a fine Gentleman. Mr Pope mentions him thus:

Next WYNDHAM *arm'd for freedom and the throne,*
The master of our passions and his own.

PREFERMENTS.

John Reynolds, Esq; Lord Chief Justice of the Common-pleas in Ireland, *a Baron of the Exchequer in England.* — Mr Serjeant Singleton, *Lord Chief Justice of the Common-pleas in Ireland.* — William Strickland, Esq; of Gloucester, *a Commissioner of Excise in Ireland.* — Mr Dutton Seaman, an attorney, *Comptroller of the city of London.* — Mr Lee, son of the Lord Chief Justice Lee, *Master of the King's-bench office.* — Charles Cotterel, Esq; *Deputy-Master, and Marshal, of the ceremonies.* — William Kent, Esq; *Principal Painter to the King.* — Captain Bludworth, *Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales.* — Mr Alexander Tait merchant, *Secretary to the Insurance company against fire in Edinburgh.* — Major Pole, of the Welch fusileers, *Lieutenant-Colonel of Gen. Bowles's dragoons.* — Captain Hickman, *Major of the Welch fusileers.* — Captain Eaton, *Major of the first troop of life-guards* — John Stevens, Esq; *a Captain in Gen. Howard's regiment.* — Capt John Thomas, *Captain of an independent company doing duty at Portsmouth.* — Mr O Brian, son of the Russian Admiral, *Commander of a new 20 gun ship.* — Mr Huxley, son of George Huxley Esq; member for Newport, *Lieutenant of the Cambridge.*

Died within the walls of the city of Edinburgh, and buried in the Gray-friars church-yard, June 1740, as follows:

Men

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Men 13, Women 17, Children 41. In all 71. Decreased this month 19.

Ages		N°.
Under	2	27
Betwixt 2 &	5	10
5 &	10	4
10 &	20	1
20 &	30	1
30 &	40	3
40 &	50	3
50 &	60	5
60 &	70	8
70 &	80	8
80 &	90	1

Diseases.	N°.
Old age —	7
Consumption	14
Chin-cough	1
Fever —	8
Suddenly —	4
Teething —	1
Small-pox —	23
Cancer —	1
Apoplexy —	2
Dropsy —	2
Palsy —	1
Still-born —	7

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The SCOTS *Magazine.*

JULY, 1740.

PROCEEDINGS of the *Political Club*, continued from p. 264.

L. Æmilius Paullus *having ended his ſpeech, as in my laſt*, C. Plinius Cæcilius *again roſe up, and obſerved*, "*That although an objection had been made to ſome part of the Noble Lord's propoſition for an addreſs, and a long debate had enſued; yet no motion had been regularly made for an amendment: therefore he thought it his duty to take notice, that if they inſiſted upon their objection, it would be neceſſary to mention the words to be left out, and to think of ſome words to be put in their ſtead; after which the queſtion he was to put, would be, Whether the words propoſed to be left out ſhould ſtand part of the motion?*"

Upon this Q. Fabius Maximus *ſtood up, and ſpoke to this effect:*

My Lords,

THE words objected to, have been already mentioned; and I do not think it neceſſary to propoſe any words to be put in their ſtead, till the queſtion be firſt put, Whether or no they ſhall ſtand part of the motion? If that queſtion be carried in the negative, it will then be time enough to think, whether any, and what words ought to be inſerted in the room of thoſe left out. This, I think, my Lords, is the parliamentary way of proceeding; and the objections have been already ſo fully explained, and the reaſonableneſs of them ſo ſtrongly enforced, that I think it unneceſſary for me to add any thing further upon the ſubject. What the next queſtion may be, I ſhall not pretend to ſay, nor is it neceſſary I ſhould. Perhaps it may be, To addreſs his Majeſty to know who adviſed him to put into his ſpeech that paragraph, which has been found fault with in this debate. Even this would be parliamentary; but whether your Lordſhips will think proper to go ſo far, I do not know. However, my Lords, to obviate the preſent ſeeming difficulty, I ſhall make you the motion for an amendment, in form, thus: That the motion made by the Noble Lord, ſhould be amended by leaving out the words, *That it gives us inexpreſſible concern*, &c. as far as the words, *That we are determined* — [*See vol.* 1. *p.* 544.]

L. Icilius *ſpoke next, whoſe ſpeech, which is the laſt I ſhall give you upon this Subject, was in ſubſtance thus:*

My Lords,

THE Noble Lord upon the woolſack did not find fault with your Lordſhips manner of proceeding; he only mentioned what was proper to be done: and when there is any defect or omiſſion as to the form of your proceedings, it is his duty to acquaint you with it, and to inform you of what ought to be done. I ſhall grant, it is not abſolutely neceſſary to mention before hand, whether any, and what words are to be put inſtead of thoſe propoſed to be left out; but it is uſual, and even candor ſeems to require it, becauſe from thence ſeveral Lords may determine how to vote upon the firſt queſtion.

As to the words objected to, I cannot, for my part, ſee the leaſt occaſion for leaving them out; I even think it neceſſary to keep them in. I ſhall admit, my Lords, that the late conduct of Spain, eſpecially their non-performance of what they promiſed by the late

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late convention, has rendered us unanimous for war. But, war or no war, was not the only diſpute or diviſion amongſt us. There have been many others, ſome of which ſtill ſubſiſt; and whatever there may be within doors, I am certain there are ſtill great heats and animoſities without. Are there not ſeditious libels now printed and diſperſed? Are there not malicious ſtories ſpread againſt the government daily? Sometimes it is ſaid, That we are not yet in earneſt as to the war; at other times it is ſaid, That, notwithſtanding our declaration of war, we dare not ſtrike a ſtroke. Many ſuch falſe and ſcandalous opinions are with great induſtry propagated. All the meaſures of our government are miſrepreſented to this very day. Even the proceedings of this houſe are libelled, not only in converſation, but in print. Is not every Lord ſenſible of this? do not your Lordſhips all know it? and, in ſuch circumſtances, was it not extremely proper for his Majeſty to caution us againſt diviſions, heats, and animoſities? Will it not be neceſſary for us to declare in our addreſs, That we ſhall endeavour to avoid adding fuel to the heats and animoſities without doors, by our diſputes and diviſions within?

FRIDAY the 16th of November laſt, being one of our club days, a debate happened, which was occaſioned as follows: *M. Cato* ſtood up and took notice, That as the war was then declared againſt Spain, and all negotiations with that court, he hoped, at an end, it was high time to think of bringing in and paſſing ſuch a bill for encouraging ſeamen, as he had two years before preſented to that houſe. I had not, it is true, Sir, ſays he, the good fortune, at that time, to obtain the concurrence of this houſe for paſſing that bill into a law; but, as the reaſon that ſeemed then to be of greateſt weight againſt the paſſing of that bill, is now at an end, I hope I ſhall now have better luck. We were then told, that the paſſing of ſuch a bill might interrupt the courſe of our negotiations at the court of Spain; and this ſeemed to be the chief reaſon for putting a negative upon it. I was at that time, indeed, of opinion, that the paſſing of ſuch a bill would rather have forwarded our negotiations, becauſe it would have ſhewn the court of Spain what they were to expect, in caſe they ſhould any longer refuſe to do us juſtice. But whether I was then in the right or no; whether this reaſon was then a good or a bad one, againſt paſſing ſuch a bill, I am ſure it is ſuch a one as will not be urged againſt it at this time. This encourages me again to attempt what I then thought was reaſonable; and as the reaſons for it were then fully explained, and are now much ſtronger than they were at that time, I think it unneceſſary to repeat or enforce them, unleſs I find, which I do not expect, an oppoſition made to my motion. For this reaſon, I ſhall at preſent trouble you no farther than to move, That the 6th and 8th ſections of an act made in the 6th year of the reign of Queen Anne, intitled, *An act for the better ſecuring the trade of this kingdom by cruizers and convoys*; and alſo the 2d ſection of an act made in the ſame year, intitled, *An act for the encouragement of the trade to America*, may be read; and the ſame being accordingly read, he then moved, That leave might be given to bring in *a bill for the more effectual ſecuring and encouraging the trade of his Majeſty's Britiſh ſubjects in America, and for the encouragement of ſeamen to enter into his Majeſty's ſervice.*

Upon this, Servilius Priſcus *ſtood up, and ſpoke to the following effect:*

Mr Preſident,

THE encouragement of our ſeamen is, in my opinion, ſo neceſſary for preſerving the tranquillity, and vindicating the honour of this nation, that I can with the greateſt ſincerity declare, that no man has a greater regard for that uſeful part of his Majeſty's ſubjects than I have. I ſhall always be for giving them all the encouragement that is in our power to beſtow, and therefore ſhall always be ready to agree

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to

to any reasonable proposition that can be made for that purpose. What the Honourable Gentleman intends by the bill he proposes to bring in, I cannot pretend to be thoroughly acquainted with; but, if it is to be such a one as was brought in by him and some other Gentlemen about two years ago, I must think his motion a little too precipitate.

I am sure, Sir, I have no occasion to inform any Gentleman of this house, that, by our constitution, the crown has the sole and absolute property in every ship and her cargo that is taken from an enemy, by any of his Majesty's ships of war; and therefore, when any share of a prize is given or promised to the captors, it ought to be considered as a gracious condescension in the crown, for the encouragement of those officers and seamen that are employed in the publick service. This, Sir, is the true state of the case, with regard to all prizes taken by any of his Majesty's ships of war; and as all acts of grace and favour ought to come originally from the throne, I think, if any law be necessary for regulating the distribution of those prizes that may, in the present war, be taken from the enemy, or for giving the whole or any share of them to the captors, we ought to wait till we have a message from the crown for that purpose. If such a bill, as the Hon. Gent. I believe, intends, be brought into this house, before we have any message from the crown for that end, it will, in my opinion, shew a sort of disrespect to his Majesty, which, I am convinced, is very far from being the intention of the Hon. Gent. who has made you this motion. It will be, in some measure, a forestalling the favours of the crown, and transferring from his Majesty to some of the members of this house, that popularity which is to be gained by a measure that has the appearance of so much generosity and bounty.

Whether it may be proper to give the whole of every prize, that shall be taken by any of his Majesty's ships of war, to the officers and seamen employed in taking her, is what I shall not at present determine; but if it is, 'tis what his Majesty may do without the authority of an act of parliament; and, if any farther powers are wanted for encouraging our seamen to annoy the enemy, I am convinced, his Majesty will apply to us for that purpose in a very short time. If we had sat for any number of days, and no such message had been sent to us, any Gentleman who has the honour to be a member of this house, might have taken the liberty to stand up in his place, and propose what he thought was necessary for encouraging our seamen, or any other part of his Majesty's subjects, to attack and plunder the enemy. In such a case, if we should think the proposition reasonable, and necessary for the publick service, it would be incumbent upon us, as representatives of the people, to comply with it; and the performing of our duty as members of this house, can never be inconsistent with the respect that is due to our sovereign: but, however reasonable the proposition now made to us may be, however necessary it may be for the publick service, I am sure, it is neither necessary, nor incumbent upon us, as representatives of the people, to enter into the consideration of it, the very *second* day of the session; and as it is a proposition that, in its own nature, ought first to be brought before us, by means of a message from the crown, I think we ought to wait, at least for a few days, in order to give his Majesty time to consider and communicate to us, by message or otherwise, what he thinks may be necessary for encouraging, not only our seamen, but every individual person in his Majesty's dominions, to concur and assist in vigorously prosecuting the war now declared against Spain.

This, I think, Sir, is the least we can do upon this occasion; and therefore, I must think the motion now made to us a little precipitate. I must beg leave to say, that I think it would be, in some measure, taking advantage of the crown, to order such a bill to be brought in, the very *second* day of the session, and even before we have paid our duty

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to his Majeſty in an addreſs, by way of anſwer to his moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne. Therefore, I hope the Hon. Gent. will agree to have his motion poſtponed for a few days; becauſe the conſideration of it may, in that time, be recommended to us by his Majeſty; or, if it ſhould not, we may reſume the conſideration of it, without any breach of that duty which we owe to our ſovereign. I know that, during the late war againſt France, a bill was brought in and paſſed into a law, for giving all prizes taken from the enemy to the captors. As I have not lately looked upon that part of our journals, I cannot poſitively ſay, what it was that gave riſe to that bill; but, I am apt to believe, that it proceeded from ſome meſſage, or ſome intimation from the crown, that the paſſing of ſuch a law was become neceſſary for the publick ſervice; and, as it cannot be more neceſſary in the preſent war, than it was in that, I can ſee no reaſon for our being in ſuch a hurry. The publick ſervice cannot ſuffer much by a few days delay; and, by ſuch a delay, we ſhall avoid doing that, which may be looked on by many as an evident ſign of diſreſpect to our ſovereign.

At preſent, Sir, I do not think it at all neceſſary to enter into the merits of the queſtion; but, as I have the honour to ſerve the crown, and conſequently muſt know ſeveral facts, which ſome Gentlemen in this houſe may not be acquainted with, as I am at liberty, I think myſelf obliged, upon this occaſion, to inform the houſe, that, with regard to thoſe prizes which providence has already put into our hands, different applications have already been made to his Majeſty; one from the captors, and another from the ſuffering merchants. I hope it will be allowed, that both ought to be regarded. The former think they have, from cuſtom, a title to a very large ſhare of the prizes, which have, by them, been taken from the enemy: The latter have ſuffered greatly by the enemy, and, as reparation is one of the ends propoſed by our going to war, they think they have a title to have ſome part of their loſſes made good, by appropriating to that uſe ſome ſhare of thoſe prizes that ſhall be taken from the enemy, by his Majeſty's ſhips of war. Both theſe petitions are founded on juſtice; and, for this reaſon, his Majeſty has already anſwered, that, when a value is put upon the prizes, and the ſhips and cargoes diſpoſed of to the beſt advantage, both ſhall be conſidered. With regard therefore to the prizes that have already been taken, we neither can, conſiſtently with what his Majeſty has already promiſed, nor ought we to give the whole to the captors; and, with regard to thoſe that may hereafter be taken, I am in great doubt, whether we ought to do ſo by an eſtabliſhed law: his Majeſty will certainly do ſo; when he thinks they deſerve it, and as often as the treaties now ſubſiſting between us and our allies, and the juſtice that is due to our injured merchants, will admit of it: therefore, I believe, the beſt and the wiſeſt thing we can do, is to leave the law as it ſtands at preſent. I am ſure, his Majeſty will never deſire to make an advantage to himſelf, by any prize that ſhall be taken. The captors will always be ſufficiently rewarded, and the reſidue, ſo far as is conſiſtent with the regard we ought to have for our allies, will be applied either to the publick ſervice, or to make good the loſſes of our merchants. Thus, whilſt a diſcretionary power remains in the crown, our ſeamen will have a proper encouragement, without doing injuſtice to any other part of his Majeſty's ſubjects, and without giving a juſt offence to any of our allies: whereas if, by an eſtabliſhed and unalterable law, we give the whole to the captors, they may often have more than ought, either in juſtice or prudence, to be given them; injuſtice will, in my opinion, be done to our ſuffering merchants; and we may give ſome of thoſe who are now our allies, or at leaſt our pretended friends, a good pretence for joining with Spain againſt us.

But as theſe are objections, Sir, that will be beſt underſtood, when the bill comes

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comes regularly before us, I ſhall inſiſt no farther upon them at preſent. The ends propoſed by the Hon. Gent.'s motion, are ſuch as I highly approve of; and, if the bill be calculated ſo as to anſwer thoſe ends, I ſhall be ready to agree, not only to its being brought in, but to its being paſſed into a law, as ſoon as is conſiſtent with the reſpect we owe to the crown, and with the methods and forms of proceeding in this houſe: but, as ſuch bills ought to owe their riſe to ſome ſort of application from the crown, and as it is a bill of great conſequence, I do not think it would be altogether conſiſtent, either with the regard we ought to have for his Majeſty, or with the uſual methods of proceeding in this houſe, to order ſuch a bill to be brought in, the very ſecond day of the ſeſſion. This, Sir, is my opinion, and I am convinced, there are many Gentlemen in this houſe of the ſame opinion; therefore, I hope the Hon. Gent. will not, by inſiſting upon the queſtion, lay us under a neceſſity of giving a negative to a motion which we ſhould otherwiſe moſt heartily agree to, and which, if it be poſtponed but for a few days, will, I believe, meet with an univerſal approbation.

L. Junius Brutus *ſtood up next, and ſpoke in ſubſtance thus:*

Mr Preſident,

WHen I heard the motion which my Hon. friend has been pleaſed to make, I little expected it would have been oppoſed by any Gentleman in this houſe. To ſecure and encourage effectually the trade of his Majeſty's ſubjects in America, and to encourage ſeamen to enter into his Majeſty's ſervice, are topicks of ſuch great conſequence to this nation, and ſo neceſſary upon the preſent occaſion, that I imagined every Gentleman would have been curious to ſee what expedients had been thought of for theſe purpoſes; and, as this cannot be ſeen till the bill be once brought in, I could not ſuppoſe, that any Gentleman would have oppoſed our giving leave to bring in ſuch a bill. Surely, it muſt be allowed, that the trade of his Majeſty's ſubjects in America is of the utmoſt conſequence to this kingdom; and I am ſure, it has neither been ſecure, nor has it been encouraged for almoſt theſe *twenty* years bypaſt: It muſt certainly be allowed, that it is at all times, but eſpecially in time of war, of great conſequence to the nation to have our ſeamen ready and willing to enter into his Majeſty's ſervice; and I am ſure, that for ſeveral years paſt, they have been ſo far from being ready and willing, that many of them have moſt induſtriouſly, and often even perilouſly, avoided being forced into his Majeſty's ſervice. Theſe, Sir, are our circumſtances at preſent; and in theſe circumſtances, which are known to the whole nation, was it not moſt reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that every Gentleman would be fond of ſeeing what expedients had been thought of for relieving us out of theſe unlucky circumſtances? And as theſe expedients cannot be ſeen, till the bill now propoſed be actually brought in; could any one expect, that an oppoſition would be made to the bringing in of ſuch a bill?

Gentlemen may make declarations of the regard they have for our ſeamen, and of their readineſs to concur in any proper meaſures for their encouragement. I am perſuaded the Hon. Gent. who ſpoke laſt was ſincere in the declarations he made. I am perſuaded every Gentleman in this houſe is ſincere in what he declares. But it is not from our declarations, but from our actions, that thoſe without doors judge of our intentions; and unleſs they feel the effects of our declarations, they will be apt to judge amiſs of our ſincerity. I have, in this houſe, heard many ſanguine declarations in favour of our ſeamen; and yet I do not know by what miſchance our conduct has of late years very little correſponded with our declarations. That uſeful body of men, our ſailors, have of late years been very little regarded; whilſt an uſeleſs and dangerous body of men, I mean our mercenary troops, have met with all

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all poſſible favour and encouragement. The former have been, of late years, ſo often preſſed into his Majeſty's ſervice, and diſmiſſed again, without ſuffering them to make the expected advantages by the ſervice, that I do not at all wonder at ſeeing them now abſconding, and even venturing their lives, to avoid being forced into the ſervice. As the pay in his Majeſty's navy is not near equal to that in the merchants ſervice, nothing can tempt them to enter on board the navy, but the hopes they have of making an extraordinary advantage by the prizes they may take: but theſe hopes they have been of late ſo often diſappointed of, that they began to deſpair of ever meeting again with any ſuch opportunity; and the diſappointment the bill now propoſed met with, two years ago, added not a little to that deſpair. Even when his Majeſty's orders for repriſal were iſſued and publiſhed, they doubted if they would be allowed to execute them as they ought, and they doubted if they would be allowed any ſhare of the prizes they might take.

It has been chiefly owing to theſe doubts, Sir, that we have found, and ſtill find ſuch a difficulty to man our fleet; and therefore, I wiſh the bill that was propoſed two years ago had paſſed into a law. It could have been attended with no inconvenience, and would have been of great advantage, at the commencement of a war. We have already ſeverely felt the diſadvantage of not paſſing it at the time it was propoſed; and therefore, in duty to our country, as well as our King, we ought to take the firſt opportunity for rectifying that miſtake. The beſt method we can take for ſhewing our reſpect to his Majeſty, is to do every thing we can for his ſervice, and to do it as ſoon as we find that it is become neceſſary. To delay doing what we think neceſſary for his Majeſty's ſervice, till it be applied for, or till he be adviſed to apply for it, by his miniſters, may be a teſtimony of our reſpect for them, but it is a breach of that duty we owe to him.

In all caſes, we ought to diſtinguiſh carefully between the reſpect that is due to the crown, and the regard that may be claimed by the miniſters of the crown. To the crown we owe a great and a ſincere regard; but to miniſters, none but what they juſtly acquire by their conduct. Nay, a regard for the latter, may often be inconſiſtent with that regard which is due to the former. I ſhall grant, that, of late years, parliaments have ſhewn a much greater reſpect to the miniſters of the crown, than was uſual in former ages; and I am under ſome apprehenſions, that, by continuing to ſhew the ſame reſpect for a few years longer, we ſhall at laſt loſe all that reſpect which the people of this kingdom ought to have for their parliaments. If this ſhould ever happen to be our caſe, as God forbid it ſhould, our happy conſtitution would be at an end: our people could not then be governed by parliaments, or by any ſort of civil government: they muſt be ruled by a ſtanding army, and a military ſort of government.

I ſhall admit, Sir, that ſome acts of grace and favour, ſuch as indemnities and the like, are uſually brought into parliament by a meſſage from the crown; but it is a new ſort of doctrine to pretend, that nothing of a popular nature ought to be brought into parliament, without a previous meſſage or intimation from the crown. At this rate, no law for the publick ſervice, or for removing a publick grievance, could be propoſed in parliament, without a previous meſſage from the crown: for every ſuch law muſt, in its own nature, be attended with popularity; and to introduce it without ſuch a meſſage, might in every caſe be called foreſtalling the favours of the crown, with as much juſtice as in the caſe now before us. Such a doctrine would, indeed, make parliaments very reſpectful to his Majeſty's miniſters; but it would make them very uſeleſs to his Majeſty's ſubjects, and of as little uſe to his Majeſty himſelf: therefore, I hope, it will never gain a prevalence in this houſe. As ſoon as we are aſſembled here, we are in duty bound to conſider what laws

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laws are neceſſary for the publick ſervice; and we are in duty bound to bring them in, and to paſs them as ſoon as we can. If they are ſuch as are popular, our ſovereign will always have a great ſhare in that popularity, by readily giving them the royal aſſent: even his miniſters may have a ſhare in the popularity, by readily giving their concurrence in paſſing them through the two houſes of parliament. But if the King ſhould, by the advice of wicked miniſters, refuſe his aſſent; or if the miniſters ſhould oppoſe them in parliament, and thereby expoſe themſelves to the hatred of the people: they meet with nothing but what they deſerve; and whatever may be the conſequences, they have themſelves only to blame.

For this reaſon, Sir, if there is any popularity to be gained by what is now propoſed, I hope thoſe who are concerned in the adminiſtration, will take care to have a ſhare of it, by giving us their aſſiſtance, not only in bringing in the bill, but in getting it paſſed into a law. I am ſure no Gentleman will ſay, but that ſome ſuch bill as my Hon. friend intends by his motion, is now become neceſſary for the publick ſervice; and therefore, as I have, I think, clearly ſhewn, we can ſhew our reſpect to his Majeſty no way better, than by bringing it in, and paſſing it with all imaginable diſpatch. I ſhall grant, that his Majeſty may, without the authority of an act of parliament, give the whole of every prize that ſhall be taken, to the captors; and I verily believe, his Majeſty is, of himſelf, extremely willing to do ſo. Where then is the harm, or where is the diſreſpect, in doing that by a law, which his Majeſty is willing to do of his own accord? It may, 'tis true, be promiſed by proclamation; I think it ought to have been promiſed by proclamation as ſoon as the repriſals were publiſhed: but to do ſo by an act of parliament, is a more ſolemn way of doing it, and will add to the confidence, and conſequently the encouragement of our ſeamen.

Beſides this, Sir, it will prevent that grievance which gave occaſion to a bill of the ſame nature in the late Queen's time. We all know, that before the act of the 6th of Q. Anne, *for the encouragement of the trade to America*, we had a prize-office eſtabliſhed, which had the diſpoſal and diſtribution of all the prizes that were taken by his Majeſty's ſhips of war; and we likewiſe know, that a great deal of the money produced by the ſale of any prize, ſtuck to the fingers of the officers and clerks employed in that office. This was a grievance then loudly complained of, and at laſt occaſioned the paſſing of that law. Now, as it is both better and eaſier to prevent than remedy a grievance, and as ſome ſuch office as this muſt be now revived, unleſs ſuch a law be paſſed as is by this motion intended, I hope the bill now propoſed will be not only brought in, but paſſed into a law, in order to prevent that which has already been found to be an intolerable grievance upon all officers and ſeamen employed in his Majeſty's ſervice.

From our journals, Sir, it appears, that neither the law by which this prize-office was aboliſhed, nor any of the regulations now propoſed to be revived, were owing to any previous meſſage or intimation from the crown. Nay, I doubt much, if the law for demoliſhing the prize-office was ſo much as adviſed, or ſincerely approved of, by thoſe who were at that time the chief miniſters of the crown. The miniſters in that age were, I believe, ſomething like thoſe we have in this; and I have always found miniſters extremely unwilling to demoliſh any office where the nomination of the officers belonged to them. On the contrary, they have always been inventing new offices of this ſort; and if at any time they found themſelves under the neceſſity of conſenting to the demolition of ſuch an office, they have generally taken the firſt opportunity they could ſafely lay hold on, for reviving it. Therefore, when a law becomes neceſſary for demoliſhing any ſuch office, or for preventing the eſtabliſhment or revival of ſuch a one, I muſt

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muſt think it would be very idle in us, to expect a meſſage from the crown for that purpoſe: if we are at all times to wait for ſuch a meſſage, I believe no ſuch law will ever be paſſed.

Having thus, I hope, fully anſwered the only argument that has been made uſe of for poſtponing this motion, I ſhall next beg leave to ſay ſomething by way of anſwer to thoſe objections that have been made againſt giving the whole of the prizes that ſhall be taken, to the captors. And here I find the ſufferings of our merchants are to be made a handle againſt our giving the ſame encouragement to our ſeamen, that was given in the laſt war. Sir, I am glad to find, that we now begin to ſhew ſome regard to our ſuffering merchants. I have always been for ſhewing them the utmoſt regard; and if ſome other Gentlemen had been of the ſame ſentiments with me, I am ſure, they would not have ſuffered ſo much. No man can more ſenſibly feel the loſſes and misfortunes our merchants have met with, than I do; and, for this very reaſon, I am for giving the whole of every prize that ſhall be taken, to the captors, becauſe, I think, it will be one of the beſt methods we can take, for procuring full reparation to our injured merchants.

It is not from the prizes that may be taken during the war, that our merchants can expect full reparation. If we reſolve to give them a large ſhare of every prize, I am afraid very few will be taken; and, if we give them but a ſmall ſhare, the whole amount would not near anſwer the great damages which they have ſuffered, during the long courſe of time they have been left expoſed to the depredations and inſults of Spaniſh guarda coſtas: therefore they ought, I am ſure every conſidering man among them will deſpiſe any reparation they can expect, by having a ſhare of ſuch prizes as may be taken by his Majeſty's ſhips of war. It is from a vigorous proſecution and happy iſſue of the war, and from thence alone, that they can expect a full reparation; and, as nothing can contribute more towards a vigorous proſecution and happy iſſue of a naval war, than that of giving the ſame encouragement to our ſeamen which they had in the laſt war, therefore I am convinced, that moſt of our ſuffering merchants will frankly reſign the inſignificant and partial reparation they can expect by having a ſhare in ſuch prizes as may be taken, in order to have not only a full reparation for their paſt ſufferings, but an abſolute ſecurity againſt any ſuch for the future, by a happy and glorious iſſue of the war we are now engaged in.

I am convinced, Sir, that the Hon. Gent. who ſpoke laſt, has no indirect or bad deſign, in pleading for our ſuffering merchants having a ſhare in ſuch prizes as may be taken during the war; I am convinced, it proceeds entirely from the compaſſion he has for their ſufferings: but I muſt beg leave to ſay, that I think it a ſort of compaſſion which can do no ſervice either to them or their country; becauſe it creates a ſort of oppoſition between them and our ſeamen, which is an oppoſition that, I believe, very few of them will deſire to propagate. It is ſomething extraordinary, that we ſhould now teſtify ſuch a compaſſion for our ſuffering merchants, when ſome few of them may, perhaps, by a petition, have ſet themſelves in oppoſition to our ſeamen; and that we were ſo ſlow in ſhewing a proper compaſſion for their ſufferings, when the only oppoſition was, between them and thoſe who plundered them, or tamely allowed them to be plundered.

For many years we ſhewed no compaſſion to their ſufferings, but by fruitleſs applications to the court of Spain; and, now we are engaged in war, we ſeem to be getting into as wrong a method for ſhewing our compaſſion, as we were in before the war was declared: for, 'tis certain, that the moſt proper and effectual way of ſhewing our compaſſion for thoſe that have ſuffered, is to take every method we can think of, that may any way conduce towards bringing the war to a happy and ſpeedy iſſue. But I muſt put Gentlemen in mind, that at the ſame time we are teſtifying our compaſſion for thoſe that have ſuffered, we ſhould think of having a compaſſion for thoſe that may ſuffer; for, if we do not, our

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The SCOTS *Magazine.*

JULY, 1744.

PROCEEDINGS of the *Political Club*, continued from p. 269.

The debate on the motion for an addreſs in anſwer to the King's ſpeech, continued.

The ſpeech of Valerius Lævinus, *in the character of* Thomas Winnington, *Eſq;*

Mr Preſident,

THE ſpirit of oppoſition has, of late years, become ſo prevalent in this houſe, that unanimity is never to be expected. If the Hon. Gentleman had propoſed nothing but thanks to his Majeſty for his moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne, I doubt much if it would have met with an unanimous approbation: I am perſuaded, ſome objection would have been made to it, or ſome amendment or addition offered, in order to give Gentlemen an opportunity to diſplay their rhetorick in running down the meaſures of the adminiſtration. But, thank God! the inſignificancy of oppoſition, when not founded on ſolid and right principles, is now as well known abroad as it is at home; and, to our good fortune, if the propoſition be but agreed to by a majority, the oppoſition it may meet with, can have no effect upon, nor any way diſconcert the meaſures which his Majeſty is purſuing, for the freedom and ſecurity of Europe in general, and of this nation in particular. Therefore, if, by what I am to trouble you with upon this occaſion, I do but gain a majority, I ſhall give myſelf no concern, if I fail of gaining an unanimous approbation.

As to the ancient method of addreſſing, I am really ſurpriſed to hear it ſo much inſiſted on, when the reaſon for our changing our method of addreſſing has been ſo often and ſo clearly explained. In ancient times, our ſovereign, in his ſpeech from the throne, communicated no knowledge to his parliament, either of what had been done, or of what was to be done. His ſpeech was only a ſhort compliment to the two houſes; and to the Chancellor it was left to give a ſtate of our affairs abroad and at home, and to explain to the parliament the King's wants, and his reaſons for calling them together. Whilſt this cuſtom continued, our addreſs, by way of anſwer to the King's ſpeech, could be no more than a general compliment; for neither houſe, in their addreſs to the throne, could take notice of what had been delivered to them from the wool-ſack. But, ſince the revolution, our Kings have, moſt juſtly, ſhewn more regard to their parliaments, and have themſelves, at the beginning of every ſeſſion, done what was formerly left to be done by the Lord Chancellor.

This, Sir, introduced neceſſarily a change in our method of addreſſing; for, in good manners, we were obliged to take ſome ſort of notice of every thing our ſovereign had mentioned in his ſpeech from the throne: and, upon ſuch occaſions, it has always been the cuſtom to ſuppoſe the facts to be true as ſtated in the King's ſpeech; without derogating, however, from our power or freedom to inquire into the truth of them, after having all the lights laid before us that we might think neceſſary for a full inquiry: and if, upon ſuch inquiry, any of the facts appeared to be untruly or unfairly ſtated; no ſuppoſition, no expreſſion we had made uſe of in our addreſs, could prevent or obſtruct our calling thoſe to account who had adviſed their ſovereign to expreſs himſelf in ſuch a manner. When we enter upon any ſuch inquiry, the ſpeech is ſuppoſed to be the ſpeech of the miniſters, and we may treat it with the ſame freedom as if it had been actually made by one of them: which ſhews, that nothing that is now propoſed, or indeed that can be propoſed upon any ſuch occaſion, can be attended with any inconvenience; becauſe it can be no bar to a

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future inquiry, nor can it have the leaſt influence upon any of our future proceedings: and, as his Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed, upon this occaſion, to give us a very particular account of the preſent ſtate of our affairs, we have now the ſame reaſon for continuing the modern cuſtom, that our forefathers had for leaving the ancient.

For this reaſon, Sir, if there were any facts mentioned in his Majeſty's ſpeech which might admit of a doubt, it could be no argument againſt our agreeing to what is now propoſed; but that there are none ſuch, is, I think, next to a demonſtration. When we conſider, that his Majeſty was laſt campaign at the head of the allied army; that that army was in the greateſt confuſion and diſtreſs, and in a very dangerous ſituation, when he arrived; that, in order to get out of that ſituation, they were obliged to march along the ſide of a river, whoſe oppoſite ſide was covered with the enemy's troops and batteries; that, in this march, they were for many hours cannonaded from the enemy's batteries, and, as has been acknowledged, in the greateſt danger of being caught in a ſnare; and that, by his Majeſty's conduct, and the bravery of the troops, they every where repulſed the enemy, and extricated themſelves from the ſnare: I ſay, Sir, when we conſider theſe things, can we doubt of his Majeſty's ſacred perſon's having been in the moſt extraordinary and imminent danger? can we, in common decency, omit taking this opportunity to congratulate his ſafe return, after having been expoſed to ſuch danger? This is a fact that cannot be in the leaſt queſtioned, and therefore I am ſurpriſed to hear any objection made to our mentioning it in our addreſs.

As to the ſucceſs of his Majeſty's arms, Sir, it is a fact equally certain. Suppoſe it true, that our army was led into a ſnare by miſconduct, before they had the good fortune of his Majeſty's preſence among them; if they extricated themſelves afterwards from that ſnare, by repulſing and defeating the enemy, was it not a ſucceſs? Call it an eſcape, if Gentlemen will have it ſo, yet ſtill it muſt be allowed to have been a ſucceſsful eſcape; and it was a glory to his Majeſty, to lead them out of a ſnare which they had been led into before his arrival in the army: it was an honour to the nation, to have their troops deliver themſelves by their bravery from a miſfortune which they had been led into by accident, or perhaps by human weakneſs.

Then, Sir, with regard to the Dutch troops, ſurely it will not be doubted, that a body of Dutch troops marched up to our army upon the Rhine. Whether they incamped in a line with the allied army or no, it is certain they were there; it is certain they were ready to aſſiſt our army, if it had been attacked by the French; it is certain they marched with our army, and paſſed the French lines upon the Queich: and, conſidering the nature of the Dutch government, and the ſtrong French party in that republick, even this ſtep, in them, muſt be a great ſatisfaction to every Engliſhman; for ſurely it could not be expected, that they would declare themſelves principals, when we acted only as auxiliaries.

And laſtly, Sir, with regard to the definitive treaty between his Majeſty, the Queen of Hungary, and the King of Sardinia; that ſuch a treaty has been concluded, is a fact, I believe, that will not be queſtioned; and that the aſſiſtance of the King of Sardinia will contribute to the advantage of the common cauſe, and to the diſtreſſing of the Spaniards in Italy, is likewiſe a fact that can be as little queſtioned: ſo that there is no fact mentioned in this propoſition, that can be in the leaſt doubted, much leſs contradicted. And, as to the wiſdom of the facts or the meaſures mentioned in this propoſition, it is not deſired that we ſhould ſo much as inſinuate an approbation. We congratulate his Majeſty on his ſafe return, after being expoſed to ſuch danger; but we do not ſay, it was right to adviſe him to expoſe himſelf to ſuch danger: we congratulate him on the ſucceſs of his arms; but we do not ſay, that they might not, by good conduct, have met with more ſucceſs: we ſay, we were pleaſed to hear, that his Majeſty was joined by a body of Dutch troops; but we do not ſay, that he might not have been joined by a greater body, or ſooner by that body, if proper meaſures had been uſed:

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ſed: we declare our ſatisfaction in the definitive treaty with the King of Sardinia; ut we are not deſired to ſay any thing of ne terms of that treaty; nor are we dered to ſay, that it might not have been urchaſed at a cheaper rate.

Thus, Sir, it is evident, that, by what is ow propoſed, we do not acknowledge, or ndeed mention any fact that can be in the eaſt doubted, nor do we ſo much as inſinuate an approbation of any late meaſure; nd therefore I do not think there is any bſolute neceſſity, upon this occaſion, for ny ſaying any thing in vindication of our neaſures or conduct: but, as ſo much ains has been taken to ſhew, that our neaſures were fundamentally wrong, and hat our conduct, in the proſecution of hem, has been bad, I hope I ſhall be excuſed endeavouring to juſtify both.

The preſervation of the houſe of Auſtria, and in that the balance of power, is a meaſure which has, ever ſince the revolution, been judged neceſſary for this nation to purſue; and was never oppoſed till it was found to be adopted by our miniſters. As ſoon as the Queen of Hungary was attacked by the King of Pruſſia, this meaſure was recommended to his Majeſty, not only by the parliament, but by the univerſal cry of the people: and, whilſt the imprudence, or, if you will, the obſtinacy of the court of Vienna, and the indifference of thoſe who are equally at leaſt with us, if not more engaged in intereſt to ſupport her, made it impoſſible, or at leaſt very dangerous, to engage openly in her quarrel, no objection was ever made to this meaſure; but, on the contrary, very loud complaints were made againſt the puſillanimity of our government; and the neutrality agreed to by Hanover, became a common topick of ridicule. During this interval, no man ever ſuppoſed or ſuggeſted, that the balance of power could be ſupported any other way than by the ſupport of the houſe of Auſtria; but, as ſoon as it was known, that a large body of our troops were ordered to prepare for going abroad, and that our government had reſolved to engage openly and vigorouſly in the ſupport of that houſe, thoſe very Gentlemen who had before declared ſo openly in favour of this meaſure, began to exclaim againſt it, and to repreſent it as an arrant piece of knight errantry.

From hence, Sir, we may plainly ſee the true ſpirit of oppoſition, and the maxim by which it is generally governed. The publick good has but ſeldom any ſhare in its councils, and, conſequently, is never made the rule for judging whether a meaſure be right or wrong. The only queſtion is, Whether it be a meaſure which our miniſters ſeem reſolved to purſue? If it is, it muſt be wrong; if it is not, it muſt appear to be right in the eyes of every man who has a mind to be thought a true friend to the oppoſition. This, Sir, is the criterion, and, I am afraid, the only criterion, by which moſt Gentlemen judge of publick meaſures, till ſuch time as his Majeſty thinks fit to give them ſome ſhare in the adminiſtration; and from hence we may eaſily ſee the reaſon why the ſupport of the houſe of Auſtria was formerly ſo ſtrongly recommended, and why it is now ſo much decried: but I hope to be able to ſhew, that it is now as unreaſonably decried, as it was before unſeaſonably recommended.

When the King of Pruſſia's attack upon Sileſia was firſt communicated to his Majeſty by the Queen of Hungary, we were under no engagement, nor was it our intereſt to declare openly and immediately in favour of either. It was certainly both our intereſt and duty to employ firſt our good offices; and, if in them we ſhould fail of ſucceſs, we were then to declare againſt that party who ſhould appear to be the moſt obſtinate and unjuſt. This, I ſay, was both our intereſt and duty, and this was what his Majeſty reſolved on, as appears from his anſwer to the Queen of Hungary's letter; but this was a point which, at that juncture, it was neceſſary to handle in the moſt delicate manner. We knew the inclinations of the court of France towards this nation, by the part they had acted in the war between Spain and us, and eſpecially by the ſquadron they had ſent to the Weſt-Indies, and the inſtructions they had privately given to that ſquadron. We from thence knew, that they wanted only an opportunity to declare openly in favour of Spain againſt us; and that nothing prevented their declaring o-

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penly, but their fear of our being able to form a powerful confederacy upon the continent againſt them.

In this ſituation, Sir, we were obliged to manage with our utmoſt dexterity both the courts of Vienna and Berlin, in order to prevent either of them being provoked to throw themſelves headlong into the arms of France. If we had talked to the Queen of Hungary in the language ſome Gentlemen inſiſt on we ſhould; if we had peremptorily told her, that we would give her no aſſiſtance, unleſs ſhe agreed to the terms offered by Pruſſia, it would, very probably, have provoked her to accept of the terms offered her by France, and to join with the two powerful nations of France and Spain in a confederacy againſt us; which would have drawn after it ſuch a number of the powers of Europe, as would have made any ſort of oppoſition or reſiſtance on our part impoſſible.

On the other hand, Sir, if we had immediately declared againſt the King of Pruſſia; if we had made uſe of none of our good offices for procuring an accommodation between him and the Queen of Hungary, but had joined with the Queen of Hungary in preſcribing a peremptory law to him, under pain of being reduced by force of arms in caſe of diſobedience, it would not only have thrown him into the arms of France, but would have raiſed ſuch a jealouſy in the other powers of Europe, as might have induced moſt of them to join with France and Pruſſia againſt the Queen of Hungary, and us, her only ally.

Between theſe two extremes, his Majeſty wiſely choſe the middle courſe; which was, to ſound the inclinations of our friends the States-General, and to join his good offices with theirs in endeavouring to bring about a reconciliation between the courts of Berlin and Vienna. Tho' he promiſed his aſſiſtance in caſe of neceſſity to the latter, he never ceaſed to remonſtrate how dangerous it would be to force the former into the arms of France, and how neceſſary it was for the common ſafety of Europe, to prevent ſuch an unnatural conjunction. This will appear from the whole tenor of the memorials and other papers that paſſed between our court and that of Vienna; and, as copies of them have been long upon our table, I think it unneceſſary to recite the particular paſſages, becauſe I ſuppoſe they have been again and again peruſed by every Gentleman in the houſe.

But, Sir, when his Majeſty found, that no accommodation could be brought about by his good offices, he conſidered how far he was bound by his engagements with the court of Vienna; and, by them, it is certain, he was bound to aſſiſt the Queen of Hungary againſt Pruſſia, or any other power that ſhould attack her without provocation. This was the occaſion of his Majeſty's ſpeech to his parliament on the 8th day of April 1741, and of the grant then made to his Majeſty for enabling him to ſupport the Queen of Hungary, and the liberties and balance of power in Europe. Conſidering the preparations making in France, and the open declarations made by Spain and Bavaria, it was perhaps imprudent in the court of Vienna to neglect engaging the King of Pruſſia on their ſide, by giving him ſatisfaction with reſpect to his demands upon Silefia, even ſuppoſing they had no juſt foundation: but the imprudence of that court did not free us from the engagements we were under. It was a moſt juſt reaſon for our not engaging, or not doing any thing that might engage us, as principals, in a quarrel which their imprudence had made deſperate: but it was no reaſon for our refuſing to give them any aſſiſtance; after we had, by firſt making uſe of our good offices, prevented the other powers of Europe from conceiving any jealouſy or reſentment, either againſt us or our ally the Queen of Hungary.

I ſhall not preſume to ſay, Sir, nor can I determine, which of the two courts, of Vienna or Berlin, were moſt guilty of obſtinacy or injuſtice; but this I will ſay, that we were under ſtricter engagements with the former than we were with the latter: and it was more ſafe for us, as well as more honourable, to venture forcing the King of Pruſſia into the arms of France, by giving the Queen of Hungary ſome aſſiſtance, than to riſk forcing the latter into the arms of France, by a total neglect of the moſt ſolemn engagements; becauſe, if the other powers of Europe, who were

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were equally engaged with us, had shewn a true regard to their engagements, a confederacy might have been formed against the house of Bourbon, tho' joined by Prussia; whereas no confederacy could have been formed against the house of Bourbon, if it had been joined by the house of Austria. But the other powers of Europe shewed such an indifference, that it was impossible for us to form any confederacy against the house of Bourbon, either before or after it was joined by Prussia; which made it unsafe for us to assist the Queen of Hungary any other way than by granting her sums of money, towards enabling her to make a stand, till such time as the other powers of Europe, and perhaps some of the confederates of France, should open their eyes, so as to see the gulph into which they were going to plunge themselves, as well as the rest of Europe.

By viewing the affairs of Europe in this light, which is the only true one, we may see the true reason, and we must approve of his Majesty's conduct, from the time of the late Emperor's death to the end of the year 1741, when the unexpected success of her Hungarian Majesty's arms began to render her affairs less desperate, and, consequently, to render it less imprudent for this nation to act more openly and more boldly in her favour: for even tho' Prussia had remained firm to his alliance with France, yet the augmentations the Dutch had made to their army, the good disposition that appeared in the King of Sardinia, and the success of the Muscovites against the Swedes, together with the wisdom and vigour that appeared in the Queen of Hungary's councils, gave us well-grounded hopes, that a confederacy might be formed sufficient for opposing the utmost force of France and all her allies; and tho' it could not then be proposed to restore the house of Austria to the same power it was possessed of in the time of the late Emperor, yet it was certainly the interest of Europe, and the interest of this nation in particular, to preserve the power of that house as entire as possible.

I say, Sir, it was in particular the interest of this nation to preserve as entire as possible the power of the house of Austria. Nay, I will go farther; I will say, that this is more the interest of this nation than of any other in Europe: and my reason for saying so is, that, whilst the house of Austria possesses any dominions in the Netherlands, in Swabia, or in Italy, it must be a rival to the house of Bourbon; and, as we have more to fear from the house of Bourbon, and less to fear from the house of Austria, than any nation in Europe can have, therefore we are more than any other nation in Europe concerned in preserving the power of the house of Austria. Gentlemen may talk of our being the most remote from the danger that may accrue from the overgrown power of the house of Bourbon, but I am of a very different opinion. So far from being the most remote, I am fully convinced, that, after the house of Austria, we are the very next to the danger; and that, after reducing the power of the house of Austria, and stripping it of its dominions in the Netherlands, Swabia, and Italy, the trade, the navigation, and perhaps the liberties and religion of this nation, would be the very next sacrifice to the ambition of the house of Bourbon. Whilst it is in our power to form such an alliance upon the continent as may attack the house of Bourbon with a formidable land-army, they will always be cautious of attacking us; because, whilst they are in danger of being vigorously attacked at land, they can never form such a navy as will be sufficient for attacking us at sea: but, if France, Spain, and Sicily, were once freed from any danger of being attacked by land, they would in a few years be able to form such a navy as would enable them to attack us at sea; and, if they should once become our masters at sea, their numerous land-armies would soon make them our masters at land, both in our plantations in America, and even in Britain and Ireland.

This, Sir, would be the effect of its being out of our power to form such an alliance upon the continent as might attack the house of Bourbon with a formidable army at land, in case of their making any attack upon us; and, if the power of the house of Austria were very much reduced, or if that house were stripped of all its dominions in Italy, and upon the confines of

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of France, how could we form such an alliance? The house of Austria would then cease being any more a rival to the house of Bourbon, and would consequently give itself very little concern about the alliance or friendship of this nation; the empire would be split into so many parties, and governed by such different interests, that we could never expect any alliance or effectual assistance from thence; and the present Imperial family must continue to be so much influenced by French councils, that we shall always have reason to dread their joining with France against us, rather than to hope for their joining with us against France.

I shall grant, Sir, that the powers upon the continent, especially those whose dominions border upon, or lie near to the frontiers of France, may be more easily attacked, and more speedily made a prey to the ambition of that aspiring nation, than this country can be supposed to be; but the French very well know, that they must not give a full scope to their ambition, as long as either the house of Austria, or G. Britain, has any power to oppose them; because either the one or the other will always serve as a basis upon which a confederacy may be formed, which will be sufficient for defeating their ambitious designs. For this reason, after they have once reduced the power of the house of Austria, their next attempt will certainly be against us; for which they can never want a plausible pretence, on account of the perpetual jarring interests of the two nations: and tho' the lesser powers of Europe would be ready to accept of our assistance, and to form themselves into a confederacy under our banner, upon France's attacking any of them; yet we should find it very difficult, if not impossible, to draw a sufficient number of them into a confederacy, upon France's attacking us, without discovering a design against any of them. From whence I must conclude, that the interest, and even the safety of this nation, is more nearly and more closely connected with the interest and safety of the house of Austria, than most Gentlemen imagine, and much more than some Gentlemen will at present admit.

This, Sir, will, I think, justify our being the first to embrace the cause of the Queen of Hungary with vigour, as soon as we saw there were any hopes of our being able to do it with success; and the event will, I hope, shew, that the design was far from being romantick. I am sure, nothing has yet happened that can furnish the least shadow of reason for its being called so. On the contrary, ever since we began to act with vigour, almost every month has produced an argument against its being thought so. The defection of Prussia and Saxony were the first fruits of our bold and generous design. Whether that defection was owing to our address and management, I shall not pretend to determine; but this I may with some confidence say, that, whatever disobligations the King of Prussia met with from the French, whatever discoveries he made of their selfish designs, he would not have abandoned their alliance, and, consequently, their friendship, without our interposition; because he neither could, nor would have trusted to any concessions offered to him by the court of Vienna, if those offers had not been accompanied with a tender of our guaranty: and, if the King of Prussia had remained firm to the French alliance, I believe we should have found it very difficult to draw off the King of Poland.

The next fruits, Sir, of our beginning to act with vigour, was, the shutting up of the French army in Prague, the recovery of Bohemia, and the almost total reduction of Bavaria; which brought both the French and the Emperor to offer such terms to the Queen of Hungary as they would before have rejected with scorn. But, as their offers plainly appeared to be insidious; as they tended only to make the Queen of Hungary give up all the advantages which the success of her arms had procured her, without receiving any advantage, or any security in return, she was certainly in the right to reject them. If our ministers advised her to do so, they were in the right; and, if they had advised otherwise, I believe she would have desired their excuse: for, whatever some Gentlemen in this house may think, I believe she is above being dictated to by this, or any other court in Europe.

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But this argument, Sir, I shall pursue farther; because, as the terms then ered by France and the Emperor were ver laid before this house, we can argue h no certainty or propriety upon them. they related only to the affairs of Ger- ny, as has been commonly reported, it certain they could not be so much as ndation for a general peace. The on- consequence would have been, a sus- nsion of arms for two or three years in rmany, where it was most difficult and ngerous for the French to carry on the r. In the mean time, they would have en left at liberty to attack, and to con- er the Queen of Hungary's dominions Flanders and Italy; and, if they had et with success in these two places, which ey probably would, the Emperor would ave been ready to have joined them in ewing the attack upon the Queen of Hungary in Germany, when his assistance ould have been of more consequence an it can be at present: for, after ha- ing had two or three years to establish imself in the Imperial throne, and to ake use of those prerogatives which are nnexed to the Imperial diadem, he would ave had a much greater influence in the mpire than he can have at present, and ight perhaps have been able to obtain a de- ree of the diet against the Queen of Hun- ary, if she had refused to give him satis- action as to his claims; none of which ere to be renounced by the terms then roposed.

I hope I have now shewn, Sir, that our easures have been fundamentally right, ver since the death of the late Emperor; hat it was wise, and even necessary for s to give the Queen of Hungary some sistance, after we found our good offices ffectual, in order to prevent her being ced into the arms of France; that it ould have been very unsafe, and, con- quently, imprudent in us, to have given r such an assistance as might have in- olved ourselves in her quarrel, as long as r affairs continued under a desperate a- ct; that it was right in us to assist her nly and vigorously, as soon as there ap- ared the least hopes that our assisting r in such a manner might be attended h success; and that it is for our inte- rest, and even necessary for our immediate safety, to support the house of Austria, if possible, tho' we should not be joined by any other power in Europe. These have been our measures; these measures, I hope, I have demonstrated to be right; and, in the prosecution of these measures, it will be easy to justify every part of our conduct.

As soon as the success of the Queen of Hungary's arms in Germany had rendered it safe and prudent for us to act vigorously in her favour; as soon as the wisdom of her councils, the conduct of her Generals, and the bravery of her troops, had shewn that it was possible to restore her affairs, notwithstanding the number of her enemies, his Majesty resolved to engage in the generous design: but, to facilitate the execution of this design, it was necessary to bring in the Dutch and the King of Sardinia, and to take off the Kings of Prussia and Poland. With regard to the Dutch, every one knows, they were divided into two parties; one of which I shall call the *Austrian*, and the other the *French* party. The former were for joining with us in vigorously supporting the Queen of Hungary; and the latter, for doing nothing that might provoke France, or rather for agreeing to a neutrality. These were the maxims of the two parties; and the latter supported their maxim with the danger they were in upon the side of Flanders, in case they should provoke France to attack them. The King of Sardinia wanted to have a part of the Milanese yielded to him by the Queen of Hungary, and to be secured against being overpowered by the troops of France and Spain: and the Kings of Poland and Prussia wanted to have some concessions made to them by the Queen of Hungary in Bohemia and Silesia, to have those concessions guarantied by some of the principal powers of Europe, and to be secured against the resentment of France and the Emperor. From these circumstances it is evident, that the first thing we had to resolve on, was to form as powerful an army as we could in Flanders, and to render our squadron in the Mediterranean superior to any thing that the French and Spaniards could fit out against it.

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By forming an army in Flanders, Sir, we deprived the French party in Holland of their chief argument againſt joining vigorouſly with us for the ſupport of the Queen of Hungary; and, as the French were in danger of having ſome part of their frontier invaded by that army, it was the moſt effectual way we could take for obliging them to keep their regular troops at home, and preventing their being able to ſend any great number of them to the aſſiſtance of the Emperor in Germany, or the Spaniard in Italy. If we had ſent 50,000 men to have joined the Queen of Hungary's troops either in Germany or Italy, it would have been much more inconvenient and expenſive to us, and would not have diſtreſſed the French ſo much as the forming of ſuch an army upon their frontier; becauſe, in the former caſe, the French could eaſily have ſent an equal number of men to the aſſiſtance of their allies in either of theſe countries, by withdrawing the regular troops from their frontier-garriſons, and replacing them with militia; whereas, in the latter, they could not truſt to their militia, and, conſequently, were obliged to keep their frontier-places fully garriſoned with regular troops, at the ſame time that they were obliged to keep an army of regular troops upon their frontier, equal, at leaſt, to the army which we had formed there. It was not abſolutely neceſſary for our army in Flanders to enter directly upon action: their being poſted there, and kept ready to enter upon action, had as good an effect for the purpoſes for which that army was deſigned, as if it had immediately entered upon action. And a proper reinforcement being ſent to our ſquadron in the Mediterranean, and proper aſſurances given to the King of Sardinia, theſe two meaſures, together with the neceſſary conceſſions from the Queen of Hungary, which we were previouſly aſſured of, very ſoon produced almoſt all the effects that could be expected, and gave that turn to the affairs of Europe, which even the greateſt enemies to our miniſters muſt and do admit to be both happy and ſurpriſing.

From what I have ſaid, Sir, it will be eaſy to anſwer all the queſtions ſtated by the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt. Our army was not at firſt aſſembled in Germany, becauſe in Flanders it was of more ſervice to the common cauſe. It did not march ſooner into Germany, becauſe, till the Auſtrian army began to approach the Rhine, it could be of no ſervice there. It continued inactive upon the Mayn, becauſe, by its being poſted there, it produced the ſame effect as if it had attacked and beat the French army upon that river; that is to ſay, it prevented the French from ſending any reinforcement to their diſtreſſed army in Bavaria: and, however ſure we may think ourſelves of victory, no man will ſay it is prudent to venture a battle, if the ſame effect can be obtained without running any ſuch riſk. If we had attacked and defeated the French army upon the Mayn, we could not have purſued them into their own dominions, till the Auſtrian army came up to our aſſiſtance; whereas, if we had met with a defeat, the conſequence might have been fatal to the Queen of Hungary's affairs in Germany. It was therefore the buſineſs of the French, to attack our army upon the Mayn, if they found they could do it with any hopes of ſucceſs; but it was very far from being our buſineſs to attack them, or ſo much as to think of it, ſo long as we could, without riſking a battle, prevent their ſending ſuch a reinforcement into Bavaria as might have given a turn to their affairs in that country. And this conſideration, without knowing any thing of the ſituation of the place, or the circumſtances of the two armies, will anſwer for our not purſuing the blow we gave them when they attacked us at Dettingen.

It is very certain, Sir, that in that attack they met with a moſt ſevere check, and, I believe, a moſt unexpected repulſe; but, if I have been rightly informed, their retreat was not precipitate, nor did they march off in any great confuſion: they formed again, and fronted our army, before they repaſſed that river: and, as they had a great number of freſh troops upon the other ſide, and two or three bridges of communication, if we had purſued them, it would certainly have brought on a new engagement, which might have turned out to our diſadvantage; and this it was not our buſineſs to run the riſk of, for

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or the reason I have already assigned; because, as I have said, our obtaining a most compleat victory could have been attended with no great advantage, whereas our meeting with a defeat might have occasioned most fatal consequences.

The same reason, Sir, may be given for our not attempting any thing afterwards, till Pr. Charles with his army approached towards us. And why the two armies did not join, and pass the Rhine together at Mentz, may, I think, be easily accounted for, if we consider that a great part of Swabia, especially that bordering upon the Rhine, belongs to the Queen of Hungary. If the Austrian army had marched so low as Mentz, it would have exposed all her dominions in Swabia, to have been plundered and destroyed by the French from Alsace, and might have furnished them with an opportunity of penetrating again as far as Bavaria; which would have rekindled the war in that country. For this reason, I suppose, it was resolved, that Pr. Charles, with the Austrian army, should march up the Rhine, and endeavour to pass that river, in order to attack Alsace, whilst the allied army passed the Rhine at Mentz, and made a diversion upon the side of the Palatinate. This, I say, I suppose to have been the reason why the two armies did not march and pass the Rhine together at Mentz; but, as I was not in the secret, nor had any concern in the conduct of the last campaign, I shall not pretend to say, that this was the true, and much less, that it was the only one. But, after the two armies were thus separated, and a very great river, as well as a great distance, between them, every one must see, that the allied army, even after it was joined by the Dutch, could attempt nothing of consequence, till such time as the Austrian army under Pr. Charles should pass the Rhine; and, as that army could not accomplish their design, this was the true reason, why nothing more was done during last campaign.

Having now, I hope, Sir, fully justified our conduct as well as our measures, I think I need not say much in vindication of the treaty of Worms. If it was necessary to gain the assistance of the King of Sardinia, it was as necessary to secure the continuance of that assistance, as long as the danger continues; and, if we consider how deeply our own honour is concerned, in preventing its being possible for the Spaniards to succeed in Italy, as long as they are in open war with us, no man will say, we have purchased the assistance of the King of Sardinia at too dear a rate. As for what relates to the republick of Genoa, I am surprised to hear it called an act of injustice. Can there be any act of injustice in a fair purchase? Is the republick, by that treaty, to be forced to sell; or are they to be forced to sell at a lower price than they think reasonable? No such thing, Sir. If that republick has not a mind to part with Final at the price that shall be offered, the King of Sardinia must go without it, and must have a compensation some other way: so that there is nothing in that treaty but what is just, nothing but what is reasonable, and, considering our present circumstances, nothing but what is absolutely necessary for the preservation of our own honour, as well as for the preservation of the house of Austria.

I shall now conclude, Sir, with begging pardon for troubling the house with this long discourse in vindication of our measures and conduct. As I said before, it is what has properly nothing to do in this debate; but, as the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, was pleased to find fault with both, I was afraid, his objections, if they remained unanswered, might have had weight with some Gentlemen, so far as to prevail with them to give their negative to this question: and tho' I give myself very little concern about its being unanimously approved of, yet I earnestly wish it may be approved of by a majority; because I think that not only the liberties of Europe, but those of my country depend upon that approbation; and therefore I hope the house will not only indulge me the pardon I ask, but agree with me in giving an affirmative to the question.

The speech of Mecœnas, *in the character of* George Lyttelton, *Esq;*

Mr President,

THE Hon. Gentleman began with giving us a reason why he gave himself very little concern about gaining

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the unanimous approbation of this house; because, said he, the spirit of opposition has of late years become so prevalent amongst us, that unanimity is never to be expected; and that therefore, if a question be carried by a majority, be it never so small, the opposition it meets with can have no effect upon our foreign measures. I shall grant, Sir, that our ministers have of late years given themselves very little trouble about gaining the unanimous approbation of this house, or the general approbation of the people. And I shall likewise grant, that the opposition can have very little effect upon our foreign measures, because our ministers seem to be in the same condition abroad they are at home: they seem to have no friends but those they purchase; and such will certainly continue their friends, as long as they can pay them their wages, and no higher wages can be had from any other undertaker. But I cannot admit, that the spirit of opposition is of late years become more prevalent in this house than ever it was in former times, nor can this be suggested by any Gentleman who has studied our history, and speaks sincerely what he thinks. There are many bills and motions now agreed to as things of common course, which in former ages would not only have been violently opposed, but scornfully rejected; and the load of debts and taxes this nation grones under, is a melancholy proof, that the spirit of opposition has not of late years been so brisk as it ought to have been: for from history I cannot discover, that the nation has within this last century, been exposed to greater foreign danger, than ever it was in any former century; and, if it was exposed to no greater danger, no good reason can be assigned for its having put itself to any greater expence. The cause indeed may be easily assigned: for money quenches the spirit of opposition, as naturally as water quenches fire; and, our ministers having of late years had much more money at their disposal, than they ever had before, they have therewith so slakened the spirit of opposition, that, instead of taking care not to supply fuel, they have thought, and have been permitted to think, only of providing themselves with water: for which purpose, they have, for this last century, been continually running the nation into, or keeping it engaged in unnecessary broils; because the more publick money is raised and expended yearly, the more they have annually at their disposal.

The Hon. Gentleman, in the progress of his discourse, was pleased, Sir, to have another touch at the opposition, and to give us a sort of definition of a *true opposer*; in lieu of which I shall give him a definition of a *true courtier*. A *true courtier* is a Gentleman who throws aside all regard for the publick good, and never thinks of the right or wrong of a publick measure, but whether it be such as the King and his prime minister, for the time being, (who the minister is, signifies nothing to him), seem resolved to pursue. If it is, he employs his talents in all companies, and in all places, in proving it to be right: if otherwise, he is at equal pains to demonstrate its being wrong. Now, I will not say but that there are many such Gentlemen as both he and I have described: perhaps there may be some in this house: if there are, I wish that every other Gentleman would mark them out, and shew a regard accordingly to what they say. And I must observe, that at present our *true courtiers*, of any standing, are in a most despicable situation; for every argument they can bring for justifying our present measures, must be a satyr upon our measures for twenty years past, and a contradiction to what they themselves have formerly advanced in justification of those measures. The *true opposers*, as the Hon. Gentleman described them, that is to say, those who constantly opposed till the King thought fit to give them a share in the administration; such Gentlemen, I say, have in this an advantage of our *true courtiers*; because they are not now obliged to contradict themselves, and to employ all their chicane in proving that to be right, which they have for twenty years been proving to be wrong.

After these remarks, Sir, upon what the Hon. Gentleman was pleased to say about opposition, I shall come to the question now under our consideration. And I must begin with declaring my surprise, how any Gentleman

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tleman could conceive, and much more how any Gentleman can aſſert, that, in former times, the King's ſpeech at the beginning of a parliament was never any thing but a ſhort compliment to the two houſes; when it is ſo evident, both from our hiſtory and records, that the fact is directly otherwiſe. In former times, eſpecially in the reigns of James and Charles I. the King's ſpeech upon ſuch occaſions was much longer than it is now: even in the reigns of Charles and James II. their ſpeeches were longer, and more particular, than any ſpeech I have ever heard from the throne. But, in thoſe times, neither houſe thought itſelf obliged, either in duty or good manners, to echo back the King's ſpeech paragraph by paragraph. This is but a late invention of our miniſters, and introduced by them for no other reaſon but to procure a ſide-wind approbation of their meaſures at the beginning of each ſeſſion of parliament; which, whatever may be pretended, they afterwards make uſe of as an argument for preventing Gentlemens joining in a cenſure upon any of their meaſures. And, whatever may be ſaid or pretended to the contrary, it will always have ſome weight with thoſe who have a regard to their character, and do not like to act ſo inconſiſtent a part, as that of condemning at the end of a ſeſſion, what they have but ſeemed to approve of at the beginning. Courtiers may ſkip over a ſtick, forwards and backwards, when their intereſt makes it neceſſary for them to do ſo; but Gentlemen of honour will ſcorn to act ſuch a part, and therefore avoid doing any thing that has the leaſt appearance of it.

We ſhould therefore always, but more eſpecially upon this occaſion, avoid ſaying any thing in our addreſs, that may look like an approbation of paſt meaſures. I ſay, Sir, eſpecially upon this occaſion; becauſe it is evident, that the ſpeech now before us is calculated, from the beginning to the end, for procuring ſome ſort of approbation to every publick meaſure that has been tranſacted ſince laſt ſeſſion; and the propoſition now made to us is as evidently calculated for anſwering that deſign. No man rejoices more than I do upon his Majeſty's eſcaping thoſe dangers to which he was laſt campaign adviſed to expoſe his ſacred perſon; but I cannot ſay, becauſe I do not think, that he expoſed himſelf to theſe dangers, in defence of the common cauſe or the liberties of Europe. No man can think ſo, but ſuch as think that all our late meaſures were calculated for the defence of the common cauſe and the liberties of Europe; and therefore none but ſuch can join in this part of the propoſition now made to us. Suppoſe I think that all our late meaſures were concerted with no other view but to put this nation to the expence of maintaining 16,000 Hanoverian troops, and of gaining ſome advantage or addition to the electorate of Hanover by the next treaty of peace; could I ſay, could I inſinuate, that his Majeſty had expoſed himſelf to dangers in defence of the common cauſe, or of the liberties of Europe? A thorough-paced courtier may perhaps think, that the cauſe of Hanover is the common cauſe of Europe, as much as it has been lately made the cauſe of this nation; ſuch a one may think, that the liberties of Europe depend as much now upon increaſing the power of the electorate of Hanover, as they formerly depended upon increaſing the power of the houſe of Auſtria: but I have the misfortune to think otherwiſe, and cannot therefore join in this part of the addreſs propoſed.

Can I, Sir, acknowledge his Majeſty's regard and attention to the advice of his parliament, when I am very ſure his parliament never gave ſuch advice as has been lately followed, nor ever recommended ſuch meaſures as have been lately purſued? The parliament adviſed his Majeſty to join, in aſſiſting the Queen of Hungary, with thoſe powers who are engaged by treaties and bound by intereſt to ſupport her; but the parliament never adviſed his Majeſty to take upon himſelf alone the ſupporting of that princeſs, and much leſs to take upon himſelf alone the procuring her an equivalent for thoſe territories ſhe has lately been obliged to part with.

In the ſame manner, Sir, I might go thro' every part of the addreſs propoſed, and ſhew, that no part of it that relates to any foreign tranſaction, can be agreed to

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by any but thoſe who approve of that tranſaction; for, in every article, there is a word or an expreſſion ſtoln in, that implies an approbation of the tranſaction to which it relates: therefore, every Gentleman who is reſolved never to give a vote in this houſe, but what he can give a good reaſon for; I ſay, every ſuch Gentleman muſt, by this propoſition, be obliged to examine our late meaſures: and, in order to anſwer what the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt has ſaid in their vindication, I ſhall take the ſame liberty that others have taken before me in this debate.

For this purpoſe, Sir, and in order to ſift theſe matters to the bottom, it would be neceſſary to go as far back as the year 1720, when the affairs of Mecklemburg firſt produced a coolneſs between the courts of Vienna and Hanover, on account of the Emperor's then beginning to examine into, and curtail the ſums claimed by the Elector of Hanover as due to him from the duchy of Mecklemburg; becauſe the reſentment of the court of Hanover on that account, and the conduct of this nation in purſuance of that reſentment, has brought Europe upon that precipice on which it ſtands at preſent. For this reaſon, I ſay, it would be neceſſary to take a view of our publick meaſures for twenty years paſt: and, tho' ſome of our preſent miniſters may ſay, they are not anſwerable for what happened before they came into the adminiſtration, I muſt tell them, that they are anſwerable for the crimes of their predeceſſors, as long as thoſe crimes remain unpuniſhed; eſpecially if it ſhould appear, that they have been the chief cauſe of the impunity their predeceſſors have had the good luck to meet with. But, as this would lead me into a deduction of facts and circumſtances which would take up too much of your time, I ſhall go no farther back than the late Emperor's death.

That unlucky, tho' no one can ſay, unforeſeen accident, ſhould certainly have opened the eyes of our miniſters, and made them perceive the overſight they were guilty of, when they guarantied the pragmatick ſanction, in not procuring ſome ſatisfaction for the King of Pruſſia, with regard to his claims on Sileſia, in order to ſecure the aſſiſtance of that prince in defence of the pragmatick ſanction. But, if our miniſters were then ſo ſtupidly blind as not to have their eyes opened by that accident, ſurely the invaſion of Sileſia by Pruſſia ſhould have opened their eyes, and made them loſe no time in repairing the overſight they had been guilty of when they guarantied the pragmatick ſanction. The juſtice or injuſtice of his Pruſſian Majeſty's claims was what ought not to have been admitted into our conſideration, nor indeed had we any thing to do with it; the neceſſity of ſecuring that prince in our intereſt ought to have been our only conſideration: and, conſidering the open declarations of Spain and Bavaria, and the probability that both would be aſſiſted by France, no man that was not wilfully blind, could miſs ſeeing this neceſſity. Therefore our miniſters ſhould have loſt no time in communicating their thoughts to the court of Vienna, and inſinuating, in the gentleſt manner they could, the neceſſity of her Hungarian Majeſty's entering immediately into a negotiation with Pruſſia upon the plan of what he himſelf had offered.

This, Sir, might have been done without talking in a dictating manner, or giving the Queen of Hungary the leaſt cauſe for being affronted. But afterwards, if we had found that princeſs unreaſonably, or even imprudently, haughty or obſtinate, we might and ought to have talked in a more preremptory manner, and even told her plainly, that ſhe was to expect no aſſiſtance from us, if ſhe did not by ſome conceſſions engage Pruſſia in her intereſt. I ſhall grant, that this would not have been conformable to the letter of our engagements, of mutual defence and guaranty, entered into in the year 1731; but all ſuch engagements imply the condition of a poſſibility of performance; and, if ſhe, by her imprudence, made it impoſſible for us to perform our engagements, the fault was her's and not ours: for, according to the letter of our engagements, we had not ſo much as a moment's time to employ our good offices; and therefore, if it was right to depart ſo far from our engagements as to employ our good offices with the King of Pruſſia, towards a reconciliation, it would likewiſe have been right to have

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ave departed from them altogether, had e by her obſtinacy rendered the perform-nce impoſſible, or too dangerous.

But, it ſeems, we were afraid of talk-g peremptorily or ſincerely to the Queen Hungary, leſt, by ſo doing, we ſhould ave provoked her to throw herſelf into ne arms of France. Sir, if ever there as ſuch a thing as a vain fear, this was ne. When we conſider the extenſive pre-enſions of Spain and Bavaria, and the an-ient animoſity between the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon, can we ſuppoſe, hat any man in his right ſenſes was a-raid of the Queen of Hungary's throwing erſelf into the arms of France, and there-y bringing herſelf under a neceſſity to ſa-isfy, or, at leaſt, compound the exten-ive claims of Spain and Bavaria, without ny conſideration, rather than make ſome ew conceſſions to Pruſſia in Sileſia, for a ery valuable conſideration? Whatever ome Gentlemen may now pretend, it is mpoſſible to ſuppoſe, that they, or any one elſe was affected with ſuch a fear. But, on the other ſide, there were moſt uſt grounds to fear, nay there was al-moſt an abſolute certainty, that her re-uſing to give any ſatisfaction to Pruſſia, and our ſupporting and encouraging her in that refuſal, would force Pruſſia into an alliance with France, as it ſoon after did.

Having thus ſhewn, what ſhould have been the conduct of our miniſters upon the late Emperor's death, and the inva-ſion of Sileſia by Pruſſia, I ſhall next exa-mine, what was their conduct. The late Emperor died October 20. and the King of Pruſſia invaded Sileſia about the mid-dle of December. The Queen of Hun-gary notified this invaſion to our court by a letter dated the 29th of December: but ſo far were our miniſters from beſtirring themſelves either to prevent or accommo-date this conteſt, that his Majeſty did not anſwer this letter till the end of February; for tho' it bears date the 29th of January, it was not delivered to the Queen of Hun-gary's miniſter here till near the end of February: and, as a copy of that anſwer is not only before us, but has been print-ed*, I am ſurpriſed to hear any Gentle-man aſſert, that our court, in that letter, or in any other paper at that time, either adviſed, or remonſtrated to the court of Vienna the neceſſity of giving ſatisfaction to, and engaging the King of Pruſſia in her intereſt. On the contrary, our mini-ſters (for even that letter I muſt here call the letter of our miniſters) therein ſay, that there ought not to be the leaſt de-rogation from the faith of ſolemn treaties; that they would endeavour to perſuade the King of Pruſſia *to deſiſt from his hoſtile enterpriſe*; and that, if he did not, they would faithfully and religiouſly perform the treaties that obliged them to aſſiſt her Majeſty: and they conclude, that this was the ſame language they had held to her miniſter here; from whence we muſt conclude, that her Majeſty was acquaint-ed with theſe their ſentiments before ſhe had them in writing; which was moſt unreaſonably delayed, conſidering how preſſing the occaſion was.

At that time, Sir, we had ſuch a re-gard for the Dutch, that we would not ſo much as anſwer the Queen of Hunga-ry's letter, or employ our good offices with the King of Pruſſia, without their concurrence, nor till we were informed of their ſentiments, and had entered into a concert with them. And what was this concert, Sir? By my Lord Harring-ton's letter to Mr. Robinſon, of the 27th of February, we are informed what it was. It was not to adviſe the Queen of Hun-gary to give any ſatisfaction to Pruſſia, but by friendly repreſentations to endea-vour to prevail upon the King of Pruſ-ſia, *to deſiſt from his preſent enterpriſe*; if that ſhould not ſucceed, to deter him from the proſecution of it by declaring their joint reſolution to fulfil their engagements to the court of Vienna; and, if neither of theſe methods ſhould prove ſufficient, to proceed *to oblige that prince, by force of arms, to withdraw his troops from Sileſia.*

This, Sir, was the concert propoſed by our miniſter at the Hague; and, at the ſame time, as that letter likewiſe informs us, the Queen of Hungary's miniſter here was informed, that his Majeſty was reſol-ved to perform his engagements to the Queen of Hungary, as ſoon as a proper plan for the military operations could be ſettled: and this our miniſter at Vienna was

* *See Annals of Europe for* 1741, *p.* 469.

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was desired to assure that court of, as he certainly did accordingly. In short, by all the accounts we have of the conduct of our ministers at this time, and for some time before, they seem to have been under a much greater concern about settling with the Queen of Hungary and the Dutch a plan for attacking Prussia, than they were about settling the differences between that prince and the Queen of Hungary: nay, they seem to have been under a concern lest the Queen of Hungary and the King of Prussia should accommodate their differences, and thereby deprive them of an opportunity of attacking the dominions of the latter; for, by the letter I have mentioned, our minister at Vienna was instructed to feel the pulse of that court, as to their inclining to come to an accommodation with Prussia, but expressly ordered *not to advise them one way or other.*

Considering the circumstances of Europe at that time, Sir, it would be very difficult to account for this conduct in our ministers, if we had not got some papers upon our table that furnish us with the proper clew. The papers I mean, Sir, is that which is called, *A project of a convention*, and that which is called, *Remarks of the court of Vienna on Lord Harrington's letter of the 28th of April.* From these papers it appears, that, when the King of Prussia first entered Silesia, some wrong-headed minister formed a scheme for taking hold of that opportunity to add some part of the Prussian dominions to the electorate of Hanover; and for this purpose it was proposed, that an alliance should be formed between the Queen of Hungary, G. Britain, Holland, Hanover, Saxony, and Muscovy, for attacking Prussia, and dividing his dominions amongst them; for, by the terms proposed, each party was to keep what he could conquer. This project was communicated to Count Ostein, the Austrian minister here, and by him to the court of Vienna; where it was drawn up into the form of a treaty; a copy of which we have upon our table, intitled, as I have said, *A project of a convention:* but, tho' it was drawn up in form at Vienna, that court, in the remarks I have mentioned, expressly declare, that in this project *they only followed what others desired*, and that it was *drawn only in consequence of the relations sent by C. Ostein.* This project was, it seems, adopted by our ministers here; and so fond were they of it, that it prevented their seeing the danger and confusion Europe would be involved in by a confederacy between France, Spain, the Emperor, the Electors Palatine and Cologne, the King of Prussia, and the King of Sweden. Or perhaps their fondness for this project made them such fools as to believe the protestations of the court of France, that they would adhere to the guaranty of the pragmatick sanction, and give no assistance to Spain or Bavaria, nor any way obstruct our schemes in Germany.

But our ministers, Sir, enjoyed but a very short while the pleasure of indulging themselves with the hopes of being able to make an addition to the electorate of Hanover at the expence of Prussia: for, soon after the beginning of March, as appears from the Lord Harrington's letter of the 5th of that month, they had certain information, that France was preparing to throw off the mask, and that a treaty was far advanced between Prussia and France. This made their scheme against Prussia a little dangerous: and I believe they had, at the same time, the mortification to find, that the Dutch would have nothing to do with it; which made it absolutely impracticable. Upon this, I shall grant, they began to advise the Queen of Hungary to make it up at any rate with the King of Prussia. But they made that advice ineffectual, by promising, at the same time, to fulfil their engagements to her at all events: tho', by the fresh instructions they sent to our minister at the Russian court, which the Queen of Hungary, in the remarks I have mentioned, complains of, it appears, they had no real intention to perform that promise; for, if they had been really determined to assist the Queen of Hungary, they would not surely have desisted from endeavouring to bring the powerful empire of Russia into the same measure. But, as both the Queen of Hungary and the court of Russia shewed themselves a little cool as to our project of dividing the Prussian dominions, as both of them declared against having any share in the conquests, our ministers, whatever they might

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ght promiſe, began to be very indifferabout aſſiſting the Queen of Hungary, ſoon as they found that no advantage ld thereby be got for the electorate of nover; and that electorate, notwithnding all the promiſes of our miniſters, aſſiſt the Queen of Hungary in all events, ncluded at laſt a neutrality with France. That neutrality, Sir, I ſhall not give yſelf the trouble of finding fault with. he neutrality itſelf was never made a tock of ridicule; but the manner in which was negotiated became very juſtly a tock of ridicule; and the conſequences it ad, or at leaſt ſeemed to have, upon the eaſures of this nation, became a ſubject or the moſt melancholy reflexions to eve y true Engliſhman. It is highly probable, hat, in the treaty itſelf, there was no ſtiulation for the neutrality of this kingom; for no Engliſh miniſter would dare o ſign ſuch a treaty: but I will ſay, that, while the ſame counſels prevailed here, it ppeared to be a neutrality for England as ell as Hanover; for otherwiſe there is no ccounting for the conduct of our miniſters vith regard to our ſquadron in the Mediterranean. We knew, that our declared enemies the Spaniards were preparing a very formidable imbarkation at Barcelona, nd as formidable a ſquadron at Cadiz, as hey could fit out: we knew, that the French, who, as has been acknowledged by the advocates for this addreſs, wanted only an opportunity to attack us, were preparing as formidable a ſquadron at Toulon as they could fit out. In theſe circumſtances we muſt admit, that our miniſters had, or had not an aſſurance, upon which they could depend, that none of theſe preparations were deſigned againſt our poſſeſſions in the Mediterranean. But ſuch an aſſurance they could not have, unleſs England, as well as Hanover, was included in the neutrality, by ſome ſecret article, or at leaſt by ſome verbal engagement: and, if they had no ſuch aſſurance, their neglecting to reinforce Adm. Haddock's ſquadron, ſo as to make it equal to the combined ſquadrons of France and Spain, was a moſt heinous crime, and was the cauſe of that affront which was put upon the flag of England by the French Admiral; for no man, I hope, will pretend to ſay, that it was not in the power of our miniſters, to have provided our Admiral with ſuch a ſquadron as would have enabled him to give a good account of both theſe ſquadrons: and, if he had been ſo provided, and properly inſtructed, I believe no Frenchman whatever would have dared to tell him, *You ſhall not attack the declared enemies of your country.*

I hope, Sir, I have now clearly ſhewed, from the beſt authorities, that the court of Vienna's refuſing to give any ſatisfaction to Pruſſia, was not owing to any obſtinacy in that court, but to the deſigns of the court of Hanover, which governed the meaſures of our miniſters here; and, to confirm what I ſay, beyond contradiction, I ſhall produce one other authority, from the mouth of one of our miniſters, I mean our miniſter at Vienna; who, as appears from Lord Harrington's letter of the 27th of February, had informed our court here, that the Great Duke, and ſome of the principal miniſters at Vienna, ſeemed inclined, and even were deſirous to come to an accommodation with the King of Pruſſia, upon the foot of the plan ſuggeſted by Mr Gotter, which the Great Duke was ſo fond of as to call his own. From hence it is evident, that the court of Vienna were not obſtinate, but were ready to come to an accommodation with the King of Pruſſia, upon the plan which he himſelf had offered by Mr Gotter, his miniſter at Vienna; and that they were diverted from this ſalutary meaſure by our taking the Danes and Heſſians into our pay, and by the extreme readineſs our miniſters ſhewed at that time to join with them in attacking the King of Pruſſia. It was this that made them afterwards ſuppoſe it inconſiſtent with their honour to enter into any treaty with Pruſſia, till he had withdrawn his troops from Sileſia: and tho', when we ſaw the danger we had brought Europe and ourſelves into by ſeconding the ſelfiſh views of Hanover; I ſay, tho' we then adviſed the court of Vienna to make it up at any rate with Pruſſia; yet we never endeavoured to make them alter this opinion; but, on the contrary, confirmed them in it, by negotiating at the Pruſſian court upon this foot only *, and by promiſing

* See *Annals of Europe for* 1741, *p.* 470.

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miſing them our aſſiſtance in all events; which we continued to do till the very time of the Hanover neutrality's being concluded.

Thus, Sir, it muſt appear, that, if it became impoſſible to give the Queen of Hungary any effectual aſſiſtance, that impoſſibility was occaſioned ſolely by the ſchemes and the blunders of our miniſters: but, even after the French began to pull off the maſk, and even tho' the King of Pruſſia had then actually concluded his alliance with them, the thing was far from being impoſſible or impracticable. If we can believe the court of Vienna in the remarks I have mentioned, the Ruſſians were ready to have attacked Pruſſia, if we had not, upon ſeeing the danger ariſing from France, diverted them from it, by ſending new and different inſtructions to our miniſter at their court. And, if the empire of Ruſſia had declared openly and ſtrenuouſly in favour of the Queen of Hungary, it is highly probable that we might have prevailed on the King and kingdom of Poland to do the ſame; eſpecially if the Queen of Hungary had made him ſome conceſſions in Sileſia, in order to unite his kingdom and electorate. Such a confederacy, Sir, with a commanding Britiſh ſquadron in the Baltick, and another in the Mediterranean, might have ſhewn, that it was not impoſſible to give effectual aſſiſtance to the Queen of Hungary: but Hanover might poſſibly have ſuffered in the ſcuffle; and, from the moment we perceived this, we began to be as much governed by unreaſonable fears, as we had before been by unreaſonable hopes. This made us permit our enemies the Spaniards to land their troops quietly in Italy; this made the court of Hanover beg a neutrality; this procured the houſe of Bavaria the Imperial diadem; and this gave ſuch a turn to the ſyſtem of Europe, as made the vigorous meaſures we have ſince purſued as ridiculous, as our preceeding puſillanimous meaſures were abſurd.

I come now, Sir, to the beginning of the famous year 1742, which gave ſuch a turn to the affairs of this nation, as may be the ruin of the liberties of Europe, and will certainly, in my opinion, pave the way for the utter ruin, or the firm re-eſtabliſhment of the liberties of this country. But, before I begin to examine the meaſures we have ſince that time purſued, I muſt examine how the ſyſtem of Europe ſtood at the beginning of this year. The Duke of Bavaria being choſen Emperor by *eight* of the *nine* Electors of the empire, and thereby the Imperial diadem gone from the houſe of Auſtria, for this Emperor's lifetime at leaſt, that houſe could no longer be ſet up as the rival of the houſe of Bourbon, nor could the balance of power be now eſtabliſhed, as formerly, upon the power of the houſe of Auſtria, without getting the election of the preſent Emperor declared void, and the Queen of Hungary eſtabliſhed in all her father's dominions, or having an equivalent for what ſhe ſhould be obliged to yield up for reſtoring the peace of Germany. This, Sir, was apparently impoſſible, conſidering the then circumſtances of Europe, and the governing politicks at the reſpective courts. The Dutch were for nothing but negotiating, and ſeemed abſolutely reſolved to truſt rather to a new confederacy for preſerving the balance of power in Europe, than to engage themſelves in the war merely for ſupporting or reſtoring the houſe of Auſtria: the affairs of Ruſſia and Sweden had taken ſuch a new and extraordinary turn, as made it highly probable, that, if they took any ſhare in the troubles in Germany, it would be in favour of the French and Bavarians: the court of Denmark was in a league with France: three, or I may ſay five of the Electors of the empire, to wit, Pruſſia, Saxony, Bavaria, Palatine, and Cologne, were actually engaged in war with the houſe of Auſtria; and the whole empire ſeemed reſolved to ſupport the election they had made, and the dignity of the head they had choſen.

In theſe circumſtances, Sir, it was abſolutely impoſſible for us to reſtore the houſe of Auſtria to its former power and dignity, or to re-eſtabliſh the balance of power in Europe upon the power of that houſe; and therefore the only wiſe thing we could do, was to join with the Dutch, in negotiating the re-eſtabliſhment of the peace of Germany, and ſecuring the liberties of Europe againſt the future ambitious

ous projects of France, by a confederacy among the princes who were most likely to suffer by those projects. I shall most readily grant, that it was the interest of his nation to have preserved the old system in Europe, or to have restored it, if it had been in our power: nay, I shall grant, that this was more our interest than it was the interest of any other power in Europe, because we were in the least danger, or most remote from the danger of suffering by the overgrown power of the house of Austria; and therefore it was certainly right, both in the parliament and people, to recommend to his Majesty the preservation of the old system: but, after this had been rendered impossible by our own blundering or timidous conduct, no man of common sense could recommend to his Majesty what evidently appeared to be impossible; and therefore it was most reasonable and right, that those who had at first recommended our assisting the Queen of Hungary in the most vigorous manner, should now recommend our assisting her no farther than was necessary for forming and establishing that confederacy, whereon, for the future, the preservation of the liberties of Europe was to depend.

For this purpose, Sir, nothing more was necessary than to take care, that France should get no increase of dominions by the new division of Europe that was to be made. Whether the power of the house of Bavaria, now the Imperial, was or was not to be increased, at the expence of the house of Austria? was not now the question; because, if the affair had been settled by our mediation, the house of Bavaria would have been as ready as the house of Austria to have entered into a confederacy against the future ambitious projects of France. Whilst the present connexion subsists between the courts of France and Spain, it is indeed the general interest, and whilst the present war subsists between Spain and us, it is, in particular, our interest, to prevent that crown's making any new conquest in Italy; but otherwise it would have signified nothing to the rest of Europe, or to us, whether the Queen of Hungary should keep possession of all her dominions in Italy, or should yield up a part of them to a son of Spain. Therefore it was certainly our interest, about the beginning of the year 1742, to have joined with the Dutch in the plan of negotiation, and in the mean time to have assisted the Queen of Hungary with our money, and to have opposed the designs of her and our enemies the Spaniards with our squadrons. By these means we might soon have restored the peace of Germany; and the surprising success of the Queen of Hungary's arms, about the end of the year 1741, had made this more easy than could before have been expected.

This, I say, Sir, was at that time our interest; but, soon after the beginning of that year, a new minister got himself, I shall not say how, into the King's council; who immediately resolved at any rate to get himself into the King's closet, and for this purpose he resolved to take advantage of the spirit that had appeared in this nation in favour of the Queen of Hungary, in order to squeeze from thence some benefit for the electorate of Hanover. In pursuance of the plan he had formed and advised, a most extraordinary zeal began to appear in our councils for assisting and supporting the Queen of Hungary; and our ministers, even those who just before had betrayed the cause of Europe and their country to their fears of France, began to affect high metal and courage, and a high contempt of the power of France. Soon after, it began to be whispered, that a large body of our British troops were to be sent to Flanders. For what end, no body could imagine; because it was known, from our common news-papers, that the Dutch had positively declared against it; and every one knew, that the money those troops would cost us, would have been of much greater service to the Queen of Hungary; who did not want soldiers, as good at least as ours, but money to maintain those soldiers, and to provide them with arms and ammunition. Every one therefore concluded, that 16 or 20,000 British troops in Flanders could be of no service to the Queen of Hungary, especially as the French were tied up from attacking her upon that quarter by their engagements with the Dutch, and more especially as the Dutch

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threatened, that they would declare againſt whichſoever ſide ſhould ſtrike the firſt blow in Flanders.

Whatever the friends of our miniſters may pretend, Sir, every man who impartially examines the dates and circumſtances of what afterwards happened, muſt conclude, that the ſending of our troops to Flanders had not the leaſt effect upon the councils of France, or of any other power in Europe, nor in the leaſt contributed to the future ſucceſſes of the Queen of Hungary. Whoever conſiders the politicks and the preceeding conduct of France, muſt ſee, that, tho' the French were deſirous enough to have the power of the houſe of Auſtria reduced, they had no mind to take the whole load upon themſelves, or to venture the total deſtruction of their army in conquering provinces for the Emperor in Germany, or for the Queen of Spain in Italy. If they had reſolved upon this, they might have had the Queen of Hungary drove out of Germany as well as Italy the very firſt campaign. But they were ſo far from reſolving upon this, that they never did imbark in the affairs of Germany till they were aſſured of the alliance with Pruſſia, which they at laſt obtained merely by the bad conduct of our miniſters; nor did they ſend a man to the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards in Italy, tho' they knew, that they might have done it without any interruption from our ſquadron.

From their conduct the preceeding campaign, it is therefore evident, Sir, that their deſign was, to get the power of the houſe of Auſtria in Germany reduced chiefly by the German princes themſelves; and the power of that houſe in Italy reduced ſolely by the Spaniards, and ſuch of the Italian princes as ſhould join with them. This, I am perſuaded, was their deſign; and therefore I muſt conclude, that, if we had taken the leaſt care to prevent Pruſſia's entering into an alliance with them, none of their troops would have entered Germany; nor would any of the Spaniſh troops have entered Italy, if we had taken care to reinforce ſufficiently, and inſtruct properly, the ſquadron we had in the Mediterranean. This being the caſe, Sir, as ſoon as the French found themſelves abandoned by Pruſſia and Saxony, and that we had reinforced and properly inſtructed our ſquadron in the Mediterranean, they thought no more of proſecuting the war, but of negotiating a peace; and, if we had ſeconded them, I am perſuaded a peace might that ſummer have been concluded, more ſafe for the liberties of Europe, and more beneficial and honourable for this nation, than any, I am afraid, we ſhall hereafter be able to obtain. It was not therefore the troops we ſent to Flanders, but the court of Vienna's agreeing to give ſatisfaction to Pruſſia and Saxony, that prevented the French aſſiſting the Spaniards in Italy, or ſending reinforcements to their army in Germany: for, were it to be ſuppoſed, that the French had not troops enough for both theſe purpoſes, as well as for oppoſing the little army we were to form in Flanders, it would be ridiculous to ſuppoſe, that our forming an army in Flanders, where they were ſure we could not act, would prevent their ſending their troops where they were abſolutely neceſſary for the ſucceſs of their deſigns. And it was not fear that prevented the Dutch from joining in our meaſures, but it was either becauſe they did not approve of them, or becauſe our behaviour at the time of the Hanover neutrality had given them a diffidence, which could not be removed by our new miniſter, who, they ſaw, was to be under the ſame influence with his predeceſſor. One of theſe two, I ſay, or perhaps part of both, was the reaſon why the Dutch did not join in our meaſures: for tho' few people here at firſt knew the true motive of our ſending a body of our troops to Flanders, the States-General were probably from the beginning appriſed of it, and therefore I do not wonder at their declarations upon that occaſion.

Long before the end of the ſummer, Sir, the true motive began to appear: for, as ſoon as it began to be whiſpered, that a body of 16,000 Hanoverian troops was to be taken into Britiſh pay, every one began to ſmell out the ſecret; every one began to ſee, that our troops were not ſent to Flanders to aſſiſt the Queen of Hungary, but to afford a handle for taking 16,000 Hanoverians into Britiſh pay; and that this

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this was the project which our new minister had formed for gaining what he wanted and so ardently desired. If the design had been to give any real and effectual assistance to the Queen of Hungary, the proper way would have been, to have sent our British troops to Hanover; which we might have easily done, even tho' the Dutch had refused them a passage thro' their country; and, by being joined there by the 6000 Hessians in British pay, and the 16,000 Hanoverians that were to be taken into British pay, they would have formed an army sufficient for driving the French army under Maillebois out of Germany, which would have prevented his marching to the relief of Prague; or, if he had marched that way, they might have followed close at his heels, and thereby prevented the Austrians from being obliged to raise the siege of that place. But this, Sir, would have immediately engaged our mercenaries in action; whereas their design was not to fight, but to take our money; and therefore care was taken to march them to a place where we could not engage them in action, without the concurrence of the Dutch, which we were pretty sure we could not obtain.

In the mean time, the behaviour of the French towards the King of Prussia, especially about the time of the battle of Czaslaw, had made him ready to hearken to any proposals that might be made him on the part of the court of Vienna; and the latter were so sensible of the true design of our forming an army in Flanders, and were now so fully convinced, that no effectual assistance could be expected from hence, that they were now ready to offer terms much more advantageous for the King of Prussia, and less advantageous for themselves, than those offered by that prince at the beginning, and, by encouragement from hence, if not by our instigation, rejected. This temper in the two courts soon brought on an accommodation, and that was naturally followed by an accommodation between the courts of Vienna and Dresden. Can it be supposed, Sir, that the courts of Berlin and Dresden were ever afraid of the resentment of France, when, by joining with the Queen of Hungary, it would have been easy for them to have drove all the French armies out of Germany, had they been as numerous as it was possible for France to send thither? Could the difference between our having 20,000 men in England, or in Flanders, make any material difference in their fears or their hopes, when all the world knows, that we can send 20,000 or 40,000 men to Flanders whenever we please? No, Sir: it was their own interest, and that alone, by which they were governed; and, if that had been rightly considered immediately after the Emperor's death, no Frenchman would have entered Germany, no Spaniard would have entered Italy, in a hostile manner; the Grand Duke would have been chosen Emperor, the balance of power would have been established upon its ancient foundation, and the monstrous expence prevented which this nation has been, and is like to be put to.

As I have said before, Sir, when the French found themselves abandoned by the Prussians and Saxons, they thought no more of prosecuting the war, but of negotiating a peace in Germany. Their first propositions were perhaps insidious, as all French propositions ever were, and ever will be; but, as the affairs of Germany were then circumstanced, we might have taken the bait, without allowing ourselves to be caught in the snare. All the princes of Germany then desired to see the peace of their country restored; and, if reasonable terms had been proposed by us, and rejected by France and the Emperor, it would have united Europe as well as Germany in our favour: but a peace was now inconsistent with the favourite scheme of our minister; because, if a suspension of arms had been upon any terms agreed on, he could have found no pretence for taking any Hanoverian troops into British pay: therefore we gave no helping hand towards restoring the peace of Germany; but, on the contrary, if the truth were known, I believe it would appear, that we used some methods for preventing it, and thereby our minister found means to execute the scheme he had projected. The troops of Hanover were taken into British pay at a time when they could be of no immediate service, and marched to a place where they

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could give no assistance to the Queen of Hungary, nor any terror or uneasiness to the court of France. Nay, that court had perhaps private assurances, that these troops should not be employed against them: otherwise I cannot account for their sending M. Maillebois out of Westphalia; since it was certainly in their power to have sent an army equal to his, from Alsace, for the relief of their army then besieged in the city of Prague; and no man will suppose, that our troops in Flanders could prevent their sending any troops out of Alsace.

Our army being thus, and for these ends, Sir, formed in Flanders, and sent into winter-quarters almost as soon as formed, it could not but occasion great uneasiness and discontent among the people of this kingdom; and the violent opposition this measure met with in parliament, convinced our ministers, that, notwithstanding its having been approved of by a majority, it would be necessary to make a shew, at least, of doing something with this army the ensuing campaign. This, Sir, was the true cause of its march into Germany last spring. But what it was to do there, no man could then, no man can as yet tell; for that this army, or this march, was the cause of the French troops evacuating Germany, is certainly a mistake. The French court had resolved upon this, before our army marched; all they wanted was, to get their troops out of Germany without any considerable loss: and the march of our army to Germany was so far from preventing the retreat of their troops from Bavaria, that a considerable body of troops was detached from their army in Swabia, and sent to Bavaria to facilitate this retreat, without our attempting in the least to interrupt or disturb them in this design; which convinces me, that there would have been no action between our army and the French in Germany, if the latter had not attacked us: and this they would not have done, if they had not thought they had got such an opportunity of ruining our army as no political reason could justify their neglecting. By the bravery of our troops, it is true, and the misconduct of some of their inferior Generals, they were shamefully repulsed; and the use, or rather no use we made of that repulse, or of Pr. Charles's joining us with a numerous and victorious army, is a proof, that we are more concerned about continuing these mercenaries in our pay, than about obtaining an honourable peace, either for ourselves or the Queen of Hungary.

But I should be glad to know what it is we aim at by maintaining a numerous land-army, either in Flanders or upon the Rhine. Is it to be supposed, that, if we had no army there, the French would attempt to recover Bavaria from the Queen of Hungary, without the assistance of any of the German princes? They know too well the expence and the hazard of such an undertaking to attempt it; and we may depend on it, they never will march another way into Germany, unless our extravagant schemes again procure them the alliance of some of the chief princes of Germany. Till then the Queen of Hungary must be safe upon the side of Germany; and, if we had not fed her up with hopes of assisting her in making conquests upon France, which it is not in our power to do, she might before this time have made both the Spaniards and the French sick of their designs against her in Italy, by pouring great armies into that country, and by the distress which might have been brought upon her enemies by means of our squadron. This, without our putting ourselves to the expence either of sending our troops abroad, or of hiring mercenaries, would have procured a peace with regard to her dominions in Italy; and, when this is done, she never did nor will refuse to restore the Emperor to his hereditary dominions in Germany, unless her and our success against France should inspire her with such ambitious sentiments as may again unite the greatest part of Germany, with France and Spain, against her. But of this, I believe, there is no great danger; because it would be next to a miracle if we should have any success: for, by shifting the chief seat of the war from Germany and Italy to the frontiers of France, we shall make the prosecution of it so cheap and easy to France, and so expensive and difficult to this nation, that, before we can bring France into any distress, our funds will be quite exhausted, and then

we

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we must accept of such terms as our enemies shall please to prescribe. From all which I must conclude, that our maintaining a land-army upon the continent, and encouraging the Queen of Hungary to attempt making conquests upon France, may be attended with many mischiefs, but can be attended with no one advantage, either to this nation or the Queen of Hungary.

Having thus shewn, Sir, that our measures have in every step been wrong, ever since the late Emperor's death, and that they are now worse than ever they were before, because they are more expensive, and may subject us to greater dangers, I hope no Gentleman will be swayed by the argument, that our putting a negative upon this motion may put a stop to, or prevent the prosecution of the measures we are now engaged in: for this, I think, would be of the most signal advantage to this nation, and would probably be the means of very soon restoring the tranquillity of Europe; which is of itself a sufficient reason for my giving my negative to this question.

[*This Journal to be continued.*]

On seeing a young Lady in a garden, with an immoderate FAN, a yard wide. *Extempore.*

SAY, JENNY, *why that monstrous fan?*
What purpose does thy bosom move?
Is it to save us, or trepan?
Is it to cure, or quicken love?
If, worn in pity's gentle cause,
Beneath unseen you mean to lie;
I know, a thousand eyes it draws,
Which else perhaps had wander'd by.
If, tho' you hoist this flag of peace,
Still 'gainst our hearts you form a war;
Then use no fan to hide that face, [*far.*
Which, shewn, will conquer better
Soon give it to some plainer maid;
Its great convenience then we'll own;
For so may——*'s face be hid,* [*shown.*
And your's, dear JENNY, *always*

On the late promotion of ADMIRALS, *p.* 299.

I Honour virtue in her day of pow'r,
But more I honour in her adverse hour.
The beam of courts to virtue adds no rays;
Disgrace is glory, and detraction praise.
True glory's not a vapour rais'd on high,
A meteor kindl'd by a prince's eye,
Which title feeds, which the vain crowd admires,
But soon, its fuel spent, the blaze expires.
True glory circles the obscure retreat,
Where humble greatness finds a quiet seat;
Where home-born peace and self-possessing joys,
Shelter'd from public view and public noise,
Reward the hero's toils, the patriot's care,
And the firm mind above disgraces rear;
Above the frown of Kings, above the rage
Of envy, malice, and a thankless age.
Here conscious worth th' immortal scenes reviews,
Which well spent life in beauteous order shews;
The days of labour, and the waking nights,
Active to vindicate a nation's rights;
The health expos'd in climes obnoxious air,
The foot oft treading Death's surrounding snare;
Battles and triumphs, plans of public weal
Brought forth by wisdom and inspir'd by zeal.
Such MARLB'ROUGH's *bliss* —— *when (as strange annals tell)*
Laden with laurels and reproach he fell.
Ungrateful land! let history proclaim
To future times thy glory and thy shame:
In thee a MARLB'ROUGH *and a* VERNON *born;*
In thee caress'd, in thee alone a scorn.

EPIGRAM.

P—— *was gold, we cry'd, and priz'd as such;*
But P—— *prov'd* B— *metal on the touch;*
Of all that patriot P—— *said or writ,*
The E— *of* B— *confuted ev'ry bit.*

Mr. *Colley Cibber's* Epitaph on Mr. POPE.

OUR pious praise on tombstones runs so high,
Readers might think, that none but good men die!
If graves held only such, Pope, *like his verse,*
Had still been breathing, and escap'd the hearse.
Tho' fell *to all mens failings, but his own,*
Yet, to assert his vengeance, or renown,
None ever reach'd such heights of Helicon!
Ev'n death shall let his dust this truth enjoy,
That not his errors can his fame destroy.

Prince *Henry* on the death of *Hotspur.*

Adieu! and take thy praise with thee to heaven!
Thy ignominy *sleep with thee in the grave,*
But not remember'd *in thy epitaph.*

To

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To the Memory of Mr POPE.

Adieu! and let the fun'ral honours claim
The verse, which, living, I refus'd thy fame:
This late return a pen, to friendship, pays,
That held thee still above the reach of praise;
And drops its mourning tribute on the bier,
Sacred to all that can of thee expire.
For down thy laurel'd page and deathless line
Still breathes that soul of harmony divine;
Still social, lives, companion of the mind,
Goes forth, instructs, and speaks to all mankind;
Still smiles with innocence, with honour glows;
Still league'd with virtue, wars on all her foes;
Lifts worth o'er want, to merit weds acclaim,
And plucks from guilty pow'r the mask of shame.
This is to live, when time itself is past,
And all who now are living, breathe their last.
Alas! who hopes thy monument to raise,
Means to himself the building and the praise.
Thou, like the mighty monarchs of the Nile,
When living, built thine own eternal pile,
To stand, where tempests beat, and bolts are hurl'd,
The future gaze and wonder of the world.
As the last phœnix, brightest of his kind,
That on the sun's proud temple dy'd inshrin'd;
Thy birth consum'd the sweets of Nature's store,
Nor left from whence a future heir shou'd soar.
It is enough; nor, Britain, *thou repine,*
Tho' genius from its tow'ring noon decline:
Heav'n gave thee all Ambition's height cou'd hope,
To Greece *a* HOMER, *and to thee a* POPE;
O'er ev'ry realm distinguish'd by the birth
Of two, whose fires should lighten all the earth.
What's Time, whose whirling ages roll away?
Or Life, still less perdurable than they?
Whelm'd in the gulph of transitory things,
Sinks pomp, pow'r, mitres, demi-gods and Kings;
O'er drowning years, far distant æras close,
Tho' bards prophetic of long fame oppose;
Till some immortal genius steps between,
And fixes where his century has been;
Thence to each kindred-period gives a date,
And throws a glory round some free-born state.
Thus, mighty Bard, shall thy triumphant page
Point out the pristine annals of our age;
And hence, succeeding nations may be taught,
When Albion *conquer'd, and when* Brunswick
And if—for what so stable and sublime [*fought.*
To stand the shock of all o'erturning Time?
If, when the pow'rs of Nature feel decay,
And all her high memorials melt away;
If Britain *too her glories must resign,*
Lost with her liberty and Guelphian *line,*
Still one late honour shall her isle adorn, [*born.*
And Fame's last trumpet speak where POPE *was*

In G. Whitfeldum & J. Taylorum.

VALETE, iterumque valete,
GEORGI WHITFELDE,
&
JOHANNES TAYLORE,
Histrionum
Par illustrissimum!
Alter oculorum *sartor,*
Alter animorum *corruptor:*
Hic visûs,
Ille mentis *aciei*
Caliginem offundens!
Ambo patriæ nostræ direptores,
In hac una scilicet re,
Mercedem & nummos
Unde, unde, extricando
Simplices & ingenui;
Ambo in ruinam nati
Generis humani.
Interea, ob stultam credulitatem,
Illorum sectatores deflendi:
Et, ne quid plus detrimenti
Respublica capiat,
Isti, ob insolentem audaciam,
Ad Anticyram relegandi,
Ut qui se alios curare stultè putant,
Ipsi insaniam & nequitiam deponant.
Ex patria hacce quæso facessite,
Nunquam iterum huc redituri.
Valedictio publica vobis habita
A rei divinæ & medicæ
Professoribus, sit posteris
Exemplo, ne illi nimis temerè
Agyrtis & circulatoribus,
Vel sacris vel profanis,
Sese decipiendos dedant.

ANACREON. Ode 28. To a *painter.*

RAre artist! who can graces give
To shade, and bid the phantom live,
Thy choicest colours blend with art,
And draw the charmer of my heart,
Such as she reigns deep-imag'd there,
And bless me with my absent fair.
Let her jetty tresses flow,
Sporting round her ivory brow;
And, if the pow'r thou can'st convey,
Let balmy fragrance round her play.
In sable draw each bending brow,
Circling thro' the forehead's snow;
At a small distance let them shew
They are not one, yet scarce are two.
Her eyes thy utmost labour claim,
Let fire be there, and bid it flame.

Paint

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Paint them with the piercing hue,
Minerva's dart, and paint them blue;
Yet let them languiſh, ſoftly move,
And ſeem to melt, and ſwim with love,
Like thoſe of Venus, *when they ſlay,*
Yet gently ſteal the heart away.
In her blooming cheeks, unite
The roſe's bluſh, the lily's white.
Let her ruby lips diſpenſe
Perſuaſive, ſilent eloquence;
As if they ſtrove to promiſe bliſs,
Inviting an endearing kiſs.
Beneath her chin, expreſſive deck,
With ev'ry grace, her comely neck;
And crown'd with ev'ry beauty ſhow
Her little heaving orbs of ſnow.
And laſt, her well-turn'd ſhape ex- [preſs,
Fine to the waiſt, and juſtly leſs.
Thin be the robe! as if it try'd
To ſhew the charms it ſeems to hide.
Enough!—for now the fair I find
Exactly imag'd to my mind.
I ſee her!— now ſhe ſilence breaks!
Look! look! the very picture ſpeaks.

The Pleaſures of a *Morning-walk.*

—Nunc formoſiſſimus annus. *Virg.*

COme, Muſa *fair! the radiant morn*
Invites us forth to walk the fields:
Now flow'rets gay the meads adorn,
And ev'ry herb a fragrance yields.
This is the prime, the pleaſant hour,
To mark, how blows the hawthorn-tree;
How from each bloom and op'ning flower,
Sweets are extracted by the bee.
What beauteous ſcenes the hills diſcloſe!
What lovely colours deck the plains!
How Nature paints the bluſhing roſe!
How neatly ſhe the tulip ſtains!
The little fiſhes, ſportive, ſkim
The ſurface of the ſilver ſtream;
The ſwans majeſtic, bow'ring, ſwim,
Pleas'd with the dawning early gleam.
The blackbird, and the tuneful thruſh,
With melody delightful clear;
Linnet, and finch, on ev'ry buſh,
With various notes enchant the ear.
The merry larks, in air aloft,
Sing, as their pinions quiv'ring play,
In gladſome ſtrains, their ſonnets ſoft,
And joyous hail the riſing day.
Let us not then one moment waſte,
One pleaſure loſe by vain delay;
Smiling Aurora *bids us haſte,*
Come, come, my Muſa! *come away.*

EMMA. A Paſtoral. [*Dundee.*]

'TIS noon: The ſickly foreſts feel his beams;
The lowing herds invade the cooling ſtreams;
Screen'd by the boughs of beech from burning ſkies,
Stretch'd on the graſs the weary woodman lies;
With heavy ſteps the ploughman ſeeks the ſpring;
While in their ſhades the am'rous ſhepherds ſing:
Two ſwains, alike inſpir'd with thirſt of praiſe
Rivals in love and rivals in their lays,
Submit the rural ſtrife to Emma's *ear.*
Who would not ſing, if Emma *was to hear!*
Both on the virgin look'd with lovers eyes:
A kiſs from Emma *was the glorious prize.*
Now each by turns begin the fierce debate:
Theſe Damon *ſing, and* Thyrſis *thoſe repeat.*

Da. *If* Emma *looks not with a lover's eyes,*
In vain I ſing, in vain diſpute the prize:
But let the virgin ſmile, and, were thy ſtrains
More ſweet than Orpheus', *you have loſt your* pains.

Th. *O Love, inſpire me with thy ſofteſt lays.*
Soft are the lines that mint at Emma's *praiſe;*
In Emma's *praiſe unnumber'd pipes combine:*
Yet where's the numbers equal to the theme?

Da. *Me* Sylvia *follows with officious zeal,*
And what her lips would hide, her eyes reveal:
Ceaſe, Sylvia, *ceaſe to raiſe a lover's fire;*
'Tis only Emma *kindles ſoft deſire.*

Th. *As in the vale th' unrival'd lily reigns,*
Among a thouſand virgins Emma *ſhines:*
In vain Amynta *uſes every art*
To win my ſoul, when Emma *has my heart.*

Da. *See! how the mazy ſtream divides the* farms;
To him that thirſts the ſtream has double charms:
Him ſtreams delight not more, nor flowers the bee,
Nor health the hoary head, than Emma *me.*

Th. *As ſtorms in autumn to the yellow corn,*
Such to my ſoul is heav'nly Emma's *ſcorn:*
Theſe ſtorms are not more dreaded by the clown,
Than by admiring Thyrſis Emma's *frown.*

Da. *Laſt night I dream'd, the maid, with all* her charms,
Sprang to my bed, and leap'd into my arms:
I wak'd, I ſtretch'd my arms, and graſp'd the air;
I ſought around, but found no Emma *there.*

Th. *When* Emma *in the dream conſents to ſtay,*
Who would not wiſh to dream his life away?
Laſt night I thought I kiſs'd the willing fair:
Ah! muſt deluded lovers feaſt on air?

Da. *Let mighty Caeſar on th' embattled plain*
Immortal praiſe and laſting laurels gain:
From ſofter ſcenes thy triumphs, Emma, *riſe;*
Unnumber'd youths are vanquiſh'd by thy eyes.

Th.

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Th. *Smiles are the chains and glances are*
the darts,
That bind the captives and that wound our
hearts;
May I and Emma *both victorious prove,*
May both be vanquish'd in the fields of love.
Da. *In milder climes let silver* Jordan
glide,
And Kings and palaces on Thames *reside;*
While Emma *haunts our streams and ver-*
dant fields,
Tay *nor to* Thames *nor silver* Jordan *yields.*
Th. *In flow'ry valleys I delight to rove,*
And streams and arbours are the things I love;
But, lovely Emma *absent from my sight,*
Nor streams can please nor flow'ry vales de-
light.
Da. *O! let my flowing verse as grateful rise*
To Emma's *ear, as she to* Damon's *eyes;*
Let Emma *both the song and love regard:*
Great is the strife, but greater the reward.
Th. *Decide now,* Emma, *with impartial*
ears;
Great are my hopes, but greater are my fears:
Speak, and let honey drop upon my soul;
Thy words are manna, and thy tongue is oil.
Thus ended both, and various doubts arise;
And both the lovers wait with ardent eyes;
When Emma *rose, and laugh'd, and tripp'd*
away,
And left in doubt the honours of the day.

A letter from Adm. *Vernon* to *Thomas Corbet* Esq; Secretary to the Admiralty.

SIR, Nacton, June 30.

AS we that live retired in the country, often content ourselves with the information we derive from the news-papers on a market-day, I did not so early observe the advertisement from your office of the 23d of this month, That, in pursuance of his Majesty's pleasure, the Rt Hon. the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty had made the promotions (*p.* 299.) therein mentioned: *In which I could not but observe, there was no mention of my name amongst the flag-officers; tho', by your letter of the 16th instant, you directed to me as Vice-Admiral of the Red, and (by their Lordships orders) desired my opinion on an affair for his Majesty's service; which I very honestly gave them, as I judged most conducive to his honour: so that their Lordships could not be uninformed, that I was in the land of the living.*

Tho' the promotions are said to be made by their Lordships orders; yet we all know, the communication of his Majesty's pleasure must come from the First Lord in the Commission, from whom principally his Majesty is supposed to receive his informations, on which his Royal orders are founded. And as it is a known maxim of our law, That the King can do no wrong, *founded, as I apprehend, on the persuasion that the crown never does so, but from the misinformation of those whose respective provinces are to inform his Majesty of the particular affairs under their care, the first suggestion that naturally occurs to an officer, that has the fullest testimonies in his custody, of having happily served his Majesty in the command he was intrusted with, to his Royal approbation, is, that your First Commissioner must either have informed his Majesty that I was dead, or have laid something to my charge, rendering me unfit to rise in my rank in the Royal navy; of which being insensible myself, I desire their Lordships would be pleased to inform me in what it consists; having, both in action and advice, always, to the best of my judgment, endeavoured to serve our Royal master with a zeal and activity becoming a faithful and loyal subject, and having hitherto received the publick approbation of your board. I confess, at my time of life, a retirement from the hurry of business, to prepare for the general audit, which every Christian ought to have perpetually in his mind, is what can't but be desirable, and might rather give me occasion to rejoice, than any concern, which (I thank God) it does very little; yet, that I might not by any be thought to be one that would decline the publick service, I have thought proper to remind their Lordships I am living, and have (I thank God) the same honest zeal reigning in my breast, that has animated me on all occasions to approve myself a faithful and zealous subject and servant to my Royal master. And, if the First Lord Commissioner has represented me in any other light to our Royal master, he has acted with a degeneracy unbecoming the descendant from a Noble father, whose memory I reverence and esteem; tho' I have no compliments to make to the judgment or conduct of the son.*

N. B. To this no answer was returned.

Extract

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xtracts of Bp Berkeley's Siris, *continued from* p. 284.

2. THE virtue of tar-water extends to a ſurpriſing variety of caſes ery diſtant and unlike. I have known do great good in a cold watery conſtiution, as a cardiack and ſtomachick; and the ſame time allay heat and feveriſh irſt in another. I have known it corect coſtive habits in ſome, and the conrary habit in others. Nor will this ſeem ncredible, if it be conſidered, that middle qualities naturally reduce the extreme. Warm water, for inſtance, mixed with ot and cold, will leſſen the heat in that, nd the cold in this.

74. As, on the one hand, oppoſite cauſes do ſometimes produce the ſame effect; or inſtance, heat, by rarefaction, and old, by condenſation, do both increaſe the ir's elaſticity: ſo, on the other hand, the ame cauſe ſhall ſometimes produce oppoite effects; heat, for inſtance, thins, and, gain, heat coagulates the blood. It is not therefore ſtrange, that tar-water ſhould warm one habit, and cool another; have one good effect on a cold conſtitution, and another good effect on an inflamed one; nor, if this be ſo, that it ſhould cure oppoſite diſorders. The ſalts, the ſpirits, the heat of tar-water, are of a temperature congenial to the conſtitution of a man; which receives from it a kindly warmth, but no inflaming heat. It was remarkable, that two children in my neighbourhood, being in a courſe of tar-water, upon an intermiſſion of it, never failed to have their iſſues inflamed by an humour much more hot and ſharp than at other times. But its great uſe in the ſmall-pox, pleuriſies, and fevers, is a ſufficient proof that tar-water is not of an inflaming nature.

75. I have dwelt the longer on this head, becauſe ſome Gentlemen of the faculty have thought fit to declare, that tarwater muſt inflame, and that they would never viſit any patient in a fever, who had been a drinker of it. But I will venture to affirm, that it is ſo far from increaſing a feveriſh inflammation, that it is, on the contrary, a moſt ready means to allay and extinguiſh it. It is of admirable uſe in fevers, being at the ſame time the ſureſt, ſafeſt and moſt effectual both paregorick and cordial; for the truth of which, I appeal to any perſon's experience, who ſhall take a large draught of it milk warm in the paroxyſm of a fever, even when plain water or herb teas ſhall be found to have little or no effect. To me it ſeems, that its ſingular and ſurpriſing uſe in fevers of all kinds, were there nothing elſe, would be alone ſufficient to recommend it to the publick.

76. The beſt phyſicians make the idea of a fever to conſiſt in a too great velocity of the heart's motion, and too great reſiſtence at the capillaries. Tar-water, as it ſoftens and gently ſtimulates thoſe nice veſſels, helps to propel their contents, and ſo contributes to remove the latter part of the diſorder. And, for the former, the irritating acrimony which accelerates the motion of the heart, is diluted by watery, corrected by acid, and ſoftened by balſamick remedies; all which intentions are anſwered by this aqueous, acid, balſamick medicine. Beſides, the viſcid juices coagulated by the febrile heat, are reſolved by tar-water, as a ſoap; and not too far reſolved, as it is a gentle acid ſoap: to which we may add, that the peccant humours and ſalts are carried off by its diaphoretick and diuretick qualities.

77. I found all this confirmed by my own experience in the late ſickly ſeaſon of the year 1741, having had twenty five fevers in my own family cured by this medicinal water, drank copiouſly. The ſame method was practiſed on ſeveral of my poor neighbours with equal ſucceſs. It ſuddenly calmed the feveriſh anxieties, and ſeemed every glaſs to refreſh, and infuſe life and ſpirit into the patient. At firſt, ſome of thoſe patients had been vomited; but afterwards I found, that, without vomiting, bleeding, bliſtering, or any other evacuation or medicine whatever, very bad fevers could be cured by the ſole drinking of tar-water, milk-warm, and in good quantity, perhaps a large glaſs every hour taken in bed. And it was remarkable, that ſuch as were cured by this comfortable cordial, recovered health and ſpirits at once; while thoſe who had been cured by evacuations, often languiſhed long, even after the fever had left them, before they could recover of their medicines, and regain their ſtrength.

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78. In peripneumonies and pleurisies I have observed tar-water to be excellent, having known some pleuritick persons cured, without bleeding, by a blister early applied to the stitch, and the copious drinking of tar-water, four or five quarts, or even more, in twenty four hours. And I do recommend it to farther trial, whether, in all cases of a pleurisy, one moderate bleeding, a blister on the spot, and plenty of tepid tar-water may not suffice, without those repeated and immoderate bleedings, the bad effects of which are perhaps never got over. I do even suspect, that a pleuritick patient, betaking himself to bed betimes, and drinking very copiously of tar-water, may be cured by that alone, without bleeding, blistering, or any other medicine whatever. Certainly I have found this succeed at a glass every half-hour.

79. I have known a bloody flux of long continuance, after divers medicines had been tried in vain, cured by tar-water. But that which I take to be the most speedy and effectual remedy in a bloody flux, is a clyster of an ounce of common brown rosin dissolved over a fire in two ounces of oil, and added to a pint of broth; which not long since I had frequent occasion of trying, when that distemper was epidemical. Nor can I say that any to whom I advised it miscarried. This experiment I was led to make by the opinion I had of tar as a balsamick: and rosin is only tar inspissated.

80. Nothing that I know corroborates the stomach so much as tar-water. Whence it follows, that it must be of singular use to persons afflicted with the gout. And, from what I have observed in five or six instances, I do verily believe it the best and safest medicine, either to prevent the gout, or so to strengthen nature against the fit, as to drive it from the vitals; or, at other times, to change a worse illness into the gout, and to get rid of it. Dr Sydenham, in his treatise of the gout, declares, that whoever finds a medicine the most efficacious for strengthening digestion, will do more service in the cure of that and other chronical distempers, than he can ever form a notion of. And I leave it to trial, whether tar-water be not that medicine, as I myself am persuaded it is, by all the experiments I could make. But in all trials I would recommend discretion; for instance, a man with the gout in his stomach ought not to drink cold tar-water. This essay leaves room for future experiments in every part of it, not pretending to be a compleat treatise.

82. The great force of tar-water, to correct the acrimony of the blood, appears in nothing more than in the cure of a gangrene, from an internal cause; which was performed on a servant of my own, by prescribing the copious and constant use of tar-water for a few weeks.

83. Boerhaave thinks, a specifick may be found for that peculiar venom which infects the blood in the small-pox, and that the prospect of so great a publick benefit should stir up men to search for it. Its wonderful success in preventing and mitigating that distemper, would incline one to suspect that tar-water is such a specifick; especially since I have found it of sovereign use, as well during the small-pox, as before it. Some think an erysipelas and the plague differ only in degree. If so, tar-water should be useful in the plague; for I have known it cure an erysipelas.

84. Tar-water, as cleansing, healing, and balsamick, is good in all disorders of the urinary passages, whether obstructed or ulcerated. Dr Lister supposeth, indeed, that turpentines act by a caustick quality, which irritates the coats of the urinary ducts to expel sand or gravel. But, it should seem, this expelling diuretick virtue consisted rather in the salts than the resin, and consequently resides in the tar-water, gently stimulating by its salts, without the dangerous force of a caustick. The violent operation of ipecacuanha lies in its resin, but the saline extract is a gentle purge and diuretick, by the stimulus of its salts.

85. That which acts as a mild cordial, neither hurting the capillary vessels as a caustick, nor affecting the nerves, nor coagulating the juices, must in all cases be a friend to nature, and assist the *vis vitæ* in its struggle against all kinds of contagion. And, from what I have observed, tar-water appears to me an useful preservative in all epidemical disorders, and against all other infection whatsoever, as well

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ell as that of the small-pox. What fects the *animi pathemata* have in human maladies, is well known; and consequently the general benefit of such a rdiack may be reasonably supposed.

86. As the body is said to clothe the ul, so the nerves may be said to constite her inner garment; and as the soul himates the whole, what nearly touchthe soul, relates to all: therefore the perity of tartarous salts, and the fiery rimony of alcaline salts, irritating and rounding the nerves, produce nascent passons and anxieties in the soul; which both ggravate distempers, and render mens ves restless and wretched, even when they re afflicted with no apparent distemper. his is the latent spring of much woe, pleen, and *tædium vitæ*. Small imperceptible irritations of the minutest fibres r filaments, caused by the pungent salts f wines and sauces, do so shake and disurb the microcosms of high livers, as ften to raise tempests in courts and seates: whereas the gentle vibrations that re raised in the nerves, by a fine subtile cid, sheathed in a smooth volatile oil, oftly stimulating and bracing the nervous essels and fibres, promotes a due circulaion and secretion of the animal juices, nd creates a calm satisfied sense of health. And accordingly I have often known tarwater procure sleep, and compose the spiits in cruel vigils, occasioned either by ickness, or by too intense application of mind.

87. It may be presumed, that no medicine is infallible, not even in any one disorder. But, as tar-water possesseth the virtues of fortifying the stomach, as well as purifying and invigorating the blood, beyond any medicine that I know, it may be presumed of great and general efficacy in all those numerous illnesses which take their rise from foul or vapid blood, or from a bad digestion. The animal spirits are elaborated from the blood. Such therefore as the blood is, such will be the animal spirit, more or less, weaker or stronger. This sheweth the usefulness of tarwater in all hysterick and hypochondriack cases; which, together with the maladies from indigestion, comprise almost the whole tribe of chronical diseases.

88. The scurvy may be reckoned, in these climates, an universal malady; as people in general are subject to it, and as it mixes more or less in almost all diseases. Whether this proceeds from want of elasticity in our air, upon which the tone of the vessels depends, and upon that the several secretions; or whether it proceeds from the moisture of our climate, or the grossness of our food, or the salts in our atmosphere, or from all these together; thus much at least seems not absurd to suppose, that, as physicians in Spain and Italy are apt to suspect the venereal taint to be a latent principle, and bear a part in every illness; so, for as good reason, the scurvy should be considered by our physicians, as having some share in most disorders and constitutions that fall in their way. It is certain, our perspiration is not so free as in clearer air, and warmer climates. Perspirable humours not discharged, will stagnate and putrefy. A diet of animal food will be apt to render the juices of our bodies alcalescent. Hence ichorous and corrosive humours, and many disorders. Moist air makes viscid blood; and saline air inflames this viscid blood. Hence broken capillaries, extravasated blood, spots, and ulcers, and other scorbutick symptoms. The body of a man attracts and imbibes the moisture and salts of the air, and whatever floats in the atmosphere; which, as it is common to all, so it affects all more or less.

89. In these British islands, we enjoy a great mediocrity of climate; the effect whereof is, that we have neither heat enough, to exalt and dissipate the gross vapours, as in Italy; nor cold enough, to condense and precipitate them, as in Sweden. So they are left floating in the air, which we constantly breathe, and imbibe thro' the whole surface of our bodies. And this, together with exhalations from coal-fires, and the various fossils wherein we abound, doth greatly contribute to render us scorbutick and hypochondriack.

90. There are some who derive all diseases from the scurvy, which indeed must be allowed to create or mimick most other maladies. Boerhaave tells us, it produceth pleuritick, colick, nephritick, hepatick pains; various fevers; hot, malig-

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gnant, intermitting dysenteries; faintings, anxieties, dropsies, consumptions, convulsions, palsies, fluxes of blood. In a word, it may be said to contain the seeds of almost all distempers: insomuch that a medicine which cures all sorts of scurvy, may be presumed good for most other maladies.

91. The scurvy doth not only in variety of symptoms imitate most distempers, but also, when come to a height, in degree of virulence equal the most malignant. Of this we have a remarkable proof, in that horrible description of the scorbutick patients in the hospitals of Paris, given by Monsr. Poupart, in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences for the year 1699. That author thinks he saw some resemblance in it to the plague of Athens. It is hard to imagine any thing more dreadful, than the case of those men rotting alive by the scurvy in its supreme degree. To obviate such putrefaction, I believe the most effectual method would be, to embalm (if one may so say) the living body with tar-water copiously drank; and this belief is not without experience.

93. A cachexy or ill habit is much of the same kind with the scurvy, proceeds from the same causes, and is attended with like symptoms, which are so manifold and various, that the scurvy may well be looked on as a general cachexy, infecting the whole habit, and vitiating all the digestions.

95. It is supposed by physicians, that the immediate cause of the scurvy lies in the blood, the fibrous part of which is too thick, and the serum too thin and sharp; and that hence ariseth the great difficulty in the cure; because, in the correcting of one part, regard must be had to the other. It is well known how extremely difficult it is to cure an inveterate scurvy; which, nevertheless, may be cured (if I may judge by what I have experienced) by the sole, regular, constant, copious use of tar-water.

96. Tar-water moderately inspissates with its balsamick virtue, and renders mild the thin and sharp part of the blood. The same, as a soapy medicine, dissolves the grumous concretions of the fibrous part. As a balsam it destroys the ulcerous acrimony of the humours, and as a deobstruent it opens and cleans the vessels, restores their tone, and strengthens the digestion, whose defects are the principal cause of scurvy and cachexy.

100. In a high degree of scurvy, a mercurial salivation is looked on by many as the only cure. Which, by the vehement shock it gives the whole frame, and the sensible secretion it produceth, may be thought adequate to such an effect. But the disorder occasioned by this violent process, it is to be feared, may never be got over. The immediate danger, the frequent bad effects, the extreme trouble and nice care attending such a course, do very deservedly make people afraid of it. And tho' the sensible secretion therein be so great; yet, in a longer tract of time, the use of tar-water may produce as great a discharge of scorbutick salts by urine, and by perspiration: the effect of which last, tho' not so sensible, may yet be greater than that of salivation; especially if it be true, that, in common life, insensible perspiration is to nutrition, and all sensible excretions, as five to three.

101. Many hysterick and scorbutick ailments, many taints contracted by themselves, or inherited from their ancestors, afflict the people of condition in these islands, often rendering them, upon the whole, much more unhappy than those whom poverty and labour have ranked in the lowest lot of life; which ailments might be safely removed or relieved by the sole use of tar-water; and those lives, which seem hardly worth living, for bad appetite, low spirits, restless nights, wasting pains and anxieties, be rendered easy and comfortable.

102. Tar-water, as it includes in an eminent degree the virtues of warm gums and resins, is of great use for comforting and strengthening the nerves, curing twitches in the nervous fibres, cramps also, and numbness in the limbs, removing anxieties, and promoting sleep; in all which cases I have known it very successful.

103. This safe and cheap medicine suits all circumstances and all constitutions, operating easily, curing without disturbing, raising the spirits without depressing them; a circumstance that deserves repeated attention; especially in these climates, where strong

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rong liquors so fatally and so frequently roduce those very distresses they are designed to remedy; and, if I am not misinformed, even among the Ladies themselves: who are truly much to be pitied. Their condition of life makes them a prey to imaginary woes, which never fail to grow up in minds unexercised and unemployed. To get rid of these, it is said, there are who betake themselves to distilled spirits. And it is not improbable they are led gradually to the use of these poisons by a certain complaisant pharmacy, too much used in the modern practice, palsy-drops, poppy-cordial, plague-water, and such like; which, being in truth nothing but drams disguised, yet coming from the apothecaries, are considered only as medicines.

104. The soul of man was supposed by many ancient sages, to be thrust into the human body as into a prison, for punishment of past offences. But the worst prison is the body of an indolent epicure, whose blood is inflamed by fermented liquors and high sauces, or rendered putrid, sharp, and corrosive, by a stagnation of the animal juices thro' sloth and indolence; whose membranes are irritated by pungent salts, whose mind is agitated by painful oscillations of the nervous system, and whose nerves are mutually affected by the irregular passions of his mind. This ferment in the animal œconomy darkens and confounds the intellect. It produceth vain terrors and vain conceits, and stimulates the soul with mad desires, which, not being natural, nothing in nature can satisfy. No wonder, therefore, there are so many fine persons of both sexes, shining themselves, and shone on by fortune, who are inwardly miserable, and sick of life.

105. The hardness of stubbed vulgar constitutions, renders them insensible of a thousand things, that fret and gall those delicate people, who, as if their skin was peeled off, feel to the quick every thing that touches them. The remedy for this exquisite and painful sensibility is commonly sought from fermented, perhaps from distilled liquors; which render many lives wretched, that would otherwise have been only ridiculous. The tender nerves and low spirits of such poor creatures, would be much relieved by the use of tar-water, which might prolong and chear their lives. I do therefore recommend to them the use of a cordial, not only safe and innocent, but giving health and spirit, as surely as other cordials destroy them.

106. I do verily think, there is not any other medicine whatsoever, so effectual to restore a crazy constitution, and chear a dreary mind, or so likely to subvert that gloomy empire of the spleen, which tyrannizeth over the better sort (as they are called) of these free nations; and maketh them, in spite of their liberty and property, more wretched slaves than even the subjects of absolute power, who breathe clear air in a sunny climate; while men of low degree often enjoy a tranquillity and content that no advantage of birth or fortune can equal. Such, indeed, was the case, while the rich alone could afford to be debauched; but when even beggars became debauchees, the case was altered.

109. It is much to be lamented, that our insulars, who act and think so much for themselves, should yet, from grossness of air and diet, grow stupid or doat sooner than other people, who, by virtue of elastick air, water-drinking, and light food, preserve their faculties to extreme old age: an advantage which may perhaps be approached, if not equalled, even in these regions, by tar-water, temperance, and early hours. The last is a sure addition to life, not only in regard of time; which, being taken from sleep, the image of death, is added to the waking hours; but also in regard of longevity and duration in the vulgar sense. I may say too, in regard of spirit and vivacity, which, within the same compass of duration, may truly and properly be affirmed to add to man's life: it being manifest, that one man, by a brisker motion of his spirits and succession of his ideas, shall live more in one hour, than another in two; and that the quantity of life is to be estimated, not merely from the duration, but also from the intenseness of living. Which intense living, or, if I may so say, lively life, is not more promoted by early hours as a regimen, than by tar-water as a cordial; which acts, not only as a slow medicine, but hath also an immediate and chearful effect on the spirits.

110. Tar-

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110. Tar-water is to be conſidered as a ſafe and mild alterative: and cannot therefore, otherwiſe than by degrees and in time, work a radical cure of chronick diſtempers. It gives nevertheleſs ſpeedy relief in moſt caſes, as I have found by myſelf and many others. I have been ſurpriſed to ſee perſons fallen away and languiſhing under a bad digeſtion, after a few weeks recover a good ſtomach, and with it fleſh and ſtrength, ſo as to ſeem renewed, by the drinking of tar-water. The ſtrength and quantity of this water to be taken by each individual perſon, is beſt determined from experience. And as for the time of taking, I never knew any evil enſue from its being continued ever ſo long; but, on the contrary, many and great advantages, which ſometimes would not perhaps begin to ſhew themſelves till it had been taken two or three months.

114. After having ſaid ſo much of the uſes of tar, I muſt farther add, that, being rubbed on them, it is an excellent preſervative of the teeth and gums; that it ſweetens the breath, and that it clears and ſtrengthens the voice. And, as its effects are various and uſeful, ſo there is nothing to be feared from the operation of an alterative ſo mild, and friendly to nature. It was a wiſe maxim of certain ancient philoſophers, That diſeaſes ought not to be irritated by medicines. But no medicine diſturbs the animal œconomy leſs than this, which, if I may truſt my own experience, never produces any diſorder in a patient when rightly taken.

115. I knew indeed a perſon who took a large glaſs of tar-water juſt before breakfaſt, which gave him an invincible nauſea and diſguſt, altho' he had before received the greateſt benefit from it. But, if the tar-water be taken and made in the manner preſcribed *p.* 279. it will have enough of the ſalt to be uſeful, and little enough of the oil to be inoffenſive. I mean my own manner of making it, and not the American. That ſometimes makes it too ſtrong, and ſometimes too weak; which tar-water, however it may ſerve as there uſed, merely for a preparative againſt the ſmall pox, yet I queſtion whether it may be fitly uſed in all thoſe various caſes wherein I have found tar-water ſo ſucceſsful. Perſons more delicate than ordinary, may render it palatable, by mixing a drop of the chemical oil of nutmegs, or a ſpoonful of mountain-wine, in each glaſs. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that I have known ſome, whoſe nice ſtomachs could not bear it in the morning, take it at night going to bed, without any inconvenience; and that with ſome it agrees beſt warm, with others cold. It may be made ſtronger for brute beaſts, as horſes, in whoſe diſorders I have found it very uſeful, I believe more ſo than that bituminous ſubſtance called Barbadoes tar.

116. In very dangerous and acute caſes, much may be taken, and often; as far as the ſtomach can bear. But, in chronical caſes, about half a pint, night and morning, may ſuffice; or, in caſe ſo large a doſe ſhould prove diſagreeable, half the quantity may be taken at four times; to wit, in the morning, at night going to bed, and about two hours after dinner and breakfaſt. A medicine of ſo great virtue in ſo many different diſorders, and eſpecially in that grand enemy, the fever, muſt needs be a benefit to mankind in general. There are nevertheleſs three ſorts of people to whom I would peculiarly recommend it; ſea-faring perſons, Ladies, and men of ſtudious and ſedentary lives.

117. To ſailors and all ſea-faring perſons, who are ſubject to ſcorbutick diſorders and putrid fevers, eſpecially in long Southern voyages, I am perſuaded this tar-water would be very beneficial.

118. This ſame water will alſo give charitable relief to the Ladies, who often want it more than the pariſh-poor; being many of them never able to make a good meal, and ſitting pale, puny, and forbidden like ghoſts, at their own table, victims of vapours and indigeſtion.

119. Studious perſons alſo, pent up in narrow holes, breathing bad air, and ſtooping over their books, are much to be pitied. As they are debarred the free uſe of air and exerciſe, this I will venture to recommend as the beſt ſuccedaneum to both. Tho' it were to be wiſhed, that modern ſcholars would, like the ancients, meditate and converſe more in walks, gardens and open air; which, upon the whole, would perhaps be no hindrance to their learning,

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arning, and a great advantage to their ealth. My own ſedentary courſe of life ad long ſince thrown me into an ill habit, ttended with many ailments, particularly nervous colick, which rendered my life burden; and the more ſo, becauſe my ains were exaſperated by exerciſe. But, nce the uſe of tar-water, I find, tho' not perfect recovery from my old and root- d illneſs, yet ſuch a gradual return of ealth and eaſe, that I eſteem my having aken this medicine the greateſt of all tem- oral bleſſings, and am convinced, that, nder Providence, I owe my life to it.

123. The moſt volatile of the ſalts, and he moſt attenuated part of the oil, may be ſuppoſed the firſt and readieſt to impreg- nate a cold infuſion. And this will aſſiſt us to account for the virtues of tar-water. That volatile acid in vegetables, which reſiſts putrefaction, and is their own pre- ſervative, is detained in a ſubtile oil, miſ- cible with water, which oil is itſelf im- priſoned in the reſin or groſſer part of the tar, from which it is eaſily ſet free and obtained pure by cold water.

217. The fermented ſpirit of wine or other liquors produceth irregular motions, and ſubſequent depreſſions in the animal ſpirits: whereas the luminous ſpirit lod- ged and detained in the native balſam of pines and firs, is of a nature ſo mild and benign, and proportioned to the human conſtitution, as to warm without heating, to chear but not inebriate, and to pro- duce a calm and ſteddy joy, like the effect of good news, without that ſinking of ſpi- rits which is a ſubſequent effect of all fer- mented cordials. I may add, without all other inconvenience, except that it may, like any other medicine, be taken in too great a quantity for a nice ſtomach. In which caſe it may be right to leſſen the doſe, or to take it only once in the twenty four hours, empty, going to bed, (when it is found to be leaſt offenſive), or even to ſuſpend the taking of it for a time, till nature ſhall ſeem to crave it, and rejoice in its benign and comfortable ſpirit.

218. Tar-water, ſerving as a vehicle to this ſpirit, is both diuretick and diapho- retick, but ſeems to work its principal ef- fect by aſſiſting the *vis vitæ*, as an altera- tive and cordial, enabling nature by an acceſſion of congenial ſpirit, to aſſimilate that which could not be aſſimulated by her proper force, and ſo to ſubdue the *fomes morbi*. And this ſhould ſeem in moſt ca- ſes the beſt and ſafeſt courſe. Great eva- cuations weaken nature as well as the diſ- eaſe. And it is to be feared, that they who uſe ſalivations and copious bleedings, may, tho' they ſhould recover of the diſ- temper, in their whole life be never ſo able to recover of the remedies.

219. It is true indeed, that, in chroni- cal caſes, there is need of time to com- plete a cure; and yet I have known this tar-water, in diſorders of the lungs and ſtomach, to prove a very ſpeedy remedy, and to allay the anxiety and heat of a fe- ver in an inſtant, giving eaſe and ſpirits to the patient. This I have often expe- rienced, not without ſurpriſe, at ſeeing theſe ſalutary effects follow ſo immediate- ly in a fever, on taking a glaſs of tar-water.

To T. P. *Eſq; from the author of* Siris.

SIR,

AMong the great numbers who drink tar-water in Dublin, your letter in- forms me, there are ſeveral that make it too weak or too ſtrong, or uſe it in an un- due manner. To obviate theſe inconve- niencies, and render this water as general- ly uſeful as poſſible, you deſire I would draw up ſome rules and remarks in a ſmall compaſs; which, accordingly, I here ſend you.

Norwegian tar, being the moſt liquid, mixeth beſt with water. Put a gallon of cold water to a quart of this tar; ſtir and work them very ſtrongly together, with a flat ſtick, for about four minutes. Let the veſſel ſtand covered forty eight hours, that the tar may ſubſide. Then pour off the clear water, and keep it cloſe covered, or rather bottled, and well ſtopped, for uſe. This may do for a general rule; but, as ſtomachs and conſtitutions are ſo various, for particular perſons, their own experience is the beſt rule. The ſtrong- er, the better, provided the ſtomach can bear it. Leſs water, or more ſtirring, makes it ſtronger; as more water, and leſs ſtirring, makes it weaker. The ſame tar will not do quite ſo well a ſecond time, but may ſerve for common uſes.

Tar-

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Tar-water, when right, is not higher than French, nor deeper-coloured than Spaniſh white-wine. If there be not a ſpirit very ſenſibly perceived on drinking, you may conclude the tar-water is not good. If you would have it good, ſee it made yourſelf. Thoſe who begin with it, little and weak, may, by habit, come to drink more and ſtronger. According to the ſeaſon of the year, or the humour of the patient, it may be taken cold or warm.

As to the quantity, in chronical caſes, one pint of tar water a day may ſuffice, taken on an empty ſtomach, at two, or four times; to wit, night and morning; and about two hours after dinner and breakfaſt. Alteratives, in general, taken little and often, mix beſt with the blood. How oft, or how ſtrong, each ſtomach can bear, experience will ſhew; nor is there any danger in making the experiment. Thoſe who labour under old habitual illneſſes, muſt have great patience and perſeverance in the uſe of this, as well as all other medicines; which, if ſure and ſafe, muſt yet be ſlow in chronical diſorders; which, if grievous or inveterate, may require a full quart every day to be taken, at ſix doſes, one third of a pint in each, with a regular diet. In acute caſes, as fevers of all kinds, it muſt be drank warm in bed, and in great quantity; perhaps a pint every hour, till the patient be relieved; which I have known to work ſurpriſing cures.

My experiments have indeed been made within a narrow compaſs; but, as this water is now growing into publick uſe, (tho', it ſeems, not without that oppoſition which is wont to attend novelty), I make no doubt, its virtues will be more fully diſcovered. Mean while I muſt own myſelf perſuaded, from what I have already ſeen and tried, that tar-water may be drank with great ſafety and ſucceſs, in the cure or relief of moſt, if not all diſeaſes, in ulcers, eruptions, and all foul caſes; ſcurvies of all kinds; diſorders of the lungs, ſtomach, and bowels; in nervous caſes, in all inflammatory diſtempers; in decays, and other maladies. Nor is it of uſe only in the cure of ſickneſs; it is alſo uſeful to preſerve health, and a guard againſt infection and old age, as it gives laſting ſpirits, and invigorates the blood. I am even induced, by the nature and analogy of things, and its wonderful ſucceſs in all kinds of fevers, to think, that tar-water may be very uſeful in the plague, both as a cure and preſervative.

But, I doubt, no medicine can withſtand that execrable plague of diſtilled ſpirits, which operates as a ſlow poiſon, preying on the vitals, and waſting the health and ſtrength of body and ſoul; which peſt of human kind, is, I am told, by the attempts of our *whiſky* * patriots, gaining ground in this wretched country, already too thin of inhabitants. *I am*, &c.

* Whiſky *is a ſpirit diſtilled from malt, the making of which poiſon cheap and plenty, as being of our own growth, is eſteemed, by ſome unlucky patriots, a benefit to their country.*

The LAST WILL and TESTAMENT of ALEXANDER POPE, Eſq;

Extracted from the regiſtry of the prerogative court of Canterbury.

In the name of God, Amen.

I *Alexander Pope*, of *Twickenham*, in the county of *Middleſex*, make this my laſt will and teſtament. I reſign my ſoul to its creator, in all humble hope of its future happineſs, as in the diſpoſal of a being infinitely good. As to my body, my will is, that it be buried near the monument of my dear parents at *Twickenham*, with the addition, after the words *Filius fecit*, of theſe only, *& ſibi, qui obiit anno* 17 , *ætatis* ; and that it be carried to the grave by ſix of the pooreſt men of the pariſh, to each of whom I order a ſuit of grey coarſe cloth as mourning. If I happen to die at any inconvenient diſtance, let the ſame be done in any other pariſh, and the inſcription be added on the monument at *Twickenham*. I hereby make and appoint my particular friends, *Allen* Lord *Bathurſt*, *Hugh* Earl of *Marchmont*, the Hon. *William Murray*, his Majeſty's Solicitor-General, and *George Arbuthnot*, of the court of Exchequer, Eſq; the ſurvivors or ſurvivor of them, executors of this my laſt will and teſtament. But all the manuſcripts and unprinted papers which I ſhall leave at my deceaſe, I deſire may be delivered to my Noble friend *Henry St John*, Lord *Bolingbroke*,

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ngbroke, to whose sole care and judgment I commit them, either to be preserved or destroyed; or, in case he shall not survive me, to the above said Earl of *Marchmont*. These, who in the course of my life have done me all other good offices, will not refuse me this last after my death. I leave them therefore this trouble, as a mark of my trust and friendship; only desiring them each to accept of some small memorial of me: That my Lord *Bolingbroke* will add to his library all the volumes of my works and translations of *Homer*, bound in red Morocco, and the seven volumes of those of *Erasmus*: That my Lord *Marchmont* will take the large paper edition of *Thuanus*, by *Buckley*, and that portrait of Lord *Bolingbroke*, by *Richardson*, which he shall prefer: That my Lord *Bathurst* will find a place for the three statues of the *Hercules* of *Farnese*, the *Venus* of *Medicis*, and the *Apollo* in *chiaro oscuro*, done by *Kneller*: That Mr *Murray* will accept of the marble head of *Homer*, by *Banini*, and of Sir *Isaac Newton*, by *Guelfi*: and, That Mr *Arbuthnot* will take the watch I commonly wear, which the King of *Sardinia* gave to the late Earl of *Peterborough*, and he to me on his death-bed; together with one of the pictures of Lord *Bolingbroke*.

Item, I desire Mr *Lyttelton* to accept of the busts of *Spencer*, *Shakespear*, *Milton*, and *Dryden*, in marble, which his Royal master the Prince was pleased to give me. I give and devise my library of printed books to *Ralph Allen* of *Widcombe*, Esq; and to the Rev. Mr *William Warburton*, or to the survivor of them, (when those belonging to Lord *Bolingbroke* are taken out, and when Mrs *Martha Blount* has chosen threescore out of the number). I also give and bequeath to the said Mr *Warburton*, the property of all such of my works already printed, as he hath written, or shall write commentaries or notes upon, and which I have not otherwise disposed of or alienated, and all the profits which shall arise, after my death, from such editions as he shall publish, without future alterations.

Item, In case *Ralph Allen*, Esq; above said, shall survive me, I order my executors to pay him the sum of 150 l. being, to the best of my calculation, the amount of what I have received from him, partly for my own, and partly for charitable uses. If he refuses to take this himself, I desire him to employ it, in a way I am persuaded he will not dislike, to the benefit of the *Bath* hospital.

I give and devise to my sister-in-law Mrs *Magdalen Racket*, the sum of 300 l. and to her sons *Henry* and *Robert Racket*, 100 l. each. I also release and give to her all my right and interest in and upon a bond for 500 l. due to me from her son *Michael*. I also give her the family-pictures of my father, mother, and aunts, and the diamond ring my mother wore, and her golden watch.

I give to *Erasmus Lewis*, *Gilbert West*, Sir *Clement Cotterell*, *William Rollinson*, *Nathaniel Hook*, Esqrs, and to Mrs *Anne Arbuthnot*, to each the sum of 5 l. to be laid out in a ring, or any memorial of me. And to my servant *John Searl*, who has faithfully and ably served me many years, I give and devise the sum of 100 l. over and above a year's wages to himself and his wife; and to the poor of the parish of *Twickenham*, 20 l. to be divided among them by the said *John Searl*. And it is my will, if the said *John Searl* die before me, that the said sum of 100 l. go to his wife or children.

Item, I give and devise to Mrs *Martha Blount*, younger daughter of Mrs *Martha Blount*, late of *Welbeck street*, *Cavendish-square*, the sum of 1000 l. immediately on my decease; and all the furniture of my grotto, urns in my garden, household goods, chattels, plate, or whatever is not otherwise disposed of in this my will, I give and devise to the said Mrs *Martha Blount*, out of a sincere regard and long friendship for her: and it is my will, that my above said executors, the survivors or survivor of them, shall take an account of all my estate, money, or bonds, &c. and, after paying my debts and legacies, shall place out all the residue upon government or other securities, according to their best judgment, and pay the produce thereof half-yearly to the said Mrs *Martha Blount*, during her natural life. And, after her decease, I give the sum of 1000 l. to Mrs *Magdalen Racket*, and her sons *Robert*, *Henry*,

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Henry, and *John*, to be divided equally among them, or to the survivors or survivor of them. And, after the decease of the said Mrs *Martha Blount*, I give the sum of 200l. to the aforesaid *Gilbert West*, 200 l. to Mr *George Arbuthnot*, 200 l. to his sister Mrs *Anne Arbuthnot*, and 100 l. to my servant *John Searl*, to which soever of these shall be then living; and all the residue and remainder to be considered as undisposed of, and go to my next of kin.

This is my last will and testament, written with my own hand, and sealed with my seal, this 12th day of *December*, in the year of our Lord 1743.

ALEXANDER POPE.

Signed, sealed, and delivered by the testator, as his last will and testament, in presence of us,

Radnor.
Stephen Hales, Minister of *Teddington.*
Joseph Spence, Professor of History in the university of *Oxford.*

This will was proved at *London*, before the Worshipful *George Lee*, Doctor of Laws and Surrogate, on the 14th day of *June* 1744, by the oaths of the Rt Hon. *Allen* Lord *Bathurst*, the Rt Hon. *Hugh* Earl of *Marchmont*, the Hon. *William Murray*, Esq; his Majesty's Solicitor-General, and *George Arbuthnot*, Esq; the executors; to whom administration was granted, being first sworn duly to administer.

William Legard, *Peter St Eloy*, *Henry Stevens*, } Deputy Registers.

UNIVERSAL SPECTATOR, *July* 14.

General thoughts occasioned by the insults offered to the memory of Mr Pope.

Envy will *Merit*, *as its shade*, *pursue*;
But, *like a* shadow, *proves the* substance *true.*

Mr Spectator,

IN your paper of *June* 16. a correspondent seems to express his surprise, that only *one essay* had been published on the death of Mr POPE, tho' he had at that time been dead above a fortnight. He then gives *two reasons* for this silence, one or other of which, he presumes, had weight with every poetical person in the kingdom, *viz.*

"1. A very high sense of Mr *Pope*'s *great merit*, and the consciousness of an *inability* of doing *justice* to his name.—This, 'tis conceived, is the motive that prevails with those who are *most equal* to the task, the *apprehension* of whose incense would have given him no *uneasiness* in his last moments.

2. A *real joy* that there is nothing more to fear from his *formidable satire.*—*Mournful elegy* cannot flow from a breast *exulting with pleasure.* The *republick* Mr Pope *tyrannized over* is now presumed to be *free*, and every poet, good or bad, may write without fear of being *embalmed* in verse that will descend to posterity."

We have, however, since *June* 16. had a deluge of *Epitaphs*, *Elegies*, *Verses to the memory of*, *Answers*, *&c.* written with variety of spirit, according to the genius and taste of the respective authors; and one or two I think not unworthy of the solemn occasion. But we have had so many other *flirts*, so many *insults* on the *dead lion*, that it appears your correspondent was right, in thinking there would be a real joy in *some persons*, upon their deliverance from future fears. They have expressed it with such *indecent malignity*, that, tho' I would not have you transcribe any of their *words*, I cannot help desiring you to give us a few general thoughts upon the *disposition* and *spirit* that produced them. In doing which, you will oblige some others, besides F. E.

We should never wonder at the *attempts* to depretiate a character of the *greatest eminence* in the republick of letters, especially in *poetry*; experience having shewn us, that such will always be objects of *envy* to the *little* and *low wits*, who have no other way of assuming any value to their own *tinsel productions*, but by beating down the *Sterling worth* of what has been received into *currency* by all the good judges.

Most of the *great geniuses* have despised, and passed over with a *contemptuous silence*, all the weak efforts to destroy their fame; or, if they have taken any notice of them, it has been in so *few words*, as did not much less mark their contempt. Thus *Virgil* has given us only one line upon his *two maligners*, whose names are by that means rendered immortal. But, where there has been that *gaiety* of heart, that

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nneſs of conceit, that talent for *ridicule*, nich together conſtitute the character of *true ſatiriſt*, it has not been uncommon r the maſters in the art of verſe, to ſtring o a few of the *capital offenders*, for their vn conviction, and the diverſion of in- ocent readers. Thus we have had *Ho- ce*, *Boileau*, and *Pope*, the profeſſed *ſa- iriſts* of *bad poets*, whom they thought wful game, for *perſiſting* in their dulneſs, ter it was become notorious.

But, as *perſonal reſentment*, for injuries ceived, can hardly avoid mixing with a ower of *taking vengeance*, we need not be rpriſed, if we ſee ſome ſtigmatiſed for *nces* by ſuch great writers, who might ot perhaps have deſerved quite ſo *ſevere* n appellation, if they had known the *pru- ence* to forbear falling foul on thoſe whom he world had acknowledged to be their *aſters*.

Little can be known, at this diſtance f time, concerning the characters of the unces in the *Roman ſatiriſt*: but the *ope- as* of *Quinaut* are ſtill in reputation a- nong the *French*, notwithſtanding the ſe- ere treatment their author met with from *Boileau*: and ſome of the writers who have ome under the laſh of Mr *Pope*'s ſatire, nay yet be read by a future age, tho' not out in the ſame claſs with the author of he *Ethick Epiſtles*.

The weakneſs is, in this caſe, for *mo- derate talents* to pretend to *vie with*, or attempt to leſſen the *reputation of* thoſe geniuſes that are manifeſtly above the le- vel of all *competition*. Without this vanity, *many names* that are now in the *Dunciad*, had perhaps never come there; and, with- out perſiſting in the offence, when the *laugh* was univerſally turned againſt them, ſome perhaps had been long ere now *eraſed*, that were left ſtanding at the death of the au- thor, and are by him *conſigned to poſterity*, by his proviſion in the diſpoſal of his print- ed works, that, if they are reprinted, with or without *notes*, it ſhall be *without alte- rations*. This is the very condition upon which this *invaluable legacy* depends.

But it is not among *thoſe* who have ſome *real pretenſions* to the honours of *wit*, that we ſhould look for the perſons who can publickly *inſult the memory of* Mr *Pope*. Whoever has a ſpark of *true taſte*, tho' *anger* or *jealouſy* might prevent him from giving the *living poet* all his due praiſe, *juſtice* will compel him to ſay of the *dead*, that his merit was indeed beyond deſcri- ption. Such a one will ſcorn any mean flings at the *little blemiſhes* of this ſublime character, which were no more than neceſ- ſary to diſtinguiſh he was *a man*, and there- fore not *altogether perfect*.

But, among the *birds of Apollo*, there are always fluttering a more *contemptible ſpe- cies*, that may be called the *bats* and *owls* of *Parnaſſus*. They cannot bear the *luſtre* of the deity they pretend to worſhip, and have no delight, but in *ſtriking blindly* a- gainſt whatever attempts to ſoar, or *hoot- ing* at the excellence they can never in the leaſt degree *imitate*. It muſt be to ſuch as thoſe that the thought could occur of *maligning the aſhes of this phœnix*, whoſe true ſucceſſor can hardly be expected in the preſent generation.

Fontenelle, the *witty* and *elegant Fonte- nelle*, whom even Sir *William Temple* could deign to compare with the *ancients*, has not been without critics of *this character*. They accuſe him with ſpoiling the taſte of his nation by his *too much* wit, by his *too beautiful* manner of thinking: they call him the *Seneca* of the age of *Lewis* XIV. as *Seneca* was the *Fontenelle* of the age of *Auguſtus*; name his moſt charming ſentiments, *light bloſſoms*, that fall with the leaſt ſhake.—To refute theſe *cenſurers*, there has been a book lately publiſhed in *French*, called, *The ſpirit of Fontenelle*; *or, A collection of thoughts extracted from his writings*. The reflexions made by one of the *literary journaliſts*, in ſpeaking of this piece, may be applied to almoſt any *great genius*, and his petty invidious *criticks*:

If it be true, that nothing is more me- lancholy in the world than to have *no ge- nius*, it is not always a juſt conſequence to ſay, that one of the *greateſt advantages* one can receive from Nature, is to have a *great deal* of it. Genius is, in truth, one of the *richeſt* and moſt *flattering* preſents ſhe has to beſtow; but, like the goods of Fortune, far from procuring thoſe who poſſeſs it a *perfect felicity*, if it gains them *admirers* on one ſide, very often, on the other, it raiſes them an infinite number of *enviers*; which thoſe are very ſecure from

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having, who are confounded in the crowd of the *ſtupid*, or move only in the ſphere of *common* and *ordinary* men.

This reflexion, which appears to us true in the *general*, is inconteſtable in *particular inſtances*, when we are once informed of what has at all times paſſed, and does ſtill every day paſs, in the *republick of letters*. Thoſe who, without having a *genius*, make preteuſions to be admitted into that diſtinguiſhed ſociety to which *wit alone* has a right to aſpire, never did nor will experience the effects of that *envy*, which uſually purſues only *ſuperior talents*: and as to others, a little *more witty* than the former, they do not run any greater riſk on this account; becauſe, if the productions of the firſt have made them return back into *nothing*, from which they in vain labour to *emerge*, thoſe of the ſecond, not being good enough to be *praiſed* and *admired*, nor bad enough to be *deſpiſed*, leave their authors in the claſs of *common writers*, which are always looked upon with great indifference.

But, where *ſuperior talents*, given by *nature*, and improved by *ſtudy*, do actually reſide, if thoſe who poſſeſs, will make uſe of them to draw to themſelves an *admiration almoſt univerſal*, their lot in the world will be quite different from that of the two former. They will experience the fortune of the illuſtrious *French academician*, whoſe works, equally brilliant and ſolid, have occaſioned the birth of the *treatiſe* above mentioned; and, we may add, of Mr *Pope*, whoſe inſulted memory produced the *letter* at the beginning of this paper, and theſe *reflexions* upon the ſubject of it. Known to almoſt the whole univerſe by the *multitude* and *beauty* of their literary productions, they have acquired an eſteem founded upon *true merit*. But, as *Envy*, which, in the republick of letters, hides itſelf often under the ſpecious name of *Criticiſm*, marches almoſt always in the train of *Merit*, the merit of theſe Gentlemen has raiſed them up *adverſaries*, who, being united, compoſe a numerous and ſeemingly formidable cabal. And, as there are ſome writers of diſtinguiſhed worth themſelves, who have *criticiſed* with a *true ſpirit* ſome things in theſe wonders of genius, the little carpers, led by quite *other motives*, will not fail to ſhield themſelves under their authority. Thus the enviers of *Fontenelle* pretend they have a *Rollin* and a *La Pluche*, at their head; and thoſe of Mr *Pope* may plead the example of Mr *Spence*, whoſe elegant *dialogues* upon the tranſlation of the *Odyſſey* they can no more *taſte* than *imitate*.

To thoſe who can do either, it is manifeſt that the deſign of neither of theſe criticks was to *attack the reputation* of the author they write upon. They would not have thought it worth while to ſpend a moment upon works that did not merit a *ſolid* and *laſting fame*. Yet the adverſaries of genius will always *pervert* the teſtimony of ſuch *true criticks*, to ſupport their own reproaches, againſt writers upon whom *eloquence*, *poeſy*, *hiſtory*, *philoſophy*, and even the moſt *abſtract ſciences*, ſeem to have laviſhed all their treaſures, to receive back from their hands a kind of *new light*, a *variegated dreſs*, accompanied with *charms* of which they were not before thought ſuſceptible.

May I be permitted to add, that, next to the *poſſeſſing* theſe eminent qualities, a diſpoſition to *diſtinguiſh* and *admire* them has been always eſteemed in the learned world? This merit the author of the UNIVERSAL SPECTATOR hopes he ſhall maintain his right to glory in, whenever ſuch occaſions as obloquy upon *ſupreme genius* may call upon him to diſcover it.

WESTMINSTER JOURNAL, *July* 14.

Of the miſchiefs of falſe muſters.

IN the memoirs of the Count *de Guiche*, lately publiſhed in *French*, we have this remarkable paſſage concerning the ſtate of the United Provinces, in 1665, when they were invaded by *Bernard de Galen*, Biſhop of *Munſter*.

"The States had not in all 4000 men to oppoſe againſt their enemy: which was the reaſon that he took from them many ſmall places on the other ſide of the *Iſſel*, and proceeded even to the gates of *Groningen*. The *French* ſuccours which *Lewis* XIV. ſent them, were ſo inconſiderable, that it was found neceſſary, when the *Dutch* fleet returned into their ports, to cauſe the infantry that had been put on board it to diſembark. It conſiſted of 4000

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00 men, which, added to those they d thrown into *Groningen*, made in all 00 foot; their whole cavalry amount- g to 2500 horse. In *Maestricht* they d left only 7 or 800 men; in *Breda* d *Boisleduc* 3 or 400; and the rest of eir towns, which, as well as their forts, e pretty numerous, were garrisoned in ke manner; some of the latter being in- usted solely to the vigilance of a com- on jailor. And yet the States had SIX- Y THOUSAND MEN UPON PAPER, and e same number IN THEIR PURSE. But the field the number was at most not reater than I say upon the *Issel*, and 000 men, horse and foot included, in *Groningen*. The rest went to the PRO- IT of the OFFICERS; of whom the greatest part, being the *sons of Burgoma- ters*, were exempt from chastisement; nd consequently this *evil* could receive o *remedy*, nor the *crime* any *punishment*, rom the form of the government, which have already described."

Were it peculiar to the *Dutch* form of government to *indulge* and *screen* such practices, I should not have thought this particular worth taking notice of at *this time of day*, and in *this nation*: but, as *vi- es*, *publick* or *private*, are apt to commu- nicate their poison thro' *all countries*, and to insinuate into *all constitutions*, it ought to be remembered, that there may be such a thing as *raising men upon* PAPER ONLY, or *putting them into* PRIVATE PURSES.

The *men* voted last session for the ser- vice of the present year in *Flanders*, were 21,358 *British*, and 16,268 *Hanoverians*, making in all 37,626 men in the pay of G. *Britain* only: and yet, if we believe the accounts of both friends and enemies, after the sending over of several addition- al regiments, after the junction of both *Austrians* and *Dutch* to these, the whole allied army does not amount to more than 45,000 men; that is, but 7400 more than what are now actually paid for by parliamentary provision in G. *Britain*.

How is this? Do our *allies* fall thus in- credibly *short* of their *proportion* to the whole number? or is any part of *our share* to be looked upon as PAPER and PURSE *men* only?

Since we must have a *land-war* with *France*, as it seems at present we have no hopes of avoiding it, for God's sake let it be an *honest war* to ourselves! Let us do our *own part* with strict justice; but let us insist upon the *same exactness* in all who confederate with us in the *same cause*! If we must fight in the *way of our friends*, instead of our *own way*, at least let those friends *bear us company*! They surely ought, under the present circumstances, to *shew us an example*.

But, if it be not the fault of *our friends*, if it be WE who *sink upon* OURSELVES, the business, tho' not so *mortifying*, will be equally *dangerous* if not inquired into: and inquired into certainly it may be, un- less some *interest* prevails among us, equal to that of a *Dutch Burgomaster*, for screen- ing of wrong. Whether it be the *interest* of each respective *father* or *friend*, who screens his son or him he has recommend- ed, or whether it be ONE GRAND IN- TEREST that screens the *whole iniquity*, it is equally *injurious* to the commonwealth, and should, by the commonwealth, be equally *opposed* and *resented*.

While the men in the field remain *in- active*, for want of *sufficient numbers*, let us see if there be none upon *paper* to march and *join* them, none in *purse* to go immediately and put them in *motion*.

To make *war* a *job* only, (which would in effect be the case, if an army were kept *abroad* only to *pocket* another *at home*), is something more horrid and unnatural than any other kind of *treachery* against the people. To *job* in *contracts* and *treaties* is the old art, that has only met with some improvement of late years: no *lives* are lost in *such jobs*; and, if a little *honour* is exposed, the nation's whole stock is not irrecoverably *lost*. But a *military job*, which keeps upon *paper* and in *purse* a part of the army that is *nomi- nally* in the *field*, is making an *actual sa- crifice* of the poor wretches who are *actu- ally* in the *service*, and with it of the *glo- ry* that might have attended the opera- tions of the whole *complement*.

And yet that *such jobs* have been made, might be proved from a great many in- stances, besides that of the States-Gene- ral in 1665. Our own war in *Spain*, du- ring a great part of it, seems to have been

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been rather a *job* to those whose hearts were in *Flanders*, than a series of proper efforts to recover *Spain* itself, tho' we were professedly fighting for the whole *Spanish* monarchy. And that there was not something of a *job* in the *Flanders* war towards the end, when *France* had ineffectually made offers that to common sense were *high* enough to have been *satisfactory*, would not be very easy to demonstrate. But, as this was a *successful business*, and cost us only *money* and *men*, our *honour* being secured by victory after victory, it was a long while before we thought proper to complain of the *undertakers*.

But these, and some others we could mention, were *English jobs*; that is, for the *private* benefit of *English men*, how much soever the *publick* interest of *England* might suffer by them, and that of *Holland* and *Germany* be promoted at her expence. This was the more tolerable, as we saw the *money* got by them, in a great measure, spent *among us*, and have had the honour of boasting that we could shew perhaps the *richest subject* in *Europe*. But, if ever one of these *bloody jobs* should be again carried on, against a tide of *ill fortune*, and with this aggravating circumstance, that no *Englishman* could be the better for it, that *England* had no chance of again circulating any part of the *wealth* she had wantonly given, this would indeed be a more melancholy state for us than any we meet with in history. The *paper* in this case would be *English*, but the *purse* would be *foreign*; and whether *Sar——n*, *Hun——n*, or *Han——n*, would little avail to those who had only the honour of *filling it*.

If then it be *possible* that such a job *may be*, which I believe no body will deny, is it not proper that *inquiry* should be often made, that a *jealous watch* should be always kept, that no troops be maintained upon *paper*, which do not exist in *person*, lest they should be all put into some such *voracious purse*? The poet talks of *pocketing states*, and surely it is altogether as easy, by this means, to *pocket armies*.

We do not insinuate that any such thing *has been done*, or that any who have now the power are *capable of doing it*: but the *possibility* of the fact should excite the *proper caution*, which the *honest* cannot *condemn*, and the *dishonest* may apprehend so as to *refrain*.

Before our destruction can be so far effected, there must certainly be a great *degeneracy* among all orders of men. The maxim has been long received, that *G. Britain* can never be ruined but by her *parliaments*. But, if parliaments should ever grow so *weak*, so *negligent*, or so *corrupt*, as to suffer a *foreign influence* to prevail in all their measures and resolutions, we should be *stupid* indeed if we thought ourselves any longer *secure*. If *places*, *pensions*, *honours*, *grants*, or *promises*, should so far prevail with *individuals* of this venerable body, as to make a *majority* of them the *humble servants* of those who have these *baits* to throw out, what iniquitous *jobs* may not be transacted, what *paper armies* might not be kept up and *pocketed*!

That such a state has been long apprehended by the *wisest* and *best* of *patriots*, is manifest from their *writings* and *speeches* for many years past. That it may never creep in upon us, we have no other security but our *jealousy* and *vigilance*.

Our late *excellent poet*, whose loss every lover of the muses now laments, has given us so many *pictures*, in his satires, of such an *universal degeneracy*, that it would take up too much room even to refer to them all. But there is one so applicable to the *present argument*, that I shall make no apology for transcribing it. He is humorously excusing the avarice of Sir *John Blount*, the *South Sea* Director, upon his foresight of this degeneracy, which made him desirous to BUY *both the national parties*, that he might give peace to *all*. A *wizard*, according to the satirist, has told him this prophecy; which we may rather *pray* than *hope* never to see fulfilled.

At length Corruption, *like a gen'ral flood*,
Shall deluge all; *and* Av'rice, *creeping on*,
Spread like a low-born mist, *and blot the sun*:
Statesman and patriot ply alike the stocks,
Peeress and butler share alike the box;
The Judge shall job, *the Bishop bite the town*,
And mighty Dukes pack cards for half a crown.
See Britain *sunk in lucre's sordid charms*,
And France *revenge'd of* ANNE's *and* EDWARD's *arms*!

OLD

OLD ENGLAND, *July* 14.

emarks on the civil list, and on a late pension.

ALtho', for decency's sake, the application of the c—l list is not so nicely rutinised into, as all other grants derived om the people ought to be, it is no longer cred from inquiry, than it appears to be ecently used.

To support the honour and dignity of e crown, is the reason assigned for granting it; by which we are to understand, at our princes are at once to be secured om want, and enabled to be just, geneous, and magnificent.

But justice is the corner-stone of the uilding. As it is difficult for a prince maintain his dignity in the midst of neessity, so his honour must suffer, if he ffects to gratify his vanity, or even his liberality, at the expence of justice.

The servants and tradesmen of the rown have the first claims upon the rown. As the publick has made an mple provision for them, as all imaginale care has been taken to make that rovision certain, by engaging to make ood all deficiencies, they ought to have he full benefit of it, both in time and alue; and, till their demands are satisfid, or the proper regulations are made or satisfying them, strictly speaking, the rown has not a shilling to throw away.

We have already had melancholy expeience, that, when the crown, either by n excess of goodness, or an excess of prigality, has run farther into debt than t could easily discharge, that debt has always been saddled upon the people; who, n exchange, had only the wretched consation of an unmeaning promise, that they hould never more be sufferers that way.

When therefore the c—l l— is known o be *six quarters* in arrear, it becomes a easonable matter of alarm to the people: nd, whenever the crown-creditors have he mortification to see the money which roperly belongs to them, wantonly or vickedly wasted, while they labour under ll manner of difficulties and distresses or the want of it, it is not to be presumed but that they will esteem it a crying grievance; and that they will secretly repine, if they do not openly complain of it.

When the late excellent Q. *Anne* made pplication to parliament, for a sum of money to discharge the debts of her *civil list*, the *Whigs* of those times took great offence at it: and yet her household-revenue bore no comparison to that which is at present so deservedly annexed to the crown. It was besides notorious, that she had taken part in the difficulties which the war had brought upon her subjects, and had, for several years, contributed 100,000 l. towards the expence of it.

On the other hand, in the late reign, even under the administration of those very *Whigs*, the precedent was twice followed without any such noble generosity to plead in excuse for it.

Again, as the famous affair of the *pretended* 115,000 l. deficiency, serves to shew, that ministers are not over-nice in their demands; so the thundering item contained in the famous report, for ten years *special and secret service*, shews likewise, that they are not over-frugal in their issues. *See Mag.* 1742, *p.* 329.

With a laudable *Christian* charity, we may conclude, if we please, the mighty sum there specified, was dispensed in the noblest manner, in obtaining intelligence, in rewarding merit, in the furtherance of useful knowledge, in the encouragement of arts and sciences, and the exercise of every Royal virtue.

But, when we follow the directions of human policy, we are to suspend the use of Christian charity: we are to take nothing upon trust, and to reason only from what we *see*.

In plain *English*, when the *art* of *corrupting*, has been avowed to be the principal, if not the sole art of governing, we can never too carefully watch a leak, which bids fair to drain the commonwealth.

There have been men who have deserved the highest favours which the crown had to bestow; and there have been times, when the publick did not stand in need of the Royal charity.

At present, whatever the c— l— can spare, the publick has need of: and who is there amongst us that has a right to challenge so vast a pension as * 4000 l. a-year,

* Note. 4000 *l. a-year paid by the officers of the ex——, without deductions for fees, taxes, &c. is equal to a pension of* 5000, *subject to those incumbrances.*

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year, or ought to accept it, if it was offered him? I am sure, the man of real merit would think it his duty to refuse what it would be little less than impudence to ask; and would disdain to increase his private fortune, by increasing the publick calamities.

What then should we say, if a known criminal, who had already gorged both himself and every one of his creatures with the spoils of the state; who had been equally rapacious and prodigal; who had by his crimes only escaped the punishment that was due to them; and who, if he had not destroyed the *constitution*, must have been destroyed by it: what should we say, if such a man as this, when his country was sinking under the mischiefs which he had been the principal cause of, should again fasten upon it, and, in the face of the world, demand, receive, and enjoy the *very gratuity* which he had before sold for its value in *ready cash*, and which he had even emptied the exchequer to procure the payment of?—*See p.* 293.

Should we not say, that this man was master of such secrets as enabled him to stand upon terms with the ****, as well as set the people at defiance? that this extravagant grant was by way of commutation for the act of grace which had been denied him? that the persons most obnoxious to the people were the most acceptable at *****? that what was complained of as *grievances*, were there represented and understood as *services*? that, consequently, the very nature of g—t was reversed; and that the people, for the future, were to expect neither justice nor mercy?—*I am, &c.*

GEO. STANDARD.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

THE Marquis de la Chetardie was sent away from Moscow, on the 7th of June, towards the Russian frontiers, under a guard; after having been deveſted of the order of St Andrew, and obliged to return a picture of the Empress, which he had got in a present. Before his departure, he begged to obtain an audience of the Empress: but, finding that impracticable, he desired that a letter from him might be presented to her Majesty; which being likewise refused, he contented himself with drawing up a memorial addressed to one of the ministers.—The Russian squadrons have put to sea, in order, as it is said, to exercise the seamen. Rear-Adm. Bars, with nine men of war, sailed from Revel on the 20th of June; as did Vice-Adm. Mischoukow from Cronstadt, with twelve men of war, on the 23d; and seven ships are likewise sailed from Archangel.

The King and Prince Successor of SWEDEN having resolved to make a progress to Gottenburg, Scania, and Carlscroon, his Majesty set out from Stockholm on the 13th of June, and his Royal Highness, the day following. The day before his departure, the Prince made Gen. Keith a present of his picture set with diamonds.—Gen. Keith, Lt-Gen. Soltikoff, and Maj. Gen. Lapuchin, left Stockholm the 3d of July, and went to Romanso, the place of general rendezvous of all the Muscovite troops in Sweden, and where they are to imbark.

A reduction is making in DENMARK, of the extraordinary augmentation of horse and foot which took place upon the late prospect of war: the men taken from the national regiments are restored to their former corps, and the horses are put up to sale.

POLAND is now favoured with the presence of its sovereign; an honour that kingdom has not enjoyed for five years past. The King and Queen arrived at Warsaw on the 2d of June.

The Princess Louisa Ulrica, sister to the King of PRUSSIA, was espoused to the Prince Successor of Sweden, at Berlin, on the 17th of July N. S.—About eight o' clock in the evening, the Swedish Ambassador, attended by most of the General officers, and Lords of the court, went in state to the palace. The officers of the guard saluted his Excellency, and the drums beat from the time that he appeared in sight. At nine o' clock, the King, the Queens, the Prince of Prussia, the Princess Louisa Ulrica, the foreign princes, and the whole court, entered the white hall, illuminated on that occasion by several thousand wax-lights. The Princess was dressed in cloth of silver, of a

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new invention, and of moſt extraordinary magnificence, and wore upon her head a crown, ſet with diamonds, of ineſtimable value. The Prince of Pruſſia, being furniſhed with full powers from his Royal Swediſh Highneſs, eſpouſed the Princeſs his ſiſter. This ceremony was performed under a canopy of crimſon velvet, embroidered and fringed with gold. The Archbiſhop of Rolof gave the nuptial benediction; and, on the exchange of rings, there was a general diſcharge of artillery from all the ramparts. Supper was ſerved at 8 tables, of 50 covers each; and every thing that was carried to the firſt table, where their Majeſties ate, was ſerved in ſolid gold.

After the ſurrender of Ypres and Fort Knocke, a large detachment of the French army in FLANDERS laid ſiege to Furnes; which yielded to them on the 11th of June N. S. the garriſon, by capitulation, marching out with the honours of war. This, before any thing elſe could be undertaken, the French King was informed by an expreſs from M. Coigny, that Pr. Charles had paſſed the Rhine, and that, without ſpeedy reinforcement, it would be impoſſible for him to ſtop the progreſs of the Auſtrians, or even to prevent the deſtruction of his own army. Whereupon his Majeſty called a council, wherein it was reſolved, to ſend a great part of the army into Alſace; and orders were diſpatched to M. Belleiſle and the Duke d' Harcourt, to make forced marches towards the Rhine, with the troops under their command. The troops accordingly have marched, and the King is gone in perſon; leaving C. Saxe to command the army in Flanders, amounting to between 40 and 50,000 men; who have retired to their ſtrong camp behind the Lys, and there deeply intrenched themſelves.

On the 31ſt of July, N. S. the army of the ALLIES, conſiſting of 72 battalions and 122 ſquadrons, making 57,600 foot and 21,228 horſe, paſſed the Schelde, in three columns, above, at, and below the town of Oudenarde.

The magazine of CHARLEROY has been blown up, occaſioned thro' the careleſſneſs, as is ſuppoſed, of ſome of the gunners employed in loading cartridges; which has done conſiderable miſchief to the buildings, and killed ſeventeen perſons.

C. WASSENAER having returned to the Hague, was ſent a ſecond time to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and returned again to the Hague Aug. 6. N. S.

The famous Col. MENTZEL was unfortunately killed before the paſſage of the Rhine was effected. The Auſtrians had made themſelves maſters of the iſle of Heron in the Rhine; and the Colonel, having drank plentifully at an entertainment, went, on the 15th of June, to ſound the river there; and, expoſing himſelf too much, he received a ſhot in the belly, of which he died next morning, very much regretted, and very much regretting his own raſhneſs, in expoſing himſelf, when it could be of no ſervice to his ſovereign.

Pr. CHARLES, having paſſed the Rhine, detached C. Nadaſti towards Lauterburg. Upon the 4th of July, N. S. the army incamped at Rheinzabern, and C. Preyzing and the Prince of Wolfenbuttle followed C. Nadaſti with four Regiments of infantry, and three of cavalry; but, when theſe laſt arrived at Lauterburg, the Commandant, Genſac, with his garriſon of 1700 men, had capitulated; having agreed to march out without arms, and not to ſerve again for a year. Immediately after this, C. Nadaſti was ſent to Weiſſenburg. The garriſon, which conſiſted only of 300 men, ſurrendered priſoners of war on the 5th. 112 carriages laden with proviſions taken there, drawn by good horſes, were conducted to Lauterburg. Scarce was this done, before the Bavarian and French armies appeared to relieve the place. Two regiments of cavalry, which compoſed the advanced corps of this army, coming out of a defile, C. Nadaſti charged them; one was entirely routed, and the other cut in pieces or made priſoners. He took from them a pair of kettle-drums, a pair of colours, and four ſtandards. But, the whole army of the enemy being arrived upon the 5th in the afternoon, the fire of their ſmall arms, ſupported by that of 80 pieces of cannon, was ſo ſuperior to that of the Auſtrians, that C. Nadaſti was obliged to retire; which he did in good order: whereupon the enemy poured in upon the town, which has but one ſingle wall, and in which was but

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one battalion only of infantry of the regiment of Forgatch; and, having placed the Heſſians and the Bavarians in the front, the attack was made with great vigour, the officers, ſword in hand, puſhing the ſoldiers on to the aſſault. Notwithſtanding this, the enemy was twice repulſed; but, as towards night the battalion had conſumed all their ammunition, and the enemy returned a third time to the aſſault, it could not but yield. During theſe tranſactions, Pr. Charles had given orders for Col. Forgatch to retire with his battalion, as ſoon as the enemy's forces ſhould be grown an overmatch for him: but he did not comply with that inſtruction; and, having waited for them, ſword in hand, the city was between eight and nine o'clock at night taken by aſſault, the greateſt part of the battalion having been killed or taken, and the Colonel dangerouſly wounded. The enemy loſt in this action above 3000 men, and the Auſtrians about 800, the firing having laſted all the afternoon. The whole corps under Gen. Nadaſti performed wonders, 6000 men having held out the whole day againſt 40,000, and given the army time to eſtabliſh themſelves in the lines at Lauterburg. In the magazine there, which C. Nadaſti ſeized, there were 1,100,000 rations of hay, ſome thouſand truſſes of ſtraw, above 6000 ſacks of corn, ſeveral quintals of flour, a great quantity of rice, fruits, &c.—M. Bernclau, in marching up the banks of the Rhine, every where drove the French before him. One of his advanced guards having met the regiment de l'Hoſpital, it was ſeized with ſuch a panick, that the men, having mounted their horſes without ſaddles, fled away, leaving ſaddles, arms, and baggage to the Auſtrians.—The Imperial and French army abandoned Weiſſenburg the next day after they had made themſelves maſters of it, and poſted themſelves beyond the Motter.—As Pr. Charles was preparing to purſue his ſucceſs with rapidity, he was retarded by the overflowing of the Rhine; but, as ſoon as the waters would permit, he advanced to force the paſſage of the Motter; when the enemy abandoned Haguenau, Druſenheim, and their intrenchments, retiring towards Straſburg, the Auſtrian huſſars harraſſing their rear. The Prince's head quarters was at Haguenau on the 30th. Fort Louis was blocked up from the 20th, and the Auſtrians have made themſelves maſters of ſome of the out-works. 800 French, who had marched out of that place, upon the 13th, in order to ſurpriſe Gen. Nadaſti, who was buſy in reconnoitring, were themſelves ſurpriſed by the ſaid General; for he, being adviſed in time of their deſign, ſent to the Prince for ſpeedy ſuccour; and ſucceeded ſo well, that he took the 800 men between two fires, and put them all to the ſword.—20,000 men from Bavaria, under Gen. Bathiani, with a great train of artillery, arrived in the neighbourhood of Rheinhauſen about the 28th.

C. Seckendorff, 'tis ſaid, has writ to the Emperor, that, in the action at Weiſſenburg, the French covered themſelves under the Imperial foot and Heſſian dragoons; and that the latter are in a manner quite ruined. He ſpeaks, however, very reſpectfully of M. Coigni: "The greateſt coward (ſays he) could not be more circumſpect, than this General is, with regard to his troops; and yet no young voluntier hazards his perſon more chearfully in the time of action than the Marſhal does."—A French officer, writing of the action at Weiſſenburg, ſays, "It laſted, without exaggeration, from ſun-riſing to ſun-ſet; and was not ſo properly a battle as a butchery. The powder was all fired away on both ſides in five hours; ſwords and bayonets were all the weapons uſed afterwards. The oldeſt officer living never ſaw any thing like this. The Imperialiſts refuſed quarter from the Auſtrians, as the Croats and Pandours did from us."——Tho' the getting poſſeſſion of Weiſſenburg coſt the French very dear; yet it was of great advantage to them, becauſe they thereby opened for themſelves a retreat into Alſace, which otherwiſe they would have found very difficult.

On the 20th of July, N.S. 16 men of war ſailed from BREST, under the command of Meſſ. Rockambaut and Neſmond.

The armies in ITALY continue incamped near Velletri. A party from Pr. Lobkowitz's army diſlodged the enemy from an advanced poſt on the 16th of June; but, having

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aving drank too much wine, were that me night ſurpriſed by C. Gages; who took the poſt, ſeized four pieces of cannon, and made priſoners about 300 men, Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel, and he Lieutenant-General C. Peſtaluzzi.

Attacks were made in the mountains f PIEDMONT on the 21ſt of July; in hich the French ſucceeded, but with the oſs, according to their own accounts, f 4000 men, and 150 officers killed or ounded. They relate the action thus: 'The Prince of Conti has made himſelf naſter of two poſts. He took his meaures ſo well, that he got round the Barriades with three different corps, the chief f which came down through the valley f Stura. M. de Palavicini, who commanded at the poſt of the Barricades, ſeeing himſelf in danger of having the enemy in his rear, thought proper to retire. Thereupon the French army came down to Sambuc, in order to advance towards Demont. As ſoon as the Prince had advice that they got poſſeſſion of that poſt, he ſent orders to all the other Generals that commanded particular bodies, to forbear making any other attack, and to direct their march towards Demont. Theſe orders came too late to M. de Givri. He, having obſerved, that, in conſequence of what paſſed at the Barricades, the enemy had called off part of the troops which they had at Chateau-Dauphin, thought it a proper time to fall upon this laſt poſt; which he took after a ſtout reſiſtance, and an engagement of above four hours. The defence was ſo obſtinate, that our Generals had deſpaired of ſucceſs, and had actually thrice ſounded to retreat; but the troops refuſed to obey, and came off with honour, but with a prodigious loſs. We had but 10 battalions engaged in this attack. Two of our General officers were wounded in it, three Colonels killed, and all the Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors and Captains of grenadeers either killed or wounded. The King of Sardinia was himſelf preſent, and expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at the obſtinacy of the action."

LONDON.

ADM. Balchen, with 22 men of war, (9 of them Dutch), beſides frigates, ſailed from St Helen's on the 29th of July.

Information having been given, that the city of Morocco is viſited with the plague, a proclamation was iſſued, July 27. ordering all ſhips from Santa Cruz, or any other port in Weſt-Barbary on the Atlantick ocean, to perform quarantine for forty days.

'Tis adviſed from Frederica in Georgia, that their largeſt bomb magazine, and a ſmall one of powder, which ſtood at ſome diſtance from the other, were blown up on the 22d of March, no body knows how; but villany is ſuſpected, as an Iriſhman, who had lately come from Charleſtown, diſappeared next morning. Many houſes were damaged by the ſplinters of the bombs; but the magazine at the fort, and the two leſſer ones, full of bombs and powder, were not touched. No body received any hurt, except one centinel, wounded in the arm.

EDINBURGH.

SInce our laſt, reſolutions againſt ſmuggling have been publiſhed in the news-papers, by the ſhires of Clackmannan, Elgin, and Inverneſs; and by the boroughs of Inverneſs, Dunfermline, Tain, Forres, Stirling, Crail, Killrenny, Anſtruthers Eaſter and Weſter, Brechin, Aberbrothock, Wigton, Air, Cullen, &c. alſo by the town and pariſh of Beith. And the example ſet by the pariſh of Swinton, *p.* 294. of ſubjecting themſelves to penalties in caſe of any breach of their reſolutions, is followed by the barony of Briſbane, and by William Fullarton of Fullarton, Eſq; and his vaſſals and tenants.—Theſe laſt, in their bond, ſpeak of the uſe of tea thus: "We, being all farmers by profeſſion, think it needleſs to reſtrain ourſelves formally from indulging in that foreign and conſumptive luxury called *tea*: for, when we conſider the *ſlender conſtitutions* of many of higher rank, amongſt whom it is moſt uſed, we conclude, that it would be but an improper diet to qualify us for the more *robuſt* and *manly* parts of our buſineſs; and therefore we ſhall only give our teſtimony againſt it, and leave the enjoyment of it altogether to thoſe who can afford to be *weak*, *indolent* and *uſeleſs*."

In conſequence of the repreſentation by the Royal Boroughs to the Admiralty,

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p. 295. the Gibraltar and the Hawk sloop are appointed convoy for the trade between London and Leith, and some ships are ordered to cruise about the Orkneys.

Dr Taylor, who has visited Glasgow, and is returned, has caused register in the books of Council and Session, his diploma's as Doctor of Medicine, by the universities of Basil and Rheims, in 1734, and by those of Liege and Cologn, in 1735; also a certificate of his having been duly admitted Oculist in ordinary to his Majesty in 1736.

The Genevive of Rochelle, taken by the Lily of Glasgow, as *p.* 297. was condemned at Edinburgh. Capt. Dubezin, Commander, narrated, in his deposition, that the cargo consisted of 22,000 piasters in silver, 165 quadruple pistoles, 4 ingots of gold, some tortoise shell and Spanish snuff; and that he valued the ship, with rigging and apparelling, worth 20,000 livres.

Captures, &c. by the French and Spaniards.

THE Northumberland man of war, of 70 guns, Capt. Henry Watson, was attacked, about the end of May, by two French men of war, the Mars, of 68 guns and 580 men, and the Constant, of 64 guns and 520 men, assisted by a frigate of 20 guns and 230 men; and, after an engagement of near four hours, was taken, and carried into Brest. Capt. Watson, one of his Lieutenants, and 80 of his men were killed; and the French had 120 killed. The French say, that 100 English were killed; and, of their own men, only seven, but a great number wounded.

Carried likewise into Brest, the Mercury, Dewar; the Three Friends, Cleland; the Georgia Packet, Macclellan; the Carolina Packet, Somerset; the Leghorn galley, Haselam; and the Hope, Reminick; all from America for London: the Grace and Mary, Burke, from Dublin for Philadelphia; the John and Elizabeth, Gale, from the Cape de Verds for Dartmouth; the Prince of Orange, Waters, from Youghall for Lisbon; the Daniel and Thomas, Le Viscount, from Jersey for Cork and Newfoundland; the Dolphin, Hewart, from Belfast for New-York; the Mary of Waterford, from Cork; and the Margaret of Topsham.

Carried into Dunkirk, the Concord, from Dumfries; the Mary and Anne, Rush, from Liverpool; and the Indian Queen, Fergusson, from Aberdeen, all for Hamburg: the Saltam, Piper, and the Phœnix, Wilson, both from Whitehaven; the John and Christian, Beattie, from Montrose; the Joseph and Mary, Dewlbury, from Sunderland; and the Thomas and Henry, Howard, from Marblehead; all for Roterdam: the Hopewell, Johnson, from Rhode-island for Holland; the Christian, from Dantzick for Newport; the William and Mary, Richardson, of and for Dover from Roterdam; the Unity, Gibson, from Roterdam for Whitehaven; the Riga Merchant, Haswell, from Newcastle for Riga; the Anne and Mary, Barnsteen, from Stetin for London; the Buxton of Yarmouth, from Newport; and the Hopewell of Lynn, Allen, from Norway.—The ship of Philip Brown of Anstruther was taken 15 leagues East of the isle of May. Capt. Brown was taken on board the privateer for Dunkirk; but his ship was cast away on the Dutch coast; all the men, however, Scots and French, were saved.

Carried into Morlaix, the ——, Barns, from Virginia for Liverpool.

Carried into Rochelle, the Queen of Hungary, Guthrie, from Santa Cruz for Amsterdam.

Carried into St Malo's, the Anne, Dennis, from Carolina for Cowes.

Carried into Bourdeaux, the Speedwell of Waterford, for Lisbon.

Carried into Port-Louis, the Elizabeth, Lee, from Carolina; and the Ranger, Reeve, from Philadelphia, both for London.

Carried into Grandville, the Penelope, Reynolds, from Antigua, and the Success, Lambe, from North-Carolina for Bristol.

Carried into Havre-de-grace, the Charming Kitty, Murdoch, from St Kitts for London.

Carried into Cherburg, the Amity, Rees, from Carmarthen, and the ——, Prescot, from Biddeford.

Carried into Nantz, the Vernon, Holleran, from Limerick for Barbadoes; the ——, Davis, from Carolina, and the Queen of Hungary, Hewson, from Jamaica for Bristol.

Carried into Bayonne, by a French privateer,

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privateer, the Vulture privateer, Bromidge, after a ſtout engagement, in which the Vulture had 4 men killed and 14 wounded, and the French 14 killed and 20 wounded. The Vulture had with her a prize valued at 15,000 l. which the French likewiſe ſeized. Alſo the Duke, Collis, and the Ducheſs, Crank, both from Jamaica for London; and the Succeſs, Jordan, from Waterford for the Leeward iſlands.

Carried into Bilboa, the Union, Payne, from Carolina for London.

Carried into Bilboa, the Grizel, Heinſon, from Carolina for Roterdam; the Molly, Stamper, from Philadelphia for Liſbon; and the Durfley, Braggington, from Jamaica.

Carried into Vigo, the Mary, Tobin, from Cork for Liſbon.

Carried into Tariffa, the Little John, Bell, from Cork for Gibraltar.

Carried into Galicia, the Robert, Andrew, from Greenock, and the Rachel, Wedderburn, from South-Carolina, both for Oporto.

Carried into St Sebaſtian's, the Molly, Bowman, from Virginia for Whitehaven, and the Edward, Seabrook, for London.

Carried into Hiſpaniola, the Britannia, Gibſon, from Lancaſter for the Leeward iſlands.

Carried into Campeachy, the Merrymake of Boſton, Richardſon, for the bay of Honduras.

Taken, but not known whither carried, the Legunea, Moor, from Guiney for Amſterdam; the St Andrew, Prior, from Maryland for Cork; the Triton, Cherſey, from Jamaica for the Spaniſh coaſt; the Little-Mark, Miſſacre, from South-Carolina for London; the Lynn, Breed, from Boſton for Jamaica; the Mayflower of Ballimore, Driſcole, and the Speedwell of Glandore, Culhnan, both coaſters for Dublin; the Roman Emperor, Walker, from Virginia for Liſbon; the —— of Boſton, Lewes, from the bay of Honduras; and the William and Mary, Birche.

Taken, but ranſomed, the Dolphin, Wilſon, from Yarmouth for Roterdam; the —— of Sunderland, Turner; the ſhips of Andrew Greig of Fraſerſburgh, William Volum of Peterhead, and John Reid of Cromerty; the Three Friends, Maclean, from Newry to Muldew; the Mary, Williams, from Carolina for Hamburg; the ——, John Ord, for London; the Helen and Margaret, from Norway for Inverneſs; the Sally of Whitehaven, Robinſon, and the Unity of Newcaſtle, Dickle, both from Norway; the Stafford, Perry, from Stockholm for Liverpool; and the Margaret of Leven, Young.

Captures, &c. by Britiſh men of war.

Taken from the London Gazette.

THE following eight French ſhips, homeward bound from the Weſt-Indies, laden with ſugar, indigo, coffee, cotton, hides, cocoa, elephants teeth, gold duſt, and money, were taken between the 11th and 22d of June, by the Hampton-court, Capt. Moſtyn, the Cheſter, Capt. Geary, and the Grampus ſloop, Capt. Collins, and are brought into the river, *viz.*

Names	*Maſters*	*Tuns*	*G.*	*M.*
Jaſon	Teſſier	300	20	45
Duc de Penthuiſe	Bellin	300	14	33
Le Mars	Julian	350	16	35
Le Solide	Moreau	280	10	28
St François	Marque	200	6	22
Le Veſtal	Laragon	200	12	33
Trois Sœrus	Macnamara	200	10	28
Jenetta	Heron	120	8	15

Capt. Rich, in the Baltimore ſloop, gave chace, May 9. to a privateer of 4 carriage-guns and 8 ſwivels, and run her upon ſome rocks, on the coaſt of Portugal; then ſent his Lieutenant and 38 men in his boats; who, after a ſmart fire, drove her men aſhore, and brought her off.

Capt. Harriſon, in the Portmahon, took, July 7. the New Alliance, of 250 tuns and 33 men, from Petit Guave for Bourdeaux, laden with ſugar, indigo, cotton, and coffee; and has brought her into Briſtol.

The Triumph privateer, Coke, has carried into Oporto, a Spaniſh privateer, of 4 carriage-guns and 50 men, and a veſſel from Ferrol for the Havanna, with guns and ſtores.

By privateers. Taken from other papers.

By the Diſpatch, Belline, two French ſhips, of 250 and 200 tuns, carried into Plymouth.

By the Southwell of Briſtol, Wingfield, the

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the Queen of Angels, Guichart, from St Domingo for Nantz, with ſugar, indigo, logwood, and 3500 l. in gold and ſilver: alſo the Griffin, a French privateer, of 8 carriage-guns, 8 ſwivels, and 72 men; the Happy Union, from Cadiz for St Malo's, of 12 guns and 40 men; and three Virginia ſhips belonging to Briſtol, retaken, and carried into Falmouth.

By the Adventure, Iſrael, the Providence, La Maiſon Nengs, a French privateer of 10 guns and 55 men, ſent into Guernſey; alſo the Notre Dame de Vaux, Jean Flevery, of 6 carriage-guns, 8 ſwivels, and 104 men, ſent into Falmouth.

By the Rocheſter, a ſhip with Spaniſh effects, ſent into Rocheſter.

Carried into Cork, by Lieut. Sullivan, of the Terrible of Liverpool, a prize laden with wine and fruit.

By the Greyhound, Pitton, a French ſhip, of 100 tuns, carried into Guernſey.

By the Recovery, Anderſon, the St Antonio, from St Sebaſtian's for Dunkirk.

By the Old Noll of Liverpool, a French ſhip from Newfoundland, and the Hannah of London, from Jamaica, retaken, both carried into Dublin; alſo a Martinico ſhip, and a French privateer, of 12 carriage-guns, both ſent into Cork.

By the Eagle, the Ufro Margareta, Anderſon, from Hamburg for Bourdeaux, and a French privateer, of 8 carriage-guns, 6 ſwivels, and 62 men, both carried into Dover.

By the Succeſs, Legroſe, two French ſhips, carried into Scilly.

By the Hope, Rollin, two French ſhips, laden with wine, brandy, &c. ſent into Guernſey.

By the Salamander, Strangeways, the Poſtillion of Bourdeaux, from Dantzick, with timber, ſent into Portſmouth.

By the King William of Briſtol, the Telemachus, from St Domingo for Rochelle, carried into Kinſale.

By the Thurloe of Liverpool, a ſhip from France for Hamburg, carried into Liverpool.

By the Prince Edward, Dawſon, a French tartan, from Oran, carried into Genoa.

By the Prince of Wales, a French ſhip, with wine, &c. ſent into Plymouth.

Marriages and Births.

AT Berlin, July 17. N. S. the eſpouſals of the Prince Succeſſor of Sweden, with the Princeſs Louiſa Ulrica of Pruſſia, were celebrated by proxy. *p.* 340.

July 30. William Weir of Wicketſhaw, Eſq; married to Miſs Bell Dickie, daughter of John Dickie of Corſtorphinhill, Eſq;

July 10. At London, the Lady of the Earl of Winchelſea, delivered of a daughter.

12. At Polmais, the Lady of William Murray of Touchadam, Eſq; of a ſon and heir.

P. S. Aug. 7. Lady Frances Steuart, wife of Sir James Steuart of Goodtrees, of a ſon and heir.

On the 12th of July was chriſtened at Whittington, Derbyſhire, a ſon of Arthur Bulkeley of that place, who had, by their proxies, for godfathers, his great great great granduncle, and his two great great granduncles; and, for godmothers, his great great great grandaunt, his great great grandmother, and great grandmother.

Deaths.

July 7. At Baſſeldon, Berkſhire, the Lord Fane, an Iriſh Peer; ſucceeded by his only ſon Charles Fane, Eſq; member for Taviſtock.

11. At London, Mrs Nally, aged 93. She buried eight huſbands, and was ſcarce ever ſick till a little before her death.

15. At his ſeat of Hatton, aged 56, Charles Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale, &c. one of the ſixteen repreſentatives in parliament for the Peers of Scotland, Preſes of the court of Police, and Sheriff-Principal of the ſhire of Edinburgh. His Lordſhip is ſucceeded in honours and eſtate by his eldeſt ſon James Lord Maitland.

19. At Kilcaſh, in Tipperary county, Ireland, aged 70, Margaret Viſcounteſs dowager Iveagh.

20. George Huxley, Eſq; member in the laſt parliament for Newport, and Commiſſary-general of the forces.

Aged 82, Dame Margaret Arbuthnot, widow of Sir Thomas Burnet of Leyes.

21. At his ſeat of Orangefield, in the ſhire of Air, James Macrae, Eſq; late Governor of Fort St George.

24. The Lady of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

PRE-

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PREFERMENTS.

From the London Gazette.

July 17. The King has promoted the Rev. Robert Downes, Dean of Derry, to be *Bishop of Leighlin and Fernes*;

Arthur Smyth, D. D. to be *Dean of Derry*; and,

Anthony Thompson, Clerk, M. A. to be *Dean of St Evanus, in Raphoe*, in the room of said Dr Smyth.

17. The King has appointed Humphrey Fowle, Esq; Sir More Molyneux, John Paul Yvonnet, and Edwyn Coney, Esqs, together with Edward Montague, Esq; in the room of James Montague, Esq; to be *his Majesty's Commissioners for Appeals and regulating the duties of Excise*.

28. Rowland Reynolds, *Lieut.-Colonel*;

Robert Carpenter, *First Major*;

James Stuart, *Second Major*;

Charles Buchan, *Captain*; and,

The Earl of Dumfries, *Capt.-Lieutenant, in the third regiment of foot-guards*.

From other papers, &c.

Hon. Ellicot Benger, Esq; is appointed *Postmaster-general in America*.

Capt. Burrard, *a Lieutenant-Colonel of marines* in America.

Capt Hugh Mackay, *Major*, and Lieut. James Carteret, *a Captain, in Gen. Oglethorpe's regiment*.

William Nugent, and James Johnston, son of the late Secretary Johnston, *Captains in Lt-Gen. Howard's foot*.

St John Leader, and —— Bates, *Captains in Duroure's*.

David Chapeau, *a Captain in Pulteney's*, and *Brigade-Major to the Duke of Marlborough*.

— Stafford, *a Captain in Pulteney's*.

John Young, *a Captain in Frampton's*.

Charles Leslie, *a Captain in Campbell's*.

— Hardy, *a Captain in Barrell's*.

The third son of the Earl of Albemarle, *an Ensign in the first regiment of foot guards*.

Commanders of men of war: Sir William Hewit, (of the Winchester), *of the Princess Louisa*; Hon. John Byng, *of the Winchester*; and Lieut. Lofton, *of the Wager*.

Course of Exchange at Edinburgh, Aug. 7.

London, at sight, $\frac{1}{2}$ a 1

Roterdam, 30 days sight, 22$\frac{1}{4}$ a 22$\frac{1}{2}$

Edin. Aug 7. Oat-meal 6 d. & 6$\frac{1}{2}$ d. Pease-meal 3$\frac{1}{2}$ d. Bear-meal 4$\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Died within the city of Edinburgh, and in the West-kirk parish, July 1744.

Within the city, Men 21, Women 21, Children 50; in all 92. In the West-kirk parish, Men 1, Women 5, Children 16; in all 22. In both 114. Decreased this month 7.

Age.		N°.
Under		2 39
Between	2 & 5	24
	5 & 10	5
	10 & 20	4
	20 & 30	6
	30 & 40	9
	40 & 50	8
	50 & 60	6
	60 & 70	7
	70 & 80	4
	80 & 90	2

Diseases.	N°.
Aged ——	7
Apoplexy —	2
Asthma ——	1
Cancer ——	1
Child-bed —	1
Chincough —	11
Consumption —	18
Convulsion —	5
Dropsy ——	1
Drowned ——	2
Fever —	19
Flux ——	2
Gravel ——	1
Iliac-passion —	1
Measles ——	6
Palsy ——	2
Rupture —	1
Rush ——	2
Sore throat —	1
Small-pox —	15
Still-born —	1
Suddenly ——	3
Teething —	9
Tympany ——	1
Water in the head	1

Prices of Stocks, &c. *at London, July* 31.

STOCKS.

South-sea, nothing	London Ass. 11
—Annuit. 112$\frac{1}{2}$	Bank 147$\frac{1}{4}$ a 147
D. New, 110$\frac{3}{4}$ a$\frac{7}{8}$	Million bank 115
3 per c. ann. 93$\frac{3}{4}$ a 94	Equiv. 108
India 178 a$\frac{1}{4}$	Royal Ass. 77$\frac{1}{2}$
—bonds 3 l. a 1 s.	Emp. Loan nothing
Bank Circul. 5 l. 15 s.	Lot. Tick. 11 l. 4 s.

The course of Exchange.

Amst. 34 8 2 us.	Leghorn 51
Ditto sight 34 5 a 5$\frac{1}{2}$	Bilboa 41$\frac{3}{4}$
Roterd. 34 10 2$\frac{1}{2}$ us.	Genoa 55
Hamb. 33 6 2$\frac{1}{2}$ us.	Venice 51$\frac{1}{4}$
Paris 33$\frac{1}{8}$	Lisbon 5 s. 4 d.$\frac{1}{8}$
Bourdeaux 32$\frac{5}{8}$	Porto 5 s. 4 d.$\frac{1}{8}$
Cadiz 42	Dublin 8
Antwerp 35 3 a 2	Madrid 42

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Haddington Prices, Aug. 3.
Wheat, 6l. 7s. 6l. 3s. & 6l.
Bear, 5l. 4s. 5l. & 4l. 16s.
Oats, 4l. 7s. 4l. 3s. & 4l.
Peaſe, 3l. 9s. 3l. 6s. & 3l. 3s.

NEW BOOKS.

A Letter to T. P. Eſq; from the author of Siris. 6d.

Siris in the ſhades. A dialogue concerning tar water. 6d.

A narrative of the proceedings of his Majeſty's fleet in the Mediterranean. 2s.

The hiſtory of the life and reign of K. William III. By the author of the critical review of the life of Oliver Cromwell. 3s. 6d.

The art of painting, with the lives and characters of above 300 of the moſt eminent painters. From the French of M. de Piles. 5s. 6d.

An anſwer to Mr Chubb's eſſay concerning redemption. By S. Hardy, A. B. 2s.

An anſwer to Mr Warburton's remarks on ſeveral occaſional reflexions on the book of Job. By R. Grey, D. D. 2s.

The ſupport of Popery diſcovered, &c. in anſwer to Mr Whitefield. By Eb. Hewlett. 1s.

Mr Rollin's Roman hiſtory. Vol. 9. 8°. 5s. 6d.

The practical Juſtice. By Joſeph Schaw, Gent. Edit. 4. corrected and enlarged near one third. In 2 vols 8°. 12s. 6d.

The conduct of the Dutch explained and vindicated. 6d.

The Queen of Hungary's manifeſto. 1s. 6d.

Two letters to the commons of the city of Dublin, concerning their diſputes about the election of Aldermen. 6d.

Hudibras, with large critical, hiſtorical, and explanatory notes. By Z. Grey, L. L. D. In 2 large vols 8°, *with cuts, and a preface concerning the deſign of the poem.* 16s.

The ſeaſons. A new edition, corrected, in which are inſerted above 1000 *new lines. By Mr. Thomſon. In a pocket-volume, and adorned with cuts.* 3s. 6d.

Education. A fairy tale, taken from the French. 1s.

Cricket. An heroick poem. 1s.

Cyder. A poem, in two books. By Mr John Philips. Edit. 4. 1s.

The complaint; or, Night-thoughts. Night the ſeventh. 1s. 6d.

Sermons on ſeveral occaſions. By W. Crowe, D. D. 4s. 6d.

Sixty four practical ſermons. By the late Rev. Mr D. Wilcox. In 3 vols 8°. 15s.

Fifteen ſermons upon ſocial duties. By the author of the life of David. 4s. 6d.

Sermons on ſeveral important ſubjects. By Ja. Foſter. Vol. 3. 4.

Sermons on various ſubjects. By W. May. 1s. 6d.

And ſeveral occaſional ſermons. 6d. *each.*

EDINBURGH. *A fair and impartial teſtimony, eſſayed in name of a number of Miniſters, Elders, and Chriſtian people of the church of Scotland, unto the laudable principles, wreſtlings and attainments of that church; and againſt the backſliding, corruptions, diviſions, and prevailing evils, both of former and preſent times; and namely, the defections of the eſtabliſhed church, of the Nobility, Gentry, Commons, Seceders, Epiſcopalians, &c. containing a brief hiſtorical deduction of the chief occurrences in the church from her beginning to the year* 1744. *with remarks; and humble pleadings with our mother, to exert herſelf to ſtop defection, and promote reformation. Written by J. W. and atteſted and adhered unto by ſundry Miniſters and Elders. With a poſtſcript, containing remarks on Mr Leechman's ſermon on prayer, and on the acts of the Aſſociate Preſbytery concerning the doctrine of grace, and the renewing of the covenants, &c.* 1s.

The plain perjury and great iniquity of the ſeceding brethrens new covenant diſcovered. By Mr John Currie, Miniſter at Kinglaſſie. 3d.

The fear that's due unto God and the King, conſidered and recommended. In two ſermons preached at Brechin, on the faſt day April 11. 1744. *By David Blair, A. M. Miniſter there.* 4d.

Forty eight ſermons of Mr John Welch, ſometime miniſter at Air; with two prophetical letters, and the author's life. 1s. 8d. *The life is to be had ſeparately.*

Divine meditations upon ſeveral occaſions, with a daily directory. By a perſon of honour. The third edition. 1s.

Cornelius Nepos, with an Engliſh literal tranſlation, and notes. By Robert Arrot, Maſter of the grammar-ſchool of Greenock. 3s.

The ſurpriſing life and adventures of the celebrated Doctor Sartorius Sinegradius. 6d.—See p. 295.

GLASGOW. *Anacreontis & Sapphonis carmina. Gr. Lat.*

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The SCOTS *Magazine.*

AUGUST, 1740.

PROCEEDINGS of the *Political Club*, continued from p. 316.

In the debate upon the motion for bringing in a bill to encourage ſeamen, begun in our laſt, the next that ſpoke after M. Tullius Cicero, *was* Aulus Gabinius, *the purport of whoſe ſpeech was as follows.*

Mr. Preſident,

THE oppoſition to the preſent motion, ſeems now to be upon a footing very different from what it was put on at firſt. The objections at firſt made uſe of againſt the motion, were only upon account of its being too early; it was not ſo much as pretended, that the motion was in itſelf wrong, or that we ought not to bring in and paſs ſuch a bill in this ſeſſion of parliament. We were only told, that ſuch bills ought to proceed originally from the crown; and that therefore we ought to wait a few days, in order to give his Majeſty an opportunity to ſend us a meſſage for that purpoſe. But now the debate ſeems to have taken a different turn; for the arguments made uſe of by the Hon. Gent. who ſpoke laſt, ſeem to be levelled againſt the bill itſelf, and that therefore no ſuch motion ought to be made at this time, or at any future time. This, indeed, I ſuſpected would be the turn which the debate would take at laſt; and therefore, I foreſaw what, I think, is now evident, that poſtponing the motion would be the ſame with rejecting it.

For this reaſon, Sir, if the motion be now diſagreed to, I ſhall expect no agreement to any ſuch motion during this ſeſſion of parliament; and much leſs ſhall I expect any meſſage from the crown for that purpoſe. To veſt the property of every thing taken from the enemy in the captors, by act of parliament, and thereby to deſtroy an office which has always been a lucrative one to the officers employed, who are all named by the crown, muſt be allowed to be a diminution of that power which is now lodged in the crown, and conſequently in the miniſters of the crown; and I do not think, that even our preſent miniſters have given us any room to hope, that they will adviſe his Majeſty to apply for any ſuch act of parliament. To tell us, upon ſuch an occaſion, that there is no reaſon for our being jealous of any of the diſcretionary powers lodged in the crown, or that his preſent Majeſty has never made an improper uſe of any of them, is an argument that, out of reſpect to his Majeſty, ought never to be made uſe of in this houſe. His Majeſty never has made, his Majeſty never can, by our conſtitution, make an improper or imprudent uſe of any of the prerogatives of the crown; but his miniſters may, and by our conſtitution, we may in this houſe ſay, that they have. We meet here, Sir, to watch over and preſerve the liberties of the people; and therefore we ought always to be jealous of every diſcretionary power, be it lodged where it will: we ought to admit of none ſuch, but thoſe that are abſolutely neceſſary for the adminiſtration of our government, and the preſervation of our conſtitution.

The diſcretionary power which is to be limited by the bill now propoſed, is ſo far from being neceſſary, that it was found to be a grievance in the laſt war, and will certainly be found to be one in this. Bills in parliament are often deſigned to prevent grievances that are

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foreſeen, as well as to remedy grievances that have been felt; and, I am ſure he muſt be very little acquainted with the hiſtory of the laſt war, or the nature of things, who does not foreſee the grievances which this bill is deſigned to prevent. The prize-office was, in the laſt war, found to be a moſt intolerable grievance upon the officers and ſeamen of our navy; and the backwardneſs that was ſhewn by our privateers, and even by our publick ſhips of war, to attack thoſe of the enemy, was then found to be a grievance of very pernicious conſequence to our trade. Theſe were grievances that did not proceed from the nature of the war we were then engaged in: they proceeded from the nature of mankind; and will therefore be found to be grievances in every war we can be engaged in, unleſs the ſame methods be taken for preventing them, that were then taken for removing them. In publick offices, the officers will extort fees and perquiſites from thoſe that are obliged to have recourſe to that office, and will detain in their own hands the money that goes through their office, as long as they can, in ſpite of all the care that can be taken to prevent it; therefore no ſuch office ſhould ever be eſtabliſhed or kept up, if the publick buſineſs can be carried on without it. The publick ſervice may be a motive with ſome men for attacking the enemy's privateers; but the publick is generally beſt ſerved, when men know that they ſerve themſelves by ſerving the publick; and therefore care ſhould be taken to join theſe two ſervices together, in every caſe where it is poſſible. Thus we may ſee, that both the grievances that were felt in the laſt war, proceeded from the nature of mankind, and conſequently muſt be felt in this war as well as they were in that. What then ſhould hinder us from taking the ſame methods now to prevent them, that were then taken to remedy them? Thoſe methods were then found to be effectual, and to be attended with no inconvenience; and therefore it may, with much more propriety, be aſked, what ſhould make us now more ſhy of aboliſhing any of the diſcretionary powers of the crown, than we were at that time?

The heavineſs of that war, Sir, might have been made uſe of as an argument for our being cautious of diminiſhing any of the diſcretionary powers of the crown; becauſe, in time of war, the more abſolute a government is, the more vigorouſly, and the more expeditiouſly it may exert its ſtrength: but thoſe we had the good luck to have at that time in our adminiſtration judged better. They were not ſo fond of diſcretionary powers, as to oppoſe any diminution they ſaw would contribute towards encouraging our ſeamen to execute their orders with vigour and alacrity. If the modern way of thinking had prevailed among them, they had better reaſon than we can have at preſent to ſay, that the whole of what is taken from the enemy ought not to be given to the captors, that ſome part of it ought to be applied to the expence of carrying on the war, in order to eaſe the people of the burden; for the heavier, the more burdenſome a war is upon the people, ſurely there is the more reaſon for taking every method that can be thought of, to eaſe the people of a part of that burden. This argument, I ſay, Sir, might have then been inſiſted on with more reaſon than now; and our miniſters might then, as well as now, have endeavoured to recommend themſelves to our county-electors, by an affected compaſſion for the burdens thrown upon the land-holders. But they ſcorned to amuſe any ſet of men in the kingdom with ſuch frivolous and ſhallow pretences. If they had, I am ſure, we ſhould have acquired no ſuch glory as we did by that war, and the nation might have been put to a much greater expence, by being much longer engaged in it; for the more vigorouſly a war is proſecuted, the ſooner it will be brought to a concluſion; and if, by applying to the preſent eaſe of the people, what ſhould be applied to the encouragement of thoſe employed in proſecuting the war, we ſhould make it endure but for one year longer than

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it would otherwiſe have done, the people will always find themſelves loſers by the favour pretended to be done them, beſides the danger the nation may be expoſed to by a languid proſecution of the war, and the loſs our trade muſt ſuffer by not putting ſo ſpeedy an end to it as we might have done.

To prevent therefore the grievance of a prize-office, which was ſo grievous to our ſeamen in the beginning of the laſt war, and muſt, from the nature of things, become equally grievous in this; and to encourage our ſhips of war, both publick and private, to attack and deſtroy thoſe of the enemy, neither of which can be done by the authority of the crown alone, the paſſing of ſuch a bill as is now propoſed is, I think, abſolutely neceſſary: and I muſt likewiſe think, that our preſent circumſtances make it neceſſary to have it brought in as ſoon as poſſible, and without waiting for the ceremony of having a meſſage from the crown for that purpoſe. It is certain, it is acknowledged even by thoſe who oppoſe this motion, that our ſeamen at preſent ſhew an averſion to his Majeſty's ſervice. Let that averſion proceed from what it will, we ought to endeavour to remove it. To aſſure them, by act of parliament, of the property of every thing they take from the enemy, and to free them from the plague of dancing attendance through an office for the recovery and diſtribution of that property, will certainly contribute, in ſome meaſure, to remove that averſion; and in framing the bill, perhaps, ſome new and additional means may be thought of: therefore I am aſtoniſhed to hear a motion for ſuch a bill oppoſed by thoſe who complain ſo much of a want of ſeamen for his Majeſty's ſhips of war. But I am ſtill more aſtoniſhed to hear them oppoſe it upon a pretence, that no ſuch bill ought to be brought in, without a previous meſſage from the crown for that purpoſe. What a dangerous doctrine this is, every Gentleman muſt be ſenſible of, that conſiders the nature of the bill. It is a bill for altering, nay for aboliſhing one of the prerogatives of the crown; and ſhall it be admitted in this houſe as a maxim, That we can make no alteration with regard to any of the prerogatives of the crown, unleſs we have leave to do ſo by a previous meſſage from the crown? I hope no Gentleman will inſiſt upon the neceſſity of our having any ſuch leave. I hope it will be unanimouſly admitted, that all the prerogatives of the crown are under the cognizance of parliament, and that any one of them may be altered, reſtrained, or quite aboliſhed by act of parliament, when the publick ſervice, or the ſafety of our conſtitution, requires it. Sir, if I were againſt the bill, I ſhould be for the motion, if it were for no other reaſon but becauſe this has been made uſe of as an argument againſt our agreeing to it; for, I ſhould be afraid, leſt a ſeeming approbation of ſuch an argument, ſhould be afterwards made uſe of as a precedent for eſtabliſhing ſuch a maxim. But, as I am for the bill, I have a twofold reaſon for agreeing to the motion; and as I think it neceſſary, in our preſent circumſtances, to bring in the bill as ſoon as poſſible, I ſhall be againſt poſtponing the motion upon any pretence whatſoever: for if there be ſuch difficulties as have been repreſented, in framing a proper bill for the purpoſes intended, thoſe difficulties can be no way augmented by an order for bringing it in. Such an order will awaken the attention of the nation, and may probably bring in aſſiſtance from thoſe without doors; which we cannot expect till we have once ordered the bill to be brought in.

I hope I have now ſhewn, Sir, that a bill is abſolutely neceſſary for preventing the grievance our ſeamen may be expoſed to by a prize-office, and for preventing the loſs our trade may ſuffer by our ſhips of war being ſlack in attacking thoſe of the enemy; and I hope I have likewiſe ſhewn, that the bill, and conſequently the order for bringing it in, will certainly tend to remove that averſion to his Majeſty's ſervice which at preſent prevails among our ſeamen, and that therefore it ought at leaſt to be ordered in immediately. If difficulties ſhould occur in drawing up the bill, I am ſure there can be no difficulty in

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ordering it to be brought in; and the ſooner it is ordered to be brought in, and perſons appointed for that purpoſe, the ſooner thoſe difficulties would be got over; for till then, the ſolving of thoſe difficulties may be ſaid to be every man's buſineſs, and we all know, that what is every body's buſineſs is no body's buſineſs. But I do not think, that the difficulty in framing this bill, will be found near ſo great as the Hon. Gent. has been pleaſed to repreſent. We have a plan before us in what was done laſt war. Beſides, the whole affair was fully conſidered, and a bill actually framed and brought into this houſe two years ago. I wiſh that bill had been then paſſed into a law. If it had, we might perhaps have found Spain more pliant, and by that means we might have prevented a war; at leaſt, we ſhould have found leſs difficulty in getting ſeamen to man our fleet at the firſt breaking out of the war: and I cannot as yet find out, that our paſſing it at that time would have been attended with any inconvenience.

I am ſurpriſed, Sir, to hear the Hon. Gent. ſay, that if the bill had been then paſſed into a law, our ſuffering merchants could have expected no ſhare of the prizes we have already taken. Surely the Hon. Gent. cannot have forgot, that tho' the bill had paſſed into a law, it was not to take effect till ſeveral weeks after his Majeſty's declaration of war; therefore it could no way relate to any of the prizes we have already taken, or to any we ſhall take for ſome time to come. But if it had, I believe it would have been an advantage to the kingdom in general; and very probably to our ſuffering merchants themſelves; becauſe the paſſing of that bill would have encouraged them to prepare, and to join in a ſociety for making captures or conqueſts upon the enemy; by which they might have got a more ample and ſpeedy ſatisfaction, than they can expect from having a ſhare of thoſe prizes that have been, or may be taken from the enemy by his Majeſty's ſhips of war.

For this reaſon, Sir, neither the Hon. Gent. nor his friends can now have any reaſon to exult in their having thrown out that bill; and if they now throw it out a ſecond time, I believe they'll find themſelves very much diſappointed, if they expect thanks for ſo doing from our ſuffering merchants, or from any ſet of men in the kingdom: for even the ſuffering merchants would, I am convinced, chuſe to wait for their reparation till the end of the war, rather than to have the war protracted, or the nation obliged to ſubmit to a diſhonourable peace, for the ſake of giving them an immediate reparation.

The next that roſe up, and the laſt who ſpoke upon this ſubject, was M. Cato, *who concluded the debate, as follows.*

Mr Preſident,

AS I did not expect an oppoſition to my motion, I at firſt avoided taking up your time with ſaying any thing in its favour; but, now that it has been oppoſed by ſo many Gentlemen, and by Gentlemen of ſuch weight, I hope I ſhall be indulged the liberty of giving you my reaſons for making it, and of adding ſomething to what other Gentlemen have done me the favour to ſay, by way of anſwer to the objections that have been made to it.

I ſhall freely own, Sir, that if I had not made you this motion, I ſhould have been mighty eaſy about delaying it for a few days; I ſhould have moſt readily agreed to ſuch a delay, if it had been for no other reaſon but to oblige thoſe Gentlemen near me, who have always ſeemed fond of delays with regard to every meaſure that had the face of war: but, as they had reſolved upon, and actually declared war, ſince I laſt had the honour to meet them in this houſe, I preſumed they had altered their affections, and that they would now be fond of every meaſure that might contribute towards a vigorous proſecution of that war they had at laſt agreed to declare. If I had but ſuſpected that it was otherwiſe, or if they had any way ſignified their deſire to me before I made my motion, I ſhould have waved making it for a few days; but, now it is made, I cannot part with it; becauſe, as an Hon. Gent. has already obſerved,

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ſerved in this debate, the poſtponing of it, after it has been once moved, will be looked on without doors as putting a negative upon it; and this, in our preſent circumſtances, may be attended with moſt terrible conſequences.

If the motion be popular, Sir, I am glad to hear it; it is, in my opinion, a very ſtrong proof of its being right: but I did not make it with any view of popularity, and ſhould have been glad to have ſhared the popularity of it with the Hon. Gent. near me, and with every Gentleman who has the honour of being a member of this houſe; which would have been the caſe, if it had not been oppoſed. It will ſtill, in a great meaſure, be the caſe, if it happens to be agreed to; becauſe it will then be the act of the houſe, and every member will have his ſhare of that popularity which may be acquired by it. But I muſt think the conduct of ſome Gentlemen, who generally agree in opinion, very ſingular upon this occaſion. Some of them ſay, the bill I have propoſed is ſo right and ſo popular a meaſure, that we ought to allow the crown to have the credit of propoſing it; whilſt others riſe up and tell us, that it is quite wrong, that it would be an unneceſſary and dangerous encroachment upon the prerogatives of the crown, and that it would be doing an injuſtice to our ſuffering merchants, to our land-holders, and to the people in general.

Theſe two methods of arguing, I profeſs, Sir, I do not know how to reconcile. If we ſhould reſolve to poſtpone the motion, and wait for a meſſage from the crown, I'm afraid it would occaſion a diviſion in his Majeſty's councils; and therefore, to preſerve the uſual unanimity there, I believe it will be the beſt way for us, not to wait for ſuch a meſſage, but to enter immediately into the merits of what I have propoſed, and, if it be right, agree to it. For this end, I ſhall lay before you the reaſons that induced me to make this motion, and anſwer ſome of the objections that have been made to it. In the late war, Sir, I mean that in the late Queen's time, we had ſo great ſucceſs, and gained ſo much glory, that I thought the beſt thing we could do in the preſent war, would be to conſider our conduct in the late war, in order to make that a rule for our conduct in this. With this view, Sir, as ſoon as I thought that a war with Spain was become unavoidable, which was above two years ago, I began to recollect the ſeveral ſteps that had been taken for carrying on the late war. One of the ſupports we had in that war, I mean a powerful alliance upon the continent, I foreſaw we could hardly expect in this; and that therefore it would be neceſſary for us to make the beſt uſe of our own ſtrength. Among the other methods taken in the laſt war, for exerting our own ſtrength, I obſerved, that two laws had been made, for encouraging our ſeamen to do their duty, and for encouraging private men to join together in ſocieties for attacking and making conqueſts upon the enemy. As theſe laws were made to continue only during that war, I thought it would be neceſſary to revive them, in caſe of a new war with Spain; and for this purpoſe I did, with the aſſiſtance of ſome other Gentlemen, bring in a bill two years ago. The bill was then rejected, becauſe we were not come to an actual rupture; but, that objection being now removed, I thought it incumbent upon me to offer my bill again to the houſe; and for this purpoſe I made you the motion now under your conſideration.

To encourage our ſeamen to do their duty, and to encourage even private men, at their own expence, to attack and diſtreſs the enemy, muſt neceſſarily contribute greatly to a vigorous proſecution of the war; and, if it be vigorouſly proſecuted, it cannot be of long duration. Sir, as the affairs of Europe are at preſent circumſtanced, our very being depends upon bringing this war to a ſpeedy concluſion. There is a ſpirit of late years raiſed in every nation of Europe for improving their trade, navigation, and manufactures. All the powers of Europe, except Spain and us, are now at peace amongſt themſelves; our two great rivals in trade, the Dutch and French, are in perfect tranquillity.

What

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What then ſhall become of our trade, if, by a languid proſecution of the war, we allow it to be interrupted for ſeveral years by privateers under Spaniſh colours, whilſt our rivals in trade are carrying on theirs without any diſturbance? By the difference of freight and inſurance, they will be enabled to underſell us, and, in a few years, to turn us out of every market in the known world. Thus our trade muſt be undone, unleſs, by a vigorous proſecution, we bring Spain to a ſpeedy compliance. Spain has no trade to loſe: ſhe has no trade to be interrupted, but that between one part of her own dominions and another; and this trade may be ſuſpended, but cannot be loſt by the interruption. The Spaniards, therefore, can loſe nothing by the continuance of the war, but what we take from them; whereas we may be undone by a long continuance, even tho' we ſhould be ſucceſsful againſt the enemy. It is therefore our buſineſs to take every method that can be thought of, for bringing the war to a ſpeedy, as well as honourable concluſion; and, in the mean time, to take as much care as poſſible to prevent our trade's being interrupted by the enemy's privateers.

For preventing the interruption of our trade, nothing can be more effectual than that of encouraging our ſeamen, by a pecuniary reward, to be diligent in looking out for, and alert in attacking the enemy's privateers, where-ever they can be met with; and as the enemy muſt have their treaſure brought from the Weſt-Indies to Spain in ſtraggling ſhips, for they cannot have it in fleets or ſquadrons, one of the beſt ways we can take for diſtreſſing them, and thereby compelling them to agree to reaſonable terms, will be, to intercept and take as many of theſe ſhips as we can. What can be more effectual for encouraging our ſeamen to be diligent in cruizing, and looking out for theſe ſhips, than that of aſſuring them, by act of parliament, that all they take ſhall be their own?

But, Sir, as this will not of itſelf be effectual enough for forcing Spain to a ſpeedy compliance, and as it is incumbent upon us to think of gaining ſome national advantage by the war, in order to compenſate the great expence the nation muſt be put to in carrying it on; and moreover, as no ſuch advantage can be gained, but by attacking and poſſeſſing ourſelves of ſome of the Spaniſh ſettlements in America; we ought to think betimes of carrying ſuch projects into execution. I do not ſay, that we ought to think of conquering and holding the whole Spaniſh America; but, if we ſhould take poſſeſſion of the whole, or greateſt part, which, I believe, is far from being impoſſible, we might pretend to hold it till the court of Spain agreed to give us ſatisfaction for all paſt injuries, and ſecurity againſt all future. Nay, we ought to inſiſt upon keeping poſſeſſion of ſome parts of the Weſt-Indies, and upon having the abſolute property of them yielded to us, not only as a compenſation for the expence we have been, and may be at, but as a ſecurity for our trade in time to come.

This, in my opinion, Sir, is the only effectual method for putting a ſpeedy end to the war. As long as we keep to a naval war only, the Spaniards can be no great ſufferers by it: on the contrary, I believe, they will always be gainers, let us take what care we will; and therefore, I am convinced, we ſhall never be able, by ſuch a war, to force them into reaſonable terms. But if we ſhould once turn them out of the whole, or a great part of their poſſeſſions in America, they would then immediately ſubmit to any terms we ſhould propoſe, in order to have that poſſeſſion reſtored. If we have a mind, therefore, to bring the war to a ſpeedy concluſion, we ought directly to take the proper meaſures for getting poſſeſſion of ſome of their ſettlements in America. I am ſorry to find that no ſuch meaſures were concerted before we began hoſtilities againſt them; for, by the execution of ſuch meaſures, we ought, in good policy, to have opened the war. It is by this means alone we can force them to a ſpeedy and honourable peace, it is by this means alone we can procure any

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ſecurity for our trade in time to come, and it is by this means alone we can propoſe to get any compenſation for the expence we muſt be at in the proſecution of the war.

If this be the caſe, Sir, and that it is, muſt, I think, appear evident to every Gentleman that conſiders the circumſtances of the two nations, ought we not to encourage private men to aſſiſt the publick, by endeavouring to make conqueſts upon the Spaniards in America? would it not be of great ſervice to any publick expedition we may undertake, to have a ſet of private adventurers attacking the enemy in one place, whilſt his Majeſty's ſquadrons and armies were attacking them in another? Does not this ſhew the expediency of reviving that law which was made in the late Queen's time, for encouraging private adventurers to attack and make conqueſts upon the enemy in the Weſt-Indies? It had then no great effect, becauſe people that had money, made ſo much of it, by turning it in the publick funds, that no man thought of turning his money to any other uſe; but as that trade is now, thank God! not near ſo gainful as it was then, if this law be revived, the war proſecuted with vigour by the publick, and our councils directed by thoſe upon whom the people may depend, I am convinced, the law will now have a much better effect. We have all the reaſon in the world to expect, that private adventurers will unite for making conqueſts upon the enemy, if they be convinced that we are ſerious in carrying on the war, and that after they have been at a great expence, they ſhall not be prevented in their attempts, by an unſeaſonable ſuſpenſion of arms, nor their conqueſts ſacrificed by a diſhonourable convention.

We may remember, Sir, that, ſoon after the revolution, there was a corporation eſtabliſhed in the northern part of this iſland, for making a ſettlement in a part of America, which the Spaniards pretend to belong to them, tho' they never had, nor have now, the leaſt right or title to it. That corporation did accordingly make their deſigned ſettlement, after having made a fair purchaſe, and got a good title from the natives, to whom it belonged; and, I believe, they would have kept poſſeſſion in ſpite of the Spaniards, if a very prepoſterous ſort of jealouſy and envy had not, at that time, poſſeſſed us in this kingdom. Whilſt the two crowns were diſunited, I do not wonder that there was a mutual jealouſy between the ſouthern and northern parts of this iſland; but after the two crowns came to be united, I cannot comprehend, how a diſunion and jealouſy ſtill ſubſiſted between the two nations. It is ſurpriſing, that after the union of the two crowns, the two nations ſhould have continued ſo long diſunited. Two nations inhabiting the ſame ſpot of earth, and that ſpot diſtinct and ſeparated from all other parts of the earth, ought ſurely to have united, and to have removed all ſorts of jealouſy, as ſoon as poſſible, in order that the northern might not be left as a back door, for making an invaſion upon the ſouthern; and yet, I do not know how, that jealouſy remained for ſome time after the revolution, and was the cauſe of defeating that project, which would now have been of great advantage to the whole iſland. If the bill I have propoſed, ſhould paſs into a law, that ſociety may again revive, and may be encouraged to go and take poſſeſſion of what belongs to them. I am convinced they would now be powerfully aſſiſted by the people in this part of the iſland; and, I hope, our government would likewiſe give them all proper encouragement and aſſiſtance.

From what I have ſaid, Sir, I hope, it appears, that the bill I have propoſed to be brought in, muſt contribute greatly towards a vigorous proſecution of the preſent war, and conſequently towards procuring us a ſpeedy, an honourable, and an advantageous peace. This was the reaſon that induced me to move for its being brought in; and my reaſon for making this motion ſo early, proceeded from the great diſtreſs we are in, for want of ſeamen, and the unwillingneſs they generally ſhew to enter into his

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his Majesty's service. That we are in a very great distress for want of seamen, will not, I believe, be denied, even by those who have the honour to be employed in our administration; for they would not, surely, have put such a stop to our trade, by pressing and embargoes, if a sufficient supply for his Majesty's navy could have been got by any other means.

This distress, Sir, I think it no very difficult matter to account for. Our seamen have for these twenty years been not only neglected, but ill-treated. They have been upon every occasion, and often without occasion, pressed and hawled, like slaves, on board our men of war, without allowing them so much as the liberty of chusing which captain they would serve under. They have been discouraged from entering into his Majesty's service, by sending them upon expeditions, with such instructions as some times exposed them to great dangers and hardships, and at all times disabled them from gaining either riches or renown. They have been often dismissed, before their wages could answer the charge of fitting themselves out; and they have been dismissed at ports, from whence they had many miles to travel on foot, and perhaps without a penny in their pocket, before they could come at any place where they could expect to get into the merchant-service, or into any other business. These, and many other hardships put upon them, drove some into foreign service, made others leave the sea, and betake themselves to some employment at land, and discouraged all in general from breeding themselves, or their children, up to the sea-service. By this means, our national stock of seamen, if I may so express myself, has been greatly diminished; and those that remain, have been made to conceive such a distaste of his Majesty's service, that, we find, they often run the risk, even of death itself, rather than be forced into that service.

From these causes, Sir, our present distress for want of seamen proceeds; and, as I think the bill intended by this motion, will be a great encouragement to seamen, and likewise to landmen, to enter into his Majesty's sea-service, I resolved to move as soon as possible for its being brought in; because I was, and am still convinced, that the very motion for bringing in such a bill, if it be agreed to, will contribute not a little towards removing our present distress: but, if it should be either refused or postponed, I shall be extremely sorry for having made it; for the refusing or postponing such a motion, at such a juncture, may be attended with the most fatal consequences. It will dispirit those seamen that are already in the service; it will prevent our seamen that are abroad from having any thoughts of returning home; and it may probably make some of those that are now at home, fly into foreign service, in order to prevent their being pressed into his Majesty's service.

Having thus, Sir, laid before you some of the chief reasons that induced me to make this motion, and to make it so early, I shall next beg leave to take notice of some of the objections that have been made against it; and, I must say, I was a little surprised at the first that was made. As I was conscious of the innocence of my intentions, I could not but be surprised at my being accused of shewing a sort of disrespect to the crown, by moving for such a bill without a previous message for that purpose from the crown. I am no minister, Sir, I have no share in any of his Majesty's councils; and therefore, I cannot certainly know what may be agreeable to the crown: but, as a country Gentleman, and a member of this house, I supposed, that a bill for promoting the service of the crown, could not but be agreeable to the crown; and I could not suppose, that in such a case, it was necessary to wait for a message; especially when I considered, that bills of the same nature had before been brought in and passed into laws, without any previous message from the crown. Nay, the very bill now intended, was brought in two years ago without any such message, and not the least complaint made against it on that account. The offering

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ing of such a bill, at that time, might, perhaps, by some be thought premature; but now it must be agreeable to every one who wishes to see the present war vigorously prosecuted, and honourably and speedily concluded: and for this reason, I am sure, it will be agreeable to his Majesty, if the intention of the bill be honestly and fairly represented to him, whatever it may be to some of those that have a much more free access to him than I have.

So much I thought myself obliged to say, Sir, in my own vindication; and as this objection has already been shewn to be nothing but a pretence, I have no occasion, I think, to take any farther notice of it. The other objections that have been made, are objections of a different nature: they are objections against the bill itself, as well as against the motion; and were chiefly insisted on by the Hon. Gent. that spoke last on the other side of the question. Those that spoke before him, insisted principally upon the unseasonableness of the motion; but he threw aside all disguise, and directed his whole artillery against the bill itself; and therefore, I must add a little to what has been extremely well said by my worthy friend that spoke last, by way of answer to his objections.

The Hon. Gent. endeavoured, Sir, to shew a difference between our present circumstances, and the circumstances we were in when such a bill as this was passed in the late Queen's time. Does he think, that, if the grievances which were afterwards felt, had been foreseen at the beginning of that war, those bills would not have been brought in and passed the very next session after that war broke out? The inconveniencies he has mentioned, would not, I am sure, have been thought of any weight by that administration, whatever they may be by this. The difficulty about goods put on board an enemy's ship before the declaration of war, or within the time limited by treaties, has already been fully answered; and, as to the difficulty about insurance, I believe, all the Spanish ships, upon which any insurance was made before the end of May last, are now arrived at their designed ports. If the insurance was made since that time, the insurer ought to suffer; because it was then evident that there would be a breach between us and Spain: but, in order to remove this difficulty, and to gain the Hon. Gent.'s approbation of what I propose, which, I believe, is extremely necessary for securing its success, I shall be ready to agree, that the bill shall not commence or begin to take effect, till so many weeks, in Europe, and so many months, in America, after his Majesty's declaration of war, as are stipulated by treaties between us and any of our friends or allies.

As for our merchants, Sir, that suffered by the Spanish depredations in time of peace, I wish we had shewn a proper compassion for them several years ago. If we had, I am sure they would not have suffered so much; and they might probably have got full satisfaction before this time. But, when we are thinking of shewing compassion for those that have suffered by our peaceable measures, we ought to think of shewing compassion for our merchants and trade in general, which must suffer, and may be undone by a long continuance of the war. If we do this, we shall think of nothing but of putting a speedy and honourable end to the war. This ought to be our principal aim; and if we allow ourselves to be diverted from this, by a regard for any thing else, we may probably find ourselves disappointed of both; which in the end will be a much greater loss, even to our suffering merchants, than the advantage they can reap by having a share of such prizes as may be taken during the war. And as to our land-holders, or any other set of men in the kingdom, that may be relieved by applying a part of the prizes towards defraying the expence of the war; if the Hon. Gent. has a real concern for their relief, and for relieving them in such a way as may not interrupt our prosecution of the war, he should agree to this bill; because it may be the cause of the war's being car-

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carried on principally at the expence of private men. It is remarked by all hiſtorians, as a piece of good conduct in Q. Elizabeth, that ſhe often got her war againſt Spain carried on at the expence of private adventurers, who did infinite miſchief to the enemy, without putting that wiſe Queen to any other expence, than that of lending them a few of her ſhips of war. But I queſtion much if this example will be followed in the preſent war; for ſome people are ſo fond of touching publick money, that they are, I believe, afraid leſt any money ſhould now be laid out in the proſecution of the war, that does not paſs through their fingers.

I believe, no man will doubt of my rejoicing in the ſucceſs we have already had in the war; but, I muſt obſerve, Sir, that if it had been begun as it was either in Q. Elizabeth's or Oliver Cromwel's time, our ſucceſs might probably have been much greater. We might have been, by this time, in poſſeſſion of ſome of the enemy's provinces, as well as ſome of their ſhips; and, if proper care had been taken, I am ſure, they could not have been in poſſeſſion of ſo many of our merchant-ſhips as they are: for, notwithſtanding the ſucceſs we have had, I believe, they are pretty equal with us upon the balance, at leaſt in the ſeas of Europe, whatever they may be in thoſe of America; for, as that part of the world is not ſo immediately under the influence of our domeſtick councils, I do not know but that the war may be carried on with a little more vigour. But, whatever prizes we may meet with, either in the ſeas of Europe or America, I ſhould be for giving the whole to the captors, let it be of what value it will. Whoever has it, it will be ſo much taken from the enemy, and added to the wealth of this nation; for, whatever belongs to private men, belongs to, and may be reckoned a part of the publick ſtock of the nation. If it be divided among our ſeamen, it will ſoon circulate; and, if conſiderable, may contribute to reduce the intereſt of money; which will be an advantage to our trade in general, and to every private man in particular, except uſurers and pawn-brokers. Suppoſe ſome of our ſeamen ſhould, by a rich prize, get great fortunes, and ſhould take ſuch care of what they get (which is ſeldom the caſe) as to prevent their going to ſea any more: inſtead of diminiſhing, it would increaſe our number of ſeamen; for, if we ſhould loſe 2 or 300 ſeamen by ſuch a lucky accident, their good fortune would ſend 10,000 to ſea in their room: ſo that the nation can no way ſuffer by giving the whole of every prize to the captors, and it will contribute a great deal towards a vigorous proſecution of the war.

However, Sir, as I am willing to gain, at any reaſonable rate, the Hon. Gent.'s approbation to a bill, which I think ſo neceſſary in our preſent circumſtances; if he thinks it too much, to give the whole of a galleon or regiſter-ſhip to the captors, we may eaſily guard againſt this inconvenience, by excepting ſuch ſhips out of the bill; which I ſhall, for the ſake of having his concurrence, agree to; though I think it not quite ſo right, becauſe, I am afraid, it may be the cauſe of ſome of thoſe ſhips eſcaping, when they might otherwiſe have fallen into our hands; which will be a double loſs to us, by preventing our adding to our own wealth, and by adding to the wealth of our enemies, whereby they will be enabled to continue the war longer, or to proſecute it with more vigour againſt us.

I ſhall readily grant, Sir, that, notwithſtanding the beſt meaſures we can concert, and the utmoſt care we can take, many of the enemy's ſhips may eſcape us, by various accidents at ſea; but this, in my opinion, ought to be an argument for our giving the greater encouragement to our ſhips of war, to be diligent in cruizing, and watchful in looking out for them; and therefore, I think, our giving the whole of every prize that ſhall be taken, as an encouragement to the captors, is the beſt uſe that can be made of thoſe prizes we may have the good luck to meet with. To this I muſt add, Sir, that this uncertainty of meeting with their ſhips at ſea,

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ought likewiſe to be an argument for our reſolving to attack them at land, as well as ſea; and that therefore, in order to ſave the publick expence as much as poſſible, we ought to encourage private adventurers to attack and make conqueſts upon them at land. So that this uncertainty, inſtead of being an argument againſt the bill, is in every reſpect an argument in its favour.

Thus, Sir, I hope, I have fully anſwered every objection againſt the bill, that was not before ſufficiently removed by other Gentlemen who have ſpoke in this debate: I hope, I have ſhewn, that the objections are either of no weight, or ſuch as do not in the leaſt affect the motion, becauſe they may be effectually removed by proper clauſes and expreſſions in the drawing up of the bill, or by proper amendments after it is drawn up; and therefore, if a negative ſhould be put upon this motion, I ſhall look upon it, I believe moſt men will look upon it, as a moſt terrible omen, with reſpect to our future conduct in this juſt and neceſſary war. With moſt people without doors, it will be a confirmation of what his Majeſty has been pleaſed to tell us in his ſpeech from the throne. They will from thence conclude, that his Majeſty has ſecret enemies, not only at home, but in his own councils: and I wiſh the obſtinacy of Spain, and the conduct ſhe has of late years dared to hold towards us, may not be more owing to this, than to thoſe diviſions and animoſities that ſubſiſted amongſt us before the war broke out; for, as thoſe diviſions and animoſities were entirely owing to ſome of our people's ſhewing too great a fondneſs for peace, ſhe could from thence expect no advantage after a declaration of war, unleſs ſhe had reaſon to believe, that thoſe very people would betray us into an imprudent, puſillanimous, and deſtructive method of proſecuting the war, in order to juſtify, by our misfortunes and want of ſucceſs in war, the fondneſs they had before ſhewn for an infamous and ruinous peace.

Having thus given you the ſubſtance of all the ſpeeches that were made upon this important debate, I ſhall give you an account of a debate which happened in our club upon Tueſday the 27th of November laſt, when L. Junius Brutus *ſtood up, and ſpoke to this effect.*

Mr Preſident,

HIS Majeſty, in his ſpeech from the throne, having been ſo gracious as to tell us, that he had called us together at this time ſooner than has been uſual of late years, that he might have the immediate advice and aſſiſtance of his parliament at this critical and important conjuncture, I from thence thought it was the duty of every member of this houſe, to conſider our preſent circumſtances, and, if he could think of any thing that might contribute to our ſucceſs in the preſent war, to lay it before the houſe, that, in caſe it ſhould be approved of, it might be offered as the advice of this houſe to his Majeſty.

For this reaſon, Sir, I hope I ſhall ſtand excuſed in what I am to offer to your conſideration; for, I think, no Gentleman can be accuſed of preſumption, when he does no more than what is his indiſpenſable duty, and what his Majeſty has told us he expects from us as members of this houſe. We have already in one inſtance anſwered his Majeſty's expectations. We have laid before him the advice of his parliament, with reſpect to the concluſion of the war. What I am to offer, relates to the method of conducting it. If the advice I am to offer, be approved of by this houſe, I am convinced it will be followed by his Majeſty; and, if it be followed, it will contribute towards the war's being brought to that concluſion which we have adviſed his Majeſty to aim at.

In the proſecution of this war, Sir, there are two things chiefly to be regarded. That is, the carrying the war on in ſuch a manner as may be moſt effectual for compelling the enemy to ſubmit to reaſonable terms of peace, and the carrying it on in ſuch a manner as may be leaſt burdenſome, and leaſt inconvenient to ourſelves.

From this conſideration, Sir, I cannot but highly approve of what his Majeſty has likewiſe been pleaſed to commu-

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municate to us from the throne: I mean the raiſing of a body of marines. At the beginning of every war, we muſt neceſſarily be in ſome diſtreſs for want of ſeamen; becauſe, in time of peace, no more men will breed themſelves up to ſea, than are neceſſary for ſupplying the merchant-ſervice, and the few guard-ſhips and men of war we keep in commiſſion in a time of profound tranquillity; which muſt of courſe occaſion a deficiency of ſeamen when a war firſt breaks out, eſpecially after the nation has been, for a great number of years, in a continued ſtate of peace. This deficiency, which proceeds from the natural courſe of human affairs, we can no way ſupply at the beginning of a war, but by ſending a body of land-ſoldiers or marines to ſerve on board our men of war; unleſs we ſhould, for the ſake of ſupplying our men of war with all thorough-bred ſeamen, put an entire ſtop to our trade; which ought never to be done, but in the caſe of imminent danger from an impending invaſion.

This is a danger, Sir, which is far from being the certain conſequence of every war we can be engaged in; and therefore, at the beginning of every war which is not attended with any ſuch danger, as we have then no occaſion for keeping up a large body of land-forces at home, we ought to indulge our trade, by ſending land-men or land-ſoldiers to ſerve as marines on board our men of war, in order thereby to leave a ſufficient ſupply of expert ſeamen for our merchant-ſervice, and for carrying on our trade: for, as it is not our intereſt to make any conqueſts upon the continent of Europe, the protection of our trade is the only motive peculiar to ourſelves, that we can have for going to war; and it would be very ridiculous in us to carry on a war for the protection of our trade, in ſuch a manner as to deſtroy it. And this, of putting a great number of land-ſoldiers, by way of marines, on board our men of war, is the more prudent and the more neceſſary, becauſe, as few of our merchant-ſhips carry more men than are barely ſufficient for navigating the ſhip, they can employ none but expert ſeamen; whereas a man of war does not require above one half, or one third, of her complement, to be thorough-bred ſeamen. With regard to the other half, or two thirds, as they are to be employed in fighting, and are not neceſſary for navigating the ſhip, land-men may, in a few days, be made as fit for the ſervice, as the moſt expert ſeamen whatever; and if thoſe land-men be ſuch as have been bred to military diſcipline, they will be better, and more uſeful for making invaſions and incurſions upon the enemy at land, than the moſt expert ſeamen; very few of whom are ever bred to that ſort of diſcipline which is neceſſary to be obſerved in land-engagements.

Every Gentleman muſt therefore highly approve of his Majeſty's having reſolved to raiſe a body of marines; and the manner of raiſing this body of marines, is what I am now to propoſe to you for your conſideration. In my opinion, Sir, this body of marines ought to be raiſed by making proper draughts out of the regular regiments now on foot in Britain and Ireland; becauſe, I think, a body of marines raiſed in this manner, will be more uſeful againſt the enemy, and not only leſs expenſive, but more convenient to ourſelves, than a body of raw, undiſciplin'd men, newly raiſed for that purpoſe. As the Spaniards have no trade, and very few ſhips at ſea, we cannot propoſe to force them to agree to ſuch terms as we can ſafely or honourably accept of, unleſs we attack them at land, in ſome part of their dominions. I think we ought to attack them in every part. When I ſay ſo, I do not mean, that we ſhould endeavour to make a conqueſt of any part of their dominions in Europe; but, I think, we ought to have a fleet, with 5 or 6000 marines and land-forces, continually hovering about the coaſts of Spain, and making invaſions at every place where they can find a proper opportunity: for, notwithſtanding the numerous land-army now kept up in that country, they cannot have 5 or 6000 men at every place where our troops

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troops may land; and therefore, with such a body of land-forces, we may plunder and destroy many parts of their country, and keep their maritime provinces in a continual alarm; and for this purpose, I am sure a body of marines drawn from our regular and, I hope, well-disciplin'd regiments, will be much more serviceable, than a body of marines composed of raw and undisciplin'd men.

As for the Spanish dominions in America, Sir, I believe no man questions but that we ought to attack them. We ought not only to attack them, but we ought to *take and hold* some of them, for the future security of our trade in that part of the world; and, if disciplin'd troops are not better than raw and undisciplin'd men for that purpose, I am sure we have been at a great expence in keeping up a numerous army for many years to no purpose. I indeed wonder, that a large detachment of our regular troops has not been already sent into that country. In my opinion, if we had considered what we were about, or what was the most probable and effectual way, either of distressing the enemy, or gaining an advantage to ourselves, we should have begun hostilities, by sending a well provided squadron and army to America. This we might have done without declaring war. It was time enough to declare war, when they were arrived there and ready to attack the enemy. If we had done this, we might, in a short time, perhaps before now, have been in possession of what would have forced Spain to agree to our terms.

But this, Sir, is time past, which is not to be recalled; let us therefore look forward, and do the best we can in time to come. I have shewn, that a body of marines, drawn from our regular regiments, will be the most serviceable for attacking the enemy; and 'tis certain, that this method will be the least expensive, and most convenient for ourselves. By this method, the additional charge will be but very inconsiderable; and the country will be freed from the inconvenience and expence of quartering a great number of useless troops. I say useless, Sir, and, I think, I may most justly say so; for, in a war with Spain, every man that is kept in this island, above the number that is absolutely necessary in a time of the most profound tranquillity, must be allowed to be useless. We cannot be in the least danger of an invasion from that country, considering the present circumstances of the two nations. We were never more united amongst ourselves, than we are at present. There is a most general, and, I am sure, a most just indignation against the Spaniards, stirred up in every corner of the three kingdoms, and among all ranks and degrees of men; and therefore, we can be in no danger of an invasion from thence, unless it were to be made with such a number of troops as would be sufficient to conquer the three kingdoms. This we know they cannot accomplish: there is not, in all Spain, ships enough for transporting such a number of troops; and, if they had ships, they could not, in the whole kingdom of Spain, find provisions enough for victualling such a numerous fleet of transports.

We can therefore, Sir, have no use for such a numerous army here at home, and since we have no use for them here at home, for this reason alone, if we had no other, we ought to send a great number of them to serve as marines on board our men of war. But I have already shewn, that they must be of more service both at sea and at land, than raw, undisciplin'd men can be supposed to be; and therefore, I shall add no more, but conclude with moving, *That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, humbly to lay before him, as the advice of this house, that he would be pleased to give directions, that the body of marines intended to be raised, may be done in the most frugal manner, and put upon the least expensive establishment, by having as many private men, and as few officers, as the nature of the service will admit; œconomy at first setting out being absolutely necessary to enable us to support his Majesty in the vigorous prosecution of this war; and as draughts from the present regiments of foot, which are all equally proper*

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per to be employed either by land or sea, will be attended with the least expence, as well as be most expeditious for any immediate service, humbly to recommend that method to his Majesty, in tender compassion to his people, already burdened with many heavy and grievous taxes; and to assure his Majesty, whenever he shall judge it necessary to increase the corps from whence such draughts are made, that his faithful commons will most readily enable him to do it; being fully convinced, that their safety, and all that is dear to them, consist in the preservation of his Majesty and the Protestant succession.

This motion was seconded by Aulus Gabinius, *who spoke to this effect.*

Mr President.

THE method proposed by my Hon. friend for raising or forming a body of marines, I always thought so reasonable, that when the regiments were last summer brought from Ireland, I imagined they were brought over for that very purpose; and therefore I could not but be in some sort of surprise to hear such complaints for want of seamen, and to see our trade so much interrupted and distressed by pressing and embargoes, whilst these regiments, and all our other regiments of foot in G. Britain, were lying idle in their quarters, and oppressing all the inns and other publick houses in the kingdom. Nay, even when I heard, by his Majesty's speech from the throne, that we were to have a body of marines, I still imagined they were to be raised by sending some of our foot-regiments, or detachments from all of them, to serve on board our ships of war: and this continued to be my opinion, till I saw the estimates which have been delivered in to this session of parliament.

But, Sir, when I saw these estimates, I was astonished to find, that what was to be called a body of marines, was to consist of six regiments of land-forces, all to be new raised, and to consist mostly of men never trained to any sort of martial discipline either at land or sea. This certainly is loading the publick with a very great, and, in my opinion, a very unnecessary additional charge; and it is forming a new body of land-forces, which are not, I hope, to be employed as marines, or in any other manner sent against the enemy; for surely, if we have a mind to prosecute the war with vigour, if we expect, or intend to have success in the war, we ought to employ our oldest and best corps in the prosecution of it, and keep our youngest, or new raised regiments at home, till they have made themselves so much masters of military discipline, as to be fit to be employed against the publick enemy. This was the method we took in the prosecution of the last war: we were not then so much terrified with invasions, tho' we were often threatned with them, by an enemy that had some sort of power to put such threats in execution; I say, we were not then so much terrified with such phantoms, as to keep our best troops at home to defend us from them. If we had, we should not have had such success in the war abroad; and if we had been unsuccessful abroad, the danger of an invasion at home, would have become not only real, but irresistible.

If it be really necessary to raise new regiments of land-forces, let them be raised upon the same footing with the other land-forces, in order to replace those that are to be sent against the enemy, or employed on board our ships of war. Even this would save the publick some of that expence I find calculated in the estimate for the six new regiments which are to be call'd *marines*. But do not let us send raw and undisciplin'd men upon any expedition against the enemy, when we have such a number of old regiments, that must be allowed to be more fit for that purpose. These we ought to send abroad, even supposing that we were in immediate danger of being invaded with a formidable number of troops, and therefore obliged to keep such a numerous land-army at home as we now have in Britain and Ireland; because, by carrying the war to the doors of our enemy, we may prevents its being brought to our own. But, as I think we neither are, nor can be in any such danger,

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ger, as long as Spain continues alone in the war againſt us, I cannot think we have as yet any occaſion for raiſing any new regiments: I muſt think, we can ſpare, out of thoſe we have now upon the eſtabliſhment, a ſufficient number for our ſhips of war, and likewiſe for invading the enemy both in Europe and America; and therefore I ſhall conclude with ſeconding the motion which my worthy friend has been pleaſed to make.

L. Valerius Flaccus *then ſtood up, and ſpoke in effect thus.*

Mr Preſident,

I Have often heard that, according to the old maxim of our conſtitution, the King is inveſted with the ſole power of making peace and war; but from the late conduct of ſome Gentlemen in this houſe, I begin to doubt whether this ought to be allowed as a maxim in our conſtitution. There are ſome amongſt us who, of late years, have taken upon them to preſcribe to his Majeſty not only when, but how he is to make both peace and war. In laſt ſeſſion, there were amongſt us many Gentlemen who ſeemed willing to preſcribe to his Majeſty when he was to make war: in this ſeſſion, we have already, by an addreſs, preſcribed to him how he is to make peace; and now it is propoſed, that, by another addreſs, we ſhould preſcribe to him how he is to make war. Our laſt addreſs, tho' I could not think it altogether ſo decent, I did not oppoſe; becauſe I ſaw no bad conſequences it could be attended with, and becauſe I believed, that what was thereby recommended, was what his Majeſty had previouſly reſolved on, as a rule from which he was not to depart in any future treaty of peace: and as I did not then oppoſe it, I ſhall not now find fault with it, eſpecially ſince it is now become the act of this houſe, by being unanimouſly agreed to; for I ſhall never indulge myſelf in that liberty, which is too often taken by others, of finding fault with any thing that has once had the ſanction of this aſſembly.

But as to the addreſs now propoſed, Sir, I ſhall be extremely ſorry, if it ſhould be approved of by the majority of this houſe. Let it be conſidered in what light you will, it is ſuch a one as I muſt oppoſe. If it be conſidered as a rule to be preſcribed to his Majeſty with regard to the methods of carrying on the war, I muſt look upon it as diſreſpectful to the crown, and an uſurping of a province which, by our conſtitution, does not belong to this houſe. And if it is to be conſidered as an advice humbly offered to the crown by this houſe, I muſt be againſt it, becauſe I think it would be a very bad advice, and ſuch a one as might be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. But, ſuppoſe it did not appear ſo to me, ſuppoſe I could not determine whether the advice be right or wrong, yet I ſhould oppoſe it, becauſe I ſhall always think it wrong in us, and inconſiſtent with the dignity of this houſe, to pretend to give advice in any caſe where it is impoſſible for us to be proper judges. We may judge of national rights, and may adviſe his Majeſty not to agree to any terms of peace, unleſs thoſe rights be fully eſtabliſhed; but it is impoſſible for us to judge of the proper methods for proſecuting a war, or of the number or nature of the troops that ought to be employed in that proſecution. It is impoſſible for us to be competent judges in this reſpect, without knowing all that ſecret intelligence, both from Spain and from the other parts of Europe, which his Majeſty, and thoſe chiefly employed by him, may be ſuppoſed to be maſters of; and this, I think, no Gentleman that wiſhes well to his country, would deſire to be laid before us. If it were, we could not expect to make any future advantage of that intelligence, and much leſs could we expect to have any more ſuch intelligence; for it generally comes from thoſe, who would never give any ſuch, if they thought it could ever be diſcover'd from whence it came; which would ſoon be the caſe, if it were to be laid before ſuch a numerous aſſembly.

Thus, I think, Sir, it is evident, that tho'

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tho' the advice now proposed should even appear to us to be right, it would be wrong in us to offer it; but, from the confidence I have in his Majesty's wisdom and conduct, the advice itself must appear to me to be wrong. I very well know, that publick œconomy and frugality are fine topicks for Gentlemen to harangue upon. Frugality in the management of publick affairs will always, I know, be a most popular pretence for finding fault with, and traducing the conduct of ministers; and I shall readily grant, that it is in itself a very commendable thing. But it must be allow'd, that it may be push'd too far; and then it becomes ridiculous. It then deviates into that contemptible quality called *miserlyness*; which, in publick as well as private life, may prove the ruin of those that are governed by it. Such men often allow themselves to be destroyed, rather than be at the expence of saving themselves. *Quid refert morbo, an furtis, pereamne rapinis?* was the reflection long since put into the mouth of a miser, who would not be at the expence of purchasing the medicines that were proper for removing a most dangerous distemper. War I look on as a national distemper, and it is always a dangerous one. The proper medicines are fleets and armies. If you will not be at the expence of providing those medicines, you must be destroyed; and, if you do not provide a sufficient dose, those you are at the expence of, lose their effect, and you ruin yourself into the bargain.

This I take to be our present dispute. For my own part, Sir, I do not pretend to know, what number, or what sort of troops may be necessary, either for our safeguard at home, or for attacking the enemy abroad; because I neither know the danger we are in, nor how our enemies are provided to repel our attack. But I presume, and, I think, I ought to presume, that his Majesty is well acquainted with both; and therefore I am willing to submit to his judgment, both as to the number and quality of the troops that are to be employed, either for our safeguard at home, or for attacking our enemies abroad. This, I think, is a submission which is the duty of every subject; but, with regard to the nature or quality of the troops to be sent abroad, or kept at home, I think we must conclude, even from the nature of the thing, that, if we are in danger of being invaded, our best troops ought to be kept at home for our defence. The circumstances of the present war are very different from those of the great war in the Queen's time. We had then a numerous and powerful alliance: our enemies were attacked in their own dominions, with as numerous armies as they could provide for their defence; so that they could not spare an army for invading us: the troops we sent abroad, went but a little way off from this island, and therefore could be recalled at a short warning. All these circumstances are now directly otherwise; and therefore we cannot, in prudence, hold the same conduct. But, if our conduct in that war, or in any other war we were ever engaged in, is to be a rule for our conduct in this, I am sure, we cannot agree to the present motion. In the war in the late Queen's time, we were so far from making draughts from our old regiments, for the service of our navy, that we not only raised six regiments of marines, but also six regiments of land-soldiers, to serve on board our ships of war. I believe, no precedent can be shewn for what is now proposed: I am convinc'd no example can be found, of our having ever made draughts from regular, well disciplin'd regiments, in order to employ them as marines on board our navy. I must beg leave, Sir, to say, that, in my opinion, it would be ridiculous; for I cannot but think, that new-rais'd troops are as good on board a man of war, as well disciplin'd soldiers. In fighting a ship there are no marches or counter-marches: there is no part of the land-discipline required, but that of loading and firing the musket; and a country fellow from the plough, may, in three days, be taught to

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to do this as adroitly as the moſt expert ſoldier in the army.

It ſeems to be granted of all ſides, Sir, that the raiſing of a body of marines is neceſſary. The only queſtion is, Whether that body ſhould be formed by making draughts from, and conſequently diminiſhing our army, or by raiſing new corps for that purpoſe? and the determination of this queſtion muſt depend upon the danger we ſeem to be in of being attacked at home. I ſhould think we are in ſome ſuch danger, if it were for no other reaſon but becauſe his Majeſty ſeems to think that we ought not to diminiſh our army; but there are, in my opinion, ſeveral other very ſufficient reaſons for thinking ſo. I ſhall admit, that Spain cannot invade us with ſuch an army as would be ſufficient for conquering the three kingdoms; but even Spain may invade us with ſuch an army as may be ſufficient for ſtirring up a civil war in every one of the three kingdoms. We appear, 'tis true, at preſent, very much united amongſt ourſelves; but I doubt much if we are ſo. There are ſtill great numbers of men, in every one of the three kingdoms, diſaffected to his Majeſty and his family. This diſaffection, all ſuch of them as have any wiſdom, will take care not to ſhew, till they have a good opportunity; they will appear united, and will join with the reſt of their countrymen, in the general and juſt outcry againſt the Spaniards: but, if even a ſmall body of Spaniſh troops were landed in their neighbourhood, they would ſoon change their note; they would then take off the maſk, and would join with that body in endeavouring to force the Pretender upon us. Thus the flames of a civil war would be blown up in the kingdom; and whilſt we were engaged in a civil war at home, I believe it will be allowed, that we could not proſecute the war with vigour abroad.

I muſt, upon this occaſion, Sir, obſerve, that miniſters are generally treated in a manner not quite ſo candid. With regard to dangers, and preparations againſt thoſe dangers, it is impoſſible for them to guard againſt thoſe who are willing to find fault with their conduct. If impending dangers are prevented from falling upon the nation, by the preparations our miniſters make againſt them, which, I have good reaſon to believe, has often been the caſe within theſe twenty years, it is then aſſerted, with great confidence, by thoſe who have a mind to find fault, that no ſuch dangers ever exiſted; and that therefore the nation was put to a needleſs expence by thoſe preparations that were made for preventing them. On the other hand, if any danger or misfortune ſhould actually fall upon the nation, tho' proceeding from the moſt ſudden, unforeſeen, and unexpected cauſe, which, thank God! has not been our caſe for theſe twenty years, it would then be pretended, that the danger or misfortune might eaſily have been foreſeen, and our miniſters would be blamed for not having foreſeen and provided againſt it. In our preſent caſe, the dangers of this war may blow over; we may at laſt force Spain to agree to reaſonable terms, without being invaded by that power, or attacked by any other power in Europe; and, if this ſhould be our good fortune, as I hope it will, I ſhall expect to hear warm harangues againſt the needleſs expence the nation was put to during the war, by maintaining greater armies and ſquadrons than were neceſſary in a war againſt Spain. But I ſhall never allow ſuch harangues to have any effect upon me. I believe we are now in no great danger of being invaded by Spain: I hope we are in no great danger of being attacked, during this war, by any other power in Europe; but I am fully convinced, that this happy ſecurity proceeds from the preparations we have made, and the meaſures we have taken. At the beginning of the rupture, Spain ſeemed to have ſome view of invading us. This we muſt ſuppoſe, from their having marched ſo many of their troops into Gallicia, which is the province that lies next to, and moſt convenient for invading Britain or Ireland. By the preparations we have made, they now ſee they cannot carry their deſign into execution; but, if we

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ſhould diminiſh our army, by ſending a great number of our troops to ſerve on board our men of war, or to attack the Spaniſh dominions either in Europe or America, they would certainly reſume their firſt deſign, and might land ſuch a body of troops, as, with the conjunction of the diſaffected at home, might ſtir up a dangerous conflict in the very bowels of our own dominions: and, in that caſe, I do not know but that thoſe very Gentlemen who are now for ſending our troops out, would reflect upon our miniſters, for having adviſed his Majeſty to comply with their requeſt. They would then of courſe ſay, that our miniſters ought to have known better than they, and that they ought to have informed them of the danger, in which caſe they would not have made ſuch a requeſt.

This, Sir, might be the conſequence of our diminiſhing our army, with regard to Spain; but there is another danger we ly expoſed to, and which we ought to guard againſt. Spain is as yet alone in the war againſt us; and, while ſhe continues ſo, I hope, we may with reaſon flatter ourſelves, that ſhe will find herſelf very unequally matched: but there are other powers in Europe who would be glad to ſee this nation humbled, and conſequently would be glad of an opportunity for bringing it about. If we ſhould leave ourſelves defenceleſs at home, it might encourage them to join with Spain againſt us; for the firſt effect of that confederacy would certainly be, an attempt to invade this kingdom. For this reaſon, we ought to be ſo much upon our guard, as to be prepared againſt all poſſible events. Nay, I do not know, but that the preparations we have made, and the other wiſe meaſures his Majeſty has been pleaſed to take, are the chief cauſe of Spain's being yet alone in the war againſt us.

From theſe conſiderations, Sir, I muſt be of opinion, that this motion really is, humbly to deſire his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to leave his kingdoms defenceleſs, and our preſent happy eſtabliſhment again expoſed to the doubtful chance of a civil war. It has been once already expoſed to this chance; and we muſt ſtill reflect with terror, that the ſcales were pretty near equal, tho' the diſaffected had then no foreign aſſiſtance, nor were ſo much as countenanced by any potentate in Europe. God knows what might be the conſequence, if a body of foreign veterans were thrown into the rebel ſcale, and the rebels countenanced and ſupported by one at leaſt, perhaps by two of the moſt formidable potentates in Europe. I am far from thinking, Sir, that the Hon. Gent. who made, or the Hon. Gent. who ſeconded this motion, had any bad intention, or that they viewed their motion in the light I do; but, as I view it in the light I have mentioned, I muſt think it would, in me, be contrary to my allegiance to agree to it.

The next ſpeech was made by Mecænas, *who ſpoke in ſubſtance as follows.*

Mr Preſident,

I Hope I need make no profeſſions of my attachment to the King and his family. The honour and duty I owe to their perſons (though no man living has more) are yet the leaſt and weakeſt bonds to confirm that attachment. It is the conſtitution of my country, which they came to preſerve, that ties my allegiance to them, for the ſake of the whole. This, Sir, is my principle; and upon this, I hope, I may found as high pretenſions to zeal for their ſervice and glory, and for the ſupport of his Majeſty's government againſt all his open and ſecret enemies, and be believed as ſincere and warm in them, as any Gentleman here. And therefore, if I could think, that my compliance with the motion made by my worthy friend, could poſſibly affect the ſecurity of his Majeſty's crown, by leaving him without a proper defence, the Hon. Gent. himſelf could not be more averſe to it than I. But ſure, Sir, out of an army of eight or nine and twenty thouſand men, draughts might be made for our ſea-ſervice, without leaving the kingdom defenceleſs. Sure there would remain diſciplin'd troops enough to ſecure us till recruits could be raiſed. If the Hon.

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Hon. Gent. thinks not, it is the worſt compliment that ever was made to the army.

No man can be more zealous than I, for ſtrengthening his Majeſty's hands as much as is poſſible; but, upon the ſame principle from which I declare for ſupporting the war, from the ſame principle from which I ſhall agree to the number of men aſked by his miniſters, I am for raiſing them in the manner that has been propoſed by this motion. We may play with words as we pleaſe, but the marines that are to be raiſed, are no more marines than every regiment of foot in the kingdom: the only difference is, that the new-raiſed men will have all their buſineſs to learn, whereas the others have learned half of it, and are ready at hand; the laſt are ſoldiers, though not ſailors, but the others are neither ſoldiers nor ſailors, and to make them either, will take up a great deal of time: ſo that if there is any ſervice to be done by them, it is very evident which we ſhould chuſe. If you had a journey to make, and ſix good horſes well in the ſtable, would you ſtay to buy and break ſix new ones before you ſet out?

But to talk of this thing upon the foot of the expence of it alone; as the nation gives where-ever it ought, this miniſtry ſhould ſave where-ever they can. We are moſt willing to furniſh his Majeſty with all the money his ſervice requires; but certainly, Sir, we have not more than we want; and therefore good œconomy, though it be at all times a neceſſary virtue, is more indiſpenſably ſo now, when our expences muſt be ſo great, and when we may feel the loſs of every ſhilling that we throw idly away, in ſome eſſential ſervice that may ſuffer for want of it. Sir, God forbid that in a war like the preſent, which our miniſters did not enter into lightly or wantonly, but in mere conformity to the known ſentiments and deſires of the nation, God forbid that, if any ſiniſter accident, any misfortune ſhould happen, they ſhould be charged with it, or be to anſwer for any event which, it ſhall appear, they could not command; but, what they are juſtly reſponſible for is, that the publick money ſhould not be ſquandered: and, if in any particular it be found, that they have failed in this part of their duty, that they have not adviſed his Majeſty with a due regard to this principle, then ſhould this great council interpoſe, and give ſuch advice as they owe to their King and country in this important conjuncture; and in this light I ſee the motion made by my Hon. friend.

But it is not only the expence, preſent or future, the needleſs pay of ſo many officers, their half-pay hereafter, Paymaſter, deputies, and all the reſt of that equipage; it is not only this which we have to conſider: there is another point before us of ſtill greater importance. What, Sir, at a time when the whole nation is ſo ſtrongly alarmed at the influence attending ſo many places, civil and military, without any colour of neceſſity, againſt all rules of œconomy, wantonly to add to that influence, to create new places, new dependences! How will this be thought of, how will this appear to the world? Won't it look like taking advantage, an unfair, indecent advantage of the generous confidence placed in his Majeſty by his people and parliament, upon all demands made by him for the ſupport of this war, to increaſe that power in the crown, from the growth of which they dread ſo many miſchiefs?

Sir, not for the preſent only, but for all our future deliberations concerning ſupplies, there is one caution I beg leave to recommend to this houſe; and that is, always to have it in our thoughts, that, to a free conſtitution of government, there is no ſeaſon ſo dangerous as the time of a popular war; for it has been in the heat of ſuch wars, that almoſt all free ſtates, ancient and modern, have been induced to make conceſſions, wink at encroachments, and eſtabliſh precedents, that have ended afterwards in the entire loſs of their liberties. Sir, I hope the very reverſe will happen here, and that we ſhall, at the ſame time, attend to the recovery of ſuch of our rights as have been invaded abroad,

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and to the securing of such as may have been weakened at home. I think it is the design of this motion, to prevent our being in danger, from the further increase of influence, of their being weakened yet more.

As to the practice of former times, it must be considered, that we never had any thing like such an army at home in these kingdoms before; and therefore large draughts out of the forces here, could not have been made then, so safely as now; the remainder would not have been a sufficient guard to us till recruits could be raised: but, I apprehend, we may make such draughts in full security now; and this I think a sufficient answer to what was said by the worthy member who spoke last. Sir, I shall trouble you no farther now, but heartily concur with this motion.

[*This Journal to be continued.*]

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR, *Forres, June 20.*

THE contemplation of the soul's immortality is certainly as delightful, as the thoughts of its being annihilate is full of anguish and horror. We are as naturally exhilerate with the prospect of the one, as we are startled and distressed by the least surmise of the other. For my own part, I cherish every argument for it with vehemence and delight, as the solace of my soul. My distrust costs me dear, and my tranquillity is measured to the degree of my conviction. It is therefore, Sir, that I fondly embrace every argument, but not every shadow of argument. A good cause rather suffers, and is abused, than supported by a multiplicity of fetches and shifts, which the subtlety of some men, or the weak presumption of others, may extort from nature. Allow me to say, Sir, I suspect this reflection may reach that argument which has been lately a topick in your *Magazine*, [*p.* 32. 114, *&c.*] and is warmly urged by some, namely, *the desire of immortality*. Is it an evidence that we shall never die, because all men desire to live on? or, because we plunge our desires vastly beyond a certain dissolution, are we therefore secure of being gratified? The first desire is plainly frustrate; but the darkness and obscurity of the other's refuge, screens it from detection.

Desire is a natural passion, and one of those the stimulations of which are most violent and irregular, whatever its object be.

Desire's the vast extent of human mind;
It mounts above, and leaves poor Hope behind. DRYD.

And shall we say, that the Deity intended to gratify its throws and extravagance above the rest?

Besides, if we search into the nature of desire, we will find it to be no original primary passion in the soul, but the inseparable result of all the passions, varying according to their nature and strength. Love, hope, avarice, ambition, are all the parents of desire. In one word, every movement and propensity of the mind implies it. All this may be clear from examples. The desire of happiness is as active and vigorous in the mind of an abandon'd wretch, as in the most upright and virtuous. This desire indeed is natural, universal and invariable. But it is not so with the other. A man, this day, shocked with the horror of eternal damnation, desires to be convinced there is no future existence of the soul; but the very same person, to-morrow, arm'd and propp'd with the confidence of future bliss, ardently aspires at immortality. And 'tis well known to those who study human nature, that desire is unlimited, boundless, and infinite, as I may call it, with respect to other objects.

Besides, this same desire of immortality is not peculiar to mankind; it extends to every living creature, differently modified according to the diversity of their natures. In man we know how it operates; in brutes we cannot; but this I dare assert, they are at the bottom and spring of the same principle. Admit that brutes cannot extend their thoughts beyond the present moment, and this is a voluntary concession;

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too; yet are they leſs ſtartled with the aſſaults of danger and diſtreſs than we? do they diſcover leſs reluctance to ſuffer the invaſions of death and diſſolution? The laſt drops of the ſweet cup of life are bitter to all taſtes. The ſenſe of deſtruction, however communicated, ſhocks them; and what more is there in this boaſted deſire of ours in effect? This ſame abhorrence of inſtant extinction, if I extend my thoughts to a million of years hence, and think I have traverſed the vaſt expanſe of being, the ſuppoſition of being extinguiſhed then, with reſpect to my thoughts, implies a preſent diſſolution: and thus I feel ſimilar repugnance of ſoul againſt this, as againſt the ſenſible decays of nature and approach of death.

Sir, if, in the proſecution of this train of argument, I have any where coincided with that ſuggeſted by the Gentleman who firſt ſtarted this queſtion, I profeſs I know not well; as my intention only was, to communicate my own reaſons for preſcinding this argument, which I think both groundleſs and ſuperfluous.

I ſhall preſume to ſubjoin a queſtion.

I find an argument in *Cicero, de natura Deorum*, for the exiſtence of God, drawn from the predictions of the augures and auruſpices. Says he, *Quorum enim interpretes ſunt, eos ipſos eſſe certe neceſſe eſt.* For the confirmation of this, he brings inſtances with a kind of ſimplicity and trepidation, which, I think, betrays a weakneſs to which that great man was certainly no ſtranger. This ſame book is indeed ſtored with elegant and divine evidence of that important truth; but I aſk, whether this to *Cicero* could be one juſt and rational foundation of belief? *I am*, &c.

A. B.

To the Reverend Mr Gib, *Preacher at* Gardeners-hall.

Reverend Sir,

SInce you have been ſo free, in diſcourſing upon theſe words, *Say to the righteous, It ſhall be well with them*, as to rip up the weakneſſes of the ſeveral ſects profeſſing Chriſt in Britain, and to exclude them from the benediction in the text; I beg the favour of you, as a means of confirming ſome, and ſhaking the ſandy foundation of many others, to favour the world with a ſight of it *in print*: And at the ſame time, as an inſtance of your diſintereſtedneſs, and of your willingneſs to put the truths you profeſs to a trial, I deſire you would give your uſual auditory your ſentiments upon that text, *Try all things, and hold faſt that which is good.* For though, *when clothed with miniſterial authority*, you publickly aſſerted, that the Preſbyterian anſwers to the Independent arguments were ſufficient, and bid your hearers look upon them as *conquered*; yet I dare ſay, when you look upon yourſelf as a *party*, you will not pretend to be a *judge.*

I thought it neceſſary to make theſe requeſts publick, that the injured perſons might be appriſed of their danger, and arm themſelves againſt the worſt. *I am*, &c.

BEREAN.

The Reverend Gentleman to whom the preceeding letter is addreſſed will not, we hope, be diſpleaſed to find it inſerted, ſince our impartiality obliges us to pay an equal regard to our correſpondents of all profeſſions.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR,

THere is not perhaps a more eaſy, and at the ſame time more effectual remedy for the paſſions and diſeaſes of the human mind, than well regulated muſick and harmony: for the ſupreme diſpoſer of things, in his infinite wiſdom and goodneſs, hath placed ſuch a ſympathy between this and the frame of our ſouls, that though we can in no ways diſcover the manner how the one influences the other, yet we may ſooner pretend to enumerate all the different modes and combinations which the human paſſions are capable of, than underſtand how far the power of muſick and harmony can go. Paſt times, and every one's own experience, furniſh abundant inſtances, wherein it hath

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hath gained the ascendant over the most destructive passions that are incident to human nature. It not only dispels all such passions as are destructive in their own nature, but excites and raises those which constitute the life and vigour of the soul. This alleviates our grief, dissipates our fear, removes our jealousy, soothes our cares, calms our fury and rage, and turns resentment into real benevolence; this raises in the soul the pleasing sensations of hope and joy; this elevates the mind to noble and generous sentiments, and is an excitement to the most heroick and virtuous actions: in fine, it insensibly produces such a disposition as every rational and considerate man would always wish to entertain. Upon reflecting on these things, I have been often much surprised at the low and dull (I had almost said ridiculous) manner in which the musical part of your publick worship is performed: for although it may perhaps be true, that this, considered abstractly by itself, is no part of religious devotion; yet, since it will be allowed, that all who would act a rational part in the performance of any religious duty, ought first to have their passions duly regulated, so as to enjoy themselves in calmness and serenity; and since musick is so much conducive to such a valuable end, it ought, on such occasions, neither to be neglected, nor performed in a low and silly, a heedless and inconsiderate manner.

One set of you glory in zealously decrying the use of the harp and the organ; and if one is so unlucky as to speak of these, unless with a tone of disdain; why this fellow is of lax and libertine principles; for a bit of bread such a one would bow at an altar, and swallow even the grossest tenets in Popery! But pray what have your good people introduced in place of these, but a gross and confused noise, to lull our senses asleep?

Others, who imagine themselves a more valuable set, triumph in having banished every thing that looks like superstition, or whinning, or that may be taxed as unmanly, or argue a narrowness of spirit; while they have fallen so far into the opposite extreme, as to discover the utmost imprudence and inconsiderateness of mind, and will make no scruple just now to join in the sacred hymns, immediately to be hushed in silence, or fix their eyes upon the next alluring object, and perhaps to conclude the whole with a laugh. This must be harmony indeed! This is truly proper to affect or influence the passions!

But, since the generality of your people set such a value upon what is called vocal musick, (perhaps not without reason) and will not easily allow that any other should be introduced into your publick assemblies; for making the same both more decent and agreeable, I would propose the following simple remedies, which, if considered and put in practice, may, by further improvement, in time produce the desired effects.

1. *That both minister and people sit themselves before the morning hymn or psalms are begun.*

2. *That greater care be had in the choice of your readers or precentors.*

3. *That, before any attempt to sing in publick, they be tolerably acquainted with the musick there made use of; mean time let them be attentive to the more accomplished in such a way.*

4. *That each stanza be sung without interruption.*

I am, *&c.*

PHILOMUSOS.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR,

BE so good as to insert the following queries in your *Magazine*, (which to me appear an undeniable argument against liberty) that they may be answered by some of your learned correspondents.

1. *Must not every action have a cause?*

2. *Must not that cause be adequate to produce the action; and if so, then necessary? for if a cause have every thing requisite to produce an action, of necessity it must do so.*

3. *Is not then every action necessary?*

A

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A paſtoral Song, on the death of the late Duke of *Tuſcany*, ſaid to be writ by a young *Engliſh* Nobleman, who was in *Italy* at the time of that Prince's death.

When here, Lucinda, *firſt we came,*
Where Arno *rolls his ſilver ſtream,*
The nymphs how briſk, the ſwains how
Content inſpir'd each rural lay: [*gay!*
The birds in livelier concerts ſung,
The grapes in thicker cluſters hung;
All look'd as joy could never fail
Among the ſweets of Arno's *vale.*

But now, ſince good Palæmon *dy'd,*
The chief of ſhepherds, and the pride,
Now Arno's *ſons muſt all give place*
To Northern ſwains, an iron race!
All taſte of pleaſure here is o'er,
Thy notes, Lucinda, *pleaſe no more:*
The muſes droop, the Goths *prevail,*
Adieu! the ſweets of Arno's *vale.*

To Miſs *N. F.* By a young Lady.

When firſt I felt the ſacred flame
Of friendſhip lighted in my heart,
Thy infant ſoul with native charms
Could pleaſe without the helps of art.
Thy virtues then in gleams broke forth,
Like diamonds rough ta'en from the [*mine;*
But now, refin'd by Pallas' *aid,*
The blaze augments, they doubly ſhine.

No more I aſk; indulgent heaven,
Grant Nannie's *friendſhip laſting*
prove:
This graſps the ſum of earthly bliſs,
And ſeems to rival that above.
For kindred minds, when once diſlodg'd
From brittle frames of cumbrous clay,
Improve in friendſhip; friendſhip adds
New glories to th' immortal day.

Edinb.

EPIGRAM, occaſion'd by treading on a Sir-reverence.

Penſive I ſtray'd, intent my mind
On change of human things;
How Monarchs fall below the hind,
How peaſants riſe to Kings.
I ſtopp'd to piſs againſt a wall—
Methought the t—d I ſtood in,
E'er thus transform'd by nature's call,
Had been good beef and pudding.

T. V.

VERSES to the Memory of a FRIEND.

Bleſt ſhade! could tender grief have wak'd the
Or ſorrow flow'd in harmony divine, [*nine,*
Long ſince the muſe had mourn'd thy hapleſs doom,
And ſhed diſtinguiſh'd ſorrows o'er thy tomb:
The world had wept, that worth, like thine, ſhould fail,
And ſtrangers ſigh'd to hear the moving tale.
Then beſt good man!—(if bleſt immortals know
The long variety of human woe)
Forgive th'offence, and theſe few lines approve,
The grateful tribute of ſincereſt love.
Sad mourning muſe!—Oh! ſee around his bed
His friends with care ſupport his drooping head,
Try all the powers of med'cine to controul
The pow'r of fate, and ſtay the flutt'ring ſoul.
Alas! in vain; the guardian angel nigh
Impatient waits the laſt expiring ſigh;
While he, intent on faith's bright views, aſpir'd
To joys immortal, vaſt as he deſir'd;
Without a wiſh life's empty ſcenes ſurvey'd,
And thought with pleaſure on the part he play'd:
Then in a ſigh reſign'd his tranſient breath,
And joyful met the cold embrace of death.
Oh! ſee he mounts!—the heav'nly hoſt admire
A mortal glowing with ſeraphic fire;
Angelic ſtrains his heav'nly breaſt prepares,
And bids his Hallelujah *equal theirs!*
But oh! what pangs of ſorrow now remain!
No tongue, no pen can paint the mournful ſcene.
What tender melting ſtrains can fully ſhow
*Th' unhappy fair ones * double weight of woe;*
Who cloſ'd his fading eyes, and anxious hung
On the laſt accents ſtruggling from his tongue?
See how they beat their breaſts, and tear their hair,
And rend with doleful ſhrieks the ſuff'ring air;
See down their cheeks the briny ſorrow rolls;
Hark! ſighs proclaim the anguiſh of their ſouls.
In tears and groans they ſpend the joyleſs day,
And ſigh the ſolitary hours away;
Their ſighs alone their anguiſh can expreſs,
All other language ſure muſt make it leſs!
Ceaſe, lovely weeping mourners, to bemoan
The deareſt friend, the fondeſt father gone;
And, while the muſe a brighter view diſplays,
And points to fairer ſcenes her penſive lays,
Suſpend your flowing ſorrows, and behold
A dear lov'd parent crown'd with radiant gold,
In thoſe realms where joys immortal ſpring,
Where beauty blooms, and charming ſeraphs ſing.
A ſeraph now he joins th' etherial choir,
And tunes to heav'nly ſounds his golden lyre;
Or, mixing in eternal friendſhip, roves
With ſome bleſt angel thro' celeſtial groves;

Where

* His two daughters.

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Where pleasure reigns in youth's unfading prime,
Unconscious of the silver hoar of time;
Where circling bliss adorns the smiling plain,
Unmix'd with grief, anxiety or pain.
There, when your streaming tears shall cease to flow,
And death has clos'd the mighty scene of woe,
Your eyes shall open to immortal charms,
And your dear sire for ever bless your arms.
Me, while the thread of life prolongs my cares,
Thou gen'rous patron of my tender years,
The sacred laws of friendship shall approve,
And find my heart still conscious of thy love;
Still my fond soul shall bear a tender part,
Still thy dear image linger in my heart:
And when th' uncertain dream of life is o'er,
Ye angels, waft me to that blessful shore;
The joys of friendship let me ever know,
And join our souls above, as once you did below.

Dunfermline. PYTHIAS.

MERLIN; or, The *British Bard*. A dream.

——Ter uncti
Transnanto Tiberim, somno quibus est opus alto,
Irriguumque mero sub noctem corpus habento.
HOR.

THE energy of *fuddling* ale,
From two days old till it be stale,
The British poet *often try'd,*
(Or else he shrewdly was bely'd.)
Caress'd, be once sat tipling by't,
And catches *sung till late at night;*
Then reeling homeward lost his way,
And down he fell on cock of hay.
Grave Morpheus *clos'd his willing eye,*
The hemisphere his canopy;
There undisturb'd he snoring lay,
Breathing the fragrancy of May;
There dream'd the ev'ning's pleasures o'er,
That he'd enjoy'd but just before,
And, 'midst the circling nymphs, the swain
Sung all his catches *o'er again:*
Now, in Allegro's *sprightly air,*
Clorinda bright and Chloe fair;
Now, in Adagio's *solemn tune,*
Enamell'd May and rosy June;
Then in Piano's *dying note,*
A *Poet* never worth a groat.
Thus, with imaginary song,
He lull'd the raviss'd hours along,
Till chanticleer, in fancy'd lay,
Proclaim'd the bright ensuing day;
Then rubb'd his eyes and scratch'd his head,
And, yawning, left his verdant bed.
Swift ray from Cynthia *struck his eye,*
Bright shone the mimic stars on high:
His luckless opticks, dire mishap!
Took the mock-moon for [a] Caufagnan;
The stars he thought were glitt'ring pelf,
And joyful thus address'd himself:
"O [b] Shony vah, can'st thou but climb
Up to yon mountain's top sublime!
Whence lofty clouds appear to flow
Like vast extended lakes below;
And men like little ants *are seen,*
Feasting beneath on leek so green;
Where gentle Cupids, *with the nine,*
In love and harmony combine,
Shrouded in æther, far above
The fatal bolts of mighty JOVE;
At leisure thou might'st cream, with ease,
Thy trusty satchel with green cheese;
And, sure as thou art Merlin's [c] *mate,*
Might'st fill thy pock with Spanish *dab.*"
Pleas'd with his new fantastic scheme,
Not knowing 'twas a golden dream,
Joyful he mounts the rising soil,
With joy attempts the arduous toil;
And, as he nimbly trips along,
Chaunts o'er his fire's *prophetic song:*
He sung— I swear I tell no tales,
Instead of K—, the PRINCE *of* WALES,
Recounting what fam'd heroes fell in
The future reign of great LEWELLIN,
With deeds of many a patriot *more,*
Whom his sage sire had sung before.
But now approaching near the top
Of [d] Kader, *flush'd with eager hope,*
Delusive Morpheus, *just to try him,*
Let fall a fiery meteor by him.
Now full of extasy he skits,
And cap'ring runs and leaps by fits;
Thinks Shony— "*Now the fates have crown'd*
My utmost wish,"— *then with a bound*
Advances tow'rd the shining prey,
Directed by the glitt'ring ray:
Just in the nick his Daemon plies,
With magic glare his flowing eyes;
His flaring eyes present a plain,
Bestrew'd with heaps of buckles gain;
Not such small sums, as heretofore
Made up a wealthy NATION's *store,*
But

[a] *A sort of cheese.* [b] *Shony vah*, i. e. *little Johny, or dear Johny.* [c] *The son of Merlin the British prophet.* [d] *Kader-Idris, a very high mountain in the county of Merioneth.*

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But such vast piles of future coin,
Is modern m——s purloin:
Here a huge coffer of the Dons,
There a great chest of Double Johns;
Here the effigies of the Czar,
Pattern for Kings, and pride of war;
There Albion, *mistress of the main,*
In t'other side the scourge of Spain!
At length, amidst the tempting store,
He spy'd a spangling Lewi'dor:
His last so touch'd his cordial strings,
He eager on the booty springs;
When seiz'd it by the radiant beard;
The flaming star his fingers sear'd:
The bard cry'd out, with horrid pain,
And flung the meteor on the plain.
And then — "O Avarice, he cries,
Dost thus reward thy votaries?
Thus recompense my tedious toil?
Thus with disgrace my labours foil?
Henceforth let none thy altars raise;
Henceforth no incense on them blaze;
Henceforth no free-born British *soul*
At avaritious views *controul:*
Whoe'er durst offer at thy shrine,
Still may he dread the pendant line;
May all the furies on his head
Ten thousand various curses shed;
May Gibbets *still his dreams perplex,*
And Axes *his best moments vex;*
Sleeping or waking, may his hope
Depend on nothing *but a* Rope;
Sleeping or waking, own he feels
Remorse — and vengeance at his heels.
And, O ye guardian rural pow'rs,
From you green groves and myrtle bow'rs
Hear and approve your prophet's care,
Nor let my vows dissolve in air."
Thus he the sylvan Gods address'd;
The bard's just pray'r the pow'rs confess'd:
The Naiads *heard his plaintiff song,*
And all the Dryads *round him throng;*
The friendly Sylphs *and* Satyrs *too*
From all the neighb'ring forests flew:
One brought a crotchet, one a rhyme;
This pitch'd the tune, that beat the time:
Clorinda *bids the æther ring,*
While Chloe *shakes the trembling string;*
To ease his anguish all conspire,
This with her voice, that with her lyre:
Terpsichore, *with all her train,*
Skims o'er the visionary plain;
The Sylphids *trace the mazes o'er,*
Where many a Sylph *had tript before;*
This with enchanting movements glides;
That with more airy capers strides;
The sprightly Satyrs *round them spring,*
All vot'ries *to the magic ring:*
While ravish'd Merlin *quits his golden theme,*
And all his sorrow vanish'd with his dream.

Sacred to the Memory of Miss A—y H—n.

Shall the fair virgin gain her native sky
Without one note, one sympathetick sigh,
To waft her hence? No! — Tho' my youthful lays,
Unskill'd as yet in arts of female praise,
Should 'tempt th'unequal task; yet will they try,
To steal one single tear from pity's eye.
But hark! the dread command above is given—
Descend, ye angels! ministers of heaven!
Ye seraphs! and ye cherubs! all attend,
To watch her exit, and to soothe her end;
O! make it easy, gently close her eyes,
And let her think 'tis in a dream she dies.
'Tis done — and now her mounting soul aspires,
Sung to by harps and heav'nly-sounding lyres,
To seats imperial of the saints above,
Where reigns celestial harmony and love;
Far from this mansion of low-thoughted life,
This seat of care, and this abode of strife.
Spare, spare, ye weeping friends, the gushing tear;
Say, if ye could, would ye detain her here?
In this dim spot would ye demand her stay,
While parents, sisters beckon her away,
To crowns of never-ceasing joys, prepar'd
The virgin's portion, and the youth's reward.
Hence let the nymph, whose gay unclouded hours
No pain does trouble, and no sickness sours,
For once retire into her conscious breast,
And tell me then if they will always last?
Say, will the rose that flourishes to day,
And wide expands to the enliv'ning ray,
If sought for some days hence, will it appear
Among the blooming beauties of the year?
Ev'n so will you, thy flow'ry summer past,
And pale concluding age will come at last
To shut the scene. — View then her peaceful end,
And learn, that virtue is your only friend.
Ye white-rob'd virgins! here the violets bring,
Here strow the brightest treasures of the spring.
With rosy garlands deck her mournful hearse,
And the young poet too will add a verse.
A verse and inward tear, bright Maid! receive;
'Tis all a loving cousin now can give.

Philemon.

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Where pleasure reigns in youth's unfading prime,
Unconscious of the silver hoar of time;
Where circling bliss adorns the smiling plain,
Unmix'd with grief, anxiety or pain.
There, when your streaming tears shall cease to flow,
And death has clos'd the mighty scene of woe,
Your eyes shall open to immortal charms,
And your dear sire for ever bless your arms.
Me, while the thread of life prolongs my cares,
Thou gen'rous patron of my tender years,
The sacred laws of friendship shall approve,
And find my heart still conscious of thy love;
Still my fond soul shall bear a tender part,
Still thy dear image linger in my heart:
And when th' uncertain dream of life is o'er,
Ye angels, waft me to that blessful shore;
The joys of friendship let me ever know,
And join our souls above, as once you did below.

Dunfermline. PYTHIAS.

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(The abject trifle of a little pence)
To rob our country of her dearest trade,
And let ten millions *die, while* one *is fed?*
Shame on you, Br——ns; *rouze that noble zeal*
That once made nations, not one nation, feel
The just resentment of your injur'd sword;
Mind 'tis not S——n *you fight, but one poor* L—*d.*
Look back, and see with what industrious care,
This S——ish *cobweb marrs the justest war.*
What has our fl—t, what has our ar—s done,
Except to fight mock battles with the moon?
See! H——k *hov'ring on the guilty shore,*
Nor dares to let one injur'd cannon roar;
Now visits Gib, *then takes a jaunting turn*
To Ba——ona, *and to* Po——t M——n.
Next see brave Ba——en *sweep the hoary main,*
Whose seal'd up order is, Return again;
Peep into F——*l*, view the gaudy fl——t;
If they come out, beware you do not m—t;
When in the latitude — *no matter where* —
Vere off, and to your ren——ouz repair.
The A——l religiously obeys,
And faithfully returns in fifteen days.
Great No——s *next his gaudy ensign shows,*
And takes the D—ke on board, with all his beaux:
The sails are full, the flag on topmast-head;
The anchors weigh'd. — The cour—r with speed,
Across the shore, swallows the distant plain,
And calls Sir J——n *back from the hoary main.*
Hark! how the Lion *roars at the command,*
And with incensed fury views the land,
Then veres with open mouth, all raging mad,
Snaps the Br——ia *from the* Vi——y's *head.*
Oh! fatal omen! may the Gods prevent
The much-fear'd consequence of such event;
While fl——ts are steer'd by m——rs of fl——e,
And ar——s headed by —— whom all men hate.
To lead an a——y with a warlike train,
T'encamp on H——low, *or on* W—*lor's plain;*
When glory's to be gain'd on guilty foes,
At S—n's *expence, and injur'd* B——n's *blows;*
None but a fawning p——/——r of fl——e
Would for mock ho——r forfeit all that's great.
Witness the brave A——LE, *whose noble arm*
Whole annals fill with glorious acts of fame:
See how he looks with scorn upon the man,
That thus presum'd to give him the command;
Viewing his country's dire impending fate,
Throws up his all, to save a sinking state.

Inverness, Aug. 8. A PATRIOT.

To a FRIEND.

FOrbear, my friend, nor thus accuse
My fondness for the fav'rite muse.
You tell me I must never hope
To equal Addison, *or* P——pe.
I own the truth; but yet I may
Describe the spring with blossoms gay,
Or praise the warbling nightingale;
May write a fable, tell a tale;
May sing of artless truth and love,
And do some honour to the dove;
Tho' trembling, dare sometimes assay
To touch the strings of Horace' *lyre.*
Such tasks as these will suit my vein,
But not my betters to abuse.
Yet I, perhaps, may smile at vice,
And mark a sharping knave at dice —
But never make a jest of Kings,
Or ridicule — grave, holy things:
You know my meaning, I suppose,
The lawn of Bishops, or a rose.
No; far be such envenom'd spite;
Fair virtue! yet of thee I'll write.

CHAMPION, *Aug.* 30.

Advice to the Electors of GREAT BRITAIN.

To all that love, *and would* serve *their* COUNTRY.

Gentlemen and Friends!

BY the account all parties give of themselves, one would think this paper was addressed to all alike; by the account they give of each other, 'tis impossible to think it refers to either: so equally bitter are their invectives; so equally disputed their pretences!—To prevent, therefore, all mistakes on this head, be it known, it disavows all parties alike; disdains all influence but that of truth and reason, and all ends but those which center in the good of the whole. — The distinctions of *Whig* and *Tory*, appear now but the artifices of the *wicked* to seduce the *weak*; and so many mischiefs have they already produced, that it ought to be capital, to assume either ourselves or brand others with the contrary appellation.—*Britons* and *Patricides*, *Friends* and *Enemies*, are the only titles that should

ſhould be current among us. —— Thoſe are eaſy to be underſtood, as ariſing from mens real actions, and can never be made the tools of traitors, or incendiaries, to advance themſelves on the ruin of their ſupporters: Whereas, the others are whatever the party-leader pleaſes, liberty againſt prerogative, or prerogative againſt liberty; juſt as popularity or preferment happens to be the moſt dextrous tool to effect their crooked purpoſes.

While, therefore, we follow the cry that they ſet up, we are indeed but a herd, and manifeſt that we may be either led, or drove as they pleaſe: paſſive as the waves of the ſea, obeying every wind that blows; inſignificant as cyphers, without name, or value, till one important figure adds both; tho' itſelf without importance, when detached from its numerous train.

Theſe cyphers, theſe waves, this herd have we been; we the free people of *England*, for ages paſt; courted by all parties alike, and alike by all parties deceived; yet ſtill credulous, ſtill truſting, and ſtill led on both by friends and enemies, to the very ſame precipice, we have ſo frequently, almoſt by miracle, eſcaped.

To break off this abſurd, this infamous, this deſtructive dependence; to perſuade you, at laſt, to think and act for yourſelves; to rouze you from the low, narrow purſuits of ſordid ſelf-intereſt, the inglorious ſlumbers of effeminate indolence, and the enervating ſweets of prevailing luxury; to open your eyes to the publick welfare; to enlarge your ideas with a comprehenſive view of all that regards our great political parent, and warm your hearts with an ardent zeal for the maintenance and increaſe of her grandeur and glory: this, in brief, ſhould be the deſign of all who take the liberty to addreſs themſelves to you at this critical juncture; and what you are, for your own ſakes, required to patronize.

No man was born for himſelf only, and every *Engliſhman* was born for his country. By our original *Saxon* conſtitution, every freeman had a voice in the legiſlature; and if the manner is alter'd, the ſubſtance, in ſpite of modern corruption, ſtill continues the ſame: whoever has a vote to give, helps to conſtitute the legiſlature, and is preſent by his repreſentative, tho' not in perſon.

Whatever, then, ſome men may aſſert through craft, ſome through fear, and ſome through corruption, it is both a moral, and a political duty in all, who have ſtill that reſerve of power in their hands, to ſuſpend their private cares ſometimes, to participate in thoſe of the publick. On the choice of the Commons, depends the fate of the whole nation; and to ſuppoſe men capable of making a wiſe one, without knowing what affairs are likely to come before them, is to the full as abſurd, as to determine by lot, whether a phyſician ſhould plead for you at the bar, or an advocate undertake to cure you of a fever. —'Tis true, chance may operate like judgment; but ſurely he muſt be quite beſide himſelf who would put it to the hazard.

Let me be allowed to repeat then, that every freeman ſhould endeavour, as far as his capacity, or ſituation in life will give leave, to underſtand the ſtate of the nation at the time of election, the hiſtory of the laſt parliament, what part his own repreſentatives bore in it, and the characters and abilities of thoſe who ſolicite that honour in the next.

Let no man fancy, that if his own private affairs flouriſh all is well, and that he may laugh at the dangers of the commonwealth: in thoſe of the commonwealth his own are involved; and if that is in ruins, he himſelf cannot be ſecure; tho' the miſchief may at firſt threaten only at a diſtance, give it time, and its near approach may render both prevention and eſcape impoſſible. I myſelf have ſeen a tempeſt plough up one ſide of the ocean, while a ſmooth calm has yet ſlumber'd on the other: but a very few moments have cut off all diſtinction, and the confuſion has been univerſal.

My friends, a more important criſis never demanded your attention than the preſent, on the joint evidence of both parties, whether we regard our ſituation abroad or at home, with reſpect to our-

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And ar——s headed by —— whom all men hate.
To lead an a——y with a warlike train,
To encamp on H——low, *or on* W—*for's plain;*
When glory's to be gain'd on guilty fort,
At S—n's *expence, and injur'd* B——n's *blows;*
None but a fawning p——t——r of fl——e
Would for mock ho——r forfeit all that's great.
Witness the brave A——LE, *whose noble arm*
Whole annals fill with glorious acts of fame:
See how he looks with scorn upon the man,
That thus presum'd to give him the command;
Viewing his country's dire impending fate,
Throws up his all, to save a sinking state.

Laverness, Aug. 8. A PATRIOT.

To a F

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ſelves or our neighbours. Abroad, *France*, formidable *France*, is greater than ever. When the grand alliance was in agitation, 'twas fear'd her monarchy would be univerſal; but now that fear is almoſt over, for the fact has in a manner taken place. *Spain* bullies on one ſide, under her protection; and the Emperor fights, or ſubmits, as ſhe enjoins, on the other. The *Northern* powers are her penſioners. *Italy* is canton'd out as ſhe pleaſes. *Corſica* is on the point of acknowledging her ſovereignty. *Flanders* is at her mercy: The *Dutch* fearful to offend her: The princes of the *Rhine*, little better than her vaſſals: *Lorrain* totally her ſlave: *Ruſſia* is embarraſſed with her intrigues; and nothing is wanting but the reſidue of our declining commerce, to make her acquiſitions as permanent, as they are huge and terrible.

This is our alarming proſpect abroad: at home we are told by one ſet of men, that a mercenary f-----n has uſurped the ad----------n, monopoliz'd all the power and wealth of the nation, engroſſed the royal ear, defam'd the people to the prince, and the prince to the people; render'd peace as chargeable and deſtructive as war, and war as tame and inſignificant as peace; traffick'd away our honour, and ſacrific'd our traffick; exhauſted their whole art and addreſs to plunder, and inſolently denied all redreſs: in ſhort, debauch'd the very morals of the people, and made corruption univerſal, and put all poſſibility of a reformation out of our power, by making our own r----------s the tools to enſlave us, and vote the very wealth, armies, and penal laws, they had reaſon to fear were to be employed to undo us. — This is our miſerable condition, if we will believe one party; and, if the other, a wicked and inveterate knot of traitors are hurrying us on to ruin, under the pretence of endeavouring our preſervation: under the pretence of liberty and property, they mean to introduce Popery and ſlavery, or anarchy and confuſion: not only diſcontented, but diſaffected; complaining only to embarraſs; pretending publick ſpirit, and yet purſuing nothing but private intereſt: in a word, ſuch as create the very ills they expoſe, and are themſelves greater grievances than they would remove.

Now, Gentlemen, if either of theſe parties paint after the life, with what horror ſhould we abhor the other? if both, how much does it concern us to depend no longer upon either, but to act for ourſelves, ſum up our apparent grievances, and publickly challenge a promiſe of redreſs upon oath, as the *ſine qua non* of parting with that power, which, if in ill hands, may, now eſpecially, ruin us beyond redemption?

The time is now approaching, however tedious the interval may ſeem, when it will be at your own option, whether you will be free or no. The newspapers are already full of tenders of *ſervice*, and all imaginable arts are ſet on foot to pre-engage your votes and intereſt; perhaps in favour of thoſe very men, who have already carried you to market, ſet a price upon your heads, and received an earneſt of their infamous brokerage.

If then you have any reſpect for the memory of your brave and honeſt forefathers, any concern for your own endangered welfare, any tenderneſs for your own helpleſs poſterity, who are to be either free or enſlaved, as you now determine, take time to ponder ſeriouſly on the preſent ſtate of the nation; what you have hitherto ſuffered, and what you have ſtill to fear, before you permit yourſelves to be ſeduced out of a promiſe, that, like the prophet's roll, may be ſweet as honey in the mouth, but, in the belly, prove as bitter as gall.

Above all things, Gentlemen, avoid the man already branded for having acted uniformly as a ſlave; for having obeyed the commands of a miniſter, in lieu of hearkning to the voice of the people; for having hired himſelf out to be the advocate of power, and the ſworn enemy of the conſtitution. Other perſons may be ſuſpected of temporizing; but this is a convict on record, and whoever entruſts him again, muſt be underſtood to have a fellow-feeling both in his guilt and reward.

COMMON

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COMMON SENSE, *August* 2.

On the expences and delays of the Law.

AMong the numerous correſpondents who have been ſo kind to favour us with letters and hints for the better carrying on this paper, we have received not a few from perſons complaining of the expences and delays of the law.

Many of them ſpeak with ſo much feeling upon this ſubject, that I can plainly perceive they have been ſufferers themſelves. One particularly is ſo frank to own, that he has got the better in ſo many law-ſuits, that he has been obliged to mortgage a very good eſtate to pay the expences; and he may truly ſay, like *Hannibal*, a few more ſuch victories would undo him.

Another tells me very pleaſantly, that he hath now the good fortune to have ſeen an end of a Chancery-ſuit, which hath been no more than thirteen years depending; that the original ſum in diſpute was 3000 l. and that having a decree in his favour, and having received his money, he is ſo lucky to be no more than 1000 l. out of pocket; which juſt anſwers *Hudibras*'s deſcription of a law-ſuit:

He that by injury is griev'd,
And goes to law to be reliev'd,
Is ſillier than a ſottiſh chouſe,
Who, when a thief has robb'd his houſe,
Applies himſelf to cunning men
To help him to his goods again;
When all he can expect to gain,
Is but to ſquander more in vain.

A little *German* prince may as well go to war with the Grand Monarch, as a poor man contend with one who is very rich. What avails the clearneſs of a man's right, and the juſtice of his cauſe, if he is not able to go thro' the expence of the ſuit? A man that has not ſtrength to hold out to the end of his journey, had better ſit ſtill and ſave his money and his conſtitution. But theſe grievances, like many others, have gain'd ſtrength by time.

Among the *Turks*, wher juſtice betwixt man and man is don: in a conciſe and ſummary way, there are no advocates or pleaders allowed: it cannot enter into their heads, that when the plaintiff hath produced the proofs of his right, and the defendant own'd or denied theſe proofs, that a man talking for an hour, either one way or the other, can be of any uſe to the juſtice of the cauſe.

Formerly one or two counſil was thought ſufficient of a ſide in this nation; but now they are increaſed to ſuch a number, that, if it goes a little farther, we may expect to ſee the whole bar, in every great cauſe, drawn up in battle-array, like two armies againſt each other; and I believe the expence will be very little ſhort of that of an army.

If the cauſe, like a battle, was to be decided in one day, it would not be ſo bad for the poor clients; but the miſchief of it is, the ſuit often laſts as long as the contending parties have money to go on with it: which, I think, is truly and pleaſantly ridicul'd by the author laſt quoted:

For lawyers, leſt the bear defendant,
And plaintiff dog ſhould make an end on't,
Do ſtay and tail with writs of error,
Reverſe of judgment and demurrer,
To let them breathe a-while, and then,
Cry Whoop, *and ſet them on again:*
Until, with ſubtil cobweb cheats,
They're catch'd in knotted laws, like nets;
In which, when once they are imbrangled,
The more they ſtir the more they're tangled;
For while their purſes can diſpute,
There's no end of th' immortal ſuit.

The laws are for the moſt part good; the abuſes and grievances have crept into the practice. —— I cannot better illuſtrate this matter than by the following petition, which was lately ſent me by a correſpondent.

The humble petition of Common Law *to* Common Senſe.

Sheweth,

THat your petitioner is deſcended from the ancient and venerable family of the LAWES, a *Norman* family, which firſt came into this kingdom with *William the Conqueror*.

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That he has been informed by several aged persons of very good character, that in his infancy he was committed to the guardianship of a reverend and wise person, known by the name of *Recta Ratio*; but his said guardian happened to die when your petitioner was so very young, that he freely owns he does not so much as remember him.

That some time after the decease of his said guardian, your petitioner had the misfortune to fall into the hands of one Serjeant *Chicane*, an old practitioner in the profession, who, with a very bad character, got a great estate, and rose to the highest preferment in the law.

That the said Serjeant *Chicane* hath taken all the methods he possibly could to embarrass and perplex his affairs, and, by various tricks, hath almost ruin'd your petitioner's credit and reputation in the world.

That he hath, for many years, employ'd an infinite number of Serjeants, Barristers, Attorneys, Bumbailiffs, Solicitors and Hangmen, in your petitioner's affairs; by which, honest people are so intimidated, they are afraid to keep him company.

That he hath not only wheedled and cajoled your petitioner, but even sometimes tortured him, in order to oblige him to appear as an evidence in several causes in *Westminster-Hall*, on the side where the said Serjeant *Chicane* was retained as counsil.

That by the arts and contrivances of the said Serjeant *Chicane*, your petitioner hath sometimes made so scandalous a figure, that many well-meaning people have quite renounced him, chusing to lose their right rather than have any thing to do with him.

That your petitioner hath heard, by the report of many travellers, that there are two relations of his still living, who are in a very flourishing condition, who, though one in *Denmark*, the other in *Savoy* or *Piedmont*, they are called in those countries by the name of *Equity*, are branches of the same family. He therefore desires to know the opinion, and have the advice of *Common Sense*, whether he had not better retire to one of those countries for protection?

That if you should not approve of your petitioner's design of leaving his own country, his most earnest request is, that *Common Honesty* (whom he hears to be at present in your service) may be appointed his guardian, in the place of Serjeant *Chicane*; who, having thrust himself into this employment without your petitioner's consent, ought, he thinks, to be removed from all power, trust, and authority over him.

And your petitioner shall ever pray.

CRAFTSMAN, *August* 9.

Οὐ πολεμοῦμεν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς.

That is to say, *We fight not with our enemies*, as speaketh one of the *Fathers*, commonly so called.

To the man called the CRAFTSMAN.

Friend Caleb,

FOrasmuch as I have been a constant reader of thy lucubrations, and have hitherto admitted one of thy papers into mine house weekly, under a persuasion, that thou didst endeavour to reform our doings, and make straight the crooked ways of the men called *politicians*; so I *found it upon my spirit* to *withstand thee to thy face*, for that I now understand thou art *walking in the counsel of the ungodly*, and *standest in the way of sinners*.

It grieveth me to observe, that thou, with the rest of thy *Craftsmen*, hast been *envious of the peace of thy brethren*, and dost accompany with the *people who delight in war*. — Verily, *Caleb*, thou art *carnal-minded*, and loveſt the things that belong unto the *natural man*. Thy *communing is not for peace*; thou *deviſeſt deceitful matters againſt them that are quiet in the land*. — As to our *rulers*, *it is not ſo with them*, who day and night ceaſe not to *pray for the peace of our Jeruſalem*. They do now at laſt perceive, that *we* have held forth the truth, ſaying that *revenge* and *war* are not of the fruit of the ſpirit: and the light, which hath of late ſprung up in their hearts, hath ſo inclined them to our

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our ways, that though, through the inſtigation of the wicked one, our late moſt godly attempt to aboliſh the *tithe-offering*, did not attain unto its completion; we now conceive great hopes, that we ſhall not only at length be delivered from that abomination, but likewiſe, that all they who are ſet over us will, in the appointed time, become *not only almoſt, but altogether ſuch as we*; for they have already received our wholeſome doctrine of *peace*, and, in reſpect to *wars* and *fightings*, are become *Quakers* in deed and in truth.

Knoweſt thou not that the *weapons of our warfare are not carnal?* but the weapons of thy warfare are *very carnal*, as thou mayeſt learn, by calling to thy remembrance, that they are *muſkets* and *cannons*; of which, *Caleb*, there is verily no mention made in the armour deſcribed by *Paul*. — This our *rulers* know. — Go to the city of our *great King*; mark well the *tower* thereof. Are not all *carnal weapons* laid up there, ſecure from *thee* and thy *craft?* Do not the *forms* and *figures*, in which they are ſo ingeniouſly diverſified, declare unto thee the *peaceful inclinations of our Sion?*

James teſtifieth unto us, that *wars and ſtrife come from the luſts, which war in the members of carnal men.* — Therefore, *Caleb, by thy fruits we know thee.* It is *luſt*, the filthy luſt of *power*, as thou haſt been often admoniſhed, which warreth in thy wicked members, and maketh thee thus to *ingender ſtrife*.

Peradventure, thou wilt tell me, that defence is a *natural right*. Alas, thus dreameth the *natural man!* Verily, *Caleb*, thou *haſt no rights at all*. Didſt thou not deliver them into the keeping of the men of *Stephen's chapel*, who bow the knee to *Haman?* Behold, they have given them to *the man whom the King delighteth to honour*.

If thou ſayeſt that we are only prohibited *private revenge*, but not forbidden to *defend our country*, when the *magiſtrate commandeth*; lo! this is the cant of *prieſts*, and the gloſs of *patriots*. Verily I ſay unto thee, if thy magiſtrate be a *Chriſtian*, he will obey that command, *Love thine enemies*; and how then can he command thee to *kill* them? which, I wot, is not *loving* them. But what availeth this plea unto thee, peradventure it were true? Did *thy magiſtrates* command thee voluntarily to go to war? I trow not. No, *Caleb*; it is thou, that of malicious wickedneſs haſt ſtirred up the people, to demand leave by war to *defend their country*; which thou knoweſt, yea all the world knows, was a thought, which never harboured in the peaceful breaſts of our *moſt chriſtian magiſtrates*. It therefore ill beſeemeth thee, to make them a party in thy blood-thirſty intentions: for if thou hadſt abſtained from war, until *thy magiſtrates* had of their own free-will commanded thee; verily I do believe, thou hadſt ſtaid even until the *day of doom*. — It is true, friend *Vernon*, by the inſtigation of thee and thy bloody-minded fraternity, was ſent into the *Weſtern India*, where he hath been plundering, and making havock of *towns* and *caſtles*, which thou vainly calleſt *retrieving the honour of the Britiſh flag*. — But *art thou a maſter in Iſrael*, and knoweſt not that it cauſeth great ſorrow of heart that this *deſtroying angel is abroad?* Is it not notorious, that *thy betters* diſapprove of his *pyracies*, and had much rather he had *loſt his ears*, than taken *Porto Bello?* Are they not famous all over the world, for their *patience* and *long-ſuffering?* Have we not had *trials of cruel mockings and ſcourgings, of bonds and impriſonment?* and have not our *Chriſtian rulers* bore it all without *any retaliation*, or *ſatisfaction?* which is certainly more evangelical to *give*, than to *receive*. They have ſhewed their *magnanimity* by their *patience*; and ſeem to be of opinion, that the *Britiſh lion* will be the *more reſpected*, the nearer it approacheth to the *lamb*. Have not even our *warlike preparations* been *peaceful?* — Have we not fitted out whole fleets at an immenſe expence, with a *ſeeming deſign* ——*to do* * * * * * ? — Have we not ſent one ſquadron after the *galleons*, with *full powers to let them* * * * * ? and diſpatched another after the *Aſſogues*, with *as full a commiſſion* — *not to* * * * * * * * * * * ? Thus do we demonſtrate our charity for thoſe

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who *hate us, despitefully use us, and persecute us*; those who call themselves the sons of *Peter*, though they follow his steps in nothing except it be in *cutting off an ear*.

But let not the mention of this indignity excite in thy cruel breast the thought of revenge. — It was said, indeed, by those of old time, *An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth*; and thou, like unto them, art continually crying out, *An ear for an ear*; which verily, *Caleb*, doth bespeak thee to be an unregenerate man. — Is it not said, *Whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain?* Why then contendest thou with the men of *Spain*, to fix the *exact number of leagues* which they may compel thee to go? I make no doubt but that one *Benjamin* is a better Christian, and hath assured them, that if they shall compel us to go with them *one league*, we will go with them *twain*; and that if they shall be so gracious, as to cut off but *one of our ears*, verily, like good Christians, we will turn unto them the *other* also. — Alas, for this Christian procedure, how hast thou threatned poor *Benjamin!* Thou didst talk of *bloody revenge*, which is an unchristian saying, and savoureth much of the *Heathen man*. If I had occupied the place of the said *Benjamin*, before I would have signed the *covenant of peace*, I would have begged the favour of them to *cut off both my ears*, were it only to disappoint thee of thy threatning, which thou didst breathe forth, to *fix a knot* under *one of them*.

Our *rulers* were industrious to cultivate *peace* with the man that sitteth on the throne of *Spain*. He gave us his *covenant of peace*, and we did accept thereof. — What mean then these *rumours of wars?* and why are the people *risen up as an enemy?* What mean the *neighing of the horses* I hear in mine ears? and why are they gone forth to encamp upon the plains, to the great terror of —— *pigs* and *poultry?* — Thou hypocrite! thou hast *broken the covenant*, and when *thy words were smoother than butter, war was in thine heart*. — But oh! consider, what destruction thou art bringing upon *thy country*, yea, upon thine own self. — When thou *shalt see the abomination of desolation drawing nigh*, peradventure *thou wilt repent*. — Friend *Caleb*, *despise not prophecy*. — When the men of *Spain*, those sons of the *great whore*, shall pass over the *many waters*, woe unto thee *Caleb*, in those days! for behold! those *carnal men* will neither spare thy beloved daughter *Tabitha*, nor *Susanna* the *wife of thy bosom*.

Peradventure, thou wilt say, that *we are mighty and strong men for the war*. But they who are wiser than thou, have thought fit to acquaint the world, that thou art a *liar*, *and the truth is not in thee*. Knowest thou not the man famous for the *cleanliness of his hands?* Dost *thou* understand our situation better than *he*, who hath *pulled up his breeches* in all the courts of *Europe?* Verily, that *adversary* of thine hath written a *book*, wherein he holdeth forth unto us, that our *Moab is spoiled*; that he hath himself, to his own knowledge, *negotiated* us out of *all our allies*, insomuch that we have none left, *no not one*. Did not also the *Levite of peace* declare unto us the same thing, in another little book, of the like wonderful kind? For which *peaceful performance*, we should never have denied him our *tithe-offering*, even to *mint* and *cummin*. — But he is gone to his own place.

I know thou sayest in thine heart, that there shall be yet *no peace unto the wicked*; and, in the bitterness of thy soul, lovest to liken our *covenant of peace* unto those *visions of peace* mentioned by *Ezekiel* the prophet, which are there compared unto a *wall daubed with untempered mortar*, which was therefore to *fall*, and crush the *builders* thereof. — But, friend *Caleb*, understand that though there might perchance be a small flaw in the *wall* which was lately built, yet none are more dextrous at *stopping holes*, than they who *sit in the King's gate*; and to make amends for the *untempered mortar*, lo! *our daubers* are now tempering *new mortar*, and it shall come to pass, that they shall *daub the wall* with that *impenetrable cement*, that

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that *catholicon* for *all breaches*, the most celebrated *plaister of Paris*.—In spite of thee and thy *craft*, our rulers *seek peace and ensue it*, and their *sole view*, in which they exercise themselves day and night, is to have *peace within the* WALLS, *and plenteousness within the* PALACE. — In spite of thee, we shall have *another covenant of peace*. — Our ships shall go again to *Ophir* for gold, and no more be broken at *Ezion-Geber*. — Our *Solomon* shall *have peace on all sides round about*. — He is *a man of rest*, *his name shall be peaceable*, and maugre all thy crafty machinations for *war*, we shall have *abundance of peace, so long as the moon endureth*:

Thine *(if thou turnest to the ways of peace.)*

AMINADAB.

DAILY GAZETTEER, *Aug.* 13.

Absolute government necessary.

SIR,

SOon after the breaking out of the present war, I became your correspondent, in hopes that an event, in which the people seemed unanimous, would have so cooled and composed minds, which before seemed but too much inflamed, that a friend to national peace, a lover of concord and harmony, might be heard, not only with indulgence, but generally approv'd of. But such is the fatal depravity with which artful men have infected the commonalty, that what was spontaneously intended by me for the publick good, was invidiously construed to have been the effects of guilt and timidity on the part of our superiors, whom I neither consulted, nor was acquainted with.

My design was, to conciliate my fellow-subjects to one another, and the whole to the legislature, the prince, and his government, as the surest means for reducing the enemy to justice, and coming out of the war with honour and advantage. But however generous and disinterested my intentions were, I had the mortification to find them malign'd by those chiefly on whom I reckoned for associates and fellow-labourers.

The seeming zeal for the publick welfare of the *writers* on the side of the *opposition*, induc'd me to hope they would arduously co-operate with me in an undertaking so obviously calculated to strengthen the nation at home, and render her formidable abroad; but instead of being aided by them in so salutary a design, or seeing the edge of their resentment blunted by the war, I am sorry to find them not only redoubling their acrimony to the government, but adding to their corps, by a fresh supply of new-rais'd *auxiliaries*, that exceed, if possible, the *veterans* themselves, in spleen and malevolence. How consistent their conduct is with their professions, I leave to the consideration of the wise and unprejudiced.

Tho' I foresee I shall have no assistance from our *modern patriots*, in prosecuting the design of conciliating the minds of my fellow-subjects, in the present critical conjuncture, I shall not however despair, that self-interest and the good sense of my countrymen will soon prevail against that unwearied art and address all along made use of to lessen their veneration for the *legislature*, the sovereign authority in this nation. And that it may appear how absolutely necessary it is to pay respect and obedience to the supreme power, I shall throw together a few thoughts on *sovereign authority* in general, as I have cursorily collected them from the writings of a late ingenious author.

Of the necessity of sovereign authority.

If men would follow the law of nature, they would do that for the love of virtue which they do for fear and interest, they would have no occasion for positive laws, nor exemplary punishments. *Reason* would be the common law; men would live in simplicity without pride, in mutual commerce without property, and in mutual equality without jealousy: they would know no other superiority but that of virtue, nor no other ambition but that of being generous and disinterested. This, without doubt, is the idea of this state so conformable to reasonable nature; which gave occasion to all the poetical fictions of

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of the golden age, and first state of man.

Ancient history, both sacred and profane, convince us, that men did not long observe this law of nature: and our own experience will inform us why it is not observed at present.

Immoderate self-love hath render'd men susceptible of two passions unknown to the brute creation, *viz.* avarice and ambition: an unsatiable desire of appropriating to themselves what they do not stand in need of, and attributing to themselves a superiority which nature hath neither given nor intended.

In beholding human nature thus blinded and enfeebled by the passions, we can see nothing in men but propensity to a savage liberty, where each would pretend to, and contest, every thing; where reason signifies nothing, because each calls reason the passion which animates him; where there is neither property, dominion, nor right, unless in him who is the strongest; which may come to every individual alternately.

Government is therefore of absolute necessity, for ascertaining, and for regulating the different ranks and degrees so necessary to the design of society, that every thing should not become a prey, and every one a slave to the wickedest and strongest.

Order requires that the ignorant, giddy multitude, should be restrained from injuring themselves and others, by debarring them of unlimited power, which should be lodg'd in wiser hands: and this we call the supreme power, or *sovereign authority*, to whose decisions there is an absolute necessity of submitting; unless men would live in dismal anarchy, when the strongest would not fail of oppressing the weakest.

It is therefore necessary that every government should be absolute. I do not understand here by *absolute*, an arbitrary power of doing every thing one pleases, without any other rule or reason than the despotick will of one or more persons. God forbid I should attribute such a power to the creature, which the *Sovereign Being* hath not: his absolute dominion is not founded on a blind obedience; his sovereign will is always regulated by the immutable law of his wisdom.

By *absolute power* I mean no other but a power of judging in the *dernier resort*. In every government 'tis necessary there should be such a power: for since we cannot multiply powers to infinity, we must absolutely fix upon some degree of authority superior to all others. For whatever the form of government be, whether *monarchy*, *aristocracy*, *democracy*, or *mixed*, 'tis always necessary that we submit to *sovereign decision*; it being absurd and contradictory to say, that there should be any above those who hold the highest station.

The absolute necessity that there should be among men superiority and subordination, is a convincing proof that government in general is not an establishment so freely to be dispensed with; nothing would be more pernicious in practice than such a contradictory principle.

In all free contracts, say the lovers of novelty and independency, the contracters have a right of breaking them, when one side fails in the conditions stipulated. According to this most dangerous position, every individual becomes independent from the *sovereign authority*, whenever such *sovereign authority* seems to him to act unjustly. Government on this footing would be a mere fantome; it would be no longer the basis of society: And 'tis not royalty alone would be in danger, but the most venerable *senates* and commonwealths would always be exposed to the most frightful anarchy.

Forms of government may be indifferent, and more or less perfect; but intire independency and anarchy are absolutely inconsistent with the wants of human nature, and quite repugnant to the nature of society: it is therefore necessary for the preserving of order and peace, that men should be subject to some supreme power.

By this union of the body-politick under one or more sovereigns, every particular person acquires as much strength as all the society in common. For if there

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there were ten millions of them in a commonwealth, and every one would reſiſt each other, what confuſions would enſue! but by their dependence upon the *ſupreme power*, it would keep them all in order, and prevent them from injuring each other.

This multiplication of ſtrength in the grand body-politick, reſembles that of every member of the human body: ſeparate them, and they have no vigour; but by their mutual union, the common ſtrength increaſes, and, all together, they compoſe a ſtrong and vigorous body.

The abſolute neceſſity, that there ſhould be ſome ſupreme authority upon earth, to make laws, and puniſh the violators of them, is as convincing a proof, that God, who eſſentially loves order, would have his authority committed to ſome ſovereign judges, as if he had declared the ſame to all mankind by expreſs revelation.

Suppoſing that all authority is from the people, it does not follow that they may reſume it at pleaſure; this would be continually going back, and falling into the ſame dangerous inconveniences which was intended to be avoided. Reſiſtance againſt the ſupreme power of a kingdom, after it is once legally eſtabliſhed, is a contradiction. If it be ſupreme, it hath no ſuperior: By what authority then will it be judged? If the people are at all times to be ſovereign judges, they have not made a ceſſion of their right to the *legiſlature*, that is, the ſupreme power. If they have made no ſuch ceſſion, then may they always give themſelves up to their own caprice and deluſions. In ſuch caſe, anarchy becomes inevitable, becauſe every turbulent, ſeditious, ambitious perſon, who can cajole the mob, and form the greateſt party, may aſſume a ſovereignty unknown to the laws and conſtitution, and entirely repugnant to the nature of ſociety and deſign of government. Thus every private perſon becomes a tyrant: tyranny multiplies without end; and by increaſing perpetuates itſelf.

If reſiſtance to the legiſlative, that is the ſupreme power, be once permitted, there is an end of ſubordination, the baſis of ſociety. If ſome may reſiſt to-day for imaginary reaſons, others may do the ſame to-morrow. As opinion has the ſame effect upon the mind as truth, as long as any one party ſhall imagine they have cauſe for oppoſing the ſupreme power, they will not fail to believe themſelves in the right, even ſhould they proceed to open rebellion.

If reſiſtance then to the ſupreme power be admitted, all who have an antipathy againſt the perſons of princes; all who have a pique to their miniſters; all who are out of humour with the government; all who are diſcontented becauſe the power is not in their hands; all who are prone to change, and love novelty; all who are for continually botching and mending the conſtitution, will never ceaſe ſpiriting up the people againſt the ſovereign authority, and depretiating the meaſures and actions of thoſe with whom ſuch lawful authority is lodged. Hence proceeds the deſtruction of all order; this is the ſource of all mobbiſh revolutions, not only in every age, but at all times; inſomuch, that there would be no more any fixed and conſtant ſociety on earth, but the whole world be turned into diſmal anarchy and confuſion.

Is it not more eligible to ſubmit ourſelves to ſome fixed principle of government, by which the body-politick may acquire laſting ſtrength and vigour, than abandon ourſelves to the perpetual revolutions of anarchy, which certainly weaken and debilitate? Should wiſe men deliver up themſelves to the fury of the multitude, to become every moment the ſport of the caprice, inconſtancy, and blind paſſions of all thoſe who have no other principle of union, but the love of independency; and how they may divide and ſubdivide themſelves to infinity, as the waves of the ſea, which ſucceſſively daſh upon, and break one another?

'Tis to be wiſh'd that all thoſe, who have of late years, in a thouſand ſhapes, endeavour'd to render the people ſuſpicious

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ſpicious and jealous of the *legiſlature*, would conſider the fatal conſequence of rendering the *national ſupreme power* odious and deſpicable. *I am, &c.*

COMMON SENSE, *Auguſt* 16.

Account of perſons kill'd and wounded by the Weſtminſter *itch.*

SIR,

I Obſerved an article in the *Gazetteer*, containing what he calls a political bill of mortality for the year 1739 *. I was ſurpriſed to find in that paper a hint that had ſome fancy, tho' murder'd and mangled with a ſtupidity worthy *of thoſe well-fed (and ill taught)* authors.

Our poet tells us, that gentle dulneſs ever loves a joke; of which this bill of mortality is a demonſtration. It might well have borne another title; for I cannot conceive how the retirement of about 230 worthy Gentlemen into the country ſhould be called death, unleſs the author means (aſking your pardon for attributing a meaning to him) that they are dead to ſin. This I can hardly believe he intended; *for by that rule* it would follow, that thoſe who ſtaid behind are dead to righteouſneſs. — But to come to the point: I can now abſolve the *Gazetteer* from any merit in this hint, which I find to be as old as the days of *Charles* II. The anecdote is curious enough, and I ſhall abridge it from an author of unqueſtionable veracity now lying before me.

During that memorable period in which the nation was repreſented by a ſet of obſequious Gentlemen immortalized under the name of *the penſioner parliament*, (which name was fixed upon them upon the account of 17 or 18 members who were diſcover'd to have received money from the court) an epidemical diſtemper was felt in the county of *Middleſex*. Dr *Hodges* deſcribes, very particularly, the nature and progreſs of this malady, as it appear'd in the city of *London*: but in *Weſtminſter*, near the water-ſide, the ſymptoms were quite different; for from the beginning down to the agonies of death, it was conſtantly attended with a burning heat, and itching in the palms, which was found to be relievable only by the inceſſant application of cold metal to the place affected, the diſtracted patient ſtill crying out for more. This diſeaſe was ſo extremely infectious, that a great number of the members of the houſe of Commons retir'd to *Oxford* to ſhun the contagion. I think our hiſtories ſay, that thoſe Gentlemen who thus left the town actually were the parliament, and were own'd by the *nation as their repreſentatives*. Be that as it will, they were certainly the ſoundeſt part of the houſe.

But it is a melancholy ſtory to tell what became of the reſt, who, wedded to the town-air, would ſtay and run the riſque of this miſerable plague. In ſhort, they all died raging mad, except about 13 or 14 cleanſers, who charitably ſtaid to watch them, and eight others, who, at the date of this account, were thought to have ſound vitals within, and not to be abſolutely incurable. The havock fell very heavy upon people of condition; for a proof of which I ſhall copy from my author a liſt of Gentlemen of figure, the martyrs of their own infatuation.

Died

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* *The* Gazetteer *referred to was publiſhed* June 21. 1739. *The article was as follows:*

Political Bill of Mortality for the year 1739, in a certain quarter of the town near the *Horſe-Ferry*.

Affectation of Roman probity	5	Of idle hopes	10
Abſence of mind	3	Knew not why	7
Burſt with malice	5	Lazineſs —	9
Caught by whiſpers — —	3	Megrims —	7
Deſpair — —	5	Nodding —	9
Family madneſs, being elder brothers — —	7	Pique — —	31
Of expectation	11	Revenge —	13
Of force, by relations, guardians, *&c.* —	5	Over-ſpeaking	7
Grumbling —	30	Trying to be known —	25
		Vanity —	11
		Vapours —	23
		Whimſies 7 or 8	
		In all, juſt	234

N. B. In the article of *Whimſies* there was one miſtold.

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Died of the WESTMINSTER *Itch.*

Of Gentlemen, poſſeſſors of viſible places during the m——r's good pleaſure —— —— 134

Of the near relations, intimate friends, or neceſſary dependents of ſuch; many of whom had been favoured with private marks of princely benignity — —— 23

Of Gentlemen whoſe great fortunes and greater worth were commonly believed to have intitled them to gracious promiſes of advancement to the dignity of Peers of this realm — — 12

Of others not ſo highly qualified in blood, but whoſe riches might recommend them to the peerage of *Ireland*, or ſome other mark of honour to diſtinguiſh their merit —— —— 6

Of a claſs of modeſt Gentlemen who declined accepting of the offices due to their merits, and contented themſelves with the humble title of *Sportularies* — —— 60

N. B. A Sportulary among the *Romans* was a *free citizen* who, in token of his profound regard to a great man his patron, was proud to receive daily bread at his door.

Of Gentlemen on whom the honour of beneficial grants had been conferred —— —— 4

Of Gentlemen, great proprietors in the coal-mines of the north, who ſtaid in town for the ſake of the coal-trade —— —— 3

One Gentleman, not a *Sportulary*, poſſeſſed of an employment for life —— —— —— 1

Directors of the *India* Company, &c. with ſome of their deareſt relations —— —— 10

253

Non-incurables, (as it is hoped) whoſe caſe, tho' unaccountable, is greatly and univerſally lamented —— —— 8

Killed and wounded in all 261

I am, &c. GALEN.

A ſummary of the Objections and Anſwers in a late diſpute upon the place-bill.

Obj. I. *ARE Gentlemen leſs capable or leſs worthy to ſerve the people, becauſe they are intruſted, by ſome place or preferment, with the more immediate ſervice of the King?*

Anſ. This queſtion is beſt anſwered by aſking another: Have there been inſtances at any time, or rather are there not ſome of a very modern date, ſtrong enough to induce a belief that places depend on votes?

Obj. II. *We ſhall condemn ourſelves by paſſing ſuch a bill into an act.*

Anſ. We are either guilty, or not: if guilty, it is a falſe modeſty that makes us conceal our crimes in order to ſin on; if we are not guilty, there is no better way of proving, and perhaps no other way of ſecuring our integrity, than by removing what is but too juſt a reaſon for ſuſpecting it.

Obj. III. *There are not ſo many placemen as the world imagines.*

Anſ. I ſpeak to my own knowledge; there are two hundred.

Obj. IV. *This bill takes its original from ſeditious inſtructions.*

Anſ. Tho' the people have no right at all to uſe thoſe compulſories of *require* and *inſiſt*, yet they have an undoubted one to inſtruct their repreſentatives.

Obj. V. *To deſire the abolition, rather than the continuance of parliament, if placemen ſit in it, muſt be imputed to an incautious zeal.*

Anſ. Any government is preferable to that which deſtroys the community under the venerable appearance of law, and according to act of parliament.

Obj. VI. *This place-bill is of dangerous conſequence, becauſe it ſeparates the intereſts of the King and people.*

Anſ. This is an *erratum*, and for *King* we muſt read *Miniſter*. The true intereſts of the King and people are inſeparable: whoever is a friend to either, is ſo conſequentially to both.

Obj. VII. *What is the reaſon that this bill is ſo much inſiſted on now? is any thing apprehended from his Majeſty,*

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that makes it neceſſary, and as ſuch urged with ſo much vehemence?

Anſ. Every body is not ſatisfied that no miſchief has been done: ſuppoſing none has, a great deal may. But this is not a proper queſtion, ſince no man dares anſwer it. 'Tis ſomething like the Champion's throwing down the gauntlet in *Weſtminſter-hall*, which no man dares take up. If the queſtion be ſtated fairly, not, whether the King or parliament have done wrong? who in truth cannot, but, whether the miniſter has? I ſay, Yes.

Obj. VIII. *This is a ſcheme of the Gentlemen in the oppoſition, to ſupplant the preſent miniſter.*

Anſ. This is an objection made uſe of by Gentlemen in the adminiſtration, and by conſtant uſe grown thread-bare; but never ſo miſapplied as in the preſent caſe. What an inverted piece of policy is it, to deſtroy a great part of that power, which they hope one time or other to be poſſeſſed of!

If an unhappy ſituation of affairs ſhould at any time forebode the inevitable approaching ruin of one man, or three kingdoms, common ſenſe will point out the alternative we ought to chuſe.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

THE affairs of PERSIA, ſo far as we can learn, remain in the ſame ſituation as in our laſt; but it is not probable that Kouli-Kan will continue long inactive, unleſs his forces or his finances are in a bad condition.

At CONSTANTINOPLE a very dangerous conſpiracy has been formed againſt the G. Seignior in the Seraglio, which was diſcovered by a woman. Moſt of the conſpirators have been privately put to death: the number of them is thought to be very conſiderable, by the quantity of dead bodies which were ſeen floating about the Seraglio.—The new G. Vizier is Baſhaw Achmet, who ſuppreſſed the late rebellion of the notorious Sary-Bey-Oglow near Smyrna. When the foreign Ambaſſadors went to compliment him, he declared to thoſe of the Engliſh and Dutch, "That it would be a pleaſure to him to do their nations all the ſervice he could in their trade."—The new G. Vizier ſeems not likely to hold that dignity long, being extremely proud and forbidding in his behaviour, and little verſed in politicks.

The court of RUSSIA has for ſome time paſt been almoſt wholly taken up with the diſcovery and execution of conſpirators againſt her. The Czarina has publiſhed a manifeſto relating to the impriſonment, condemnation, and execution of M. Wolinſki and his accomplices; whereof the following is an extract.

We have diſcovered to our very great ſurpriſe and trouble, and contrary to all expectation, that the late great chancellor, Artemis Wolinſki, and his accomplices, Fedor Semonoff, the Commiſſary-general of war; Plato Muſin Puſkin, a Privy-counſellor; John Eichler, Private Secretary of the cabinet; Andrew Chruſchtſchoff, a Counſellor; Peter Jeropkin, Intendant or Surveyor of the Works; and John Souda, Secretary, have had ſo little dread of God's judgment, and ſo manifeſtly violated the duty to which they were bound by their oaths, that, deſpiſing the teſtimonies we gave them of our good will, abundantly beyond their deſerts, particularly to Wolinſki, Semonoff, Muſin Puſkin, and Eichler, they have rendered themſelves guilty of the moſt heinous ſtate-crimes, perjuries, and groſs miſdemeanours. Their offences have been proved by the examination of a committee, appointed by the decree of our private chancery according to the uſual form preſcribed by the laws of the empire. Semonoff made a confeſſion of his offences, without the trouble of forcing him to it. Plato Muſin Puſkin, Eichler, and Souda, after ſome prevarication, have likewiſe confeſs'd their crimes. Wolinſki, Chruſchtſchoff, and Jeropkin, at firſt denied the whole of the charge, offering to undergo even capital puniſhment if the contrary could be made appear: but being afterwards fully convicted of their crimes, they confeſs'd the ſame, and owned their guilt. We-

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Wolinſki, forgetting his duty to God, and the regard he owed to himſelf, his birth, and his rank, concerted a pernicious project, together with his accomplices, which was only calculated for the manifeſt violation and ſubverſion of the laws and ordinances eſtabliſhed by us and our glorious predeceſſors, as well for the advantage of our ſubjects as for keeping them in good order. The views thereby formed to the prejudice of the empire, and the oppreſſion of the ſubjects, were altogether as viſible as the publick wound thereby given to our authority derived from God, as well as to the glory and dignity of our empire. Wolinſki was fond of lending his name to this project, that he might appear in it as a legiſlator in a condition to make his reſentment dreaded.

In a paper which he delivered to us, and which was of his own drawing up, he attempted to make us entertain a ſuſpicion of the conduct of our faithful ſubjects, and thoſe in particular to whom we had entruſted the affairs of government, and wickedly laid things to their charge, which were merely of his own invention.

Of his own accord, and without our knowledge, he impoſed contributions in ſeveral of our provinces, and by this means robbed our ſubjects of conſiderable ſums.

He has taken a liberty with his accomplices of talking with all manner of freedom and indecency, againſt the two firſt and moſt important articles expreſs'd in the decree which we paſs'd the 10th of April 1730. He endeavoured by the moſt malicious and moſt artful inſinuations, and by raiſing falſe reports, to work himſelf into a knowledge of the domeſtick concerns of our family. He wilfully ſuppreſſed ſome important informations that were given in upon that head, many of which have been recovered among his papers. He communicated, and gave copies of, ſeveral ſecret and important advices, to perſons to whom he ought not to have revealed them. He hired common people, and maliciouſly ſubborned them, to ſwear certain matters againſt ſeveral of our good ſubjects, by which they were expoſed to great ſufferings. He found means, by various pretences, to put conſiderable ſums in his own pocket ariſing from the revenues of our crown, of which he laid out a great ſum in needleſs expences, for which he had no warrant. He preferred perſons to diſtinguiſh'd employments and poſts, who deſerved nothing of us or our empire. He took them under his protection, and procured them rewards, while he did what he could to diſgrace good ſubjects, who might have done good ſervice. Without any motive but his own animoſity, he puniſhed by himſelf, or cauſed to be puniſhed with great ſeverity, many perſons who had in no ſenſe deſerved ſuch treatment. In fine, he has committed many other acts of violence.

The accomplices of Wolinſki were witneſſes of his indecent language and raſh judgment, and acquainted with his dangerous ſchemes and writings. They have even own'd in their confeſſion, that Wolinſki's enterprizes tended to the prejudice and manifeſt violation of the laws and ordinances of the empire, and that he had thereby infring'd our ſovereign and Imperial authority. Nevertheleſs, tho' they were obliged by the duty of their oath to diſcover thoſe things, they have not only not made ſuch diſcovery, but have been ſharers in the ſame guilt, have us'd the ſame language, and have ſeconded Wolinſki both by their advice and aſſiſtance. By conſequence they have rendered themſelves equally guilty with him, as is plain from the record of their depoſitions, which are preſerved in the chancery of the ſenate, &c.

Tho' Wolinſki was not ignorant that according to our laws, and according to thoſe of the whole world, our palace and all the apartments belonging to it, ought to be conſidered as ſacred and inviolable, yet one of his Secretaries, whom he had abuſed without any cauſe, coming into our palace to complain of it, Wolinſki ſtruck him, dragg'd him out of our apartments by the hair of his head, and ſent him under a guard to his houſe, where he redoubled his blows in the moſt barbarous manner; ſo that ſome perſons complaining to him againſt ſuch uſage, he anſwered haughtily, "Let who will be ſorry for what I have done; 'tis enough for me that I have had my will." Several perſons employed in the chanceries or other offices, have alſo felt the weight of his hatred or indignation, either by his own ill-treatment of them,

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or that of others whom he has put upon it.

Tho' he very well knew that his extraction was but mean, and that he is descended but from the poorest and lowest rank of nobility, so that he was the more obliged to us for his fortune and advancement; yet such was his exorbitant vanity, that he has usurped our coat of arms, and would fain be reckoned akin to our Imperial family. Of this he has not only boasted on several occasions, but has also form'd a design to get a genealogy published abroad, wherein the arms of his pretended ancestors are to be joined with those of the Imperial family.

He engag'd and employ'd in his service such soldiers and domesticks as were only intended for the service of our person, and paid them with the money of our chest. Instead of giving fitting attention to several matters committed to his care, he suffered them to run to ruin by his extreme negligence. His insatiable avarice made him extort considerable sums of money from persons for whom he us'd his interest, or who fear'd the effects of his animosity. One of his favourite maxims was, "That when opportunity offered to receive any thing, a man should grip it both with his hands and teeth, and swallow it all up." Nay such was his pride, that he has often caused persons to be lash'd for neglecting to take off their hats or caps as they pass'd by his house.

While he was failing in his duty, and committing the worst of misdemeanours, he often used to say, "I know not what God intends to do with me; but one of these two things must necessarily happen, either that I shall be a great man or a beggar." These, and many other particulars, are prov'd by the instruments.

As to one of the articles of this manifesto, 'tis observable, that the Dolgho-rucki family, when it was in favour, did also cause a genealogy to be published, in order to render its family the more illustrious. The foreigners employ'd at court were the principal objects of Wolinski's animosity, and he shew'd his spite to them upon all occasions. Eichler was the only person he admitted into his confidence, who was by birth a German, and had been Secretary of State while the Dolgho-rucki princes were in favour.

The day after the execution of M. Wolinski, Count Musin Puskin was convicted by many witnesses of having calumniated the Empress and the Duke of Courland, and of having publickly said, *That the favourite and his Mistress would not live always, but that their tyranny would soon be put to an end.* Whereupon the same sentence was read to him as had been passed on Wolinski, viz. to have his tongue torn out, his right hand cut off, and to be broke on the wheel. On this occasion he uttered such violent invectives against the Empress and her ministers, that the court ordered him to be gagg'd. Soon after which he was told, that the Empress thought fit to grant him his life, but that he was sentenc'd to have his tongue pluck'd out, and afterwards to be banished into Siberia. Immediately an executioner, with proper assistance, executed the former part of the sentence. So long as the Count was able to defend himself, and had the faculty of speech, he incessantly threw out invectives, particularly against the Duke of Courland and the Count D'Osterman. The latter has had a guard order'd him to protect him from the injuries with which he has been threatned by anonymous letters. The guard of the Princess Elizabeth has also been augmented with 10 men.—Count Munich has had a dangerous illness, attended with frightful symptoms, the cause of which has been discover'd to be poison given him in chocolate; and 'tis feared he will never get perfectly clear of its effects. —The Czarina's winter-palace has been broke open, the pictures in the gallery cut in pieces, and the representation of racks, gibbets, and other instruments for the punishment of criminals, placed in their stead. The paintings in this gallery were exquisite, and had cost immense sums. Strict search is making after the perpetrators of this mischief. —The Tartars inhabiting the Eastern part of the kingdom of Casan, had formed a design to shake off the dominion of Russia, but were detected in time,

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time, and reduced to their duty by ſome Ruſſian troops ſent againſt them. The chief rebels have been apprehended, and carried to Uffa, where they have been publickly executed.—An accommodation between the courts of Ruſſia and Sweden is in great forwardneſs, which it is expected will be very much upon the foot of the old treaty of Newſtadt.—Mr. Finch ſucceeds well in his negotiations at Peterſburg.

Her Czariſh Majeſty has already diſpoſed of part of the confiſcated eſtates of the late criminals. Puſkin's houſe and furniture in Peterſburg, ſaid to be worth 5 or 6000 l. Sterling, have been given to Baron Mingden, who ſucceeded him in the college of commerce; the Field Marſhal Munich has received a ſmall houſe he had in the neighbourhood of Peterſhoff; and Gen. Guſtavus Biron, lands of conſiderable value that belonged to him.

The Czarina has given the command of all the troops in the Ukraine and neighbouring provinces, to Gen. Keith; and the command of the fleet to Adm. O'Brian.

Her Majeſty has offered leave to the officers who have been 25 years in the ſervice, to retire to their lands, and has made the ſame offer to thoſe whoſe eſtates are fallen to decay for want of underſtanding men to manage them, provided they furniſh the Czarina with one man in a hundred out of their peaſants for recruits; which is a term that a great number of officers have already ſhewn their willingneſs to comply with.

Never did any miniſter make more wrangling about the ceremonial than the Turkiſh Ambaſſador did, who boggled at the leaſt nicety, and expected to be indulg'd with innovations, in his publick entry into VIENNA, that were never in uſe before. Amongſt other things he pretended, that when Prince d'Averſperg and Count Wurmbrand ſhould go to conduct him to an audience of the Emperor, he ſhould not be oblig'd to go to receive them, nor to reconduct them upon his return: That the principal perſons of his retinue ſhould march intermix'd with the officers of the Emperor's houſhold: That the Janiſſaries and the Spahis, which compoſe his guard, ſhould paſs by the palace of the Favorita without paying it military reſpects: That when he enter'd into the hall of audience, he ſhould not be obliged to take off his ſlippers: That inſtead of the cuſtom heretofore practiſed, of his Imperial Majeſty's preſenting to the Turkiſh Ambaſſadors his hand covered with his mantle, this miniſter would have the honour, as the Chriſtian Ambaſſadors have, to kiſs the bare hand of the Emperor: And that he would not have his ſecond audience of Count Harrach, Preſident of the council of war, but of the Great Duke of Tuſcany, who being Captain-General of the armies of the Emperor, ſeem'd to him to be neareſt in dignity to the Grand Vizier. 'Tis ſaid, that the Empreſs having ſent him a vial of eſſence of gold, as a remedy for his indiſpoſition, with information that there were three doſes of it, the Ambaſſador, without giving any attention thereto, took it all at once, ſaying, that what came from ſo great a princeſs could not do him any hurt; he however found himſelf greatly diſorder'd for two days after. This miniſter, after having been told, that if he perſiſted in the above difficulties, the Emperor would diſpatch a courier to Conſtantinople, to complain of him to the Porte, at laſt ſign'd a convention in reſpect to the ceremonial of his publick entry, and firſt audience of the Emperor; and, on Aug. 23. N. S. he made his publick entry into Vienna, according to the ceremonial obſerved in 1719. He was mounted on one of the Emperor's horſes, richly accoutred, dreſs'd in a ſcarlet robe lined with ermin, and embroider'd with gold, and had a turban on his head, with a plume adorned with precious ſtones.

His PRUSSIAN Majeſty ſtill continues to ſhow himſelf an example worthy the imitation of every prince in Europe, not only by acts of generoſity, but by his great attention to promote trade, manufactures, learning, and every thing that can tend to the happineſs of his ſubjects. He has lately publiſhed an edict

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dict inviting all persons skilful in trade, manufactures, or any arts and sciences whatever, to settle in Berlin, promising them an exemption from all military service and excises during two years.—He has wrote to M. de Maupertuis, Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, and of the Royal Society at London, in the following terms: "I have had, Sir, the strongest desires, from the first moment of my accession to the throne, to have you give the academy of Berlin such form as it can only receive from you. Come then, and inoculate on the wild stock the graff of sciences. You have discovered to the world the shape of the earth; now communicate to a King the pleasure of having you in his possession, &c."

Lt. Gen. Count Schullinburg has asked and obtained his dismission from his Prussian Majesty's service.

FRANCE, happy in a minister who perfectly understands and steadily pursues her real interest, is employed in opening harbours, digging canals, enlarging and extending rivers, and taking every step that may favour and promote her commerce. The works at the harbour of Honfleur in Normandy are finished, so that it can now receive ships of great burthen. A new manufactory is established at Paris, which is a certain composition perfectly resembling marble in every respect, and may be put to the same uses.—Notwithstanding the various reports concerning the sailing of the Brest squadron, it is certain it remained in that road on the 16th August, except one ship sent express to the West-Indies; and 'tis probable that squadron will do nothing this year: But the accounts concerning it are not entirely to be depended on.

M. Chauvelin, formerly Secretary at war, and Keeper of the seals, his son, Chief President *a motiere*, and also two Abbes, are committed to the Bastille, charged with putting to the press the piece intitled, *The Suppers of Daphne:* As are likewise four persons who held assemblies which treat of Jansenism.

The pictures of two centenarians are brought to Compeigne. The first is the picture of John Rovin, aged 171, and Sarah Dessen, aged 164: They were born in the bannate of Temeswar in Hungary, where they still live. They have been married near 147 years, and have two sons and two daughters living; their youngest son is 116 years old, and has two great grandsons, one 35, and the other 33. The second picture is that of Peter Zorton, a peasant in the same bannate, who died in Jan. 25. 1724, aged 185. His youngest son is still living.

At last the conclave is at an end, as appears by the following extract of a letter from ROME, dated Aug. 17. N. S. the day of the election of the Pope.

When Cardinal Lambertini came to be declared Pope, every body was amazed, he having never been proposed in the conclave. This choice is look'd upon as an expedient found out to satisfy the two contending parties, which so stiffly opposed each other, that there was no likelihood of a Pope being chose, without changing, in some sort, the course of things; which on the 16th and 17th was so effectually done, that it pleased God to determine the affair, and Cardinal Lambertini had the 34 voices necessary for his election. He at first excused himself from accepting the pontifical dignity, alledging, that he was too weak to support the weight of it: At length, however, he accepted of it, being overcome by the sollicitation of his colleagues, who represented to him, that his refusal would be contrary to the disposition of the Almighty. The house of Lambertini, to which Benedict XIV. is allied, has always been esteemed one of the most illustrious of the state of Bologna. The new Pope, whilst he was Archbishop of Bologna, rendered himself universally beloved by his affability, charity, and disinterestedness. He composed several works in divinity, which are full of moderation and candour. These qualities give great reason to believe his pontificate will be happy and quiet. As he is not above 64 or 65 years old, and enjoys a good state of health, there is room to hope he may live long enough to remedy the grievances of the ecclesiastick state; and it is not doubted but he will employ his pastoral care in

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tting an end to the divisions of the Church. Nepotism, against which there has been such an outcry, is not likely to give any umbrage under the present Pope, he having neither brothers, nephews, nor other relations to advance. In taking upon him the name of Benedict XIV. *he has shewn the veneration he had for the memory of Pope Benedict* XIII. *who created him Cardinal.*

The Pope has re-established Cardinal Coscia in all his honours; and it is not doubted but he will restore him the Archbishoprick of Benevento. He has referred the revision of that Cardinal's affairs to a congregation to be held in his presence.

A considerable body of forces have been drawn from the inland provinces of SPAIN towards the sea-coasts, in order to prevent a descent from the English. Orders have been sent to Cadiz to hasten the equipment of 12 men of war in that harbour. The Ferrol squadron, with 2 or 3000 troops on board, provisions for several months, and a great many chests of small arms, has sailed from thence, and got safe into Cadiz; not being complaisant enough to stay for a visit from Sir John Norris, which we suppose they apprehended: though some say they are sailed for the West-Indies.—A Spanish Advocate, or Councellor, has been lately hanged at the Groyne for holding an illicite correspondence with the English Consul at Oporto, relating to a project for the English to make a descent on the coast of Galicia. He had drawn several persons into his scheme, who have also been apprehended and put to death. It appears that they had received large sums to facilitate the execution of the project. A resolution has been taken in the council of finances to borrow a few millions of the richest persons in Madrid, and the other principal cities of that kingdom. The Spaniards still talk of the siege of Gibraltar, but seem very unwilling to undertake it. Their design'd attempt upon Port-Mahon will also probably come to nothing.

The plague rages extremely at ALGIERS, insomuch that 200 persons die in a day. It was carried thither by a French ship from Alexandria, on board of which many sailors died in the passage. The French Consul was acquainted with it, and desired that the ship might not be permitted to come into port, or the goods unladen; but the Bey insisting upon both, on opening the bales three people died instantly.

The King of Britain is to pay a subsidy of 250,000 Crowns bank-money a-year for the HESSIAN troops, *viz.* 1200 horse, and 4800 foot, lent him by his Swedish Majesty as Landgrave of Hesse Cassel.

The STATES-GENERAL came to a final resolution, August 25. N. S. to augment their land-forces with 12,000 men, and to fit out 12 men of war. They have likewise given orders for building six men of war.

They write from Carolina of the 4th July, That a great detachment from the garrison of St. Augustin, on the 15th June, early in the morning, fell upon a fort within a mile of them, in which 130 of Gen. Oglethorpe's forces, whereof thirty were indians, were almost cut to pieces, being too remote from the main body to receive any support.

LONDON.

SEveral counties, *&c.* have given instructions to their representatives to endeavour the procuring a proper place-bill the ensuing session of parliament; but as they all run in the same strain, and almost the same expressions, we think it needless to insert them; referring our readers for a specimen of them to our last, *p.* 334. — Sir John Norris, who sailed from Torbay with the squadron under his command the 29th July last, was soon forced back into that harbour by contrary winds, and remained there till Aug. 22. when the wind coming fair he again set sail at eight in the morning, and was seen at four in the afternoon to the westward of the Start with a fresh gale at N. E. which continuing all that night and next day, there was great hopes of his being got out of the channel: but on the 28th Aug. in the evening, an express

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preſs arrived at the Admiralty-office, with an account, that Sir John's ſquadron, and fleet of merchant-ſhips, were again forced back into Torbay.—Vice-Admiral Balchen ſailed from St Helen's with the ſquadron and forces under the command of Lord Cathcart, Commodore Anſon's ſquadron, and the convoy to the Turky trade, on the 23d Aug. at two in the afternoon, and was out of ſight before night; but the wind coming contrary, he returned to St Helen's the 25th. In putting back, the tranſport-ſhips ran foul of each other, by which accident one of them was loſt, and others very much damaged; but the people were all happily ſaved. The Argyle man of war, Capt. Lingen, is arriv'd at Portſmouth, with the fleet of merchant-ſhips under his convoy. One of the ſaid fleet, being at a conſiderable diſtance from the reſt, was attack'd off Carthagena by a Spaniſh privateer with 70 men: the merchant-ſhip had only 14, but took the privateer, after a ſmart engagement, before the man of war could come up. Capt. Lingen and his crew generouſly gave up all their pretenſions to the prize. —Our ſeas ſwarm with Spaniſh privateers and pretended French fiſhing-boats, who do almoſt as much miſchief. One of theſe fiſhing-boats, after having ſold ſome French brandy to the fleet at Torbay, took an Engliſh ſhip even in ſight of our men of war.

The Spaniards have taken the City of Roan, Thomas Pendal, in ſight of Havre-de-grace, bound to Diepe, and carried her into St Sebaſtian's, (having ſet Capt. Pendal, a Gentleman and two Ladies aſhore at Honfleur:) The Winyaw, Bruce, from Africa for America, into the Havannah: The Welcome, Bell, from Genoa and Gibraltar, for Ireland, taken off cape Finiſterre; the Abraham and Arthur ſnow of Foy, Richard Bray, for Oporto; the —— of Waterford, John Caſtle, for Liſbon, all three carried into Corunna: The —— of Bermudas, Perenchief, from Jamaica for Caracca, having 12 guns, whereof 6 ſwivel, taken off the iſle Aſh; and a French ſloop with negroes, whoſe crew the Spaniards killed, but preſerved the cargo, both carried into St Domingo: The London, Burley, from Amſterdam for Carolina, carried into Cadiz: The —— of Waterford, Michael Reybey, into cape Ortegal: The Two Siſters, Burſell, of and for Dartmouth from Chriſtianſands, carried into Havre-de-grace: The —— of and for Jerſey, Perchard Philip, from Bretagne: The Mitta-Maria-Palli, Thomas Lingiſter, from Gallipoli for Roterdam, and the Amſterdam galley, Henry Vering, from Trani for Liſbon, Dutch ſhips, both carried into Meſſina, by a Spaniſh privateer, who pretended, that the cargo of the firſt belonged to Britiſh ſubjects, and that the latter, both ſhip and cargo, were good prize, the Captain being a native of England, tho' a burgher of Amſterdam.

The Winchester galley, Trueman, from Newcaſtle for Gibraltar with coals, was lately taken by a Spaniſh privateer, and carried into Ceuta; which being known by Capt. Bing, of the Sunderland man of war, he went into the harbour, and, after battering the fort for ſome time, which the Spaniards thereupon deſerted, he brought the ſhip out, and carried her ſafe into Gibraltar.

Capt. Spawfield, from the Barbary coaſt for Gibraltar, being attacked by a Spaniſh privateer of 60 men, killed their Captain, and carried the privateer into Gibraltar.

The Engliſh in America have taken the Spaniſh regiſter-ſhip called the Notre Dame du Roſaire, going from the Canary iſlands to the Havannah. She was carrying orders from court for the Governors of Cuba and Carthagena.

Captain Wilford, an Engliſh privateer, took a Spaniſh ſhip, bound from Palma, one of the Canary iſlands, to the Havannah, with 240 pipes wine, and a conſiderable quantity of dry goods, and carried her into Jamaica.

Captain Cuningham, in a ſloop of 25 hands, belonging to Meſſ. Gordon and Wells of St Kitts, has taken and carried into Jamaica a Spaniſh ſhip of 12 guns and 75 men, from Old Spain for the Havannah, valued at 20,000 l.

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The Mayflower, Edw. Jones, has taken a Spaniſh pettiauger, laden with ſalt, alſo a ſloop off the iſland of Lobus, a large brigantine off Tackalara bar, and has driven a ſloop on ſhore, and deſtroyed her.

The Hampton court man of war has taken a Spaniſh brig, with cocoa, *&c.*

Capt. Snee has taken a rich Spaniſh prize; ſo that each ſailor ſhared 250 l.

Capt. Wentworth, of St. Kitts, with 17 men, has taken a large Spaniſh ſloop, with 8000 pieces of eight, beſides other merchandize of conſiderable value, and carried her into Turtola.

The Garland man of war has taken and carried into Genoa a Spaniſh privateer of 10 guns, having an Engliſh ſhip in tow. She pretended to be a Neapolitan, and to have found the Engliſh ſhip adrift; whence 'tis ſuppoſed ſhe had landed the crew.

The Rye, one of the new 20 gun ſhips, has taken a Spaniſh privateer with 40 hands, the major part of whom, on examination, appear to be French.

According to a liſt lately publiſhed, his Majeſty's ſhips of war have taken 21 Spaniſh ſhips, and re-taken an Engliſh ſhip, in Europe; as alſo 19 Spaniſh veſſels in America.

P. S. *London, Sept.* 4. S. S. trading ſtock was 100. Ditto Old Annuities, 112, 1 half, a 5 8ths. Ditto New, 110, 3 8ths, a 1 half. Bank ſtock, 143, 1 qr. India ditto, 159. Three per cent. annuities, 100, 3 qrs. Million Bank, 116, 1 half. Royal aſſurance, 92, 3 qrs. London aſſurance, 11, 5 8ths. Engliſh copper, 3 l. 10 s. Welch ditto, 15 s. African, 10. Seven per cent. Emperor's loan, 110. Five per cent. ditto, 92. Bank circulation, 6 l. 2 s. 6 d. prem. Three per cent. India bonds, 5 l. prem. Three 1 half per cent. Exchequer orders, 4 prem. Three per cent. ditto, 3, 1 qr. diſcount. Salt tallies, 1 qr. a 1 half, prem. Lottery tickets, 5 l. 1 s.

EDINBURGH.

The grateful ſenſe the inhabitants of this city have of the many ſervices done them by the Duke of Argyle, and their anxiety for parliaments independent of court-influence, appear from the many addreſſes made to that Noble Duke: Firſt the Merchant-company, then the ſeveral incorporations of trades ſeparately, afterwards the Conveener of the trades and the ſeveral Deacons, addreſſed his Grace; and on the 25th Aug. at a full meeting of the gildry, called for that purpoſe, the Dean of Gild told them, *That the ſtate of the nation, and of the city, was ſuch, as loudly called for the deepeſt attention; that to be ſilent on ſuch an occaſion, would be a reflection on their body: Therefore, as the ſeveral incorporations of trades had already made their ſentiments publick, by addreſſing the Duke of Argyle, it was propoſed, that they likewiſe, as now the only remaining ſociety, ſhould attend his Grace.* As ſoon as the motion was made, a general ſilence enſued; when Mr Archibald Stewart wine-merchant ſtood up and ſpoke to this effect: *That he thought that motion too good, and too full of publick ſpirit to be oppoſed; that it was with pleaſure he reflected on the virtues of the great man whom they were to addreſs, virtues which the nation in general, and this city in particular, had known to be truly great and diſintereſted; that for the gildry to refuſe their aſſent to ſuch an honeſt propoſal, was not to be imagined, as they had all a higher ſenſe of honour and of gratitude towards him, who had reſcued them from deſtruction, yea ſaved their very being, as a body corporate: That he obſerved with pleaſure, in his late journey to London, how much the character of Argyle was reverd; and as his way of buſineſs gave him an opportunity of converſing with men of all ranks, it was with the utmoſt ſatisfaction he could tell them, that all readily allowed his Grace to be the champion of the liberties of Great Britain: That as he could not ſee one reaſon which could hinder an unanimous conſent; ſo he ſaw every motive on the other ſide, that can plead with freemen and citizens of Edinburgh; for it was now undoubtedly fit, that the world ſhould know their unanimous ſentiments, which would at leaſt produce one good effect, and*

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prevent an ill use of present power: Not that he designed to reflect on the present set of worthy magistrates; they were men whom he esteem'd, whose administration had been every way exact; and added, *That he knew no time, when any of their predecessors had such opportunities to make themselves popular; but if they employed that popularity to ends dangerous and disagreeable to the city, it might well be said of them, what of old was said of the great Cæsar,* What are virtues in others, are vices in them; *and with Cato,* Curse on his virtues, they've undone his country. ——— He then read the form of an address, and the Dean of Gild openly desired every person to speak freely, if they had any thing to object; but no one spoke: on which all that approved were desired to hold up their hands, which they did with the loudest huzza's, while the people without doors were calling out *Argyle for ever!*

The next day George Haliburton, Dean of Gild, accompanied by the above Mr Stewart, with the members of the Gild-council, waited on the Duke at Holy-rood-house, when the Dean addressed his Grace thus:

My Lord,

WE are deputed by the gildry of the city of Edinburgh to wait upon your Grace with the compliments of that body, and, in their name, to return you their hearty thanks for the many favours which they owe to your Grace.

They think it doubly their duty to give you this publick mark of their gratitude: As citizens of Edinburgh, *for the protection which you gave in so generous and successful a manner to this city, and magistrates thereof, when her privileges, and even her very being as a corporate body, were in the utmost danger: As* Britons, *for your noble and disinterested behaviour in parliament.*

They are very sensible how closely the real interest of the King and country is connected with the independency of parliaments; that it is the duty of every good subject and true lover of his country, to have that in their view in all elections: and so far as they have any influence, it shall be employed for promoting so valuable a purpose.

To which his Grace is said to have answer'd in substance as follows:

Gentlemen,

IF I had served my King, his royal family and my country, with as much ability and success, as I have done with zeal and honesty, I might have deserved some share of the applause you are generously pleased to bestow upon my good intentions. I have undoubtedly meant to do my duty, and to that end have ever steadily avoided all manner of dependence upon any of my fellow-subjects in power; and have never attempted, directly or indirectly, to bring any man to the least dependence upon me. I have strictly observed the golden rule "of doing by others as I desire they would do by me." But as careful as I have been by all my actions to prove this truth, there are, it seems, some persons, tho' pretending to be my friends, who find it their interest, by injurious insinuations, to dispute it. All men must expect to have enemies. I heartily forgive mine, and shall never endeavour to inflict any other punishment upon them, than that of forcing them to esteem the man, whom their dirty pecuniary views oblige them to hate.

Gentlemen, I thank God, he has given me spirit enough, to detest and scorn all views of self-interest in my publick conduct; and, as one evidence of my sincerity, I most heartily wish and pray, that every man may do what his conscience directs him to think will conduce to the service of his King and country, without the least regard to his private interest, or to any subject whatever. For my own part, I hope I shall be able, by my future conduct, to convince every man, who is capable of conviction, that I most sincerely look upon virtue *to be its own reward.*

The corporation of Surgeons, judging it necessary, at this critical juncture, to give a lasting monument of their affection to the general cause of liberty, have recorded the following opinion in their books, *viz. That the admitting civil pensioners and placemen, to places of power*

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power and trust within this city, or to have seats in parliament, is of dangerous consequence to the freedom and liberties both of city and country, as we have all lately felt by woful experience; and ought therefore to be strictly guarded against by all honest men, lovers of their country, and freedom, independency and prosperity of this city.

Since our last the Glasgow Packet, George Smith, cleared out of Leith for London, with the following Scots manufactures, *viz.* 22,131 yards linen, 2191 lb snuff, 1403 lb thread, 975 dozen linen handkerchiefs, 421 dozen dressed skins, and 5800 pairs shoes.

As also, the Providence, Duncan Pollock, with the following Scots manufactures, *viz.* 26,179 yards linen, 5574 yards woollens, 3230 lb snuff, 1465 doz. skins, 568 lb thread, 582 doz. linen handkerchiefs, 5678 pairs shoes.

Prices of grain at Haddington, Sept. 5.

	Old corn.	New corn.
Wheat from	20 to 23 s.	From 16 to 19 s.
Bear from	16 to 19 s.	From 12 to 15 s.
Oats from	16 to 19 s.	From 12 to 14 s.
Peafe from	16 to 19 s.	None.

Marriages.

John Davidson of Whitehouse, Esq; Principal Clerk of the Justiciary, to Miss Anne Fotheringham, sister of *** Fotheringham of Powrie, Esq; — Archibald Inglis of Auchindinnie, Esq; Principal Clerk of the Admiralty, to Miss Jean Philp, daughter of John Philp of Greenlaw, Esq; Deputy-Auditor of the Exchequer.

Births.

The consort of Prince Anthony Ulrich of Brunswick, delivered of a Prince. — The Countess of Stamford, of a son.

Deaths.

In Carolina, Gen. Spottiswood. — At Connaught, Capt. Dennis Kelly, who in 1722 was committed to the Tower with the Bp of Rochester and Counsellor Layer, but was acquitted. — Henry Temple, Esq; son and heir of the Ld Visc. Palmerston — John Dawney, Esq; son and heir of the Ld Visc. Downe. — Thomas Frederick, Esq; member for Shoreham. — John Wanton, Esq; late Governor of Rhode island. — Archibald Hutchinson, Esq; famous for his calculations on the publick debts. — Mr Clark, Sub-Brigadeer of the first troop of life-guards. — Sir Robert Baird of Saughtonhall. — James Hay, Esq; brother to the Laird of Rannas. — Capt. John Aldred, an old sea-officer. — Mr Best, brewer to the navy, father of Admiral Vernon's Lady, worth 200,000 l. — Capt. Spencer of Gen. Howard's regiment. — The Lady of Alexander Keith of Revelston, Esq; — Mrs Anne Spottiswood, wife of Dr James Dundas physician, Edinburgh. — In Rutlandshire, aged 104. — Mrs Eyre, a near relation of the late Ld Chief Justice Eyre.

Preferments.

Melchior Guy Dickens, *Minister from the court of Hanover to that of Prussia.* — The Earl of Bute, *one of the Lords of Police.* — Sir John Thompson, *Governor of the Russia company.* — George Gregory, Esq; member for Rorrowbridge, *Clerk of the Ordnance.* — Samuel Kent, Esq; member for Ipswich, *Purveyor*, and Mr Ruth, *Chief Clerk, of Chelsea college* — Col. Dethon, *Lieutenant-Colonel of the first troop of horse grenadeer guards.* — Capt. William Morpeth, of the Scots Gray dragoons, *a Colonel in the first regiment of guards.* — Ld George Sackville, *Lieutenant-colonel*; Capt.-Lt John Arabin, *a Captain*; Lieut. Tassel, *Captain-Lieutenant*; Cornet Dickson, *a Lieutenant*, and Quartermaster Bowling, *a Cornet, in Col. Bragg's dragoons.* — The Master of Rollo, *a Cornet in Gen. Cope's dragoons.* — Samuel Slicer, *a Cornet in Gen. Bowles's dragoons.* — Frederick Bruce, *a Captain*; William Baird, *Captain-Lieutenant*; James Livingston, *a Lieutenant*, and **** Wedderburn, *an Ensign, in the E. of Rothes's regiment.* — William Hall, *a Captain*, and Andrew Crew, *Captain-Lieutenant, in Col. Erwin's regiment.* — Lieut. Foster, *a Captain*, and Ensign Thomson, *a Lieutenant, in the royal regiment.* — Arthur Horseman, *a Captain*; John Williams,

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Captain-Lieutenant; John Berkwith, *a Lieutenant*, and Henry Jackson, *an Enfign, in Col. Rose's regiment.* — Enfigns Borrough and Campbell, *Lieutenants*, and Meſſ. Trevor and Doy, *Enfigns, in Col. Johnſon's regiment.* — Commodore Leſtock, of the Boyne, *Commander of the Victory.* — Capt. Geddes, *Commander of the Naſſau*, of 70 guns, newly launched. — Capt. Cotterel, *Commander of the Lion*, which lately run foul of the Victory, Capt. Smith having reſigned. — Capt. Charles Knowles, of the Diamond, *Commander*, and Mr Stanhope, a relation of Ld Harrington, *Lieutenant, of the Litchfield.* — Capt. Oſborne, of the Aſſiſtance, *Commander of the Diamond.* — Capt. William Cleland, *Commander of the Aſſiſtance.* — Sir William Hewit, *Commander of the Baſiliſk*, and Capt. Charles Polkinhorne, *of the Blaſt*, two bomb-ketches put in commiſſion. — Lieut. Pellat, of the Canterbury, *Commander of the Vulcan fire-ſhip.* — Lieut. Gregory, *Commander*, and *** Lever, *Lieutenant, of a bomb-ketch put in commiſſion.* — Henry Barnſley, *Lieutenant of the Ruſſel.* — Prince Frederick of Heſſe-Caſſel is created *a knight of the Garter*, and the Czarina has conferred *the order of St Catharine* on his conſort the Princeſs Mary.

Died within the walls of the city of Edinburgh, and buried in the Grayfriars church-yard, Auguſt 1740.

Men 13, Women 15, Children 43. In all 71. Increaſed this month 1.

Age.	N°.	Diſeases.	N°.
Under — 2	32	Old age —	5
Betwixt. 2 & 5	7	Conſumption	15
5 & 10	4	Convulſion —	2
10 & 20	1	Dropſy —	1
20 & 30	1	Fever —	9
30 & 40	4	Flux —	1
40 & 50	8	Iliack-paſſion	2
50 & 60	6	Meagrum —	1
60 & 70	3	Meaſles —	7
70 & 80	5	Small-pox —	17
		Suddenly —	4
		Still-born —	4
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The SCOTS *Magazine.*

SEPTEMBER, 1740.

PROCEEDINGS of the *Political Club*, continued from p. 360.

In the debate upon the moſt proper method for raiſing a body of Marines, begun in our laſt, Cn. Fulvius *ſpoke to the following effect.*

Mr Preſident,

IT is a general obſervation in all debates, That thoſe who ſpeak upon the right ſide of the queſtion, are generally the moſt moderate and cool in the argument; and this, I think, was never more apparent, than in the preſent debate. When I firſt heard the motion, I thought it was a motion that could not poſſibly occaſion any heat or animoſity amongſt us; but in this reſpect I find myſelf diſappointed, as I have often been upon the like occaſions: for ſome of thoſe that have ſpoke in favour of the motion, have been pleaſed, I think moſt unneceſſarily, to make uſe of ſome very warm expreſſions. As the preſent queſtion can, in no light, be conſidered any other way than as a diſpute about the moſt proper method for raiſing or forming a body of marines, I can ſee no reaſon Gentlemen have for running themſelves into a heat upon the ſubject, or for making uſe of any warm reflections againſt thoſe who differ from them in opinion: and I am ſure, if Gentlemen would keep cloſe to the ſubject, and take care to make no excurſions into matters that have no relation to it, the debate would be ſoon exhauſted; becauſe I muſt think it a debate quite foreign to any thing that can properly come this day before us.

No Gentleman, I find, Sir, has queſtioned its being neceſſary for us to raiſe or form a body of marines. If this had been the queſtion, we might have taken it into conſideration, even before we had read or conſidered any of the eſtimates for the enſuing year; but the preſent debate, I muſt look upon as anticipating the conſideration of the eſtimates laid before us for the ſervice of the enſuing year, before they have been read, I believe, by any Gentleman in this houſe; for, if a body of marines is to be formed, it muſt be formed either by raiſing new corps for that purpoſe, or by employing ſome of the regiments we have already on foot in that ſervice. If you chuſe the latter method, you diminiſh the number of land-forces that are to be kept up for the enſuing year; and is not this, therefore, debating the queſtion about the number of land-forces neceſſary to be kept up for the ſervice of the enſuing year, before you have ſo much as read the eſtimate of the charge of the guards, gariſons, and other his Majeſty's land-forces, for the year 1740, which was but yeſterday laid before you? Some Gentlemen, who are more diligent than I, may perhaps already have caſt their eye upon this eſtimate; but I muſt confeſs, that I have not ſo much as looked at it: and conſidering its being ſo lately laid before us, and that there was no probability of its coming under our conſideration before to-morrow, I cannot, in this reſpect, accuſe myſelf of any neglect of duty. But whatever may be in this, whether I be guilty of a neglect or no, as I have not ſeen the eſtimate, I cannot take upon me to determine, whether the addreſs propoſed be proper or not; and therefore I cannot at preſent agree to it.

This, Sir, muſt with me be a prevailing reaſon for being now againſt the mo-

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motion; and ought, I think, to be ſo with every Gentleman that is in the ſame circumſtances with me, whatever they may be hereafter: but there is another reaſon, a reaſon ariſing from our uſual form of proceedings, that makes me againſt the motion at preſent. I think it was wrong to introduce ſuch a motion, and it would be more wrong to enter into the merits of it, whilſt we are in a houſe. As it is a motion that relates to the number of troops to be kept up for the enſuing year, it is proper only for a committee; where Gentlemen have leave to ſpeak ſeveral times upon the ſame queſtion, and may riſe up, as often as occaſion requires, to explain facts, and anſwer arguments or objections, that can, perhaps, be explained and anſwered by none but themſelves. I have not, indeed, heard any arguments made uſe of in favour of the queſtion, but ſuch as, I think, may be eaſily anſwered by any Gentleman in the houſe: but others may be of a different opinion; and one Gentleman has already ſpoke againſt the motion, who, could he be allowed to ſpeak again, as he would be if we were in a committee, would, I am certain, be able to anſwer every argument in favour of the motion, to the conviction of moſt Gentlemen preſent.

Whether, out of 28 or 29,000 men, a ſufficient number may be ſpared for ſea-ſervice, without leaving the kingdom defenceleſs, is a queſtion, Sir, which, I think, we cannot enter into at preſent. The eſtimates are, 'tis true, before us; but as I have not, and, I believe, few Gentlemen have, looked into them, I do not know what number of land-forces we have on foot, nor do I know what number his Majeſty thinks neceſſary for the ſervice of the enſuing year. From what I have heard, I believe his Majeſty has augmented his land-forces; I think it was neceſſary he ſhould: and when I look into the eſtimates, if it from thence appears, that his Majeſty thinks 28 or 29,000 land-forces neceſſary for the ſecurity of G. Britain during this next year, I am not aſhamed to ſay, it will be a ſtrong argument with me for thinking ſo too; becauſe his Majeſty muſt know our danger better than I can. And if we ought, for the ſake of our own ſecurity, to keep ſuch a number of land-forces here at home, what ſignifies the preſent motion? what would it ſignify to preſent the addreſs thereby propoſed? If the body of marines, allowed to be neceſſary by every Gentleman that has ſpoke in this debate, ſhould be formed from draughts made out of the regiments of land-forces we have now on foot, thoſe draughts muſt, even according to the motion, be immediately replaced by raiſing recruits. What then can it ſignify, whether thoſe recruits be raiſed for marching regiments, or for marines? As mankind are fond of every thing that is new, and as common fellows will be readier to enter into the ſea than the land ſervice, I believe the neceſſary number of recruits will be more eaſily and quickly raiſed, when they are all or moſt of them to be liſted for the ſea-ſervice, than if they were all or moſt of them to be liſted for land-ſervice: and as the war is already declared, I think the moſt ſpeedy way the beſt, eſpecially as it will be the cheapeſt; for, the more ready men are to engage in the ſervice, the leſs we ſhall have occaſion to give by way of inliſting-money.

For my part, Sir, I do not really well know what the Hon. Gentlemen mean by draughts from the preſent regiments of foot. I hope they would not have the officers drawn away from our marching regiments. If you do, you muſt immediately appoint others in their ſtead. For, I hope, it will be allowed, that every regiment of land-forces muſt have its full complement of officers: and if you are reſolved to make your marines what marines ought to be; I mean if you are reſolved to make them fit for land-ſervice, as well as ſea-ſervice, you muſt form them into regiments; and in that caſe each regiment of marines muſt have its full complement of officers, the ſame as if it were deſigned for a marching regiment to ſerve at land only.

Thus it appears, Sir, that, with regard

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gard to the expence, it is the same thing, whether the body of marines proposed, be formed by draughts from our foot-regiments, or by raising new regiments for that purpose; and as to the service, his Majesty is certainly the best judge of the most proper method for forming the intended body of marines, because it must depend upon the service in which they are to be employed. If our marines are to be employed at sea only, in order to make up the complements of our men of war, and to leave seamen for the merchant-service, new-rais'd men are every bit as proper as old soldiers; nay, they are rather better, because they will generally consist of younger men: and in this case, I shall grant, there would be no occasion for so many officers. But if our marines are to be employed likewise upon land, and to be sent upon any expedition against the enemy, they must be regimented as other land-forces are; and, in this case, I make no question but that his Majesty will, without any address from us, order the regiments of marines to be form'd, partly by draughts of private men from old regiments, and partly by new recruits: in which case, they will, with respect to service, be upon the same footing with our old regiments; for every regiment of foot now in the service, must necessarily, by the late augmentation, have a great number of raw, undisciplin'd men in it.

For this reason, Sir, I must think, that the only question now before us is, Whether the number of land-forces, proposed by the estimate now upon our table, be the least number that ought to be kept up for the defence of this kingdom? and as this question was never, I believe, canvassed, but in the committee of supply, I cannot think it proper for our present consideration.

Gentlemen, I find, Sir, are mighty apt to find fault with the number of our officers; and I do not in the least wonder at it. The expence and danger of such, are popular topicks that will, I believe, be made use of against every future, as well as they have been against every past administration. Some of those who now insist upon these topicks, may remember their having been made use of against themselves; but, I am sure, no Gentleman will say, that an army can be kept up without officers: I believe it will be generally allowed, that the more officers there are in an army, the better it will always be. The French have a greater number of officers in proportion than we have, and it is this that makes their armies so formidable; for their common men are rather worse than those of any of their neighbours. It is their great number of officers that has generally made their troops superior to the Germans; and as the French nation has always been our most formidable enemy, we ought to take care to render our troops, at least, as good as theirs: if we can fall upon any method to render them better, we ought to make use of it; because our troops are not near so numerous.

We have, 'tis true, Sir, and must have a great number of officers, as long as we keep up either fleet or army; but I do not know, that the nation is alarmed at the influence attending so many places civil and military. I know great pains have been taken to raise such an alarm; but, I hope, without any effect: for government cannot be supported without places civil and military, and the number of them must always bear a proportion to the largeness of the society to which they belong, and the use that society may have for them. Without a proper number of officers in a society, disorder and confusion must ensue; and therefore, I cannot think it right to endeavour to alarm the people of a society with the number of officers civil and military, unless there were really a great number more than were necessary for supporting order, and preventing confusion; which, I am sure, is not the case of this nation at present. In war we must have more than we can have occasion for in peace; therefore I am surprised to hear those who were so sanguine for a war, pretending to be alarmed at the influence of such a num-

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ber of officers. They could not but foreſee, that, in time of war, we muſt increaſe both our fleets and armies; and an increaſe in our fleets and armies, muſt always produce an increaſe in the number of our officers, both civil and military.

But this, Sir, is departing from the queſtion in hand. If we are to have a body of marines, we muſt have a proper number of officers for commanding that body; and as no Gentleman denies our being under a neceſſity to eſtabliſh a body of marines, no Gentleman can doubt of our being under an equal neceſſity to appoint a ſufficient number of officers for commanding them. The only queſtion now before us is, Whether we ſhall diminiſh the number of our land-forces, by drawing from thence a body of marines? and this being a queſtion not yet ripe for our conſideration, nor proper whilſt we are in a houſe, as I have already ſhewn, I cannot agree to it.

The next ſpeech was made by Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus, *in ſubſtance thus:*

Mr Preſident,

I Am glad to find, that every Gentleman who has ſpoke in this debate, ſeems convinced of the neceſſity of our raiſing a body of marines. They are, in my opinion, Sir, ſo neceſſary, that I ſhall be not only for raiſing, but keeping them. After they are once properly diſciplin'd, they will do as well at land, as any of the regiments we have now on foot; and always when we ſtand in need of it, they will be of great ſervice at ſea. I have had the honour, Sir, to ſerve my country at ſea. It is now, indeed, a long while ago, almoſt five and thirty years; but I have not quite forgot what I then obſerved: and as I have been at ſea, and have ſeen marines on ſhip-board, I know better what uſe they may be of, than thoſe who never were in that ſervice. Sir, there are many ſervices on board a man of war, which marines in a very ſhort time become as fit for, as the beſt and moſt thorough-bred ſeamen. They cannot, indeed, go aloft; but they can ſoon learn to manage the guns, haul in the anchors, and, in ſhort, every other ſervice that is to be performed upon deck, or any where between decks.

It is true, Sir, that even for theſe ſervices, men muſt have ſome experience: they muſt be for a few days, or perhaps for a few weeks, at ſea, in order to ſeaſon them to that climate, to learn to ſtand upon their legs, and to make themſelves acquainted with the ſeveral ſervices that are to be performed upon deck, or between decks. A ſoldier, therefore, let him have been trained to military diſcipline as long as you will, is as unfit for being a marine, as any fellow juſt taken from the plough, or as the meereſt vagabond that can be picked up in the ſtreets. Sir, a ſoldier and a marine are, I may ſay, quite different creatures: they are as different as an otter and a fox. Why then ſhould you diminiſh the number of your diſciplin'd ſoldiers, for the ſake of forming a body of marines, when new-rais'd men are every whit as fit for the ſervice? As we have now had a long tract of peaceable times, there muſt be in every city and town, and in every corner of the country, a great number of idle fellows, who are not only a burden, but very troubleſome and dangerous to the country where they at preſent reſide. It will be a publick benefit to make the country rid of them, and they may be uſefully employed as marines on board our men of war. It would therefore, in my opinion, be a double prejudice to the country, to form a body of marines by making draughts out of our foot-regiments; becauſe it would be drawing away from us thoſe men who, in caſe of an invaſion, would be of great ſervice to their country, and leaving at home thoſe who are at preſent a burden, and who, in caſe of an invaſion, would be very apt to join the enemies of their country.

I ſhall grant, Sir, that the regular troops we have now on foot, would be better for immediate land-ſervice, than a body of marines wholly compoſed of new-rais'd men; but unleſs we ſhould be invaded at home, I can ſee no rea-

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ſon to ſuppoſe, that we ſhall have immediate uſe for either. We are not, I hope, to make any attack upon the Spaniards at land in any part of Europe: and if we ſhould reſolve to attack them at land in America, we cannot propoſe to ſend out a fleet with land-forces on board for that purpoſe, till towards the end of next ſummer; becauſe the heats in that part of the world are ſo exceſſive in the ſummer-time, that our troops would probably ſuffer more by them than they could ſuffer by the enemy. Conſidering the humour that at preſent prevails in the nation, we may, I hope, be able to complete the body of marines propoſed by new levies, in a month or two; and, in that caſe, they will have ſeven or eight months to learn their diſcipline, before we can ſend them out upon any expedition againſt the enemy, where land-forces are requiſite. In that time they may be made as expert in the diſcipline proper for land-ſervice, as any of the regiments we have now on foot; and would, I hope, behave as well as could be expected from any body of men whatever: but as it will, probably, be neceſſary to ſend a greater number of land-forces abroad, upon any expedition we may undertake, than the whole number of marines now propoſed to be raiſed, I believe our marines, go when they will, muſt be accompanied by ſome of the foot-regiments now in the ſervice; which ſhews, that we ought not to diminiſh our preſent quota of land-forces, by drawing ſuch a number out, in order to form a body of marines.

Whether 28,000 men be neceſſary for our defence at home, is not now, Sir, the queſtion. Suppoſe that ſo great a number may not be neceſſary; yet ſurely, in time of war, we ought to raiſe and keep up a greater number of land-forces than is barely neceſſary for our defence here at home. We ought certainly to have ſuch a number of land-forces on foot, as may enable his Majeſty to ſend 8 or 10,000 abroad upon any expedition he may think fit to undertake, for diſtreſſing the enemy in their own dominions. Sir, as I moſt heartily wiſh to ſee the war proſecuted in the moſt vigorous manner, and as I do not know but that we may have more enemies than we as yet know of, I ſhall be ſo far from reſolving to grant no greater number of land-forces than are juſt neceſſary for our defence at home, that I am reſolved, I came here this ſeſſion reſolved, to grant as many land-forces, ſeamen, and marines, as his Majeſty ſhould deſire: and ſince I came here, I have heard nothing that can in the leaſt ſhake this reſolution; for if more land-forces be deſired than are neceſſary for our defence at home, I ſhall ſuppoſe, his Majeſty intends to ſend out a ſufficient number of them for attacking the enemy abroad; and I am ſure no Gentleman would deſire, that his Majeſty ſhould communicate to us his intentions in this reſpect, or ſhould tell us what number of land-forces he propoſes to ſend abroad for this purpoſe.

I have not yet peruſed the eſtimates that were laid before us yeſterday, no more than the Hon. Gent. that ſpoke laſt; but, Sir, I am extremely glad to hear, that his Majeſty deſires no more than 28 or 29,000 land-forces, and 6 or 7000 marines, for the ſervice of the enſuing year. It is to me a convincing proof, that we have nothing to fear, for next year at leaſt, but from Spain alone; and if that nation ſtands alone againſt us but for one year, I hope we ſhall be able to give a very good account of our campaign. I expected, indeed, that the demand would have been much greater; and therefore I am ſurpriſed to hear Gentlemen boggling at ſuch a demand, and endeavouring to perſuade this houſe not to agree to it; for this I take to be the plain meaning of the motion now under our conſideration. His Majeſty has deſired 28,000 land-forces, and 6000 marines; and we are deſired to tell him, by way of addreſs, that we'll grant him the 6000 marines; but then they muſt be draughted out of the 28,000 land-forces. Is not this an abſolute refuſal of the number of land-forces deſired? is it not directly telling him, that we will grant him but 22,000 land-forces? This is certainly the

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the light this motion ought to be conſidered in; and in this light, I hope, there are not many in this houſe that will agree to it.

I am as much, Sir, as any man, againſt keeping up a numerous ſtanding army in time of peace. I wiſh there were not a red coat to be ſeen within the kingdom. A ſtanding army is in all countries an evil, and in a free country it is a greater evil than in any other; but it is an evil we muſt ſubmit to, for the ſake of avoiding a greater: and in time of war, when we muſt always be in more danger of that greater evil than in time of peace, I ſhall never be for diminiſhing the leſſer evil; for if our army were ten times as numerous as it is, we ought to ſubmit to it, rather than expoſe ourſelves to that greater, I may ſay, that greateſt of evils. For this reaſon, I cannot agree with that part of the motion which adviſes the marines to be formed by draughts from the preſent regiments of foot: nor can I agree with that part of the motion which adviſes to have as many private men, and as few officers, as the nature of the ſervice will admit; becauſe it ſeems to inſinuate, as if fewer officers in proportion would do for marines than for land-forces. What other Gentlemen may mean by marines, I do not know; but by marines I mean, a body of troops that may be employed either at ſea or land, as occaſion may require: and if they are ever to be employed at land, they muſt be regimented, and muſt have the ſame number, and the ſame ſort of officers that are neceſſary for land-ſervice. Thus, Sir, I have given you my reaſons for being againſt every part of the addreſs propoſed; and for theſe reaſons I ſhall moſt heartily give my negative to the queſtion.

M. Cato *was the next that ſtood up, the purport of whoſe ſpeech was as follows.*

Mr Preſident,

IT is a little ſurpriſing, that a certain ſet of Gentlemen, notwithſtanding the many admonitions they have had, ſhould always bring his Majeſty's name into every debate that happens in this houſe. As a private Gentleman, Sir, I ſhould be ready upon all occaſions to put a full confidence in his Majeſty: to believe we are in danger, when he ſays he thinks we are; and to believe that the ſums he demands, and the number of troops he propoſes, are neceſſary for our ſecurity. This, I ſay, I ſhould think myſelf obliged as a private Gentleman to believe, unleſs I had very good reaſon to think, his Majeſty had been miſinformed and impoſed on. But as a member of this houſe, as a truſtee for the purſes, the liberties, and the privileges of the people of G. Britain, I am under an indiſpenſable obligation, not to allow myſelf to be an implicit believer, even in my ſovereign. As ſuch, I am, in duty to thoſe I repreſent, bound to ſuppoſe, that every ſpeech his Majeſty makes from the throne, every meſſage he ſends under his hand in writing, and much more every demand made in his name, is the ſpeech, the meſſage, or the demand, not of my ſovereign, but of his miniſter; and that therefore I not only may, but ought to examine it with great freedom, and to believe in nothing but what I am convinced of by inconteſtable facts, or unanſwerable arguments.

This, Sir, is my duty as a member of this houſe, and as a truſtee for the purſes, the liberties, and the privileges of the people of G. Britain; therefore, when a demand comes to this houſe for loading the people with a heavy burden, and endangering our conſtitution, by raiſing, or keeping within the iſland, a numerous ſtanding army, under pretence of our being in danger of an invaſion, tho' it be made in his Majeſty's name, I am to ſuppoſe it comes originally from the miniſter; and upon that ſuppoſition I ought to conſider, whether that army be demanded for preventing or defeating an invaſion intended to be made by foreigners upon our territories, or for encouraging and rendering ſucceſsful an invaſion intended to be made by miniſters upon our rights and privileges. Gentlemen may talk what they will about reaſonable fears, and cauſeleſs jealouſies; but in this caſe

every

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very man ought to be guided by his own conſcience, and to take particular care that his judgment ſhall not be diverted by any ſelfiſh conſideration: and were I the moſt intimate friend of a miniſter, as the invaſions of miniſters have been much more frequent than the invaſions of foreigners, I ſhould rather chuſe to be directed by my jealouſies than my fears: nay, were I a miniſter, or even a prime miniſter, which, I truſt in God, I ſhall never affect to be, I ſhould think him an honeſt man, that ſhewed more jealouſy of me than apprehenſion of foreign danger; and as long as my deſigns were honeſt and juſt, I ſhould truſt more in his friendſhip, than in the friendſhip of thoſe I found ready upon all occaſions to receive whatever impreſſions I had a mind to make.

I ſay, Sir, that as the invaſions of miniſters have been much more frequent than the invaſions of foreigners, we ought at all times to be more jealous of the former, than afraid of the latter; at when dangers are pretended, which we have no reaſon to be afraid of, at leaſt no reaſon but ſuch a one as muſt always ſubſiſt, and an argument drawn from thence for convincing us to load the people, and endanger our conſtitution, by keeping a numerous ſtanding army within the iſland, there is then no room for jealouſy, the intention becomes evident; which, in my opinion, is the caſe at preſent. It is ridiculous to imagine, that the Spaniards ever deſigned to invade us with thoſe troops that have lately marched into Gallicia. When they have a real deſign to invade us, they will never prepare for it in that quarter, as we may be ſufficiently convinced by experience; becauſe their preparing a fleet of tranſports at any port in that province, or in the bay of Biſcay, muſt always give us a ſeaſonable alarm. Therefore I muſt ſuppoſe, that their marching troops into that quarter, was either to guard againſt our invading them, or to give ſome people here a pretence for frightning us with the danger of our being invaded by them. But this pretence can be of no weight with thoſe who conſider, that troops without ſhips can never be of any dangerous conſequence to this iſland. The armies of Spain, nay the armies of France, let them march where they will, can never give terror to any man of common ſenſe in this iſland, unleſs we find they are preparing ſhips for tranſporting them hither: and this, I hope, we ſhall always hear of, time enough to prevent the attempt, which we may eaſily do, as long as we have a ſuperior navy.

Suppoſe, Sir, the Spaniards have a real deſign to invade us, and that they have marched their troops into Gallicia for that purpoſe; we know they have no fleet of tranſport-ſhips, either in the ports of that province, or in any other ports within their dominions, for tranſporting thoſe troops to this iſland. If they deſign to invade us with ſuch a number of troops as ought to give us uneaſineſs, they cannot, in leſs than three or four months, provide a ſufficient fleet for tranſporting them; and in that time, as ſuch preparations cannot be privately made, we ſhall have time, not only to provide for our defence, but to put it out of their power to make the attempt. This they know very well; and therefore, I am convinced, they will never give the leaſt countenance to ſuch a ridiculous project. But ſuppoſe they intended to make an invaſion upon us with 4 or 5000 men, which is the greateſt number they could provide tranſports for, without giving us timely notice of their deſign; are we to keep 28,000 men, or even 18,000 men here at home, to guard us againſt ſuch an attempt? Are the numbers of the diſaffected here at home ſo great, that 4 or 5000 men would enable them to overturn our government, tho' ſupported by more than double that number of regular troops in Ireland, and more than treble the number in G. Britain? This is what no man who is a friend to the illuſtrious family now upon our throne, will aſſert; and therefore, no man that is a friend to our preſent eſtabliſhment, ought, I think, to pretend that we are in the leaſt danger of an invaſion.

An invaſion, Sir, with ſuch a ſmall num-

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number of troops, would hardly raiſe any commotion, much leſs a dangerous civil war in the bowels of the kingdom. Even the few diſaffected we have amongſt us would be ſhy of joining ſuch a ſmall body of troops: I am convinced, no man of family or fortune would; and therefore, I am convinced, they would reimbark, if we gave them leave, as ſoon as they found themſelves diſappointed of the expected aſſiſtance; or would ſurrender to the firſt body of our troops ſent againſt them, in caſe they found they could not reimbark. From hence I muſt conclude, that as long as Spain continues alone in the war againſt us, we are not in the leaſt danger of an invaſion; and ſuppoſe France ſhould join with Spain, we ſhould have no occaſion to provide againſt an invaſion, eſpecially by raiſing a numerous army to be kept within the iſland, till they had begun to make preparations for that purpoſe. I do not ſuppoſe, that France will join in the war againſt us: I am almoſt certain they will not, if we take right meaſures to prevent it. But if they ſhould join, or if we have now any reaſonable cauſe to ſuſpect that they will, I am ſure we have not yet provided, or propoſed a ſufficient number either of ſeamen or marines; and as France has not yet joined, nor probably will for ſome months to come, inſtead of being ſo curious and nice as we have been ſince the beginning of this war, about having expert ſeamen for manning our ſhips of war, we ſhould have begun with taking as few expert ſeamen as poſſible, and filling up the reſt of every ſhip's complement with marines, or able-body'd landmen. This, I ſay, we ought to have done; becauſe, whilſt we were at war with a nation that could make no head againſt us at ſea, we ought to have taken the opportunity to increaſe our body of ſeamen, by inſtructing and ſeaſoning landmen to the ſervice, in order to provide againſt a nation's entering into the war, that could make ſome head againſt us at ſea. If we had done this, neither our ſeamen nor our trade would have been ſo much diſtreſſed, nor would the enemy's privateers have traverſed the ſeas in purſuit of our merchant-men with ſo much ſafety and ſucceſs; and in a year or two's time, we ſhould have ſo much increaſed our national ſtock of ſeamen, as to have very little to apprehend from the united power of France and Spain. What the event of the war may be, God only knows! I wiſh it may be ſucceſsful; but I muſt ſay, that, in my opinion, we have not hitherto taken one right meaſure in preparing for it, nor one vigorous ſtep in carrying it on.

But now, Sir, ſuppoſe France were already actually engaged in the war againſt us, I ſhall grant, that we ought in that caſe to have a greater number of land-forces on foot, than we have at preſent. But ſhould thoſe forces be kept at home to defend us againſt invaſions? No, Sir; as long as we are maſters at ſea, with regard to invaſions, we have almoſt as little to fear from France, as from Spain: neither of them can invade this happy iſland with any conſiderable number of troops, without a long and expenſive preparation; which preparation can be made no where, but in one of their ſea-ports, and there we may ſend and deſtroy it, or lock it up, as ſoon as we hear of it; which we ſhall always do long before it can be ready to put to ſea. Even in this caſe therefore, inſtead of keeping our troops encamped or quartered at home, we ought to ſend the greateſt part of them on board our fleet, or to our foreign dominions, from whence they could eaſily make incurſions or invaſions upon the enemy. For our ſecurity here at home, if we keep a ſtrong ſquadron in the channel, with a good number of ſhips ready to be put in commiſſion, we ſhall never have occaſion to be afraid of an invaſion: and if we would but take a little more care of our militia, than we have done for many years paſt, we ſhould always be able and ready to repel any ſudden incurſion, nay more ready than we can propoſe to be any other way; for we cannot propoſe to keep 4 or 5000 regular troops in each county; whereas, if pains had not been taken to render our militia deſpicable, in order to make a ſtanding army neceſſary, the militia of any one

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one county in England would be able to encounter, and probably defeat ſuch a ſmall number of invaders, without the aſſiſtance of our regular army.

Thus, Sir, it appears, that, for the ſake of defending us againſt an invaſion, we have not the leaſt occaſion for keeping a ſtanding army of 28 or 29,000 men here at home; and therefore, as we have that number now on foot in this iſland, we may eaſily ſpare to ſend 6 or 8000 of them to ſerve as marines on board our men of war. But now, ſuppoſe we intend to make an attack upon the enemy, as I hope we do, the Gentlemen who have ſpoke upon the other ſide of the queſtion, have told us, we cannot propoſe to ſend out any troops for that purpoſe before the end of next ſummer. If this be the caſe, why ſhould we raiſe any new troops before the old are ſent out? It will then be time enough to conſider, whether it be neceſſary for us to replace them; and in caſe it ſhould, it may ſoon be done by new levies, and in the mean time the pay of a number of uſeleſs troops will be ſaved to the nation. I hope we do not intend to ſend our new-rais'd troops, call them marines, or what you will, upon any expedition againſt the enemy. What will thoſe Gentlemen ſay, who have for many years been telling us, that new-rais'd troops are good for nothing, and that therefore we ought to keep a numerous ſtanding army always on foot; how can theſe Gentlemen, I ſay, anſwer for it, if they ſhould now in time of war ſend new-rais'd troops upon the moſt dangerous ſervice, and keep at home, where there is no danger, thoſe veterans, for whoſe ſkill in martial diſcipline the nation has, for ſo many years, paid ſuch large annual ſums of money? Will it not then with juſtice be ſaid, that our veteran troops are kept at home only for a raree-ſhew, and that our new-rais'd troops are ſent abroad againſt the enemy, becauſe they cannot ſo handſomely dance through their exerciſes at a review?

Sir, this may, perhaps, look a little ludicrous; but if we conſider what an effect this conſideration may have upon men who have any regard to their honour, it muſt appear ſerious to every man who has a regard for our preſent happy eſtabliſhment. In tours of fatigue, a ſoldier, or a regiment of ſoldiers may excuſe their not being employed; but in tours of danger, eſpecially where glory and riches may be acquir'd, every ſoldier, and every corps of ſoldiers, that have any honour, muſt look upon it as an affront, if they are not employ'd in their turn. This, Sir, may make our veteran troops our greateſt enemies; and by ſuch means, that very army which for ſo many years has been kept up for the ſecurity of the royal family, may be the cauſe of its overthrow, and may produce as great a revolution in this kingdom, as ever a mutiny of the Janizaries did in Turky.

For this reaſon, Sir, as well as for the ſake of ſucceſs, I hope our beſt troops will be ſent out upon any expedition we intend for attacking the enemy, either in Europe or America. But I am ſurpriſed to hear Gentlemen ſay, we cannot propoſe to attack Spain in Europe, or ſend out any expedition againſt them, till the end of next ſummer. I ſhall grant, it is not our buſineſs to attempt making any conqueſts upon them in Europe; but is this a reaſon why we ſhould not annoy them as much as poſſible, by making incurſions, and plundering the coaſts of their dominions, even in Europe? Can they prevent this as long as we are maſters at ſea? No, Sir; notwithſtanding the numerous army they have, they cannot prevent it; becauſe a fleet of ſhips can ſail faſter from one part of the coaſt to another, than a body of troops can march: and therefore, if we had 7 or 8000 land-forces on board the ſquadron we now have upon their coaſts, they might often find an opportunity to land, and ranſack a great part of the adjacent country, and to retire again with ſafety on board their ſhips, before the Spaniards could gather together a ſufficient body of troops to oppoſe them. By this means, we might harraſs their troops, and keep their whole ſea-coaſt in a perpetual alarm; and, perhaps, find an opportunity to deſtroy

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thoſe works our tameneſs ſome years ſince allowed them to erect within cannon-ſhot of Gibraltar.

Is there any reaſon to be aſſigned, Sir, for delaying to ſend troops upon ſuch an expedition till the end of next ſummer? can a reaſon be aſſigned for its not having been already done? I know that the month of July, Auguſt or September, is the proper time for ſending out a body of land-forces to attack the Spaniards in America; and I likewiſe know, that if we had followed the example either of Q. Elizabeth or Oliver Cromwel, we would have begun the war with ſuch an expedition. I hope to ſee more vigorous and better concerted meaſures taken next ſummer; I hope to ſee an expedition ſent out for annoying the Spaniſh dominions in Europe, and another for conquering ſome part of their dominions in America: but both, I think, may be undertaken without raiſing ſo much as one new regiment; becauſe, out of 28,000 men, the number of our regular forces now on foot in this iſland, we may ſpare a ſufficient number of troops for both. As we have now ſuch a prodigious navy at ſea, I do not think we have uſe for a greater number of troops at home, than we ever had in times of the moſt profound tranquillity; and therefore, I think, we may ſpare to ſend at leaſt 16,000 againſt the enemy; which is a ſufficient number for both theſe expeditions, and a ſufficient number for any occaſion we may have, as long as Spain ſtands alone in the war againſt us. If France, indeed, ſhould declare in favour of Spain, we muſt then augment our land-force both abroad and at home; but this we may eaſily, and almoſt inſtantly do by new levies, and by taking foreign troops into our pay; and till this event happens, we ought to ſave all we can, in order to be the better able to ſupport ſuch a heavy war when it happens to break out.

Frugality, Sir, is extremely neceſſary at the beginning of every war; becauſe after a war is once begun, no man can tell when it will end. The preſent war may be of longer continuance than ſome people imagine. I have more fears that way, than I ſhall now explain. I ſhall now only ſay, that if we accept of no peace but an honourable one, the war will not, I believe, be ſoon over; and therefore, we ought to take care not to run ourſelves out of breath in the beginning of a long courſe. Spite of the moſt vigorous and beſt concerted meaſures, the war may laſt for ſeveral years, and may become much more heavy than it is at preſent; but if our meaſures ſhould hereafter be as much influenced by our fears of an invaſion, as they ſeem by this debate to be at preſent, I may propheſy, that we ſhall never be able to bring it to a happy or honourable concluſion. If our fears of an invaſion at home ſhould ſo much ingroſs our care and attention, as to prevent our being able to take due care of our trade or dominions abroad, the war may, perhaps, end in the deſtruction or loſs of a great part of both; which God in his infinite mercy will, I hope, prevent: for, beſides the ruin it would bring upon this nation, it would very much endanger our preſent happy eſtabliſhment, and conſequently the Proteſtant religion, and the liberties of Europe.

For this reaſon, Sir, we ought not to allow ourſelves to be induced, by groundleſs fears, to be at the expence of raiſing or keeping up more forces, either at home or abroad, than are abſolutely neceſſary; and thoſe we do keep up, ought to be employed in the moſt vigorous manner, and in thoſe places where they can moſt annoy the enemy, or contribute moſt to the advantage of their country. It is our buſineſs in this houſe to grant what ſupplies are neceſſary for the publick ſervice; but it is likewiſe our buſineſs to adviſe his Majeſty to make uſe of the moſt frugal methods, and even to point out thoſe methods which we think may be the moſt frugal and effectual. For this purpoſe we ſtand in need of no ſecret intelligence; we may know the general circumſtances of an enemy without ſuch intelligence: and therefore, though we cannot preſcribe, we may give our advice with regard either to peace or war. This is our duty; this is all that is attempted at pre-

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preſent; and if doing our duty in this reſpect is to be called animoſity, it is a laudable animoſity: it is ſuch an animoſity as, I hope, will for ever prevail in this houſe. An Hon. Gent. was pleaſed to make an obſervation, That thoſe who have the right ſide are generally the cooleſt in the argument. I ſhall give him two for his one; tho' I am far from ſaying that either of them is applicable to any Gentleman in this houſe. One is, That the deceitful, who have a mind to impoſe upon the underſtanding, are always extremely cool in their arguments; and the other is, That the advocate who ſpeaks for his fee, ſeldom ſhews ſuch a natural warmth, as the man that ſpeaks in his own cauſe. In this houſe it would be in vain for any man to attempt to impoſe, and I hope I ſhall never ſee any man in it ſpeak for his fee; but I do not at all wonder to ſee a decent warmth expreſſed; for I hope every man thinks he ſpeaks in his own cauſe, becauſe it is the cauſe of his country.

The preſent queſtion, Sir, is, I think, as much the cauſe of my country, as any queſtion that ever happened in this houſe. The war we are now engaged in is, 'tis true, as yet but a bauble: it is as yet a ſort of toy we may play a little with; but it may become one of the moſt heavy and dangerous wars this nation was ever engaged in; and then we may have cauſe to repent of every ſhilling we needleſly threw away at the beginning. There is as great a difference between being a miſer and being frugal, as there is between being frugal and being prodigal. Frugality is the mean which a wiſe man will always chuſe, but the fool generally launches out into prodigality, in order to ſhun the imputation of being a miſer. In this war, I hope, we ſhall put ourſelves to no expence for the ſake of ſhew: we have had raree-ſhews enough already: I hope, we ſhall now make the beſt, the moſt effectual uſe of every ſquadron we fit out, and every regiment we raiſe or keep on foot; and I hope we ſhall neither fit out, nor raiſe or keep up any more than we have immediate occaſion for. In time of peace, theſe expenſive raree-ſhews only prevented our paying off our old debt; but, in time of war, they will make us contract new, and, by breaking our credit, may bring ſudden perdition upon the nation.

This, Sir, is one of the greateſt dangers we lie expoſed to; and to obviate this danger is the intention of the motion now under our conſideration. It has no relation to any eſtimate; it relates only to his Majeſty's ſpeech, in which we are told, his Majeſty had judged it proper, that a body of marines ſhould be raiſed: therefore, we have no occaſion to look into any eſtimate; for this motion might have been made and agreed to, tho' none of the eſtimates had been laid before us. But I am ſurpriſed to hear any Gentleman ſay, that ſuch a motion cannot come properly before us, till we take the eſtimates into our conſideration in the committee of ſupply. If it had been delayed till that time, I am ſure, it would have been called a very prepoſterous motion, perhaps, even by thoſe who now call it premature. In the committee of ſupply we muſt either approve of, or reject the eſtimates: I hope the Gentlemen who now think this motion improper, would not have us, when we go into the committee of ſupply, to reject the eſtimate for marines, in order to conſider of and agree to this motion; and I am ſure, it would be ridiculous to make or agree to ſuch a motion, after we have approved of an eſtimate for raiſing the marines by new levies. But if this motion ſhould now be agreed to, we may put off taking the marine eſtimate into our conſideration, till we have a return from his Majeſty to this addreſs; and if he ſhould approve of our advice, he would certainly order a new eſtimate, conform thereto, to be laid before us.

The preſent is, therefore, the only proper time for taking this motion into our conſideration; and as I have ſhewn, that we can have no occaſion for ſuch a great number of land-forces, beſides marines, I think the motion ought to be agreed to. I ſhall moſt readily join

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in opinion, that a body of marines ought to be formed; and that it ought to be such a one as may, upon occasion, be fit for land as well as sea service. But Gentlemen seem to mistake the principal design of having a body of marines: they ought to be principally designed to come in aid of our national stock of seamen, and that we may not be obliged to draw away from our trade too many of that necessary body of men. If this be, as it ought to be, the chief design, there is no occasion for forming them into regiments, or for putting ourselves to the expence of having any Generals or field officers of marines. Such officers of marines are no ways necessary for any service, unless it be for the service of ministers in this house. The expence of such officers is, therefore, what we may and ought to save to the nation. It is an expence in which we have been long most extravagant, even with respect to our land-army. We have long been at as great an annual expence for our land-army, as would maintain double the number, according to the establishment in any other country of Europe. In France, it is true, as they have officers *en seconde*, they may have as many, perhaps more officers than we; but the pay of their officers is not near equal to ours. And if it were, France would be but a bad example for us: in that absolute monarchy, they have a great number of officers, in order to have a great number of their Nobility employed in their army, and thereby kept dependent upon the crown.

This, Sir, is the true reason, why the French have such a number of officers; and not, as an Hon. Gent. has been pleased to assert, because it makes their troops superior to the Germans; for it is not really so in fact. In the last age, the French troops were better than the Germans, because they were much better disciplined; but now that the Germans are equally disciplined, tho' not equally officered, they are rather better than the French; as appeared in the last war between these two nations, when the French trusted more to their numbers, or to their art and intrenchments, than to the bravery of their troops. But the very reason that induces the French to have a great number of officers, ought to be a reason for us to have as few as possible: for a great number of officers, whether civil or military, as they are all, by our present constitution, in the nomination, and most of them removable at the pleasure of the crown, must create such a dependence upon, and thereby establish such a power in the crown, as is inconsistent with a free government or limited monarchy. I was really surprised to hear an Hon. Gent. say, that he knows of no alarm spread among the people by the great number of officers, civil and military, we have at present. One would from thence be apt to suspect, that he keeps company with none but officers, civil or military; for I will venture to say, that no man can go into any other sort of company without hearing some of them express their fears upon this head: And yet from his saying, that we have no more officers, civil or military, than are necessary for the ends of government, one would be apt to suspect, that he knew very little of the nature of those many new offices that have been of late years created, or of those old offices that have been split into several parts, in order to increase the number of officers.

Every man, Sir, that knows any thing of our present circumstances, must know, that we have a vast number of places that are absolute sine-cures; and these, I am sure, can be necessary for no end of government, whatever they may be for the ends of corruption. Of this sort, Sir, was our late General of marines; and in the same light shall I look upon every General, Field-officer, Pay-master, Commissary, and Chaplain of marines, that shall be hereafter created or revived. I know that marines ought to be men bred to land, as well as sea discipline: and for this reason, men who have already learned the land-discipline, are more fit for marines, especially as we have immediate use for them, than raw or fresh men, that know nothing

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nothing either of land or ſea diſcipline. But Gentlemen, I find, miſtake the land-ſervice, which marines ought to be deſigned for. If marines were to ſerve a whole campaign at land, and to be made a part of a regular land-army, I ſhall grant, that they ought to be formed into regiments, and to be officered in the ſame manner as other land-forces are; but this is a ſervice that marines ought never to be employed in: when ſuch an army is to be formed, a ſufficient number of land-forces ought to be ſent out for that purpoſe. The only land-ſervice that marines ought to be deſigned for, or employed in, is to ſupport our ſeamen in ſtorming a town or caſtle, after a ſquadron of men of war has ſo battered and bombarded it, as to make an aſſault practicable; or to make an incurſion upon ſome open country, where there are no regular troops, or not ſuch a number of regular troops as can be called an army to oppoſe them: and for both theſe ſervices a body of marines, formed into independent companies, are as good as if they were formed into regular regiments.

For this reaſon, Sir, if we are to raiſe 6 or 7000 men, formed into 6 regiments, and regularly officered as other land-forces are, I ſhall conſider them as land-forces, and as an addition to our land-army. You may call them by that favourite name, *marines*, in order to put a cheat upon the publick, which I think no way neceſſary upon the preſent occaſion; but you cannot employ them as marines: at leaſt, if you do, the field-officers belonging to them will be quite uſeleſs, and their pay an unneceſſary expence to the publick, as long as their regiments are employed as marines. I ſhall readily agree to the forming a body of 6000 marines, or double that number, if it ſhould appear to be neceſſary; but that body ought, I think, to be formed into independent companies, and brought in aid of our national ſtock of ſeamen, in order, as I have ſaid, to prevent our being forced to draw too many ſailors away from our trade: and as we have immediate occaſion to employ them at land as well as ſea, the private men ought, I think, to be drawn from the regiments now in our ſervice, and our beſt and moſt experienced Captains and Subalterns appointed to command them. This is the deſign of the preſent motion, and therefore I cannot but approve of it.

Having already troubled you too long, Sir, for which I beg pardon, I ſhall conclude with obſerving, that by the method of arguing made uſe of in this debate, by thoſe who have ſpoke upon the other ſide of the queſtion, they have not only condemned all the arguments they have themſelves been making uſe of for theſe 20 years, in favour of a ſtanding army, but alſo they have condemned the meaſures lately taken for manning our navy. I believe, there is no experienced officer in our army, but will confeſs, that it requires longer practice and more pains to teach common men a natural and quick uſe of the muſket and bayonet, ſo as that they may exerciſe them in a body regularly and without confuſion, than to make them maſters of all the marches and counter-marches, or involutions and evolutions, that are practiſed in the moſt regular army; and accordingly at all reviews we find, that regiments oftner fail in their regular firings, or in charging and diſcharging, than in any other part of the exerciſe: therefore, if new-rais'd men can, in a few days, or a few weeks, ſufficiently learn the uſe of the muſket and bayonet, which is the moſt difficult part of diſcipline, I am ſure, we have no occaſion for keeping a ſtanding army always on foot; and however much we may neglect regular firing on board our men of war, I muſt take notice, that when one of our late Spithead expeditions, for, I think, we have had ſeveral, was joined by a ſmall ſquadron of Dutch men of war, it was obſerved, that the men on board the Dutch ſhips were daily exerciſed in the uſe of the fire-lock, and that they charged and diſcharged as regularly and as quickly as could be expected from regular troops.

Thus, Sir, have theſe Gentlemen condemned the chief argument they have

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have been making uſe of for theſe 20 years in favour of a ſtanding army; and by the arguments they have now made uſe of in favour of marines, and for our ſupplying that ſervice by new levies, they have condemned the whole tenor of our late practice for manning our navy. The Hon. Gent. who ſpoke laſt, who has himſelf had ſome experience in the navy, has told us, there are many ſervices on board a man of war that may, with a little experience, be performed by landmen as well as ſeamen; and that this experience may be ſoon acquired by a fellow juſt come from the plough, or by a vagabond juſt pick'd up in the ſtreets. I believe what the Hon. Gent. ſays to be true, as I ſhall be ready to do any fact he advances: I believe a ploughman or a vagabond, if he be an able-body'd man, may much ſooner learn to hawl in an anchor, or to perform any ſuch ſervice on board a man of war, than he can learn the uſe of the fire-lock. But if this be ſo, why accept of none, or a very few, for our ſhips of war, but ſuch as were expert ſeamen? why refuſe many able-body'd vagabonds, that were pick'd up in ſeveral of our counties, and ſent at a great charge to the ſea-ports, where our regulating Captains were poſted, and many able-body'd landmen that came to offer themſelves to the ſervice? why offer no reward to landmen, as well as ſeamen, that ſhould voluntarily come to liſt in his Majeſty's ſea-ſervice? Sir, what inſtructions our regulating Captains had, I know not; but I know, that they refuſed or rejected a great many landmen, and not a few ſeamen: whereas, in a time of ſuch diſtreſs, every man that had no infectious diſtemper upon him, nor any natural infirmity, ought to have been accepted. And if we had begun with forming a body of marines by draughts from our regular regiments, which his Majeſty might have done as ſoon as he found a war unavoidable, we might have replaced them by new levies, and might by this time have had in the Weſt-Indies ſuch a number of marines, as would not only have taken, but held any place we thought fit to attack: for as our ſquadron in that part of the world can meet with no oppoſition at ſea, they might, as ſoon as they arrived, have ſent every one of their marines upon ſome expedition at land; and as the enemy has no regular army there, a body of diſciplined ſoldiers, formed into independent companies of marines, would have been as fit for the ſervice, as the beſt and moſt regular regiments we can ſend thither.

I think I have now anſwered every objection that has been made to the motion; I hope, Sir, I have given ſuch arguments for it, as are convincing; and therefore, I hope, every Gentleman that hears me, will join with me in giving his affirmative to the queſtion.

M. Tullius Cicero *roſe up next, and concluded the debate with a ſpeech, in ſubſtance thus:*

Mr Preſident,

WHatever other Gentlemen may ſuppoſe with regard to the ſpeeches or demands of their ſovereign, I think it is the duty of his Majeſty's ſervants, even tho' they be members of this houſe, to talk with great reſpect of thoſe ſpeeches that are made by him, and of thoſe demands that are made in his name, as well as of thoſe meſſages that are ſigned by him; and when they know, which ſome of them may do, that they are not the ſpeeches or demands of miniſters, but the real ſpeeches or demands of their ſovereign and maſter, they may, I think, make uſe of his Majeſty's name, even in this houſe, without incurring any juſt cenſure. I know that no member of this houſe ought to have an implicit faith in any man, or in any opinion: we ought to give credit to no fact, unleſs it be vouched by undoubted evidence, or ſupported by proper authority, in caſes that will not admit of evidence; neither ought we to aſſent to any opinion, unleſs it be eſtabliſhed by ſolid reaſoning. But, in ſtate-affairs, particularly in time of war, facts may ariſe, which may be certainly true, and may have ſufficient vouchers, and yet thoſe vouchers may be

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e ſuch as cannot be laid before parliament. In ſuch caſes, we muſt depend upon his Majeſty's authority; and the only method by which that authority can be communicated, is by ſpeech, meſſage, or demand.

Every Gentleman will, I believe, Sir, allow, that deſigned invaſions and inſurrections are facts of this nature. There may be ſuch deſigns, and more probably in time of war, than at any other time; there may be ſufficient vouchers of ſuch deſigns, and yet thoſe vouchers may be ſuch as cannot be communicated to parliament: therefore, had I not the leaſt concern in the adminiſtration, or in his Majeſty's councils, I ſhould be apt to believe any inſinuation of ſuch a deſign, if ſuch an inſinuation ſhould be made by his Majeſty, either in expreſs terms by ſpeech or meſſage, or tacitly by deſiring ſuch a number of forces as might be neceſſary for defeating or preventing the execution of ſuch deſigns. This ought at all times to be an argument of ſome weight, for prevailing upon us to grant the number of forces, both by ſea and land, which our ſovereign may think neceſſary; but in time of war, this argument ought to have a much greater weight; becauſe our ſovereign may then have in view, not only to defeat the ſecret deſigns of our enemies againſt us, but to execute ſome ſecret deſigns againſt them.

I ſhall admit, Sir, that it is our duty in this houſe to be jealous of the liberties and privileges of the people, and to be as ſparing of their purſes as is conſiſtent with their welfare and ſecurity. But both jealouſy and frugality may be puſhed too far: jealouſy often prompts the ſuſpected to that which would never have entered into their heads, if they had not found themſelves cauſeleſly ſuſpected; and by not giving a little to thoſe that are to defend us, we may have the whole taken away by thoſe that are to attack us. I am certain, we had never leſs cauſe to be jealous than we have at preſent: no one ſtep of his preſent Majeſty's conduct could ever furniſh us with the leaſt intimation of his having a deſign to incroach upon our liberties and privileges, or to make a bad uſe of the regular troops we keep on foot. Nay, if he had any ſuch inclination, the complexion of our preſent army would prevent his indulging that inclination, by forming deſigns againſt our liberties. The education and known ſentiments both of the officers and ſoldiers of our army, muſt convince us, that they are as great enemies to arbitrary power, as any other ſet of men in the kingdom: therefore, I ſhall always look upon our army as a guard to our liberties; and the more numerous it is, the better, I muſt ſuppoſe, our liberties will be guarded.

It is not, Sir, from any apprehenſions I have of our army, with regard to our liberties, that I am againſt its being made more numerous than is now propoſed. It is the expence alone that gives me any concern; and upon this account only, I ſhall always be againſt our raiſing or keeping up a greater number of troops than I think abſolutely neceſſary for the ſecurity of our liberties, privileges, and properties. But my concern in this reſpect, I ſhall never allow to carry me ſo far, as to expoſe the people to be invaded and plundered by their enemies, for the ſake of ſaving them that trifle of expence, which may be neceſſary for keeping on foot a few more troops, or for maintaining a few more officers: and, conſidering that the ſaving to be made by what is now propoſed, would amount but to a mere trifle, I ſhould never forgive myſelf for ſuch a trifling and ill-tim'd frugality, if any corner of our dominions ſhould be plundered and laid waſte, for want of a ſufficient number of regular troops to repel an invading enemy; or if the marine forces we ſend abroad ſhould, upon any engagement, run into confuſion, and be deſtroyed, for want of field-officers to command them, and keep them in order.

I know, Sir, it is our duty in this houſe, to give our moſt ſincere advice to our ſovereign, as often as any important occurrence makes it neceſſary; but, in order to give that advice its proper weight, we ought to take care that

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that it ſhall always be attended with dignity: therefore, we ought not to interpoſe with our advice too frequently, or upon trifling occaſions; and we ought never to give it but upon full and mature deliberation. The affair now before us is, I think, of too trifling a nature for us to interpoſe with our advice, eſpecially as it has not been particularly aſked upon the preſent occaſion; and I am ſure it cannot be ſaid, that we have fully and maturely conſidered what we are about. The addreſs propoſed muſt be allowed to be ſomething very different from an humble advice. As the eſtimate for marines, prepar'd by his Majeſty's order, is now before us, this addreſs will be looked on as a condemnation of that eſtimate: for if that eſtimate be properly drawn up, if the method thereby propoſed for raiſing marines be the moſt proper and frugal that can be thought of, what occaſion can there be for ſuch an addreſs? If we approve of the eſtimate, it would be ridiculous in us to preſent ſuch an addreſs; therefore, our agreeing to, or preſenting ſuch an addreſs, muſt be conſidered as a condemnation of the eſtimate now before us: and I appeal to every Gentleman of this houſe, whether he has ſufficiently examined that eſtimate for enabling him to paſs ſentence of condemnation upon it? Such a ſentence ought not, I think, to be paſſed, till the eſtimate has been actually read in the houſe; but ſo far from being read in the houſe, I believe, it has been read but by a very few members of the houſe; and therefore, if no Gentleman gives his vote for the addreſs or ſentence of condemnation propoſed, but he that has read the eſtimate, I believe, I may eaſily gueſs what will be the fate of the queſtion.

Sir, I hope I may ſuppoſe, that, in order to fix upon the moſt proper methods for raiſing and forming a body of marines, thoſe who have the honour to adviſe the crown, took care to examine the ſeveral eſtabliſhments of marines made in former times, and the ſeveral ſervices they were employ'd in; and as there are ſeveral perſons ſtill alive, who were in the ſervice in K. William and Q. Anne's time, I may ſuppoſe, that thoſe perſons were examin'd, in order to know from them, how the marines perform'd the ſervices they were employ'd in, and the defects or advantages that were found in the eſtabliſhments then made. This, I muſt ſuppoſe, was done by thoſe who have the honour to adviſe the crown, before they could think themſelves qualified for giving a proper advice; and this I think we ought to do, before we can agree to ſuch a motion as the preſent. But can it be ſaid, that we have made any ſuch enquiry, that we have examined any one perſon, or that we have before us any one of thoſe papers, which we ought to look into, before we preſume to give his Majeſty any advice upon this head? Therefore, this addreſs, call it an advice, as ſome Gentlemen pretend it is, or call it a condemnation of the eſtimate now before you, as I think it really is, in ſhort, call it what you will, it cannot be ſaid to be the effect of a mature deliberation; and therefore, it cannot be attended with that dignity which we ought carefully to preſerve in all our applications or approaches to the crown.

For this reaſon, Sir, if I approved of the advice propoſed, I could not approve of this haſty and inconſiderate manner of reſolving upon it; but the advice itſelf is ſuch a one as I cannot approve of. It is to me, indeed, a very new ſort of doctrine, That, in time of war, we have no occaſion to keep within the iſland a greater number of troops, than in a time of the moſt profound tranquillity. When we are at open war with a nation that has a conſiderable navy, tho' nothing equal to ours, when that nation has a great number of veteran troops in their provinces that are next to us; and when they are every day fitting out both men of war and tranſports, I ſhould think it very unwiſe in us, not to keep at home for our defence, a more numerous army than we uſually have in time of peace. We may deſpiſe the naval power of Spain in our ſpeeches and converſation here at home: I ſhall grant, it is no way

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way equal to ours; I shall grant, they have but few ships of their own fit for being made transports: but there is always a great number of foreign ships in their harbours. Before the war broke out, there were often more British merchant-ships in their harbour of Cadiz alone, than would have been sufficient for transporting 10,000 foot to Britain or Ireland; and as that trade must still be carried on, and will now be carried on by the merchant-ships of Holland, France, and other nations, we must suppose, that there will always be more foreign ships in the ports of Spain, than are necessary for transporting 10 or 12,000 infantry to this island or to Ireland. These ships the court of Spain may, by an embargo, force into their service; and as our fleet may be lock'd up in the channel by contrary winds, it may be impossible for us to send out a squadron, either to intercept their designed armado, or to lock it up or destroy it in their harbour. This is an accident we can provide against no other way, but by having at all times a land-army equal to any they can invade us with, for opposing them at, or soon after their landing; and therefore, I shall always be for keeping a more numerous body of troops within the island in time of war, than was ever thought necessary in time of peace.

But besides the number of troops necessary to be kept at home, for guarding us against invasions or incursions, surely, Sir, in time of war, we ought to have some certain number of regular troops ready to be sent out upon such designs against the enemy, as future incidents may encourage us to undertake. As the winter-time is the best for attacking the enemy in America, we cannot, perhaps, send out any land-forces for that purpose before the month of July next; but there are other places where we may, perhaps, attack the Spaniards with advantage to ourselves, and great prejudice to them; and, for this purpose, it may be proper to send out a body of disciplin'd troops early in the spring. I do not know that his Majesty has, at present, any such project in view; but, suppose he has not, yet many accidents may occur before that time, for rendering the success of such a project not only probable but certain: and could any one approve of our conduct, if we should lose such an opportunity, by not having a spare body of land-forces ready to be sent upon the execution? could the saving of 80 or 100,000 l. which is the utmost we can save by what is now proposed, any way counterbalance the advantage we might reap by the success of such a design?

I cannot pretend to say, Sir, whether this war can be of a long continuance or no; but, I am certain, that the most infallible method we can take, for making it of a long continuance, is to be so parsimonious at the beginning, as not to make the proper provision for carrying it on with vigour. We are told, by the highest authority, that they who go to war ought to consult, whether they be able with 10,000 to meet those that come against them with 20,000. But, it seems, we must be able to do a great deal more; for with 28,000 land-forces, we propose to overcome Spain with above 100,000. 'Tis true, our navy is much superior to theirs; but, by our navy alone, we cannot propose to force them to a peace: we must attack them at land some where or other; and, for this purpose, we must have a sufficient land-force. I believe they have not at present any great number of regular troops in the West-Indies, and we may prevent their sending a great fleet and army there at one time; but we cannot prevent their sending small detachments in single ships, or in half a dozen ships at a time; and, by such means, they may considerably increase their regular troops in the West-Indies, even before we can send any to attack them. It is, therefore, now impossible to tell, what number of troops it may be necessary for us to send thither, either for attacking the enemy, or defending our own dominions, in that part of the world; and, if we send veteran troops thither, the new-rais'd troops that are to replace them here at home, ought to be levied some months before, in order

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that they may be trained to diſciplihe, and ready for ſervice, before we ſend away the old: for though we ought, and certainly muſt ſend out troops for attacking the enemy, or defending our dominions abroad, I hope no Gentleman will ſay, that we ought, for that purpoſe, to leave our dominions at home defenceleſs.

I ſhall not ſay, Sir, that a body of 28 or 29,000 men is abſolutely neceſſary for our defence at home; but, I will ſay, that we ought to have that number at leaſt, beſides the marines now propoſed to be raiſed, in order to be in a condition to ſpare 8 or 10,000, as occaſion may require, for diſtreſſing the enemy, or defending our dominions abroad. And now, Sir, with regard to the method of raiſing and forming the body of marines propoſed, as no Gentleman queſtions its being neceſſary to make them fit for land as well as ſea ſervice. I am ſurpriſed to hear any Gentleman ſay, that they ought to be formed into independent companies, rather than regiments. I believe, every Gentleman that has ever ſeen any ſervice, will ſay, that a body of men formed into regiments, are better for land-ſervice, and leſs liable to confuſion, than a body of men formed into independent companies; and this is confirmed by the preſent practice of every ſtate in Europe. In little attacks and ſkirmiſhes, where there are not above 2 or 300 men of a ſide, independent companies may do as well as a detachment from a regiment; but, where the contending armies amount to thouſands, it is certain, that regiments are more proper than independent companies: and as this laſt may very probably be the caſe of our marines, I muſt think they ought to be formed into regiments. I ſhall grant, that whilſt thoſe regiments are on board our men of war, the field-officers can be of no ſervice. But I hope they will ſeldom be for any long time on board our men of war: they will be there only during the time of tranſporting them from one place to another; and where-ever they go, the field-officers muſt go along with them, in order to take the command of them as ſoon as landed: therefore, I hope, no Gentleman will grudge the expence of 18 or 20 field-officers, when it comes in competition with the behaviour of our troops, and the glory of our country.

Now, Sir, as to the other officers, if Gentlemen will but take time to look into the eſtimate upon our table, and compare it with former eſtabliſhments of the ſame nature, they will ſee, that the body of marines now to be raiſed, is to have no more officers of any kind than former experience has ſhewn to be neceſſary. I know, that the marines raiſed in 1692, had 200 men in each company; but experience ſoon ſhewed, that ſuch companies were not fit for land-ſervice; therefore, they were reduced, long before K. William's death, to 100 men in a company: and in 1702, the marines that were then raiſed, conſiſted but of 60 men in a company; whereas, by the eſtimate upon our table, if I may have leave to mention an eſtimate not yet read in the houſe, the marines now to be raiſed, are to conſiſt of 70 men in a company; which is the higheſt number that, as all experienced officers ſay, any company of foot ought to conſiſt of.

Laſtly, Sir, as to the private men of which this body of marines is to be compoſed, I muſt think, his Majeſty is the beſt judge, whether they ought to be all new-rais'd men or old ſoldiers, or partly one and partly the other; becauſe he knows beſt, what ſervice they are to be ſent upon, and when they are to be ſent. If they are not to be ſent out till four or five months after they are raiſed, it does not ſignify much, whether they be all new-rais'd men or no, becauſe, in that time, they will be pretty well diſciplin'd; eſpecially if they are to be ſent to the Weſt-Indies, becauſe they will have no enemy to encounter there, but the militia of the country, or ſome of the worſt of the Spaniſh troops: for whatever we may do, I am confident, the Spaniards will keep their beſt troops at home, to defend their mother-country. If the private men ſhould be all draughted out of the regiments now in our ſervice, it would be a loſs rather than

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a saving to the nation; because an equal number of recruits must be immediately raised, for compleating those regiments, from which the marines are draughted; and, as it will be more difficult to find recruits for marching regiments than for marines, we must give a greater reward for inlisting. Thus, if we chuse the cheapest way of forming a body of marines, we must take as many new-rais'd men as his Majesty may think consistent with the service upon which he is to send them: and, I am sure, it will be the quickest; for a great many fellows that called themselves seamen, have been rejected or turned out of our men of war, because they were found not to be expert seamen, nor any way fit for their business. These men will all immediately list as marines, and will make good marines, tho' they could not be accepted of as good seamen: for tho' a Captain of a man of war, after he has got a sufficient number of expert seamen on board his ship, may accept of able-body'd landmen, or seamen that are not expert in their business, in order to make up his full complement; yet the regulating Captains could accept of very few but expert seamen, because they could not know how they were to be disposed of; and by accepting of too many landmen, or unskilful seamen, such a number of them might, by accident, have been put on board one of our ships of war, as might have been the cause of losing the ship.

Upon this occasion, Sir, I must desire, that Gentlemen would consider, which of the two services, the publick or the merchant service, ought, in time of publick danger, to be preferred. As we do not in time of peace keep a number of seamen in pay, sufficient for manning our navy in time of war, when a war first breaks out, the publick service must be neglected, or the merchant-service must be distressed. This is a consequence which it is impossible to avoid, any way, but by keeping in continual pay such a number of seamen, as may be near sufficient to man the most numerous fleet we may have occasion to fit out in time of war; and until this is done, I am sure, every Gentleman that has a true regard for his country, will chuse to have a short stop or interruption put to our trade, rather than to have our whole exposed to imminent danger, by not fitting out such a number of men of war as may be sufficient for our defence.

I hope, I have now shewn, Sir, that were the advice, proposed to be given by this address, in itself right, it would be wrong in us to give it without a more mature deliberation; and, I hope, I have likewise shewn, that it appears to be wrong in every particular. I am sure, no Gentleman that thinks I am right in either of these cases, can give his affirmative to the question; and I shall think myself very unlucky, if the majority of this house should think I am wrong in both. As for the declamatory excursions that have been made about the alarm given to the people by the great number of officers, civil and military, we have at present, and about the danger our liberties and constitution may be exposed to by corrupt practices, they may be, and I find they are introduced into every debate; but as it would be an endless task to answer them upon every occasion, all I shall say to them upon this, is, that we are here in the proper place for enquiring into such things. If any Gentleman knows of an unnecessary office that has been lately set up, or an unnecessary officer appointed; if any Gentleman knows of any attack that has been lately made, or attempted, upon our constitution; or if any Gentleman knows of any corrupt practices lately introduced, or made use of; he may, nay, as a member of this house, which is the grand inquest of the nation, he is in duty bound to take notice of it to the house. But then he ought to be particular: he ought to name the office or officer set up or appointed, the attack that has been attempted, or the corrupt practice that has been made use of; and he ought to move for an inquiry into what he finds fault with: for by thus declaiming in general, he can do no service to his country, he can give the house no information, nor correct any abuse. He

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does nothing but take up the time of this houſe moſt unneceſſarily: for he cannot expect that ſuch general declamations, tho' they may pleaſe the galleries, ſhould have an influence upon any Gentleman that has the honour of being a member of the houſe; and much leſs can he expect their having ſuch an influence in this queſtion, where the vigorous proſecution of the war is at ſtake, than in any queſtion of a different nature that can come before us.

For variety's ſake, I ſhall next give you the ſubſtance of a debate, occaſioned by the meſſage which was ſent by his Majeſty to the houſe of Commons, upon the 12th of February laſt; and as this meſſage was not ſent, nor communicated to the other houſe, it occaſioned a debate in our club, which was opened by M. Horatius Barbatus, *who ſpoke to this effect.*

My Lords,

AS no Lord can have a truer regard for the honour and privileges of this houſe, than myſelf, ſo none can feel a warmer indignation, whenever any attack is offered them. To preſerve this ſupreme council of the nation in the full enjoyment of all thoſe rights derived to us from the conſtitution of parliament, is a duty we owe ourſelves, a duty we owe our poſterity, a duty we owe our country. The privileges of this houſe, and the liberties of this nation, are embarked on the ſame bottom; and we cannot forego the one, without endangering the other. Our acquieſcence under any affront, (be it the effect of deſign, or be it the effect of neglect) may in future times be looked upon as a tacit reſignation of our rights, and be made a precedent to the diſhonour of this houſe, and the deſtruction of this kingdom.

I cannot, therefore, too earneſtly recommend to your Lordſhips conſideration, his Majeſty's meſſage to the houſe of Commons, which we find in the printed votes of the 12th of this month. The words of the meſſage are theſe:

GEORGE *R.*

His Majeſty, in further proſecution of the juſt and neceſſary war, in which he is engaged, having under his conſideration certain meaſures, which will occaſion ſome extraordinary expences not comprehended in the eſtimates laid before this houſe, hopes, from the known zeal of his faithful Commons, that he ſhall be enabled to carry on the ſame, in the moſt effectual manner.

And does his Majeſty hope leſs from his faithful Lords, that, contrary to all form and cuſtom, a demand of ſupply ſhould be made to the Commons ſingly, and your Lordſhips not have the leaſt cognizance of it? Is it to be ſuppoſed, we are not equally zealous for the ſucceſs of the preſent war? equally deſirous of ſupporting his Majeſty in the juſt proſecution of it? or is our concurrence upon all occaſions thought a thing ſo ſure, ſo certain, that the uſual forms of conſulting us are to be thus thrown aſide? Are we then fallen ſo lo, have we ſo long flattered a miniſter, that he can promiſe himſelf our eaſy compliance, tho' he refuſe us the common civility due to us, and, anſwering for our conduct, adviſe his Majeſty to apply to the Commons, as the only part of parliament that has any thing left in its diſpoſal? The time has been, my Lords, that the crown with honour and ſucceſs has conſulted this houſe; and ſure I am, that I have many Lords now in my eye, capable of giving ſuch advice to his Majeſty, as would tend to the glory of his reign, and the welfare of his people,

I am ſorry, my Lords, I cannot charitably ſuppoſe, that this contempt of us proceeded from a miſtake and overſight in the miniſtry. As the houſe of Commons has been the chief place of buſineſs this ſeſſions, it is poſſible your Lordſhips may be as much out of ſome people's thoughts, as the convocation is; but hardly, I believe, out of a miniſter's. Some little circumſtances or other are perpetually reminding him of us. Beſides, my Lords, this is not the firſt indignity of the kind that has been offered us. In the year 1726, the ſame

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ſame thing happened; and in a meſſage from his Majeſty to the houſe of Commons (probably penned by the ſame hand as this) the appellation of *parliament* was given them, as if the parliament of England were compoſed of their body only. I muſt, therefore, conſider the preſent caſe as a repeated invaſion of the privileges of this houſe, highly reflecting upon the dignity of every Peer who has a ſeat in it. Why this has been thought a proper time for ſuch an attack, I know not, unleſs it be ſuppoſed, that the eſſence of parliament is loſt. Was this the caſe, my Lords, (which God forbid!) we ſhould do right, however, to keep up the forms and cuſtoms of it, and maintain at leaſt the appearance of what our anceſtors enjoyed. If there are any ſuch reflecting ſuppoſitions as theſe, if there are any ſuch as flatter themſelves, that a ſucceſsful corruption has baniſhed the freedom of parliament, it is our duty, my Lords, to blaſt ſuch hopes, and ſhew we are not yet ſuch humble dependents upon power, as tamely to offer a ſacrifice of our rights, whenever a miniſter pleaſes to call for them. What a melancholy proſpect ſhould we lay before the eyes of our countrymen, whoſe expiring liberties call loudly for our aid, if we the guardians of their rights, were no longer to be protectors of our own!

Who, my Lords, could have been the author of this meſſage, I own I am at a loſs to ſay. It could not have been his Majeſty's; his royal favours to ſo many of your Lordſhips, is a ſure proof of his tender regard to the honour and dignity of this houſe: it could not have been dictated by any of the Lords of his Majeſty's Privy-council; they never would have adviſed ſo great an infringement of their own privileges; nay, they could not even have had cognizance of it; if they had, they would have prevented it. Whoſeſoever's work it was, thus far I will venture to ſay, my Lords, that it was formed upon that fatal, yet favourite plan of leſſening the credit of parliament. For this dreadful purpoſe, is it not enough, that every office and honour in the church and ſtate paſs thro' the hands of one man? Is it not enough, that he has it in his power to put virtue to the teſt, by privately applying that temptation which he thinks is moſt likely to ſucceed? Muſt alſo a general aſſault be given to the whole body of us; and ſhall the dignity and honour of this houſe be treated as cavalierly as the miſerable character of any ſingle dependent?

To avoid the odium and reproach ſuch an invaſion of our privileges muſt naturally incur, it has been artfully inſinuated, my Lords, that this is matter of diſpute between the Commons and us: ſo that under the pretence of aſſerting the rights of one houſe of parliament, the rights of the other may the more eaſily be violated. My Lords, this is no matter of diſpute between the Commons and your Lordſhips: we aſk nothing new, nothing unprecedented: we don't attack any of their privileges; we only deſire to remain in the poſſeſſion of our own: our utmoſt ambition in the preſent caſe is, to be look'd upon as a houſe of parliament, and conſulted by his Majeſty as ſuch. When our rights are thus plain and indubitable, our caſe becomes national, and the Commons themſelves are intereſted in the ſupport of it: whenever the dignity and authority of this houſe is brought low, their rights and privileges won't be of long duration; and whenever any impious hand dare impoſe ſhackles upon us, the ſame fate will be prepared for every other part of the legiſlature.

From ſuch a calamity the uninfluenced ſpirit of liberty that reigns in this houſe, the independent ſentiments of your Lordſhips, (which neither intereſt nor power can wean from your country's cauſe) will, no doubt, ſufficiently protect the preſent age; but we may lay foundations for the future diſhonour of this houſe, if we let paſs, unregarded, ſuch dangerous precedents, as I apprehended this of his Majeſty's demand of ſupply to the houſe of Commons ſingly. I muſt, therefore, humbly move your Lordſhips, that you would come to this reſolution, *That it is contrary to the cuſtoms of parliament, and derogatory to*

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to the privileges of this house, that a message signed by his Majesty, asking a further supply for the carrying on a war, should be sent to the house of Commons singly, without taking any notice of this house.

L. Duronius *spoke next, in substance thus:*

My Lords,

I Shall always be as jealous of the honour, and of the rights and privileges of this house, as any Lord in it; and shall be as ready to resent any indignity that may be put upon it. But, my Lords, we can put no greater indignity upon ourselves, than that of being jealous without cause, or resenting without reason. In common life, a man that is unreasonably suspicious, and apt to take every thing as an affront, is always uneasy in himself, and generally despised by others. It will be the same with your Lordships: if you should suppose you are affronted, when no affront is designed, or insist upon rights that do not properly belong to you, it will be the most effectual method you can take, for lessening or annihilating that respect which is due to you, as the highest and most august assembly in the nation. It is not by jealousies and suspicions, or by menacing resolutions, that we are to preserve that character which this house has for so many ages deservedly borne; but by a prudent and steady conduct, and by shewing, that in all our proceedings we have sincerely at heart, the honour of the crown, the privileges of the subject, and the happiness of the nation.

I am not only surprised, but sorry, that any Lord in this house should imagine, that his Majesty, or any one that advised him, intended to put an affront upon this house, by sending to the Commons the message which the Noble Lord has been pleased to mention, without sending at the same time the like message to this house. I am convinced, there was no affront designed; and I cannot see the least shadow of reason, why any Lord should imagine there was. So far otherwise, my Lords, I must think it would have been extremely improper to have sent any such message to this house; because it relates to nothing but the supplies for the service of the ensuing year. It is the business of the other house to grant the necessary supplies, it is from the other house that such supplies are asked by the crown; and therefore, it is to the other house, and, I think, to it alone, that application ought to be made for any additional supply.

In all the speeches that have been made from the throne for many years past, your Lordships may observe, that our sovereign has always addressed himself particularly to the Gentlemen of the house of Commons, when he mentioned the supplies necessary for the current service. In that speech which his present Majesty made at the opening of this session, he addresses himself particularly to the Gentlemen of the house of Commons, and tells them, that he has ordered the estimates to be laid before them, and that he hopes they will grant such effectual supplies as may enable him to carry on the war with vigour. Was that particular address to the other house then found fault with? was it ever found fault with? And yet, I must be of opinion, that we have as much reason, or rather more, to find fault with his Majesty's addressing himself upon that occasion to the house of Commons singly, as we can have, to find fault with his having sent this message to that house singly.

Our concurrence, 'tis true, my Lords, is necessary for every article of supply that can be granted by the other house; but that concurrence has always been expected without being asked by the crown. Why therefore should we look upon its not having been ask'd by the crown upon this occasion, as a neglect, or as any sign of disrespect? Nay, if your Lordships will but consider the words of the message, you must see, that his Majesty could not send it to this house. In that message his Majesty acquaints his Commons, that he has under his consideration, certain measures which would occasion some extraordinary expences, not comprehended in the estimates laid before that house.

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ould his Majeſty have expreſſed himſelf ſo to this houſe? have we any eſtimates before us, or was it ever cuſtomary to lay any ſuch eſtimates before us? The meſſage therefore, if it had been ſent to this houſe, muſt have been altered ſome way or other; and, I confeſs, I am at a loſs to conceive, how it could have been altered, ſo as to make it proper for being ſent to this houſe, without inſerting ſome words that might have created a jealouſy in the other; and this jealouſy might, perhaps, have bred a contention between the two houſes, that would have been of the moſt dangerous conſequence in the preſent conjuncture.

This, my Lords, is no groundleſs inſinuation or pretence, in order to excuſe the not ſending that meſſage to this houſe as well as the other. The ſole right of granting ſupplies is a right which the other houſe has always moſt ſtrenuouſly aſſerted, and we as pertinaceouſly refuſed to admit. It is a diſpute that has occaſioned great heats between the two houſes as often as it has been revived, and has ſometimes put a full ſtop to all publick buſineſs. How fatal this might be in our preſent circumſtances, I muſt beg your Lordſhips to conſider. We are now, my Lords, engaged in a dangerous war for vindicating the rights and privileges of the nation; and therefore, I muſt beg, that every Lord who has a concern for our ſucceſs, would take care to avoid every thing that may give riſe to a conteſt about particular rights and privileges amongſt ourſelves. This, I dread, may be the fate of the preſent queſtion. If we ſhould agree to it, I'm afraid, it will be conſider'd as a claim ſet up by us, that no article of ſupply ought to be demanded of the houſe of Commons, without demanding it at the ſame time of us. This I muſt look upon as a new claim: it is a claim for which we have no precedent; and it is a claim that will, I fear, create a miſunderſtanding between us and the Commons: for which reaſon I muſt beg leave to think the Noble Lord's motion no way proper at preſent; but whether it may be proper to put a negative upon it, or to put the previous queſtion, I muſt leave to your Lordſhips conſideration.

The next that ſtood up was T. Quintius *whoſe ſpeech was as follows.*

WHen I conſider you, my Lords, as the ſupreme council of the crown, and in a yet higher light, as the hereditary guardians of the liberties of a free, brave, and once flouriſhing people, I am ſtruck with ſuch reverential reſpect, ſuch awful veneration, that I can ſcarcely give utterance to my thoughts in this auguſt aſſembly. But when I reflect upon the inſults offered to your dignity, the contempt ſhewn to your authority, that reverence, that veneration hath a contrary effect upon my mind. Zeal for your rights, zeal for the intereſt of my country, inflames my breaſt, and drives from thence every ſelfiſh conſideration: I am impatient to vindicate your honour, and eager to violate that ſilence prudence would always direct me to obſerve.

When I read the printed votes, by which you were inform'd of the tranſaction that gave riſe to the important buſineſs of this day; I read them with concern, with aſtoniſhment, with indignation. I endeavoured to diſcover, what could have occaſioned this neglect from his Majeſty, this affront from his adminiſtration. I thoroughly examined the late conduct of the majority of your Lordſhips, and found nothing that could incur the diſpleaſure of thoſe in power. Whatever meaſure they have condeſcended to communicate to your Lordſhips, hath always obtained your approbation; and, in regard to publick œconomy, to which the meſſage taken notice of is chiefly relative, tho' it is far from my intention to flatter you, I muſt ſay, you have never ſhewn a diſpoſition ſo niggardly, as to oppoſe a ſingle ſcheme of miniſterial generoſity.

On the contrary, my Lords, you have given indiſputable proofs of your contempt for ſordid national frugality: you have behaved as if you were perſuaded, the kingdom abounded as much in wealth, as the heads of thoſe who have,

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have, in some former times, had the management of affairs, were fertile in projects to squander and consume it. Nor do you entertain such a belief without substantial cause; for it would be absurd to imagine, 200,000 l. could be annually distributed among a part of your Lordships, by a nation which doth not enjoy the utmost affluence. But merit in every way deserves a suitable reward; and tho' a hundred lucrative employments are possessed by members of this august assembly, the duty expected from them is so exactly observed, that the greatest part is enjoyed with unenvied reputation.

The Commons have gone great lengths in excluding your Lordships from any authority to alter money-bills, tho' no aid can be granted, no taxes imposed, without your consent. They are very expert in explaining, and assiduous in contriving precedents to support this unreasonable infringement of your privileges; and, in this point, every relaxation of your own, is a confirmation of their power. But, my Lords, what you have hitherto scorned verbally to admit, I hope you will disdain virtually to allow. The whole nation is concerned in your supporting your constitutional rights; for tho' some short-sighted politicians may imagine, by lessening you, the Commons will be aggrandized, in fact it will be found, that every attempt to render you insignificant, will be a step towards making the crown absolute.

The other house hath been under the controul of one of its own members: may it never again be in the like abject state! But should that vile, detestable, seductive art, corruption, ever insinuate itself into that assembly, the effects may be as fatal, tho' the means more contemptible, than the hypocrisy, sagacity and intrepidity of Cromwel. If a majority in that house, instead of being really the representatives of the nation, should be elected by not more than 50,000, out of *ten millions* of people, and those 50,000 the dregs of the populace; if a minister, by the assistance of a venal crew, the direct representatives of their infamous constituents, should be secure of carrying every point, according to his own inclinations, if by them he shall be able to frustrate every enquiry into publick measures; if any motion to prevent a mercenary contagion from extending its baneful influence over those intrusted with the liberties of their country, shall be insolently rejected; if a law in the statute-books for that salutary purpose, shall be notoriously violated, and explained contrary both to the spirit and letter of such a law: what will be the fate of this unhappy nation, if your Lordships are not then in a condition to protect your country?

I beg pardon for having trespassed so long upon your Lordships time. The motion is so moderate, a mere assertion of indubitable rights, that, I think, no method of evading it ought to be used. Indeed, if strength of argument, enlivened by all the force of eloquence, and truth delivered with dignity, because dictated by a heart whose predominant passion is the publick welfare, can have any weight here, the fate of the Noble Lord's motion, may be safely rested upon what he hath so fully, so honestly urged in support of it.

[*This Journal to be continued.*]

The characters assumed by the speakers.

Aulus Gabinius, Philip Gybbons, Esq;
Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus, Joseph Danvers, Esq;
Cn. Fulvius, Henry Fox, Esq;
L. Duronius, Lord Delawar.
M. Horatius Barbatus, Earl of Halifax.

[*See p.* 227. 264. & 316.]

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR,

IT is a surprising thing how men, really of good sense, should suffer themselves to be imposed upon in the manner and to the degree we in fact find they sometimes are.

Thus a correspondent of your's [*p.* 362.] professes to believe certain queries to be an undeniable argument against *liberty*, and to conclude in favour of *universal fate*. Pre-

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Presuming upon his sincerity, I shall endeavour to point out his error. And,

First, *Every action must have a cause*; to deny this being to run foul of a contradiction.

Again, *Every cause must have been adequate to produce the action whereof it is in the supposition allowed to be the cause*; the contrary likewise implying a direct contradiction.

But where, I beseech you, is the third idea which connects those two propositions?

Every cause was adequate to produce the action of which it is granted to be the cause; therefore it could not but do it. —By what kind of reasoning does it follow, that what is *possible*, is *necessary* also? *I am*, &c.

Glasg. Coll. PHILARETUS.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR, *Sept.* 4.

YOur correspondent *Parthenophilos*'s answer [*p.* 330.] to my question, is indeed, in my opinion, the very best that can be given; but yet is far from vindicating the doctrine, or discipline, which you please, of the church of *Rome* from an absurdity. For, let us suppose, that the grace which each of the sacraments confer, is general, *i. e.* grace suited to all the various conditions and difficult circumstances of mankind in this world; then my question, *Why does the church of Rome deny any of the sacraments to clergymen?* remains in its full force: for the grace which every one of them confers, is, upon the supposition, not peculiar to particular persons or occasions, like spurs or helmets, but universally and always necessary, like meat, cloaths, or common air. But suppose, that the grace which each of the sacraments confer, is particular; that matrimony confers grace for the difficulties and inconveniencies of that state; orders for the difficulties of that state, *&c.* then this would lead us into the absurdity of sacraments almost *ad infinitum*: for there is no state, nor place, nor action, nor scene of life, that hath not its own proper and peculiar temptations. So that, in place of seven, we ought to have seven hundred sacraments: we ought to have a sacrament for conversation, a sacrament for sitting in the house, a sacrament for walking the streets, a sacrament for every one of our senses; for we are in danger from these. But suppose, once more, that some of the sacraments confer a general, and others a particular grace; that baptism, or the Lord's supper, for instance, confer grace for all the difficulties of human life; and that matrimony, orders, *&c.* confer particular graces for the inconveniencies of their respective states: Is not this, once to receive the *whole*, and then, upon certain occasions, to receive parts of that *whole* which we had before? which is the same, as if my friend should make me a present of a large estate *in gros*, and then take it in his head, when I was in possession of it, to present me again with the several farms of it one by one.

Your correspondent, after he thinks he has answer'd my objection, proceeds to give some arguments for celibacy in clergymen. He prays me, *first*, to consider 1 *Cor.* vii. 7. 8. 32. 33. and 38. which, I must say, seem to make very little for his purpose. If these prove any thing for him, they certainly prove too much; for, as they are directed to all Christians in general, they are every whit as strong and conclusive against matrimony in the laity as in the clergy: a doctrine which the veriest libertines of the age will heartily give into.

But if we consider other places of scripture, which certainly ought to be attended to in the explication of any particular passage, or if we will allow the Apostle to be consistent with himself, he surely means no more here, than to advise the *Corinthians* to continue unmarried, as the safest state at that time, when the profession of Christianity was reputed a crime, and attended with many hardships.

But let us, for argument's sake, suppose, that what the Apostle says, in the places referred to by *Parthenophilos*, are directed to the clergy alone, and are to be a standing rule in all ages; yet the

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doctrine of the church of *Rome*, forbidding marriage to the clergy without exception of any particular cases, is inconsistent with the allowance which the Apostle makes in the 9th verse of this chapter. *But if* [says he] *they cannot contain, let them marry: for it is better to marry than to burn.* Now, were this the case with a clergyman of any degree or order, were it the case with the Pope himself, and it will be difficult to prove this impossible, he would have an allowance from scripture to marry, and so might do it with a very good conscience, any law of man to the contrary notwithstanding.

And now I would take the liberty, in my turn, to pray *Parthenophilus* to consider 1 *Cor.* vii. 2. *Heb.* xiii. 4. 1 *Tim.* iv. 1. 3. & iii. 2. 4. where, by *children*, I would have him understand *children of marriage*, and not *bastards*; *John* ii. upon which says Dr. *Stanhope*, *Paraphrase*, *vol.* 2. *p.* 76. "Had this [marriage] been unbecoming the purity of his most sanctified disciples, would our most holy master, think you, have graced such a solemnity with his presence? Would that pattern, that fountain of all purity, have chosen a polluted ordinance for the occasion of his first miracle? — I urge not the conjecture, because but a conjecture, that this feast was for the marriage of that very disciple whom *Jesus* loved: but I ought not to forbear, and I leave you to apply that character given by St *Paul*, who, without limitation to persons of any quality, declares, that forbidding to marry is one mark of seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils." The last place I mention is, 1 *Cor.* ix. 5. from which it appears, that the Apostles were not only married, but that they carried their wives about with them where-ever they went.

Your correspondent's *second* argument is, the opinion of an eminent Protestant; which, by the way, is the same with the opinion of a very eminent Papist, *Bellarm. de clericis, lib.* 1. *cap.* 19. What the doctrine and practice of the Protestants is as to this, is so well known, that I need only refer your readers to *Calvin. Inst. lib.* 4. *cap.* 12.

In the *last* place, "Celibacy [says he] is a more perfect state." That I grant him: for, in another world, we are told, *there will be neither marrying nor giving in marriage*. But I refuse that celibacy is a state of greater perfection now. Perfection, to be sure, is to be measured by the suitableness of actions to the being and condition of the agent; and so perfection in our present condition and period of existence, consists in doing those things which are suitable to our present state; of which, propagating our species in the way God has commanded, that is, by marriage, is one. Prayer, confession, sorrow for sin, provision for ourselves and families, the office of clergyman, *&c.* as well as marriage, will all be left behind us when we pass into a more exalted state; but, I hope, your correspondent will not allledge, that this is a good reason for the neglecting them now. The truth is, while we are inhabitants of this earth, and in this inferior stage of our existence, these are necessary duties, and ought to be performed; and to neglect or overlook them, is to forget where, and in what condition we are at present: it is to grasp at a better state too soon; it is to pull down the scaffolding before the house is built. *I am*, &c.

PHILOGAMOS.

A Fable for the use of every Freeholder.

AN honest Freeholder *of* [a] Crowle
Design'd for [b] Pomfret *fair*;
The North-wind blew, the sky was foul,
And stormy clouds about did roll;
But troth he did not care.

He buckled fast his russet-coat,
Which trusty Joan *had spun*:
"Blow on, quo' he, I heed thee not!
Thy puffs I value not a jot!
I'm safe, and will jog on!"

Phœbus *the sturdy lad espy'd,*
Vex'd at his stubborn humour,
Saith he, "Thy courage shall be try'd,
I'll make thee lay thy coat aside,
By one kind smile of summer."

[a] A village in Yorkshire. [b] Pontefract.

He

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then calls forth his keeneſt darts,
Pointed with piercing heat.
The day, quo' Tom, *grows woundy*
muſt be forc'd to doff my coat: [hot;
Good Lord, ſirs, how I ſweat!"

Is ruſſet-jerkin off he caſt,
And in a buſh did hide it,
Then in his doublet jogg'd on faſt,
Caring no future ſtorm or blaſt,
In hopes no knave eſpy'd it.

The Sun withdrew his wonted rays,
Boreas *began to roar;* [face,
Dark clouds did maſk the day's bright
Hail'd and ſnow'd o'er [a] Hatfield-
Far faſter than before. [chace,

When back trudg'd Tom, *his coat to don,*
For ſafety, warmth and ſhelter:
But ah in vain; his coat was gone,
And thro' the weather he muſt on,
Tho' it rain'd helter-ſkelter.

The MORAL.

This home-ſpun ruſſet-coat,
Deceptb'rers would declare,
Doth Engliſh liberty *denote,*
Our birth-right *of free choice and vote,*
Which we ſhould keep with care.

When, faithful to ourſelves, we o'er
Our boſoms gripp'd it faſt,
In vain the angry breath of pow'r
Did like a tempeſt rage and roar,
While we defy'd the blaſt.

The ſmiling courtier, *like the Sun,*
With gloſſing words beguiles us;
But leaves us when his work is done,
Thro' every ſtorm *and* tax *to run,*
And every rogue to ſpoil us.

Then buckle cloſe your ruſſet-coat,
Which careful ſires did purchaſe;
The courtier *will not give a groat,*
To ſave us from a ſtorm, *God wot:*
His buſineſs is to lurch us.

[a] A large tract of common ground.

On Dean BERKLEY.

DEan Berkley *ſays the world's not* real,
That all things but deceive *him:*
His ſcheme, 'tis certain, is ideal;
And who, but muſt believe him?

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR,

THO' the following tranſlation of *Pythagoras's Golden Verſes* has already appeared in print, yet as I believe it is rarely to be met with, and may not have fallen into the hands of many of your readers, I doubt not but a republication of it will be very acceptable; as they will find the ſublime ſentiments of a Heathen, ſo beautifully and juſtly copied by the *Engliſh* poet. *Your's, &c.* T. V.

FIrſt, the great Gods *thy utmoſt rev'rence claim:*
Uſe with religious awe their ſacred name.
Aſſur'd they view thy ways, let nought controul
The oath thou once haſt bound upon thy ſoul.
Next, to the Heroes *bear a grateful mind,*
Whoſe gen'rous cares and toils have bleſt mankind.
Let juſt reſpect and decent rites be paid
To the immortal Manes *of the dead.*
Honour thy Parents *and the next of kind;*
And virtuous men *where-ever thou canſt find,*
In the ſame bond of love let them be join'd.
Uſeful and ſteady let thy life proceed;
Mild ev'ry word, good-natur'd ev'ry deed.
Oh, never with the man thou lov'ſt contend!
But bear a thouſand frailties from thy friend.
Raſhly inflam'd, vain ſpleen, and ſlight ſurmiſe
To real feuds and endleſs diſcords riſe.
O'er luſt, o'er anger, keep the ſtricteſt rein;
Subdue thy ſlaſh, thy appetite reſtrain.
With no vile action venture to comply,
No, tho' unſeen by ev'ry mortal eye.
Above all witneſſes thy Conſcience *fear,*
And more than all mankind thyſelf revere.
One way let all thy words and actions tend,
Reaſon *their conſtant guide, and* Truth *their end.*
And ever mindful of thy mortal ſtate,
How quick, how various are the turns of fate;
How here, how there the tides of fortune roll;
How ſoon impending death concludes the whole;
Compoſe thy mind; and free from anxious ſtrife
Endure thy portion of the ills of life:
Tho' ſtill the good man *ſtands ſecure from harms,*
Nor can misfortune *wound whom* Virtue *arms.*
Diſcourſe in common converſe, thou wilt find
Some to improve, and ſome to taint the mind:
Grateful to that *a due obſervance pay;*
Beware leſt this *entice thy thoughts aſtray;*
And bold untruths, which thou art forc'd to hear,
Receive diſcreetly with a patient ear.
Wouldſt thou be juſtly rank'd among the wiſe?
Think, ere thou doſt; ere thou reſolv'ſt, adviſe.

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Still let thy aims with thy experience square,
And plan thy conduct with sagacious care.
So shalt thou all thy course with pleasure run,
Nor wish an action of thy life undone.
Among the various ends of thy desires,
'Tis no inferior place thy Health *requires.*
Firmly for this from all excess refrain;
Thy cups be mod'rate, and thy diet plain:
Nor yet unelegant thy board supply;
But shun the nauseous pomp of luxury.
Let spleen by chearful converse be withstood,
And honest labour purify thy blood.
Each night, ere needful slumber seals thy eyes,
Home to thy soul let these reflections rise:
How has to-day my duty been express'd?
What have I done, omitted, or transgress'd?
Then grieve the moments thou hast idly spent:
The rest will give thee comfort and content.
Be these good rules thy study and delight;
Practise by day, and ponder them by night.
Thus all thy thoughts to Virtue's *height shall rise,*
And Truth *shall stand unveil'd before thy eyes;*
Of beings the whole system shalt thou see,
Rang'd as they are in beauteous harmony;
Whilst all depend from one *superior cause,*
And Nature *works obedient to her laws.*
Hence, as thou labour'st with judicious care
To run the course allotted to thy share,
Wisdom, *refulgent with a heav'nly ray,*
Shall clear thy prospect and direct thy way.
Then all around compassionately view
The wretched ends which vain mankind pursue;
Toss'd to and fro by each impetuous gust,
The rage of passion, and the fire of lust,
No certain stay, no safe retreat they know;
But blindly wander thro' a maze of woe.
Mean while congenial vileness works within,
And custom quite subdues the soul to sin.
Save us from this distress, almighty Jove!
Our minds illumine, or our ills remove.
But oh! secure from all, thy *life is led,*
Whose feet the happy paths of Virtue *tread:*
Thou *stand'st united to the race divine,*
And the perfection of the Gods is thine;
Imperial Reason, *free from all controul,*
Maintains her just dominion in thy soul;
Till purg'd at length from ev'ry sinful stain,
When friendly death shall break the cumbrous chain,
Loos'd from thy body thou shalt take thy flight,
And range immortal in the fields of light.

The NAKED TRUTH. To LUCINDA.

BEst of your sex! your god-like mien,
And matchless virtue charm my heart;
Your wit and beauty,— all combine
To melt my soul in ev'ry part.

The force of thy soul-winning charms
How can a mortal heart resist!
Ev'n gods wou'd sink within your arms,
And die in raptures on thy breast.

Eve, *finish'd by th' Almighty hand,*
Before the fall like you thus shin'd;
But in one point alone you stand;
You never err'd at all— Eve *sin'd.*

LUCIDUS.

A SIGH. To DELIA.

BRight DELIA *has a thousand charms,*
Serene as infant-day;
Ten thousand raptures fire my breast,
When I these charms survey.

A glance from her soul-winning eyes,
Transporting joys can give:
She smiles, I'm in a paradise;
Her frowns forbid to live.

Cease, tyrant love, tumultuous boy,
And ease the tort'ring pain;
Let silent night at least be spent
In pleasing dreams, tho' vain.

When balmy slumbers close my eyes,
Send DELIA *to my arms;*
I'll grasp the dear deluding bliss,
And die 'mong fancy'd charms.

SALINDOR.

ANACREON, ode 56. *By* C. C.

ALas! the pow'rs of life decay,
My hairs are fall'n, or chang'd to gray!
The smiling bloom, and youthful grace
Is banish'd from my faded face!
Thus man beholds, with weeping eyes,
Himself half-dead before he dies.
For this, and for the grave I fear,
And pour the never-ceasing tear!
A dreadful prospect strikes my eye,
I soon must sicken, soon must die.
For this the mournful groan I shed,
I dread — alas! the hour I dread!
What eye can steadfastly survey
Death, and its dark tremendous way?
For soon as fate has clos'd our eyes,
Man dies:— for ever, ever dies!
All pale, all senseless in the urn!
Never, ah! never to return.

CRAFTS-

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CRAFTSMAN, N° 738, 39, 40.

SIR,

IT is but of little import, either to you or your readers, *who* I am, or what may be the *real motives* which have occasioned *this letter*; for, let me make the strongest professions of *sincerity* and *disinterestedness*, if my arguments are not founded upon truth and equity, I shall soon appear to be ignorant and false. But thus much I will venture to say, in my own favour, that as I have no malice or envy in my heart, I hope that I have shewn none in my expressions. — The *persons* to whom I write, are a plain, honest, well-meaning set of men; and I have endeavoured to address myself to them in a suitable manner. It cannot be expected, that *persons*, upon whose constant care and labour the welfare and support of their families so immediately depend, can spare their time in *deep politicks*, or *mysteries of state*. I have therefore purposely avoided all nice subtleties, or declamatory harangues; and have only fairly stated and submitted facts, with natural inferences drawn from them, to their serious consideration. Without farther preface, if you think what I have offer'd may be of any use to the *persons* to whom I write, I am persuaded you will communicate it to them; if not, that you will at least be so good as to pardon this intrusion upon your time, by, *&c.*

To the FREEHOLDERS *and* FARMERS *of* ENGLAND.

I Address this letter to you, my *fellow countrymen*, as you are the people least corrupt in your morals, most useful by your calling, and are likewise so nearly concerned in the business upon which I am going to write. If *others* are more wealthy than *you*, from whence do their riches flow but from your industry? What would *land* be worth, without the cultivation of the *laborious farmer*? *Commerce*, *rents*, *pensions* and *salaries* arise all from the *sweat of your brows*. In short, your good and the good of the whole kingdom are inseparably united.

But tho' you are so numerous, have such large dealings, and are the most useful set of men with which a nation can be bless'd, your influence in *publick affairs*, which so nearly concern you, is almost quite lost, by neglecting to act with vigour and in concert.

You ought to be *watchful*; for you may be *powerful*; and as *your interest* is the same, *your conduct* ought to be so too.

He is a *bad husbandman*, who suffers the honey of the *industrious bee* to be destroy'd by *drones*; and there may be a *set of men* as destructive to the *farmer* as *insects* and *vermin* to the *bee-hive*. — I will endeavour to shew you who *these* are, with the most proper means to relieve your growing distresses, and to prevent the like dangers for the future. In pursuit of this, I will put every thing in as plain and clear a light as I am capable to do, and as the nature of the business will admit.

I shall first desire you to consider how greatly the expences of *farming* have increased within these *fifty years*. I don't mean in *luxuries*, but in the *common necessaries of life*. I know it is said, that *farmers* live higher now than they formerly did. If by such management, more *farmers* are ruin'd now than formerly; I am afraid it is, because *farmers* are more easily ruined now than in former times; for I am sure (those within the influence of the *London* markets excepted) they can't afford to live so well. You are the best judges yourselves, whether more of you don't suffer for want of *necessaries*, than are ruin'd by the use of *superfluities*. I appeal to the memory of the most ancient amongst you, whether the many articles in *house-keeping*, (that is, *cloathing*, *workmanship*, *labourers* and *servants wages*) are not within these *fifty years* advanced a *third* or *fourth part*? These expences have increased by slow degrees, as different *taxes* and *excises* have been laid on; and as they go away in *small parcels*, and *various shapes*, they don't make so deep an impression as if issuing out in *one sum*; tho' the sum is really the same, whether paid in *one* or *twelve months*, or whether paid in *guineas* or *farthings*.

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People who are not uſed to think of *theſe things*, are eaſily deceived in their computations. If, for example, a *farmer* hath a mind to caſt up what exciſe he pays upon *leather* in a year, he informs himſelf at how much in the pound *leather* is taxed; and he thinks the reſt is eaſily done, by knowing the quantity of *leather* he uſes in that time. But he is very ſhort in his reckoning; ſince all *exciſes* magnify through every hand they paſs, till they come to the *laſt cuſtomer*, or *conſumer*; for a *tradeſman* muſt enlarge his *profit* in proportion to the money he lays out, and not only magnify the price of the *commodity* upon which it is laid, but by circulation muſt inhance the price of *all other commodities* which paſs through the hands of *manufacturers* or *tradeſmen*; for the dearer the *neceſſaries of life* are made to theſe people, the dearer muſt they ſell their goods.

From hence we ſee, that the *pooreſt man* pays his proportion to the *exciſes* of each tradeſman with whom he deals, over and above the real exciſe upon the *thing* itſelf; and tho' he and his family live upon the coarſeſt proviſions upon which human nature can ſubſiſt, yet nothing that can be ate or worn is free from the influence of *exciſes*. This is the real cauſe which hath raiſed the price of *ſervants* and *labourers wages*, tho' the *poor people* themſelves, perhaps, find it as difficult to maintain and clothe themſelves now, as *fifty years* ago, when their wages were a *fourth leſs*.

Grain, *wool*, and *cattle* are not excuſed; for the *miller*, *maltſter*, *clothier*, and *butcher* pay exciſes; ſo that the *farmer* can have none of theſe things back prepared for *his own uſe*, without paying his proportion to the exciſes of the *reſpective tradeſmen* with whom he deals. — To this, perhaps, may be greatly owing the *dearneſs of meat*, at a time when *cattle* were ſold by the *graſier* as cheap as hath been known within the memory of man. To this very cauſe is likewiſe owing the great decay of our *woollen manufacture*; for if the *manufacturer* can't ſupport his family by his labour, he muſt fly to ſome cheaper country, where *wages* and *proviſions* are better proportion'd: by which means we ſhould loſe our *manufacturers*; and, on the other hand, to raiſe their *wages*, muſt raiſe the price of *cloth*, in which the *French* underſell us at leaſt 15 *l. per cent.* at preſent.

To *exciſes* may be added the *poor's rate*, which doubtleſs hath been greatly augmented by the weight of them. I am ſpeaking of a fact, which will eaſily appear to any man, by examining the *pariſh-books*; and, as far as my curioſity hath led me, I find *this rate* doubled within theſe *fifty years*. The *farmer* not only pays his *own poor's rate*, but, as in *exciſes*, he pays his proportion of the *poor's rate* of all the *tradeſmen* he deals with: but I don't ſee that, in return, they pay any thing towards *his exciſes*, or *extraordinary expences*.

Dealers and *artificers* proportion their ſtocks according to the demand of their *cuſtomers*; but the *farmer* muſt pay his rent and cultivate his land at any expence, without knowing to what market he ſhall bring his *cattle* or *grain*. A *plentiful harveſt* may ruin a *farmer*, as well as *miſſing of crops*; for but few can afford to lay up a year's produce, the *labourer's wages* being always deareſt in *plentiful harveſts*, as the demands for them are then always greateſt: and let *exciſes* be ever ſo numerous, he can't raiſe the price of *grain* or *cattle* in proportion to his *expences*; which hath been evident by the *cheapneſs of corn* a few years ago: for it is *plenty* and *ſcarcity* alone which muſt regulate the markets of the *fruits* and *productions of the earth*.

To what hath been ſaid may be added another melancholy reflection; which is, that the money ariſing from *theſe taxes* is ſwept away to *London*, and laviſh'd there upon *foreign-bought luxuries*.

Under theſe difficulties doth the *landed intereſt of England* labour; and tho' it hath been ſo evidently the general intereſt of the nation to have *theſe exciſes* taken off; tho' for above *twenty years* running we have had ſuch a number of gracious recommendations from the throne to conſider upon means for leſſening the *publick debts*, which have been

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been answered by suitable addresses, as if the measure had been really intended; notwithstanding the various schemes which have been form'd for this purpose by the successive ministers ever since the peace of *Utrecht*: I say, notwithstanding all these things, none of our *excises* have been lessen'd. On the contrary, most of them have been augmented, by being put under more *severe* and *penal regulations*; some new ones have been raised; and the *national debts* have been but little diminished.— This, at first sight, may appear surprising; but, whether it will not abate our surprise, when we remember that there have been near *two hundred placemen* and *officers* in most of the *houses of Commons*, during that space of time? may be a question worthy of consideration.

Most of *these excises* were laid on for *thirty two years*, and would have expired about this time, had they not been continued from time to time, and at last made perpetual, in order to increase the *sinking fund*.— It may therefore be proper in this place to inform you what is meant by the *sinking fund*.

During the wars in K. *William*'s and Q. *Anne*'s reigns, *these taxes* were raised to borrow money upon; and after the peace of *Utrecht*, the *debt of the nation* was stated; when it appeared that the money arising from *those taxes* yearly overpaid the interest of money borrow'd by the publick. This overplus was first call'd the *aggregate fund*, and afterwards the *sinking fund*; meaning a fund to take off the *excises* in time, by paying off and sinking the *debts of the nation*: and had it been thus constantly apply'd, instead of having our *debts* but little lessen'd, we should by this time have been freed from the greatest part of them.

It would be too tedious to enumerate the many applications to which *this fund* hath been subjected since it was first form'd; but it is very evident, in general, from the slow operation of it, that it hath been very much diverted from the original design. I shall therefore only give one instance, which may serve as a specimen of the sincerity of *those worthy Gentlemen*, who are so fond of serving their country in the double capacity of *placemen* and *senators*.

To lessen the *debt of the nation*, and to take off some of the *most burdensome excises*, was so notoriously the interest of the kingdom, and had been so long in every body's mouth, that the *placemen* thought proper to make a shew of yielding to the general clamour of the nation; and as the *salt-duty* fell so heavy upon the *consumer*, and brought in so little to the *publick*, in proportion to the *expence of collection*, it was agreed upon that the *said tax* should be taken off, and a further promise was made, that *more taxes* should be redeem'd as fast as the *sinking fund* should make way. I must here observe, that the *salt-duty* was, at that time, part of the *sinking fund*.

It was the firm persuasion of many people, that *this tax* ought not to have been laid on again, unless some very great exigence of state should make it necessary. But all this proved to be wrong reasoning; for the *men in power* were of a different opinion. *This tax* therefore was taken from the *sinking fund*, and dropp'd, in the year 1730; and in 1732 it was revived, to save a *shilling in the pound land-tax* for that year only.

By what hath been said, we see what mighty things have been done for us by *placemen*, during a term of above *twenty seven years* past; and from what hath been done, may we not reasonably conclude what will be done for the same time to come, if left to the *same unlimited powers?*

That the nation is overwhelm'd with *debt*, is certain. That *excises* are so heavy upon *trade*, that we can hardly move under them, is as certain. But whilst all this hath been doing, hath no body grown *rich?* Have we not all seen numbers of *considerable estates* raised from the *smallest beginnings*, from the *lowest stations in office*, tho' but very few persons have got the secret of growing rich in *those places*, who could not obtain a seat in *another place?* Are we to conclude that all *these estates* have been honestly raised, because so few enqui-

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ries have been made how they were raiſed? or may we not ſuppoſe that more enquiries would have been made, if ſo large a number of Gentlemen had not been allow'd to act in a *double capacity?*

The *repreſentatives of a nation* receive their authority from the *people*, and are equally intruſted by them, not only to raiſe *money*, but likewiſe to enquire how *that money* is laid out. I ſhould therefore think it no unreaſonable prohibition, to have *our own delegates* reſtrain'd from being too intimately interwoven in the *ſubordinate offices*, thro' which the *publick money* is diſtributed.

A *juror* may be ſtruck off the pannel, not only in a cauſe which relates to *himſelf*, but even if a *near relation* is concerned in the event of it. No man's teſtimony can be admitted in a *court of judicature*, till he firſt ſwears that he is neither to *get* nor *loſe* by the verdict; and *judges* have had the modeſty to go off the bench whilſt *their own cauſe* hath been trying by their brethren. But *officers* and *placemen* in parliament are *witneſſes*, *jurors*, and *judges* too, in the cauſe between the *publick* and *themſelves*.

Are we to judge of a man's integrity by *his own recommendation?* If ſo, *no fraud* can ever be detected. Nor is it always fair to judge by conſequences. But in a *joint ſtock*, if a man wins for *himſelf*, and loſes for his *partners*, we may ſurely paſs ſentence. Whether this is the *preſent ſtate of publick affairs*, is the queſtion in agitation; which I think requires the ſtricteſt examination. But ſurely the *inqueſt* ought not to be made up of *parties concerned*.

Nothing is more evident, than that every fraud committed in negotiating the *publick money* muſt increaſe the *publick expence*; and I think it reaſonable that the *affairs of the publick* ſhould be examined with the ſame ſharpneſs as people manage their *private affairs*, that all encroachments might be ſtopt in their infancy, before evil practice had made any frauds look'd upon as the *juſtifiable perquiſites of office*: for who will ſerve his country without *high wages*, or ſell his goods for a *reaſonable profit*, if he can be kept out of his money till he is ſtarved into a neceſſity of ſelling his ſecurity at 20 or 30 *per cent.* diſcount, as often hath been the caſe in *navy bills* and *debentures*, which it is ſaid have been bought up clandeſtinely by *placemen of intereſt*, whoſe influence, as ſoon as they and their friends were ſerved, hath been ſufficient to get them immediately paid off. Theſe dealings are called by the modeſt name of *jobs*.

Will any man ſell *timber* or *cattle* as cheap to the *publick* as to *private perſons*, if they are to perquiſite the open fiſts of *half a dozen purveyors?* or, if the *clothing of a regiment* is to be perquiſited out by a *Colonel* for 1000 or 1500*l.* muſt not the *poor ſoldier* ſuffer, and be forced upon needy practices, or have his pay increaſed? This in effect is now done in the *camp*, by ſupplying them with bread at a price much below what it coſt. Muſt not *all ſuch expences* fall upon the *publick?* and upon whom ſo heavily as upon the *farmer* and the *landed intereſt?*

Theſe, and ſuch like practices, have been at various times imputed to *placemen*; but whether the *preſent ſet* are guilty, is to me unknown. The ſuſpicion of ſuch practices in *ſome men*, may probably ariſe from their *expenſive way of living*, or their *immenſe wealth*, where *either of theſe* apparently exceed the *known ſalaries of their places*. But a detection of the *particular frauds* can only be come at by the power and integrity of a majority of the *houſe of Commons*. I have been told by people who know more of *places* than I do, that as many *places* might be eaſily reduced, which are officiated by *deputies*, and *ſeveral commiſſions*, where the buſineſs might as well be done by a *ſecretary*, as would amount to more money than ſome of the *exciſes*.

And here, without taking upon myſelf to determine any thing in matters of ſuch great conſequence, I ſhall only aſk this plain queſtion: Whether it is natural to ſuppoſe that ſuch enquiries and regulations will be effectually made by *placemen?* If any of them ſhould be contaminated with theſe crimes, can we expect that the *guilty* will reveal *their own iniquities?* may we hope that

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Colonels and *Purveyors* will leſſen the perquiſites of *Colonels* and *Purveyors*? or is it common prudence, or, in private life, common practice, that the *ſame men* ſhould be intruſted to *raiſe money*, *pay money*, and be at laſt *accountable only to themſelves*?

We have for many years been under the influence and direction of *placemen*; and it is ſaid that they accept of *offices*, and are returned to *parliament*, for no other reaſon than to have an opportunity of ſerving the *publick*. I will not deny that this is very generous in them; nor, however my opinion may differ, will I blame their conduct in rejecting the *place-bill*, which no doubt they did out of pure zeal for the ſervice of their country, without the leaſt ſiniſter views to their own intereſt. But, ſince their *good intentions* have proved ſo unſucceſsful, and, notwithſtanding all their *wiſe endeavours*, we find ourſelves labouring under at leaſt as many difficulties as we were involved in at the peace of *Utrecht*, I cannot think, for the reaſons I have mentioned, and ſome others which I will not name, that it would be a dangerous experiment upon the conſtitution, to have a larger number of *country Gentlemen*, and the number of *placemen* more limited, in the *houſe of Commons*.

The great argument againſt ſuch a regulation is, That *country Gentlemen*, if not enticed by *courtly allurements* and *miniſterial gratuities*, would be apt to be too frugal; and as they are ſo much intereſted in the diminution of *taxes*, that they might ſuffer the nation to be defenceleſs, and expoſed to *foreign invaſions*. But theſe ſuſpicions prove their own abſurdity at firſt view: for why ſhould we imagine, that *Gentlemen of the beſt eſtates* ſhould be ſo careleſs of *themſelves*, their *children* and their *tenants*, as to leave their country expoſed? Should we not have the beſt ſecurity to guard us againſt ſuch *avaritious miſmanagement*? I mean the *natural law of ſelf-defence*: for if there ſhould be any *foreign invaſions*, or *civil commotions*, who would ſuffer ſo much as *country Gentlemen*? would not their *houſes* and *eſtates* be expoſed to the inſulting plunderers of all armies?

If the advice of *country Gentlemen* could have forced an influence on the conduct of *publick affairs*, for many years paſt, we ſhould not, perhaps, during ſo long a *peace*, have kept up ſo numerous a *land-force*; and if *war* had made an increaſe of the army neceſſary, they might have been for ſending them into *actual ſervice*; both of which might poſſibly have been done, with great ſecurity to the kingdom, and at much leſs expence.

The more profuſe the expences of a nation are, the greater opportunities may *placemen* have to enrich themſelves. We know by experience that, in *civil wars*, whatever comes to hand is generally looked upon as good plunder, let it belong to *friend* or *foe*. We can therefore have only the honour of *ſoldiers* and *placemen* to defend us from plunder and expences, when they have the management. But it is demonſtrably the intereſt of *country Gentlemen*, to be as watchful againſt *foreign invaſions* as againſt *domeſtick proſuſions*; and we ought to regard them not only as *bulwarks of defence*, but *guardians of our liberties*, and *truſty ſtewards of our expences*.

Beſides what I have already ſaid, I muſt beg leave freely to offer my thoughts upon the deſign and authority of an *aſſembly of repreſentatives*; becauſe, by ſome late doctrines, a much larger ſhare of independency is aſcribed to them, than in my opinion is conſiſtent with *ſuch a delegated power*. I ſhall here beg one queſtion, which I think cannot be denied, *viz.* That the *houſe of Commons* is inſtituted more for the *ſervice of the people*, than for *their own private emoluments*. From whence I ſhall make this plain inference, That, let them be choſen for any ſpace of time, the obligation to *their conſtituents* remains the ſame; and that they ought, upon all emergencies, to recur to, and receive inſtructions from thoſe who appointed them; becauſe I preſume *ſuch aſſemblies* are not inſtituted to leſſen the power of the *people*, but only to prevent *confuſion*, by leſſening their numbers, and thereby reducing buſineſs within the

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the compass of *regular debates*; yet surely they are subject to the consultations, informations, and instructions of *those* who sent them.

It would be a strange thing to have the *servant* above the *master*; and, literally speaking, I think we may say that the *members of the house of Commons* are the *servants of the people*; for they formerly received *wages* from them: and I had rather they would do so again, than live to see them become *their own paymasters*; because, according to the good old proverb, *to carve and to chuse does not belong to the same person*.

As I am very cautious of giving offence, I shall chuse, where I can conveniently, to illustrate my meaning by passages from *history*; by which a writer may shew those rocks upon which *other states* have split, without incurring the censure of abuse or partiality upon *our present actors*.

And first I shall quote a short passage out of *Salust*, a celebrated *Roman* historian, who in a few words describes that *state of perdition* which must always attend *corruption*. It is in his history of the war with *Jugurtha*, King of *Numidia*, who found means by *bribery* to prevail upon the *ministers* and *senators of Rome* to betray their country. He there says: "That part of the *senate* prevailed, which preferred *bribes* and *corruption* to *truth*;" and in another place, "Thus was the *publick good*, as it often happens, sacrificed to *private interest*."

Albinus was chosen *Consul*, to carry on the war, of whom the *same historian* gives this account: "But *Jugurtha* deceived the *Consul*, sometimes by carrying on the *war*, and sometimes by offering *peace*; tho' many people believed that the *Consul* was not ignorant of the *King*'s intentions, and that, after such *great preparations*, the *war* was protracted more by *treachery* than *sloth*."

Albinus, in order to preserve his interest at *Rome* at a time of *elections*, left his brother *Aulus*, a very weak and avaritious man, in his command. *This wretch* soon suffered the army to fall a sacrifice to *Jugurtha*, who forced him to a *peace*; yet such a one as was not confirmed at *Rome*. But tho' the *senate*, I presume, durst not confirm the *peace*, I don't find that *Aulus* was punished for making it; and we afterwards find *Albinus* carrying on the war in the following languid manner.

"*Albinus*, who was dismay'd at the destruction of his *brother*'s army, determined not to stir from the *Roman province*; and, during his command the remainder of the summer, he kept the army in *standing camps*, till unwholesome stenches, or want of forage, obliged him to change their situation."

I could from the same history produce other instances of the depravity and corruption of the *Roman senate*; but those I have already quoted, are sufficient to shew the dangerous consequences of a *corrupted senate*: for the same causes will always produce the same effects; and should *corruption* ever prevail in the *British senate*, we must expect the same fate. *Profuseness* would then take place of *œconomy*, and voting for a *minister* would be sooner rewarded, than beating an *enemy*. A total degeneracy must ensue. *Effeminacy* would attend upon *luxury*; and, like the *Romans*, from being the most powerful and daring people in the world, we should become the scorn and contempt of the most cowardly and impotent nations. The *British flag* would be no more dreaded by *foreign states*, than a *standard* in the middle of a common; and our *fleet* would become as little terrible, tho' hovering on the coasts of an *enemy*, as if it remained at *Spithead*.

By the quotations I have already made, it plainly appears how fatal it may be for *senators* to be withdrawn from the true object of their institution, the *good of their country*.

I will now prove, by another quotation from history, how necessary it may be that *placemen* should be liable to the inspection of *persons* who have an interest in detecting *publick frauds*.

Sir *William Monson* tells us, in his *Naval Tracts*, [*book* 3. *vol.* 3. *of Churchill's voyages*, *p.* 332.] "That at the taking in of victuals at *Tilbury Hope*, there appeared

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eared a certain proportion of BEEF nd PORK ſufficient with its ſcent to ave poiſoned the *whole company*; but y the carefulneſs of the *Quarter-maſters* it was found unſerviceable: yet, ıfter it was refuſed by the *ſaid officers of the ſhip*, and lay upon the hatches inſtowed, ſome of the *officers of the navy* repaired on board, and by their uthority, and great anger, forced it to be taken in for *good victuals*. My obſervation [ſays Sir *William*] upon this point is, that tho' the *officers of the navy* have nothing to do with the *victualling part*, yet it is likely that there is a combination between *one* and the *other*; like to the *Mayor of the corporation*, a *baker*, who for that year will favour the *brewer*, in hopes that the *brewer* will the next year do him the ſame good turn, when he becomes *Mayor*." [*See above, p.* 60. 61.]

Sir *William*'s comment is very juſt, and ſufficient to prove the uſe I would make of the quotation. I ſhall therefore conclude this head with my ſincere wiſhes, that if any *ſuch*, or *ſuch like abuſes*, ſhould ever be committed again, they may be timely diſcovered, before they have power to infect our *brave ſailors*; and that the vile agents in this infamous traffick may, upon conviction, be ſeverely puniſhed.

I ſhall now, *my countrymen*, ſpeak a few words to you concerning the *Qualification-act*; for I think nothing can be more abſurd, than to have the *repreſentatives of a people* under no greater tye to the *intereſt of a nation* than barely being born in it. To prevent therefore ſuch a defect, the laws of *England* have wiſely ordained, that every member of the *houſe of Commons* ſhould be qualified by a *certain proportion of land*; and as the intention of *this law* is founded upon the principles of reaſon and juſtice, I would have it carried into a more effectual execution.

As *this law* now ſtands, I apprehend that if a man, who hath not one ſhilling a-year in *land*, is returned, without having his *qualification* demanded within *fourteen days* after taking his ſeat, he is ſafe from any further enquiry during that parliament.

I cannot take upon myſelf to ſay of any one member of the *houſe of Commons*, that he is not duly qualified. Beſides, I profeſs to ſpeak in general of things paſt, or of dangers, which may happen, and may be prevented. As to what hath been done, I appeal to yourſelves, my *worthy friends*, whether it hath not happen'd, within the knowledge of moſt of you, that *three or four younger ſons* or *brothers of great families* have got into *boroughs*, when, in the opinion of the world, if *tradeſmens debts*, and *all incumbrances* were diſcharged, the *family-eſtate* would not be worth redeeming. Is it not proper for your enquiry, if ſuch things have ever happen'd within the knowledge of any of you, how *ſuch Gentlemen* have been able to make themſelves welcome to *corporations*; when, perhaps, within two hours ride there have been *twenty* or *thirty independent country Gentlemen* duly qualified, who never thought of *penſions, places*, or *commiſſions?* I would not be underſtood to mean, that it is any hardſhip upon the *publick*, to have the *younger branches of the Nobility* provided for, in the *navy, army*, or *civil employments*. On the contrary, where other things are equal, I think *birth* ought to give the preference; and it is, *my friends*, the ſame thing to you who are put into *places*, provided *approved courage, experience*, and *œconomy*, are their ſole recommendations.

But never let us be perſuaded to compliment away our *liberties*, nor ever be prevailed upon to ſtuff *our houſe of repreſentatives* with ſuch a number of *placemen* as may render the *independency of parliament* precarious, or with *perſons not duly qualified*, be they *placemen* or not. Let no juſtifiable endeavours be wanting to prevent ſuch dangers!

A *qualification* is a pledge, which every *member* is ſuppoſed to have in his country, not only to ſhew his ſtate of *independency*, but likewiſe to be a proof that he is intereſted in the welfare of *thoſe people* whom he repreſents. A *qualification* therefore is an eſſential part of the *conſtitution*; and ſurely ought to be eſtabliſhed under the ſevereſt penalties, ſuch

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such as would execute themselves: and, upon detection, the person ought to be render'd incapable of any future service by his *King*, or *country*. This ought to be tried, by a *jury*, in the county where the return is made, liable to be examined, not only during the sitting of *that parliament*, but even within a year after the expiration of it.

Besides the security of having *this valuable law* put into execution, I should be glad to have the *qualification* enlarged. A *bare annuity* for some lives may not be worth above 1500 *l.* which is a very small pledge for a man's integrity in so high a charge.

A *member of parliament* is as much a trustee for *future ages*, as he is for the *present people*, who chuse him: he therefore ought to have an estate descendable to *posterity*.

I shall here take notice of an argument often used against *qualifications*, and against limiting the number of *placemen* in the *house of Commons*, as if they tended to take away the *freedom of elections*: for if a *corporation* hath a mind to chuse a person, who hath not the good fortune to have an *estate in land*, or hath the good fortune to have a *place*, it is called a restraint upon the *freedom of elections*, to prevent such a choice.

If the majority of *that corporation* were the only persons that could suffer, I would not object to the argument. But when we consider that the fate of the nation may depend upon a *single vote*, and that many votes are return'd by a *very few constituents*, we shall find the case greatly alter'd; for where the *whole* is concern'd, the *whole* ought to be under *general regulations*. The question therefore is, *What regulations* are proper? and what is now contended for, is only to add more scope and force to *some laws*, which it is apprehended are not effectual enough to answer the ends designed by them.

As the views of all honest men must center in the *same point*, I have not proposed *popular schemes*, with an intent to serve *private* or *particular purposes*. I have spoken for and against *facts*, not *persons*; and don't desire to guard against *one set of placemen* more than *another*, but against such *placemen* in general, who may be dangerous, and cannot possibly be useful. The means I have proposed, may not only prove a security to the *present age*, but may remain so to *posterity*.

If you should be of opinion, that the *points* which I have submitted to your consideration, will tend to a more effectual security of your *liberties*, or be a method to put the affairs of the publick under a more strict regulation, you will no doubt use your utmost endeavours with your *representatives* to obtain such desirable ends; and whatever may be the success, you will soon have it in *your own power* to make those *grateful returns*, or to shew those *justifiable resentments*, which the behaviour of *particular men* may deserve.

I cannot too often recommend to you to behave with steadiness and unanimity, not only where you have *votes*, but likewise where you have any *influence*; which, by your extended dealings, must be more or less in every *corporation* in the kingdom.

There is no room to fear, that the *large* and *trading corporations* will readily concur in all justifiable measures, which have an immediate tendency to support *liberty*, secure *property*, and enlarge *commerce*.

It is only from the jobbers in *small boroughs*, (which a *learned Prelate* justly calls the *rotten part of our constitution*) from which danger may be apprehended; but the more dangerous they are, the more vigorous ought you to be in exerting your influence over them.

These *formidable flies*, which destroy by corrupting, how soon must they fall from the *carrion* they buz about, could you be steady and unanimous in your conduct? Consider the *disparity of numbers*, which can scarce be *one* to *one thousand*; consider the *justness of your cause*, in which you have still greater odds. Consider your *own interest*, and where *publick spirit* slackens, let the advantage and welfare of *your wives* and *children* become advocates for the publick. Re-

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fleet, from what hath been said, that few actions in your domestick affairs can tend so much to your private advantage, as to have the *taxes* and *publick money* put under a strict and frugal management. Were you once agreed in the pursuit of measures which tended to the *publick good*, and would decline *all traffick* with those who would not concur with you, what *bribe* would make any *tradesman* amends for your scorn and contempt? Besides, you often have it in your power even to alter *markets*, and *many other influences*; which, if I knew, and could recollect, would be too tedious to mention. But nothing can be done without temper, steadiness and concord; which if any thing I have said in this address should conduce to, I should think my life well spent, had it taken up my whole time.

I shall now, with a few queries, and a brief exhortation, take my leave of you.

1. Whether the *true interest of the kingdom* must not be the interest of the *farmer*, *manufacturer* and *merchant*?

2. Whether the interest of the *country Gentlemen*, and *freeholders*, is not inseparable from the interest of the kingdom?

3. Whether *heavy taxes* and *excises* must not be very prejudicial to the *farmers*, *manufacturers*, *merchants*, *country Gentlemen*, and *freeholders*?

4. Whether it may not be the interest of *placemen* and *officers*, to have *heavy taxes*, *superfluous places*, and a *great standing army*?

5. Whether there is not at least required as much integrity, wisdom and œconomy, to the management of *publick affairs*, in *war* as in *peace*?

And now, *my honest friends*, from what hath been said, and from what you feel, you are as good judges of the circumstances which the nation is in, as the wisest men in it; and may judge as well from whence all your good and evil arises.

You know the *persons* whose *qualifications* must make your interest inseparable from their own.

You know the *persons* whose interest may be separate from and destructive of *yours*.

Lastly, don't be abus'd by *religious pretences*. Of what *religion* do you think *placemen* are? *Religion* teaches us to love our neighbours; but no *religion* commands us to sacrifice *ourselves*, our *wives*, and our *children*, to *luxury* and *ambition*.

The whole will soon be in *your power*; and that resolution, wisdom and unanimity, may conduct your actions, is the earnest prayer of,

Gentlemen,
Your most affectionate fellow-subject, and well-wisher,
AGRICOLA.

DAILY GAZETTEER, *Sept.* 26.

Mischiefs ensuing to the people from encroachments on the powers of the crown.

IF, as it is commonly suppos'd, whatever the *King* lost in his *power*, the *people* found in their *liberty*, one should scarce wonder, that all who are for spoiling the *crown*, should stile themselves *patriots*: But if, as is well enough known, our constitution consists in a triple balance, and taking out of one scale, affects not only it, but also the other two, such alterations should not be hastily sanctified with the title of *patriotism*. A change of this sort may as well be fatal as fortunate; and however strange it may appear, yet certainly it is true, that a *King* may have too little, as well as too great power for his *people*. The excellence of our *constitution* consists in this, that by a prudent distribution of *privileges* amongst the *estates*, the welfare of the whole *society* is secured, and by their *dependencies* on each other, the estates themselves are kept from *tyranny*, or *dissolution*. Now this would be no excellence in our *constitution*, or rather, we ought not to boast of any *constitution* at all, if such changes were at every turn either *necessary* or *expedient*. The reason why we apprehend such changes to be *expedient*, is plainly *this*, that we take the *power* vested in the *Commons* for the only *branch* of *power* applied for the *ser-*

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vice of the *people*. But in truth the power in the *Commons* is of no greater service to the *mass* of the *people*, than the power vested in the *Lords*, or in the *crown*. The *constitution* intends that *power*, where-ever placed, should operate for the *publick good*; and while the balance *settled* by our *constitution* remains, so it *must*. But when once that balance is *destroy'd*, whether it be by weakening *King*, *Lords*, or *Commons*, the *people*, that is, the *society* in general, *must suffer*.

What I have advanced is writ in the *spirit* of a disinterested *Englishman*, and not at all to favour the designs of any *party* subsisting amongst us. I lay it down as the grand maxim in policy, That the best government is that which provides best for the *interest* of the *society*. I affirm the *English* constitution to be *excellent*, because I conceive it best framed to *answer* this *end*. And I look upon the essence of this constitution to consist in the *balance*. All this, I hope, is clear and easy; I think I may add, self-evident. Proceed we then to consider the consequences of diminishing regal power. In the first place, we never can do this without increasing the power of the *Lords* or the *Commons*, or *both*. It must be owned, this consequence would not follow, if we could take equal quantities of power from all the *estates* at once. But this is impossible: the quantity of *power*, like the quantity of *motion*, is always the same; we may divide, but we cannot destroy it. This also demonstrates the wisdom of our constitution, and of those who adhere to the maxim on which it is grounded; because it is plain, they pursue a good purpose, by a practicable method: whereas some other people aim at they know not what, and are for taking such methods as would not fail to throw us into confusion, and in the nature of things could not possibly produce any thing else. Let any man in his senses judge who are patriots.

All the powers ever vested in the *crown* may be reduced under two heads: First, such as regarded the publick necessities in respect to the emergencies of government, in which the *King* is to take the best care he can, that the state take no harm; and, secondly, those that concern particular persons, whom, for good causes to *him* made known, the *King* may promote or excuse, according as they have deserved well, or, in doing ill, have offended thro' ignorance, indiscretion, or with any other favourable circumstance. If the former are unreasonably curtailed, it will follow that the state must be in danger; because there is no providing against emergencies by fixed laws; and therefore, whenever they fall out, the *King* must act according to the *laws of reason*, without respect to the *laws of the land*, (which must be owned not a little alarming) or else he must suffer evils to take their course, and silently see what he would willingly prevent. Again, if the latter sort of power be retrenched, you hurt the *subjects* in fact, and the *King* only in shew. In granting *licences*, *dispensations*, and *pardons*, the King has the honour only, those who receive them have the *benefit*. So also it is in many other cases; and, consequently, to talk of relieving the *people* by restraining the *crown* from doing them good, if it be sense, is a sort of sense intelligible only by the patriots; and if they understand it themselves thoroughly, methinks they ought to explain it.

As this method of arguing must convince any unbiassed person, so whoever will resort to the *English* history, with a sincere desire of being informed, will find that all the great pretenders to restraining the power of *Kings*, aimed themselves at *illegal* power; and that the best securities we have, were derived from the *wisdom* of our *princes*. The laws of the ancient *Saxons*, those of *Ina*, *Elfred*, *Ethelstan*, and *Edward the Confessor*, did they not proceed from these Kings? I do not ask whether they received from them all their authority. I know they did not. But what I ask, and what no person skilled in these matters can deny me, is this: Whether these laws were not compiled for the bene-

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benefit of *his subjects*, by the *direction* of the *prince*; and if this power in the King can be ſtiled a *grievance?* If not, we have no juſt cauſe to dread *regal authority*; becauſe, within juſt bounds, it may do us good, but not hurt; and if it exceed its bounds, we are not afraid to affirm that it may be reſiſted. It is true, all Kings do not reſemble theſe; but then the mounds raiſed by good *princes*, ſerve to protect us againſt bad ones; ſo that we can ſcarce fall under a neceſſity of changing, or new-modelling our *conſtitution:* and without a neceſſity, ſure, no body would be for changing.

In the days of K. *Stephen*, when *liberty* was the great cry of the Barons, we ſhall find, on a ſtrict inquiry, that they intended nothing leſs than that the bulk of the nation ſhould enjoy freedom. They were jealous of their own privileges indeed, and greedy in increaſing them. Sometimes they were on one ſide, and ſometimes on the other; but on which ſide ſoever they were, they got ſomething, and the King and the people loſt all. Things took another turn under *Henry* II. He was a warlike and fortunate prince, ſo that his Lords were conſtrained to keep within juſt bounds; and whenever they were obedient to their prince, they were of courſe humane towards their tenants. But when either their own exorbitant power, or the apparent weakneſs of the crown, tempted them to plunge their country into a civil war, then they deluded the people with plauſible pretences, and with the faireſt promiſes; which there is no inſtance of their attempting to fulfil, even when, by the aſſiſtance of the people, they had their Kings at their mercy, and might have given the conſtitution whatever form they pleaſed. This was alſo, till very lately, the caſe in *France*. The great Lords formed parties there againſt each other, and, as occaſion ſerved, againſt the crown. Religion and liberty were generally the cauſes aſſigned by men who had none of the former, and who intended the latter ſhould be enjoy'd by none but themſelves. Repeated convulſions of this kind have in a ſhort ſpace diſſolved their conſtitution.

The ſingle reign of *Henry* III. which is admirably written from the beſt authorities by Sir *Robert Cotton*, demonſtratively proves all that I have advanced. This unfortunate prince, who ſat longer on the throne than any of our monarchs, had the ill fortune to differ with ſome of his Barons, and particularly with *Simon Mounford*, the haughty Earl of *Leiceſter*, grown formidable ſolely by his favours. This Earl and his aſſociates compelled the King, at a parliament held at *Oxford*, to conſent that the ſupreme power ſhould be delegated to twenty four Commiſſioners, who were to chuſe the great officers of the kingdom, *&c.* Theſe Lords alſo had addreſs enough, under the old pretext of *liberty*, to engage the city of *London* on their ſide. And what was the conſequence of all this? Why, in breach of their oaths, they ſet on foot a new form of government, by three great, and nine aſſiſtant Counſellors, who alſo were inveſted with ſovereign authority. In the mean time the King and the Prince of *Wales* were priſoners; and tho' the *patriots* would allow them no other power, yet they thought proper to procure grants from them of the lands and revenues of the crown, which they took and enjoyed, while the people were reduced to inexpreſſible miſery. But at length, quarrelling amongſt themſelves, they opened a way to the diſſolution of their tyranny; and, the old form of government being reſtored, the people quickly recovered themſelves again.

Thus experience hath ſhewn over and over, that the ſafety and welfare of the publick depends entirely upon maintaining the balance of our conſtitution, that is, the equilibrium between King, Lords, and Commons. The example juſt cited ſets the character of certain patriots in their proper light. There is nothing more pleaſing than their promiſes, nothing more dangerous than their intentions. *Honey is between their lips, but the poiſon of aſps is in their hearts.* A confuſed government, as a great author juſtly obſerves, admits

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men to honours who would never have arrived at them in a compoſed one. The ſenſe of this excites all perſons of quick parts and reſtleſs humours to join themſelves to *factious chiefs*, and under the ſpecious appearance of obtaining *more power*, which is the ſame thing with *more liberty*, for the *people*, diſturb the commonwealth; till, having acquired what their ambition gap'd after, they immediately grow true *patriots*, take pains to reſtore the order of things, and ſo make ſure in *peaceable*, of what they ſnatched in *troubleſome* times. But in the midſt of all this dancing, it is the *people* pay the muſick. Indeed enjoying, as now they do, their laws, liberties and properties, in the fulleſt extent, without danger, and, if they thought fit, without apprehenſion, what benefit can the people reap from any change?

Amongſt the new-invented pretences to delude the people, we hear the *revolution* frequently mentioned, as if it wrought an actual change in our conſtitution; whereas it, in fact, reſtored it. K. *James* II. aſſumed ſuch *powers*, under the notion of *prerogatives*, as overturn'd the balance, and render'd the conſtitution ineffectual. Upon the admitting K. *William* to the crown, he judiciouſly diſclaimed theſe *pretended* prerogatives, but ſtill he retained and exerciſed the *juſt* prerogatives of the crown. To ſay the truth, they are no other than powers lodged in the crown in truſt for the ſubject; and had he parted with them, the people would have loſt more by it than he. Beſides, would it not have been a grateful return to our deliverer, to have refuſed *him* the confidence we always plac'd in his predeceſſors? It muſt indeed be owned, that the prerogative being reſtrained within its due bounds, ſome men who called themſelves *patriots*, took occaſion to diſturb his government, and to ſpeech againſt *him* becauſe he was a *King* as well as K. *Charles* or K. *James*, againſt whom they had ſpeech'd before. But theſe pretended patriots did two things which ought never to be forgot. They charged the nation with the debts under which the labours, becauſe they impeded neceſſary ſupplies, and they raiſed fortunes to themſelves out of the bribes given them to permit the ſcanty ſupplies which were given to the *crown* for the *publick ſervice*. Theſe were the TROPHIES of the PATRIOTS.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

THE treaty between Thamas Kouli Kan and Mahmet Chah Emperor of the Moguls is now publiſhed; wherein the Great Mogul gives the conqueror the title of *Schach Nadir, King of Kings, King of Time, the Refuge of the Mahometans, Pattern of Conquerors, Succeſſor and Imitator of Alexander*. The reſt runs thus: *The Great Schach Nadir having ſent me as Ambaſſador to treat about ſome affairs, I did all that lay in my power to diſpatch him as ſoon as poſſible. The Schach would not have been obliged to ſend back to me Mahomet Kamtour Kan, had it not been for the negligence of my miniſters, who always delay'd giving an anſwer, and retarded the Ambaſſador, rather chuſing to embroil us and ſow diſcord between our two ſtates, than do what I ordered them. This was the cauſe that Schach Nadir, impatient at not ſeeing his Ambaſſador's return, reſolved to come into my dominions. We fought: victory leaned to his ſide, and fortune favoured him ſo far as to make him maſter of my empire. He entered Dely, of which he alſo made himſelf maſter; he ſecured my perſon, and took all my jewels, and moreover obliged me to lay before him an eſtimate of my revenues. But Schach Nadir having promiſed to ſet me again upon the throne, I declare him lawful and ſovereign maſter of all the territories lying to the weſt of the country of Nendeck, the ſea of Snide, the river Sangoro, Chaour, the diſtrict of Caboul, the mountains of Pattan and Jat, the fortreſs of Yexl, Condabat, and all that depends on Patta and Tatta; reſerving for myſelf the whole empire of Indoſtan*. This ceſſion includes the whole country lying between Candabar and the river Indus.

The booty taken by Kouli Kan in the Mogul's dominions is valued at

2775

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2775 millions of livres. He has likewise impoſed an annual tribute upon the Great Mogul of 75 millions of livres, and ſettled the annual expence of the Mogul court at 110 millions of livres.

The bad government of the Mogul's empire occaſioned this ſudden revolution, of which we have hardly an example in hiſtory. The people groned under the oppreſſion of the grandees. Mahmet Chach, a prince little better than an ideot, and wholly taken up with his pleaſures, left the management of the empire to Candorem and Camordikan, his two favourites, *who minded nothing but ſcraping up riches.* The ſtate was without troops, becauſe the Generals charged to maintain them, put the ſums deſtin'd for that uſe into their own pockets. Rebels from the coaſt of Malabar and Coromandel uſed to advance in a body even into Indoſtan, where the little reſiſtance they met with ſhew'd how eaſy it would be to invade that empire. While Kouli Kan was extending his conqueſts in it with an army of 80,000 horſe and 20,000 foot well diſciplin'd and us'd to war, beſides 250 pieces of cannon, Mahmet Chach was at Dely, where he thought himſelf very ſafe, thinking he had done enough in raiſing an army of 200,000 horſe and 500,000 foot, with 5000 elephants equipp'd for battle, and 8000 pieces of cannon; but the Mogul's army was raiſed in haſte, and wanted all ſorts of neceſſaries. The battle of the 22d of February 1739, in which 100,000 men and part of the Emperor's family loſt their lives, decided the fate of that prince, and ſecur'd the empire to Kouli Kan; who reſtor'd it upon the conditions above mentioned. Kouli Kan, during his ſtay at Dely, coined ſome money in his name, with this inſcription: *Schach Nadir is born to be King of the world; he is the King of Kings.*—This ſhort hiſtory furniſhes poſterity with an indelible memento: We ſee here a fine kingdom loſt, and the prodigious wealth of one of the moſt opulent cities, perhaps in the world, the effects of the trade and the induſtry of the inhabitants, the property of innumerable families, become an eaſy prey to a foreign invader, and the plunder of his conquering troops, merely thro' the eaſineſs of the prince and the avarice of his miniſters, whoſe blundering conduct, and incapacities for the reins of government, were the principal motives that invited the conqueror to the invaſion. On the view hereof, whether pity for the unhappy ſufferers, or indignation at the authors of ſo dreadful calamities, ſhould have the aſcendant in a generous breaſt, we will not ſay; but certainly after ſo remarkable an example, that prince or people, who ſhall ſuffer themſelves by the ſame cauſes to be expoſed to the like circumſtances, juſtly deſerve to meet with the fate of the Mogul, the kingdom of Indoſtan and city of Dely.

The depoſition of the late G. Vizier has not appeaſed the inhabitants of CONSTANTINOPLE, who demand, that the Chief of the Eunuchs of the Seraglio ſhall alſo be depos'd. They alledge, that this miniſter, being one of the principal favourites of the G. Seignior, abuſes the power with which he is intruſted: ſo that it is believed his Highneſs will be obliged to ſacrifice this favourite to the reſentment of the people, in order to eſtabliſh tranquillity in his capital. The alarm there is alſo very great, on account of the motions which the Sophi of Perſia has directed to be made towards Erzerum and Babylon; inſomuch that they expect the G. Seignior himſelf will be depoſed, and his brother Achmet reſtored to the throne.

The publication of the treaty of peace concluded between the CZARINA and the G. Seignior is yet deferred; which occaſions great murmuring at Peterſburg, and gives room to apprehend, that the conditions of this peace are by no means advantageous to Ruſſia. Several ſatires have been written upon the manifeſto concerning the affair of Wolinſki and his accomplices. Te Deum has been ſung in the churches of Peterſburg, with a diſcharge of 100 cannon, for the Princeſs of Brunſwick's delivery of a Prince; who was baptiz'd Au-

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Auguſt 29. N. S. the Czarina being his Godmother.—Mr Finch is indefatigable in haſtening the concluſion of the treaty of alliance between G. Britain and Ruſſia, which it is hoped will be ſigned very ſpeedily.

The Turkiſh Ambaſſador had his firſt publick audience of the EMPEROR on the 3d Sept. N. S. Having ſtaid half an hour in the anti-chamber, not only to refreſh himſelf, but to put on his turban of ceremony, and to range in order the preſents which were deſigned for the Emperor, he enter'd the hall of audience with 13 perſons of his retinue; and, approaching the throne on which the Emperor ſate, made his ſpeech in the Turkiſh language; to which the Emperor's Vice-Chancellor anſwer'd in Latin. After this the Ambaſſador's preſents were brought in; conſiſting of fine tapiſtry of Turky and Perſia, ſome very rich ſtuffs, a fine tent, &c. — A reduction of the Imperial troops is ſtill talked of, but 'tis believ'd will not take place till it is ſeen what turn the affairs of Europe will take.

The convocation of the approaching general diet of SWEDEN puts every body there in motion. Several parties are form'd on this occaſion; the three principal of which are, 1. That which is perſuaded of the neceſſity of preſerving a ſtrict union with France; 2. That which is inclined to renew the treaties with Ruſſia; and, 3. That which is of opinion the treaty of Neuſtadt ought not to be renewed, unleſs certain advantages were to be granted by Ruſſia. Let things take what turn ſoever, the 35,000 troops which are in Finland are to remain there until the ſeparation of this aſſembly; wherein, it is ſtill reported, that the affair of the ſucceſſion to the crown will be brought upon the tapis. People are divided in their ſentiments upon this ſubject; one party being in the intereſt of Prince Frederick of Heſſe, nephew to the King, and the other in that of the Duke of Holſtein-Gottorp, both which will, without doubt, be powerfully ſupported. In the mean time, the Count de St Severin, Ambaſſador from France, and M. Beſtuchef, Miniſter from Ruſſia, are very active. The latter has lately received a conſiderable remittance from Peterſburg.

A difference has lately ariſen between his PRUSSIAN Majeſty and the Prince and Biſhop of Liege concerning the lordſhip of Herſtal. It has been carried ſo far, that the King of Pruſſia has cauſed ſome troops to march into the county of Horn, in order to bring the Prince of Liege to an equitable accommodation. The King wrote the following letter to the Prince on the 4th of September.

COUSIN,

KNowing all the infringements you have made of my indiſputable rights to my free barony of Herſtal, and in what manner the ſeditious inhabitants have been for ſeveral years ſupported in their deteſtable diſobedience to me, I have ordered Rambonnet my Privy-counſellor to repair to you, to demand of you in my name a ſincere and categorical explanation, within two days, whether you are ſtill reſolved to perſiſt in your pretended ſovereignty over Herſtal, and to protect the mutinous in their abominable irregularity and diſobedience? In caſe that you deny or delay the anſwer which I have ſo much reaſon and juſtice to demand, you will be alone reſponſible to the whole world for the conſequences with which your refuſal will be infallibly attended. I am however, with very great eſteem,

COUSIN,

Your moſt humble
and affectionate Couſin,
FREDERIC.

Three days after the receipt of this letter, the Prince wrote the following anſwer.

SIRE,

THE rights of ſovereignty which have been exerciſed by the Biſhops of Liege, for above a century, in that part of Herſtal which is ſituate on this ſide of the Maeſe, were yielded to my church by the Emperor Charles V. by virtue of deeds of exchange paſs'd in 1546 and 1548 with the conſent of the ſtates of the principality

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cipality of Liege, and under the guaranty of the crowns of France and Spain. The Princes of Liege have ſince that time preſerv'd the territorial ſuperiority over that part, ſo yielded as aforeſaid, in the ſame manner as the Dukes of Brabant have preſerv'd the enjoyment of the other part. I have, in like manner, continued to maintain my rights and poſſeſſion, without ever intending to infringe thoſe of the King of Pruſſia, of glorious memory, as Lord of that barony, which he and his predeceſſors held in fee of my feodal court of Liege, and that of Brabant. As to the inhabitants of Herſtal, I aſſur'd his late Pruſſian Majeſty more than once, that as ſoon as the complaints and informations were laid before me, inſtead of protecting them, I would ſee ſtrict juſtice done according to the laws of the country. I have now the honour to repeat the ſame aſſurances; and, to put an end to all diſputes, I declare, that my ſtates of the principality of Liege having propoſed to purchaſe your Majeſty's title to Herſtal for 100,000 crowns, for which they offer to pay 4 per cent. intereſt, I am ready to conclude a bargain on the ſame foot, on condition of giving a proper ſecurity. I have the honour to be, with reſpect, &c.

The King has alſo publiſhed the following memorial relating to this affair.

THE ſubjects of the lordſhip of Herſtal having rebell'd againſt the King in 1733, they put themſelves under the protection of the Prince of Liege; who granted it to them without any heſitation, and aſſum'd to himſelf the right of ſovereignty over that lordſhip, which had always been conteſted with him by the Princes of Orange, who were the firſt poſſeſſors of that lordſhip.

Tho' the late King try'd all the gentle methods poſſible to reclaim the rebels of Herſtal, yet he could not ſucceed; ſo much exaſperated were they by the Prince of Liege, who held a ſecret correſpondence with thoſe rebels.

The King, who had no other view than to be upon good terms with his neighbours, and to convince them of the effects of his moderation, offer'd to ſell the lordſhip of Herſtal to the Prince of Liege for 100,000 patacoons; a very moderate ſum for a lordſhip ſituate as Herſtal is, in a rich and opulent country along the Maeſe. But as Herſtal is at the very gates of Liege, and detach'd from his Majeſty's other dominions, the King thought fit by this ſale to prevent an infinite number of quirks and diſputes, which could only tend to take him off from more important occupations, and muſt, in the end, be diſadvantageous to the Prince of Liege. Mean time, the propoſal of ſelling it met with ſo many contradictions on the part of that prince, that in ſpite of all that could be done, the negotiation miſcarried.

Not content with having diſobliged the King upon ſo many occaſions, the Prince of Liege made it his buſineſs to affront Col. Creitzen, who had the honour to be ſent to him from his Majeſty with the character of his miniſter, to take care of his affairs. His effects were ſeiz'd, his perſon affronted, and the Prince-Biſhop let fall ſome words in his anger, which any prince, except ſo mild a one as the King, would have made him repent of.

At this juncture it pleaſed the Almighty, who, according to his infinite wiſdom, directs all the viciſſitudes of this life, to put an end to his Majeſty's days, and to call him to himſelf, after having finiſhed a reign for ever glorious and memorable.

The oath of allegiance which the King demanded of the Herſtallers at his acceſſion to the crown was refuſed, in ſpite of all remonſtrances, and notwithſtanding the pardon that was promiſed to the authors of the rebellion.

The Prince of Liege being ſtill fond of his uſurping ſcheme, ſupported the rebels, and fed their obſtinacy with ſo much craft, that neither good words nor menaces could avail to reclaim them.

The King being loth to act precipitantly, and having nothing more at heart than to cultivate the friendſhip of his neighbours, gave the rebels more time, even till he came to Wezel, from whence his Majeſty ſent a Privy-counſellor (Rambonet) with a commiſſion to demand a categorical anſwer of the Prince of Liege, whether he intended to perſiſt in his claim to the ſovereignty over the lordſhip of Herſtal, and to ſupport the rebels, or whether he would ab-

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absolutely decline it, and abandon the authors of the rebellion? To which the said Prince has not vouchsafed any answer *.

This was adding insult to injustice, and directly attacking the King's honour. His Majesty has therefore been forced by the Prince of Liege to part with his usual moderation upon this occasion, and to make him feel the effects of his indignation at the rebellion of the Herstallers by him fomented, at the ill-treatment of Greyfteen his minister, at his unjust pretension to the sovereignty of Herstal, and at the contempt which he has put upon the King's letter, in not vouchsafing to answer it.

For this end his Majesty has caused some troops to march into the country of Horn, who are to remain there till it pleases the Prince of Liege to hearken to reason, and to consent to a just and equitable accommodation.

FRANCE begins now to throw off her pacifick mask. The Brest and Toulon squadrons have put to sea. The latter was joined by six Spanish men of war from Carthagena, and, after having taken some land-forces on board, sailed together for Cadiz. It is generally supposed, these French squadrons are ordered for the West-Indies, with a design, as France pretends, *only* to secure the return of the galleons to Europe, and to prevent the English from making any descent upon the Spanish settlements in America, the Most Christian King, by the treaty of Utrecht, being guarantee for his Catholick Majesty's dominions there. The French are fortifying several of their ports, especially Dunkirk; where they have three batteries of 50 pieces of cannon each, towards the sea, to cover the cleansing of that harbour; in which work a vast number of men and vessels are employed. Four more ships of war are equipping at Toulon, six at Brest, and two at Rochefort, to be ready to put to sea early in the spring. Troops are likewise filing off toward the sea-coasts. What do all these circumstances portend, but an approaching rupture between G. Britain and France?

Five of the French squadron are returned to Brest, being much damaged by a storm.

As there is a great dearth of corn in France, both the ministry and magistrates omit nothing that may put a stop to that evil. Half of the corn found in the religious communities at Paris has been taken from them, which is to be repaid in new corn in six weeks. The parliament considering a deal of barley is used in brewing, which must be better employed in making bread for the poor, has forbid brewing beer for one year, on pain of forfeiting the same, with their whole malt, utensils, &c. and paying 3000 livres. All starch-makers are prohibited from using any corn; and the tanners are discharged from using the new practice of putting barley into their tan-pits, instead of lime, and bark of trees. All husbandmen, farmers or factors of corn are required to bring all their corn to the market, (except what is sufficient to subsist their families six weeks) under penalty of 600 livres.

By a program emitted by the Royal Academy of Sciences, the publick is advertised, that the subject for the prize of 2500 livres, for the year 1742, is, *An account of the physical cause of the mutual attraction between the loadstone and iron, the direction of the touch'd needle to the North, its variation and dipping*; which the learned of every nation are invited to enquire into. The candidates are desired, but not expressly restricted, to write in French or Latin. The essays must be given in before the 1st of September 1741, N. S. They may either be addressed to the Secretary of the Academy at Paris, or put into his hands. No name is to be put to any piece, only a sentence or device; and a seal'd billet may be sent along, containing the same device, and the name, quality and address of the author; which billet is not to be opened unless the piece carries the prize. The Academy, at its first meeting after Easter 1742, will declare the piece that shall have gained. By

* If the Prince's answer to the King's letter be genuine, the memorial must have been drawn up before that answer was received.

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By the ſame program we are informed, that among the ſeveral excellent papers of the learned concurring for the laſt prize, which had for its ſubject, *An account of the phyſical cauſe of the ebbing and flowing of the ſea*, the Academy finding four ſuperior to the reſt, but to none of which they could give the preference, adjudged the prize to be equally divided among the four: of two of the authors they have not yet learned the names, but the other two they have found to be, Mr M'Laurin Profeſſor of Mathematicks in the Univerſity of Edinburgh, and Mr Euler Profeſſor of Mathematicks in the Univerſity of Peterſburgh.

The SPANIARDS are elate with the hopes of aſſiſtance from the French; and, not to be wanting on their part, have given orders for equipping ſeveral more men of war at Cadiz, and are conſidering of ways and means to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies for carrying on the war with the utmoſt vigour. It is the common opinion, that the Ferrol ſquadron is ſailed for the Weſt-Indies.

The Marquis de Fenelon, Ambaſſador from France to the STATES-GENERAL, in a conference with the Deputies, Sept. 14. communicated to them the departure of the ſquadrons from Breſt and Toulon, as alſo the motives which induced his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to ſend them. Since which Mr. Trevor, Envoy Extraordinary from the King of G. Britain, has alſo been in conference with the ſaid Deputies; in conſequence whereof each of the ſaid miniſters has diſpatched an expreſs to his court. The members of the regency are not at all ſatisfied with the ſailing of thoſe ſquadrons, contrary to the repeated aſſurances which the Marquis had made them, that they would not go out till the Engliſh had given ſome extraordinary blow to the Spaniſh monarchy, which all Europe is witneſs has not yet been done.

Since the court of NAPLES has been informed of the difficulty which the court of G. Britain makes to conclude a treaty of neutrality with it, orders have been renewed for putting the marine in the beſt condition.

On Sept. 3. N. S. the Sicilian Magiſtrates of Health, *by direction from court*, ſuſpended communication with Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, as well as the admittance of ſuch veſſels to pratick, in any port of the Two Sicilies, as ſhall be viſited by any Britiſh men of war, without performing quarantain.

In the months of June, July and Auguſt, there died of the plague at ALGIERS, 40,000 Turks, 1700 Jews, and about 200 Chriſtians; but it is now much abated, if not entirely ceaſed.

Our advices from St Auguſtin are uncertain, ſome ſaying that the ſiege is raiſed, others that it is ſtill carrying on with vigour.

LONDON.

THE intended expedition of Sir John Norris, which has ſo long employed the attention of Europe, is now laid aſide. His Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland, and the Admiral, are arrived here from Portſmouth. Vice-Admiral Balchen is ſailed with the yachts and men of war for Holland, in order to convoy his Majeſty from thence to England. Capt. Anſon, in the Centurion, with all the ſhips under his command, ſailed from St Helens, Sept. 18. wind S. E. for the Weſt-Indies. — Agents for the government are gone into various counties, to buy up horſes for remounting the cavalry that have ſuffer'd by the encampments this year.

Capt. Ford has taken in the South of Cuba a Spaniſh ſloop with a great quantity of ſmall arms. The Saltaſh ſloop of war has carried two Spaniſh merchantmen into St Kitts. A Spaniſh ſettee, that infeſted the coaſt about Deal, is carried into Harwich. A privateer, of 40 men and 8 guns, taken by the Dolphin man of war in the bay of Biſcay, and another privateer of 44 men and 6 guns, have been carried into Plymouth. The Bonetta ſloop of war has carried a privateer of 10 guns and 50 men into Oporto. The Fly ſloop, Wakeman, took a ſettee, with 70 men, off Yarmouth, Sept. 14. One of the 20 gun ſhips, ſtation'd on the coaſt of

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Ireland, has taken a privateer of considerable force. The Newcastle and Dolphin men of war drove two small privateers ashore near Nantz, that carried near 100 men, who were all drown'd, except 23 who got on shore.

The Spaniards have taken the Peggy, Nowell, from London, within five leagues of Oporto, after a gallant defence of three hours, in which Capt. Nowell was killed; also the Davy, Potten, homeward bound from Carolina, which they carried into St Sebastian's; the Two Brothers, Ray, from Swanzey for Lisbon, carried into Corunna; the Charming Sally, Watson, from London, carried into Havre; the Mary, Aylward, from Dublin for Lisbon, taken near the mouth of the Tagus.

The Rochester and Chester men of war are arrived safe, with the following ships under their convoy, who all sailed from St Helena the 21st July, *viz.* the Marlborough, Hunt; Houghton, Worth; Augusta, Townshend; Shaftsbury, Bookey; Grantham, Hall; Richmond, Wiston; Lyon, Gilbert; Walpole, Bodham; Duke of Lorrain, Compton; Harrington, Jenkins; Defence, Coats; and the Britannia, Somner.

The Lords Justices have issued a proclamation, for the parliament to meet on the 18th of November.

On Sept. 29. came on the election of a Lord-Mayor, when Sir Robert Godschall, Kt. and George Heathcote, Esq; were returned by the Common-Hall to the court of Aldermen; who thought proper to chuse George Heathcote, Esq; and he was declared duly elected. Upon which Sir Robert, addressing himself to the Livery, return'd them thanks for the honour they did him, and expressed his concern, that his brethren Aldermen had, without any reason assigned, denied him the favour intended by his fellow-citizens; and as he was not conscious of any demerit in himself, hoped they would justify their conduct to the world. Alderman Heathcote then declared his grateful sense of the honour done him, but desir'd to be excused serving in that capacity for the ensuing year, on account of his ill state of health, and the fatiguing, tho' honourable office, he had lately undergone, especially as the Aldermen had not made the least objection to the worthy Alderman his senior, either in point of honour, ability or integrity. A motion was then made, That the thanks of the hall be given to George Heathcote, Esq; for supporting the liberties of his fellow-citizens, in declining the office of Lord-Mayor for the ensuing year; and the same was, after the question put, carried unanimously.

Heart-Hall in Oxford is erected into a college, by the name of *Hertford college in the university of Oxford*, to consist of a Principal, four senior, and eight junior fellows; and Richard Newton, D. D. and Principal of the hall, is appointed Principal of the said college.

An order is sent to Ireland, to lay an embargo on all the shipping in that kingdom, to prevent the exportation of beef.

The Rev. Dr Samuel Madden hath given an annual sum of 100 l. to be distributed, to the inhabitants of Ireland only, by way of premium, thus: 50 l. to the author of the best invention for improving any useful art or manufacture; 25 l. to the person who shall execute the best statue, or piece of sculpture; and 25 l. to the person who shall finish the best piece of painting, either in history or land-scape, which shall be approved of as such by the Dublin society, on or before the 20th of January next, and so every year.

P. S. *London, Oct.* 4. S. S. trading stock was 95, 3 qrs. Ditto Old Annuities, 110, 1 qr. Ditto New, 108, 1 qr. Bank stock, 140. India ditto, 154. Three per cent. annuities, 100. Million Bank, 116. Royal assurance, 90. London assurance, 11, 1 half. English copper, 3 l. 10 s. Welch ditto, 15 s. African, 10. Seven per cent. Emperor's loan, 108, 1 half. Five per cent. ditto, 90, 1 half. Bank circulation, 1 l. 2 s. 6 d. prem. Three per cent. India bonds, 3 l. 5 s. prem. Three 1 half per cent. Exchequer orders,

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lers, 3 prem. Three per cent. ditto, , 3 qrs. discount. Salt tallies, 1 qr. a qrs. prem. Lottery tickets, 5 l. 6 d.

EDINBURGH.

As the election of members for the nsuing parliament comes on next year, he struggle in the election of the ma;istrates of the several boroughs has een greater than usual; and the Genlemen in the country interest have geerally prevailed.

BIRTHS and MARRIAGES.

AT Naples, Sept. 6. N. S. the Queen of the Two Sicilies, delivered of a Princess, baptized *Mary-Elizabeth*.— The Ld Visc. Barrington, member for Berwick, married to the widow of the eldest son of Ld Visc. Grimston.—Archibald Lamont of that Ilk, Esq; to Lady Æmilia Mackenzie, sister to the Earl of Cromerty.

DEATHS.

At Dunkirk, on the 16th August, Charles Knowles, Earl of Banbury, aged 78. He is succeeded by his only son Charles, who is in Holy Orders.— In the neighbourhood of Dunkirk, on the 8th Sept. William Bruce, Earl of Kincardine. He is succeeded by his eldest son Charles Lord Bruce.—Sir John Chicheſter, member for Barnstable. — Sir Robert Fagg, member for Steyning. —Henry Grey, Esq; member for Reading. — Mr Serjeant Comyns, brother to the Lord Chief Justice Comyns. — Mr Weston, Clerk of the Exchequer, South Britain. — Dr John Smart, Physician to Chelsea hospital.— Capt. John Watson, son of the late Gen. Watson Governor of Scilly. — William Macintosh of that Ilk, Esq; He is succeeded by his brother Æneas.— Major Gavin Hamilton of Raploch, of Gen. Bowles's dragoons. — Anthony Mackee of Netherplace, Esq; He is succeeded by his nephew John Mackee of Palgown, Esq; — Capt. Mackenzie, of the royal regiment of foot. — The Lady of Col. James Cathcart of Carbiston.—George Austin, aged 120, who was Clerk to the parish of Carlow 80 years.

PREFERMENTS.

Richard Ward, Esq; *Governor*; William Green, Esq; *Lieutenant-Governor, of Rhode island*; and Christopher Philips, Esq; *an Assistant*. — John Wilson, Esq; *Governor of Rhode island and of Providence*. — William Tucker and Matthias Hilderson, Esq; *Gentlemen Pensioners to his Majesty*. — Dr Hoadley, son of the Bp of Winchester, *Physician to Chelsea hospital*. — Dr John Nicoll, Head Master of Westminster school, *a Prebendary of St Peter's, Westminster*.— Capt. Yorke, *a Captain in Ld Pembroke's horse*. — Lieut. Campbell, *a Captain in the royal Scots Gray dragoons*. — Capt. P. Bruce of Bunzion, *Chief Engineer in the Leeward islands*. — Admiral Philip Cavendish, of the Blue, *Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's ships and vessels in the absence of Sir John Norris*. — Captain Gascoigne, *Commander of the Princess Caroline*. — Cap. Griffin, *Commander of the Buckingham*. — Capt. Henry Osborn, *Commander of the Prince of Orange*. — Capt. Peter Osborn, *Commander of the Salisbury*. — Capt. Ambrose, *Commander of the Rupert*, of 60 guns, put in commission.— Capt. Gedding, *Commander of the Panther*.— Capt. Mitchell, *Commander of the Torbay*. — Capt. Allen, *Commander of the Rochester*. — Ld Forrester, *Commander of the Biddiford*. — Capt. Trevor, *Commander of the Chicheſter*. — Ld Montague Bertie, First Lieutenant of the Gloucester, (reported to have been killed in attacking a Spanish barcolongo on the Barbary coast) *Commander of the Lime*. — Mr Stewart, nephew of Admiral Stewart, *Lieutenant of the Augusta*.—George Heathcote, Esq; *Lord Mayor of London*, and Aldermen Marshall and Hoare, *Sheriffs*. — William Ferguson of Corston, Esq; elected *Provost of Perth* by one party, and Provost James Crie Surgeon, by another. — Alexander Robertson, Esq; *Provost of Aberdeen*. — Andrew Buchanan, Esq; *Provost of Glasgow*.—Alexander Robertson, Esq; *Provost of Dundee*.—Ld Charles Hay, *Provost of Dunfermline* — Hon. James Erskine, Esq; *Provost of Stirling*. — Sir James

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James Johnſton of Weſterhall, *Provoſt of Lochmaben.* — John Bucknay, Eſq; *Provoſt of Linlithgow.*—Duncan Monro of Obſdale, Eſq; *Provoſt of Dingwall.*

The following Gentlemen are elected into the magiſtracy and town-council of Edinburgh, *viz.* George Haliburton, Eſq; *Lord Provoſt*; Hugh Hawthorn, Gavin Hamilton, George Millar and John Deuar, *Bailies*; Thomas Crokat, *Dean of Gild*; David Inglis, *Treaſurer*; John Foreſt, Patrick Crawford of Auchinames, and Archibald Stewart, *Merchant-counſellors*; Hugh Penman, Goldſmith, and Walter Orrok Shoemaker, *Trades-counſellors*; and Bailie John Couts, *Old Dean of Gild.* And the following Gentlemen, *viz.* Alexander Niſbet, *Surgeon*; Dougal Ged, *Goldſmith*; John Pringle, *Skinner*; John Dalgleiſh, *Furrier*; William Brown, *Fleſher*; George Bell, *Cordiner*; Yaxly Davidſon, *Weaver*; John Millar *Wauker*; and James Wright Litſter, *Bonnetmaker*, are elected: and George Aitken, *Hammerman*; James Heriot, *Wright*; Andrew Syme, *Maſon*, Malcolm Sinclair *Taylor*; and William Sheils, *Baxter*, re-elected, Deacons of their reſpective incorporations. Of whom Meſſ. Niſbet, Ged and Pringle, are elected, and Meſſ. Aitken, Heriot and Syme, re-elected *Council-deacons.* Mr Niſbet is alſo elected *Deacon-conveener.* —— John Laing is re-elected *Preſes of the ſociety of Barbers.*

Died within the walls of the city of Edinburgh, and buried in the Grayfriars church-yard, September 1740.

Men 12, Women 18, Children 40. In all 70. Decreaſed this month 1.

Age.	N°.	Diseases.	N°.
Under — 2	25	Old age ——	5
Betwixt 2 & 5	11	Conſumption	18
5 & 10	3	Dropſy ——	3
10 & 20	3	Fever ——	7
20 & 30	2	Meaſles ——	7
30 & 40	4	Small-pox —	16
40 & 50	10	Suddenly ——	5
50 & 60	4	Still-born —	2
60 & 70	3	Teething ——	6
70 & 80	4	Apoplexy ——	1
80 & 90	1		

NEW BOOKS.

Philoſophiæ naturalis principia mathematica. Auctore Iſaaco Newtono. Commentariis Th. le Seur & Fr. Jaquier, ex Gallicana Minimorum Familia Math. Prof. illuſtrata. Tom. 1. 4*to.*

The hiſtory of the life of Peter I. *Emperor of Ruſſia. By J. Mottley, Eſq; in* 3 *voll.* 12*mo. pr.* 10 *s.*

A full account of the life of Ray Johnſon. 6 *d.*

The life of Gilbert Langley. 1 *s.*

The archdeacon's examination of candidates for holy orders. By A. St. George, D. D. 5 *s.*

The impoſture of methodiſm diſplay'd. By W. Bowman, M. A. 1 *s.*

A charge delivered to the Grand Jury at Durham, by the Biſhop of Durham. 6 *d.*

Buchanan's and Dr. Johnſton's paraphraſe of the Pſalms compared. 6 *d.*

Scotch Preſbyterian eloquence diſplay'd; or, The folly of their teaching diſcover'd, from their books, ſermons, and prayers. 2 *s.* 6 *d.*

Horti Chelſeiani index. Ab I. Read, R. S. S. 4 *s.*

Oratio anniverſaria in theatro Coll. Med. Lond. A Fr. Nicholls, M. D. 1 *s.*

Volninia's complaint to her Lord. A poem. 6 *d.*

The Statesman. A poem. 1 *s.*

Social religion exemplified in ten dialogues compleat. 8*vo.* 6 *s.*

A ſupplement to the addreſs to the free citizens of Edinburgh. 6 *d.*

Mum: A political ballad, for the preſent times, with annotations political, critical and hiſtorical. 6 *d.*

Private reflections and occaſional meditations, together with ſome eſſays moral and divine. By Henry Scougal, author of the life of God in the ſoul of man. 6 *d.*

The anatomy of the human bones and nerves: with an account of the reciprocal motions of the heart, and a deſcription of the human lacteal ſac and duct. By Alexander Monro, Profeſſor of anatomy in the univerſity of Edinburgh. The 3*d edition, corrected and enlarged.* 3 *s.*

The diary of Alexander Brodie of that Ilk, Eſq; who was a Lord of Seſſion about the middle of laſt century.

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The SCOTS *Magazine.*

OCTOBER, 1740.

PROCEEDINGS of the *Political Club*, continued from p. 412.

In the debate upon the motion made by M. Horatius Barbatus, *begun in my laſt, the next ſpeech I ſhall give you was that made by* C. Plinius Cæcilius, *who ſpoke in ſubſtance thus:*

My Lords,

BEFORE we can with any propriety enter ſeriouſly into the debate, 'tis neceſſary we ſhould well underſtand the nature of the queſtion before us. I ſhall not, therefore, at preſent trouble you with entering into the merits, I ſhall only take the liberty to ſtate the queſtion, according as it appears to me. His Majeſty, in his ſpeech from the throne, at the opening of the ſeſſion, demanded of the other houſe a ſupply for the ſervice of the enſuing year, and told them he would order eſtimates of the particular ſervices to be laid before them. Thoſe eſtimates were accordingly laid before them; but then, as we are now engaged in a war, and as his Majeſty, it ſeems, is reſolved to undertake, if poſſible, ſome ſecret expeditions againſt the enemy, an account of which neither can nor ought to be made publick, a greater ſupply will be neceſſary than can appear by the eſtimates laid before the other houſe: and this his Majeſty thought himſelf obliged to acquaint them of; becauſe, otherwiſe, he could not have expected any greater ſupply than appeared neceſſary by the eſtimates he had ordered to be laid before them, and conſequently he could not have undertaken any ſecret expedition againſt the enemy, however probable the ſucceſs might have appeared, or however expedient future accidents or circumſtances might have rendered it for him to engage in ſuch a one.

The meſſage, therefore, which is now under your Lordſhips conſideration, I can look upon in no other light, than as a meſſage to the other houſe, to acquaint them, that ſome expence would be neceſſary, of which no eſtimate could be made; and in this light I muſt look upon it as a ſort of eſtimate, and muſt think, that your Lordſhips have as much reaſon to complain, that all the eſtimates for the particular ſervices of the enſuing year were not communicated to you, as well as to the other houſe, as you have to complain, that this eſtimate was not communicated to you at the ſame time it was ſent to the Commons.

Upon this M. Agrippa *ſtood up, and ſpoke to this effect:*

My Lords,

I Am ſurpriſed to hear the Noble Lord that ſpoke laſt, ſtate the caſe as he has done. It is not poſſible to look upon this meſſage in any light that can make it bear the leaſt reſemblance to an eſtimate. It is a meſſage for a new ſupply; a ſupply ariſing from new meaſures, which were not ſo much as hinted at in his Majeſty's ſpeech from the throne. Let us, my Lords, but conſider the words of his Majeſty's ſpeech, and we muſt conclude, that the meſſage now under our conſideration, can have no relation to any ſupply thereby demanded. His Majeſty, when he addreſſes himſelf to the houſe of Commons, tells them, that he has ordered eſtimates for the ſervice of the enſuing year, and likewiſe accounts of the extraordinary expences of the current year, as alſo an eſtimate of the charge of raiſing a body of marines, to be laid before them;

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and then he says, he cannot doubt but they will grant such effectual supplies, as may enable him to carry on the war with vigour. Can the word, *supplies*, here relate to any thing but the estimates and accounts, which his Majesty had ordered to be laid before them? Can any one suppose, his Majesty meant, that it should relate to a charge, of which no estimate or account could be laid before them? or could any Lord in this house suppose, from what his Majesty there said, that any measures were to be undertaken, which were not to be mentioned in any of the estimates? If any such measures were then thought on, they ought to have been mentioned in his Majesty's speech from the throne: if they have since fallen under consideration, his Majesty should have been advised to have come again to the house, and acquainted us of it by a new speech, or at least he should have been advised to have communicated it to both houses by message. If his Majesty had by either of these methods told us, that he had under his consideration such measures as would require an additional expence, but could not be communicated, I am sure, I should not, I believe no Lord in this house would have desired a discovery.

It is the business of the other house, my Lords, to consider and determine, what supplies may be necessary for the publick service: it is their business to consider and determine, what ways and means may be most proper for raising those supplies; and we are to give our concurrence, if we think they are in the right. But as to the measures or services which make those supplies necessary, it is our business to consider and determine, whether or no they are proper: it is this house that his Majesty ought chiefly to consult upon such occasions; therefore no supplies ought to be either asked or granted, till the measures or services have been communicated, or at least mentioned to this house, either by speech or message: and as from the very words of the message, it appears to be a message for a new supply, which is to be applied to services or measures, that were never before so much as hinted to this house, it ought for this reason to have been communicated to this house, to the end that we might have had some opportunity of approving or disapproving of the measures; and, at the same time, it ought to have been communicated to the other house, to the end that they might have provided the supplies necessary for carrying on those measures.

Having thus shewn, my Lords, that it is not possible to put such a meaning upon this message, as has been put by the Noble Lord that spoke last, I shall not trouble your Lordships at present with entering farther into the debate, because I have as yet heard very little said against the motion; but if I should hear any material objection made to it, I shall beg leave to rise up again, in order to approve of the objections, if I think them such as ought to be approved of, or to give them such an answer, as I may think sufficient for preventing their having any influence in this debate.

The next that spoke was C. Cicerejus, *whose speech was in substance thus:*

My Lords,

HOwever proper or necessary the motion now under our consideration may be, I wish that Noble Lords would, when they make any motion, keep close to the argument, and avoid launching out into personal invectives. The introductory speeches that have been made in favour of this motion, look'd, in my opinion, more like an introduction to an impeachment, than an introduction to a motion for vindicating the privileges of this house. If our liberties are expiring, my Lords, or if any attack has been lately made upon them, why does not some one of the Noble Lords that think so, stand up in his place, and impeach those who are carrying on, or contriving any such attack? It is what every Lord has a right to do: it is what every Lord ought to do. Instead of bewailing upon every occasion the danger our liberties and constitution are exposed to, by secret machi-

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machinations or fraudulent practices, they ought to explain those machinations and practices to the house, and they ought to conclude with an impeachment in form against the persons they suppose to be the authors of such wicked and dangerous designs.

I hope, my Lords, I have as great a concern for the liberties of the nation, and for the rights and privileges of this house, as any Lord that has the honour of having a seat in this august assembly: if I thought, that any attack had been made upon either, no Lord should be more ready than I, to concur in measures for bringing the guilty authors and abetters to condign punishment. But I do not think, that the least attack has been lately made upon either; and in the present case, I do not think it can be supposed, there was any design of attacking the rights or privileges of this house. His Majesty, in his speech from the throne, desired such supplies as might be effectual for enabling him to carry on the war with vigour; and if any one of those supplies be of such a nature, as not to admit of an estimate, can we suppose, that his not acquainting us of this, was designed as a violation of any of the privileges of this house? It is well known to every Lord here, that no estimate is ever laid before us; we generally agree, or we may disagree, to the supplies granted by the other house, without seeing any estimate: Whereas, in the other house, a particular estimate for each particular service is always laid before them, and they never grant a larger sum for any particular service, than appears from the particular estimate to be necessary; nor do they grant any sum for any particular service, without having an estimate for that particular service previously laid before them. Therefore, when a service was to be incurred, for which no particular estimate could be made, it was necessary for his Majesty to tell them so; but in my opinion, it would have been both improper, and contrary to the usage of parliament, to have said any thing of it to this house in his Majesty's speech, and much more so, to have acquainted us of it by a particular message. It would very probably have given the alarm to the other house, as if his Majesty designed, that we should interfere with them in granting the necessary supplies; and therefore, I think, his Majesty's not communicating this message to us, was so far from being any sign of disrespect towards us, that it was a new testimony of his wisdom, and of the great regard he has to the usage of parliament, and to the peace and happiness of his people.

But suppose, my Lords, I were of opinion, that this message ought to have been communicated to this house at the same time it was communicated to the other; yet, as I am fully satisfied, that no affront was intended to be put upon us, by not sending this or some such message to us, at the same time it was sent to the other house, I could not, in our present circumstances, concur with the motion now before you; because I should be afraid, that our coming to such a resolution might interrupt that unanimity, which is so necessary for bringing the war we are now engaged in, to a happy and speedy issue; and when the Noble Lord considers this, I hope he will not insist upon having his motion put to the question.

C. Oppius *next stood up, and made a short speech to the following effect:*

My Lords,

I Cannot pretend to be so nice a judge of the rights and privileges of this house, as some of your Lordships may be; but I cannot think, that an application to the other house singly, in any matter that relates to the supply, is such a direct and open violation of the rights and privileges of this house, as ought to prevail with us to come to a resolution that may raise heats and animosities about particular rights and privileges amongst ourselves, when the rights and privileges of the whole nation are in so much danger. I am persuaded, an account of this motion will be look'd on as very good news by the late Duke of Ormond at the head of his rebel army in Spain. From the

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very motion itſelf, I believe, both he and the court of Spain will conceive hopes of ſucceſs in their intended invaſion; and if they conceive ſuch hopes from the motion, what will they not expect, ſhould they hear of its being agreed to? I am for doing nothing that may give them the leaſt encouragement to attempt an invaſion upon this nation, and therefore I ſhall be againſt agreeing to the reſolution propoſed.

L. Duronius *then ſtood up again, and ſpoke thus:*

My Lords,

I Was in ſome hopes, the Noble Lord would have been prevail'd on to have ſtood up and waved his motion; but as the queſtion ſeems to be inſiſted on, and as ſome Lords may be under difficulties with regard to a negative's being put upon ſuch a motion, and yet may be convinced, that the preſent is a very improper time for our coming to ſuch a reſolution, therefore I ſhall beg leave to move, that the previous queſtion may be put.

Upon this M. Agrippa *ſtood up again, and ſpoke in ſubſtance as follows:*

My Lords,

UPon ſuch a motion as this, I am extremely ſurpriſed to hear any of your Lordſhips move for the previous queſtion. The previous queſtion, my Lords, may in many caſes be right, but ſurely it cannot be ſo in this. When a motion is made, which appears to be in itſelf right, but which is neither neceſſary nor proper to be put to the queſtion at that time, the previous queſtion may then properly be moved for, and it is prudent to make uſe of it for waving a queſtion, which does not then neceſſarily require an affirmative, and which cannot, in its own nature, admit of a negative. But can the queſtion now before you be ſaid to be of ſuch a nature? My Lords, if it cannot admit of a negative, it neceſſarily and immediately requires an affirmative. It is a queſtion that affects the honour of this houſe, and conſequently the honour of every Lord in it. If the honour of this houſe has been attack'd by ſending ſuch a meſſage to the houſe of Commons ſingly, which the previous queſtion ſuppoſes, will any of your Lordſhips ſay, that we ought not immediately to vindicate our own honour, at leaſt by ſuch a reſolution as my Noble friend has been pleaſed to propoſe? Can our agreeing to ſuch a reſolution be attended with bad conſequences at this time, any more than at another? My Lords, it can be attended with no bad conſequences either to the nation in general, or to any particular man. It is ſo prudently drawn up, that it can affect no perſon in the kingdom: but if ſuch a thing could be ſuppoſed, ſhall we allow the ſafety of any ſubject whatever, to ſtand in competition with the honour and dignity of this houſe?

We may talk of impeachments, my Lords, and of the right that every Lord in this houſe has, to ſtand up in his place, and impeach whomſoever he ſuppoſes to be guilty; but if it ſhould appear, which, I hope, it never ſhall, that the majority of your Lordſhips have a greater regard for the ſafety of any particular ſubject, than for your own honour, or the honour of this aſſembly, I am ſure it would be an imprudent and very ridiculous ſtep in any Lord, to riſe up and impeach that perſon before this aſſembly, even though he could bring evident proofs of his being guilty of the moſt heinous crimes and miſdemeanors. In all caſes of impeachment, there are ſeveral preparatory ſteps or motions neceſſary, before any Lord can directly impeach; and when ſuch preparatory motions are diſagreed to by the houſe, it becomes impracticable for any Lord to proceed to an impeachment. In the preſent caſe, if what is now complain'd of, were of ſuch a heinous nature, as to deſerve an impeachment, the firſt preparatory ſtep would be ſome ſuch motion as this; and the next would be a motion for addreſſing his Majeſty to know who had adviſed him; both which motions muſt be agreed to, and an anſwer returned from his Majeſty, before any Lord could ſtand up in his place, and impeach the perſon who gave the

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the advice. But at preſent there is no ſuch deſign: if there were, the motion would have been drawn up in much ſtronger terms. We may ſee from the terms in which it is drawn up, that the Noble Lord has no other deſign, than to vindicate the rights and privileges of this houſe; and for this purpoſe, his motion will have a good effect, whatever may be its fate. Even tho' our agreeing to it ſhould at this time be prevented by the previous queſtion, yet the very motion will, I hope, prevent any miniſter's daring to ſhew ſuch a contempt of this houſe for the future.

This, I hope, my Lords, will be the conſequence of the motion, even tho' you ſhould put the previous queſtion upon it; but, if that queſtion ſhould paſs in the negative, I muſt beg your Lordſhips to conſider what effect it may have with regard to your own characters. By putting the previous queſtion you admit, that the motion is in itſelf right; what reaſon then can be aſſigned for your not agreeing to it? None but the regard you have for thoſe who have, at preſent, the honour to be his Majeſty's counſellors and adviſers; and will not the cenſorious world from thence conclude, that you have a greater regard for them than you have for your own honour or reputation? Therefore, if the previous queſtion ſhould be put, as it muſt be, if inſiſted on, I hope every Lord that thinks the honour of this houſe is not in the leaſt affected, by the ſending of this meſſage to the other houſe without taking any notice of this, as well as every Lord who thinks otherwiſe, will give his affirmative upon the previous queſtion, in order that the principal queſtion may be put: for thoſe who think the honour of this houſe not in the leaſt affected, ought to be for having a negative put upon the principal queſtion, in order to vindicate their own characters; and thoſe who think otherwiſe, ought to inſiſt upon having the principal queſtion immediately agreed to, in order to vindicate the honour of this aſſembly. In a caſe of honour, my Lords, there is no doubt to be admitted of; for no man can have a true regard to his honour, that does not immediately endeavour to vindicate it, in every caſe where there is the leaſt ſuſpicion of its being attacked.

But, my Lords, can any one of your Lordſhips doubt of the affront that has been put upon this houſe, in not communicating to us a meaſure in which the nation is ſo much concerned? Are we to agree to the ſupplies voted by the other houſe, without knowing any one reaſon for our ſo doing? The other houſe will probably, I hope they will grant a ſupply for the meaſures now under his Majeſty's conſideration; but how are we to know that there are any ſuch meaſures under his conſideration? Are we to take an information, with regard to his Majeſty's intentions, from the Commons? God forbid, my Lords, that ever any of your Lordſhips ſhould entertain ſo mean a thought. What can we think then of this neglect? Muſt we not think, that we are forgotten by his Majeſty, or, at leaſt, by thoſe who have the honour to adviſe him? And, if this houſe ſhould once come to be forgotten by the crown, it will be forgotten by every man in the kingdom. It will be deſerted even by thoſe who then have the honour, I may ſay the misfortune, of being members. It will then be attended only by three or four court Lords, and perhaps half a dozen or a dozen of Prelates; and, if this ſhould ever come to be the caſe, we may eaſily judge what weight or authority it will have among the people.

For this reaſon, my Lords, I think we are infinitely obliged to the Noble young Lords that made and ſeconded this motion; and, if they have expreſſed themſelves a little warmly, they ought to be aplauded. It is natural for a young Gentleman of any ſpirit to grow warm, when he thinks his honour in the leaſt degree attack'd. My Lords, it is with pleaſure I perceive a ſpirit of virtue and liberty beginning to prevail among the young Lords of this houſe. Their example will, I hope, be followed by all the youth of the nation; and there-

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therefore, I muſt look upon them as the beſt ſecurities we can have for the preſervation and improvement of our conſtitution. Old men may, perhaps, be a little too paſſive: they may ſit ſtill under an incroachment, rather than expoſe themſelves to the danger and fatigue of oppoſing it; and thus, by ſuffering incroachment after incroachment, the conſtitution may be undone: but, when the youth of a free nation are endued with a true ſpirit of virtue and honour, they will take fire upon the firſt incroachment; they will bear any fatigue, they will expoſe themſelves to any danger, rather than allow the firſt to go unpuniſhed, or at leaſt unreſented; and thus, by oppoſing the firſt, they will prevent a ſecond.

It is needleſs, my Lords, to aſk a precedent for our complaining of the meſſage now under our conſideration. It is hardly poſſible there ſhould be any one directly in point. There never was ſuch a meſſage ſent to both, or either houſe of parliament, before the year 1717. But, I muſt obſerve, that this is not the firſt affront that has of late been attempted to be put upon this houſe. In the year 1726, his late Majeſty was adviſ'd, in a meſſage then ſent, to call the other houſe the parliament, as if this houſe had been no branch of the legiſlature. This was then properly reſented: thoſe who adviſed it were obliged to own it was a miſtake; and it was, almoſt with tears in their eyes, they prevented a farther reſentment. This is a precedent for our complaining when any neglect ſeems to be ſhewn us by the crown. The two caſes, I ſhall grant, are far from being parallel; for the preſent caſe is as much ſtronger than the former, as facts are ſtronger than words. In the former caſe, the other houſe was, in words only, called the parliament; but in the preſent, they are, in fact, treated as ſuch. They have been ſingly conſulted in a point of the greateſt importance and concern to the publick, as if we, of this houſe, had no ſhare in the legiſlature, or government of our country. Therefore, if we had then reaſon to complain, as the majority of this houſe, at that time thought we had, the reaſon we now have, is more cogent, and ought to be more prevailing.

Our ſovereign's addreſſing himſelf in his ſpeech, to the other houſe particularly, when he mentions the neceſſary ſupplies, can afford no pretence or excuſe for the neglect now ſhewn to this. In every ſpeech from the throne, the firſt part of it is addreſſed to both houſes; and, in that, the meaſures or ſervices which make the ſupplies neceſſary, are mentioned: being thus informed of the ſervices, we may judge of them, and may declare againſt them, if we think them improper or inconſiſtent with the publick good. But with regard to the ſervices or meaſures mentioned in this meſſage, we have had no information of them in a parliamentary way, and therefore can no way judge of them, or give his Majeſty any advice concerning them. If his Majeſty had been ſo good as to let us know, that he has certain meaſures under his conſideration, which will occaſion ſome extraordinary expence, not comprehended in the eſtimates laid before the other houſe, I ſhould certainly have approved, without enquiring what the meaſures were, and ſhould have been ready to have concurred in granting a ſupply ſufficient for carrying them into execution, becauſe, I believe, they are right, and ſuch as may contribute to our ſucceſs in the preſent war. But, if I had thought otherwiſe, if I had thought that his Majeſty had been adviſed to ſend the fleets and armies of this kingdom upon ſome romantick expedition, I would have been ſo far from approving, that I ſhould probably have moved for an addreſs, in order to give his Majeſty proper advice upon the occaſion; and, if the other houſe had granted a ſupply for the carrying on of ſuch meaſures, I ſhould have refuſed giving it my concurrence in this houſe. Whereas, in the preſent caſe, I can neither approve nor diſapprove of the meaſures; and, if the grant of a ſupply for carrying on meaſures I know nothing of, in a parliamentary way, ſhould come up

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from the other house, I am sure, I l think myself bound in duty to my g and country, as well as for the e of the honour of this house, to op- e as much as I can our giving our currence to such a grant.

Tis true, my Lords, the estimates the particular services are not laid ore this house; but I hope no Lord gines, that it is because we have not ight to examine into the supplies nted by the other house for answer- those services. We may not only mine into them, but we may pre- it their having any effect, by refusing concurrence; we ought to do so, en we know nothing in a parliamen- y way, of the services for which they re granted: and tho' the estimates the particular services are not usu- y laid before us, yet our sovereign, his speech from the throne, at the ening of the session, either does, or ght to communicate to us, in gene- terms, the services for which the pplies are to be granted; and in our esence acquaints the other house, that has ordered the particular estimates d accounts to be laid before them. ay, even as to those estimates and ac- unts, we may, if we please, call for em, and may examine particularly o every one of them: 'twould be ir duty to do so, if we should have e least suspicion, that any one of them ere false, or overcharged.

From what I have said, my Lords, hope, it will appear, that those who dvised his Majesty to send a message the other house, relating to publick easures to be undertaken, without ta- ing any notice of this house, have een guilty of a violation of our rights nd privileges, as one, and I hope I ay yet say the superior house of par- ament; and this violation 'tis the more ecessary for us to take notice of, be- use it is a violation of those parlia- entary forms of proceeding which, by ir constitution, it has always been ought necessary to observe. Such a olation, my Lords, gives me a most elancholy consideration; because the bstance of a constitution of govern- ment must be gone, before any one will dare to attack the forms. Even in the most absolute governments that have been established upon the ruins of liber- ty, the forms of their ancient constitu- tion have been preserved. The Romans retained their senate and their popular magistrates, even under their most ar- bitrary and tyrannical Emperors; and the consent of that senate seem'd to be asked to every publick act; the elect- on of their Consuls, their Tribunes, and several other magistrates, seemed to be left to the free choice of the people; but every one knows, that their senates always approved what the tyrant's chief minister dictated, and the people always chose for their magistrates, the persons that were nominated by him: so that in effect the government was as absolute, and much more tyrannical, than it could have been, had they had no appearance of a senate, or of any popular magi- strate. In France likewise, the forms of their ancient free constitution are still preserved. The parliament of Paris still registers the King's edicts; but that parliament has not now the liberty to refuse. So in this house, we may be allowed to approve of those measures, which our sovereign and his ministers have before resolved on; and this form, or rather farce, of having our approba- tion, may be continued for many years after our liberty or power of refusing it is taken away. I hope the ceremony of having our approbation is not as yet be- come a mere piece of form, or a mere farce: but, from the treatment now complained of, I must suppose, that those who advised his Majesty to treat us in such a manner, are of opinion, that even this farce is now become unneces- sary; for, it seems, they do not think our approbation to their measures so much as worth asking.

My Lords, the constitution of our government, according to its ancient form, is the most perfect, I believe, that was ever established; and therefore we certainly will, as long as we have any honour or publick spirit left, endeavour to preserve it. A very great historian and politician has long ago said, that the

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therefore, I must look upon them as the best securities we can have for the preservation and improvement of our constitution. Old men may, perhaps, be a little too passive: they may sit still under an incroachment, rather than expose themselves to the danger and fatigue of opposing it; and thus, by suffering incroachment after incroachment, the constitution may be undone: but, when the youth of a free nation are endued with a true spirit of virtue and honour, they will take fire upon the first incroachment; they will bear any fatigue, they will expose themselves to any danger, rather than allow the first to go unpunished, or at least unresented; and thus, by opposing the first, they will prevent a second.

It is needless, my Lords, to ask a precedent for our complaining of the message now under our consideration. It is hardly possible there should be any one directly in point. There never was such a message sent to both, or either house of parliament, before the year 1717. But, I must observe, that this is not the first affront that has of late been attempted to be put upon this house. In the year 1726, his late Majesty was advis'd, in a message then sent, to call the other house the parliament, as if this house had been no branch of the legislature. This was then properly resented: those who advised it were obliged to own it was a mistake; and it was, almost with tears in their eyes, they prevented a farther resentment. This is a precedent for our complaining when any neglect seems to be shewn us by the crown. The two cases, I shall grant, are far from being parallel; for the present case is as much stronger than the former, as facts are stronger than words. In the former case, the other house was, in words only, called the parliament; but in the present, they are, in fact, treated as such. They have been singly consulted in a point of the greatest importance and concern to the publick, as if we, of this house, had no share in the legislature, or government of our country. Therefore, if we had then reason to complain, as the majority of this house, at that time, thought we had, the reason we now have, is more cogent, and ought to be more prevailing.

Our sovereign's addressing himself, in his speech, to the other house particularly, when he mentions the necessary supplies, can afford no pretence or excuse for the neglect now shewn to this. In every speech from the throne, the first part of it is addressed to both houses; and, in that, the measures or services which make the supplies necessary, are mentioned: being thus informed of the services, we may judge of them, and may declare against them, if we think them improper or inconsistent with the publick good. But with regard to the services or measures mentioned in this message, we have had no information of them in a parliamentary way, and therefore can no way judge of them, or give his Majesty any advice concerning them. If his Majesty had been so good as to let us know, that he has certain measures under his consideration, which will occasion some extraordinary expence, not comprehended in the estimates laid before the other house, I should certainly have approved, without enquiring what the measures were, and should have been ready to have concurred in granting a supply sufficient for carrying them into execution, because, I believe, they are right, and such as may contribute to our success in the present war. But, if I had thought otherwise, if I had thought that his Majesty had been advised to send the fleets and armies of this kingdom upon some romantick expedition, I would have been so far from approving, that I should probably have moved for an address, in order to give his Majesty proper advice upon the occasion; and, if the other house had granted a supply for the carrying on of such measures, I should have refused giving it my concurrence in this house. Whereas, in the present case, I can neither approve nor disapprove of the measures; and, if the grant of a supply for carrying on measures I know nothing of, in a parliamentary way, should come up,

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from the other houſe, I am ſure, I all think myſelf bound in duty to my ing and country, as well as for the ke of the honour of this houſe, to op- ſe as much as I can our giving our ncurrence to ſuch a grant.

'Tis true, my Lords, the eſtimates r the particular ſervices are not laid fore this houſe; but I hope no Lord agines, that it is becauſe we have not right to examine into the ſupplies anted by the other houſe for anſwer- g thoſe ſervices. We may not only amine into them, but we may pre- nt their having any effect, by refuſing ur concurrence; we ought to do ſo, hen we know nothing in a parliamen- ary way, of the ſervices for which they ere granted: and tho' the eſtimates or the particular ſervices are not uſu- lly laid before us, yet our ſovereign, n his ſpeech from the throne, at the pening of the ſeſſion, either does, or ught to communicate to us, in gene- al terms, the ſervices for which the upplies are to be granted; and in our preſence acquaints the other houſe, that he has ordered the particular eſtimates nd accounts to be laid before them. Nay, even as to thoſe eſtimates and ac- counts, we may, if we pleaſe, call for them, and may examine particularly into every one of them: 'twould be our duty to do ſo, if we ſhould have the leaſt ſuſpicion, that any one of them were falſe, or overcharged.

From what I have ſaid, my Lords, I hope, it will appear, that thoſe who adviſed his Majeſty to ſend a meſſage to the other houſe, relating to publick meaſures to be undertaken, without taking any notice of this houſe, have been guilty of a violation of our rights and privileges, as one, and I hope I may yet ſay the ſuperior houſe of parliament; and this violation 'tis the more neceſſary for us to take notice of, becauſe it is a violation of thoſe parliamentary forms of proceeding which, by our conſtitution, it has always been thought neceſſary to obſerve. Such a violation, my Lords, gives me a moſt melancholy conſideration; becauſe the ſubſtance of a conſtitution of government muſt be gone, before any one will dare to attack the forms. Even in the moſt abſolute governments that have been eſtabliſhed upon the ruins of liberty, the forms of their ancient conſtitution have been preſerved. The Romans retained their ſenate and their popular magiſtrates, even under their moſt arbitrary and tyrannical Emperors; and the conſent of that ſenate ſeem'd to be aſked to every publick act; the election of their Conſuls, their Tribunes, and ſeveral other magiſtrates, ſeemed to be left to the free choice of the people; but every one knows, that their ſenates always approved what the tyrant's chief miniſter dictated, and the people always choſe for their magiſtrates, the perſons that were nominated by him: ſo that in effect the government was as abſolute, and much more tyrannical, than it could have been, had they had no appearance of a ſenate, or of any popular magiſtrate. In France likewiſe, the forms of their ancient free conſtitution are ſtill preſerved. The parliament of Paris ſtill regiſters the King's edicts; but that parliament has not now the liberty to refuſe. So in this houſe, we may be allowed to approve of thoſe meaſures, which our ſovereign and his miniſters have before reſolved on; and this form, or rather farce, of having our approbation, may be continued for many years after our liberty or power of refuſing it is taken away. I hope the ceremony of having our approbation is not as yet become a mere piece of form, or a mere farce: but, from the treatment now complained of, I muſt ſuppoſe, that thoſe who adviſed his Majeſty to treat us in ſuch a manner, are of opinion, that even this farce is now become unneceſſary; for, it ſeems, they do not think our approbation to their meaſures ſo much as worth aſking.

My Lords, the conſtitution of our government, according to its ancient form, is the moſt perfect, I believe, that was ever eſtabliſhed; and therefore we certainly will, as long as we have any honour or publick ſpirit left, endeavour to preſerve it. A very great hiſtorian and politician has long ago ſaid, that the

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the beſt form of government is that, which conſiſts of a certain mixture of the three principal ſorts of government; but ſuch a form of government, ſays he, cannot poſſibly long endure. We in this kingdom have fallen upon that mixture, which he recommends; and, thank God, we have hitherto defeated his prophecy. Our anceſtors have preſerved that mixture for many ages, often at the riſk of their lives and fortunes. God forbid! my Lords, it ſhould periſh in our hands. But if we ſhould once allow any miniſter to tread under foot, or in the leaſt deſpiſe the rights and privileges of this houſe, or to adviſe our ſovereign to do ſo, the dignity of the Peerage will evaniſh; and if the dignity of the Peerage ſhould evaniſh, the dignity of the crown itſelf will be gone; for the dignity of our ſovereign conſiſts in his being ſovereign Lord of a free people, and a great number of conſiderable and independent Lords. Our conſtitution will ſoon deviate into a democracy, which will of courſe ſoon come under the abſolute rule of one, perhaps, one of the loweſt rank among them. This has been already once our fate, and this may probably be again our fate, if we ſhould ever bring ourſelves into publick contempt, by allowing a daring and uſurping miniſter to trample upon our rights and privileges. To prevent this for the future, is the only intention of the preſent motion; and therefore, I hope, every Lord that thinks there is the leaſt cauſe to ſuppoſe, that our honour has been attacked by the late neglect that has been ſhewn us, will give his affirmative to the principal queſtion; for I cannot think the Noble Lord will inſiſt upon the previous queſtion, becauſe I have ſhewn, that every Lord in this houſe, let his opinion be what it will, ought to be for having the principal queſtion immediately determined.

Cn. Domitius Calvinus *ſpoke next, whoſe ſpeech was as follows.*

My Lords,

WIth regard to the motion now under your Lordſhips conſideration, the previous queſtion I think is right, and for this very reaſon, becauſe the principal queſtion is not right. There are many queſtions, which ought to have a negative put upon them, whereof I think this is one, and yet there may be danger in attempting to put that negative; becauſe, if the principal queſtion ſhould be put, what by the ill-grounded prejudices of ſome, and the unreaſonable difficulties of others, it may be carried in the affirmative, very much to the detriment or danger of the commonwealth.

The preſent queſtion, my Lords, is, I ſay, in my opinion, a queſtion of this nature: if it were to be put, I ſhould be under no difficulty in giving my negative to it; becauſe, I think, the ſending of this meſſage to the other houſe ſingly, was neither contrary to the cuſtoms of parliament, nor any way derogatory to the rights or privileges of this houſe. His Majeſty, in his ſpeech from the throne, acquainted us of the juſt and neceſſary war he was engaged in, and in our preſence demanded of the other houſe ſuch effectual ſupplies, as might enable him to carry on the war with vigour. In our preſence he told the other houſe, that he had ordered the eſtimates, for the ſervice of the enſuing year, to be laid before them; but could any Lord of this houſe, or any member of the other, then imagine, that eſtimates could be made of all the ſervices that in time of war might become neceſſary? We all know, my Lords, that in time of war, the moſt effectual meaſures for carrying it on with ſucceſs, are generally ſuch as ought to be kept ſecret, till the very moment of execution. The preparations for the execution of ſuch meaſures muſt be attended with an extraordinary expence, and it is impoſſible to lay any eſtimate of that expence before either houſe of parliament, without divulging thoſe meaſures which are to be carried on. Therefore, I think, from his Majeſty's ſpeech itſelf, we could not but expect, that, beſides the eſtimates uſually laid before the other houſe, and which might be laid before them with-

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but divulging thoſe meaſures that ought to be kept ſecret; I ſay, we could not but from thence expect, that ſome certain ſum would be demanded for the carrying on of meaſures, that neither could, nor ought to be communicated; and the aſcertaining of that ſum may, I think, properly be called the eſtimate for thoſe ſervices or meaſures: ſo that the meſſage complained of, I muſt look upon as an additional eſtimate, or as an extenſion of the eſtimates previouſly laid before that houſe; and I do not think it is contrary to the cuſtoms of parliament, or derogatory to the privileges of this houſe, in his Majeſty, to lay, or to order to be laid, any ſort of eſtimate before the other houſe, without ordering it at the ſame time to be laid before this.

From the journals of parliament, my Lords, it will appear, that during the war in Q. Anne's reign, there were many ſuch meſſages ſent to the houſe of Commons only. Nay, during the whole war, it was in every ſeſſion the cuſtom, to enable her Majeſty to apply any part of the ſupplies granted in that ſeſſion, to ſecret, or not then thought of ſervices. And ſo far was this houſe at that time from imagining, they were to be conſulted with reſpect to every warlike meaſure the crown might think proper to undertake, that thoſe diſappropriating clauſes, as I may call them, were always agreed to without the leaſt intimation from the crown, that any ſecret meaſures were then under conſideration.

I ſhall grant, my Lords, that when his Majeſty is to aſk the advice of his parliament, it is this houſe he ought principally to apply to. I ſhall likewiſe grant, that it is prudent in the crown to adviſe with its parliament in all caſes of great importance, unleſs they be ſuch as require great ſecreſy. His preſent Majeſty has always done ſo; and has never, in the leaſt, departed from that advice which has from time to time been given him by his parliament. But, I hope, no Lord will ſay, that his Majeſty is never to make the leaſt ſtep, without firſt conſulting his parliament; and, in caſes which require ſecreſy, it is impoſſible for him to have the advice of his parliament, becauſe he cannot apply for it without divulging the ſecret. The meaſures he has now under conſideration, and which will require ſome extraordinary expence, an eſtimate of which, or the amount of which, he has, according to cuſtom, ordered to be laid before the other houſe, are meaſures which muſt be kept ſecret, and therefore they are ſuch as he can have no advice about from his parliament. If he had, by meſſage, applied for the advice of the other houſe about thoſe, or about any meaſures, the Noble Lord would have been right in his motion. A meſſage for advice ſent ſingly to the other houſe, would certainly have been derogatory to the privileges of this; but his Majeſty neither aſks, nor can aſk any advice as to thoſe meaſures, either of them or us. As the meaſures muſt be kept ſecret, it would, in my opinion, have been abſurd to have ſent any meſſage relating to them, to this houſe. His Majeſty was obliged to tell the other houſe, that beſides the eſtimates laid before them, ſome farther expence would be neceſſary for carrying on the war with vigour, of which no eſtimate could be laid before them, becauſe the meaſures concerted for that purpoſe, were ſuch as could not be communicated. Such a meſſage could not, I am ſure, be properly ſent to this houſe; and, I muſt deſire Lords to conſider, how it would have ſounded, to have deſired our advice about meaſures, and at the ſame time to have told us, that thoſe meaſures were ſuch as could not be communicated to us. Therefore, I muſt think that the not ſending of this meſſage to us, is ſo far from being derogatory to our privileges, that it would have been inconſiſtent with our dignity, to have ſent it to us in the terms in which it was ſent to the other houſe, or in any terms in which it could have been conceived.

Thus, my Lords, it appears, that his Majeſty could not ſay any thing to us in relation to thoſe meaſures which render this extraordinary ſupply neceſſary; and

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as to the ſupply itſelf, as well as the meaſures for which it is granted, we ſhall have an opportunity to give our conſent to both, when the appropriation clauſe comes to receive the concurrence of this houſe, which it muſt do before it can be paſſed into a law. Therefore there can, in my opinion, be no juſt reaſon for this complaint, and I am ſure there is no precedent for it. That in 1726 is far from being an authority for it. The other houſe ſingly was then called the parliament, which was certainly a miſtake, and which might, perhaps, have been of bad conſequence to the honour and dignity of this houſe, if it had not been reſented; but, in the meſſage now under our conſideration, the other houſe is neither called the parliament, nor treated as ſuch: it is treated only as that houſe of parliament before which the eſtimates are uſually laid; and in this, I think, no Lord can ſay, there is any miſtake or impropriety; nor can it, in my opinion, in the leaſt affect either the honour and dignity, or the rights and privileges of this houſe.

For theſe reaſons, my Lords, I ſhould be under no difficulty in giving my negative to the motion; but as other Lords may not be ſo fully convinced in this caſe as I am, and may therefore be unwilling to put a direct negative upon the motion, therefore, I think it the beſt way to put the previous queſtion; and when that queſtion is put, I ſhall moſt heartily give it my negative; in which, I hope, moſt of the Lords that hear me will concur.

L. Piſo *ſpoke next, whoſe ſpeech was in ſubſtance thus:*

My Lords,

I Am ſurpriſed to hear the Noble Duke ſay, that this meſſage ought to be conſidered as an eſtimate, or that it could not have been conceived in ſuch terms, as to make it proper for being communicated to this houſe. Is there any one word in the meſſage, that can make it look like an eſtimate? is there the leaſt mention of any ſum, either in general or particular? If his Majeſty, in his meſſage to the other houſe, had ſaid, that he had under his conſideration certain meaſures, which would occaſion an extraordinary expence of 2 or 300,000 l. not comprehended in the eſtimates laid before them, there might then have been ſome reaſon to call it an eſtimate; tho', even in that caſe, it ought to have been communicated to this houſe, as well as the other. But, in the words it is expreſſed, I think it impoſſible to find out a pretence for calling it an eſtimate, or any thing like an eſtimate; at leaſt I muſt think, that thoſe who have found out ſuch a pretence, are mighty ingenious in contriving how to palliate or excuſe an affront that has been put upon this aſſembly; which is a ſort of ingenuity that would not look very well in private life, whatever it may do in publick. In private life, if a man ſhould, without deſigning an affront, do or ſay any thing, or commit any miſtake or overſight, that might look like putting an affront upon another, he would be in the right, ſhould he uſe all his art to explain and excuſe himſelf; but if the perſon who receives the affront, ſhould make uſe of any art or ingenuity for palliating the affront put upon him, I ſhould be apt to conclude, that ſuch a perſon had not ſuch a regard to his own honour, as he ought to have.

I am, therefore, not a little ſurpriſed, to find among your Lordſhips, ſo much art made uſe of upon this occaſion, and ſuch far fetched gloſſes put upon this meſſage, in order to palliate or excuſe the neglect, or rather contempt, that has been ſhewn us. But, my Lords, it is impoſſible, in my opinion, to find any excuſe that can have the leaſt weight upon thoſe, who have a true and a nice regard to the honour of this aſſembly. The meſſage is plainly this, That his Majeſty has under his conſideration, certain ſecret meaſures or deſigns for attacking or diſtreſſing the enemy, which will occaſion an extraordinary expence, the particulars of which he cannot, for the ſake of ſecreſy, communicate, but deſires the aſſiſtance of the other houſe, for enabling him to carry them on, in the moſt ef-

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fectual manner. Is not this a communication of his Majesty's designs, as far as they could be communicated? and ought not we to have had this communication made to us, as well as the other house? or was it less necessary to ask our assistance, than to ask the assistance of the other house? No minister could think it was, but he who thinks himself so sure of our favours, that they are not worth asking. This, my Lords, is treating us like the most common prostitute. We have from his Majesty heard of augmentations of our forces by sea and land, we have heard of raising a body of marines. When the supplies granted by the other house for these purposes shall come before us, we shall know what they are for; and I do not question, but your Lordships will most readily give them your concurrence. But have we from his Majesty heard any thing of certain secret measures now under his royal consideration? And if the other house should grant a supply for those measures, can we concur in granting such a supply, when we do not know, that there are any such measures. The appropriation clause may inform us, that the Commons have granted a certain sum of money for the carrying on of certain secret warlike measures; but it cannot inform us, that his Majesty then has, or ever had such measures in view; for this is an information we can take from none but his Majesty himself; and without this information, we shall act inconsistently with the honour and dignity of this house, if we give our concurrence to a supply granted for such a purpose.

This, my Lords, must shew how necessary it was for his Majesty, to acquaint us by message with his having such measures under his consideration; and it was so easy to have formed a proper message for that purpose, that I am astonished to hear the possibility of it doubted of. Other Lords may, perhaps, much better understand the method of drawing up a message from the crown to this house, because they have of late years had great practice in this way, more, I hope, than I shall ever have occasion for; but, in my opinion, even the message sent to the Commons would have required but very little alteration, in order to have made it a message proper to be sent to this house. If the words, *not comprehended in the estimates laid before this house*, had been left out, and the word *Lords* put instead of the word *Commons*, I can see no reason why it might not have been a message proper enough to have been sent to this house. We should then have had a proper information of his Majesty's having such measures under his consideration; and we should have had an opportunity to approve of his Majesty's care and concern for the success of the war, and, perhaps, to give him some general advice in relation to the measures proper to be pursued, in case we had thought it necessary. I hope the danger of our presuming to give our advice upon so important an occasion, was not the reason of his Majesty's being advised not to let us know that he had any measures for the prosecution of the war under his consideration; for I am sure, if it was, it ought to be resented in a much stronger manner than the Noble Lord has by his motion proposed.

But, my Lords, whatever was the reason for neglecting, or purposely avoiding to communicate his Majesty's intentions to us, at the same time they were communicated to the other house, it must appear, from what I have said, to be a most notorious and unprecedented slight put upon this house. I shall not say, my Lords, we were forgotten, or that any real injury has been done us. We were, I believe, remembered; but it was, in order to put a design'd affront upon us. We have not been injured, but we have been slighted; which is worse, because a slight proceeds always from contempt, whereas an injury proceeds often from fear. A powerful, warlike and jealous people can never be slighted; but if their neighbours think them too powerful, they will, probably, take an opportunity, if they can lay hold of one, to do them a real injury, in order to diminish their power. It is the same with any assembly of men; they must be contemned before they can be

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ſlighted: and if we ſubmit tamely to the ſlight we have upon this occaſion met with, we may aſſure ourſelves of meeting very ſoon with a ſecond from the ſame hand, and ſo with a third, a fourth, till at laſt we ſhall come to be contemned, ſlighted and inſulted by the whole world.

The Noble Lord was, therefore, much in the right to take notice of this ſlight that has been put upon us, and to take notice of it in the moſt ſolemn manner. I hope the majority of your Lordſhips, at leaſt, will join with him upon this occaſion. His youth can be no reaſon for preventing the oldeſt Lord in this houſe from joining with him in ſuch a juſt, ſuch a neceſſary, and ſuch a modeſt ſort of reſentment. It is not the firſt time a nation has been ſaved by the vigilance, the alacrity, and the courage of a young man of quality. Rome was ſaved by a very young Lord, or Patrician, when many of thoſe that were much older than he, were like to have ruined their country by their deſpair. When I ſay this, my Lords, every one muſt know, I mean the great Scipio, afterwards called *Africanus*; who, before he was 20 years of age, ſaved his country, by compelling thoſe that were deſpairing, to take a ſolemn oath, that they ſhould never leave nor forſake it. And if there be any amongſt us, that deſpair of being able to preſerve the dignity and authority of this houſe, I hope the example of the young Lords that made and ſeconded this motion, will revive their drooping courage, and make them reſolve never to forſake or give up thoſe rights and privileges for which their anceſtors have ſo bravely fought, and ſo often bled.

But for God's ſake, my Lords, why ſhould we be ſo ſhy of declaring our opinion upon this occaſion? Many, I hope the majority of the Lords of this houſe, are of opinion, that the neglect lately ſhewn us, affects our honour in the moſt ſenſible part. Why ſhould we refuſe or delay to reject or embrace this opinion? Let us peremptorily declare, whether it does or does not. Suppoſe we ſhould declare it does, by agreeing to the preſent motion, what prejudice can from thence enſue to the commonwealth? Such a reſolution may, indeed, reflect a little upon the man who was the occaſion of this ſlight being put upon us. Who he may be, I cannot comprehend. Such a ſlight could not proceed from the crown itſelf, nor would it have been allowed, if the advice of any Lord of this houſe had been aſked. Yet there are ſeveral amongſt us, who have the honour to be of his Majeſty's council; but I muſt ſuppoſe, that none of them were conſulted upon the occaſion. I am ſorry they were not: I hope they do not often find themſelves ſo much neglected. But let this reſolution, if agreed to, reflect upon whom it will, it can do no hurt to the commonwealth, nor to any community or body of men in the kingdom. In the preſervation of the rights and privileges of this houſe, every community, every body of men in the nation have a concern. If one ſhould be brought into danger, the rights and privileges of no body of men, nor of any particular man in the Britiſh dominions could be ſecure. Therefore, my Lords, for our own ſakes, for the ſake of our fellow-ſubjects, for the ſake of our King, for the ſake of our country, we are obliged to be jealous of the rights and privileges of this houſe; and conſequently, I think, we are obliged to agree immediately to this motion.

The next ſpeech I ſhall give you, was made by C. Plinius Cæcilius, *who ſtood up again, and ſpoke to this effect.*

My Lords,

AS I have yet given you no other trouble in this debate, than merely to ſtate the queſtion under your conſideration, I ſhall now give you my opinion upon it, which I ſhall do in as few words as poſſible. My Lords, if I thought that any of our rights or privileges had been in the leaſt violated, by not ſending the meſſage complain'd of, to this houſe, at the ſame time it was ſent to the Commons, no one of your Lordſhips could be more ready than I ſhould be, to agree to this motion, or to any farther ſtep that ſhould be

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e thought neceſſary for aſcertaining and ſecuring our rights and privileges a time to come; but, I am ſo far from thinking it a violation, or even a neglect of any of our rights and privileges, that I think it was abſolutely unneceſſary, and would have been very imprudent, to have ſent any meſſage to this houſe, upon the ſubject this meſſage related to. We know how ſtrenuouſly, and with what warmth, the other houſe have for many years aſſerted their having the ſole right of granting ſupplies. We know what animoſities and diviſions have ariſen between the two houſes, as often as any queſtion has been ſtarted upon this ſubject; and every Lord muſt, with terror, form in his mind, an idea of the unhappy ſtate of anarchy this nation would be thrown into, ſhould a breach happen in our preſent circumſtances between our two houſes of parliament. This I am convinc'd would have been the conſequence, had his Majeſty ſent to this houſe, a meſſage of the ſame kind with that ſent to the other. The Commons would have immediately taken the alarm, and would have ſaid, that his Majeſty, by ſuch a meſſage, had in a manner directed us to interfere with, and incroach upon them in their ſole right of granting ſupplies.

Thus I have ſhewn, my Lords, that it would have been very imprudent in his Majeſty to have ſent any meſſage upon this occaſion to us; and that none of our rights or privileges, or even the deference that is due to us, made the ſending of ſuch a meſſage to this houſe neceſſary, I ſhall now endeavour to ſhew. My Lords, there are three ſorts of meſſages which are uſually ſent by the crown, to both or either houſe of parliament. The firſt ſort are ſuch as uſually are, and ought to be ſent to both houſes; the ſecond, ſuch as are, and ought to be ſent but to one houſe; and the third, ſuch as ought to be ſent to one or other of the two houſes, according to the nature of the buſineſs to which they relate. Of the firſt ſort are all meſſages for advice, or for any new powers, eſpecially in affairs that relate to the publick in general; as to which we all know, that his preſent Majeſty has been very exact, and has never ſhewn the leaſt ſort of neglect to one or other of his houſes of parliament. Of the ſecond ſort are all meſſages that relate to the Peerage, ſuch as that in the year 1718, which was ſent to this houſe only; and likewiſe all meſſages relating any way to judicature, which are to be ſent to this houſe ſingly, without taking notice of the other; becauſe the cognizance of all ſuch affairs belongs ſolely to this houſe: and yet, if an act of parliament be neceſſary for introducing any new regulation, with reſpect to either of theſe caſes, we muſt have the concurrence of the other houſe, before that regulation can be paſſed into a law. Of this ſecond ſort likewiſe are all meſſages relating ſingly to the buſineſs of ſupplies, which, in order to prevent a breach between the two houſes of parliament, are now to be ſent ſingly to the other houſe, without taking notice of this; and yet the grants of thoſe ſupplies, that are made by the other houſe, before they can be render'd effectual by being paſſed into a law, muſt have the concurrence of this. And of the third ſort are all meſſages which are ſent to either houſe of parliament, relating to any one particular affair at that time under the conſideration of that houſe.

Now, my Lords, if we conſider the meſſage upon which the Noble Lord's motion is founded, and which he was pleaſed to read to you, we muſt conclude, that it is one of that ſort of meſſages which are now to be ſent ſingly to the other houſe, without taking notice of this; becauſe it is a meſſage that relates ſingly to the buſineſs of ſupplies. His Majeſty does not thereby deſire the advice of parliament, nor does he deſire any extraordinary powers. The word *meaſures* is, indeed, mentioned; but they are ſuch meaſures as neither are nor can be explained, therefore his Majeſty could neither deſire nor expect the advice of either houſe of parliament in relation to them: and as they are meaſures which his Majeſty, it ſeems, may undertake and carry on without any

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any new powers, he had no occasion to ask for such, either from us or the Commons. He wants nothing but a supply of money for that purpose, and that the other house insists upon the sole privilege of granting: so that if his Majesty had asked any such supply of us, they would certainly have look'd upon it as an incroachment upon their privileges; and as this is a point we have never yet given up, it would of course have occasioned a breach between the two houses. That this would have been the consequence, we may be convinced of, from the method in which this message was treated by the other house. Upon their receiving this message, they did not vote an address by way of answer to the crown, which is the usual method upon other occasions, but they immediately referred it to the committee of supply; and in that committee, I suppose, they have granted such a sum as they thought sufficient for the purpose; and that sum will, in the appropriation bill, be appropriated to carry on such measures, as his Majesty shall judge necessary in the further prosecution of the war. When this clause comes before us for our concurrence, we have no occasion to enquire, whether his Majesty has any, or what measures under his consideration. From the nature of things we know, that in time of war, some measures may become necessary, which could neither be particularly communicated to, nor particularly provided for by parliament, either because it was necessary to keep them secret, or because they were not then thought of; and therefore we could not but expect, that some such grant would be made by the other house, and would be sent up for our concurrence. Nay, even from his Majesty's speech we must have expected some such thing; for there, his Majesty tells us, that the services will be various and extensive; from whence we could not but suppose, that particular estimates could not be made up for every service that might occur in the course of this ensuing year.

From what I have said, my Lords, I hope it will appear, that the sending of this message to the Commons singly, without taking notice of this house, was no slight, nor an attack upon any of our rights or privileges, and that it would have been very imprudent in his Majesty to have sent a message of this kind to us: and it will likewise, I hope, from thence appear, that it would not only be wrong, but very imprudent in us, to agree to the resolution proposed; for the same reasons that would have made it imprudent in his Majesty to send any such message to us, must make it imprudent in us to agree to such a resolution. If we should agree to it, we may expect, that the other house will presently take the alarm. They will certainly hear something of the resolution: they will thereupon order a committee to search our journals, which they have a right to do; and upon that committee's reporting, that they have found such a resolution in our journals, the other house will certainly come to such resolutions, as must occasion a breach between the two houses. How fatal the consequences of this breach may be to the commonwealth, in our present circumstances, I shall leave to your Lordships consideration.

This must shew, my Lords, that we ought to be extremely shy of agreeing to the resolution proposed; and at the same time I shall grant, that we ought also to be shy of giving it a direct negative: for tho' what is now complained of, is no violation of our rights or privileges, nor of that deference that is due to us from the crown; yet, if we should put a flat negative upon this motion, as it will stand upon record in our journals, it may hereafter be made a precedent for something, that will be a real and downright violation of our rights and privileges, or of that regard which ought to be shewn us, as the higher house of parliament; and for this reason, I think, it is the most prudent method to suspend the decision of this affair, by putting the previous question upon the motion.

The next speech, and the last I shall give you upon this occasion, was made by M.

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M. Agrippa, *who ſtanding up a third time, ſpoke in ſubſtance as follows.*

My Lords,

I Am ſorry I ſhould be ſo often obliged to trouble your Lordſhips upon this occaſion, but really the more I hear ſaid againſt this reſolution, the more important the affair ſeems to grow, the more neceſſary, I think, it becomes for us to agree immediately to what my Noble friend has been pleaſed to propoſe. His motion I at firſt thought would have had a good effect, even tho' our approbation of it ſhould have been ſuſpended by the previous queſtion; but from what the Noble Lord, who ſpoke laſt againſt the motion, has ſaid, I find the motion will have no effect upon the future conduct of miniſters, unleſs it now meets with the approbation of this houſe. My Lords, it is impoſſible for any miniſter or ambitious prince to ruin our conſtitution, without firſt proſtituting the honour, and debaſing the dignity of this houſe; and this can never be done without our own concurrence or connivance. If what has been laſt ſaid againſt this motion, be allowed to have any influence upon this aſſembly, every future miniſter that pleaſes will, at every turn, take an occaſion to affront us, and to violate our rights and privileges; and will plead for his excuſe, that he durſt not do otherwiſe, for fear of alarming the other houſe, and occaſioning a breach between the two houſes of parliament. Nay, his creatures in this houſe, as a future miniſter may have ſome, tho', I am ſure, no miniſter has any ſuch at preſent, will tell us, that we muſt not attempt to vindicate our honour, or aſſert our undoubted rights and privileges, for fear of occaſioning a breach between the two houſes; and will be ſure to repreſent to us in the moſt hideous light the fatal conſequences of ſuch a breach.

I know, my Lords, that a breach, or a diſpute about privileges, between the two houſes of parliament, is a very troubleſome affair; I am ſenſible, that it ought to be avoided as much as poſſible; but it was never yet attended with any fatal conſequence. When ſuch a diſpute happens, one or other muſt be in the wrong; and when men are allowed time to cool, and to think deliberately upon the ſubject, they generally at laſt give ear to reaſon, or ſome methods are found out to put an end to the diſpute without a determination: one of which has in a ſhort time been the conſequence of all the diſputes that have happened between us. Suppoſe the other houſe, at the inſtigation of ſome ambitious and artful member, ſhould be ſo unreaſonable, as to find fault with our vindicating our honour, and aſſerting, againſt an incroaching and arrogant miniſter, that regard which is due to us from the crown, are we therefore to ceaſe doing our duty? or muſt we, for fear of this conſequence, ſubmit tamely to every indignity ſuch a miniſter may pleaſe to put upon us?

For God's ſake, my Lords, do not demean yourſelves ſo much as to allow ſuch an argument to have any weight in this debate. Conſider alone, whether in the preſent caſe you have been neglected, and if you think you have, I am certain you will reſolve to vindicate your honour, let the conſequence be what it will. But, in my opinion, there is not the leaſt danger of the other houſe's taking amiſs any reſolution you can come to upon this occaſion. There would not have been the leaſt danger, as the Noble Lord has been pleaſed to inſinuate, of their taking it amiſs, had his Majeſty ſent this meſſage to us, at the ſame time he ſent it to them. His Lordſhip may diſtinguiſh meſſages into as many ſorts as he pleaſes, but I muſt inſiſt upon it, that all meſſages that relate ſingly to the buſineſs of ſupplies, are not to be ſent to the other houſe ſingly, without taking notice of this. A meſſage for a vote of credit, is a meſſage that relates ſingly to the buſineſs of ſupplies, and yet no member of the other houſe, I believe, ever imagined, that a meſſage for a vote of credit ought not to be ſent to us, as well as them. My Lords, this very meſſage is a meſſage for credit. It is a meſſage for an act of credit, which is ſtill more than a vote of credit. The other houſe may limit the credit they give

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give upon this occasion, as well as they generally do the credit they give by a vote; but whatever the sum may be that is granted or promised, for doing what we know nothing of, it is a grant or vote of credit; and every message desiring such a vote or grant, ought to be sent at the same time to both houses. The other house's referring this message immediately to the committee of supply, without voting an address by way of return to it, is no argument for shewing, that they thought the message ought not to have been communicated to this house. Last session they treated the message then sent in the same manner. Tho' it was a message for a vote or an act of confidence, as well as credit, they referred it immediately to the committee of supply, without thinking of addressing his Majesty by way of return: nor did they think of taking it amiss, that the message was communicated to us, as well as them. Have we not within these few years seen several messages for a vote of credit only? Have not all these messages been sent at the same time to both houses? and did the other house ever think of taking it amiss, that such a message was communicated to this house? The case would have been the same, had this message been sent to us: the other house would not have so much as thought of taking it amiss; nor would ever such a thought have entered, I believe, into any man's head, if it had not been to excuse the blunder of a minister, which, I think, is the softest name I can give the neglect that has been shewn us upon this occasion.

I am really surprised to hear any Lord of this house arguing, from the sole right the Commons pretend to, of granting supplies, that they may from thence take occasion to prevent all sort of communication between the crown and this house; which might be the case, if they should be allowed to be judges, what sort of messages ought to be sent to this house. My Lords, we have never yet yielded to them the sole and exclusive right of granting supplies, or that we have not a right to alter and amend those money-bills they send up to us. It was but in the year 1696, that they came to a resolution, which they afterwards made a standing order, not to confer with this house about any amendment made by us to a money-bill; and this is the only determination this affair has as yet met with; which is a determination we are not in the least obliged to stand to. This very dispute, it is true, occasioned a breach between the two houses in the year 1671; which was the occasion of dropping one of the money-bills sent up by the Commons that session. But this was so far from being a misfortune, that it was lucky for the nation; because it prevented the intire ruin of the Dutch: for K. Charles II. had in that year been drawn into an alliance with France for attacking Holland, which was accordingly soon after put in execution; but the loss of this money-bill prevented his Majesty's attacking the Dutch with that vigour he might otherwise have done, and this gave them time to prepare, and to withstand the French attack by land, much better than they could have done, had they at the same time been vigorously attacked by sea: so that our insisting strenuously upon our rights at that time, tho' it occasioned a breach between the two houses, was of great service to this nation, and to Europe in general.

This, my Lords, may serve as a proof of what I take to be a general rule in all human affairs, which is, That in every case that occurs, we ought to do our duty, and trust the event to providence. But in the present case, it is evident, that our agreeing to this resolution can occasion no breach between the two houses, nor be attended with any bad consequence: for I have shewn, that the Commons could not have taken it amiss, had this message been communicated to us, at the same time it was to them; and consequently they cannot take amiss our agreeing to the resolution proposed. I believe, most of them will agree with me in opinion, that it is a dangerous thing for the crown to send any message in writing to either of the houses, without taking notice

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notice of the other; for there is a great difference between a meſſage in writing, and thoſe verbal meſſages ſent by ſome of the King's miniſters or ſervants. Theſe laſt, indeed, may be ſent to either houſe, according to the nature of the affair to which they relate; but a ſolemn meſſage in writing, I will venture to ſay, ought generally to be ſent to both houſes. If a meſſage relating to judicature ſhould be ſent to this houſe ſingly, the other might probably take it ill; becauſe they have never allow'd us the ſole right of being the ſupreme judicature, no more than we have allow'd them the ſole right of granting ſupplies. And even with regard to the peerage, if a meſſage in writing were neceſſary for introducing or paſſing any law relating to it, I believe the ſafeſt way would be, to ſend it to both houſes; but I cannot conceive, how a meſſage can be neceſſary in either of theſe caſes: tho' no bill becomes a law, till it receives the royal aſſent, yet we have, in both houſes, a power to bring in and paſs ſuch bills, as we think neceſſary for the publick good, or the preſervation of the conſtitution, without having leave from the crown by meſſage, or any other way; for upon ſuch occaſions no prerogative ought to be allowed to ſtand in our way.

I know that in the year 1718, a meſſage in writing came to this houſe relating to the peerage-bill; and, my Lords, it was a wiſe, a tender, and a ſalutary meſſage: I wiſh I could ſee ſuch another: I am ſure, if I could expect to ſee ſuch another, I ſhould be among the firſt to move for bringing again ſuch a bill as that was, into this houſe. If that bill had paſſed into a law, our conſtitution would have been more ſecure, and this houſe a better barrier againſt the ambition of miniſters, than it is at preſent. We know by whom it was oppoſed: we know it was oppoſed by one, who has now great weight in the other houſe; and while he has the ſame weight, I believe we ſhall never ſee the ſame bill revived. But the meſſage ſent to us by the crown upon that occaſion, was far from being neceſſary. It proceeded entirely from the goodneſs of the late King, who was willing to give that early teſtimony of his approbation, in order to remove the clamours of ſome courtiers, who ſeemed to be againſt the bill; and had that meſſage been likewiſe communicated to the Commons, I believe it would have been right: I cannot think it would have been attended with any bad conſequence. For in all caſes where a new law is neceſſary, if a ſolemn meſſage in writing from the crown be neceſſary, as the law muſt have the concurrence of both houſes, the meſſage ought regularly, I think, to be ſent to both.

We have been told, my Lords, that during the late war there were ſeveral precedents of ſuch meſſages as this being ſent to the other houſe, without taking any notice of this. I wiſh the Noble Lords had mentioned but one of theſe ſeveral precedents; I am ſure I know of none. I have ſhewn, that the meſſage now under our conſideration is directly a meſſage for a vote of credit: it is, with reſpect to the credit-part, expreſly the ſame with that meſſage which was ſent laſt year to both houſes, and has been treated in the ſame manner by the other houſe; and before the year 1717, ſo far as I remember, there was never any ſuch meſſage ſent to both, or to either houſe of parliament. That meſſage, we know, was violently oppoſed, and particularly by an eminent member of the other houſe, who has ſince, it ſeems, got a new light; for he has been not only the ſupporter, but, I believe, the adviſer of many ſuch meſſages ſince that time. During the late war, I can think of no meſſage in writing, relating to the war, but what was ſent to both houſes of parliament. After the unfortunate battle of Almanza, there was a meſſage in writing from the crown; but it was ſent to both houſes. After the death of the Emperor Joſeph, there was a meſſage in writing from the crown; but it was ſent to both houſes. All the meſſages I can think of, that related to the publick in general, have been ſent to each houſe of parliament; for it is but of late, that

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this method of sending messages has been begun. When our sovereign had any thing new to communicate, or any thing new to ask, the ancient method was, to come to his parliament, and make a new speech: and I wish this method had never been altered; for it is more solemn, and more becoming that regard which our sovereign ought to shew to the supreme council of the nation.

Suppose, my Lords, we should think it necessary to disagree to the credit desired by the crown. Suppose we were convinced, that the credit or money desir'd would be employ'd in carrying on measures, that must redound to the prejudice of the nation. This was the case in the year 1671, and may again be the case: I am far from thinking it is so at present; but if it were, we could, in this method, have no opportunity of refusing this credit, but by doing, perhaps, an infinite prejudice to the publick; for the clause of appropriation, with respect to the sum granted by the other house, in pursuance of this message, will certainly come up to us in some money-bill, which the publick service necessarily requires to pass; and if we should think it necessary to throw out the clause, we must of course throw out the bill, or occasion a breach between the two houses of parliament, which, the Noble Lords, who are against this motion, have told us, would be of the most terrible consequence in our present circumstances.

A Noble Lord has told us, that the sum granted by the other house in compliance with this message, will, in the clause of appropriation to be sent up to us, be appropriated to the carrying on of such measures, as his Majesty shall think proper, in the further prosecution of the war. My Lords, I know nothing of the words that may be made use of in that clause; but suppose it comes up in these words, and that the sum granted may be 200,000 l. is not this giving the crown a credit for 200,000 l. in the very same manner we gave it a credit last year for 500,000 l.? The only difference is, that last year, his Majesty deigned to ask it of us, and to tell us, it was necessary; but this year, it seems, we are to give it without asking, and without knowing it is necessary. The Noble Lord says, the necessity of giving such a credit in time of war, appears from the nature of things. My Lords, the very contrary appears from experience; for during the long and heavy war in Q. Anne's time, no such credit was ever given. Her Majesty was often impower'd to apply any part of the supplies to secret or unthought of services; but there never was any particular sum granted for that purpose: therefore, if we judge from experience, as well as the nature of things, we must suppose, that no such credit is necessary, and consequently, as the crown has neither told us that it is, nor asked any such of us, we must throw out that clause, and of course the money-bill in which it is inserted.

The Noble Lord seemed to be sensible, that the necessity of this credit was not very apparent from the nature of things; and therefore, he endeavour'd to shew, that his Majesty had told us of it, and asked for it in his speech from the throne. Whether any such thing can be gathered from the words he mentioned, or from any words in his Majesty's speech, I must leave to your Lordships to judge. In time of war, the services must always be various and extensive, but we could not suppose, that his Majesty thereby meant, that we must now grant a particular credit for those services, or that such a thing would be necessary now, tho' it was never before thought necessary. I shall grant, my Lords, that some few words might very easily have been inserted in his Majesty's speech, which would have prevented the necessity of sending this message to either house of parliament; but his ministers, by not thinking of, and foreseeing things before-hand, have brought themselves into this labyrinth; and I wish with all my heart, they may not, by the same sort of political thoughtlessness and blindness, have brought the nation into such a labyrinth, as we shall not soon or easily get out of.

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I muſt beg pardon for having given your Lordſhips ſo much trouble; but the motion now under our conſideration has, by the debate upon it, become an affair of ſo ſerious a nature, that I think the very being of this houſe concerned in the queſtion. A particular and diſtinct correſpondence is now open'd between the crown and the Commons, and that too about affairs which relate to the publick in general, affairs of the greateſt importance: that correſpondence may increaſe to ſuch a degree, as to render your Lordſhips quite uſeleſs; and if you ſhould once become ſo, you may depend upon your being at laſt voted uſeleſs by the other houſe, as you have been heretofore. I thought it my duty to oppoſe with all my might, the firſt approach of ſuch another misfortune. Our honour, our very being requires an immediate aſſent to this motion; and as I look upon the previous queſtion to be a ſort of negative, I ſhall, therefore, be againſt our diſagreeing to the motion, by that or any other method.

The next debate I ſhall give you an account of, happened on the 29th of January laſt, when ſeveral of the members of our club being withdrawn into other rooms of the tavern, where our club is kept, and into the adjacent coffee-houſes, about their particular buſineſs, Aulus Gabinius *ſtood up and propoſed, that a meſſenger ſhould be ſent to the other rooms of the tavern, and the adjacent coffee-houſes, to deſire that the members ſhould forthwith repair to the club; and a meſſenger being accordingly ſent, and moſt of the members conveened,* L. Junius Brutus *ſtood up and ſpoke in ſubſtance as follows.*

Mr Preſident,

I Am now going to lay before you a propoſition, which has already been ſeveral times made to you, without meeting with that ſucceſs which I thought it deſerved; but as I think it a good one, and abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation of our conſtitution, I am far from being diſcouraged by its former bad ſucceſs, nor ſhall I be diſcouraged from a future attempt, even tho' it ſhould now meet with as bad a reception as heretofore; becauſe I am fully convinced of the truth of that obſervation, which was long ago made by one of our beſt lawyers, That a good bill or motion once propoſed in parliament, and entered upon our journals, can never die: it may at firſt meet with bad ſucceſs; it may meet with repeated bad ſucceſs: but unleſs our conſtitution be abſolutely and irrecoverably deſtroyed, it will by its own merits at laſt force its way through the ſeveral branches of our legiſlature.

The propoſition I am to make, Sir, is plainly and in ſhort this, that criminals may not be allowed to be their own judges, and that our liberties may not be committed to the keeping of thoſe, who are retained to deſtroy them. It is the duty of parliament to redreſs all publick grievances, and puniſh all high and heinous offenders, who have been artful or powerful enough to evade the laws of the kingdom: it is the duty of parliament to grant no more money for the publick ſervice, than what is abſolutely neceſſary, and to ſee that money properly applied, and duly accounted for: and it is the duty of parliament to watch over the liberties and privileges of the people, by taking care not to paſs any laws, that are inconſiſtent with the liberties and privileges of the people, and by providing ſpeedy and effectual remedies againſt all incroachments that have been, or may be made, by ambitious princes, or guilty miniſters. Theſe, Sir, are among the chief of the duties of parliament; but how can we expect a performance, if a majority of the members be ſuch, whoſe ſelf-preſervation or ſecurity depends upon their neglecting, or acting contrary to theſe duties? Can we expect, that publick grievances will be redreſſed, if a majority of parliament be ſuch as have themſelves been, or ſuch as are the friends and confederates of thoſe that have been the cauſe of theſe publick grievances? Can we expect, that any high offender will be puniſhed by parliament, if the majority of it be ſuch as have been com-

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panions and ſharers with him in his crimes, or ſuch whoſe chief ſubſiſtence depends upon ſcreening him from juſtice? Can we expect, that any ſupply demanded by the crown will be refuſed, if it is to be granted by thoſe, whoſe chief ſubſiſtence depends upon making the grant; or that the publick money will be properly applied, or duly accounted for, if thoſe that have applied it, or may apply it, to their own uſe, are to be the only inſpectors of the publick accounts? Or laſtly, Sir, can we expect, that a parliament will guard againſt the incroachments of an ambitious prince, or guilty miniſter, if the majority of that parliament be ſuch as have the whole, or a neceſſary part of their ſubſiſtence, from the places or penſions they hold at the arbitrary will of that ambitious prince, or guilty miniſter?

Theſe are queſtions, Sir, which, in my opinion, can be anſwered in the affirmative by no man, that will and dare make uſe of his reaſon; and yet every one of theſe queſtions muſt, I think, be anſwered in the affirmative by thoſe who affirm, that our conſtitution can never be in any danger from a majority, or near a majority of this houſe's being compoſed of ſuch as hold places and penſions at the arbitrary will of the crown. I ſhall grant, Sir, that it may be neceſſary for us to have amongſt us ſome of the chief officers of the crown. It may be neceſſary to have always in this houſe ſome of the chief officers of the treaſury, admiralty, and army, as well as ſeveral others of thoſe that are employed by his Majeſty, as chief officers in the executive part of our government. Theſe, I ſay, it may be neceſſary to have amongſt us, in order to give us ſuch informations, as may often become neceſſary in the ſeveral branches of buſineſs that come regularly before this houſe; but, I am ſure, it is no way neceſſary, and quite inconſiſtent with the dignity of this houſe, to have it filled with clerks of offices, and inferior officers of our navy and army. I confeſs, I have the greateſt regard for ſuch of thoſe as we have at preſent amongſt us; becauſe, I hope, they have all ſo much honour, that they would diſdain to ſacrifice their duty, as members of this houſe, for any ſelfiſh conſideration: but, we cannot be aſſured, that thoſe who ſucceed them in their offices and employments, will be Gentlemen of ſo much honour; and as they may likewiſe ſucceed them with regard to their ſeats in this houſe, our conſtitution may be thereby brought into the utmoſt danger: for, if I were not well aſſured of the honour of thoſe officers we have now amongſt us, we have already ſuch a number, that I ſhould think our conſtitution upon the brink of deſtruction; and, as this number may increaſe ſo as in a ſhort time to become the majority of this houſe, whilſt we have it in our power, we ought to take care to provide againſt this danger, by limiting the number of officers that are to have ſeats in this houſe: for, if the majority of this houſe ſhould once come to be compoſed of officers, and thoſe officers ſuch as had a greater regard to the places they poſſeſs, or preferments they hope for, than to the liberties and conſtitution of their country, it would be ridiculous to think of getting the approbation of this houſe to any ſuch regulation. Therefore, Sir, as this is not yet, I hope, our unfortunate caſe, I ſhall beg leave to move, *That leave may be given to bring in a bill, for the better ſecuring the freedom of parliaments, by limiting the number of officers to ſit in the houſe of Commons.*

This motion introduced a very remarkable debate in our club, in which A. Sempronius Atratinus *ſtood up and ſpoke to this effect.*

Mr Preſident,

I Should readily join, not only in bringing in, but in paſſing ſuch a bill as the Hon. Gent. has been pleaſed to propoſe, if I thought it were neceſſary for the preſervation of our conſtitution: nay, I ſhould join with the Hon. Gent. in his motion for bringing it in, in order to ſee what ſort of remedy he has a mind to propoſe, if I thought that the conſtitution were now, or ever could be in any danger from the number of

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officers in this houſe: nay further, I ſhould probably join with him, in this motion at leaſt, if I were not fully convinced, that the excluding of any officer who may have fortune and intereſt enough in his country to get himſelf choſen, would be a moſt dangerous infringement of our conſtitution, and at laſt an infallible cauſe of its diſſolution.

The Hon. Gent. has himſelf, Sir, furniſhed us with what I take to be an unanſwerable argument againſt the bill he propoſes: he ſays, and, indeed, it muſt by every one be granted, that no danger can enſue from the number of officers in this houſe, unleſs that number be ſo great, as to make a majority; and that even in this caſe, no danger can from thence enſue, unleſs that majority conſiſts of ſuch men, as have a greater regard for the offices they poſſeſs, or the preferments they hope for, than they have for their own honour, or the liberties of their country. Theſe, therefore, are two caſes, which we muſt ſuppoſe may happen, before we can ſay there is any neceſſity for ſuch a bill as he has been pleaſed to propoſe; and theſe two caſes are, in my opinion, of ſuch a nature, that we cannot ſuppoſe it poſſible, that either of them ſhould ever happen, and much leſs can we ſuppoſe, that both may happen at one and the ſame time.

We know, Sir, that a great number of thoſe, who have offices and employments under the crown, I mean all the officers of the revenue, are already excluded from having ſeats in this houſe; and as for the officers of our navy and army, and all thoſe that belong to any of the offices kept here at London, they are, by the very nature of their office, and by the attendance they muſt give, prevented from having any intimacy or correſpondence with the Gentlemen or people of our ſeveral counties, cities, or boroughs, and conſequently it muſt be extremely difficult for any great number of them to get themſelves choſen: for the people in all places of the kingdom are fond of thoſe that live amongſt them, and converſe with them daily, and will always chuſe one of them, rather than any ſtranger that comes to ſet up as a candidate at an election.

For theſe reaſons, Sir, I think it impoſſible to ſuppoſe, that ever a majority of this houſe ſhould conſiſt of ſuch as hold offices or employments at the arbitrary will of the crown; and as for penſioners, they are already excluded from having ſeats in this houſe, as effectually as it is poſſible for you to exclude them by any law you can make. But this is not the only impoſſible ſuppoſition we muſt make, in order to frighten ourſelves with the dangers we are expoſed to by a great number of officers having ſeats in this houſe: we muſt not only ſuppoſe, that they make a majority of the houſe, but that they are all ſuch as have no regard to their honour or their country; which, I hope, will appear to be a ſuppoſition impoſſible to be made, with regard to ſuch a number of Gentlemen of family and fortune in this or any other kingdom upon earth: for Gentlemen of family and fortune they muſt be, before they can get themſelves choſen, unleſs you ſuppoſe their conſtituents to be as great ſcoundrels as themſelves; which is a ſuppoſition that, I hope, can never be made; at leaſt, I am ſure, if there ſhould ever be ground for making ſuch a ſuppoſition, it would be ridiculous to talk of preſerving the liberties of ſuch a vitious and abandoned people.

But, Sir, before we can ſuppoſe our conſtitution in danger from a great number of officers having ſeats in this houſe, we muſt, in my opinion, ſuppoſe, that all thoſe officers are not only regardleſs of honour and their country, but downright fools and idiots with regard to their own intereſt. Every Gentleman that can have a ſeat in this houſe, muſt now by law be poſſeſſed of an eſtate of 600 l. or at leaſt 300 l. a-year, in his own right. Whilſt our conſtitution is preſerved, he may call this his property, he may tranſmit it to his poſterity. But if our happy conſtitution ſhould be deſtroyed; if an abſolute and arbitrary government ſhould be ſet up, he could do neither with any certainty. In ſuch governments there

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is no property, there is no man can with certainty depend upon being able to transmit any thing to his posterity; and would any man but a fool and a madman render a certain, real, transmissible estate of 600 l. or 300 l. a-year precarious, for the sake of a place or a pension of double the value, which he held at the mere will of another, and which he knew he could not transmit to his posterity? This, Sir, is so contrary to common sense, that it is impossible to suppose, that any great number of men in any age, or any country, could be guilty of such a piece of madness.

From hence, I think, it is evident, that our constitution can never be in danger from any number of officers that may have seats in this house; but if you should by a new law exclude all those in any office or employment under the crown, or all but a very few, from having seats in this house, it would not only endanger, but, in my opinion, certainly destroy our constitution. Sir, I believe it will be granted, that since the happy accession of our present illustrious family, as great a regard, as great a respect has been shewn by the crown to parliaments, nay greater, I believe, than was ever shewn in any former period of time. To compare it with that period in which our constitution seems to have been most perfect, and our government most wisely administred, I mean the reign of the glorious Q. Elizabeth: every one knows, that she often treated her parliaments with more haughtiness than has lately been so much as thought of: nay, she sometimes treated them in such a manner, as would now be exclaimed against, as the highest insult, the most dangerous incroachment upon the rights and liberties of parliament; and yet the parliaments in her time behaved in a more obedient, I may say, a more servile manner towards the crown, than they have ever done in any reign since that time. From whence I must conclude, that so far from being brought under any servile influence by the number of officers we have now in the house, it contributes towards enhancing that regard which the crown finds necessary to shew to us: and, I think, very good reason it should; for surely a Gentleman who, besides his seat in this house, and his personal abilities, has a great share in the government and publick councils of his country, or a great command and intereſt in the navies and armies of his country, is more to be regarded than a mere country 'squire or city merchant, who has nothing to recommend him, but his own personal abilities, and his being a member of this house.

Therefore, Sir, if you exclude all officers of the crown from having seats in this house, you will, of one side, lessen that regard which the crown now finds necessary to shew to you; and of the other, you will introduce, and in a manner establish faction and sedition, not only in this house, but in every part of the kingdom. The chief guard we have against faction and sedition has always consisted in those honours, posts, and preferments, which the crown has the sole power to bestow: if you remove that guard out of parliament, the seditious great men, who may be the heads of faction, may probably, in a short time, get the direction, not only of this house, but of most of the elections in the kingdom: the consequence of which would certainly be, a civil war between this house and its followers of one side, and the King and his officers, and their followers, of the other; and by the issue of this war, let which ever side prevail, our constitution would certainly be undone. This, Sir, was the case in the reign of Henry III. This was the case in the reign of Charles I. In Henry III.'s time, the great Earl of Leicester, who was head of the party against the King and his ministers or officers, not only got the direction of the parliament, but, by his own authority, nominated many of those that were to be chosen as members of this house; and if that haughty Earl had not been deserted by the Duke of Gloucester, and defeated by the courage and conduct of the Prince of Wales, afterwards our great Edward I. that contest would probably have ended in a total overthrow of

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of our conſtitution, as the other I have mentioned did, in the reign of Charles I.

From all which, Sir, I muſt conclude, that the offices or employments, which are or may be poſſeſſed by members of this houſe, may ſerve to keep up ſuch a correſpondence and connexion between the crown and parliament, as will ſecure the tranquillity of the nation againſt faction and ſedition, but can never enable any prince or miniſter to deſtroy our liberties; becauſe, as ſoon as any ſuch deſign becomes manifeſt, moſt of the officers, who have the honour to be members of this houſe, will declare, and thereby turn the majority of this houſe againſt the court; and by that means we ſhall always have it in our power to give a check to the wicked deſigns of any ambitious prince or guilty miniſter. There can, therefore, be no neceſſity for ſuch a bill, as the Hon. Gentleman has been pleaſed to propoſe; but on the contrary, I muſt think, it would be of the moſt dangerous conſequence to our conſtitution, and for this reaſon I muſt declare againſt his motion.

The next that ſpoke was Mecænas, *the purport of whoſe ſpeech was as follows.*

Mr Preſident,

AN Hon. Gentleman at the lower end of the houſe, threw out a propoſal, to ſend us all to ſchool again for the reforming our manners. Sir, I think, our care ſhould be, to prevent members of parliament from being *at ſchool*, when they are *here*, from being under the laſh of an inſolent miniſter; as, if we may credit hiſtory, has happened in ſome former parliaments. Sir, I do not mean the parliament in Q. Elizabeth's reign, however ſervile they are repreſented to have been, by an Hon. member over the way. I am afraid the practice of miniſters naming members to boroughs at their own will and pleaſure, which he told us was uſed by the Earl of Leiceſter, has not been dropt ſince that time; and I wiſh our poſterity may never ſee days leſs advantageous to liberty. Elizabeth loved her people, deſired their honour, regarded their intereſt; ſhe heard their complaints againſt the greateſt, the moſt favoured of her miniſters; and yet I will own, Sir, there were many wrong things done in her reign, becauſe ſufficient reſtraints were not then laid upon the power of the crown: and therefore the example of her reign holds out a uſeful leſſon to us, that even to the beſt of princes we ſhould not allow ſuch a dangerous influence, as may tempt them, by the advice of bad miniſters, to incroach on our freedom.

Sir, conſidering how this bill comes recommended, I ſhould have imagined, Gentlemen would have thought it owing to themſelves, if not to their country, to ſeem to treat it with a little reſpect. But, not ſo much as to allow it to be brought into the houſe, to oppoſe the principle of it, is indeed very extraordinary. There have been times, when only for the ſake of that principle, bills of a much leſs moderate nature, and to which there lay many objections that cannot be made againſt this, have paſt here without oppoſition. Sir, for my own part, I think, when I am promoting this bill, that I am contending for all I ever thought myſelf bound to contend for, that I am oppoſing all I ever thought it my duty to oppoſe: all faults and miſmanagements in the adminiſtration of government, the miſunderſtanding, the neglect, the giving up of all national intereſts, diſcontent at home, diſhonour abroad, whatever can be conceived moſt detrimental to the good of the publick, is all ſo cloſely inwoven with the evil this bill would prevent, that it can be guarded againſt, or remedied by no other poſſible means. Sir, how far I am from ſuppoſing, that merely to have an employment, without other cauſe of ſuſpicion, implies any notion of guilt or corruption, I need no other proof than the ſenſe I muſt have of my own ſituation. But tho' I have an employment myſelf, I think it ſtill undeniably true, that the nation has reaſon to be jealous of the number of placemen in parliament; becauſe nations always regard things, and not perſons; becauſe they conſider the temptation

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tion in general, not a particular power of reſiſting it; and becauſe the publick wiſdom ought to proportion the degree of reſtraint to the degree of danger, that is either felt or foreſeen.

While this houſe is full of independent Gentlemen, or with ſuch placemen only whoſe places are not ſo much the beſt of their property, that they cannot riſk the loſs of them without a ſpirit of martyrdom; who have ſomething of their own ſufficient to outweigh their employments; and while the number even of theſe ſhall be confined within ſome moderate bounds, a miniſter muſt regard this aſſembly as an awful tribunal, before which he is conſtantly to account for his conduct: he muſt reſpect your judgments; he muſt dread your cenſures; he muſt feel your ſuperintendency. But I can imagine, a future houſe of Commons ſo crowded with placemen, that a ſpectator in the gallery might be apt to miſtake, and think himſelf at the levee of a miniſter inſtead of a parliament. The benches here may be covered not only with officers of rank in the government, not only with the ſervants of the crown, but with the ſervants, perhaps, of thoſe ſervants; and what ſentiments, Sir, have we reaſon to think the ſight of a houſe ſo filled would excite in a miniſter? Would he think himſelf in the preſence of his country, or in the midſt of a guard that would enable him to defy its juſtice, and deride its reſentment? The poſſibility of this happening hereafter, is the ground of this bill; which therefore the people of England do not only conſider as a ſingle point to be gained for them upon any preſent neceſſity, but as a general ſecurity againſt all they apprehend for the future.

Sir, my worthy friend who made you this motion, in the opening of it, explained to you ſufficiently, that there is no intent of running into any extremes. If I thought there was, I would oppoſe it as much as any man here. I know but one thing more prepoſterous than ſuch a general place-bill, as would exclude all perſons in office from a ſeat in this houſe; and that is, to leave the number of them under no limitation at all. But, for fear of ſtarving, muſt we die of a ſurfeit? Between theſe two abſurdities, can no medium be found? Can't we continue thoſe among us who are of any uſe to the houſe, who can give any aſſiſtance, any weight, any facility, any grace to our proceedings, and ſhut the door againſt others whom it is neither decent, nor ſafe to admit? Sir, the doing this is eaſy; it will be done by this bill: it is what the wiſdom of former parliaments would have done long before now. But the reaſon they did it not was, it never entered into their thoughts to conceive that ſome, who have ſince ſat in parliament, could attempt to come there; I do not mean from any perſonal incapacity, but from the nature itſelf of their offices, incompatible almoſt with the very idea of a member of parliament. It is a ſurpriſing thing, but it is verified by what we ſee every day, that the common practice of ſome ages goes beyond even the fears of the paſt. We muſt therefore ſupply from experience what our predeceſſors failed to foreſee; and we are called upon to do ſo by the unanimous cry of the nation. Sir, the greateſt affairs before us are of leſs importance than this: it is better Spain ſhould invade the freedom of the American ſeas, than the crown of England violate the independence of parliament. It is not Spaniſh or French arms, but Spaniſh and French maxims of government, that we ſhould have moſt to fear from, if the vigilant caution, the jealous ſpirit of liberty in this houſe did not concur with the goodneſs, the natural goodneſs of his Majeſty, to ſecure our free conſtitution. Let the cortes of Spain, let the parliament of Paris be a warning to this; let them ſhew us what we may come to, if we don't prevent the growth of corruption, before it produces here the inſenſible, gradual, fatal change it did there.

Sir, I am trying to recollect what objections have been made to this bill, and I proteſt I can find none that ſeem to me to want a reply. One chiefly inſiſted upon is, That it carries an air of

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of ſuſpicion. Sir, in all the ſtates that I have read of, ancient and modern, the moſt ſuſpicious people have been always the lateſt enſlaved. To ſuſpect human frailty in tempting circumſtances is a very natural jealouſy, and too ſecure a confidence will hardly be thought a parliamentary virtue. It is painful, indeed, to be ſuſpected; but the greater the pain, the greater the deſire ſhould be to remove that ſuſpicion. But, Sir, againſt the preſent houſe of Commons, no ſuch ſuſpicion can be conceived.—Upon what grounds ſhould it be founded, upon what probability? Has the private diſcourſe of Gentlemen here, ever been different from their publick behaviour? have they ever talk'd one way, and voted another? have there been any indications of a private intereſt, *that* of any *one man* ever prevailing over *that* of the nation, againſt fact, reaſon, or juſtice? have not the majority here conſtantly ſhewn the ſtrongeſt conviction, that their conduct was ſtrictly conformable to the moſt diſintereſted love of their country? Such a houſe of Commons ought not to be, is not ſuſpected: but granting ſuch a doubt to have been form'd, is this the way to remove it? will the rejecting this bill clear our character, or can all the art and power of calumny give half the weight to an imputation of that kind as ſuch a proceeding?

Sir, to thoſe who treat this bill as a chimerical thing, an idle ſpeculative project, I will ſay but one word, that the moſt chimerical thing in nature, is the notion of a free conſtitution, where the reſtraining powers are not entirely exempt from dependency. Such liberty is, indeed, a ſpeculation fit for ſchool-boys alone; for what would terms and appearances avail, if independence were loſt? You might retain, indeed, the vain enſigns of your former authority; but would they give you any dignity, would they be of any uſe to the publick? The mace there upon your table, what would it ſignify? it might be borne before you with ridiculous pomp; but it would be what Cromwel called it once, a mere babble; or, if it had any weight, it would be only to oppreſs, not to protect.

Sir, the preſent form of our government, keep it but free from corruption, is ſo wiſely conſtituted, the powers in it are ſo happily mixed, that it has all the advantages of a republick, without the defects and evils attending one. But, on the other ſide, I muſt ſay, that if it ſhould be corrupted, if the controul of parliament ſhould be bought off by the crown, the very reverſe would be true; and it would have all the defects, all the evils of an abſolute monarchy, without the advantages; it would be a more expenſive, and worſe adminiſtered abſolute power. Sir, I hope it is underſtood, that in what I have ſaid, I am only contending for a proviſional ſecurity againſt a miſchief not yet felt in all its malignity, but yet, of ſo increaſing a nature, and ſuch ruinous conſequences, that we muſt be blind not to foreſee them, and worſe than careleſs not to prevent. I will only add, that every year we delay this ſecurity, may probably add both to the neceſſity and difficulty of obtaining it; and that people out a-doors may be apt to judge from the ſucceſs of this queſtion to-day, if even now it does not come a little too late.

[*This Journal to be continued.*]

The characters aſſumed by the ſpeakers.
C. Oppius, Lord Onſlow, now deceas'd.
A. Sempronius Atratinus, John Selwyn, junior, Eſq; [*See p.* 412.]

On Lord CATHCART's Expedition.

MAY all the virtues ancient ſtory boaſts
Her heroes did poſſeſs, in great Cathcart
United ſhine! now when the honour of
His country and his own demand his aid,
And ſummon all that in him martial is,
To cruſh, diſtreſs and terribly afflict
The hoſtile treach'rous bands, who heretofore
Without controul plund'ring have ravaged.
May Alexander's *fire with* Fabius
His caution blended in proportion juſt,
On all his actions reflect a luſtre
Tranſplendent, and them all with ſucceſs crown.

On Motion. By a philoſophical ſociety.

BOdies ne'er move till mov'd, as all believe;
Nor can what's paſſive, active motion give.
Mind is all art: All matter mov'd we find
By ſome directing or informing mind.
This a firſt mover neceſſar'ly ſhows;
But how that Mover moves, HE *only knows.*

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The 35th chapter of Isaiah paraphras'd.

When the wish'd Sun of righteousness *shall rise,*
And gospel-light serenes th' unclouded skies,
Unwonted joys the desert shall confess,
And teeming verdure clothe the wilderness;
The seat of horrors dark, and awful dread
Shine beauteous, as at morn the flow'ry mead:
With raptur'd songs (for ev'ry tongue shall sing)
The shady groves and hollow rocks shall ring.
With less attention and delight we view
Sharon's *distinguish'd fields refresh'd with dew;*
Nor Carmel's *shining cliffs that prop the skies,*
With waving forests crown'd, so graceful rise;
Nor Lebanon *renown'd, whose summits fair,*
Dispense ethereal fragrance, and perfume the air,
Can boast an equal fame. These golden days
O'er the glad earth shall cast a sevenfold blaze,
And Gentile realms with pious rev'rence see
The unvail'd glories of the Deity.
Ye pastors, to the chosen seed that bring
The gracious message of th' eternal King,
New-brace the nerves of each enfeebled arm,
And trembling knees with strength and vigour warm:
Speak safety to the just, remove their fears;
For soon the mighty God of heav'n appears,
On impious heads to pour contempt and woe,
And wreck his vengeance on the cruel foe.
With joy the blind shall then behold the day,
Sound thro' obstructed ears shall force its way;
To wake celestial notes the dumb shall know,
The lame man bound, exulting like the roe,
And where the fields were parch'd, refreshing streams shall flow;
Deep lakes shall stand, and trembling reeds be seen
Where late the dragon kept his horrid den;
And lest unthinking fools should walk astray,
Or passengers bewilder'd lose their way,
A path unknown to Belial's *hated crew,*
The path of holiness our God shall shew,
From which nor fools, nor strangers shall decline;
He who unseen conducts them is divine.
In these fair lawns no beast of prey shall reign,
Nor lion stalk tremendous o'er the plain,
While God's returning saints with fond desire
The way to Zion's *blissful seats enquire:*
Their bosoms fraught with heav'nly ardors glow,
And unextinguish'd joy on ev'ry brow
Gay-smiling lives. The rage of deathful war
Rattling his chains shall thunder from afar;
Heart-piercing grief, and all the cumbrous train
Of wasting sickness and tormenting pain,
On wing sublime, for ever banish'd, soar,
And vex the dwellings of the just no more.

Saline. ARISTUS.

A description of the last winter's frost.

THE winter now doth cauldy glowr,
And crandroch spreads the meadows o'er;
The blae north-wind sae snell doth blaw
As drives in wreiths the drift and snaw:
In high or how, in plain or green,
Nought but cauld nipping frost is seen:
The burns and waters stap to rin,
And bear men on their icy skin;
The trees wi' snaw aboon their beuk
Do loonge and grain aneath their leuk;
The birds are starv'd for faut o' meat,
And naithing hae but snaw to eat;
The sheep themselves are now grown
And are fu' blyth to eat at hame; [tame,
And hares, that us'd to be sae wild,
Come in the kail-yards and are kill'd.
The dirling frost is grown sae bauld,
The air sae snell, and drift sae cauld,
That baith our thickest claes and skin,
Are pingl'd to keep us bet within:
For gif nae ranting fires did bleeze,
To ice our very blood would freeze:
And haslins we're oblig'd to roast
Our bouks, to keep awa' the frost;
Sae that our mizl'd shins will shew
The venom of the frost and snaw.
The frost's grown baulder than before,
And winna keep a'hind the door;
But by its strength is turn'd sae crouse,
As now to venture ben the house,
And there sae meikle doth prevail,
As that it freezes meat and ale,
That we maun melt to slack our drouth,
The ale made shockles, in our mouth.
When e'er we venture out, the air
Upon our bouks is turn'd sae gair,
That ilka face turns black and blue,
And noses get sae red a hue,
That ane to see them 'maist would think
That we'd been taking better drink,
Than ony thing that comes o' maut;
And troth I think it is nae faut
To sirple aff a glass or twa
Mair than enough our gabs to thaw,
And keep our intrails bet within,
And mak our blood the faster rin. [last,
If this cauld storm aught lang should
And what's to come as cauld's the past,
We'll be right straitn'd how to feed,
Or dree it to its hinder end:
Sae I'm fu sure that ane and a',
Here wishes for a hearty thaw,

And

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d every ane pits in their pray'r
article for warmer air.
Nov. 5. RUSTICUS.

TWEED SIDE.

What's the spring, breathing violet, and rose, [train,
What's the summer, with all his gay
the plenty of autumn, to those [gain?
Who have barter'd their freedom for
hen let love of our King's legal right
To the love of our country succeed,
nd let friendship and honour unite,
And flourish on both sides the Tweed.

o sweetness the senses can chear,
That corruption and bribery bind,
o brightness the gloom ever clear;
For honour's the sun of the mind.
hen let love, &c.
et virtue distinguish the brave,
Place riches in lower degree,
hink him poorest who dares be a slave,
And him richest who dares to be free.
hen let love, &c.
et us think how our ancestors rose,
Let us think how our ancestors fell;
'tis the rights they defended, 'tis those
They bought with their blood, that we sell.
hen let love, &c.

The FLIRT.

True, Flavia seems *a virgin born*
With wit and store of charms,
hat sure would fire a monarch's heart
If lodg'd within his arms.
et she's a lightsome, false coquet;
Inconstant as the wind;
A wanton, foolish flirt, whose life
Lampoons all womankind.
PICKTOOTH.

On SILENCE in *Love*, written by a young LADY.

Silence in love betrays more woe
Than words, tho' ne'er so witty;
A beggar that is dumb, you know,
Deserves a double pity.

On seeing Mr *Ralph Erskine*'s name engrav'd on the weather-cock of his meeting-house.

What's vulgar praise? — an empty puff,
That veereth to and fro.
This truth the humble riddler, Ralph,
By emblem fit doth show.

On surprising a friend in amorous play with a country maid.

As t'other day I went to see a friend,
In mutual converse some few hours to spend;
I saw him with a buxom milk-maid strive,
Pressing what she could not in honour give.
Some words in struglings past, he gains the field,
And she unto the soft temptation yields:
She just consents, and gives herself away,
An easy, thoughtless, unresisting prey.
When in I stept, and with my presence came,
Unwish'd relief unto her coming shame;
I stopt the progress of their amorous play,
The maid took up her pail, and run away.
CORYDON.

To the MEMORY of a MOTHER.

WHY sinks my heart beneath a weight of woe?
Why throbs my breast? my tears incessant flow?
Why flies the slumber from my aching eyes?
What prompts the sigh when morning gilds the skies?
Day's chearful orb, why hateful to my sight?
Why seeks my soul the mournful gloom of night?
Ask Death the cause — too well the tyrant knows,
From his relentless hand proceed my woes.
To thee, blest shade! I chearless tune this lay,
All, for thy love, my bleeding heart can pay;
As now that love a sad remembrance brings,
The muse must weep — yet while she weeps, she sings!
How did her care, her tenderness engage
The artless fondness of my infant age?
And when advancing in the years of youth,
Teach me the ways of wisdom and of truth?
The happy hours flew unperceiv'd along,
While native wit flow'd, tuneful, from her tongue:
Her gentle numbers charm'd the list'ning ear,
MELISSA's *name was to the muses dear.*
Nature, in her, with care unwonted join'd
The beauteous frame, and still more beauteous mind;
Neither diminish'd by affected art,
Nor guile deform'd, nor pride debas'd her heart;
Above her sex's foibles was her aim,
Too just, too good, to flatter or defame;
To friendship ever true, in converse free,
And dear to all — but oh! most dear to me.
With every virtue was her bosom warm,
And pure religion brighten'd every charm.
But say, lamented shade, should I repine
That thou hast chang'd the mortal for divine?
More than I've lost in thee, to thee is giv'n:
I've lost a parent — thou has gain'd a heav'n.
With

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With spotless Rowe *you tread th'etherial plains,*
And wake the golden lyre to heav'nly strains;
Harmonious join the blest angelick choirs,
God all the theme — while God the song inspires.
Long as I wander thro' the maze of life,
Amidst delusive joys, and care, and strife,
Fix'd in my breast, thy mem'ry shall reside,
Thy virtue fire me, and thy precepts guide:
Thus shall I fearless feel the hand of death,
Like thee, in peace, resign my trembling breath,
My soul exulting meet her pitying God,
And join thy raptures in the blest abode.

CAROLINA.

To the Memory of Mrs BRERETON. Inscribed to Mrs *Charlotte Brereton.*

TO noblest sentiments our sorrows rise,
When bright distinguish'd merit seeks the skies.
To virtue's self the generous tears refine
That flow, MELISSA! *o'er a fate like thine.*
O lost too early! as too late acquir'd!
Yet, ev'n thus lately, honour'd and admir'd.
Though by no forms of dull acquaintance prov'd,
Superior worth at once is known and lov'd;
At once with full convictive light appears,
Nor waits the slow discovery of years.
Such worth was her's, nor dreads the vulgar lot
To be at once lamented and forgot;
While in her lines, with bright unfading bloom,
She triumphs o'er th' oblivion of the tomb.
Here ever new the fair ideas rise,
Enchant with beauty, and with strength surprise;
United here the rival graces meet,
The force of judgment and the fire of wit:
While softer strokes of more affecting art
Flow from the gentler dictates of the heart,
The whole, with each engaging charm design'd,
Compleats the lasting picture of her mind.
To thee! her fondest care, her justest pride,
Not less by genius than by blood ally'd,
Best guardian of thy lov'd MELISSA's *fame,*
The Muse *inscribes this sad pathetic theme.*
'Tis thine, with happier knowledge, to express
What these imperfect sketches faintly trace.
O may her spirit all thy breast inspire,
The same soft musick harmonize thy lyre;
And, while above, in yon etherial plains,
She tunes her voice to more exalted strains,
On thee may heav'n her ev'ry gift bestow,
T'improve and charm the list'ning world below.

On an antiquated *Edinburgh* BEAUTY. *Horace,* ode 13. book 4. Imitated.

JEnny, *the Gods have heard my pray'r,*
(Thus joyful Strephon *sung)*
Tho' robb'd of every youthful air,
You still would fain be young.
Thy vain affected airs no more
Are warm'd by youth's gay rays;
Since age has ravish'd beauty's power,
Alas! they but displease.
In vain you smile, you toy, you play,
Soft Cupid *to engage;*
He joys to sport in gentle May,
And loathes December's *rage.*
He seeks the verdant blooming bush,
But shuns the wither'd bough;
He flies the whiteness on thy head,
The wrinkles on thy brow.
In vain are all your arts, and care,
To blot out age's trace;
No wash, no paint shall e'er repair
The ruins of thy face.
With tears behold thy charms retir'd,
Thy once engaging mien,
Thy shape by gazing crowds admir'd,
The colour of thy skin.
Where are those eyes that shot such grace?
Those breasts that wont to play?
Those loves that breath'd upon thy face,
And stole my heart away?
They're fled, alas! and age comes on,
With all his frightful train;
And all thy beauties now are gone,
While all thy faults remain.
No more thy breasts shall wishful rise,
Thy cheeks no more shall glow;
In place of love-darts, from thy eyes
Distilling rheums must flow.
No more your love-sick swain pine,
In melting numbers die;
No song shall warble you are fair,
Or mourn your killing eye.
But sharp lampoons, in biting lays,
Thy secret sins shall tell,
To M—t—n *how in former days*
Thy virgin honours fell.
Thy loathing lovers shun thy arms,
Thy kindness treat with scorn;
They glory o'er thy faded charms,
And triumph in their turn.
The Gods, who gave thee youth t'engage
Our hearts, and to disdain,
Have curs'd thee now with loathsome age,
To recompense our pain.

COM-

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COMMON SENSE, *Oct.* 11.

On Triennial Parliaments.

WHen the people are thinking of proper perſons to repreſent them in parliament, they ſhould remember one thing, that if ever thoſe in whom they repoſe this great truſt, ſhould give up any of their rights or privileges to the crown, it will be extremely difficult for them ever to recover them again.

Miniſters are but too apt to ſtretch laws to enlarge their power; but when they come to poſſeſs powers by right of law, it will require a very ſtrong hand to oblige them to give them back: of which hiſtory would furniſh us with many examples, but we ſhall wave them all at preſent, in order to take notice of the bill for holding triennial parliaments, paſſed ſome years after the revolution.

Such a bill was looked upon to be abſolutely neceſſary for preſerving the freedom and independency of parliaments, even before the crown poſſeſſed that power and influence which have accrued to it ſince, by the immenſe debts, by the vaſt number of placemen occaſion'd by thoſe debts, and by the gradual increaſe of the civil liſt. It was look'd upon as abſolutely neceſſary under princes who had no other country but this, who might be preſumed to have a greater affection for it than for any other, and who, if they had puſhed things to extremity ſo as to give their enemies a handle for turning them out, had nothing to expect but to be wanderers about the world without houſe or home, as they had been once before.

After the revolution, the prince upon the throne being a foreigner, it was feared he might have other diſpoſitions, other affections, nay even other intereſts; that he might be willing to govern his own way; knowing, that if he did loſe the hearts of the people, at worſt he had another home to retreat to. For which reaſons the law before mention'd was look'd upon to be more neceſſary now than ever. But, notwithſtanding that this prince was rais'd to the throne, that he pretended no other title to the crown of theſe realms but as the gift of the people, the royal aſſent was at firſt refuſed to this bill; which proves what we advanced above, that it is extremely difficult for the people to recover any power from the crown of which it is once poſſeſſed: but a free parliament (not conſiſting of placemen) never ceas'd puſhing this law till it was at laſt obtained; and it continued in force till after the acceſſion of *George* I. at which time the parliament thought fit to repeal it, and it continues repealed to this day.

Poſterity, no doubt, will be curious to know, what kind of powerful arguments a miniſtry could make uſe of, to prevail upon a *Britiſh* parliament to part with a law made on purpoſe for keeping their own body uncorrupt; a law eſſential towards preſerving the freedom of parliaments, and of conſequence towards the preſervation of liberty and property.

I have now before me a pamphlet written and publiſh'd a little before the bill for repealing this law was brought into parliament. It is in favour of the repeal, and was publiſh'd, as I have been inform'd, by the particular order of the then miniſters. They judged, that it would be neceſſary to prepare and ſoften the minds of the people, in order to make them eaſy under a meaſure which I preſume was very little expected. The miniſters thought it prudent to give ſoothing words and palliating reaſons, to reconcile them to an alteration in the conſtitution of parliaments, and which ſeem'd to abridge their (the people's) privileges. This pamphlet was like a ſugar plum that accompanies a diſagreeable potion, it was the gilding over a bitter pill.

The writer begins by laying it down as a maxim, "That the parliament hath a power of ſuſpending laws, as well as of making and repealing laws;" which, I ſuppoſe, no body diſputed with him. He proceeds afterwards to aſſure us, "That this power of ſuſpending any good law, will never be made uſe of by parliament but in

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caſes of the utmoſt neceſſity;" which (begging his pardon) is a very bold aſſertion, and which neither he nor thoſe that employ'd him will ever be able to make the world believe, unleſs they can firſt demonſtrate that it is impoſſible a parliament ſhould ever be corrupted.

When he comes to ſpeak in particular of this law for holding triennial parliaments, he allows, indeed, that it was a bill eſſential to the liberties of the people; and he tells us, that the chief objection made to it by thoſe who oppoſed it, when it was firſt brought into parliament, was, "That by ſo quick a return of elections, factions, heats and animoſities would be kept alive in the country. But [ſays he] theſe objections had but little weight; the legiſlature fell in with the deſires of the people, and judged it better to bear that ſmall inconveniency, than to ſtrike at the foundation of ſo eſſential a pillar of the people's liberties."

If a parliament was to laſt ſo long as to give the miniſters time and opportunity of practiſing upon it, and corrupting it, that pillar of the people's liberties would certainly ſtand upon a very precarious foundation.

To do the writer juſtice, he grants enough in conſcience in favour of the bill; but he has not yet begun to give his reaſons for ſuſpending it: we ſhall now come to them; and, in order to avoid all ſuſpicion of miſrepreſentation, we ſhall give them in his own words.

"There may be a time, however, when the publick affairs may be ſo circumſtanced, that it may be neceſſary, even for the good of the people themſelves, to ſuſpend the execution of ſuch a law as this for a ſeaſon, with ſuch reſtrictions and clauſes, and for ſo long a time as the wiſdom of parliament ſhall think fit."

And again, a little lower, he ſays, "We are now to enquire, whether there may not be ſome neceſſity to break in upon ſome of our own privileges for a ſeaſon, to prevent the enemies breaking in upon the conſtitution."

The nature of this danger which he here hints at is explain'd a little after.

"That there had been a dangerous and open rebellion lately in the nation, which was not yet extinguiſh'd; and that probably it might not be quite extinguiſh'd before the time of electing a new repreſentative muſt come on, according to the limitation of the bill for holding triennial parliaments; that it might prove fatal to have the people meet at ſo dangerous and critical a juncture, when the diſaffected might take advantage of it to increaſe or renew the rebellion."

All this appears very plauſible; and, to ſhew how fair a reaſoner he is, he undertakes to anſwer all the objections that may be made againſt ſuſpending the law at this time: the moſt material of which, he ſays, was,

"That it would be difficult to prevail upon a miniſtry hereafter, to adviſe the prince to conſent to the reſtoring a law which tied up their hands, and diſabled them from practiſing upon the repreſentatives of the people, and rendering parliaments ſubſervient to their deſigns." Which he anſwers thus:

"Theſe objections are effectually anſwer'd, by ſtating the difference between ſuſpending the force of a law for a certain limited time only, and the abſolute repealing ſuch a law. Nor is there any occaſion to ſay a word more in relation to it, only to let the world know, that not one word in this tract is to be underſtood as an abſolute repeal, but a temporary ſuſpenſion only of this law, the limitation to expire at a certain time, and the law then to return to its full force, unleſs thoſe limitations ſhould be farther extended by the ſame authority and upon the ſame neceſſity, of which neceſſity the parliament is to be always the judge."

The reader will perceive that the people, by this pamphlet, are made to believe, that this law was only to be ſuſpended for a time; that as ſoon as that dangerous criſis ſhould be paſt, which made its ſuſpenſion neceſſary, they were to be reſtored to their privilege, of returning a new repreſentative every three years.

This pamphlet therefore was a kind of

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of a miniſterial trick, calculated to impoſe upon the electors, that, being ignorant of the true ſtate of the caſe, their worthy repreſentatives might avoid being called upon and teazed to oppoſe it. The reaſonings in it, I ſuppoſe, were made uſe of only without doors: I don't doubt but *arguments of quite another nature were made uſe of within.*

Be that as it will, it is now five and twenty years ſince this alteration was made in the conſtitution of parliaments; and tho' the like neceſſity hath never happen'd at any point of time ſince, the law ſtands repealed to this day, and the people are very deſirous to know what will be done in it the enſuing ſeſſions.

The preſent moſt obſequious ſet of placemen cannot but know how odious they are become to their country; and ſure they cannot wonder at it, when they think on the declaration which the great man, as they call him, made in relation to them. The uſe he intends to make of them is no more a ſecret; the world has had it from his own mouth, and the people muſt be more ſtupid than ſtocks or ſtones, ſhould they not be alarm'd; for it is not to be doubted but he has made choice of tools fit for the honeſt work.

If the placemen pretend, that the prejudice which their country hath conceived againſt them is ill-grounded and unjuſt, why will they not demonſtrate to us, by ſome ouvert act, that it is ſo? The unhappy circumſtances of their country afford them ample occaſions of recommending themſelves to its favour. Let them do their endeavours to reſtore us this law for triennial parliaments: let them take the lead, and be the firſt movers for it; and if the patriots oppoſe it, may the odium fall upon them.

I preſume no body will make uſe of that old thread-bare objection again, That ſuch frequent elections will occaſion heats and animoſities; an argument that may be uſed againſt any elections: and God help us when thoſe heats and animoſities ceaſe. They have ceaſed indeed in thoſe miſerable boroughs that are ſubdued by corruption; there all elections are quiet: but they ſtill ſubſiſt in the counties and populous cities; and may they always ſubſiſt.

While *Rome* enjoyed its liberties, there were continual heats and animoſities in the election of all their magiſtrates; but when they fell into that ſhameful ſervitude which they ſuffer'd under *Tiberius, Nero, Caligula, Domitian, &c.* it muſt be confeſſed, thoſe heats and animoſities were at an end; all was quiet, all was obedience, and a *Sejanus* could name in his cloſet who ſhould be elected Conſul, Prætor, Edile, *&c.* If our placemen are not in a ſcheme to reduce this nation to the ſame ſtate of tranquillity, let us ſee it by their behaviour.

As to the law for holding triennial parliaments, it hath been ſo highly valued, that it hath often been ſaid it was all the nation got by the revolution. I will not determine whether that be true or not; but if it be ſo, it hath coſt the nation extremely dear, it hath coſt them near two hundred millions Sterling, an immenſe ſum. Perhaps the people may ſay they have bought it, and that it is but fair they ſhould have their bargain; otherwiſe they may think they ought to have their money again; which the corrupter himſelf, as rich as he is grown, will not be willing to pay.

UNIVERSAL SPECTATOR, N° 622, 3.

A moral *and* philoſophical *dialogue on* HAPPINESS *and* TRUTH.

Philalethes *and* Eudoxus.

Ph. WHat do you take to be the chief end and deſign of every rational being?

Eud. What all chiefly purſue; pleaſure, good, eaſe, content, happineſs; the contrary to which all avoid.

Ph. From what does good, pleaſure and happineſs, ariſe?

Eud. From agreeable *ſenſation*, or *reflection*, or *both.*

Ph. Is all and every pleaſure what you call good and happineſs, *&c.?*

Eud. Abſtractedly conſider'd it is ſo.

Ph. Is pain, or evil, juſt the reverſe of pleaſure and good?

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Eud. Juſt the reverſe: equal proportions of good and evil, pleaſure and pain, mutually deſtroy each other.

Ph. Does not every being conduct itſelf wiſely, who endeavours to take in and enjoy every degree of pleaſure from which it apprehends no painful conſequence?

Eud. To do otherwiſe would be to act againſt nature, and would be a kind of denying that *pleaſure, good, &c.* to be what they really are, the chief end and deſign of ſuch being.

Ph. Does not that being then act wiſely, who, when it cannot be otherwiſe attained, chuſes to ſuffer two degrees of pain, the conſequence of which will be, as he apprehends, ſix degrees of pleaſure?

Eud. Yes, ſurely, there being four degrees of pleaſure clear profit.

Ph. I plainly perceived that *good* is the chief end of every rational being: but have all abilities and inclinations conſtantly to purſue that end?

Eud. I think it impoſſible that any ſhould want *inclination* to be *happy*, but the ignorance of the true nature and conſequences of things may render his abilities defective.

Ph. If a being may neglect or miſtake in his purſuit of happineſs, how may he be directed to the ſafeſt and moſt proper means by which to attain this his chief and ultimate end?

Eud. He ſhould inform himſelf as much as he poſſibly can of the true nature and conſequences of things, with which he is or may be concerned; that is, with the *truth, reaſon*, and *relation* of thoſe things; and ſo far as he diſcovers their truth, he diſcovers the moſt proper means by which he may attain and preſerve happineſs.

Ph. Are *truth* and *happineſs* then only related as *means* and the *end*?

Eud. Certainly ſo. A man may be acquainted with the truth and relation of things, and yet not be happy: he may by negligence, by violent paſſion for ſome inferior preſent falſe good, prevent the real good which he might have enjoyed. Not that there is any good (abſtractedly conſidered) which is *falſe*; but I call ſuch ſo which may ſtand in the way to greater good, and from which a vaſt diſproportion of pain is to be expected.

Ph. By *truth* then, as above, I am to underſtand the diſcovery of the relations, nature and conſequences of things, about which a being is or may be concerned. This ſeems to concern individuals only.

Eud. It is true, that this knowledge of truth can be of ſervice to individuals only. This is the reſult of enquiry, and ſhews things (in the degree we apprehend them) to be what they really are, and the relation they bear to other things, and that relation beings ſtand in to other beings, and the duty ariſing from ſuch relations.

Ph. Truth then, as it is the knowledge of things and their relations, ſeems to be like *light*: it alters nothing, but diſcovers things to be what they really are.

Eud. Your compariſon is juſt: you may obſerve that *truth* has always the good of the enquirer for its chief object.

Ph. I apprehend it to be unnatural for any being not to intend his own good primarily, and in the higheſt degree: but does not the relation every intelligent being ſtands in to every other intelligent being require, that the good of others ſhould be deſigned and promoted in a lower degree, and in a ſecond place?

Eud. Yes, ſurely; and to that end it is proper for one intelligent being to communicate to others his own knowledge of truth and the relation of things. One cannot perceive the ideas as they ſtand in another's mind; now this makes a truth of declaration neceſſary.

Ph. A truth of declaration! pray define what you mean by that term.

Eud. By *truth of declaration*, or *communication*, I underſtand every kind of intimation, by word or ſign, given to another, by which the *declaring being* would convey juſt ideas to the other, of what he apprehends to be the truth of the propoſition on which they converſe by words or ſigns. A conſtant and firſt adherence to this expreſſive, declarative truth

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truth in all our words and actions, is absolutely necessary to uphold that confidence and dependence which may be called the cement of society, and a great means of good to the whole, as well as to every individual.

Ph. I perceive that this declaratory truth is in itself no more good, happiness, &c. than the good of relation is so, but only a *means* of good.

Eud. Very true: Good is the chief end of every man and every society; and *truth*, how excellent soever a means, is but a means.

Ph. If this be the case, and considering the end is more valuable than the means, may not a person under some circumstances be excused, when he shall in his expressions deviate from what he knows to be truth in the case required?

Eud. I think he may, and in some cases think he ought.

Ph. Pray give an instance in a case or two, in which he may deviate from what he apprehends to be truth.

Eud. A person may make an innocent and beneficial use of figurative speech, tho' it does not exactly correspond with truth; as in *fable*, *irony*, *hyperbole*, &c. By these the writer or speaker illustrates and impresses the truths he delivers, without any design to impose false ideas, these being almost as well known, as the more plain and less elegant way of expression.

Ph. I gather from what you said a while ago, that all persons, and under all circumstances, are not equally obliged to declare truth, or forbear declaring false.

Eud. I do think so: for example, I think it lawful for a parent or nurse to deceive an infant in some things.

Ph. I am apt to think so too, but should be glad to hear your reasons before I acquiesce in your opinion.

Eud. By an *infant*, I would be understood to mean one who is not arrived to age and knowledge sufficient to become a subject of civil or moral government. The infant has a right to protection and nourishment; but being utterly incapable to judge what would be proper to answer those ends, its passions by their violence might endanger its health, it not being capable to understand the evil consequences which might or would follow the gratification of them: I think in this case it would conduce to the great end, *viz.* its *good*, if by some deceits it was quieted, and no injury done to it.

Ph. I am satisfy'd as to an *infant* while very young, and uncapable to remember those methods used to make it quiet: but after they came to such an age, they would be in danger of having their tender minds debauch'd, which would be followed by very ill consequences.

Eud. But every wise parent or governor of an infant would by that time make use of plain truths; for then he becomes in some degree a subject of moral government.

Ph. Have all who are past their infancy equal right to truth, and that under all circumstances?

Eud. I look on an idiot as an infant of greater bulk and stature, and to be dealt with according to his degree of idiotism. I would also extend this liberty of *deceiving* to persons mad or delirious; because, for the time the malady continues, they cease to be active subjects of civil or moral government, and are to be dealt with according to the discretion of those whose care they are under. It would be cruel and unjust to suffer such to hurt themselves or others, out of a scruple on the account of truth of expression, when it can be prevented by force, or what I think a requisite fraud.

Ph. Have all persons who are not infants, idiots, delirious or mad, an equal right to *truth*?

Eud. I think not. These are not arrived at, or are involuntarily depriv'd of a capacity for civil or moral government, therefore not to be treated as active members of society in all respects; and I think there are others who may, by something voluntarily committed by them, as much cease to be members of society; or, where there is no civil compact subsisting, I think there is some natural

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natural one to be supposed, at least that no one person shall injure the person of another. In such case, I think it would be lawful for the injur'd by any means to oppose or avoid the injurer. Having no person or court to apply for redress or protection, self-preservation seems to be the first principle in nature, and strongly fixed in every creature. I think it would be an high violation of that law, to neglect the means of protection, even tho' these means were by false declaration.

Ph. This doth not seem to be much to the purpose to those who live under compact, and by that are obliged to be just in our expressions to all.

Eud. We are to be just to all; but I can't think we are bound to be true to all. To be true in expressions, in some cases, would be unjust to ourselves or others. Suppose cases; as, first: *Y*, an honest man, who would not break his word in any case, falls into the hands of ruffians, who had resolved to murder his father; but they finding the mistake, offer the son these terms; either to swear not to divulge what had happened, nor give his father any notice of their design on his life, or to be immediately kill'd himself. He swears, and keeps his oath: his father falls a victim to their resentment, and his son's regard for truth in opposition to good. And *Z*, not so scrupulous, but I think more just, in a similar case, breaks his oath, and by that means preserves the innocent, and is a means to bring the guilty to their deserved punishment, and is an instance of good produced by violation of truth of expression.

Ph. I must own that this seems to be right. Pray demonstrate to me the right *Z* might claim to deceive in this case.

Eud. I shall endeavour to answer for *Z*. I shall first define what I mean by *moral*, and what I mean by *civil government*. *Moral government* I understand to be, A just regulation of the powers of the mind to the dictates of right reason, and to the express commands of God. This, when exercis'd aright, will prevent the passions from being directed to improper objects, or on proper objects carried to an improper degree. By such regulation a person is enabled to answer in the best manner, and to the best purposes, that duty he owes to himself, and what he owes to others. When this was found, through the violence of the passions of mankind, to be insufficient to preserve the persons and properties of mankind from violence, they found it necessary to unite into societies for mutual defence. This I call *civil compact* or *government*. By the assistance of others, the weak are able to dispute their right with the strong: and without this, the strong man arm'd could keep his house but 'till a stronger than he came and dispossess'd him.

Ph. According to this state of the case, sure a strict adherence to truth must be necessary for the well-being of that society, which is thus united for mutual defence against falsehood and oppression. What a scene of confusion would the world, and every nation or society in the world be, if a strict regard for expressive truth were not preserved! No person could with safety trust any other person, farther than he knew it was the interest of that other person not to deceive him.

Eud. You observe very rightly. Coercive laws are, or ought only to be made against those who indulge their passions to the damage of the persons or properties of others. By the above compact it becomes the duty of all who have it in their power, to rescue the injured, and to bring the offender to justice: and where this power is not sufficient, the injured person has, I think, a right by any force or any fraud to secure his own person or property.

Ph. Will it not be objected, That when societies are form'd, the laws of society ought to be the only rule to direct a person as to the method by which he is to defend himself, &c. the laws are open, and the method known?

Eud. Where the laws of society are sufficient, and the offence so circumstanced that these laws can be exercised, I own a strict adherence to truth ought to be preserved; but when this

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ſlow way of proceeding cannot be effectual to protect the innocent and detect the offender, I think that in ſuch caſe truth may be violated to anſwer one or both of theſe purpoſes. A perſon (ſuppoſe) on the road attack'd by a thief, and finding himſelf unable to flee or to defend himſelf againſt the thief, who, by holding a piſtol ready to diſcharge into his body, ſhould promiſe to deliver his money, and put his hand into his pocket to make the thief believe he is going to take out his money, inſtead of which he pulls out a piſtol, and at unawares ſhoots the thief; or ſhould he give him a ſmall part of his treaſure, and tell him he had no more, I believe moſt people would juſtify him for ſo doing.

Ph. This I know is the practice of moſt, and therefore will be juſtified by moſt; but that will not prove the practice to be lawful.

Eud. To make it appear lawful, pleaſe to conſider with me, that the action committed is a capital crime in the eye of the law, and merits the ſevereſt cenſure of that law; and that the aggreſſor is cut off from, or has forfeited all privilege of ſociety with regard to the perſon attempted or injured: tho' this forfeiture is known to no other perſon, I think he is at liberty to uſe him as a perſon with whom he is not, or ever was under any compact with. This ſeems to be the reaſon, why, after a perſon is convicted of ſuch an action as is deem'd breach of compact, he is by ſentence declared to be out of ſociety; and that ſentence does not make him ſo, but declare him to be what he really was at the time of the committing the crime. This being known to the injured, he is ſuppos'd to have a right by force or fraud to ſecure himſelf, and bring the offender to trial, that he may be dealt with as a perſon who has broken the law, and merited its cenſure.

Ph. This may be right with regard to human laws; but the law of God muſt not be broken, which commands truth to be ſpoken, and forbids the leaſt deviation from that rule. The ſcriptures are full of ſuch precepts; 'twould be needleſs to quote particulars.

Eud. It may perhaps be found, that thoſe precepts were not deſign'd to extend to thoſe who were violators of compacts. If inſtances of facts, which have no mark of diſapprobation fixed on them, would ſatisfy you, I believe ſome ſuch may be found in ſcripture: I could point to ſome eminent men who acted thus.

Ph. The practice of good men in ſcripture I can't think ſufficient. When hiſtories of the lives and actions of the beſt men are given, the hiſtorian gives you many times only a bare relation of fact, without remarks on thoſe actions. Nothing ſhort of the divine approbation will ſatisfy me.

Eud. I believe I can turn you to ſome places where God is ſaid not only to approve, but to command the practice. Exod. vii. 16. *And thou ſhalt ſay unto him, The Lord God of the Hebrews hath ſent me unto thee, ſaying, Let my people go, that they may ſerve me in the wilderneſs.* It is plain, that by *ſerving, &c.* was intended *ſacrificing* only, and that was all *Pharaoh* was to underſtand, tho' the deſign was to go quite away. Chap. viii. 1. *Let my people go, that they may ſerve me.* And it is plain that *Pharaoh* did underſtand it in that ſenſe: ver. 8. *I will let the people go, that they may do ſacrifice unto the Lord.* 27. *We will go three days journey.* 28. *You ſhall not go far away.* Chap. x. 7. *Let the men go, that they may ſerve the Lord.* Ver. 24. *Only let your flocks and herds be ſtayed.* 26. *For we know not with what we muſt ſerve the Lord, until we come thither.* Chap. xiv. 5. *And it was told the king of Egypt, that the people fled,* &c. It ſeems plain that God ordered them to deceive *Pharaoh* in all this, and that they impoſed on him by making him believe they would return. I have alſo another place to this purpoſe. 1 Sam. xvi. *Fill thine horn with oyl, and go, I will ſend thee to Jeſſe the Bethlehemite; for I have provided me a king among his ſons. And Samuel ſaid, How can I go? if Saul hear it, he will kill me. And the*

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the Lord said, Take an heifer with thee, and say, I am come to sacrifice to the Lord; and call Jesse to the sacrifice, &c. All this was done, and *Saul* was deceived, or was designed by God's command to be so. Sacrifice was the pretence to conceal the real intention of his going, *viz.* to anoint a King. From hence I would argue, if God did order *Pharaoh* and *Saul* to be deceived in a matter of great consequence to the deceived, in which his omnipotence might have procured the same advantages to the deceivers, without interfering with his law of speaking truth; we, who have sometimes no other way to guard against a lawless invader of our lives and properties, may deceive a thief or a murderer, and yet be innocent: if the thing were evil in the cases above, God could not command it; and no pretended command from God can, I presume, justify any person in doing or saying a thing which is contrary to the immutable relation of things, and the obligations that arise thence.

Pb. I am very well satisfied with what you have said. I find that some persons, under some circumstances, have not an equal right to expressive truth with some other persons, *&c.* But I also am fully persuaded, that, except in these and some such cases, a firm and strict adherence to truth is the indispensable duty of every person, and a means to conduce to the happiness of mankind.

Daily Gazetteer, *Oct.* 3.

On the clamours about Corruption.

When the subject of power has been thoroughly tortured, then the next chapter in the history of patriotism is *corruption*. According to these political philosophers, corruption is the present grand argument; it is, as they say, used upon all occasions, and wherever it is used, prevails. *Corruption*, in the cant of these *state medicasters*, answers all the ends of the *acid* and *alkali* among the disputing physicians. Name any mischief under heaven, and you are presently told, Ay, this is the *tracts* of *corruption*; and name any man in the administration, and presently you hear he is an *instrument* of *corruption*. Our luxury is undoubtedly owing to corruption, and so is our poverty: a man's living narrowly is the consequence of corruption, and another man's magnificence is a proof of corruption. The ingenious Sir *William Temple* has wrote a very entertaining essay on the reigning diseases: One twenty years the *scurvy* is the general complaint, then come the *vapours*, and these give way to a *nervous cholick*. Just so in the state: In King *Harry*'s days, it was *prerogative*; in Queen *Elizabeth*'s, it was *conformity*; in our's, it is *corruption*. Let no man pretend to infer from hence, that I intend to ridicule the notion of corruption, or deny it to be an evil. No; I am satisfied that there may be corruption, and that corruption is dangerous: but for all that, I am persuaded that sometimes there may be too great a cry about it, as country towns sometimes suffer by a *false* rumour of their being infected with the small pox. All the notions concerning scurvy, vapours, and cholicks, are not fancies; and so of corruption: it always reigns in some degree, but not now more than ever.

But, for argument's sake, let these people's position be admitted. Let us suppose that *court* corruption is as *epidemick* as they make it. Let us believe that not a member comes from *c*— unaccounted for, that not a place is bestowed without a view, or favour done without an expectation. Let us, I say, suppose all this, and what will follow? Surely, that the power of the crown is very low. Does any man corrupt another, who can command him? or do we give fees to those who are dependents on ourselves? No, no: Wherever there is corruption, there is weakness; to whomsoever application is made, there is power. Whoever can doubt this, may doubt any thing; he may question if two and three make five; or if the regal power was brought low enough when *Charles* I. suffered. Yet our all-enlightned patriots, these men who have more sense, as well as more

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more probity, than all the reſt of the nation, tell us in a breath, that the crown corrupts the people, and that there is too much power in the crown. If the firſt be true, the latter muſt be falſe; and if the latter was true, the firſt could not be ſo. When the crown deſcends to corruption, it muſt be to ſupply the want of power; and when the crown exceeds its proportion of authority, it may be read in the dejected countenances of its ſubjects. Theſe are cauſes and conſequences which muſt ever ſubſiſt, becauſe they are founded in the nature of things; whereas the notions of the patriots are mere flights of fancy, or excurſions of malicious invention.

In a mixed government, like ours, every part of the conſtitution hath its functions; which it muſt perform, or the ſtate will ſeem, and indeed really be maimed. Now, if thro' a long chain of events it comes to paſs that the crown cannot perform its functions by its natural ſtrength, then its miniſters are to act the part of phyſicians, and ſupport it the beſt they can by proper remedies. Nor are they to be blamed, if, preſſed by any unforeſeen emergency, or ſtraitned by the power of an inveterate faction, they have recourſe to ſuch expedients as the conſtitution will allow, and the temper of the times requires. But tho' impartial judges will always admit this, and ſuch neceſſities will be ever viſible to men of penetration; yet ſuch as are enemies to an adminiſtration like this, will not fail to tax ſuch a conduct as corruption. For, with regard to all influence, it is the end that gives it a proper denomination. If I give my friend's ſervant money to encourage him in his duty, it is generoſity; but if to worm out his maſter's ſecrets, then it is corruption. I know it may be ſaid, theſe are nice diſtinctions, and that in ſuch dealings it is hard for a man to keep his hands clean. No body denies this; but the crime lies at their door who have made ſuch a conduct abſolutely neceſſary.

The conſtitution is a great machine, excellently contrived; but ſubject, like all human contrivances, to accidents and alterations. Since the *revolution*, faction, like ruſt, hath been gathering on all its wheels, and threatning continually a full ſtop to all its motions. In this ſituation, thoſe who had the care of its going, and withal no authority (as it was not fit they ſhould) to take it to pieces, were conſtrained to do the beſt they could. The circulation of government was the thing committed to their truſt; and it would be the higheſt breach of truſt in them to neglect it. If therefore, notwithſtanding the growth of the inconvenience, as certainly faction has been always increaſing, thoſe at the helm have found means to drive on the government for a long courſe of years, without any of thoſe rubs to which when the machine was freer, it was nevertheleſs expoſed by the careleſſneſs, or want of capacity, in former managers, muſt we condemn their conduct? Their enemies may call it corruption, nay weakneſs or folly; but impartial poſterity, and even themſelves, if once in power, will call and eſteem it wiſdom. Such ſhallow politicians as ſet up on *Utopian* ſyſtems, and think all things may be managed by certain rules, and maxims of ſtate, will condemn what they cannot underſtand; but all proper judges, ſuch as practical ſtateſmen, will form a right notion of it in their heads, tho' they may, for certain prudential reaſons, not think proper to expreſs it.

But, as I ſaid before, let us for argument's ſake (ſince there is no other way with theſe people) admit them in the right here too, and that this influence in the crown (which by the way is preciſely the ſame that conſtitutes what they call the *country intereſt*) ought to be taken away. Let us here then how they propoſe it ſhould be done. Why in this (tho' ſeldom in any thing elſe) they are unanimous, and agree, one and all, that it muſt be done by taking ſome of its remaining powers from the crown. This is taking weights out of the lighter ſcale, that they may become even; and both expedients will have the like effect, that is, will certainly in-

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creaſe the evil they pretend to remove. A man muſt be wilfully blind, who on the leaſt conſideration does not diſcern it. Nothing but exceſſive weakneſs can drive the crown upon any thing that has the moſt diſtant appearance of corruption; and the neceſſary conſequences of bringing it ſtill lower muſt be, the leaving it at the mercy of every faction. From which, if the principles of duty will not do, we ought to be reſtrained, by conſidering how much it will unqueſtionably expoſe ourſelves; ſince nothing is more certain, than that the power of the crown is the ſecurity of the ſubject.

All the pretence I have ever heard offered to countenance this manner of acting is, the having what they are pleaſed to call a free parliament; in order to which, both crown and people are to be laid under new reſtraints, for ſuch is the ſcope of the *place-bill*; and the only criterion of freedom will be, the purſuing their caprices. Should a new parliament, after warm and free debates, croſs the deſigns of the faction, it would be arraign'd, ſhall I ſay? or convicted of corruption. Turn the tables a little, and, inſtead of a handful of malecontent chiefs, ſuppoſe a royal council acting in this manner; ſuppoſe the crown engaged openly and avowedly in a ſcheme for ſecuring all future parliaments, as theſe people evidently are, would you doubt they intended to introduce tyranny? If not, (I ſpeak it to the *Engliſh* nation) dare to examine theſe projects to the bottom, and ſpeak your judgment as freely, and you will ſay, they indubitably aim at confuſion. This would afford thoſe uneaſy, reſtleſs and daring men, who have ſo long labour'd to deprive us of the bleſſings of a gentle adminiſtration, an opportunity of playing their old tricks over again, and riding us with a double bit and curb, as in the days of the ſchiſm bill, *&c.* judge yourſelves, from reaſon and from experience, of what I ſay. You know the men and their communication, and therefore I repeat it, judge ye of their pretences and of their intentions. But let me forewarn you of one thing more; if you ſhould be deceived by the ſame ſharpers twice, you might chance to miſs redreſs, but you would deſerve to meet no pity.

It is a great diſadvantage (and I am very ſenſible of it) to plead for an eſtabliſhment againſt ſuch as are advocates for innovation. The maſs of mankind affect change, and diſtaſte what they have fed one, as of old the *Iſraelites* did manna. Beſides, he who inveighs againſt authority, ſeems endued with heroick courage: and inaſmuch as he always pretends the good of the people, this has an air of publick ſpirit. Whatever ſuch an author wants in capacity, will be made up by his reader's prejudice in his favour; and whatever is written againſt him in favour of the powers in being, will be aſcribed to influence, or, as the reigning phraſe now is, corruption. But ſtill truth and the publick ſafety muſt be maintained, let who will attack them, and let what will be ſaid of ſuch as maintain them. *Phocion* was oppreſſed by the *Athenians*, merely for checking their madneſs; but there is ſomething ſo glorious in his character, that a man muſt have no appetite for glory, who would ſhrink at his fate to attain his reputation. It is in the juſt ſenſe of this I venture ſingly to addreſs the publick, againſt ſo many great orators on the other ſide; each of whom is above thinking any man his equal, and therefore, inſtead of perſuading, they dictate, and already give laws, which no queſtion they would ſee executed, were they once where they ſo much wiſh to be, inveſted with power, and poſſeſſed of the adminiſtration.

As ſome good may be drawn out of every evil, ſo the good which is to be extracted hence is plainly this: Since the writers on all ſides ſhew, in appearance at leaſt, ſo much zeal for your ſervice, do not be more wanting to yourſelves than they, but reſolve boldly to examine all that is advanced by either party, and decide as it appears beſt for your intereſt. You cannot turn your eyes on any ſide but you ſee fire-cons burning. They are perpetually telling you that your liberties are in-

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danger from the crown, and I tell you, (ſure the importance of the meſſage will move you) that if you are hurried on to certain meaſures, you will ſacrifice your own liberties while you fancy that you are ſecuring them. It muſt be granted, that ſuch diſcordant cries may ſomewhat diſtract you, but this is no reaſon you ſhould neglect them. In publick controverſies it was *Solon*'s law, and a good law it was, That every man ſhould take ſome ſide: and indeed lukewarmneſs may ſometimes anſwer the ends of moderation, but I am afraid the days are at hand, when moderation itſelf will be no longer eſteemed a virtue. Sure I am, that ſo long as it can be thought ſo by any who have a juſt concern for their country's welfare, it will be maintained by all the friends of his adminiſtration; who, in imitation of their betters, are diſpoſed to ſuffer all things, rather than afford any juſt ground for cenſure, by acting with too much heat in their own defence.

The concluſion of this paper obliges me to tell you plainly, that things are now at a criſis: That what the malecontents aim at, is ſuch a change in the conſtitution as will ſcarce leave it a monarchy, and will neceſſarily induce other changes: That you would do well to conſider the peace, the freedom, the ſecurity you have as a nation enjoyed under the preſent reign, and under the preſent adminiſtration: That you ought to be clear, as to the advantages you are to reap from any revolution, little or great, before you concur to bring it about: That the preſent is a tickliſh conjuncture, in which to try new projects, new miniſters, or new meaſures: that any diſturbances at home, may prove fatal while we are engaged in a war abroad: And, in fine, that tho' a hidden ſtruggle may be ſufficient to create to a gentle publick-ſpirited adminiſtration ſome confuſion, yet thoſe who act on theſe practices, if once they get into the ſaddle, will provide againſt ſuch accidents, and make you feel in reality thoſe ills, with the very ideas of which they now diſturb your imaginations. You are almoſt on the brink of the *Rubicon*, it behoves you therefore to take care.

COMMON SENSE, *Oct.* 18.

On the neglect of trade and manufactures.

SIR,

AS this nation owes the figure it once made, and the riches it enjoyed to trade; one would naturally expect, that the means of preſerving and improving that trade, ſhould be the principal object of every adminiſtration. Nature has been rather frugally, than profuſely kind to us: ſhe has ſupplied us with all the neceſſaries of life; but we can be neither rich at home, nor conſiderable abroad, without trade. It is therefore with aſtoniſhment and concern, that I reflect, that for theſe laſt twenty years, no attention has appeared to ſo important an object; no vigilance, no care on the part of the ad——n.

It is no wonder that trade ſhould decay, when negligence and contempt at home, conſpire with induſtry and application abroad, to deprive us of it. Others ſeem to know its true value more, and we leſs, than formerly: they court and invite the ſtranger, while we ſlight the old friend. And there is hardly a nation in *Europe*, that has not within theſe few years, either ſtruck out ſome new branch of commerce, or eſtabliſhed ſome new manufacture.

I will allow that trade is of a delicate nature, and muſt not be wantonly tampered with; but, on the other hand, it is of a fluctuating nature too, and will take different turns in one nation according as other nations, by their induſtry or negligence, improve or impair theirs. Theſe turns are to be diligently watched; in which I own great caution and ſkill is requiſite: but there are ſome things ſo very obvious, that one is at a loſs to account, by what negligence, fatality or *deſign* they come to be omitted.

Admitting that the arduous affairs of *Europe*, and the conduct of *a glorious and ſucceſsful war*, leaves no leiſure to the adminiſtration for theſe minuter cares; there are ſurely perſons

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of an inferior order who ſeem to have abundant leiſure. For example, if the Board of Trade, which is compoſed *of perſons long converſant and deeply ſkilled in* our trade and manufactures, were ordered to call upon our merchants and manufacturers, to ſuggeſt what could be done for their and the publick advantage; it is not to be doubted but many uſeful things would occur upon ſuch deliberations.

If I am aſked, why the merchants and manufacturers don't apply firſt? I anſwer, I don't know but they have done it; if they don't, it is, probably, becauſe they find themſelves ſlighted. But ſuppoſe they don't apply, no matter from what cauſe, ceremony ſurely is not requiſite in this caſe; and the object is of ſuch importance, that it may be worth while to convince them, that the adminiſtration is diſpoſed to encourage trade and manufactures.

It is well known, that we annually ſend into the *Baltick* near 300,000 *l.* in money for iron; which we might be ſupplied with from our *American* colonies: and ſure we ought to take from our own colonies whatever they can ſupply us with, becauſe they take our commodities in return; or even if they did not, whatever they get, ultimately centers here in the mother kingdom.

The great ſums annually exported for *French* wines, ſeem to be an object of attention. My countrymen of nice and diſtinguiſhing palates will therefore, I hope, forgive me, when I ſay that the nation pays too dear for the gratification of their delicate taſtes, and that it would be highly reaſonable to reduce them to get drunk in liquors leſs expenſive and detrimental to the publick.

All *French* ſtuffs are, indeed, prohibited by law; but they are allowed, and almoſt authoriſed by practice. Seizures are commonly returned by commutation with the inferior cuſtomhouſe officers; or politely reſtored by their ſuperiors, to the perſons of great rank for whoſe uſe they are imported. Some more effectual law to prevent this miſchief might eaſily be deviſed, or the publick diſcouragement of the com would be ſtill more effectual than a law. I would deſire no more than an order of the Chamberlain's, ſtrictly forbidding all his Majeſty's natural born ſubjects to appear before him in foreign manufactures.

The duty upon *Flanders* lace is ſo very inconſiderable, that it is an encouragement to the importation; at leaſt thoſe who are filly enough to lay out their money in thoſe expenſive cobwebs, will not be reſtrained by ſuch a trifle. But why any duty at all? why not a total prohibition? ſince it is well known, that in the *weſt of England* we make that fooliſh commodity as well and as fine as they can make it abroad. Cambricks too will ſoon come within this caſe; ſince by the application and publick ſpirit of a Noble Viſcount, who in this as in every thing elſe deſerves the thanks and eſteem of his country, a manufacture of cambrick is now eſtabliſhed in a neighbouring kingdom, and is already, by his care, in ſo flouriſhing a condition, as to be ſoon able to ſupply us with that commodity.

Let it not be objected, That if we prohibit the importation of the manufactures of other nations, they will prohibit the importation of ours, and we may happen to be loſers by the bargain. In the firſt place, we import more commodities than we now export. In the next place, no wiſe nation takes from another what they can be without; and what they cannot be without, they muſt take, prohibit what you pleaſe. As for the fear of diſobliging foreign powers by theſe prohibitions; where no treaties of commerce interfere, I hope we are not yet reduced ſo low, as not to dare to aſſert that natural right, which every little power in *Europe* has aſſerted, of prohibiting commodities, either unneceſſary, or that prejudice their home manufactures.

There is hardly a ſhip that runs between *England* and *France*, or *England* and *Holland*, that does not make a profit of five in a hundred and five, by bringing in gold, and carrying out ſilver;

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ſilver; inſomuch that the current money of *Calais*, *Boulogne*, and all *Holland*, is for the moſt part *Engliſh* ſilver ſpecie; which evidently ariſes from the diſproportion'd value of our gold to our ſilver. As the cauſe then is obvious, ſo is the remedy: by the frequent repetition of the practice, it becomes a very conſiderable object; but in the preſent unhappy decline of our trade, I will venture to ſay, that no object is inconſiderable.

Our growing manufactures of linen, in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, ſurely deſerve the tendereſt care; ſince the advantage will be immenſe to theſe nations, when they can, as with due encouragement they ſoon may, be able to ſupply, not only all our demands at home, but alſo furniſh a ſufficient quantity for foreign exportation. All manufactures in their infancy, require not only care, but conſiderable expence, to nurſe them up to a ſtate of ſtrength and vigour. The original undertakers and proprietors are ſeldom able to lay down at once the neceſſary ſums; but are obliged to take time, ſtruggle with difficulties, and enlarge their bottoms by degrees. This has checked the growth of our *Iriſh* and *Scots* manufactures; whereas if they had received in time, proper aſſiſtance from the g——t, they would, like *Hercules*, have given proofs of their ſtrength even in their craddle, and would already have ſupplied all our demands at home and abroad. There is no inſtance of any new eſtabliſhed manufacture in any other kingdom, that is not immediately encouraged by the royal liberality; and I am ſure, there is no reaſon to doubt, that if his Majeſty had been informed but of the exiſtence of theſe manufactures, but they would long ſince have taſted abundantly of his royal bounty, ſince his earneſt deſire of contributing to the increaſe and advantage of trade and manufactures is well known by his liberal benefactions to his foreign linen manufactures at *Hanover* and *Harburgh*.

I confeſs I am unwilling to take notice, that very lately the directors of the *Iriſh* manufacture were obliged, at conſiderable intereſt, to borrow a ſmall ſum, which could ſo eaſily be ſpared out of a civil liſt of a million. Nay, it might be done (without coſting the civil liſt a ſhilling) out of his Majeſty's revenue in that country, as appears by the penſions granted upon that eſtabliſhment, to perſons not quite ſo uſeful to the publick, as that manufacture. And a ſmall part of his Majeſty's *Scots* revenue of forty thouſand pounds a-year, would be an ample encouragement to the manufacturers in that part of the kingdom; if they were but thought worthy to ſhare it, with ſome much leſs *deſerving artiſts* in that country.

Some publick ſchool or eſtabliſhment for drawing, and deſigning, would be of great uſe. If our neighbours the *French* excel us in any thing, it is in their deſign, and not in their execution. And it is no wonder they ſhould ſurpaſs us, ſince there is at *Paris* a royal foundation eſtabliſhed and maintained by the care and expence of the crown, for drawing and deſigning, where boys are generally ſent two or three years before they are put apprentices to thoſe trades where invention and drawing is uſeful. We have indeed a little eſtabliſhment of that kind here in St *Martin's Lane*; but which cannot be ſuppoſed to be in a very flouriſhing condition, ſince it is only ſupported by the voluntary contributions of ſome tradeſmen, without the leaſt help or benefaction from any other quarter; whereas a royal bounty of ſo ſmall a ſum as two thouſand pounds a-year, would invite the beſt deſigners from abroad.

I wiſh theſe few imperfect hints may be of any uſe to the publick, by awakening thoſe who by their paſt neglect, ſeem not to have known that there was ſuch a thing in this kingdom as trade, and manufactures, unleſs by the taxes with which they are burdened.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

THE Sophi of PERSIA has ſent letters, written with his own hand, to the French Conſuls in the ſeveral ports to which the Perſians

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ſians trade, to inform them of his deſign to fit out a formidable fleet, as well to open an advantageous trade to his ſubjects, as to annoy their common enemies; declaring at the ſame time, that the officers of his navy ſhould have ſtrict orders, never to deviate from the reſpect due to the French flag; and deſiring thoſe Conſuls to acquaint the court of France, as ſoon as poſſible, with the purity of his intentions. But as this news comes from Paris, it can ſcarcely be depended on.

The city of CONSTANTINOPLE is reduced to inexpreſſible miſery by famine and peſtilence. All the foreign miniſters are retired from thence. Several perſons of the retinue of Count d'Uhlfeldt, the Emperor's Ambaſſador, are infected with that diſeaſe, and the Count has ſent a great many into the country to live in tents. In the beginning of September his Excellency had his audience of the G. Vizier, to whom he went by water, to avoid the infection; and that miniſter has ſince return'd his viſit in the ſame manner.

The RUSSIAN miniſtry having repreſented the pernicious effects of the growing luxury of that country to the Czarina, her Majeſty has ordered a regulation to be made for reſtraining it, as well in houſhold-furniture, as in cloaths and equipages. Mr Finch, his Britannick Majeſty's miniſter at Peterſburg, was indiſpoſed the beginning of October, which has prevented his putting the finiſhing hand to the concluſion of a treaty reſolved upon between G. Britain and Ruſſia. Velt Marſhal Laſci has been raiſed to the dignity of Count of the empire. Every thing is quiet on the frontiers of Finland, and ſome regiments are to be drawn from thence.

On the 16th Oct. the Czarina, being very much indiſpoſed, appointed the young Prince Ivan, Son of Duke Anthony Ulrick of Brunſwick, by the Princeſs Anne of Mecklembourg, Great Duke, and ſucceſſor to her throne; that the male iſſue of that prince ſhall ſucceed him; that, failing male iſſue, it ſhall deſcend to his brothers, born of the Princeſs Anne; and that the laſt of that branch ſhall appoint his ſucceſſor, agreeable to the regulation made in the year 1722. On the 18th the Princeſs Elizabeth, the Princeſs Anne, the Duke of Brunſwick, the guards, the miniſters, the ſenate, and all the colleges, took an oath to maintain the above ſettlement.

On the 20th of October, N. S. at half an hour after one in the morning, died, at the Favorita, after a ſhort indiſpoſition, which ſeiz'd him the 9th, CHARLES-FRANCIS, Emperor of Germany, of the houſe of Auſtria, the ſixth of that name, born September 21. O.S. 1685, elected Emperor Oct. 2. 1711, crowned King of Hungary, May 10. 1712, and King of Behemia, Sept. 5. 1723. He married at Barcelona, on the 12th of Auguſt 1708, Elizabeth-Chriſtina, daughter of Lewis Rodolph, late Duke of Brunſwick-Blanckenbourg, and Chriſtina-Louiſa, daughter of Albert, Prince of Oetingen. The ſaid Empreſs, now his dowager, who was born the 18th of Auguſt 1691, abjur'd the Lutheran for the Roman Catholick religion the 20th of April 1707, and has had the following children by him, viz. I. Leopold Joſeph, born in 1716, but died the ſame year. II. Maria Thereſa Walpurge, born the 2d of May 1717, and married to Francis Stephen, Duke of Lorrain, the 21ſt of January 1736, to whom ſhe has born one daughter, Mary Elizabeth Amelia, Jan. 25. 1737, and another daughter born in 1738, in September. III. Maria Anna Leonora Wilhelmina, born Sept. 3. 1718. IV. Maria Amelia Carolina, born in 1724, and died in 1730.

The Emperor's father was Leopold, who was born Sept. 14. 1640, choſen Emperor July 18. 1658, and died April 24. 1705, having had three wives; and by the third wife, *viz.* Eleonora Magdalena of Nieubourg, (the daughter of Philip William, Elector Palatine) he had ten children, five of whom died young. They that ſurviv'd were, the two laſt Emperors, Joſeph and Charles; Maria Elizabetha, now Governeſs of the Auſtrian Netherlands, born the 5th of December 1680; Maria Anna, born Aug. 28. 1683, and married to

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Lisbon the 26th of June 1708, to John V. the present King of Portugal; and Maria Magdalena, born March 16. 1689, who resides at Vienna unmarried.

His death was publickly declared, at six, the morning he died, and the Archdutchess, Maria Theresa, his eldest daughter, and consort of the G. Duke of Tuscany, proclaimed Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, Archdutchess of Austria, and Sovereign Princess of all the provinces and hereditary states of the late Emperor, according to the settlement made by the pragmatick sanction. All the Emperor's ministers the same day took the oaths to the G. Duke of Tuscany, and the G. Dutchess took the government of the hereditary dominions upon her, and confirmed all the ministers, officers, &c. in their posts. On the 21st, the Emperor's corpse, which had been open'd and embalm'd, was removed from the Favorita to the palace, dress'd in a black cloak, with a great black hat on the head, and by his side five crowns, sceptres, and other insignia of the imperial and royal dignity; and on the 24th it was deposited in the church of the Capuchins, in his family monument.

Three days before the Emperor's death the G. Duke of Tuscany resign'd the dignity of Palatine of Hungary to the Velt Marshal de Palfi.

The Elector Palatine has taken possession of the dignity and title of Vicar of the Empire, as belonging to him jointly with the King of Poland.

The number of the Electors is nine, *viz.* Mentz, Cologne, Triers, Bavaria, Palatine, Saxony, Brandenburg, Hanover, and Austria.

The PRUSSIAN troops have receiv'd orders to withdraw from the barony of Herstal, the difference between his Prussian Majesty and the Prince-Bishop of Liege having been amicably adjusted, upon the Bishop's paying his Majesty 180,000 crowns for the said barony, besides 30,000 for an old claim.

The King has published an edict, granting leave to the Mennonites to come and settle in Prussia; who are an Anabaptistical sect, followers of Menno of Friesland, that lived in the 16th century; who was the first that threw off the enthusiastick revelations and millenary opinions of the original Anabaptists. He taught, and these hold, That the New Testament is the only rule of faith; that the terms of *Person* and *Trinity* being not to be found therein, were not to be allowed; that there is no original sin, &c. They are for the most extensive liberty of conscience, admitting all to their communion that believe the New Testament; and are split into many little sects, such as Arians, Socinians, and most Unitarians. The chief divisions are called *Galenites* and *Collegiates*, of whom the latter used to meet twice a-year at Rynsbourg, a village two leagues from Leyden, where they received the sacraments.

We have no certain advice relating to the Brest squadron since their sailing from that port: but four of the Toulon squadron are returned thither, in consequence of orders they had for that purpose, which were not opened till they came to a certain latitude. Notwithstanding the repeated and certain accounts from FRANCE of the reparation of Dunkirk, yet the French have been so hardy as to deny it, in answer to the following memorial of the Earl of Waldegrave, sent to M. Amelot the 14th Oct. N. S. to be presented to the French King.

"The under written Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from his Britannick Majesty has the honour to represent to your Majesty, by order of the King his master, That whereas the 9th article of the treaty concluded at Utrecht in the year 1713, expressly stipulated, That all the fortifications of the city of Dunkirk should be rased, the harbour filled up, and the moles or sluices levelled which serv'd to cleanse the harbour; with this express condition also, That the said fortifications, moles or sluices should never be repair'd again: and whereas, by the 4th article of the defensive alliance concluded at the Hague in the year 1717, between the crowns of Great Britain and France, and the States General of the United

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United Provinces, it was likewiſe ſtipulated, That the great paſſage of the new ſluice of Mardyke ſhould be deſtroy'd, and that no port, haven, fortification, ſluice or baſon ſhould be made or built at Dunkirk, the ſluice of Mardyke, or in any place whatſoever on the ſhore, within a certain diſtance, *viz.* the diſtance of two leagues on that coaſt: 'tis with the greateſt ſurpriſe that his Majeſty has receiv'd poſitive advices, that, in open violation of the foreſaid treaties, the fortifications of Dunkirk are actually repairing, and in particular that there are men employed in raiſing five batteries for mounting a conſiderable number of cannon; that they have begun to erect one of thoſe batteries on the Riſbank, and that the others are mark'd out on the eaſt-ſide of the entrance of the harbour.

The King my maſter has order'd me to lay theſe facts before your Majeſty; not doubting but that you will, without delay, give orders for preventing the above mentioned infractions of the ſaid treaties, by putting a ſtop to the works carrying on at Dunkirk; to the end that thoſe already finiſhed may be totally deſtroyed, and every thing reſtored again to the condition preſcribed by treaties.

This is what the King my maſter expects from the equity of your Majeſty, as well as from that regard which potentates ſo reſpectable ought always to have for the obſervance of ſolemn treaties. WALDEGRAVE."

The 16th M. Amelot ſent the following anſwer to the Earl.

"SIR, I have laid before the King the letter with which your Excellency honoured me the 14th inſtant, as alſo the memorial ſubjoin'd to it. His Majeſty was extremely ſurpriſed at the complaints made by his Britannick Majeſty about orders which are lightly ſuppos'd to have been given for re-eſtabliſhing the fortifications of Dunkirk. Nothing can be more diſtant from truth, than the reports which ſome people affect to ſpread on this ſubject. I can then aſſure your Excellency, that all that is publiſhed in the Engliſh gazettes, or news-papers, in order to create uneaſineſs in regard to the deſigns of France, is quite deſtitute of foundation. The port and the ſluices of Dunkirk, the body of the town, and the forts which have been deſtroyed, purſuant to the peace of Utrecht, and the treaty of the triple alliance of the year 1717, are at this day in the ſame condition they were in after the demolition. It is true that the King has order'd four batteries of cannon to be planted there, in order to cauſe that coaſt to be reſpected by the pirates and privateers who infeſt thoſe ſeas, and to protect the inhabitants from the inſults which they are liable to from the ſmalleſt veſſels: but I leave your Excellency to judge, whether this indiſpenſable and temporary precaution, which will ceaſe the very moment that tranquillity is reſtor'd, ought to be deem'd an infraction of treaties; and whether his Majeſty has not rather more cauſe to complain of being taxed, with ſo little reaſon, with breaking his engagements? If after ſuch formal aſſurances as I have the honour to give you, his Britannick Majeſty ſhould ſtill harbour any doubts concerning the nature of the works which are ſaid to have been made at Dunkirk, it will be an eaſy matter for him to inform himſelf thoroughly of the affair, by ſending perſons to examine things on the ſpot if he thinks proper. This is the anſwer the King orders me to make to the letter which your Excellency honour'd me with. AMELOT."

His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty has granted a patent to a certain company for ſowing rice in France during twelve years, excluſive of all others.

On the 8th Oct. N. S. the Pope went to the Capitol, and took out of the archieves the original of the donation made of the Grecian empire to Charles VIII. of France by the laſt of the Paleologues, and has ſince delivered it to the Duke de St Aignan, the French Ambaſſador at Rome.

The Royal Academy of polite literature, ſciences and arts, at Bourdeaux, propoſe to all the learned a prize, appropriated in perpetuity by the late Duke

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Duke de la Force; being a gold medal of 300 livres value. The ſubject for the year 1741 is, *The phyſical cauſe of the blackneſs of the ſkin of negroes; the nature, kind, or quality of their hair; with the cauſe of their change or degeneration.* For the year 1742, *The cauſe and effects of electricity.* The pieces to be given into the academy before the firſt day of May, N. S. each year, either in French or Latin. The poſtage muſt be paid by the author, and the packet directed, *A Monſieur Le Preſident* BARBOT, *Secretaire de l'Academie, ſur les foſſes de Chapeaux Rouge.* A ſentence or device is to be ſubjoin'd to each diſſertation, and ſent along, as is appointed by the royal academy at Paris, which ſee p. 432.

M. Vander Meer, the Dutch Ambaſſador at the court of SPAIN, having preſented a new memorial to that court, in which he inſiſts upon the reſtitution of ſeveral Dutch ſhips taken within theſe few years, as well as on a free navigation in the Weſt-Indies, and complains of the uſage which a Dutch ſhip lately received from a Spaniſh privateer; the Marquis de Villarias aſſured his Excellency, that the King of Spain would carefully enquire into this laſt fact, and that as to the other grievances, his Majeſty would order freſh informations to be taken concerning them.

The Marqueſs de Fenelon, Ambaſſador from France, exhorts the STATES GENERAL to make a common cauſe with his court for maintaining the treaty of Utrecht, in regard to the poſſeſſions of his Catholick Majeſty in America; and for this purpoſe, to join a ſquadron with thoſe of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in order to prevent the commerce in the Weſt-Indies from being interrupted by any power whatever. But the Deputies have told him, that it was not by the Engliſh that their merchants who traffick to the Weſt-Indies had in the leaſt ſuffered, but from the injurious treatment they had met with from the Spaniards; and that their High Mightineſſes had cauſed repreſentations to be made upon this ſubject at the court of Spain, and had reiterated their inſtances, but all in vain; wherefore they had found it very neceſſary to grant the protection to their ſubjects, and to maintain the liberty of commerce which treaties, concluded in the moſt ſolemn manner, had privileged them to do.

The States General look with a watchful eye upon the deſigns of the court of France, which are, as it is poſitively aſſured, to turn the tables upon the Engliſh in America, by exciting revolts and diſturbances in their poſſeſſions, and by doing every thing in its power to traverſe the deſigns, and even diſtreſs the Engliſh.

On the 30th Auguſt there was a violent hurricane at Antigua, by which ſeveral ſhips were loſt, and great damage done to the ſugar-mills, houſes, *&c.*

LONDON.

AFter frequent attempts, and as frequent diſappointments, the fleet under Sir Chaloner Ogle, with the forces under the command of Lord Cathcart, ſailed on Sunday Oct. 26. with a fair wind, and on the 31ſt were ſeen 70 leagues weſt of the Lizard. The fleet conſiſts of the Ruſſel, Shrewsbury, Boyne, Princeſs Caroline, Chicheſter, Torbay, Norfolk, Cumberland, and Princeſs Amelia, 80 gun ſhips; the Buckingham, Prince of Orange, Prince Frederick, Orford, and Suffolk, 70 gun ſhips; the Superb, Jerſey, Dunkirk, Deptford, Weymouth, Lyon, Auguſta, Rippon, York, and Montague, 60 gun ſhips; the Litchfield, a 50 gun ſhip; the Scarborough, and Princeſs Royal, hoſpital ſhips; and the Strombolo, Vulcano, Phaeton, Firebrand, Ætna, and Veſuvius, fire-ſhips.

On Monday Oct. 13. about nine at night, his Majeſty arriv'd at St James's from his German dominions; and next day the troops decamp'd from Honſlowheath, and march'd into winter quarters.

On Friday Oct. 10. a court of Common-council was held at Guildhall, when a motion was made, to compel Mr Alderman Heathcote, by fine or otherwiſe, to ſerve the office of Lord-Mayor for the year enſuing; and the

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queſtion being put, it was almoſt unanimouſly carried in the negative. A ſecond motion being made, to excuſe him from that office, it was carried in the affirmative. In conſequence of this, a Common-hall was held on the 14th for a new election; when Sir Robert Godſchall, Knt. and Humphry Parſons, Eſq; were almoſt unanimouſly return'd to the Aldermen, who, after a long debate, declared the election in favour of Humphry Parſons, Eſq; twelve voting for the one, and eleven for the other. This is the ſecond time this Gentleman has ſerved this high office.

The Earl of Waldegrave is arrived here from Paris, on account of his ill ſtate of health.

The embargo was laid on the ſhipping in Ireland very ſeaſonably to prevent the exportation of beef. Twelve French ſhips had contracted for ſeveral thouſand barrels, and one of them, laden, would have eſcaped from Cork, had not the Lord Montague Bertie, commander of a 20 gun ſhip, fired at her, and brought her back.

On Friday the 24th, in the cauſe between the York-building company and its creditors, in Chancery, a decree was paſſed in favour of the creditors.

Our privateers continue to be ſucceſsful in America; but the Spaniards have taken the following Britiſh ſhips, *viz.* The Unity, Hunter; the Laurel, Treſis; and the Good Hope, Seagar; whom they carried into Peniche, near Liſbon: The Port-Royal, Nicholſon, into St Sebaſtian's: The Margaret, Taylor, into Old-Gibraltar: The Olive-branch, Gaden, into Bayonne: The Unicorn, Polkinhorn, taken off of Falmouth; and the Union, Tackneſs, bound home from New-York.

P. S. Several ſhips were loſt in Margate and Yarmouth roads by the ſtorm on November 1ſt; and ſeveral ſtacks of chimnies were blown down in and about this city, by which ſeveral perſons have been killed.

London, November 6. S. S. trading ſtock was 96. Ditto Old Annuities, 108, 3 qrs. a 7 8ths. Ditto New, 108, 3 qrs. a 7 8ths. Bank ſtock, 138, 3 8ths. India ditto, 153, 3 qrs. Three per cent. annuities, 99, 1 qr. Million Bank, 113. Royal aſſurance, 89, 1 half. London aſſurance, 11. Engliſh copper, 3 l. 15 s. Welch ditto, 15 s. African, 10. Seven per cent. Emperor's loan, 99, 1 half. Five per cent. ditto, 81, 1 qr. Bank circulation, 1 l. 12 s. 6 d. prem. Three per cent. India bonds, 3 l. 9 s. prem. Three 1 half per cent. Exchequer orders, no price. Three per cent. ditto, 6 diſcount. Salt tallies, 1 qr. 21 half prem. Lottery tickets, 4 l. 19 s. 6 d.

EDINBURGH.

The following account of the late riot was publiſh'd on the 27th of October, by order of the magiſtrates.

Corn having bore a high price here and at the port of Leith, the magiſtrates have, thoſe ſeveral months, at different times, made an exact ſurvey of all the meal and corn in Leith, in order to prevent its being kept from publick market, (whereby the retailers might increaſe their profits) and to ſatisfy the publick, that nothing was omitted to prevent the oppreſſion of the poor by exorbitant prices. They found, at laſt ſurvey, the 15th inſt. That the oats and bear at Leith did not exceed 400 bolls, and the meal 150 bolls, belonging to different perſons, in ſeveral parts of the town. However, a number of diſorderly perſons, under pretence that great quantities of meal, &c. were hoarded up, aſſembled tumultuouſly laſt Thurſday, and proceeding to the houſe of Charles Sawers, at Bell's Mills, who uſed to buy and retail grain, broke open his houſe and granaries, carried off ſome bolls of victual, and broke and demoliſh'd ſeveral things in his houſe. Being in ſome meaſure diſappointed here, they directed their courſe to Leith. The Lord Provoſt and magiſtrates of this city having information (but too late) of their deſigns upon Mr Sawers, had applied to his Excellency Gen. Clayton, for the troops; and the ſame being inſtantly granted, the Lord Provoſt, with ſome Juſtices of the Peace, attended by a detachment of Brig. Cornwallis's regiment, went towards Bell's Mills, but the rioters were gone. The magiſtrates of Leith,

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Leith, apprised the mob were to enter that town, applied to Capt. Tullikens, pursuant to the General's orders to him as commandant of the troops there; who readily obtempered his orders: but the rioters being numerous, and the granaries situate at distant corners, the Captain not thinking it safe to divide his party, the mob broke open some lofts and cellars, and carried off about 150 bolls oats, meal and pease: They also broke in upon a granary of wheat, imported from S. Britain by John Clarkson baxter, and carried off about 400 bolls, before the magistrates and the troops could stop their progress. At last Capt. Tullikens being reinforced with 50 more soldiers, the rioters were soon dispersed, and 23 of them made prisoners. Next day, as these prisoners were carrying to this city by near 200 of the forces, a vast number of the rioters assembling, attacked the troops (thinking to rescue the prisoners) with great fury, throwing large stones, &c. whereby several soldiers, and a Justice of peace, who accompanied the commanding officer, were wounded and bruised; whereupon the proclamation being thrice read, their fury not abating, but continuing to throw large stones, to the imminent danger of his Majesty's forces, the Justices directed some pieces might be discharged over their heads, thinking to intimidate them: but all being to no purpose, it became necessary to level sharp at the rioters, whereby three persons were wounded, one of which is since dead. After this the mob contented themselves with following the detachment at a distance, to the Canongate foot; where Gen. Clayton put himself at the head of the detachment, and marched along till they came to the Netherbow, where his Excellency, &c. were received by the Lord Provost, magistrates, &c. with their white rods, the officers of the train'd bands, city-constables and others, and by them conducted thro' this city in great quietness to the parliament-close (the Netherbow gate being shut against these disturbers of the peace.) The rioters were sent thence to the castle. That night the mob attempted nothing upon this city, but 200 of them went to the house of Bailie Clark at Gilmerton; and tho' they expected there great quantities of grain, yet, on the strictest search, they got but a small affair, which they carried off. Next morning they rifled the shop of Andrew Simson grocer within the Netherbow, who the night before had brought up from Leith one of two casks barley, returned to him from London (whither he says he sent it in March 1739) which being so damaged as to be altogether unfit for use, he imprudently threw into the streets, and thereby alarmed the mob, who falsely took that for part of a greater quantity he had hoarded up. They made also several attempts upon retailers of meal in the Abbey-hill, Canongate and Cowgate; but by the care and vigilance of the magistrates, no further mischief was done. That night, by the General's orders, a troop of Churchill's dragoons from Dalkeith came into town, who patrolled about the streets in proper order, ushered by the firemen of the city with flambeaux light. And yesterday morning a troop of Lord Mark Ker's dragoons came in from Linlithgow.

The populace got up likewise at Musselburgh, Prestonpans, &c. and obliged several who had meal, to sell it out publickly at 8 *d.* the peck.

However, all is now quiet, and the prisoners committed to the castle have, upon examination, been all liberate, except three.

Mean time the magistrates of the city, and Justices of Peace of the shire of Edinburgh, are endeavouring to remove the causes of these disturbances, by using the proper means for lowering the prices of grain, &c.

On the 29th of October the Justices of Peace passed an act, wherein, after pointing out the several laws against hoarding up, or raising the prices of victual by forestalling and regrating, (viz. acts 37. 38. and 39. parl. 9. Ja. II. and act 148. parl. 12. Ja. VI. which enact, "That all corn be threshen out before the first of May, on pain of being forfeited to the King;" "That no manner of victual is to be kept in girnels by any man, but what is necessary to maintain himself and family, and the overplus to be brought to market, on pain of being forfeited;" "None

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ſhall hold victual in a girnel to a dearth, nor ſhall hold more victual than will ſerve him and his family for one quarter of a year; and that they preſent all that they have more to the market within nine days after, to be ſold, on pain of eſcheat thereof;" "Who buys any merchandize or victual coming to fair or market by land or water, or makes any bargain about it, before it be in the market-place, burgh, port or road, ready to be ſold, or who makes any motion by word or writ, for raiſing of prices, or diſſuading the bringing of any thing to the market, he is a foreſtaller; or who gets any corn in any fair or market, and ſells it again in any fair or market in the ſame place, or four miles about it, is a regrater; the penalty for the firſt fault is forty pound, for the ſecond, one hundred merks, and for the third, eſcheat of moveables;") they give notice, that proſecutions will be carried on againſt offenders with the utmoſt rigour, and offer 40 s. reward, for diſcovering, before December 25. any foreſtaller or regrater, or any perſon hoarding up, and not bringing to market, any quantity of wheat, meal, peaſe, beans, oats or barley, exceeding twenty bolls of all or any of ſaid kinds at one time, brewers and bakers excepted; and the conſtables are required to make ſtrict ſearch from time to time. After expoſing the criminal nature and ill tendency of the late tumults, they give notice, that any perſon hereafter concern'd in ſuch riots ſhall be rigorouſly proſecuted, and offer 40 s. reward for diſcovering any ſuch offender within one month after his tranſgreſſion.

At the ſame time they paſſed a recommendation to all the heritors of the ſhire, to endeavour to prevail upon their tenants to make conſiderable quantities of oat-meal, for ſupplying this city and neighbourhood; and on or before the 8th of November every one to adviſe James Moir, at the meal-market, what quantity of oat-meal he is willing to furniſh within forty days after ſuch notice, and accordingly, within the time ſpecified, to deliver the reſpective quantities ſo offered, upon the following terms, *viz.* to receive 12 s. *per* boll, and a receipt, obliging the city further to pay for each boll whatever the higheſt fiars for oats in the ſhire of Mid-Lothian ſhall exceed the ſaid 12 s. and 20 d. more as the valued difference between oats and oat-meal: all which is to be regularly enter'd in a book, to ſhew the good inclinations of the offerers in this time of dearth.

The magiſtrates have likewiſe given proper directions to prevent the hoarding up, or foreſtalling or regrating victual; and, from a juſt ſenſe of the dangerous conſequences of riots, have reſolved to proſecute all ſuch offenders, and offer 5 l. reward for each diſcovery. In conſequence of the above recommendation of the Juſtices of the Peace, they have iſſued the neceſſary orders for receiving the meal from the farmers. They have alſo contracted for a conſiderable ſum, to be employ'd, as part of it has already been, in purchaſing corn and meal to ſupply the market at prime coſt; and accordingly commiſſions are ſent to different corners for large quantities.

The fatal proceedings at the election at Dingwall being differently related, we ſhall give both accounts.

For the one ſide thus: "Some time preceeding the election, Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis, member for Dingwall, &c. Lieutenant-Colonel of the Earl of Crawford's regiment, and at the time Provoſt of Dingwall, uttered ſome threats, and renewed thoſe threats in a letter writ by his own hand to Kenneth Bayne of Tulloch, in caſe the town-council ſhould not elect his friends. The day before the election Sir Robert had ſecretly conveyed to the houſe of William Fraſer a party of 60 or 80 men in full arms: his brother Culcairn, as a Juſtice of the Peace, with three other Juſtices called Munroes, and whoſe yearly incomes ſcarcely deſerve a name, had likewiſe appointed that very day for beginning to repair the roads that lay within a ſhort mile of the town; and, under that pretext, convocated near 200 men; who, inſtead of ſhovels, ſpades, and other

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ner inſtruments proper for mending the oads, were likewiſe armed with guns, words, and piſtols. The party that had een thus ſecretly conveyed to town, ere concealed the morning of the elec- tion-day in Fraſer's barn and office- ouſes, until Sir Robert came to the ouſe of Alexander Mackenzie, (where Kenneth Bayne of Tulloch, and 9 more f the council, were met, in order to roceed together to the council-houſe) nd there again renewed his threats, nleſs ſuch friends as he thought proper o name were brought upon the council: ut as the 10 who were then preſent, and who made up two thirds of the coun- cil, beſides that the office of Dean of Guild had become vacant by the death of Colin Mackenzie, which reduced the council to 14, ſeemed unanimouſly reſolved to ſupport the rights of the town, and yield to no arbitrary de- mands, for placing the abſolute go- vernment in the hands of any particu- lar man, the furious Sir Robert, after ſeveral menaces, left them with theſe words, *Gentlemen, farewell, every man for himſelf, and God for us all.* Imme- diately upon his departure, the coun- ſellors and whole inhabitants were a- larmed, with ſeeing 50 or 60 men in arms ruſh out from Fraſer's cloſe, under the command of Culcairn and one Dou- glas, late Surgeon in Culcairn's inde- pendent company, and march ſtraight to Mackenzie's houſe, where the 10 counſellors were met; and, without knowing any cauſe, to find the doors of the houſe broke open, and they the whole counſellors carried away by an armed force. Mr Mackenzie's wife of- fering to go into the room, was drawn backwards by the cuff of the neck down a narrow turnpike-ſtair, by which ſhe was ſeverely hurt and bruiſed. When the counſellors demanded to know for what cauſe they were ſo roughly uſed, 5 men appear as meſſengers, and appre- hend ſo many of the council; another collars a 6th, in virtue of a pretended warrant from the ſame Juſtices of the Peace, whoſe names have been already mentioned: but when the counſellors deſire to ſee the ſeveral captions, and the warrant; and, under form of in- ſtrument, require to know for what ſums, or at whoſe inſtance the captions are, and what cauſe was expreſſed in the warrant; declaring, that they were ready inſtantly to pay any ſums that ſhould be contained in the captions, and likewiſe to find immediate bail to an- ſwer whatever was laid in the warrant; each of theſe, by order of Culcairn, is refuſed, and they are dragged out of town; while Sir Robert's butler was ſent expreſs to call the 200 men, con- vocated under pretence of mending of the roads, to join the cavalcade; and ſo many of the counſellors, for debts con- tained in theſe ſham captions, ſeveral of which were actually ſuſpended, and the ſuſpenſion duly intimated, were car- ried priſoners in triumph to Tayne, 16 miles diſtant, and the whole counſel- lors forced to forſake the town. The counſellors being thus removed, Sir Ro- bert Munro, Mr Duncan his brother, with two others who were in his party, proceeded to the council-houſe, and made an election; which the other 10 counſellors, with the town-clerk, ha- ving the books of the town, had done ſome ſhort time before the alarm was brought that Culcairn and Douglas were marching at the head of their ban- ditti to aſſault them. And ſcarcely had Sir Robert's election been over, when 20 or 30 of the armed men, who had left the town, returned, and found the counſellors wives, and others of their female friends, not 6 men of the town being then in it, calling to Sir Robert to return their huſbands and their friends; whilſt he and Culcairn an- ſwered their complaints, by renouncing all title to common humanity, and or- dering their banditti *to fire ſharp ſhot Eaſt and Weſt, to clear the ſtreets.* And theſe orders were accordingly obeyed, and thereby one boy of 10 years of age was ſhot in the fore-head, another ſhot at the mouth, the ball lodging in the root of his tongue; and ſeveral women were wounded, particularly the wife of Alexander Mackenzie, who is ſince dead of her wounds; one in the cuff of the neck, which, according to the ſur- geon's

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geon's declaration who dreſſed her wound, was large enough for him to turn his thumb in; and ſeveral other women are now lying in ſo dangerous a way, that their lives are deſpaired of. In ſhort, nothing but the ſhrieks and cries of women in the agonies of death were to be heard, while the ſtreets were running blood; and to ſuch a height did theſe barbarities proceed, that, upon Sir Robert and Culcairn's being told, that Mrs Mackenzie was mortally wounded, their anſwer was, it would do her good to loſe ſome of her foul blood."

For the other ſide thus: "On the 30th of September, (the election-day) five of the King's meſſengers required Capt. George Munro of Culcairn, as Sheriff-depute, in terms of the will of letters of caption, to give his aſſiſtance in putting the ſame to execution, they having had certain information that the rebels had convocated a numerous body of men and women, and fortified themſelves in and about the houſe of Alexander Mackenzie vintner in Dingwall. Accordingly the Sheriff, with about 10 or 12 in his company, attended with the five meſſengers, who had each of them ſix aſſiſtants and no more, went to Mackenzie's houſe about ten before noon; where they obſerved a great mob and convocation of people; by whom they were aſſaulted, invaded and oppoſed with ſtones and ſtaves, in the diſcharge of their office, to the effuſion of their blood. During this tumult Mrs Mackenzie the landlady appearing extremely active, was in the calmeſt manner intreated by Culcairn to keep within doors leſt ſhe ſhould be hurt, he having ſtood all the time in the cloſe, and neither entered the houſe, nor approached the ſtair leading to the room, where the meſſengers had by that time apprehended only three perſons, *viz.* Bayne of Tulloch, Bayne of Delnie, and William Macneil maſon in Dingwall; and having brought their priſoners to the ſtreet, they (altho' the proclamation againſt riots was read) were attacked with ſtones, clubs and battons, from a numerous mob to the extent of 2 or 300, who purſued the meſſengers for more than a mile out of town, and wounded moſt of the meſſengers and their party; during which interval the town was in peace and quiet. But the mob deſpairing of reſcuing the priſoners, returned to the town, and increaſing in their number, from the tenants of the neighbouring ground, to betwixt 3 and 400, they beſet the houſe of Bailie William Fraſer, where Sir Robert and Capt. Munro with ſeveral other Gentlemen were, and ſet fire in the ſtraw-thatch of the houſe; on the alarm of which, Sir Robert and the Gentlemen within the houſe, came to the gate of the cloſe, where a live coal was extinguiſhed which had been put to the ſtraw-thatch. Then retiring into the houſe, to avoid any rencounter with the mob, and to prevent miſchief, they were therefor alarmed by a ſervant acquainting, that they were undone, the mob being ready in great numbers to preſs in upon them from the ſtreets: whereupon the Sheriff, with Sir Robert, the Provoſt and the two Bailies of the town, went to the cloſe, and from that to the gate leading to the ſtreet; where the Sheriff read the proclamation againſt riots, explained the ſame in Iriſh, and he and the reſt of the Gentlemen uſed their utmoſt endeavours to ſooth and mollify them: but, inſtead of that, with greater rage, and uttering dreadful menaces, they attacked the Gentlemen, pouring vollies of ſtones into the cloſe where they were ſtanding, particularly from a ſtair-head overlooking the cloſe on the weſt, and over the roof of the houſe from the ſtreet; by which ſeverals were hurt, and the Gentlemen obliged to retire to a low room in Bailie Fraſer's houſe, which had no acceſs or communication to the ſtreet either by door or window; in which place they continued confined and beſieged for about two hours; during which time, the windows of the ſtorey above where they had been ſitting, were beate down by the ſtones thrown at them by the mob. Whilſt thus pinn'd up, and apprehending every moment to be put to death, they got what arms they could for

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r their defence; but they fired no ſhot at day, a part of the ſaid arms being blunderbuſs without flint or ſhot. hey then heard a report of three ſhots the ſtreet; upon which they in a ody left the room, and came out to the reet; where they were informed, at about 12 or 14 men (among whom ere 3 or 4 Conſtables) with a few arms, t moſtly with clubs and ſtaves, were me from the country, upon informa- on of the Gentlemens being beſieged d in hazard of their lives; that thoſe en being attacked by the mob, had red the ſaid three ſhots, and that they eard Mrs Mackenzie, who is ſince dead, nd one man were wounded; and ſoon fter one of the Gentlemen in the com- any was ſent for to dreſs their wounds."

Both accounts are ſaid to be in terms f two precognitions taken at different imes; but Tulloch's party ſay, that he witneſſes examined on the part of ir Robert, *&c.* were, his brothers, his ardener, butler, groom, and certain of is dependents, tho' they have other eſignations given them, who acted heir ſhares in the bloody tragedy. None f the forces were in Dingwall at the ime of the riot, being remov'd from it, efore the election, by order of Gen. Clayton.—Warrants were iſſued by the ourt of Juſticiary for apprehending Sir Robert and Capt. Munroes; but upon petition and anſwers, they are admitted to bail. Inverneſs, and other owns, contribute to aſſiſt the town of Dingwall in the proſecution.

P. S. *Edin. Nov.* 11. This day oatmeal ſold in our market at 15 d. *per* peck.

Marriages and Births.

MR James Erſkine, junior, Advocate, married to Lady Fanny Erſkine, daughter of the Earl of Mar, deceas'd. — The Counteſs of Dyſart, delivered of a ſon.

Deaths.

Magdalen Auguſta, of the houſe of Anhalt Zerbſt, Dutcheſs of Saxe-Gotha, mother of the Princeſs of Wales.—Pryce Devereux, Lord Viſcount Hereford, (the firſt Viſcount in England) ſucceeded by his only ſon Pryce Devereux, member for Montgomeryſhire. —Richard Ld Viſc. Coote, ſon of the Earl of Bellomont, and a Captain in the foot-guards. — Sir Robert Corbet, a Commiſſioner of the cuſtoms in South Britain.—Sir Colin Mackenzie of Coul. —Major Hungerford, of Col. Dalaway's dragoons.—Capt. Fytche, of the Ruby man of war, who fell overboard and was drowned.—Rev. Mr Matthias Earbery, a non-juror, author of ſeveral political writings. — Mr William Seward, a fam'd diſciple of Mr Whitefield's.—Capt Hamilton, who loſt one of his legs at Bothwel-bridge. — Duncan Campbell, ſometime a Bailie of Edinburgh. — Mr Robert Ramſay, General Inſpector of the cuſtoms.—Aged 88, Mr John Balvaird, Miniſter of Glammis, M. D. — Charles Shirray, merchant in Preſtonpans.—Lady Anne Mackenzie, wife of the Ld Murkle, and ſiſter of the Earl of Cromerty. — Mrs Elizabeth Ruthven, widow of James Graham of Bucklyvie, Eſq; — Dame Margaret Roſe, Lady dowager of Craigievar. — Aged 109, Margaret Fytch, called at London Queen of the Gipſies.

Preferments.

Humphry Parſons, Eſq; *Lord Mayor of London*, George Heathcote, Eſq; having refuſed to accept. See p. 481.—Samuel Cooke, Eſq; *Lord Mayor*, and James Dunne, and ——— Hunt, *Sheriffs of Dublin*.—Hon. James Leſly, Eſq; *Provoſt of Cowpar*.—James Boyle of Montgomeryſton, Eſq; *Provoſt of Irvine*.—Kenneth Bayne of Tulloch, Eſq; *Provoſt of Dingwal*, See p. 484. — Lord Garlies, *Provoſt of Wigton*. — Capt. William Stewart, *Provoſt of Whitehorn*. —William Anderſon of Linkwoods, Eſq; *Provoſt of Elgin*. — James Colquhoun, Eſq; late Lord Provoſt of Edinburgh, *Deputy Poſtmaſter-general for Scotland*, in the room of Archibald Douglas Eſq;—George Treby, Eſq; *a Lord of the Treaſury*, in the room of George Doddington, Eſq; — John Naylor, Eſq; *Clerk-aſſiſtant to the houſe of Commons*, in the room of Mr Aſcough, who has reſigned. — Thomas William Gardener, Eſq; *a Captain in the*

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the horse-guards blue.—Mr Waldegrave, son of the Earl of Waldegrave, and Ensign Forbes, *Captains in the first regiment of guards.*—Thomas Young, son of Edward Young of Durnford, Esq; *a Cornet in the Earl of Pembroke's horse.*—Capt. Southwell, *Commander of the Assistance*; Capt. Thomas Philpot, *of the Furnace*, and Capt. Alex. A'Court, *of the Lightning*, two Bomb-ketches; Robert Balfour of Randalphston, *of the Prince William yacht*; and Mr John Hay, *of the Princess Anne sloop.*—Mr Eliot, *Lieutenant of the Superb.*

Died within the walls of the city of Edinburgh, and buried in the Grayfriars church-yard, October 1740.

Men 11, Women 21, Children 72. In all 104. Increased this month 34.

Age.	N°.	Diseases.	N°.
Under — 2	46	Old age —	7
Betwixt 2 & 5	22	Consumption	13
5 & 10	5	Fever —	11
10 & 20	1	Measles —	36
20 & 30	1	Small-pox —	19
30 & 40	5	Suddenly —	3
40 & 50	3	Still-born —	2
50 & 60	7	Teething —	9
60 & 70	7	Apoplexy —	1
70 & 80	6	Pleurisy —	2
80 & 90	1	Shot in a mob	1

NEW BOOKS.

THE *annals of Europe, vol.* 1. *for the year* 1740. *To be continued.* 8*vo. pr.* 6 *s.*

The history of the Princes of Saxony. 8*vo.* 4 *s.*

The military history of Charles XII. *King of Sweden. In* 3 *voll.* 8*vo.* 20 *s.*

The history of the belles lettres. 8*vo.* 4 *s.* 6 *d.*

The family magazine. In 2 *parts.* 8*vo.* 5 *s.* 6 *d.*

Annual matrimonial expences. 6 *d.*

The conformity of ancient and modern ceremonies. 3 *s.* 6 *d.*

Latina lingua in honorem coll Ox. orationes. Ab Hon. Ric. Verney. 1 *s.*

The case of Henry Haines, late printer of the Craftsman. 6 *d.*

Lysiæ orationes Græcæ & Latinæ 8*vo.* 6 *s.*

Sir Isaac Newton's table of Assents &c. 1 *s.*

Five tables of officers pay. 3 *s.* 6 *d.*

Memorials and characters of eminent and worthy persons. N°. XX. 1 *s.*

A general remonstrance to the good people of England. 1 *s.*

An impartial relation of the proceedings of the Common Hall and court of Aldermen on Sept. 29. 6 *d.*

Reasons for an immediate war against France. 6 *d.*

Horace, book 4. *ode* 5. *imitated.* 6 *d.*

In laudem Edvardi Vernon, poema. 6 *d.*

The city struggle. 6 *d.*

The modern art of breeding bees. By J. Dinsdale, A M. 6 *d.*

Lusus Westmonasterienses. 12*mo.* 3 *s.*

The bench. An eclogue. 1 *s.*

Pre-existence. A poem. 6 *d.*

Vernon's glory; containing 14 *songs on the taking of Porto Bello.* 6 *d.*

The progress of the war from the first expedition at Spithead, to the last at Torbay. 6 *d.*

The Torbay expedition. 6 *d.*

On his Majesty's happy return. An ode. 6 *d.*

Horace's odes. N°. V. 1 *s.*

The poetical works of Mr James Sterber. 1 *s.* 6 *d.*

A defence of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and incarnation of the Son of God, from the testimony of the most ancient Jews. In eight sermons preach'd at the Lady Moyer's lecture, in 1739, 1740. *By Arthur Bedford, M. A.* 5 *s.* 6 *d.*

The family expositor. vol. 2. *By P. Doddridge, D. D. Deliver'd to subscribers by R. Hett.* 10 *s.* 6 *d. in sheets.*

The wicked life, and fatal but deserved death of Haman, Ahasuerus's prime minister. A sermon preached before the magistrates of Edinburgh, at their election Sept. 30. 1740. *By Mr Webster.* 6 *d.*

An historical view of the principles, &c. of the political writers. 6 *d.*

Considerations on the management of the late secret expeditions, &c. 6 *d*

Are these things so? the previous question. A poem. 4 *d.*

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The SCOTS *Magazine.*

NOVEMBER, 1740.

PROCEEDINGS of the *Political Club*, continued from p. 461.

In the debate upon the place-bill, a part of which I gave in my laſt, L. Valerius Flaccus *ſpoke in ſubſtance as follows.*

Mr Preſident,

I Am very ready to allow, that it is laudable in a free people to be jealous of their liberties, and to be ready to repel the leaſt attack that can be made upon them: but I cannot think it very prudent to ſhew any outward ſigns of this jealouſy, without ſome real and immediate cauſe; and when diviſions and animoſities are ſtirred up amongſt a free people, about guarding againſt an attack that was never made nor thought of, I ſhall always be inclined to impute it to any thing, rather than to a true and diſintereſted regard for the publick good. All conteſts about altering or amending our conſtitution, eſpecially when they are nurſed up and carried on without doors as well as within, I muſt look on as a political ſort of warfare; and, I think, no ſort of war ought ever to be begun, without ſome real offence of one ſide or other. If the nation is to be ſet in a ferment, about providing againſt every imaginary danger that may be ſuggeſted by a melancholy and gloomy diſpoſition, we ſhall always be ſo much taken up with providing againſt imaginary and diſtant domeſtick dangers, that we may probably, ſome time or other, overlook, and neglect to provide againſt a real and imminent foreign danger; and thus, whilſt we are engaged in needleſs conteſts about guarding our liberties and properties againſt the invaſions of one another, we may at laſt find both left entirely at the mercy of ſome foreign invader.

For this reaſon, I am not for endeavouring to be ſo quick-ſighted as ſome Gentlemen pretend to be; nor ſhall I ever be for making an alteration in our conſtitution, in order to provide againſt any danger it may be expoſed to, till that danger begins to be in ſome degree felt, as well as foreſeen; and therefore, I think, no Gentleman can expect, that I ſhould agree to the motion now under our conſideration. Whatever may be our fate in future times, I am ſure, it cannot be ſaid, that in his preſent Majeſty's reign, or under the preſent adminiſtration, the leaſt attempt has been made upon the freedom of parliament, or to gain a corrupt influence over any member of this houſe. If our parliaments had ever once of late years, at the inſtigation of the crown, agreed to, or approv'd of any thing that look'd like an encroachment, either upon the rights and liberties of the people, or upon the property of any private man in the kingdom, that agreement or approbation might have been ſuſpected of proceeding from ſome corrupt influence. But as no ſuch agreement or approbation has ever been obtained, as no attempt has been lately made by the crown to obtain any ſuch, I can ſee no reaſon for the preſent motion, or for that outcry againſt corruption that has been of late ſo induſtriouſly propagated all over the nation.

Corruption, I know, Sir, like arbitrary power and wooden ſhoes, is a moſt hideous word; and I ſhall grant that it may be of dangerous conſequence to the liberties of a free people: but there are two things that muſt concur, before it can ever become dangerous; and that

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is, a general depravity of manners among the people, and a wicked design in those that govern them. If virtue prevails among the generality of the people, if they are not generally guided by selfish and corrupt motives, an ambitious court can never propose to succeed in their designs by means of corruption, let their fund for that purpose be never so extensive; and if the governors of a free people have no ambitious or wicked designs, no fund for corruption can ever be dangerous in their hands; but, on the contrary, it may be necessary for preserving the happiness and tranquillity of the people: for if the people be generally corrupt, if they be generally guided by selfish and corrupt motives, their governors must have wherewithal to satisfy those views, which, with most men, are their only motives for action; otherwise it will be impossible to get a majority of the people to concur even in those measures that are absolutely necessary for their own preservation.

It is therefore evident, Sir, that those who think we are in any present danger from corruption, must be of opinion, that a general depravity of manners has of late crept in among the people of this kingdom, and that his Majesty, by the advice of evil counsellors, has formed designs against the liberties of his people; which is an opinion that, I hope, is far from being entertained by any Gentleman in this house. Whatever opinion we may have of the generality of our countrymen, I hope no Gentleman thinks, that his Majesty has any designs against the liberties of his people, or that he would harbour any such, were it in his power to carry them into execution. What are we then to do by the bill proposed? If a general depravity of manners does not prevail, we are, without the least shadow of reason, to deprive the people of the service of those who, if they are honest, are certainly best able to serve their country in parliament; and if a general depravity of manners does prevail, we are to deprive his Majesty, who, we are certain, can have no bad designs, of the only means he can have for carrying his good designs into execution, or, indeed, for answering any one end of government.

But now, Sir, let me suppose, which, I am sure, there is no ground for, that a majority of this house, not only think that the people of this nation are generally govern'd by selfish and corrupt motives, but also that his Majesty has, by the advice of evil counsellors, form'd designs against the liberties of the people: even in this case, can we suppose that this bill would be a proper remedy? From experience we must conclude, that it would have a quite contrary effect: like the self-denying ordinance in Cromwel's time, it would not only facilitate, but hasten that very consequence it is intended to prevent. The passing of such a bill, would be an immediate and infallible cause of a division and contention between the King and his parliament, which would of course drive both to extremes; and as we have supposed both sides governed by ambitious and selfish views only, whichever side prevailed, the contention would end, as it did in Cromwel's time, in the establishment of arbitrary power. Therefore, if there were any present danger from corruption, the only method for providing effectually against it would be, to take proper measures for restoring the virtue of the people, and for removing evil counsellors from the King; both which may be done by parliament, but can never be done by such a bill as is now proposed; and therefore I must be against giving leave to bring in a bill, which, I think, can in no case be of any service, and which may, probably, be attended with most pernicious consequences.

C. Sulpicius *spoke next, the purport of whose speech was as follows.*

Mr President,

THE bill now moved for, is of so great consequence, so ardently desired by the nation in general, that I cannot satisfy myself with giving a base assent to the motion for bringing it in; and therefore I must venture upon the hard

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ard task of betraying my own inabi-ty, rather than sit silent in a debate vhereon, I think, the freedom and in-ependency of parliament, and the very eing of our constitution depend: A de-ate, Sir, which by its event must in ef-ect determine, whether the Commons of G. Britain are ever hereafter to be pro-erly represented in this house, whether ve are really to be any longer a free eople or no?

It would ill become me, Sir, to dare o insinuate the least reflection upon any f those Gentlemen who have the ho-our to be employed in his Majesty's ervice, or to be distinguished by his oyal favour. Their rank and their tation claim a due respect, and I have ever paid them such as becomes a free-man. As Gentlemen, and as indivi-duals, I have a great regard for them; but as legislators, and as an aggregate body, I must own, their numbers, their power and their influence here, may give just grounds of jealousy and ap-prehension to every man that under-stands the nature, and admires the wis-dom of our happy constitution; espe-cially if we should ever happen to see an union or coalition of their several interests for their mutual support, and, as it were, in one common cause, when-ever the state of our army or navy, of our treasury or revenue, or of the na-tion in general, shall come under the consideration of this house.

We justly value ourselves on the wis-dom and equity of our laws, for trying the life, liberty and property of the meanest subject, by impartial judges and disinterested juries. Shall we be thus careful of the liberties and proper-ties of private men, and take no care of the liberties and properties of the people in general? shall we remove a juror, in a case of private property, if it appears that he has an interest in either side of the question; and in a case of publick property, shall we admit a ma-jority, or near a majority of those that are to be judges, to consist of such as have the whole, or the greatest part of their subsistence depending upon one side, perhaps the wrong side, of the que-stion? Surely, Sir, this great council, which is intrusted with the happiness, the property and purse of the nation, demands, at least, equal care and at-tention: the guardians of the laws, li-berties and publick interest, ought, a-bove all men, to be disinterested and independent; free not only from the imputation, but even from the least sus-picion of any pecuniary bias whatever. In private life, it would be absurd to allow any man to sit as judge and jury in his own cause; and in this house, where our all is at stake, is it not equally absurd? may it not be destructive?

Sir, there is no design to turn out of this house, every Gentleman that has a place or office under the crown. By the bill now moved for, all those who have places or offices under the crown, are to be excluded from having seats in this house, except such placemen and officers as shall be named in the bill; and when this exception comes to be filled up, it will appear, that there may still be at least 150 placemen and offi-cers in this house; which surely is a number sufficient for answering all the good purposes of the crown; and, I hope, no Gentleman will say, we ought to have such a number of placemen and officers in this house, as may an-swer those bad purposes which some fu-ture ambitious King, or bad minister, may happen to have in view, or may be prompted to have in view, when he considers that he has such a great num-ber of placemen and officers in this house.

The long and expensive wars this na-tion has been obliged to carry on, for the just defence of our religion, our laws and our liberties, have engaged us in immense debts. These debts still subsist, and have had this fatal conse-quence, that, while they have settled the balance of power abroad, I fear, they have overturned the balance of power at home. They have raised a numerous swarm of revenue and excise officers, and other tax-gatherers, who have overspread the nation like locusts. It is well known what influence these officers and tax-gatherers have upon e-

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lections; and, I may also say, it is well known, what use they make of it. They influence our elections, not only while they live, but also when they die; for many electors are influenced by the hopes of succeeding them.

We are again engaged in a just and necessary war, whereby our fleets are become more numerous, our land-forces greatly increased, and more and more levies of marines every day made.

These augmentations must throw a new weight of power into that scale, which seems already to be charged beyond its due proportion; and of course the freedom of parliament, and the security of our constitution, will be thereby more endangered; which has raised great jealousies all over the nation.

This bill, Sir, seems to be the only sure method to allay these jealousies, and to prevent these dangers. It is not meant to exclude all placemen from parliament: it is meant only to restrain and limit the number of placemen, which in future parliaments may become so great, as to be inconsistent with the freedom of parliament, or the preservation of our constitution. This effect the bill will have, if, luckily for us and our posterity, it be passed into a law. But this is not the only good effect it will have. Besides this, it will have many other good effects: it will not only limit the number of placemen in parliament, but it will also soon lessen their number and their expence in general. If this bill should be passed, new places would not be created, many old ones would be abolished, no more officers would be employed than were absolutely necessary; and, I verily believe, no more would be allowed them than they strictly earned. A small salary would then satisfy a clerk in an office, who might now, perhaps, reject it, as a member of this house; and men might well afford to serve for half pay, who had no interest to support, and no other merit necessary for the post they enjoy, or the post they aspire to, than the bare qualification for that, and that alone. They would then become men of one calling, and of one business: they would be more diligent and faithful in the discharge of their duty, because they would be more afraid of being called to account.

The nation, Sir, grows daily more jealous of its liberties, and more zealous for the security of them, by the success of this bill; and therefore I hope that, at least, so much deference will be paid to the voice of the people, as to admit their representatives fully to debate the merits of this important cause. The voice of the people is well worthy the attention, the serious attention of a wise legislature: it is a voice that first or last will be heard, and will have its effect; it is a voice that is not to be silenced, that is not to be smothered, much less to be rejected with contempt.

Therefore, Sir, in duty to his Majesty, that he may reign happy in the hearts, in the affections and confidence of his people, which alone can render him powerful at home and formidable abroad; in justice to my country, that these valuable rights and privileges, derived to us from our ancestors, may be transmitted down to posterity; in discharge of my own conscience, and of the great trust reposed in me by my constituents, I thought myself obliged, notwithstanding the just sense I have of my inability, to give this publick testimony of my approbation of what is proposed; and I do most heartily join in the motion, for bringing in this important and most necessary bill.

The next speech was made by Servilius Priscus, *which was to this effect.*

Mr President,

THE Hon. Gentlemen, who in this debate have spoke in favour of the motion, seem all, by their arguments, to presume, that every Gentleman who has a place or office under the crown, is to receive directions from the crown with regard to his behaviour in this house, and that he will always vote and act here according to these directions. Sir, if there were any ground for such a presumption, if I thought that there could ever be any ground for such a presumption, I should most readily agree

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agree to this motion: I should not enly be for excluding all such Gentlemen from having seats in this house, but I should be for laying them under all the incapacities which excise-officers are already by law subjected to: I should be for preventing their endeavouring to persuade any elector to give, or to dissuade any from giving his vote for any candidate at an election. But I am very far from supposing, that the crown, or any minister of the crown, will ever attempt to give directions to any member of this house with regard to his behaviour here; and much less can I suppose, that any Gentleman who has the honour to be chosen a member of this house, would submit to follow such directions, for the sake of any place or office he can have or expect from the crown. When a Gentleman is chosen a member of this house, he thereby becomes a counsellor for his sovereign, as well as a trustee for the people; and in both these respects he is in honour bound to give his opinion freely and sincerely upon every question that occurs. A place or office under the crown may prevent his associating himself with those that appear to be disaffected or discontented, or it may engage his assent in things that appear to be indifferent or of no great moment; but it can never engage his approbation of any measure that appears to be inconsistent with the liberties of the people, and, consequently, with the security of the crown; for these two have now such a mutual dependence, that no attempt can be made upon either, without at the same time weakening the other.

For this reason, Sir, I should think our liberties and constitution in no danger, even tho' a majority of this house consisted of such as held places and offices under the crown, provided they were regularly and fairly chosen; which they could not be, unless they were Gentlemen of good characters, of good fortunes, and of a good family-interest in their country. With such a parliament, if the crown should begin to form any arbitrary designs, some few of this majority might, perhaps, be brought over, by the hopes of great preferment, or by the fears of losing what they possessed; but the greatest part of them would certainly join the party against the court; for this very good reason, Because it would be the most certain way of preserving, not only their own fortunes, but also the places and offices they enjoyed. If they should join with the court in giving a parliamentary sanction to such designs, and establishing an arbitrary power in the crown, they would not only render their own private fortunes precarious, but they would put it in the power of the crown to turn them out of the places and offices they possess without any danger: and this would, probably, be the consequence; for the lowest and most upstart fellows are generally the best servants and most humble slaves to the haughty prime minister of an absolute sovereign. This, I say, would be the case, with regard even to those placemen of family and fortune who had concurred in the establishment of arbitrary power: they would be all turned out, and more humble slaves, or, at least, slaves to whom the crown and its ministers did not owe such obligations, would be put in their room, as soon as it could be done without danger of overturning that lofty fabrick of power which by their assistance had been erected.

This, Sir, would be the certain fate of all Gentlemen of character, family and fortune in their country, if they should, for the sake of preserving their posts or offices, join with the slaves of a court in giving a parliamentary sanction to, and thereby establishing an arbitrary power. On the other hand, if most of them should declare against the court, as, I believe, would be the case, they would immediately put an end to such a wicked administration. The parliament would immediately remove all such evil counsellors from about the throne, and probably send them where they deserved. In which case, it would be out of their power to advise the King to remove those placemen that had voted against them; and the new admi-

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niſtration would be bound in gratitude, to continue in office thoſe that had contributed to their advancement, and to the relief of their country: nay, for their own ſakes they would be obliged to continue them, and to reſtore ſuch as had been removed; becauſe thoſe placemen and officers who had given ſuch a teſtimony of their honour, and of their generous love for their country, would thereby become ſo popular, and acquire ſuch an additional intereſt in their reſpective counties, that it would be very dangerous for the new adminiſtration to do them any injuſtice.

From hence, Sir, I think, it is evident, our conſtitution can never be in danger from any number of places and offices that can be held by the members of this houſe. On the contrary, I think, the chief ſecurity of our conſtitution conſiſts in this very power or capacity which the members of this houſe have of enjoying places and offices under the crown; becauſe the crown is thereby obliged to employ Gentlemen of character, fortune and intereſt, in the executive part of our government. When two Gentlemen are candidates for any place or office in the executive part of our government, both equally qualified as to perſonal abilities, but one a Gentleman of good fortune and family, the other of neither, I believe it will be granted that the former ought to be preferred; and as long as placemen or officers are allowed ſeats in this houſe, or votes at elections, the crown, or the miniſters of the crown, will certainly prefer the former, in order to prevent his appearing againſt them, in all matters of an indifferent nature, either in this houſe, or at elections: but if by preferring him, they ſhould render it impoſſible for him to do them any ſervice, either in this houſe, or at elections, they would certainly prefer the other; becauſe he would be a more obedient and ſubmiſſive tool, and much more attached to their perſonal intereſt and ſafety.

The conſequence, therefore, of excluding moſt placemen and officers from having ſeats in this houſe, will be, that, in a ſhort time, none but men of low birth and no fortune will be employed in our army and navy, and in every other poſt or office that is neceſſary for the executive part of our government: and if this ſhould ever happen to be the caſe, I ſhould think our conſtitution in much greater danger, than it could be, ſhould every member of this houſe have a ſhare in the executive, as well as he has in the legiſlative part of the government of his country. For this reaſon, I muſt be of opinion, that, as long as you leave the executive part of your government in the crown, you ought to leave the conſtitution upon the footing it now ſtands, if you have a mind to preſerve it from being overturned by an army commanded by officers, and aſſiſted by a great number of placemen, of no birth or fortune in their country, and, conſequently, ready to join with an ambitious prince or miniſter in overturning the liberties of their country.

Whilſt we have parliaments, Sir, and thoſe parliaments regularly choſen according to the laws already in being, I can have no notion, that the majority of ſuch a parliament can be prevailed on by places or preferments to join in arbitrary deſigns or oppreſſive meaſures: the only danger we are in is, leſt the crown ſhould be tempted or obliged to govern without a parliament; and this even the juſteſt and wiſeſt prince may find himſelf obliged to do, if you ſhould take away all thoſe legal powers which our anceſtors have found neceſſary to be lodged in the crown, in order to enable it to withſtand faction and ſedition. We know how giddy the populace are in every country: we know how apt the people are to be led aſtray by the artful heads of faction, whoſe ſecret deſigns are generally very different from their publick profeſſions. All wiſe governments foreſee dangers and inconveniences at a great diſtance; and, in order to avoid theſe dangers, are often obliged to take meaſures that may ſeem wrong or oppreſſive to the ignorant: they may often have wiſe and good reaſons for what they do, and yet thoſe reaſons may be ſuch as muſt not be publickly ex-

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xplained. Theſe circumſtances the heads of faction, the diſaffected and he diſcontented, take advantage of, in order to miſrepreſent the government o the multitude; and by theſe means, even againſt a juſt and wiſe prince, a general diſcontent may be made to prevail for ſome ſhort time, and until the eyes of the people be opened. If ſuch a prince had no honours to beſtow, nor any rewards to give to ſuch as do not allow themſelves to be led away by popular clamours, his government would be tore to pieces by a factious parliament, or he would be obliged to carry it on without any parliament at all; and in either caſe our conſtitution would be undone.

Againſt this danger we are guarded, Sir, by the honours and favours which the crown may beſtow upon thoſe electors and members who do not, out of an affectation of popularity, chime in with every popular diſcontent; and this, I think, is the only uſe the crown can make of thoſe honours, places and offices, which it has, by our conſtitution, at its diſpoſal. Theſe honours, places and offices, may be a ſupport to the crown againſt a popular frenzy or deluſion, and may ſupport it in a legal way, till the people have leiſure to conſider, and return to their ſenſes. By theſe, many Gentlemen may be prevented from joining with a popular faction, either at elections or in parliament, and may at both be kept firm in their duty to their King and country; but by theſe, no Gentleman of any family or fortune can be prevailed on to join with the crown in deſtroying the liberties of his country.

I hope, Sir, our liberties and privileges are as yet in no danger. As long as the people are guided by a ſpirit of virtue and publick good, their liberties and privileges never can be in danger from any honours or rewards the crown has, or may have in its power to beſtow. But if the people ſhould ever become ſo abandoned, as that a majority of them ſhould be ready to ſacrifice their liberties and privileges for a preſent reward, it would, I think, be a very ridiculous undertaking, to endeavour to guard againſt it by laws, which the people would certainly repeal as ſoon as their purchaſers deſired it. Nay, in ſuch a caſe, I ſhould think it would be happy for the people to have their liberties and privileges taken from them; for when the individuals of a community make no other uſe of the liberties and privileges they enjoy, but to prey upon the publick, I am certain thoſe liberties and privileges muſt be taken away, or the community itſelf will ſoon be deſtroyed. Therefore, if it be ſuppoſed, that the crown may, by means of places and offices, get a majority in parliament, that, for the ſake of the places and offices they enjoy, will ſacrifice the liberties and privileges of their country, it may be an argument for putting an end to all parliaments, and eſtabliſhing an unlimited power in the crown; but it can be no argument for the bill now propoſed: for if we can ſuppoſe, that a majority of any future parliament will be ſuch, as are entirely governed by their own immediate intereſt, I am ſure they will make uſe of the privileges they are inveſted with as members, in order to accompliſh that which is their only aim; and if they find they cannot accompliſh it by ſerving the crown, they will endeavour to accompliſh it by deſtroying the crown, and, probably, by overturning our preſent happy eſtabliſhment.

This, indeed, is the conſequence I chiefly apprehend. We know, Sir, how numerous the diſaffected ſtill are in this kingdom; and they, we may ſuppoſe, are not inſenſible of the prejudice that has been done to their faction, by the places and offices which are at the diſpoſal of the crown. Theſe places and offices are, as I have ſaid, of great uſe to the crown, and, I think, to the nation, in preventing Gentlemen from joining with a faction, or in winning them away from it; and the Jacobites are ſenſible, they have loſt many by this means, ſome, perhaps, after they had got them a ſeat in this houſe. For this reaſon, we find, they are, in every part of the kingdom, great pa-

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patrons of this bill. I hope, we have none of them now in this house; I am sure the Hon. Gentlemen who have proposed and promoted this bill, can lie under no such imputation, nor can they be suspected of any such motives: but, we know, that, without doors, the clamours for this bill are zealously promoted by the disaffected; which cannot proceed from any principle of liberty, because, from their principles, they must be for enlarging, instead of diminishing the power of the crown. It can proceed from nothing, but an opinion, that it would promote their cause: And as I happen, in this case, to be of the same opinion with them; as I am afraid that, if this bill should pass into a law, we might have a majority of Jacobites, instead of placemen in this house; therefore I must be against giving it any countenance, and, consequently, against the motion for leave to bring it in.

The next speech was made by M. Cato, *which was in substance as follows.*

Mr President,

THE opposition made to this motion is, in my opinion, one of the strongest arguments that can be made use of in its favour; and must, I think, appear so to every man who considers the persons concerned in that opposition, and the arguments they make use of for supporting it. Who are the persons that oppose this motion? who were they that have always opposed such motions? Placemen, ministers, and the favourites or pensioners of ministers. What do they say for justifying their opposition? They deny a principle, a maxim, which in all ages, in all countries, has hitherto been acknowledged, and upon which many of our laws now in being are founded. That a Gentleman's behaviour in this house, may be influenced by a place or a pension, is a maxim universally acknowledged; and in this kingdom so much established, that we have, already, by law, excluded many of the former, and all the latter, from having seats in this house. We have, already, by law, excluded all pensioners from having seats in this house; and I should be glad to know the difference between a pension of 1000 l. a-year, and a place with a salary of 1000 l. a-year. I know of none, save only, that the latter is generally more valuable than the former; and therefore a Gentleman will be more loth to lose it, or to give a vote in this house that may disoblige a minister who can take it from him.

I say, Sir, that a place with a salary of 1000 l. a-year is more valuable than a pension of 1000 l. a-year; because a place furnishes a Gentleman with an opportunity to serve his friends, and, perhaps, to provide some of them with little places or offices under him. To which I must add, that a place often furnishes a Gentleman who is not very scrupulous, with an opportunity of plundering his country yearly of twice, perhaps ten times the value of his salary. And this, I must observe, makes another very material difference between a place and a pension: A placeman may very probably be a person whose conduct this house ought to enquire into; he may be a publick criminal, and therefore he will certainly be against an impartial and strict enquiry into the conduct of any minister, officer or placeman, let the enquiry should at last light upon himself. There is, therefore, greater reason for excluding all placemen, than for excluding all pensioners, from having seats in this house. Our admitting some of the former, does not proceed from an opinion, that a Gentleman's behaviour may not be influenced by a place, as much as by a pension; but from the necessity we are under, of having some great officers amongst us, in order to give us proper information and direction in many affairs that must come under our consideration.

For this reason, when I hear Gentlemen who have very good places, gravely telling us, that no Gentleman of family or fortune can, by any place he may enjoy or expect, be induced to join in measures that may be of dangerous consequence to the constitution or liberties of his country, I think it is a

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a clear proof, not only that the behaviour of a Gentleman of family and fortune may be influenced by the poſt he enjoys or expects, but alſo that his judgment may be biaſſed. He may be, thereby, induced to think thoſe things indifferent, or of no moment, that are far from being ſo: he may be, thereby, induced to think thoſe meaſures right, that to every impartial man appear to be pernicious: he may be, thereby, induced to think the liberties of his country in no danger, when they are upon the very brink of deſtruction. I ſhall grant, Sir, that we ought not raſhly, and without juſt cauſe, to make any alteration in our conſtitution; nor ought we to frighten ourſelves with fanciful dangers: but if the danger we now apprehend, from the great number of officers and placemen in this houſe, be ſuggeſted only by a melancholy and gloomy diſpoſition, that diſpoſition is, I am ſure, now become epidemical; for there is not, I believe, a man in the nation, not poſſeſſed or in expectation of ſome poſt or penſion under the crown, who does not apprehend this danger, or who is not convinced of its being not only real, but imminent. Placemen and penſioners may, 'tis true, be of a more gay diſpoſition than others; and therefore not ſo apt to apprehend our conſtitution's being in danger: but, for this very reaſon, we ought not to have a majority of them in this houſe; for if ever we ſhould, I may prognoſticate, that their gaiety will give the reſt of the nation good cauſe to be melancholy.

An Hon. Gent. who has had ſeveral, and has now a very good place, has been pleaſed to tell us, that we ought never to think of providing againſt any danger, till it be felt, as well as foreſeen. I do not know, Sir, what that Gentleman may feel, or foreſee; but I can aſſure him, the nation thinks it has often felt the influence of places and penſions in this houſe. I ſhall not undertake the invidious taſk of ſhewing how, or when that influence has been felt; but I may ſay in general, that, even of late years, there have been many queſtions in this houſe, which would not have gone as they did, had we had few or no officers or placemen amongſt us; and if all the officers and placemen would now retire, or refuſe to give their votes in this queſtion, in which they may properly be ſaid to be parties concerned, I ſhould not doubt the ſucceſs of my Hon. friend's motion. In this houſe, we ought to ſee with the ſame eyes our conſtituents ſee with, and we ought to feel what the nation feels; which is a good reaſon for our admitting but few placemen, and no penſioners amongſt us; for both the ſeeing and feeling of him who receives 500 l. or 1000 l. a-year, will always be very different from the ſeeing and feeling of thoſe that pay it. The difference between the foreſight of placemen, and that of the nation, is notorious, and very remarkable, in this, that the former are mighty quick at foreſeeing thoſe dangers which occaſion the keeping up of a ſtanding army, but, with regard to thoſe dangers that threaten our conſtitution, they have hitherto appeared to be almoſt quite blind; whereas the nation has always been, and, I hope, always will be quick-ſighted with regard to thoſe dangers that threaten our conſtitution, and never very apprehenſive of any of thoſe dangers that are uſually pretended for our keeping up a numerous ſtanding army. This, I ſay, is a remarkable difference with regard to the faculty of ſeeing or foreſeeing any danger; and, with regard to that of feeling, it is certain, a Gentleman of 1000 l. a-year eſtate, who pays 700 l. a-year towards our national taxes, and has a penſion or ſalary of 1000 l. a-year paid him out of thoſe taxes, can never be ſo ſenſible of their weight, as another Gentleman of 1000 l. a-year eſtate, who pays but 500 l. a-year towards our national taxes, and has no penſion or ſalary coming in. Therefore, I hope, the Hon. Gent. will forgive me, if I ſay, that our liberties may be in the moſt imminent and real danger, tho' neither he, nor any other placeman, either feels or foreſees it; and this, I think, is a very good reaſon, why our liberties ſhould not be committed to their keeping.

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I shall admit, Sir, that a Gentleman of family, fortune, character and interest in his country, is not so liable to be influenced by a place he may enjoy or expect, as one who has none of these advantages: but will any Gentleman say, that none but Gentlemen of family, fortune, character and interest in their country, can get themselves chosen members of this house? do not we know, that a minister may get a man chosen, tho' he has neither family, fortune, character nor interest to recommend him? do not we know, that most of the little boroughs upon our coasts are already, by means of our customhouse and sea officers, brought entirely under the direction of our administration? And if the late *excise-scheme* had passed into a law, I believe, the case would, by this time, have been the same with regard to most of the little inland boroughs in the kingdom. Suppose this should hereafter be brought about, by means of some such scheme, past into a law, at the end of a session, and before people had time to consider its consequences; could we suppose, that a wicked or ambitious minister would ever allow a Gentleman of family or fortune to be chosen by any of the boroughs under his direction, unless he were such a one as would be influenced by the place the minister had given, or could give him?

In this case, Sir, let us consider, that of the 513 members that represent England and Wales, there are but 92 chosen by counties, and of the remaining 421, there are at least 350 chosen by cities, boroughs, and cinque ports, where the administration would have the absolute command and direction. If this should ever happen to be our unlucky fate, can we suppose, that any Gentleman would set up to be a member of this house, or a representative even for any of our counties, but such as resolved to submit, with regard to their behaviour here, to the absolute direction of the prime minister? for no Gentleman of honour would put himself to expence, or expose himself to the resentment of an all-powerful minister, if by setting up as a candidate at any election, he were absolutely certain that he could thereby do his country no service. Instead of Gentlemen of family, fortune, character or interest in their county, we should then see this house filled with the lowest tools and vilest sycophants of absolute power: instead of this house's being a check upon ministers, it would then, like the parliaments of France, or the Roman senates under their Emperors, be an instrument for the oppressions of ministers, and a cloak for their crimes. The most rapacious plunderer, the most tyrannical oppressor, would then insolently boast, that he did nothing but according to law, that the publick treasure was regularly accounted for in parliament, and that he was at all times ready to submit his conduct to a parliamentary enquiry.

Surely, Sir, no Gentleman can think, that the liberties of this nation consist in our having the resemblance of a parliament. We may have a parliament, that parliament may be chosen once every *seven* years, may sit annually as it does now, may pass laws, grant money, receive accounts, and even make enquiries, and yet we may have neither constitution nor liberty left: for if it should once come to be in the power of the administration to have always a majority in parliament ready to obey the directions given them by the ministers, there would be no necessity for destroying the very form of our constitution, or for making a direct and absolute surrender of our liberties. Without either of these, our sovereign would be as absolute, and might be more tyrannical than the *Grand Seignior* himself. Such a parliament would grant him as many *spahis* and *janizaries* as he thought necessary for keeping his slaves in subjection, would give him any revenue he pleased to demand, and would pass whatever laws he might please to propose; and the judges, being under no parliamentary restraint, would, in every part of his dominions, give judgment according to the directions of the *Prime Vizier* or governing *Bashaw*. Thus oppression would be countenanced by the forms of law, and the

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the people plundered, the innocent murdered, by the administration of justice.

It is this sort of ruin, Sir, we have chiefly to apprehend, and this sort of ruin we may, step by step, be led into, without our being sensible of the several steps. We shall certainly be led into it, if we trust any longer the guardianship of our liberties to those whose foresight is blunted by the places they enjoy or expect. If a minister were to propose a law for giving the crown a power of sending to every county, city and borough in the kingdom, such a *congè d'elire* for the choice of members of parliament, as is now sent to a Dean and chapter for the choice of a Bishop, I believe, very few Gentlemen of family or fortune would, for the sake of any place, agree to it: but an equivalent power may be got, by multiplying penal laws, and increasing the number and power of officers; and a Gentleman of family, fortune, character and interest in his country, may, by a good place, be induced to believe, that such a law, or such an increase of the number and power of officers, is necessary for preventing fraudulent practices, or the like; and may therefore agree to it, without seeing the danger our constitution may be thereby exposed to. Thus by degrees he may be made to agree to such propositions, one after another, till he has thereby established in the crown the absolute direction of most of the elections in the kingdom.

This, Sir, would have been the certain consequence of the late *excise-scheme*; and yet there were many Gentlemen of family and fortune that approved of it. I am convinced they did not foresee this consequence; nay I have so much charity as to believe, that the chief patron of that scheme did not foresee this consequence: but every impartial man in the kingdom is now, I believe, sensible of it. That scheme was, indeed, such a large step towards giving the crown the direction of most of our elections, and, by good luck, was so thoroughly considered before it was brought into this house, that most Gentlemen became sensible of the danger before it was too late; and this was the cause of its meeting with the fate it deserved. But its fate will be a warning to future ministers, not to attempt making such a large step at once. They will from thence see, that they must grasp at this power by little and little; which they will certainly do, and as certainly at last accomplish, unless we take care to exclude from this house, most of those who, by the places they enjoy, are induced to have a better opinion of ministers, than any man ought to have that is intrusted with the guardianship of the constitution and liberties of his country.

The question is not, Sir, Whether a Gentleman may be induced, by the office or place he holds or expects, to make, at once, and in an open and direct manner, an absolute surrender of the liberties of his country? No prince or minister of common sense, will ever desire such a surrender; because, if he can get into his hands an uncontroulable power over most of our elections, and, consequently, the direction of the parliaments chosen by this uncontroulable power, his power will in every respect be as absolute, and may be exercised in a more arbitrary manner, and with greater security to himself, than it could be without the appearance of a parliamentary authority; for every unpopular and oppressive measure would then be made the act and deed of the parliament, and the lenity of the minister in the execution of those penal laws enacted by parliament, or in the exercise of those powers granted him by parliament, would be set forth and extolled by his tools in a Gazetteer, or some such paper, published by his authority, and dispersed through the whole kingdom at the publick expence. The question, therefore, now before us is; Whether a Gentleman's eyes may not, by a lucrative and honourable post or employment, be so overclouded, as to prevent his seeing through the plausible pretences that may, from time to time, be made use of by an artful minister, for getting into his hands, or in-

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to the hands of the crown, ſuch an uncontroulable power, as I have mentioned? And this queſtion, even with reſpect to Gentlemen of family and fortune, will, I am ſure, be anſwered in the affirmative, by every man in the kingdom who does not poſſeſs or expect ſome poſt or employment, or ſome of thoſe titles of honour, which, by our conſtitution, as it is now modelled, the crown has abſolutely at its diſpoſal.

To tell us, Sir, that our liberties can never be in danger from a majority of placemen in this houſe, unleſs the people be generally abandoned as to all principles of virtue and publick good, and unleſs the crown has at the ſame time formed deſigns againſt our liberties; and that the only method for removing this danger, in caſe we ſhould at any time be threatened with it, would be, to take proper meaſures for reſtoring virtue and publick ſpirit among the people, and for removing evil counſellors from about the throne: to tell us this, I ſay, Sir, in a ſerious manner, is ſomething very extraordinary. It is miſtaking the effect for the cauſe, and deſiring us to begin at the wrong end. Corruption, Sir, is not the effect, but the cauſe of a general depravity of manners among the people of any country; and has in all countries, as well as this, been firſt practiſed and encouraged by miniſters and courtiers. It would therefore be ridiculous in us, to think of reſtoring virtue among the people, till we have once made it impoſſible for miniſters and courtiers to corrupt them; and, I am ſure, it would be ſtill more ridiculous in us, to think of removing an evil counſellor from about the throne, till we have once removed his creatures and tools out of this houſe.

I hope, Sir, there are at preſent no evil counſellors about the throne. If there were, I am ſure, no ſuch counſellor has a majority of his creatures and tools in this houſe. If this were the caſe, it would have been very ridiculous to have made ſuch a motion as this now before us; it would be very ridiculous to think of reſtoring our conſtitution by any legal method. It is this misfortune we intend to prevent by the bill now moved for; it is a misfortune now foreſeen by all unprejudiced men in the kingdom. I hope it is not yet too late to think of preventing it by a legal method; for after we have once fallen into this misfortune, it will be impoſſible to recover. If any ambitious miniſter ſhould once get a majority of his creatures and tools into this houſe, can we ſuppoſe they would conſent to impeach, or remove him from the throne? can we ſuppoſe they would ever conſent to any bill that might tend to diſtreſs the adminiſtration of their maſter? can we ſuppoſe they would refuſe any thing that might tend to prolong his adminiſtration and increaſe his power? Every attempt to reſtore the conſtitution, would be branded with the name of republicaniſm; the diſcontents of the people would be called diſaffection and Jacobitiſm; every oppoſition would be ſaid to proceed from malice and reſentment; and the misfortune would be, that many honeſt well-meaning men, induced by their places to have a better opinion of miniſters than they ought to have, would give credit to theſe pretences, and would believe, that by agreeing to the miniſter's arbitrary ſchemes, they were only ſtrengthening the hands of the government againſt republicaniſm, Jacobitiſm and ſedition.

If it were poſſible to be merry in a debate of ſo great importance, it would be diverting to obſerve the contradiction in the arguments made uſe of againſt this motion. By ſome, our Gentlemen of family and fortune are repreſented to be men of ſuch ſtrict honour, and ſuch clear heads, that no place or penſion can miſlead their judgment or direct their will; no ſelfiſh conſideration can make them overlook the danger our liberties may be expoſed to, or conſent to any thing they think may in the leaſt endanger our conſtitution. By others again, our Gentlemen of family and fortune are repreſented as ſuch ſelfiſh mercenary creatures, that, unleſs the government would give them ſome poſt

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poſt or penſion, they would refuſe to conſent to thoſe things that are abſolutely neceſſary for the ends of government, and the preſervation of their country. Now, theſe two contradictory poſitions, tho' they cannot be equally true, may be, and, I believe, they are equally falſe. We have, I believe, ſome Gentlemen amongſt us, whoſe judgment cannot be biaſſed, nor their will directed by any ſelfiſh conſideration. Such men, I hope, we ſhall always have in ſome of our higheſt offices; and theſe are not deſigned by this bill to be excluded from having ſeats in this houſe: but their number will always be ſmall, and therefore not ſufficient, by themſelves alone, to ſupport the conſtitution againſt a combination of all the fools and knaves that may hereafter get into this houſe; therefore we muſt endeavour to prevent this combination, and this can only be done by ſuch a bill as is now propoſed.

On the other hand, Sir, I believe there may be ſome amongſt us, who propoſe nothing by their ſervice in this houſe, but their own private advantage; and whilſt we have placemen and penſioners amongſt us, ſuch men will endeavour all they can to get into parliament. Nay it may become ſo cuſtomary for every man that votes with the court, to have a place or a penſion, that no man will do ſo without ſome ſuch reward. But if ever this ſelfiſh ſpirit ſhould get into parliament, our conſtitution will be undone; and to prevent this, is the deſign of the bill now moved for. If no man could, by being a member of parliament, propoſe to get any place or office, or any advantage to himſelf, the mercenary and ſelfiſh would ſeldom endeavour to get themſelves choſen, at leaſt they would never be at any expence for this purpoſe; and as ſuch men have ſeldom a great natural intereſt in any part of the kingdom, there would always be ſuch a ſmall number of them in parliament, that their oppoſition could never obſtruct or retard any thing that ſeemed neceſſary for the juſt ends of government, or for the preſervation and happineſs of the ſociety. The publick good would then be the only aim of miniſters, as well as members, becauſe neither of them could hope for ſucceſs in any other; and as men of good ſenſe and ſtrict honour are the beſt judges of, and the moſt ready to agree upon what is neceſſary for the publick good, it would then be as much the buſineſs of miniſters to get ſuch men choſen, as it is now their buſineſs to get ſuch members choſen as are men of mercenary tempers or ſhallow underſtandings; for all miniſters will have jobbs to do in parliament, as long as they have any hopes of ſucceſs, and the weak or mercenary will always be the moſt proper for this purpoſe.

I am indeed ſurpriſed, Sir, to hear it ſaid by an Hon. Gent. whoſe attachment to the preſent eſtabliſhment is not to be doubted, that if moſt placemen were excluded from this houſe, there would ſoon be a majority of Jacobites in it. Such a ſuppoſition is not to be made, without firſt ſuppoſing, that a great majority of the people are Jacobites: and to ſuppoſe this, is, I am ſure, no compliment to our preſent royal family, and much leſs to the King now upon our throne. As long as our parliaments are independent, and our elections free, there can never be any conſiderable number of Jacobites, either in this houſe or in the nation; but if there ſhould once come to be a majority of placemen and officers in this houſe, that majority would ſoon create a majority of Jacobites in the nation: and in that caſe, tho' the majority within doors might be a good ſecurity to miniſters againſt parliamentary proſecutions, yet it would be but a bad ſecurity to the royal family againſt an inſurrection of the whole people without doors. The army, upon which we now ſeem ſo much to depend, or a great part of them, would probably join with the people; and the certain conſequence would be, the overthrow of our preſent eſtabliſhment. This danger, I know, a guilty miniſter will always chuſe to expoſe his maſter to, rather than expoſe himſelf to a legal trial before

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before a free and independent parliament; becauſe in a general conflagration, he may poſſibly eſcape notice, or may perhaps be able to ſacrifice his maſter, by way of an atonement for himſelf: but thoſe who ſupport him in thus expoſing his maſter, can have no great regard for their ſovereign; and, in ſuch an event, would certainly meet with the contempt and puniſhment they ſo highly deſerved.

For this reaſon, Sir, as I have a greater regard for the ſecurity of the royal family, than I have for the ſecurity of our preſent miniſters, or of any ſet of miniſters that ſhall ever get into the management of our publick affairs, I ſhall be for putting it out of the power of any future miniſter, to overturn our conſtitution, by getting a majority of placemen and penſioners into this houſe. This, I think, is now become abſolutely neceſſary, for preventing our being brought under one of the worſt ſorts of tyrannical governments that was ever contrived or eſtabliſhed. For this purpoſe, the bill now moved for is one of the moſt certain, and one of the moſt obvious methods that can be thought of. It can be attended with no inconvenience; it is impoſſible to ſhew ſo much as a plauſible reaſon againſt it; and therefore, if this motion be rejected, it muſt afford a moſt melancholy reflection to every one that underſtands our conſtitution, and has a regard for the liberties of his country.

M. Tullius Cicero *ſtood up next, and ſpoke to this effect.*

Mr Preſident,

I Was a little ſurpriſed to hear it ſaid, by the Hon. Gent. who ſpoke laſt, that this motion's being oppoſed by miniſters and placemen is a ſtrong argument in its favour. In my opinion, this is a ſort of begging the queſtion. Before we can ſuppoſe this to be an argument in favour of the motion, we muſt ſuppoſe that miniſters and placemen oppoſe it, not becauſe they think it wrong, but becauſe they are miniſters and placemen; which is the very queſtion now in debate. I do not believe, that ever any miniſter or placeman oppoſed or ſupported a queſtion in this houſe contrary to his private ſentiments, and only becauſe he was a miniſter or placeman. I am ſure, their conduct of late years has given us no room to think ſo; nor can we ever have room to think ſo, as long as none but Gentlemen of credit and honour are employed in the adminiſtration, or in any place of honour and profit under the crown. If mere upſtarts, or perſons of no fortune or credit in their country, were employed, and by illegal methods brought into this houſe, (for by fair means they could not,) there might be ſome room for making ſuch a ſuppoſition; and then there would be ſome cauſe for bringing in ſuch a bill as is now propoſed: but when I look round me, and conſider the particular circumſtances of thoſe Gentlemen now here, who have the honour to be at the ſame time in the ſervice of the crown, I muſt look upon the danger, now pretended to be ſo real and imminent, to be as chimerical a danger as the moſt luxurious fancy can invent.

I ſhall agree with the Hon. Gentlemen who ſeem ſo fond of this bill, that if the crown could gain an abſolute and uncontroulable power over all, or a majority of the elections in the kingdom, every parliament thus choſen by the power, would be under the direction of the crown; and in this caſe our conſtitution would be at an end. But this I think impoſſible. Whilſt the crown purſues right meaſures; whilſt none but Gentlemen of good credit and fortune are employed in the adminiſtration, or in any ſuperior poſt or office under the adminiſtration, the crown will certainly have a great influence, both in parliament and at elections: but this proceeds from the wiſdom and uprightneſs of its meaſures, and from the natural weight of thoſe that are employed; and it would certainly ceaſe, as ſoon as the crown began to purſue contrary meaſures; becauſe, we muſt ſuppoſe, the adminiſtration would then certainly be deſerted and oppoſed by all, or moſt Gentlemen of any fortune or credit in their country. This, I ſay,

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ve must suppose, unless we can suppose, that Gentlemen of fortune and credit in their country, would unite in measures for making a sacrifice of themselves, as well as their country; which is a supposition that cannot, I think, be made, nor pretended, by any man whose head is sound and heart sincere.

In all questions, Sir, which do not admit of demonstration, there must be a variety of opinions; and as questions of a political nature are less capable of demonstration than any other, it is natural to see a difference of sentiments in every country like this, where the people have not only a power to judge, but a liberty to talk and write against the measures pursued by the government. This is natural, and even necessary, in every country where the people are free; and as every man is fond of his own opinion, and fully convinced of his having reason on his side, he is apt to imagine, that those who differ from him, must be governed by some prejudice, or by some selfish consideration. From hence it is, that all those, who disapprove of the measures of the government, conclude, that the approbation of those that differ from them, proceeds from the influence of some lucrative post they are in possession or expectation of; and, on the other hand, those that approve of, and support the measures pursued by the government, are apt to conclude, that the opposition is entirely owing to party-prejudice, or to malice and resentment. For my part, I shall always endeavour to keep in the middle course, and to believe that both are in the wrong; and therefore I shall always be against any alteration in our constitution, when I think that the alteration proposed is founded upon one or other of these mistakes. I should be as much against restraining the liberties of the people, in order to prevent that influence which is supposed to proceed from party-prejudice, malice and resentment; as I shall be against restraining the power or free choice of the crown, in order to prevent that influence which is supposed to proceed from the disposal of places and preferments. There may, perhaps, I believe there always will be a little of each in the nation; but neither can ever be of any dangerous consequence to our constitution: on the contrary, they serve as a balance to each other; so that by removing either, without removing the other at the same time, the constitution will run a great risk of being overturned.

There are many causes, Sir, which naturally raise a party against the best and wisest administration. In this life, it is impossible for us to be compleatly happy. All men feel some wants, pressures or misfortunes; and very few are willing to impute them to their own folly, or to any mistake in their own conduct. To such men, the administration is in politicks, what the devil is in religion; it is the author of all their misdeeds, and the cause of all their sufferings. This naturally breeds in them a bad opinion of the administration; and then, of course, they not only condemn, but oppose all its measures. This must raise a great many enemies to the administration in every country; and their number will be considerably increased by those that are disappointed of the honours or preferments they expected, and justly, as they thought, deserved; as well as by those that wish for a change in the administration, for no other reason, but because they hope for a share in the next. In all countries, is is honourable to have a share in the government of one's country; in rich countries it is profitable as well as honourable; and as there are but a very few in any country that can have a share of the government, and still fewer that can have such a share as they think they deserve, there must be many candidates for every title of honour, or post of profit, that is to be disposed of. Of these candidates one only can be chosen; and all the rest will, of course, think they have had injustice done them; for few men are so modest as to think such a disappointment owing to their own want of merit, or to the superior merit of their rival: and from thence they will begin to

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to entertain a ſecret animoſity, nay, perhaps, they will declare an open enmity to thoſe at the head of the adminiſtration.

By theſe two ſorts of men, united together, there will always be a conſiderable party in every country, ready to condemn and vilify the wiſeſt meaſures that can be purſued by the adminiſtration; and, as in every free country there are different parties, as in this country there are at preſent, and, I believe, always will be different parties, the parties that are by their profeſſion and principles oppoſite to the party in power, will be ready to find fault with every thing done by the adminiſtration. In this country, I ſay, Sir, there are, and, I believe, always will be different parties: there are at preſent, and will be, as long as our preſent happy eſtabliſhment endures, three different parties in this kingdom; three Jacobites of one ſide, the republicans of the other, which I may call the two extremes; and the party for ſupporting our preſent happy eſtabliſhment, which may be juſtly called the proper mean between theſe two extremes.

Thus, Sir, we may ſee what a numerous party our adminiſtration muſt always have to ſtruggle with. All theſe ſorts of men, the diſcontented, the diſappointed, the Jacobites, and the republicans, will always be ready to condemn and oppoſe the meaſures of the adminiſtration, let them be never ſo wiſe, let them be never ſo juſt; and by their arguments they will often be able to prevail with ſome well-meaning and unthinking men, or at leaſt to ſtagger them in their opinions. With regard to parliaments, and the choice of members of parliament, our adminiſtration has no defence againſt this formidable union of parties, but by the wiſdom of their meaſures to engage moſt Gentlemen of credit and fortune in their intereſt. Whilſt the adminiſtration purſues right meaſures, ſuch Gentlemen will be ready to join with them; and by this means the adminiſtration will always have a prevailing influence, both in parliament and at elections: for when a majority of thoſe who have the beſt fortunes and greateſt intereſt in their reſpective countries are friends to the adminiſtration, it is not at all ſurpriſing, that an adminiſtration, by means of ſuch friends, ſhould have a prevailing influence at elections, as well as in parliament. But ſuch friends, or at leaſt a great number of ſuch, no adminiſtration can have, that purſues meaſures inconſiſtent with the good of the community in general.

I ſhall grant, Sir, that a title of honour, or a lucrative poſt or employment, may be of ſome ſervice in prevailing with a Gentleman to judge favourably of the government's meaſures, in all caſes where he is wavering in his opinion: but a bad government can never, by this way, gain many friends; even a good government can never gain near ſo many friends, as it will loſe by cauſeleſs diſcontents and juſt diſappointments: and if you ſhould take away from the crown the chief advantage it can reap by the diſpoſal of poſts and employments, not only a good adminiſtration, but even the crown itſelf may ſink under the weight of party-prejudice, ſupported by cauſeleſs diſcontent and juſt diſappointment; therefore, to ſupport the crown againſt the diſadvantages and oppoſition which the wiſeſt and beſt adminiſtration muſt always have to ſtruggle with, I think, you ought to leave it in the power of the crown to diſpoſe of all poſts and employments, in the ſame manner they have been hitherto, without any bad effect, diſpoſed of.

If you ſhould, by the bill now propoſed, exclude all Gentlemen in any place or office under the crown, from having ſeats in this houſe, you would, in my opinion, Sir, bring the conſtitution into much greater danger, than it can ever be brought into by any number of placemen and officers that can be in this houſe; for the crown would, in that caſe, be laid under a neceſſity to employ none but men of low fortunes and no intereſt; becauſe, if the places and offices under the crown ſhould be given to Gentlemen of character and diſtinction

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diſtinction in their reſpective countries, and they thereby excluded from having ſeats in this houſe, the chief friends of the government being thus rendered incapable of ſtanding candidates at elections, the diſaffected or diſcontented intereſt would prevail in every part of the kingdom; and, in that caſe, this houſe would ſoon be filled with ſuch as were declared enemies to the adminiſtration. To prevent this conſequence, the adminiſtration would, therefore, be obliged to employ none in any poſt or office under the crown, but ſuch as had neither fortune nor intereſt in their country, in order that their friends might be in a condition to get themſelves choſen members of this houſe; for, I believe, it will be granted, that no adminiſtration could ſupport itſelf, or anſwer any of the ends of government, if the majority of this houſe conſiſted of ſuch as were its declared enemies.

From hence, Sir, I think it is evident, that if this bill ſhould paſs into a law, the neceſſary conſequence would be, that, in a very ſhort time, our armies would be entirely commanded by officers of no fortune or intereſt in their country; our navy would be in the ſame condition; all poſts and offices under the crown would be filled with men of the ſame ſtamp: and in theſe circumſtances, if an ambitious, or a hot, paſſionate prince ſhould ſucceed to the throne, I muſt deſire Gentlemen to conſider, whether our conſtitution and liberties would not be in more danger, than they can ever be, as long as our army and fleet are commanded by officers, and all other conſiderable poſts under the crown filled with Gentlemen, of ſuch fortune and intereſt in their reſpective countries, as to be able to get themſelves choſen members of this houſe. It has been generally admitted in this debate, that Gentlemen of no fortunes will always be more ready to ſecond the ambitious deſigns of a court, than Gentlemen who have good fortunes of their own, the ſecurity of which muſt depend upon the preſervation of our conſtitution; and, for this very reaſon, an ambitious or headſtrong prince can never have any great affection for parliaments or ſenates conſtituted as thoſe in this kingdom are. If the prince could bring whom he pleaſed, and as many as he pleaſed into parliament; and expel or turn out whom he pleaſed, as the Roman Emperors did with regard to their ſenates; the moſt ambitious and arbitrary prince would have no great occaſion to grow weary of parliaments: but as the King can bring no member into this houſe, nor expel any one; as no Gentleman can come into this houſe but by the free choice of his country, it muſt always conſiſt of Gentlemen of character and fortune; and, conſequently, will always be a reſtraint which an ambitious prince will always be glad to get rid of. Therefore we have more reaſon to apprehend its being in the power of a prince to govern without a parliament, than its being in his power to govern or direct the parliament: and, I am ſure, when our armies and fleets are commanded by officers, and all other poſts filled with Gentlemen of no fortunes, it will be more eaſy for a prince to govern without a parliament, than it ever can be, as long as many of thoſe officers and Gentlemen are members of this houſe.

Even the Gentlemen who have ſpoke in favour of this bill, are ſo ſenſible of the difficulty there will always be in obtaining the conſent of Gentlemen of character and fortune, to any thing that may look like an encroachment upon our conſtitution, that they ſeem to think, we are in no danger from the number of placemen and officers in this houſe, unleſs Gentlemen of no character or fortune be brought here by the intereſt of the government, merely on account of their having places or offices under the crown; and, in order to magnify this danger, we have been told, that moſt of the little boroughs upon the coaſt, are entirely under the direction of the government with regard to their elections, and that the little inland boroughs would have been in the ſame condition, if the late *exciſe-ſcheme* had paſſed into a law. Sir, I find Gentlemen will not, upon this occaſion, make that diſtinction, which, I think,

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think, is a very obvious one, between the circumſtances of our government, when none but Gentlemen of good families and fortunes are employed in its ſervice, and the circumſtances it would be in, if few or no ſuch Gentlemen would accept of being employ'd; which will always be the caſe, when it is purſuing meaſures that ſeem to be of dangerous conſequence to the conſtitution, or inconſiſtent with the publick good. In the former caſe, many of thoſe employed in the government's ſervice will be returned for inland as well as coaſt boroughs, not becauſe they are in the government's ſervice, but becauſe they have a great natural intereſt in their reſpective countries. In the latter caſe, as all thoſe Gentlemen that had any natural intereſt would be againſt the government, it would be impoſſible for the government to get many of its low tools choſen, either for our boroughs upon the coaſt, or for our inland boroughs. In this caſe, if the *exciſe-ſcheme* had paſſed into a law, it would have made no difference: for, as long as our elections are free, thoſe that have the beſt intereſt will always be choſen; and as the government's intereſt muſt always depend upon the intereſt of thoſe that are employed in its ſervice, no exciſe-ſcheme, nor any ſuch ſcheme can give an intereſt to a government that has no Gentlemen of intereſt in its ſervice. Therefore, as long as our elections are free, there is not the leaſt danger that any great number of Gentlemen of no character or fortune can ever be brought into this houſe; and the freedom of our elections is already as fully ſecured as law can ſecure it.

I hope, Sir, I have now fully ſhewn, that our conſtitution and liberties can be in no danger from any number of placemen or officers in this houſe, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that a great number of Gentlemen of family, fortune, character and intereſt in their country, would chuſe to make a ſacrifice of themſelves, their poſterity, and their country, rather than riſk loſing the place or office they poſſeſs under the crown. This is a ſuppoſition, which, I think, there never can be any ground for. If there were; if it were poſſible to ſuppoſe ſuch a general and abandoned venality among the better ſort of people of this kingdom, the bill would either have no effect, or a very bad one. Can we ſuppoſe that ſuch venal and abandoned men would ſerve their country in parliament for nothing? They would either ſet up a traffick with the crown for private penſions to themſelves, or poſts and preferments to their truſtees or relations, which no laws nor oaths could diſcover or prevent: or otherwiſe they would form themſelves into a party for overturning the adminiſtration; and thus one adminiſtration would be overturned after another, till at laſt the country would become a prey to ſome foreign power, or until ſome one adminiſtration, more bold and artful than the former, ſhould fall upon a method to eſtabliſh themſelves in arbitrary power. There is, therefore, no occaſion for this bill; or, if there is, it would either have no effect, or a very bad one: and this, I think, is a ſufficient reaſon for my being againſt bringing it in.

The next ſpeech was made by M. Furius Camillus, *in ſubſtance thus.*

Mr Preſident,

THE Hon. Gent. who ſpoke laſt has told us, that queſtions in politicks admit of no demonſtration. In this I am entirely of his opinion; and, I think, this opinion was never more ſtrongly confirmed, than by the debate of this day. There never was a queſtion in this houſe, that could be brought nearer to a demonſtration, than the queſtion now before us; and yet, I find, it is not poſſible to convince thoſe that may be affected by its being agreed to. It has been hitherto reckoned a maxim in law, which I never before heard diſputed, That parties ought not to be judges; but now I find this maxim denied: and, indeed, it muſt be ſo, by every Gentleman that ſays our conſtitution can never ſuffer by a majority of placemen in this houſe; for that placemen and officers of all kinds muſt be parties concerned

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erned in many cases, which we, as members of this house, must judge of, so clear, that I should have been named to have given you the trouble of proving it, if I had not heard the motion now before you so warmly opposed.

Upon this occasion, Sir, I must observe, that all free governments must consist of two distinct powers; the legislative, and the executive; the last of which is always subordinate, and subjected to the review of the first. The very essence of a free government consists, among other things, in this, that all those who are intrusted with the executive power, shall be accountable for their conduct to the legislative power, and may be punished by the legislative power, which always consists in some sort of an assembly of the people, in case it be found that they have neglected or transgressed their duty in the execution of their office: for what benefit could the people reap from their having the power of making their own laws, if those who are intrusted with the executive power of the society, might, without fear or controul, betray or neglect the publick affairs of the society, or injure and oppress individuals, either by neglecting to execute the laws, or by executing them in a different manner from what was intended, or by pretending to act according to law, without having any law for their authority?

This, I say, Sir, is essential to every free government; and, accordingly, we have this regulation established by our frame of government in the most perfect manner. Those who are intrusted with the executive power are all, or most of them, named by the King; but then every one of them, from the highest to the lowest, is accountable to, and may be punished by the two houses of parliament; and it is particularly the business of this house, which is the grand inquest of the nation, to enquire into their conduct, and to impeach those we find guilty of any neglect or misdemeanour in the exercise of that part of the executive power which is intrusted to them by the crown. Therefore it is our duty to make frequent enquiries into the conduct of every minister, officer and placeman appointed by the crown; and upon all such enquiries, we are to examine strictly into their behaviour, and judge impartially of their conduct. From hence it appears, that in all such enquiries, and in all questions relating to them, the members of this house, as such, are judges of the conduct and behaviour of every placeman, officer or minister employed by the crown in the executive part of our government; and, consequently, every placeman, officer and minister, that has a seat in this assembly, must be both judge and party in many cases that ought to be brought before us.

It signifies nothing to say, Sir, that no officer can be a party concerned in the conduct of another officer; and that an officer who happens to be a member of this house, must retire, as soon as any question arises relating to his own conduct. For as there are many and great connexions between different offices, and between officers of different offices, which may at first view appear entirely distinct, it is impossible so much as to guess, when an enquiry, or any leading question to an enquiry, into the conduct of one office or officer is moved for; I say, it is impossible to guess what other officers may, upon the event of a strict enquiry, appear to have been confederates with him in his crimes. Nay, even those officers that never had any dealings with him, cannot know but that a close enquiry into one office, may bring to light, as it often does, some male-practices of other offices, in which they themselves have a concern: and therefore, every officer in this house will think himself a party concerned, in every enquiry that can be set on foot; and will, consequently, endeavour to prevent or defeat every such enquiry. To this I must add, that in all degrees and stations in life, we find, that men of the same trade, employment or profession, especially where their business does not

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interfere, conceive an affection for one another, and are therefore apt to judge very partially in one another's favour: from whence it must be concluded, that in every such enquiry, and every question that arises relating to any such, all ministers, placemen and officers, are parties concerned, not only in interest, but affection; and, consequently, all those who have seats in this house, must, in all such cases, be both judges and parties; which is directly contrary to the established maxim I have mentioned.

Whether it be owing to the great number of placemen and officers we have had for many years in this house, or whether it be owing to the integrity of those who have of late years been concerned in the executive part of our government, I do not know; but I must observe, that parliamentary enquiries into the management of offices, and conduct of officers appointed by the crown, have of late years been very rare; and yet, in order to keep all such officers to their good behaviour, I must be of opinion, that such enquiries ought to be frequently set on foot, and strictly carried on, tho' no direct complaint has been made against any one particular officer; for a publick rumour is a sufficient ground for a parliamentary enquiry, and no man can say, that such grounds have been wanting. But whatever may be the cause of our having lately had so few parliamentary enquiries, I will be bold to prophesy, that if there should ever be a majority of placemen and officers in this house, we shall never afterwards have any more such enquires, unless they be such as are set up at the instigation, and by the contrivance of ministers, in order to gain a little popularity, by throwing a scape-goat among the people. And if this should ever come to be our case, I am sure no man could with justice say, that we lived under a free government, or that our constitution remained entire.

Thus, I think, Sir, the question now before us is brought as near a demonstration as any such question can possibly be. As members of this house, we are to enquire into, and judge of the conduct of ministers, officers and placemen, intrusted by the crown with the executive power of our government; a ministers, officers and placemen, named by the crown, we are the persons whose conduct is to be enquired into: is it not evident then, that these two characters are incompatible, unless we say, that parties may be judges? Sir, it is so evident, that I should be for excluding every minister, officer and placeman, from having a seat in this house, were it not for the necessity we are under of having some of the chief amongst us, in order to give us proper information with respect to the great offices they are at the head of. If this question admits of a variety of opinions, I am sure every question in politicks must; and therefore, great care should be taken, that those who are to judge of such questions, shall not be under the least bias: for the weight and efficacy of the bias will always increase, in proportion to the doubtfulness of the question; which is a new argument against admitting placemen and officers into this house.

We have been told, Sir, that it is impossible to suppose, that Gentlemen of great fortune and interest in the country, will sacrifice the liberties of their country for the sake of a place they enjoy or expect. Sir, it is so far from being impossible to suppose this, that it is a common case. It has always been the case in every country where the liberties of the people have been sacrificed. The liberties of no country can be sacrificed, without the concurrence of many Gentlemen of family, fortune and interest, and a criminal indolence or passivity in the rest. Some are led, contrary to the light of their own understandings, by their avarice, vanity, luxury or extravagance; others are deceived by specious pretences, and led into such measures, the certain, tho' not the plain and direct consequences of which, are slavery and arbitrary power. With the first sort of men, an honourable and profitable place affords them an immediate satisfaction

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faction for their avarice, or vanity, or an immediate ſupply for their luxury or extravagance, which they prefer to all other conſiderations. With the ſecond ſort of men, an honourable and profitable place gives them a bias to that ſide of the queſtion upon which their place depends, and prevents their ſeeing through the ſpecious pretences that are made uſe of for ſupporting that ſide of the queſtion. And thus, between theſe two ſorts of men, the liberties of any country may probably be given up, if they are committed to the keeping of thoſe that have honourable and profitable places, which depend upon their making the ſurrender.

Let us conſider, Sir, that even liberty itſelf is but a queſtion in politicks. Whether a limited or an abſolute monarchy be the beſt ſort of government? is but a queſtion in politicks; and therefore, as the Hon. Gent. has ſaid, can admit of no demonſtration. For this reaſon, even thoſe that are Gentlemen of fortune and intereſt in their country, if they be in the leaſt governed by avarice, vanity, luxury or extravagance, may, by an honourable and profitable employment, be induced not only to ſay and vote, but even to think, that an abſolute monarchy is the beſt ſort of government, and that they do a ſignal ſervice to their country, by ſacrificing its liberties. Nay, this very doctrine has of late been ſupported in private converſation, even in this country, and by Gentlemen of very great diſtinction. How natural then is it to ſuppoſe, that in political queſtions, where our liberties are not directly and immediately, but indirectly and conſequentially concerned, a Gentleman of diſtinction may be induced, by an honourable and profitable employment, to approve of, or give his aſſent to the wrong ſide of the queſtion? How natural is it to ſuppoſe, that the members of this houſe may, by ſuch means, be induced to grant ſuch revenues, ſuch numbers of troops, and ſuch powers and prerogatives to the crown, as may for ever after put it out of the power of parliament to controul any of the King's meaſures, or to puniſh any of his officers, unleſs they be ſuch as he may be pleaſed to throw out of his protection? And, in this caſe, whatever forms of liberty we might have, I am ſure it would be ridiculous to ſay we had any of the ſubſtance remaining.

Thus, Sir, I think, it is evident, almoſt to a demonſtration, that our conſtitution and liberties not only may, but muſt be deſtroyed, unleſs we ſhut the doors of this houſe againſt moſt placemen and officers, as we have already done againſt all penſioners; and as this is ſo evident, no objection that can be invented, no danger, no terror, we can be frightened with, ſhall prevent me from exerting all the power I have for its being done. Slavery to me is the higheſt of all terrors, and therefore I ſhall be for guarding againſt it at the riſk of any other terror that can be imagined. But I muſt ſay, that in this long debate, I have not heard one plauſible objection made againſt this excluſion. To tell us, that a juſt and wiſe adminiſtration can have no friends of good fortune and intereſt in their ſeveral countries, but ſuch as have places or offices under the crown, is ſomething very ſurpriſing. If this were the caſe, I am ſure it muſt be granted, that the places and offices under the crown are now become infinitely too numerous. But this, Sir, is not, nor ever can be the caſe. There are now in every county in England, one with another, 2 or 300 Gentlemen of family, fortune and intereſt in their ſeveral countries, who have no places nor offices under the crown, and who, under a juſt and wiſe adminiſtration, would be firm friends to it, and would be able to ſupport it, in a legal way, againſt all the Jacobites, republicans and diſcontented, that could in ſuch a caſe be within the kingdom: and among ſuch a number, could not the adminiſtration find one or two to ſtand as candidates upon their intereſt at every election within the county? They certainly might; and their candidates would have this advantage, that they would have the votes and intereſt of all thoſe Gentlemen

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tlemen of fortune within the county who had places or offices under the crown, and could not therefore themſelves ſtand as candidates at any election. Therefore, ſhould this bill paſs into a law, no future adminiſtration would be under the neceſſity of employing none but men of low or deſperate fortunes in any place or office under the crown; and, I am ſure, no juſt or wiſe adminiſtration will ever chuſe it.

It has been ſaid, Sir, that we ought not to make any alteration in our conſtitution without an apparent neceſſity; and that the alteration propoſed by this bill, cannot appear neceſſary, unleſs we ſuppoſe ſuch a venal and abandoned ſpirit to prevail in the nation, that moſt Gentlemen of family and fortune amongſt us, would be ready to ſacrifice the liberties of their country, rather than riſk loſing a good poſt or employment under the crown. Sir, it is to prevent the growth of ſuch a venal and abandoned ſpirit, that this bill is intended. When the crown had but few lucrative poſts to beſtow, the moſt abandon'd adminiſtration could not contribute much to the growth of this ſpirit; but the crown has now ſuch a number of lucrative poſts to beſtow, that if theſe poſts ſhould be applied to the purchaſe of a Gentleman's vote in this houſe, or his intereſt at elections, ſuch a ſpirit would ſoon prevail, and at laſt become univerſal. It would begin in this houſe; it would grow by example; one Gentleman's being corrupted, would not only be an example, but it would give countenance to a ſecond; he to a third, and ſo forth, till at laſt it would ſpread thro' the majority of this houſe. From this houſe it would deſcend to elections; for he that ſells, will purchaſe, if he can otherwiſe have nothing to ſell. Begin, Sir, at the fountain; clear that from corruption, and the ſtream will ſoon run clear: for if members cannot ſell votes in parliament, they will never or very ſeldom buy that commodity at elections. Their vanity may ſometimes prompt them to do ſo; but this can happen but ſeldom, and can never have any great effect.

I ſhall not ſay, Sir, that placemen have ever approved or oppoſed queſtions in this houſe, becauſe they were placemen, and for no other reaſon; but this I will ſay, that the majority of the nation thinks they have often done ſo: and I muſt obſerve, that ever ſince I ſat in parliament, our placemen have generally been of the ſame ſide with our miniſters. If any of them dropt by chance into the other ſide of the queſtion, they have of late years ſoon ceaſed to be placemen. Nay, even in this houſe, we have heard it delivered as a miniſterial maxim, That no man ought to be allowed to keep his place under the crown, if he follows the directions of his conſcience, and votes againſt any of the miniſter's meaſures or jobs in parliament. This makes me think the bill the more neceſſary: the whole nation thinks ſo; and if this queſtion ſhould paſs in the negative, the whole nation will think the bill more neceſſary than they ever thought it before. They will think it abſolutely neceſſary to have ſuch a bill, but now not poſſible to obtain it; which will of courſe raiſe ſuch a diſcontent, or perhaps diſaffection, in the nation, as may be of dangerous conſequence to the preſent eſtabliſhment.

It is really, Sir, moſt aſtoniſhing to hear it ſaid, that the adminiſtration's intereſt in the ſeveral little boroughs upon our coaſt, depends upon the natural intereſt of thoſe that have places under the crown. This, I ſay, is moſt aſtoniſhing, conſidering how notoriouſly it is known to be otherwiſe. I ſhall grant, that if the intereſt made in the little boroughs by cuſtom-houſe-officers, exciſemen, officers of dock-yards, and ſuch like Gentlemen, be a natural intereſt, a clerk of the treaſury or admiralty may be ſaid to have a great natural intereſt in his borough; but as this intereſt depends upon his poſt, and not upon his family or fortune, I cannot call it a natural intereſt. Do not we know, Sir, that many of our little boroughs are already become ſo venal, ſo publickly venal, that their brokers, or rather their pimps, deal as openly for

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the sale of them, as bawds do for e sale of a prostitute? This infa-ous traffick I am for putting an end ; and as the bill now proposed will e of great service for this purpose, hall be not only for bringing it in, it for having it passed into a law.

[*This Journal to be continued.*]

C. *Sulpicius*, in the character of dward Southwell, Esq;

The RETREAT.

– Hæret lateri lethalis arundo. Virg.

Hail flow'ry lawns, and verdant hills,
And waving woods, and smiling vales,
And bleating flocks, and murm'ring rills,
And warbling birds, and whisp'ring gales!
Hail pendent cliffs, and vaulted cells,
Where peace and sweet contentment dwells!

Let others court the pride of state,
And barter happiness for show;
To fools they scorn, and knaves they hate
With servile expectation bow:
I range at ease this blest retreat,
To be content is to be great.

Let schoolmen vain the mazes trace
Of ev'ry philosophic art;
Tir'd with the wild fantastic chace,
Perplex the head, not mend the heart:
I view myself with humble eyes,
To be content is to be wise.

Let fools expect from flatt'ry's voice
The pleasing balm of life to find;
Or place their bliss in guilty joys,
More fickle, fleeting than the wind:
I court the self-approving guest,
To be content, is to be blest.

Yet ah! why beats my flutt'ring heart?
Why flows the torrent from my eye?
What means this irritating smart?
These trembling limbs, this rising sigh?
Ah me! too well the cause I guess,
Farewell content! hail, soft distress!

Intruding pow'r! ordain'd alone
To rob me of my peaceful hours;
Nor driv'd by splendour from the throne,
Nor yet escap'd in rural bow'rs;
Oh! bring my fair-one to her swain,
And then I'll be content again.

WIT and CONSTANCY: or, The Art to be happy in LOVE.

Found among the late celebrated Mr *Addison*'s papers, and supposed to be a compliment on his marriage with the Countess of *Warwick*.

Exsolvit promissa Venus.———
Quare, ego quæ dico non fallax, accipe, Vates,
Quodque Deus vero Cynthius ore ferat!
TIBULL.

To a LADY.

Since from my muse Florelia *claims a lay,*
Muse, the claim'd tribute to Florelia *pay.*
Fearless, when she commands, I catch the sound,
And slight the dangers of poetic *ground.*
The secret cause I hasten to explore,
And truths reveal, by none reveal'd before:
How wit should never sicken with despair,
But would, if constant, gain at last the fair.
While thus I rove amid th' Aonian *throng,*
Attend, my charmer, *and adorn my song.*
Still flow the verse, like thy own thoughts, serene,
Sweet, as thy looks, and graceful, as thy mien.
Let thy bright eyes inspire each happy line,
And all thy beauties in my numbers shine.

In Cyprus, *o'er the foamless main was seen,*
Convey'd by Zephyrs, *Beauty's infant Queen.*
Thither first wafted in her pearly shell,
There still the Goddess most delights to dwell.
It chanc'd, that once, to shun the sultry day,
High on the Paphian *mount embow'r'd she lay.*
Her nymphs, in beauteous order rank'd around,
All strove to please, and all some office found.
These braid, while others with a fruitless care,
Fix various gems amid the braided hair.
No various gems, tho' bright, can there surprize;
How dull the brilliant, *when 'tis near such eyes!*
The busy Graces *too their fondness show,*
And streams of nectar lavishly bestow.
The fanning Loves *their little wings display,*
And to their mother the cool breeze convey.
Here sparkled rosy Youth *profusely dress'd,*
The cloudless brow the joyous mind confess'd;
Round her Persuasion *languishingly clung,*
And Harmony *thrill'd, melting from her tongue:*
While next were seen, with their enchanting pow'rs,
Array'd in whitest robes, the smiling Hours.
Cupid *was only absent from the throng,*
Flown off in secret to revenge his wrong.
Enrag'd at Phœbus, *he resolved to show*
He bore, tho' small, yet an unerring bow.
He sped an arrow, and the Delian *found*
That arrow deeper, than his own, could wound.

At

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At length bright Venus *left her soft repose,*
And on the mount a walk for pleasure chose.
Shaded she walk'd, for sudden myrtles sprung,
And o'er her head in moving arches hung.
Her purple robe flow'd graceful on the ground,
And golden sandals to her feet were bound.
Her locks part curl'd before, while part behind
With lovely error wanton'd in the wind.
Around, sweet shrubs, and flow'rs of various
Cassia, *and* roses, *and* carnations *grew.* [*hue,*
Such fragrancies the ravish'd senses fill,
Arabia *seems all crowded in one hill.*
The rising flow'rs the Goddess smil'd to see,
There rose not yet her sad Anemoné;
For yet Adonis *liv'd: her ev'ry thought*
Fix'd on Adonis, *him alone she sought.*
For him her wond'rous cestus *she put on,*
Nor wore the needless charm, if he was gone.
For him in pensive silence now she stands,
And rouls her eyes around the Cyprian *lands:*
O'er meads, and fields, and furzy lands they
Till her Adonis *was descry'd at last.* [*past,*
His weary limbs nigh a cool fountain spread,
Beneath a poplar, *on a mossy bed,*
Supine he slept, and by him bleeding lay
A beamy stag, the triumph of the day.
This Venus *saw, and could no more refrain*
From words; and, sighing, thus disclos'd her pain.

Ah! foolish boy! who there canst chuse to
And not to slumber on this panting breast. [*rest,*
Have grassy banks, or rocky pillows charms,
More soft, more tempting, than these circling
Do I in hounds my glorious rivals meet? [*arms?*
Kiss they as melting, or breathe they as sweet?
O! shame to Venus! *yet, where-e'er I turn,*
All nature owns me, and conspires to burn.
At my approach, wild beasts forget to roar,
And humbly couch, who rampant rag'd before.
Lions and tigers, gentle as my doves,
Haste to the coverts, and pursue their loves.
Lost is my pow'r on thee, fair, cruel boy!
Scornful of love, or tasteless of the joy.
Thou seek'st the woods, ere from Aurora's *eyes*
The ruddy flame has yet blush'd o'er the skies;
Nor cease thy savage sports, till Titan's *beams*
Declining, languish in Hesperian *streams.*
Ev'n while thou sleep'st, in my fond arms embrac'd,
The boar is hunted, or the stag is chac'd.
My form could never bend thy stubborn heart,
Did not Persuasion *lend her soft'ning art.*
Transporting thought! but to her tongue I know,
Not to my beauties, I those transports owe.

The sweetly mournful theme had been pursu'd,
But, near advancing, she Apollo *view'd.*
On his right arm a silver bow was slung,
And on his left an iv'ry harp, unstrung.
A golden mantle 'round his limbs he wore,
And at his back a sounding quiver bore.
A laurel crown inclos'd his youthful head;
But o'er his face a gloomy care was spread.
Then thus began th' immortal Queen of Love:
Hail! God of Verse! hail! fair increase of Jove!
Now by thy presence may my Cyprus *boast*
Herself as happy as the Delian *coast.* [*throne!*
Say, for what cause was this kind visit
Why is thy brow dishonour'd with a frown?
Where sprung that leafy wreath, that wond'rous green?
For such was never in my garden seen.
Goddess! (Latona's *progeny reply'd*) [*pride!*
Of heav'n, and earth, and seas delightful
Suppliant to thee I will reveal my grief,
Thou, who can'st only bring, oh bring relief!
A melancholy tale of love shall show, [*brow.*
Whence this new crown, and this unusual
As from my Cynthian *rites, with pleasing thought,*
Parnassus, *and the sacred choir I sought,*
A-while in air my hovering pinions play'd,
And all the Grecian *regions I survey'd.*
Arcadia's *winding vales, and lofty woods,*
Her Ladon *calm,* Heliссos' *rapid floods,*
Fix'd long my eyes: there flush'd with sylvan chace
I spy'd a nymph, too bright for mortal race.
Daphne *her name, from* [a] Ladon *sprung,*
who shows
The yellow bottom, as he crystal flows.
Scarce could my sister with such looks compare,
Such looks were only, than thy own, less fair.
My throbbing heart swift admiration fir'd,
But the coy virgin was in vain admir'd.
True, with success my rival I betray'd,
And show'd [b] Leucippus *in a figur'd maid.*
I fear'd the quick completion of his joy,
For now a girl was thought the beardless boy.
His bashful looks the fraud securely kept,
And nigh my Daphne, *unobserv'd, he slept,*
Till with her nymphs she sought the cooling streams,
Refreshment grateful from my scorching beams.

[a] Pausanias de Arcad. & Philostratus, l. 1.
[b] Pausan. l. 8.

The

The royal youth by her command undreſt,
And the falſe huntreſs was too plain conſeſt.
Her nymphs, enraged, to vengeance mov'd not ſlow;
Each ſtrick'd; but, ſhrieking, bent a faithful bow.
I ſaw my almoſt happy rival bleed,
The darts directed, and improv'd their ſpeed.
Yet what avail'd it, that he thus was gone,
If ſtill I liv'd deſpairing, when alone?
Leucippus *ruin'd could ſmall pleaſure bring,*
Unleſs Apollo's *triumph thence might ſpring.*
Me with diſdain the fair Arcadian *view'd,*
And ſwifter fled, when ſwifter I purſu'd.
To touch her breaſt the well try'd harp I ſtrung,
And her ſweet form in as ſweet numbers ſung.
To numbers would not the proud nymph ſubmit;
I laviſh'd heav'nly ſtores of fruitleſs wit.
At laſt ſhe fainted in the tedious chace,
And mine I thought her, ſeiz'd in my embrace:
But chang'd ſhe vaniſh'd by her own decree;
My arms for Daphne *claſp'd a verdant tree.*
Her boughs for ever ſhall by me be worn,
And ſtill the youth, whom I inſpire, adorn.
But ah! what youth will dare, tho' I inſpire,
To ſtrike the fatal, unſucceſsful lyre?
Who can preſumptuous hope the fair to move,
When his own Phœbus *was deſpis'd in love?*
Pierian *gardens will neglected grow,*
And Helicon *forget in verſe to flow.*
But thou, propitious Goddeſs, lend thy aid!
Teach Harmony *to melt th' unliſt'ning maid.*
Where-e'er thy blooming daughters lead the way,
My tuneful ſons with pleaſure ſhall obey.
Oh! let them thy all-pow'rful influence find,
And wit *for ever meet with* beauty *kind!*
I ſee thy miſtreſs in that fadeleſs green,
And thy loſt pity, ſaid th' Idalian Queen.
Nor ſhould Apollo *e'er from* Venus *want*
That aid, which Venus *could with ſafety grant.*
But ſure, to rove is thy delightful care,
To flutter round, and ſigh from fair to fair.
Couldſt thou not once in other nymphs allow
As num'rous charms, as in thy Daphne *now?*
Look'd young [c] Bolina *to thy early ſight*
With face leſs lovely, or with eyes leſs bright?
Nor her thy moſt melodious ſtrains could pleaſe;
She fled, and plung'd into my parent ſeas.
A future city ſhall to ages tell,
Nam'd from Bolina, *where* Bolina *fell.*
Next, Perſia *kindl'd raptures in thy breaſt;*
Then Clytie's *faultleſs ſhape thy ſoul poſſeſt:*
Nor long with Clytie *was thy paſſion fed,*
But wildly wander'd to Leucothoe's *bed.*
More might be number'd, nor yet durſt I
In thee, a God, variety of flame. [blame
But ſhould thy ſons on earth example take,
And idols once, as loveleſs things, forſake;
Burn with a faithleſs, looſe, fantaſtic fire,
And ſafely for a hundred nymphs expire;
Were then the mighty boon, thou aſk'ſt, convey'd,
Did they but tempt, ſoon yields the tempted maid.
To them what pow'r unbounded would belong,
To ſcatter ruin 'round each ſparkling throng?
Already vaſt their energy is felt, [melt.
And frozen virgins, warm'd by verſe, can
I know the female pride; a flatt'ring ſtrain
May ſometimes loſe, but oftner far will gain.
Love with deluſive haſte, by muſic's art,
Steals unperceiv'd on a fond youthful heart.
My own weak ſex forbids me to comply,
And part I grant thy ſuit, and part deny.
'Tis then decreed, if ſons of thine appear,
In ſhort-breath'd vows, and raptur'd thoughts ſincere,
Who, ſpite of faſhion, dare one flame purſue,
Unweary'd, and inviolably true;
Perſuaſion *ſuch ſhall faithfully attend,*
Each word, each action, and each look befriend:
The fair at laſt ſhall Love's *commands obey,*
And all the lover's pangs with bliſs o'erpay.
So ſpoke the Goddeſs, and the God no more
Reply'd, but, ſmiling, ſought the Delian *ſhore.*
Hence, hence, ye bards! who ſtill with vary'd pain
Die o'er and o'er in many a mournful ſtrain;
Who Julia's *eyes, this hour, to ſtars compare;*
The next, Almira *has a killing air!*
Your changing folly, not your love is ſhown,
For to love truly, is to love but one.
Pleas'd was Britannia *lately to behold*
Confirm'd, what Venus *had ordain'd of old.*
Apollo's *happieſt fav'rite ſon was own'd,*
And heav'nly wit *with heav'nly* beauty *crown'd.*
Nor let the man, whoſe vaſt extended mind
Is for his country's ev'ry good deſign'd,
The muſe's laurel careleſly diſclaim,
Nor bluſh the patriot at the poet's fame:
Think not that fame inglorious, which to gain,
Conſuls and ſcepter'd Cæſars ſtrove in vain.
All own your merit to thoſe bleſsful arms,
Which can have only, than your muſe, more charms.

[c] Pauſanias de Achaicis, l. 7.

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HORACE, book 3. ode 2. imitated.

LEarn, Britons, *learn your sons to bear*
In vigorous youth such hardy toil,
They need not tremble at the war,
But at the glorious dangers smile.
O! let no more luxurious arts
The passions of their mind controul;
Make freedom only charm their hearts,
And love of Britain *fire their soul.*
Inur'd to strength, inspir'd by fame,
Dreadful they shall to battle go;
Their actions shall their race proclaim,
As they deal vengeance on their foe.
The Gallic *troops shall dread to meet*
Again such Britons *in the field;*
Or if such mann the British *fleet,*
The proud Iberians *soon shall yield.*
O! let your youth be early taught
To bear or heat, or chilly cold,
That, to whatever climate brought,
They still may nervous be, and bold.
Such a young Briton *from the walls*
Some Spanish *dame shall trembling see,*
Lest, as the foe before him falls,
Among the slain her son may be.
The maiden in despair shall say,
Ah! may not the fond youth I prize,
Rouzing that lion, fall his prey;
For if he meets his arm, he dies.
To die, if in our country's cause,
The best and noblest honour gives;
The coward, shunning such applause,
Flying, his shameful fate receives.
Virtue, untaught to bear disgrace,
Is by untainted honour known,
Which neither takes or quits the place
As crowds or Kings may smile or frown.
True virtue will unbar the sky
To those who might not fall in war;
She leads their tow'ring soul on high,
And leaves the base beneath her far.
Most just rewards does heav'n decree,
For who religious paths have trode;
Nor shall the man converse with me,
Who dares to make his jest on GOD.
'Tis true, when angry heaven deals
On human race th' avenging blow,
With the bad man the virtuous feels
His share of universal woe.
But then the man of guilty mind
Must certain punishment endure,
Vengeance, tho' slow, still stalks behind,
Nor leaves him 'till it strikes him sure.

To Miss F——y E——se.

OH lovely maid! thy form doth much excel
These charming nymphs that in the waters dwell;
Who when they rais'd their heads above the stream,
The Gods turn'd lovers, as the poets dream.
Useless are all these fables which did please,
Here's modern beauty, far exceeding these.
When I beheld thee in thy younger days,
And saw, with wond'ring eyes, thy early rays
Shoot like the morning sun, but soft and low,
To clear the mists, that with the night did grow;
Your rising first dispell'd each thought away
That in the least inclin'd to go astray;
As you advanc'd, your beams grew more intense,
From beauty heighten'd, and a mind of sense;
Darting they came upon me as you went
Thro' all the steps, by mirth and music sent:
Mark'd from the crowd, I captive soon was made,
Doom'd to adore a face that ne'er should fade;
(So thro' the glass the sun his rays collects,
Draws to a point, to shew his great effects;)
Then on your conquest threw a smiling glance,
And trac'd the windings of the mazy dance.
Unmov'd you seem'd, tho' all around admir'd
Your beauteous shape, that every bosom fir'd;
Not clouded o'er with the vain pomp of dress,
That strives to hide the faults it does express;
But, in the simplest robes, you brightly shine,
Like the pure gem that sparkles in the mine:
Your chearful looks bespeak a temper mild,
And thoughts as harmless as a tender child;
These coral lips, and brilliant eyes appear,
As lamps to shew your other beauties clear;
Your comely tresses carelessly do stray,
With ev'ry little breeze, a different way.
Absent from thee, no joys in life I know,
My former pleasures, now seem empty show.
For thee, forgetting self, my friends, my ——,
I sung thy praises at the midnight hour;
"Relentless maid! like heaven, mercy have,
"And lay me in thy bosom, or a grave."

Edin. Aug. 21.

On the death of MARIA's favourite Goldfinch.

WIth tears, ye nymphs, your beauteous Cloris fill;
With tears, ye swains, increase the purling rill;
Poor Fanny's *dead, that charm'd bright* Maria's *ears;*
Ye lovers weep, ye maids prepare your tears.
No more thy panting breast, thy swelling throat
Shall make us die in raptures at each note;
No more thy quiv'ring lips, thy tuneful tongue
Shall melt in airs that Palma *might have sung:*

Since

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are thy notes, that pleas'd the world before,
dy soft-warbling voice must charm no more.
eat boots thee now, that Maria's *lavish praise*
d thy gliding hours, and calm'd thy days?
now avails thy bright, thy golden dye,
nder tap'ring shape, or piercing eye?
uel tyrant will alike destroy
looming virgin, or the darling boy:
Maria's *tears cannot his hand detain;*
Maria *fails, sure all must plead in vain.*
ah! what changes human joys attend!
rtune's giddy wheel our hopes depend.
, who late did bless her smiling hours,
chides, quite sunk in grief, the heavenly powers:
Cav'rite curls no longer keep their place,
even the sacrilegious hand attacks the lace:
Mary *falls a sacrifice to grief,*
uen Queen Mary *will not bring relief;*
hecatombs of lappet-douds will ne'er
the grim monarch to suspend his spear.
if thy tears incessant still will flow,
brood on thy unhappy source of woe,
, Fan *shall turn, if what* Pythag'ras *told,*
uls enlivening other forms, does hold,
nymph, whom rosy-dimpl'd cheeks adorn,
Kings descended, or in cottage born,
n dying lovers will in vain pursue,
all must gaze at, as I gaze at you.

PHILEMON.

ARCHIMEDES's GLOBE.

THen first the globe by Archimede *design'd*
'd the high flights of man's aspiring mind,
full house the Gods to Jove *apply'd,*
p th' attempt, and check their haughty pride.
e who rules the senate of the bless'd,
ords like these their sudden rage suppress'd:
e not that we such arts to men have shewn;
ore they search, the more our pow'r is known.

on Adm. VERNON's BIRTH-DAY.

Hic dies vere mihi festus atras
Eximet curas: ego nec tumultum,
Nec mori per vim metuam, tenente
Cæsare terras.

pitious be this happy morn,
May every blessing crown the day;
n sons, arise, inspire our joys,
d bless us with thy kindest ray.
p day consign'd to fame,
ft to the British *name,*
at gave great VERNON *light;*
Generous Britons, *join in praise,*
'Tis VERNON's *acts commands your days,*
That shine profusely bright.

Nature her swiftest circles runs,
To bring the blessful minute on,
Heaven transported, with a smile,
Cry'd, Now I've bless'd the British *isle.*

Behold, his thunders roll,
Iberia *trembling at the sound;*
Horrors and death eclipse each soul,
And spread confusion round.

The British *lion foams with ire,*
And pours forth deluges of fire,
Along the Indian *shore;*
Trembling nature starts with fear,
Dreads the last conflagration's near,
Shock'd by his dreadful rore.

Mountains of batteries strive in vain,
Not all the legions of proud Spain
Can stop the boundless flame;
Nature herself submits to fate,
When heaven, and Britain, *give the date,*
And VERNON *joins the same.*
'Tis his the cause of heaven to fight,
And give an injur'd nation right,
To make th' insulting Spaniard *know,*
GEORGE *is heav'n's viceroy below.*

To the author of the Scots Magazine.

SIR, Saline.

THE argument for the immortality of the soul which has been canvassed in your *Magazine*, [*p.* 32. 114. 360] is not surely the only or the principal one that might be adduced. It does not however follow, that therefore this is of no use, and altogether impertinent. Whatever in any degree serves to illustrate and confirm a truth so dear to the mind as this is, merits a religious regard, and, tho' it may not strike us with the resistless force of mathematical demonstration, ought not to be immediately discarded. I am induced to think so, in the case before us, by the following reflections.

The inward frame and constitution of our minds, the various capacities and desires we are furnished with,

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are, to an attentive mind, clear and convincing instances of wisdom and design in the author of nature, and they distinctly mark out that course of action and enjoyment we were originally intended for. We have capacities that are ever enlarging, and desires after happiness that know no bounds. Truth and goodness make up the proper happiness of a rational nature; what hinders then to conclude, that *God made man for himself*, and that as his other perfections will be employed to fill up the ever-growing capacity of human thought, eternity itself will gratify this desire, and perpetuate the enjoyment?

It is silly to assert this longing after immortality to be nothing other than an extravagant throw of a natural passion; since it is well known to those who study human nature, that desire in man is unbounded, and, so to speak, infinite: it is likewise known, that the proper object of unlimited desire is the supreme and eternal good. The regularity or disorder of our desires, can never be determined barely from the degree in which they prevail, but from that and the proportion it bears to the excellency of the object jointly considered. Or thus:

Goodness in God is the principle which gave being to the universe; infinite power, guided by a perfect wisdom, is ever designing and steadily promoting the general good of the creation, and that by methods of severity and justice, as well as lenity and forbearance: if therefore it appears, that this desire is well calculated to promote this great end, the argument drawn from it must be good and conclusive.

To this purpose observe, that any the smallest degree of hope attending this desire of immortality, considerably heightens our happiness: as our hope acquires strength, the sphere of present enjoyment grows larger in proportion; and when that rises to assurance, this in some sense is full and compleat. Now, in a good man, it is never destitute of hope.

——If there's a pow'r above us,
(And that there is, all nature cries aloud,
Through all her works) he must delight in virtue;
And that which he delights in must be happy.

ADD.

A mind conscious of sincere regard to virtue, and the consequent approbation of the Deity, is necessarily filled with real pleasing hopes of having all its desires gratified; and these again, like a spring to its efforts, enable the soul to gain the greater heights of virtue, till happily a confirmed state both of virtue and happiness is at last attained. Thus we see this desire of the mind has a manifest tendency to influence the growth of virtue, and the general weal of the creation.

The same person who, this day, prompted with the hopes of future bliss, breathes after immortality, the very next, if haunted with the terrors of damnation, wishes to be convinced there was no such thing. Horror seizes him at the thought; he dreads to be miserable, to be so for ever. And this, as it plainly implies the forementioned desire, and takes its rise from the same principles in our nature, so it argues the same very thing. The truth in short seems to be this: We are so constituted by nature, as that, whether we chuse it or not, the idea of infinity, an endless hereafter, will be intruding itself upon us: join to this the idea of happiness, and it is the natural object of desire; the thoughts of misery attending it, as naturally excite horror and aversion. Both the one and the other are of excellent use in the government of the moral world, according to the different methods of severity and goodness employed by the all-governing wisdom: they are the natural sanctions of the law of virtue in our minds, and in the ear of reason jointly speak us destin'd for immortal existence.

As to the desire of life, and that natural aversion every living thing has at dissolution, I think I see good reasons why it should exist, and be nevertheless thwarted. Without it wild disorder would take place amongst men; and if it was gratified, how could virtue be finally happy? This difficulty does not lie against the gratification of that forementioned desire; and therefore, from the disappointment of the one, to that of the other, there is no consequence. *I am, &c.*

A. R.

CRAFTS-

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CRAFTSMAN *Nov.* 15.

Extract from a pamphlet, printed in 1730, intitled, *The case of* Dunkirk *faithfully stated, and impartially considered.*

WHether the *demolition* of *Dunkirk* does, in a great measure, secure exactly seven ninths of the trade of *England* from the power of *France* at sea, as it has been asserted, I shall not trouble myself to calculate; neither shall I examine nicely how far this *port* may justly be deem'd our rival in time of peace, by supporting some considerable branches of the *French* manufactures, and by carrying on a trade to the *West-Indies*, which has been insisted upon likewise. In general it will not be denied, that the *French* have annoyed our trade, and promoted their own extremely, by the convenient situation and other advantages of the *port* of *Dunkirk*.

To make therefore a true judgment in the present case, it is sufficient to lay the following foundation.

1. The declared sense of the *British* nation, at the time of making the last *treaty of peace* with *France*, was, that *Dunkirk* should be no more either a *fortified city*, a *fortified port*, or even an *unfortified harbour*.

2. *France* consented to the demolition of *Dunkirk* in this sense, and engaged never to restore it again in any one of these respects.

These propositions are fully proved by the 9th *article* of the *treaty of Utrecht*; by which *G. Britain* required, and *France* consented, that *all the fortifications of the city of* Dunkirk *should be razed; those towards the sea in two months, those towards the land in three months.* Thus far the *article* stipulates the *demolition* of *Dunkirk* as a *fortified city* and as a *fortified port*; and if no more had been intended, no more would have been said: but the *article* says a great deal more; it says expressly, that *the harbour shall be filled up, and that the sluices or moles, which serve to cleanse the harbour, shall be levelled.* The naked *harbour* itself was therefore to be destroyed, as well as the fortifications towards the land and towards the sea. After all these stipulations, follows *this express condition, That the said fortifications, harbour, moles or sluices, be never repaired again.* So that *France* has never had since the *treaty of Utrecht*, nor can have while that treaty subsists, any more right to open, or by reparations to help to open the *harbour* of *Dunkirk*, than she has to rebuild the fortifications of that city, and to render it in every respect what it was before the demolition.

The late Q. *Anne* was so solicitous to have this principal part of the article effectually performed, that when she sent her commissioners to *Dunkirk* to see the demolition of that place executed, she gave them the most particular instructions imaginable on this head: They were not only to see the *moles*, and *jettees*, and *keys*, and *sluices* demolished; but they were to see the *stones* belonging to them, even the *stones of the keys for shipping and unshipping goods, thrown into the canal or harbour, the more effectually to spoil the same, and render it impracticable for the future:* they were to see *the channel of each sluice filled up with earth from the next rampart, till it was made level with the streets:* nay they were to see the *road*, which lies before the entrance of the *harbour*, *spoiled as much as possible.* And the reason for this particular instruction is there given, *to prevent as much as possible any ships coming in for the future.*

The late King of *France* had tried, by his ministers at *Utrecht*, and even by a direct and strong application from himself to the late Queen, while the treaty was in negotiation, to have the rigour of the *ninth article*, in some degree, softned. He did not desire that any thing, which had been erected to fortify the town, or make and preserve the harbour, should be spared; but hoped and pressed that the *Queen* would allow *one sluice* to be left, which had been erected, as it was then pretended, by the people of the country, before he fortified the place, to carry off the waters, and save the low lands from inundations. Even this application proved fruitless. The

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article was insisted upon, and was accordingly passed without any exception.

Not discouraged by this, the inhabitants of *Dunkirk* sent over a Deputy, who was warmly supported by the Ambassador of *France*. Several fresh instances were made, and all endeavours were used to move the Queen's compassion, by desiring, as a grace, what they pretended no right to by treaty, *that the sluice of* Furnes *at least might be preserved*, to carry the waters off from the country, and to preserve the town from filth, stench, and the consequence thereof, infection.

But the Queen, who was resolved that *Dunkirk* should have neither a *fortified port*, nor even a *naked harbour*, knew by the reports of her commissioners, that Mr *Armstrong*, one of their number, absolutely denied the necessity of preserving those sluices, in order to discharge the waters of the country. She was informed likewise, by the report of the same commissioners, that *if any of the sluices remained, it would be impossible to prevent the harbour from being kept open; whereas if they were all destroyed, a small space of time would effectually fill up the harbour*. She continued therefore inflexible; and, besides several other answers to the same effect, given to the *French* Ambassador, and to the Deputy of *Dunkirk*, a Secretary of state was ordered to write to the *British* minister at *Paris*, to acquaint that court, *that the Queen will insist, That, by the treaty, all things are to be destroyed*, quæ eluendo portui inserviunt, *which serve to cleanse the harbour: That no distinction is therein made of what contributes accidentally and what directly to this purpose: That the* French *ministers had insisted at* Utrecht *to have such an exception inserted in the treaty; that it was positively refused, and that they submitted: That under a charitable pretence of saving the country, the* French *would save the harbour: In short, that he must let Monsieur* de Torcy *feel, and by him the* King, *that the* Queen *sees plainly the correspondence between his officers and the people of the town, who are unwilling to lose their harbour.*

The intention of the late Queen, and of those who negotiated, by her orders, the *treaty of Utrecht*, was to destroy *Dunkirk* for ever, not only as a *fortress*, but as a *sea-port*. To this the *French* submitted, tho' with much reluctancy; and in this at least the ministers at that time were seconded by the voice of the whole nation. Even those who opposed that administration, were ashamed of some weak attempts made to depretiate this important article of the *Utrecht* treaty. They soon took the other part. They sounded high the consequence of it, and the necessity of executing it with the utmost rigour. They were so far from thinking the demolition of the *fortifications* to the land and to the sea sufficient, that the *mole* and *harbour* were called by them, and I think rightly, *the terror of the* British *nation*. In a word, they asserted boldly, that nothing less than the total destruction of the *harbour*, as well as the demolition of the *fortifications*, could answer the expectations of the *British nation*.

Such was the issue of the first disputes about *Dunkirk*, a little before the death of the late Queen. The *French* were obliged to proceed to a total destruction of it, after having in vain employed a multitude of artifices and a multitude of pretences to avoid the strict and full execution of the *treaty of Utrecht* in this point.

They turned themselves therefore to another method, and began to cleanse and widen the canal of *Mardyke*. The pretences of doing it were the same as had been urged in order to save the port of *Dunkirk*, under colour of saving the country from inundations. But the plain design of this work was, to open a new harbour at *Dunkirk*, and a new communication with the sea.

As the work proceeded, this design became every day more evident, by the breadth and depth which were given to the *canal* of *Mardyke*, and by the enormous size of the new sluice, larger than that at *Dunkirk*, and vastly beyond any proportion that could be pretended necessary for carrying off the waters, or even for receiving fisher-vessels, and other small craft.

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As the design became more evident, he representations against it became more frequent and strong. But the *French* drew the affair into length, by he common arts of negotiation, and in he mean time pursued their enterprize ith all the vigour and dispatch imaginable; till the late King, resolving ot to suffer so manifest a violation of he *treaty of Utrecht*, sent the Earl of *tair* to the court of *France*, soon after is accession to the crown.

This minister proceeded on the principle established at first, and hitherto ot once departed from. *The true sense f the treaty of Utrecht*, says he, in one f his memorials, *and the intention of* G. Britain *is, that* Dunkirk *shall never ave a port again.* From whence he rgues, That since the port of *Mardyke* s in its use a port to the city of *Dunkirk*, as much as the old one was, the King of *G. Britain* would have liked as well to have had this subsist, and only the name of it changed, as to see another port larger and more convenient, opened at a league to the westward.

The answers which the court of *France* made to all these representations, were very far from giving satisfaction; but the firmness which the Earl of *Stair* shewed, and perhaps the declining state of *Lewis* XIV. prevailed on the *French* councils to stop the carrying on these works; probably with the same views as they have acted since, to quiet the present clamour, and to begin again upon the first occasion.

Such was the issue of the second disputes about *Dunkirk*, when the late King of *France* died. The *French* neither departed from their pretensions, groundless as they were, nor ruined the works they had made at *Mardyke*. They kept one alive, and only suspended the other.

The late King, therefore, instead of dropping this affair, continued to push it, and to shew that he was determined, at any rate, to have another sort of satisfaction than he had yet received.

This satisfaction he obtain'd soon after, by a *provisional agreement* made with the minister of *France* at *Hampton-court*, in *September* 1716, and inserted in the *triple defensive alliance* concluded at the *Hague* between *G. Britain*, *France*, and the *States General*, in *January* 1717.

The Duke of *Orleans* was now Regent of *France*. His political interests led him to desire the friendship of the late King. This disposition was cultivated and improved on our parts, and the union between the two courts grew to be extremely intimate. But as *G. Britain* and *France* acted in concert like *friends*, so they acted together in those days like *equals*. If we used their help, we lent them ours. The dependence was at least mutual; and when our separate interests came into competition with theirs, far from fearing to assert our right, lest we should disoblige our friends; we treated with them like an *independent nation*, who knew that it is, or may be always made the interest of *France* to keep measures with *G. Britain*, as much as it can become, at any time, the interest of *G. Britain* to keep measures with *France*.

This appear'd very remarkably on the occasion we were mentioning. The Regent was not, I suppose, more scrupulous than the late King of *France*, nor less desirous of regaining any advantage which had been lost, or given up; and yet he was forced to yield to all that we insisted upon, for the effectual execution of the *ninth article* of the *treaty of Utrecht*.

His late Majesty did indeed at this time consent, that the canal, open'd at *Mardyke*, should subsist, for carrying off the waters, and for the little commerce necessary to supply that part of the country with provisions. This was a concession which had not been made before, and which the *French* had not strictly any right to expect. But surely it was wise to make it in the manner, and on the conditions on which it was made.

As long as a King of *France* had the plausible pretence of saving his subjects from drowning, or starving, to cover his designs, it was obvious enough, by all that had pass'd, that the design of restoring *Dunkirk*, under this pretence,

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would never be laid aſide. The late King, therefore, in order to defeat the deſign once for all, reſolved to take the pretence entirely away.

By the fourth *article* of the *triple alliance*, the great new ſluice made at *Mardyke*, and all the *jettees* erected along the ſtrand, are to be deſtroyed, and not to be made uſe of *for any port, haven, or ſluice at* Dunkirk, *or at* Mardyke, *or at any other place within two leagues diſtance of either of theſe; the intention of the contracting parties, and the end which they propoſe to themſelves by this treaty being, that no port, harbour, fortification, ſluice, or baſon, ſhall be made or built at* Dunkirk, *at the ſluice of* Mardyke, *or at any other place whatſoever upon the coaſt, within the diſtance before mentioned.*

By the ſame article it was ſtipulated likewiſe, that the *digues* or *jettees* on both ſides of the old canal or port of *Dunkirk*, ſhould be entirely demoliſhed down to the ſtrand, and that ſome other things ſhould be further done, which might be neceſſary to the more compleat deſtruction of the *harbour*.

This being conſented to on the part of *France*, his Majeſty conſented that the little ſluice on the canal of *Mardyke* ſhould remain, provided the breadth of it was reduced to ſixteen foot.

All theſe ſtipulations were made with the greateſt clearneſs poſſible; and the moſt exact ſpecifications of every thing neceſſary to render them effectual, are contained in the *treaty*.

Such was the iſſue of the diſputes about *Dunkirk* in the time of the late King; and ſurely there was good reaſon to hope, after the ſettlement then made, that we ſhould hear of them no more. The *French* were gratify'd in two points, for which alone they contended, at leaſt avowedly; and *Dunkirk* was reduced to be no more a *fortified town*, a *fortified port*, or even an *unfortified harbour*.

But, to the great detriment and misfortune of our nation, ſo it is, that we have greater reaſon than ever to renew theſe diſputes. What the *French* were not ſuffer'd to attempt by *that adminiſtration*, which Sir *Richard Steele* call'd the *French adminiſtration*, they have been lately ſuffered to do. Inſtead of not executing *one treaty* fully, they have publickly violated *two*. They actually enjoy the benefit of the canal of *Mardyke*, which was indulged to them, that there might remain no colour for ever opening that of *Dunkirk*; and in the midſt of this enjoyment, they have opened, they have repaired that of *Dunkirk*, and contrived their work ſo, that whenever they ſhall think proper to finiſh it, *Dunkirk* will be at once a better harbour than it was, when it ſtood the glory of *France* and the terror of *Britain*.

DAILY GAZETTEER, *Nov.* 7. & 18.

A ſhort hiſtory of Oppoſitions.

THere is, perhaps, no maxim, either in divine or human wiſdom, better ſupported by arguments, or more ſtrongly inforced by examples, than this, *That unity begets ſtrength*. Yet ſo it is, that, in complaiſance to a new ſet of ſtate-philoſophers, it is of late expected, that the whole people of *Great Britain* will take it for granted, that the eſſence of liberty lies in diſputing, and that the greateſt bleſſing in the world is, never to be quiet.

The ſame learned perſons who propagate this extraordinary doctrine aſſure us, that what they are pleaſed to ſtile an oppoſition, is abſolutely neceſſary to the well-being of the nation; becauſe, but for this cloud, the beams of the adminiſtration would be too bright: ſo that henceforward, like ſun and ſhadow, they are conſtantly to go together; and—whatever King, whatever miniſter we have, we are never to want an oppoſition. The authorities neceſſary to prove this doctrine, are too many and too notorious to be cited. It is one of the articles of the patriots creed, and he would be treated as an infidel amongſt them who ſhould ſeem to doubt it: and yet, to a man who would exerciſe his reaſon, this muſt certainly be either received as a myſtery, or rejected as an abſurdity.

It is indeed true, that oppoſitions are of

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of an old ſtanding in *England*, and that their chiefs, generally ſpeaking, talk'd high; but none of them ever ventur'd upon this bold aſſertion, That give them what you would they would never be contented: if they had, I perſuade myſelf they would have got very little. No; their manner was, to ſet down the cauſes of their oppoſition; to expreſs a great deal of concern for being obliged to differ with their prince; and to promiſe many good things, in caſe their deſires were granted, and what they called grievances were redreſſed. With ſuch men it was eaſy to deal.

But then, not to diſſemble, we have inſtances of oppoſitions of another ſort, where the chiefs have conſulted privately together for the good of the kingdom, as they ſaid; but, however, always with a reaſonable reſpect at the ſame time to themſelves: and theſe ſilent oppoſitions have ſometimes had very ſhrewd conſequences. Thus, when K. *Henry* V. was on the point of embarking for *France*, in conſequence of a title to that crown eſpouſed by parliament, an oppoſition was ſet on foot in his own camp, which the writers of thoſe days ſtile bluntly *conjuratio*, a conſpiracy; but that brave, fighting prince, tho' he was extremely merciful, took this ſo ill, that he ſhortened his couſin, the Earl of *Cambridge*, by the head for it. And thus the oppoſition being quaſhed, the war went on proſperouſly.

In the reign of Q. *Mary*, the daughter of K. *Henry* VIII. there was a continual oppoſition, not ſo much on account of religion, as from ſtate-jealouſies: for Sir *Thomas Wyat* died a Papiſt, tho' he made ſome pretences to liberty of conſcience, in order to draw in the people. We had a foreign war alſo in that reign, and a very bad iſſue it had: we loſt *Calais*, and that broke the Queen's heart. Thus of old, oppoſitions, however conducted, whether within or without the bounds of the law, when they continued long, and were carried to exceſs, did the people little good.

In the next glorious reign, oppoſitions were frequently attempted. The great Q. *Elizabeth* knew well the conſequences of ſuffering the fundamental laws of the kingdom to come every day under debate; ſhe therefore made uſe of that authority veſted in her by the confidence of all her people, to ſtop motions of this ſort at the very beginning. And to this conduct it was chiefly owing that ſhe governed ſo ſteadily at home, and maintained the reputation of her crown ſo effectually abroad. Had ſhe acted otherwiſe, in all human probability ſhe had fared no better than her predeceſſors; eſpecially conſidering the mighty difficulties ſhe had to deal with; the formidable power of the King of *Spain*, and the intrigues of a Popiſh pretender to her crown.

One need not wonder that the lovers of oppoſition were well enough pleaſed with the death of this Queen; in conſequence of which we find them telling her ſucceſſor, that they bore with her humours, in conſideration of her age and her ſex. This was pleaſing to that ill-judging monarch; who, by a ſeries of ſtrange meaſures, nurſed an oppoſition, that grew to man's eſtate in the days of his ſon, and triumphed over all thoſe laws and liberties it pretended to preſerve. In thoſe two reigns therefore we made an indifferent figure abroad, becauſe we were diſtreſſed and divided at home.

But when the *Rump* parliament was firmly fixed in the ſaddle, they ventur'd on a war with the States: which they carried on ſucceſsfully for a time; but at length *Cromwel* and his party form'd an oppoſition, turn'd the parliament out of doors, and clapp'd up an indifferent peace. After this man became Protector, he would bear with no oppoſition, but took moſt unjuſtifiable methods to ſuppreſs them: however, we have been over and over told he made a mighty figure abroad, which was intirely owing to the bold ſteps he took to ſecure himſelf from being diſturb'd at home.

In the *Dutch* wars after the reſtoration, particularly the laſt, there was always a conſiderable oppoſition; and, in conſequence of this, they went on heavily, and ended but indifferently: which,

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which, considering our force at sea, and the many great officers we then had, is no otherwise to be accounted for, than by imputing more to domestick distractions than to the force of foreign foes. The reader will perceive, that I do not consider the justice or injustice of the wars I speak of, but barely their success, and the causes thereof; and so I desire to be understood.

During the reign of K. *William* we had the modern blessing of a constant opposition; which, in spite of all the care that could be taken by a wise, vigilant, and active prince, derived to us constant disappointments, and did more for the *French* than all their political arts and their prodigious military force could do without. This is a notorious truth, witnessed by the King's speeches, all our histories, and by a variety of pamphlets written by the patriots themselves: so that there is no room to doubt of the truth of the fact, or of the benefits which naturally result from such oppositions. In those days the people understood this matter so well, that they could not help expressing their concern on every occasion; but the pretended patriots cared alike for King and people.

In the first years of Q. *Anne*, the minds of the people were pretty well united. A war K. *William* had projected, because he found it necessary, was carried on with the utmost vigour, and with unexampled success. But by degrees an opposition was formed, and, as it gather'd strength, our credit sunk abroad, our laurels wither'd, our General deserted the allies, and acted in concert with our late enemies. Thus the administration, unopposed, had the honour of making a glorious war; and those who headed the opposition, having crept into power, shewed themselves in all their colours, by making a scandalous and precarious peace.

On the breaking out of the last war between *France* and the Emperor, our refined politicians published reasons for a neutrality, and reasons for a war; so that whichever way the administration went, they were alike liable to the charge of acting against reason. A certain ecclesiastick being sent over hither to make warm instances to the ministry on the behalf of the Emperor, the patriot-writers, on his first appearance, leaned quite the other way; but when, failing of success, he began to intrigue with their chiefs, with a view perhaps to intimidate the ministry, then the Prelate's reasons were unanswerable. And to this day, the not assisting the Emperor is spoken of as equally cruel and ill-judged; as in all probability it would have been called precipitate, and the effects of corruption, if the administration had acted otherwise. — This may be called a short history of oppositions; and from hence let any man judge how expedient they are while we are engaged in a foreign war of the utmost importance.

We are told by some of the wisest men among these new-fangled politicians, that it is an undeniable mark of corruption, when numbers concur with whatever an administration proposes. I would be glad to know what sign it is, according to this system, when numbers combine to oppose whatever comes from an administration. If they say it proves nothing, then they plainly unsay what they said before, and then we are just where we were; but if they are silent, we must conclude it the effect of conviction, and a self-consciousness that this, as well as former oppositions, is founded in the opinion some busy, brisk men have of their own abilities, and an eager desire flowing therefrom to signalize these abilities in places. Neither is it any proof to the contrary, that they absolutely deny this; since naturalists are long ago agreed, that women and statesmen obstinately refuse those things which they most vehemently wish.

COMMON SENSE, *Nov.* 25.

Arguments once used against repealing the Triennial Act, now proper to be used for restoring it.

IT is now a point determined, That Kings themselves may be guilty of such an abuse of their power, as to forfeit

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feit the ſame, and give the people a right to a new choice; and ſure it cannot be ſaid that the creatures of the people, thoſe who have no pretence to power but by delegation from them, are more abſolutely maſters of that people than the crown itſelf.

Can there be a greater provocation to the perſons repreſented, than to deprive them of the liberty of coming to a new choice, when they have reaſon to be diſcontented with the old, and ſo change the ancient third eſtate of the nation into a new invented one? Is it to be ſuppoſed, that they will think a little ſophiſtry, and a few fineſſes of argument a ſufficient reparation for an injury of ſo high a nature?

Some people make ſtronger objections againſt the alteration of the triennial act. They cannot help being of opinion, that if it ſhould paſs both houſes, and have the royal aſſent, yet that it will ſtill remain a dead letter. They are warranted by one of our greateſt lawyers to affirm, that an act of parliament may be void in itſelf.

If there is any caſe out of the reach of the legiſlature, this muſt be allowed to be that one. What can be more againſt reaſon than to be a *felo de ſe*, to deſtroy any eſſential part of that conſtitution upon which our exiſtence in a political capacity depends? They ſtrengthen themſelves in this opinion alſo by the authority of divines, particularly of Bp *Hoadly*, who hath ſaid, *That all people have natural rights; that a free people have legal ones, which they may juſtly maintain, and which no legiſlative authority whatſoever can deprive them of.*

Can a free people have a more valuable right, than that of being fairly and frequently repreſented in parliament? a right abſolutely neceſſary to the ſubſiſtence and continuance of liberty.

For the information of thoſe who argue for the unlimited power of parliaments, we ſhall mention ſome caſes, to which they themſelves will be forced to agree, that this unlimited power doth not extend.

Suppoſe a law ſhould be paſſed, (as was actually done in the reign of *Richard* II.) That the power of both houſes ſhould be veſted in twelve perſons; or ſuch a law as was paſſed in the reign of *Harry* VIII. (the firſt proroguer of parliaments,) That the King's proclamation, with the conſent of the privy council, ſhould have the force of law; or ſuch a law as was made in 1641, That the parliament ſhould not be diſſolved or prorogued without its own conſent. Tho' ſuch acts have paſſed, and by force and violence were ſubmitted to; yet no man will ſay, that, according to our conſtitution, the people were obliged to ſubmit to them. If they really had a legal force, the parliament of 1641 is ſtill in being, and of conſequence all the parliaments held ſince muſt be unlawful aſſemblies; for it is certain, that parliament of forty-one never conſented to its own diſſolution.

I will ſuppoſe another caſe, which never happen'd, that a law ſhould paſs to veſt the whole legiſlative authority in the perſon of the prince, or any perſon deputed by him; that this perſon ſhould be veſted with an abſolute dictatorial authority, and that both houſes ſhould be extinguiſhed. It is certain, no true *Briton* will ſay, that ſuch an act of parliament as this would have the leaſt validity or force, or ought to be any ways binding on the people. If it ought not, it proves that parliaments are not omnipotent, and that the powers given by the people to their repreſentatives are not unlimited.

Parliaments have a power of raiſing money upon the people for the neceſſities of the government, and the defence of the nation; but if great and heavy burthens ſhould be laid upon them by repreſentatives, who, according to their opinions, are not legally choſen, or who (they think) have given up ſome of thoſe rights and privileges enjoyed by their anceſtors, ought we not to dread ſuch a ſituation? Or muſt not ſuch proceedings be ſupported in the ſame manner with thoſe extraordinary laws before mention'd? A ſtanding army and a ſtanding parliament ſeem to be twin-ſiſters,

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ſiſters, which muſt live, and probably will die, together.

It is often pretended and urged, "That three years is too ſhort a time to effect any thing of great moment for the ſervice and benefit of the publick: that the firſt ſeſſion is moſtly waſted in the determination of elections; that in the ſecond, indeed, ſome buſineſs is done; that in the third, Gentlemens minds are running upon the future elections, and that the fear of diſobliging their electors at ſo near a view of a new choice, becomes ſo great a biaſs upon their minds in their conduct in parliament, that they do not act with the ſame freedom they otherwiſe would do."

Theſe appear to be very ſtrange, as well as very weak objections, againſt triennial parliaments; becauſe it is evident that the buſineſs of the nation was carried on, and ſucceſsfully carried on, for ſome hundreds of years, by annual parliaments only; and our hiſtories do not take notice of any one inconveniency ariſing from the ſhortneſs of their duration. And it is notorious, that ſuch great things have never been done, as ſince we have been in poſſeſſion of this law for holding triennial parliaments. Was ever a war ſo long, and ſo ſucceſsfully carried on, as thoſe wars in the reign of Q. *Anne*? Were ever ſums ſo amazingly great given by parliament or parliaments BEFORE, in the like compaſs of time, as has been done by different triennial parliaments? It may be proved, that more hath been given for the ſupply of one ſingle year ſince, than was given in the whole reign of any of the predeceſſors of the late K. *William*; and that the expence of the publick ſervice ſince the revolution, hath amounted to more than it did from the firſt foundation of the *Engliſh* monarchy down to that time: and we may go farther, and venture to aſſert, that they were ſuch ſupplies as would not have been borne from any parliaments, but parliaments of a ſhort continuance.

It is not in the nature of things to imagine, that ſuch heavy taxes would have been patiently ſubmitted to under long parliaments; which muſt have been ſuſpected of being penſioners, and which, it is to be feared, would really have become ſuch.

As to the objection, That much time is ſpent in the determination of elections; it may be anſwered, That matter doth not take up a great deal of the buſineſs of the houſe: it is a buſineſs left in a great meaſure to a committee appointed for that purpoſe. But if the right for the election of cities and boroughs were unalterably fix'd, and not chang'd from time to time, according to the intereſt of the petitioners and ſitting members, or according as they are agreeable to the prevailing ſide, it would be ſtill ſhorter. But when this buſineſs took up moſt time, we don't find it ever hindered the neceſſary ſupplies from being raiſed, or hinder'd any other proceeding requiſite for the ſervice of the government.

As to the inconveniencies ſuggeſted againſt the third and laſt ſeſſions of a triennial parliament, *viz.* That the fear of diſobliging their electors at ſo near a view of a new choice, becomes a great biaſs upon the minds of the repreſentatives as to their conduct in parliament: This is an objection againſt triennial parliaments that muſt have great weight with miniſters of ſtate and all their dependents; that is to ſay, with ſuch miniſters as have reaſon to dread the ſtrict and ſevere enquiry which every uncorrupt repreſentative of the people will make into the minuteſt part of their conduct; and therefore it will be extremely their intereſt to remove that check and awe which the approach of a near election lays upon the conduct of the members, otherwiſe it will be a matter of great difficulty for ſuch miniſters to draw the minds of the people's repreſentatives from their natural biaſs into a quite contrary courſe. But it is an objection, which, in common prudence, they ought to conceal; becauſe it amounts to a declaration of ſome very bad deſigns: for whenever a parliament forgets all regard for thoſe that choſe them, and are in no pain about di-

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ſobliging them, the people will have aſon to think their liberties in danger, d certainly they will be in danger.

The triennial act was allowed by the hole nation to be a good thing. It as called for, it was preſſed; it was ſiſted upon by the people before, and o complaint was made againſt it after was paſſed: it anſwer'd all the ends t forth in the preamble; it was paſſed o make the people eaſy with reſpect o the dread they had conceived of long arliaments; and although the conſtiution of frequent new parliaments was ot entirely reſtor'd by it, it was brought much nearer to its original than it had been for ſome few years before.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

THere is ſtill a great ſcarcity of proviſions at CONSTANTINOPLE, and the plague continues to make great havock there. The execution of the treaty concluded between Ruſſia and the Porte met with great difficulties, but the Marquis de Villeneuve, the French Ambaſſador, found means to remove them.

On the 17th Oct. O. S. died, at Peterſburg, ANNE IWANOWNA, Empreſs of Ruſſia. Purſuant to the act of ſettlement which was ſigned by her Majeſty the 5th, O. S. [*p.* 478.] the young Prince John [or Iwan] was declared Czar, and the Duke of Courland Regent till the Czar, then but three months old, comes to be 17 years of age.

Tho' the publick in general is pleas'd with the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion, yet many of the Ruſſians ardently wiſh that the Princeſs Elizabeth was Empreſs, and would marry ſome perſon of diſtinguiſh'd merit of their own country; and papers have been fixed upon the doors of the ſenate, the college of juſtice, and the admiralty, to the following purpoſe: *Our tongues may be tied, and we may be forced to take oaths that our hearts diſavow; but 'tis Elizabeth only that we acknowledge to be worthy the throne of her anceſtors.*

Others are uneaſy to think what may be the conſequence if either of theſe three caſes ſhould happen, *viz. If the young Emperor ſhould die in his minority; if he ſhould die without lawful iſſue; and if the Princeſs Anne and the Duke of Brunſwick her huſband ſhould have no other children.* But neither of theſe eſcaped the attention of the Czarina, and the vigilance of her miniſters. For her Majeſty order'd, by a particular diſpoſition, "That in ſuch circumſtances the nation itſelf ſhall chuſe their own ſovereign, in a general aſſembly compoſed of all the orders of the government, *viz.* the clergy, the ſenate, the military order, all the council of the regency, and the miniſters of the cabinet; who are all together to be conſidered as the repreſentatives of the nation, *&c.*"

The deceas'd Czarina was the daughter of Iwan or John Alexowitz, who was the elder brother of the Czar Peter I. called *Peter the Great*, and for a time aſſociate with him on the imperial throne, but died in May 1696, whereas Peter the Great reign'd till Feb. 8. 1725. She was born May 28. 1693, and married, Feb. 13. 1710, to Frederick William Duke of Courland, (nephew to the late King of Pruſſia;) who died in January 1711, in the 19th year of his age, as he was returning with his then lovely princeſs from Peterſburg to his own country. She was proclaimed Empreſs Jan. 29. 1730, upon the death of Peter II. her couſin, and grandſon to Peter the Great, when he was on the point of being married to the Princeſs Catharine Dolghorucki, niece to the Velt-Marſhal of that name. She was crowned May 9. 1730; about which time ſhe cauſed all the Dolghorucki family to be confin'd and baniſh'd, (for reaſons which ſhe then publiſhed) excepting only the late Czar's bride, who retired into a convent, and her uncle the Velt-Marſhal of the Ruſſian forces, who continued in his poſt and favour.

Her Majeſty having converſed much with foreigners, and underſtanding their languages, ſhe protected the ſtrangers that were invited to Ruſſia by Peter I. favoured the arts and ſciences that then be-

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began to flouriſh there; and, in ſhort, govern'd according to the maxims obſerved and recommended by that truly great monarch.

Her reign is remarkable by the war undertaken on account of the Poliſh affairs; by that which was afterwards enter'd into with the Turks, during the progreſs whereof Aſoph, Perecop, Ockzakow and Choczim were taken, and the Crimea deſtroyed; and, laſtly, by the diſcovery of the myſterious projects of the Princes Dolghorucki, and the deſigns form'd by Count Wolinſki and his accomplices.

The Duke of Courland has declared to the foreign miniſters, "That the Emperor John III. will maintain and obſerve all the treaties and engagements made with the late Empreſs Anne: That he will endeavour to cultivate with their principals the ſame friendſhip and good underſtanding that ſubſiſted during the life of that princeſs; and that the Duke Regent will contribute all his care to this end." And beſides this general aſſurance, it was declared to Mr Finch, *That the death of the Czarina ſhall be no manner of hindrance to the negotiation which was begun in her lifetime with the crown of G. Britain.* It was alſo declared to M. de Swart, the Dutch Reſident, *That the Duke of Courland being poſſeſſed with the higheſt eſteem for the republick of Holland, will take every opportunity to cultivate the friendſhip of their High Mightineſſes, and to promote the eſtabliſhment of the commerce of the two nations, to the mutual advantage and ſatisfaction of their reſpective governments and ſubjects.* The court has alſo ſent an expreſs to the Ruſſian Ambaſſador at the Porte, to order him to declare to the Grand Vizier, *That the treaty of Belgrade ſhall be maintained and executed in every article, on the part of the court of Ruſſia.*

The ſtates of Ruſſia have given a penſion of 300,000 rubles to the Regent, to ſupport the dignity of a court; 200,000 rubles to the Princeſs Anne, and 50,000 rubles to the Princeſs Elizabeth.—It is reſolved to eſtabliſh ſeveral manufactures in Ruſſia, to keep the coin in the kingdom.—By the imperial ordinances publiſhed ſince the death of the Empreſs, a pardon has been granted to all thoſe condemned to die, to the galleys, or to baniſhment, excepting thoſe convicted of high treaſon, robbery or murder.

An important diſpute has ariſen between the courts of VIENNA and MUNICH. The Queen of Hungary having diſpatch'd letters to all the Electors, to impart to them the Emperor's death, her Majeſty ſent one to the Elector of Bavaria, wherein ſhe acquainted him at the ſame time with her acceſſion to the throne of Hungary and Bohemia. That letter was ſent back to Vienna to the Count de la Perouſe, the Bavarian miniſter; who returned it to the Queen's miniſters, declaring to them, "That it was not poſſible for the Elector his maſter to acknowledge that princeſs in quality of Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, becauſe of his pretenſions to the Emperor's ſucceſſion; which he has reſolved to make good." That miniſter added, that thoſe pretenſions were grounded on the will of the Emperor Ferdinand I. He alſo made the ſame declaration to all the foreign miniſters reſiding there. The Queen being informed of the cauſe of the Elector's refuſal, demanded of the Court a copy of that article of the will on which his maſter grounds his pretenſions, that it might be compared with the original, in the archieves of the houſe of Auſtria. This copy having been delivered, Count Sintzendorff ſent for the Bavarian miniſter to the palace; whither he alſo invited the French Ambaſſador, and all the foreign miniſters. When they were all aſſembled, the Great Chancellor made a ſpeech, in which he ſet forth the cauſe of the Elector of Bavaria's refuſing to acknowledge the Queen, and the nature of the pretenſions formed by that prince: after which he ſhewed them the original teſtament of Ferdinand I. and the extract delivered by the Bavarian miniſter, deſiring them to compare them together, to take or receive extracts of both, and to communicate the affair to their

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their courts. The difference between the two articles is certainly very great. The extract ſent by the court of Munich ſays, "That the Archdutcheſs, eldeſt daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand I. that ſhall be alive when the ſucceſſion is open, ſhall ſucceed to the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, &c. in caſe there ſhould be no *male* heirs of any of that Emperor's three brothers." The original Act, produced by Count Sintzendorff, runs thus: "That the Archdutcheſs, eldeſt daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand I. who ſhall be living at the time of the ſucceſſion's being open, ſhall ſucceed to the two kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, &c. in caſe there ſhall be no *lawful* heirs of any of that Emperor's three brothers." Thus the Elector of Bavaria pretends the caſe is now come; whereas the court of Vienna maintains, that his pretenſions cannot be valid, unleſs the Emperor had left no lawful iſſue.

The courts of Pruſſia and Saxony promiſe, in their anſwers to the Queen's letters, not only to maintain the pragmatick ſanction, but, in caſe of need, to ſend troops to defend the hereditary countries.—Orders are ſent to Tranſilvania for repairing all the fortifications of the frontier towns with the utmoſt expedition, the court having reſolved to form an army there in the ſpring, in caſe the Turks ſhould make any motions on that ſide.

The Electors of Cologn, Bavaria, Palatine and Triers, have formed an aſſociation among themſelves, which they pretend is for maintaining peace in the empire; and for this purpoſe they are each to furniſh a certain number of troops, *viz.* Cologn, 7000 foot and 2000 horſe; Bavaria, 6000 foot and 2000 horſe; Palatine, 8000 foot and 2000 horſe; Triers, 2500 foot and 1300 horſe. In all, 23,500 foot, and 7300 horſe.

The death of the late Emperor has given liberty to the Velt-Marſhals Seckendorff and Wallis, and General Neuperg. Count Seckendorff is ordered to repair to his government of Philipſburg, Count Wallis to his eſtate in Bohemia, and General Neuperg is ſoon expected at Vienna.

The POPE has order'd an univerſal jubilee, to commence on the firſt Sunday of Advent, to implore the bleſſing of God in the election of ſuch an Emperor as may be the bulwark of the Roman Catholick faith.

His Holineſs has alſo order'd a mauſoleum, like that of Chriſtina Queen of Sweden, to be erected in the Vatican church, in honour of the Princeſs Sobieſki, late wife of the Chevalier de St George.

FRANCE has made declarations in very ſtrong terms, *That ſhe will ſtrictly fulfil the engagements ſhe is under, by the guaranty of the pragmatick ſanction; and that ſhe will keep clear of every thing that may reſtrain the free choice of a new Emperor.* However, theſe extraordinary proteſtations are ſuſpected not to be ſincere, and that the Cardinal's ſcheme is, to divert the attention of Europe from his maſter's ambitious deſigns. Did he not uſe the ſame ſort of ſmooth language, when, all on a ſudden, he declared war againſt the Emperor, in order to ſupport the invaſion of Naples? Did he not talk in the ſame ſtrain, until he was in a condition of cauſing his ſquadrons to ſet ſail for America? And poſſibly, when his deſigns are ripe for execution, his Eminency may, in ſome degree, alter his ſtile.

A letter in the *Daily Poſt* of the 26th, dated from Charles-Town in S. Carolina, having laid the ill ſucceſs at Fort St Auguſtine on the ill conduct of ——, (ſome particulars of which are: 1. That the cattle taken at a cow-pen of one Diego, 25 miles from the town, May 12. were not diſtributed to the ſoldiery; 2. That the people might have entered the town without oppoſition, but were not ſuffered; 3. That the men were needleſly harraſs'd; 4. That Col. Palmer, who was ſent to Negro fort, 2 miles from the town, with 133 men, to alarm the Spaniards, was not ſupported by ——, who ſtaid 6 or 7 miles off; 5. That Col. Palmer being attacked by 500 Spaniards, ſhot 3 of them after they had entered the fort; 6. That

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Capt. Warren was the life and ſpirit of the cauſe; 7. That the volunteers, ſeeing no proſpect of ſucceeding under ſuch mad conduct, as they called it, daily went off,) the following anſwer was publiſhed, dated Johnſon's Court, Charing-croſs, Nov. 29.

UPon ſeeing a letter miſrepreſenting, in the moſt falſe and malicious manner, the late expedition againſt St Auguſtine, aiming thereby to defame the character of a Gentleman whoſe unwearied endeavours for the publick ſervice has greatly impaired his health; and as I, who am a Captain in Gen. Oglethorpe's regiment, was preſent, and acted upon that occaſion as Brigadeer-Major, and muſt know the whole tranſactions, I think it my duty to take notice of it.

As to the cow-pen it ſpeaks of, it is a ſquare fort, with 4 carriage and 4 ſwivel guns, and had a garriſon in it of 47 ſoldiers of regular troops, and 7 Negroes, who were all made priſoners of war. The cattle found there, and in parts adjacent, were diſtributed to the King's troops and the Carolina regiment. — In reſpect to the Carolina people's being ready to enter the town of Auguſtine without oppoſition, it is entirely falſe, and without the leaſt foundation. — In regard to Col. Palmer's misfortune, who was killed in the firſt fire from the Spaniards, he brought it upon himſelf, by diſobeying the orders he received, which poſitively enjoined his keeping in the woods, and avoiding action; and by acting contrary to the advice of the officers under his command, ſome of whom were preſent when he received his orders, and lodging himſelf in the Negro fort Mooſa, where they were ſurrounded and defeated; the gates of which fort, and the houſe within it, the General had before burnt. —With reſpect to the Carolina volunteers; that they did go away, is certain, without leave given, or aſked, and their Captain with them. A Captain of the Carolina regiment alſo left his command in the guard of the trenches, without being relieved, or aſking any leave, and went with them. After ſuch behaviour, what credit can be given to ſuch men, tho' termed perſons of note? — As to Capt. Warren, whoſe name is mentioned to endeavour to throw an odium elſewhere, I am convinced, by the perſonal acquaintance I have with him, that he will, upon all occaſions, do his duty in the ſervice of his King and country; as alſo Capt. Law and Capt. Townſhend, that were aſhore with him. — The morning after we landed upon the iſland of Anaſtatia, I ſtood by, while Capt. Warren read a Gen. Oglethorpe a letter to Capt. Pearſe, then Commodore, acquainting him of our landing without any loſs, and the Spaniards withdrawing from that iſland; on which Capt. Warren ſaid, *all that was now neceſſary to ſecure the reduction of the place, was the taking of the Spaniſh galleys*; which undertaking he would himſelf head with the King's boats under the cannon of the fort, if he would give him leave. Several councils of war were held on board his Majeſty's ſhips by the ſea Captains; but Capt. Warren's propoſition was not undertaken.

Leſt malicious people ſhould ſuggeſt that I might be ſent to England by Gen. Oglethorpe on this occaſion, I ſolemnly declare, that I came at my own deſire by his leave, and had no inſtructions from him, directly or indirectly, concerning this affair; but my regard to truth, and abhorrence of all falſe and malicious reports whatſoever, have induced me to publiſh this; to which I ſet my name. *Hugh Mackay.*

The following declaration and manifeſto having been publiſhed in different papers, we ſhall preſent them to our readers, tho' we cannot warrant them as genuine.

Declaration to be publiſhed in America by Lord Cathcart.

THE King of G. Britain, my maſter, having found himſelf obliged to declare war againſt the King of Spain, and being reſolved, with the aſſiſtance of Almighty God, to take vengeance for the inſults and barbarous depredations committed on his ſubjects, where-

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whereby their lawful trade and navigation have been unjuſtly interrupted; has ordered me to invade, attack and reduce to his obedience, the colonies, caſtles, places, and kingdoms or provinces belonging to the ſaid King of Spain in the Indies, which ſhall appear to me to be moſt convenient: but his Majeſty being perſuaded, at the ſame time, that the ſaid injuries and depredations much more proceeded from the malice and counſels of ſome particular perſons in Spain and the Indies, than from the general inclination of the Spaniſh nation, between which and his ſubjects there has ſubſiſted (except of late years) a conformity of intereſts and councils, a continual commerce and amicable correſpondence, cultivated and maintained to their reciprocal utility and ſatisfaction; has, out of his goodneſs, been pleaſed to mix mercy with correction, and give room to the innocent to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the guilty: for which purpoſe I have orders from the King my maſter, to declare, as I hereby declare in his royal name, offer and promiſe all perſons, *Spaniards*, *Mulattos*, *Negroes*, *Indians*, whether eccleſiaſticks or laymen, that thoſe who, within a certain term after the publication of this declaration, and before any hoſtility committed on their part againſt the forces of the King my maſter, ſhall freely and peaceably put themſelves under his protection, clement adminiſtration and government, ſhall be received, protected and maintained in their lands, houſes, poſſeſſions, and all other effects belonging to them, of what nature ſoever they be, in the ſame manner as if they were his own natural ſubjects, and ſhall likewiſe enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion, in the ſame manner as they do at preſent. They ſhall be freed from impoſts, *Alcavalas*, duties, *&c.* and from all the other oppreſſions which they now ſuffer from the nature and form of the government eſtabliſhed in the Spaniſh Indies. The Indians in particular ſhall be delivered from the royal tributes and ſervices they are ſubject to; they ſhall have the privilege and right of trading directly with G. Britain, and all the Britiſh colonies in America; and in fine, in all reſpects, they ſhall be regarded, ſuccour'd, favour'd, and treated as the natives of G. Britain.

But, on the contrary, thoſe who ſhall refuſe, reſiſt, or obſtinately delay to accept of theſe clement offers, muſt reckon themſelves in the number of the guilty, and expect all the ſeveritics that may be exerciſed in a juſt war, undertaken by a magnanimous prince, and a provoked nation, to revenge the undeſerved injuries and depredations which they received ſo many years together.

The French King's Manifeſto concerning the departure of the Breſt and Toulon ſquadrons.

SInce the departure of the Breſt and Toulon ſquadrons, ſo many different reports have been ſpread, eſpecially in England, concerning the motives to that reſolution, as well as concerning the King's intentions in the preſent conjuncture, that it has appeared neceſſary to put his Majeſty's miniſters abroad in a condition to ſet in a clear light the principles of his conduct to this day, and the end he propoſes to himſelf.

It was not without a great deal of concern that the King ſaw in the year 1738 the ſeeds of diſſenſion growing up between Spain and England. The opening the conferences at Madrid gave ſome hopes of an accommodation; but the unforeſeen breaking off of theſe conferences made us ſuſpect that England was very averſe to all pacifick ſentiments; and the hoſtilities begun in America by the Engliſh nation before the declaration of war could be known there, no longer permitted us to doubt of her intentions.

Nevertheleſs, the King judged he ought to wait the conſequences of this war before he took any reſolution. The views of the Engliſh nation were not as yet fully manifeſted. It might be thought that the heat of the people had precipitated her ſteps; that in the main ſhe had no other aim but to revenge the pretended vexations of the Spaniſh guarda coſtas; and that when the firſt ferment was over, both parties would reſume the methods of reconciliation.

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It is not that France had not on her ſide grievances to alledge againſt England, perhaps more conſiderable than thoſe which kindled up the war between the Catholick King and the King of G. Britain. Several French veſſels ſtopt, viſited and rummaged, as well in Europe as in America; their letters taken and carried off, againſt the law of nations and the faith of treaties; and other violences ſtill more notorious, of which complaints were made in vain, might have excited the King to do himſelf juſtice. But his Majeſty diſſembled all thoſe infractions, and would not even permit the French privateers to aſſiſt in any ſhape in diſturbing the Engliſh navigation. Objects of ſtill greater importance were neceſſary for overcoming his Majeſty's moderation.

Thitherto the Engliſh had carried on the war only by ſea; but it was not long before they form'd enterprizes upon the continent. The taking of Porto Bello was followed by that of Chiagria; the demolition of theſe two forts open'd a door for all their contraband trade, in prejudice to the commerce of all nations; and their armaments increaſed to ſuch a degree as to create the greateſt uneaſineſs about what they might afterwards attempt.

At that time the Britiſh Ambaſſador was forewarn'd, in the King's name, that whatever patience France had ſhewn in expectation that ſatisfaction would have been made her for the irregular and violent proceedings of ſeveral Engliſh officers, it ought not to be thought that ſhe would remain a quiet ſpectator of the enterprizes which the Engliſh might form in America; nor that the King would ſuffer them to make any ſettlement in the Spaniſh Indies. This declaration was known by all the foreign miniſters reſiding at the King's court; it was renew'd from time to time, as we ſaw that the preparations againſt America more plainly diſcovered projects of conqueſt; and the Britiſh Ambaſſador giving no anſwer on ſo important an affair, the King judged he could no longer delay arming his ſhips, in order to put himſelf in a condition to prevent a danger which became every day more imminent.

In fine, England made no longer a myſtery of her deſigns, when ſhe thought her meaſures ſo well taken that it would be impoſſible to oppoſe them. She embarked 8000 regular troops, in order to join thoſe raiſed in her colonies. The nation doubting no longer of ſucceſs, gave out the conqueſt of the Havannah as a thing certain. Admiral Vernon formally declared, by his letter of the 8th of laſt May, to the Commandant of the French part of the iſland of Dominica, that he had orders to take Carthagena; and the manifeſto delivered to Lord Cathcart, in order to be publiſhed in America, which they troubled their heads no longer to keep a ſecret, has at laſt plainly evinced what thoſe prodigious armaments tended to, of which the world had never yet ſeen an example.

Then it was that the King found there was not a moment to be loſt, for putting an obſtacle to projects, the execution of which would deſtroy all the treaties and conventions made, as well at the congreſs of Utrecht as ſince, for the balance of trade in Europe. His Majeſty has nothing elſe in view but to maintain the ſaid conventions: the orders he has given to the Marquis d'Antin tend to that ſole end, his Majeſty having expreſly enjoined him not to interrupt the lawful commerce of the Engliſh merchants, and to let all the Commandants and Governors of the French colonies know, that ſuch are the intentions of his Majeſty, which they are ſtrictly to conform to.

At the ſame time his Majeſty has taken ſome precautions at the towns of l'Orient and Dunkirk; to prevent any ſurpriſe from the Engliſh corſairs; the inſults which our ſhips has met with, even at the time of France's entire impartiality, rendering at preſent thoſe precautions ſtill more neceſſary.

Such is, according to the ſtricteſt truth, the conduct obſerved by his Majeſty to this day, nor can any fact be alledged to the contrary. Nevertheleſs the court of London has expreſs'd her-

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ſelf in the ſharpeſt manner, concerning the pretended works made at Dunkirk, as if the court of France failed in the ſolemn engagements ſhe contracted by the treaty of Utrecht.

It is eaſy to judge, after this expoſition, on what ſide is the infraction of treaties; whether on France's ſide, who has contented herſelf with planting four batteries of cannon at Dunkirk, without raiſing up any fortification, or making any ſort of works, even declaring that thoſe batteries ſhall be deſtroyed as ſoon as tranquillity is reſtored; or whether it is on the ſide of the court of London, who no longer conceals the plan ſhe has form'd for invading openly all the commerce of the new world.

LONDON.

ON the 18th of November the parliament ſat down. The King's ſpeech, the addreſſes of both houſes, and the King's anſwers, were as follows:

The KING's SPEECH.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Acquainted you at the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, that I was making preparations for carrying on the juſt and neceſſary war, in which I am engaged, in the moſt proper places, and in the moſt vigorous and effectual manner. For this purpoſe, ſtrong ſquadrons were got ready, and ordered to ſail upon important ſervices, both in the Weſt-Indies and Europe, with as much expedition as the nature of thoſe ſervices, and the manning of the ſhips would admit: a very conſiderable body of land-forces was embarked, which is to be joined by a great number of my ſubjects, raiſed in America; and all things neceſſary for tranſporting the troops from hence, and carrying on the deſign'd expedition, were a long time in readineſs, and waited only for an opportunity to purſue the intended voyage.

The ſeveral incidents which have happened in the mean time, have had no effect upon me, but to confirm me in my reſolutions, and to determine me to add ſtrength to my armaments, rather than to divert or deter me from thoſe juſt and vigorous meaſures, which I am purſuing, for maintaining the honour of my crown, and the undoubted rights of my people.

The court of Spain, having already felt ſome effects of our reſentment, began to be ſenſible that they ſhould be no longer able, alone, to defend themſelves againſt the efforts of the Britiſh nation; and, if any other power, agreeably to ſome late extraordinary proceedings, ſhould interpoſe, and attempt to preſcribe or limit the operations of the war againſt my declared enemies, the honour and intereſt of my crown and kingdoms muſt call upon us to loſe no time in putting ourſelves into ſuch a condition, as may enable us to repel any inſults, and to fruſtrate any deſigns formed againſt us, in violation of the faith of treaties: and I hope any ſuch unprecedented ſteps, under what colour or pretence ſoever they may be taken, will inſpire my allies with a true ſenſe of the common danger, and will unite us in the ſupport and defence of the common cauſe.

The great and unhappy event of the death of the late Emperor, opens a new ſcene in the affairs of Europe, in which all the principal powers may be immediately, or conſequentially, concerned. It is impoſſible to determine what turn the policy, intereſt, or ambition of the ſeveral courts, may lead them to take in this critical conjuncture. It ſhall be my care, ſtrictly to obſerve and attend to their motions, and to adhere to the engagements I am under, in order to the maintaining of the balance of power, and the liberties of Europe; and, in concert with ſuch powers as are under the ſame obligations, or equally concerned to preſerve the publick ſafety and tranquillity, to act ſuch a part, as may beſt contribute to avert the imminent dangers that may threaten them.

Gentlemen of the houſe of Commons,

I have ordered eſtimates to be prepared, and laid before you, for the ſervice of the enſuing year. It is always with regret, that I aſk any extraordinary aids of my people; but what I have already mentioned, muſt be ſufficient to ſatisfy you, that ſome augmentations will be neceſſary, not only for carrying on the preſent war with vigour, but alſo to put ourſelves in a condition of being prepared for ſuch events, as may ariſe in this new and uncertain ſtate of Europe. I therefore depend on your experienced zeal and affection for me and my

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my government, your concern for your own safety, and the support of the common cause, to grant me such effectual supplies, as may be requisite for these great ends.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The scarcity of corn which has happened in many countries of Europe, has induced several powers to make extraordinary provisions, to obviate the ill effects of that misfortune; and, though in many parts of this kingdom, the harvest has proved more favourable, yet common prudence calls upon us to provide, as far as may be, against the approach of such a calamity. Besides, in our present circumstances, it would be an inexcusable neglect, to suffer our enemies to be supplied with any kind of provisions from my dominions, and that, even at the hazard of my own subjects being distressed. Let me therefore earnestly recommend it to you, to consider of some good law, to prevent this growing mischief.

The difficulties, which have been found in manning the fleet, by the usual methods hitherto practised, demonstrate the want of some parliamentary remedy. I must therefore press it upon you, to lose no time in making such provisions, in this respect, as, whilst we are engaged in a war, in defence of the commerce and navigation of this kingdom, may enable the publick to avail itself of those great numbers of seamen, which make so valuable a branch of our strength.

The importance of these considerations is so apparent, that I need use no arguments to convince you of the necessity of the utmost unanimity and dispatch in your proceedings.

The LORDS ADDRESS.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

The resolution which your Majesty is pleased to express, for carrying on this just and necessary war, in the most proper places, and in the most vigorous and effectual manner, is so agreeable to your royal wisdom, as well as to the united desires of your people, that it fills our hearts with the most grateful sentiments. As the West Indies has been the scene of the most outrageous depredations and violences, committed by the Spaniards upon your Majesty's subjects; we hope and trust, that, by the blessing of God on your Majesty's councils and arms, this nation will, in those parts more especially, obtain that just satisfaction for past injuries, and effectual security for their navigation and commerce for the future, which have hitherto been refused, contrary to the faith of the most solemn treaties.

We must ever acknowledge it, among the many instances of your Majesty's firmness, and true greatness of mind, that you have not suffered any incidents whatsoever, to divert or deter you from these measures: and we doubt not but your enemies will soon be convinced, that the security of your Majesty's government at home, must be strengthned in the affections and support of your people; whilst your squadrons are sent to distant parts of the world, as well for maintaining their undoubted rights and interests, as the honour of your imperial crown.

Under this deep sense of our obligations to your Majesty, permit us to offer at your royal feet the strongest assurances, that if any other power should attempt to prescribe or limit the operations of the war against your declared enemies, such an extraordinary proceeding would not fail to create in us the highest and most becoming indignation, and to determine us to concur in all proper measures, for vindicating and defending your Majesty's dignity and honour against any insults, and for frustrating any designs formed against us.

We are truly sensible, that the death of the late Emperor is an event, which calls for the vigilant attention of all those who sincerely wish well to the common safety and tranquillity; and we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we will readily stand by and support you, in adhering to the engagements you are under, for maintaining the balance and liberties of Europe on that important occasion, as well as in the vigorous prosecution of the present war.

To repeat the unfeigned professions, that we have so often made, of our unalterable fidelity

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elity and affection to your Majesty's sa-ed person and government, and our zeal the continuance of the Protestant suc-ssion in your Royal house, may seem un-essary, when it is demonstrably our es-tial interest, as well as our duty, to per-ere in these principles. But we should wanting to those warm impressions hich we feel in ourselves, if we did not, this conjuncture, declare to your Maje-, and the whole world, the fixed and haken purpose of our hearts, to defend d support this glorious cause, at the ex-nce of our blood and treasure; and, at e same time, express our sincere and ar-nt wishes, that all your enterprizes, for ntaining the honour of your Majesty's wn, and the rights of your people, may blessed with the most prosperous success.

The King's Answer.

My Lords, *I thank you for this most utiful and affectionate address. Nothing n be more agreeable to me, than the zeal u express for the vigorous prosecution of is just and necessary war, the support of y dignity and honour, and the preserva-on of the balance and liberties of Eu-pe; all which I have entirely at heart.*

The COMMONS ADDRESS.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of G. Britain in parliament assembled, humbly beg leave to congratulate your Majesty on our safe and happy return to these your egal dominions, and to return our sincere hanks for your Majesty's most gracious peech from the throne.

Your faithful Commons, with hearts ull of duty and gratitude, cannot but ac-nowledge your Majesty's great regard for he honour and interest of these kingdoms, n equipping such strong squadrons of men f war, and embarking a body of land-orces, to be joined and strengthened by a onsiderable number of your Majesty's sub-ects raised in America, in order to carry n the war in those parts in the most vi-gorous and effectual manner.

We, at the same time, beg leave to ex-ress our most dutiful sense of your Maje-y's firmness and resolution, in not suf-fering yourself to be diverted or deter-red by any incidents, from pursuing the just and vigorous measures in which your Majesty is engaged for maintaining the honour of the crown, and the undoubted rights of your people: and we assure your Majesty, that this house will stand by and support your Majesty against all attempts made in violation of the faith of treaties, or tending to prescribe or limit the operations of the war against your Majesty's declared enemies.

Your dutiful and loyal Commons will, with the utmost chearfulness, grant your Majesty such effectual supplies as shall be necessary, not only for carrying on the present war with vigour, but also to put your Majesty in a condition of being prepared for such events as may arise from the new and uncertain state of affairs in Europe.

Your Majesty's tenderness and concern for the ease and welfare of your subjects, in recommending to the consideration of parliament the great distress, that may arise, from the scarcity of corn, calls upon us in the strongest manner to lose no time in taking the most proper and effectual methods of avoiding those great and dangerous mischiefs, which so apparently threaten us, and of not suffering our enemies to be supplied with any kind of provisions from any of your Majesty's dominions.

We will also take such measures, as shall be thought most reasonable and practicable to enable your Majesty effectually to mann your royal fleets, for the defence of the kingdom, for the security of the trade and navigation of your Majesty's subjects, and for carrying on the war with vigour.

The King's Answer.

Gentlemen, *I return you my thanks for this dutiful and loyal address, and for the assurances you have given me of supporting me in the prosecution of this just and necessary war; and you may depend upon it, that the supplies you shall grant me, shall be employed in the most effectual manner to vindicate and support the honour and interest of my crown and kingdoms.*

A bill is depending in parliament, to enable his Majesty to prohibite the exportation of provisions for a time limited; and, in consequence of addresses

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from both houſes, his Majeſty, Nov. 27. ordered an embargo to be laid upon all ſhips in the ports of G. Britain, laden or to be laden with corn, grain, ſtarch, rice, beef, pork, or any other proviſions to be exported to foreign parts.

Both houſes of parliament have ordered thanks to be given to Admiral Vernon for his ſervices in the Weſt-Indies; and the whole nation have expreſſed their gratitude to that hero, by extraordinary rejoicings on his birth-day, and on the anniverſary of his taking Porto-bello.

Humphrey Parſons Eſq; Ld Mayor, Sir John Barnard, Sir Robert Godſchal, and George Heathcote, Eſq; are nominated to repreſent the city of London in the enſuing parliament.

The Roſe man of war, Capt. Frankland, Nov. 15. took a Spaniſh privateer off the Start, about 20 tuns, 30 feet long, with 14 oars, and about 25 men. She had an Engliſh ſloop in tow.

A Dutch ſhip, laden with Spaniſh goods from La Vera Cruz, was carried into Gibraltar by one of Adm. Haddock's ſquadron; but permitted to go on her voyage after taking out the goods, conſiſting of 60,000 pieces of eight, and a large quantity of cocoa.

The Dutch ſhip taken in the Weſt-Indies, with the baggage of the Vice-roy of Mexico on board, is condemn'd as lawful prize.

The Spaniards have taken the Illuſtrious Pair, of Briſtol, Wildey; the Clement, Kittier, from Newfoundland for Pool; the Union, La Viſcount, from Guernſey for Newfoundland, and the St Anthony ſloop, from Spithead for Minorca, with 60 recruits, all carried into St Sebaſtians: The Francis, Clark, from St Kitts for London, and the Plymouth, Olive, from Newfoundland for Liſbon, both carried into Ferrol: The Proſperity, Lawſon, from Santa Cruz for London, carried into the Canaries; the Mary, Roſiter, from Waterford for Oporto, into Galicia; the Thomas,—— from Scotland for Morlaix, into Morlaix; and the Margaret of Waterford, from Newfoundland, taken near Gibraltar, into Algiers: The Nancy, Man; the Frances, Green; and the Joſeph Hamilton, from Liſbon for Philadelphia, taken in lat. 37. by the French ſquadron in their voyage to America. The ——, Hopſon, from Virginia, and a ſcooner, Niſbet, from Madera.

P. S. *Dec.* 4. 'Tis confirm'd, by an edict publiſhed by the court of Ruſſia, that the Duke of Courland is degraded and impriſoned, and the Princeſs Anne raiſed to the regency, with the title of *Grand Princeſs of all the Ruſſias.*

S. S. trading ſtock was 98, 3 qr. Ditto Old Annuities, 109, 7 8ths. Ditto New, 110. Bank ſtock, 139, 1 half, a 3 qrs. India ditto, 155, 1 half. Three per cent. annuities, 99, 3 qrs. Million Bank, 112. Royal aſſurance, 89. London aſſurance, 11. Engliſh copper, 3 l. 15 s. Welch ditto, 15 s. African, 10. Seven per cent. Emperor's loan, 103, 1 qr. Five per cent. ditto, 83, 1 half. Bank circulation, 2 l. prem. Three per cent. India bonds, 3 l. 18 s. prem. Three 1 half per cent. Exchequer orders, no price. Three per cent. ditto, 5, 3 qrs. diſcount. Sea tallies, 1 qr. a 1 half prem. Lottery tickets, 5 l. 2 s.

EDINBURGH.

The Commiſſion of the General Aſſembly, at their meeting in November, agreed upon the neceſſity of a national faſt, on account of the war, the preſent dearth, *&c.* and an application is made to his Majeſty to appoint the day.

On the 13th they paſſed the following act, *viz.* "A petition having been preſented to the late General Aſſembly by Mr William Lauder Teacher of Humanity in Edinburgh, craving, That Dr Arthur Johnſton's *Latin paraphraſe on the pſalms of David*, and Mr Robert Boyd of Trochrig's *Hecatombe Chriſtiana*, may be recommended to be taught in all grammar ſchools; and the Aſſembly having appointed a committee of their number to take the deſire of the foreſaid petition into their conſideration, and report to the Commiſſion: the ſaid committee offered their opinion, That the Commiſſion ſhould grant the deſire of the ſaid petition, and recommend the ſaid Dr Johnſton's *Paraphraſe*

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phraſe to be taught in the lower claſſes of the ſchools, and Mr George Buchanan's *Paraphraſe on the pſalms*, together with Mr Robert Boyd of Trochrig's *Hecatombe Chriſtiana*, in the higher claſſes of ſchools, and Humanity claſſes in univerſities. The Commiſſion having heard the ſaid report, unanimouſly approved thereof, and did and hereby do recommend accordingly."

On the 20th the Lords of Seſſion paſſed an act of ſederunt, to commence on the 1ſt of December, ordaining all incidental petitions, relating to any depending proceſs, to be intimated to the oppoſite party, his agent or advocate, perſonally, by delivering a full copy thereof, at leaſt twenty two hours before ſuch petition be moved to the Lords; petitions reclaiming againſt inner or outer houſe interlocutors, petitions which require to be kept ſecret till they be adviſed, or thoſe which require ſuch diſpatch as cannot admit of the above intimation, being excepted.

The Juſtices of the Peace of the ſhire of Edinburgh have unanimouſly reſolved, that the county ſhall indemnify the city one half of its loſſes by the grain ſold to the poor at prime coſt.

Marriages and Births.

Alexander Pringle of Whitebank, Eſq; married to Miſs Suſanna Rutherford, daughter of Sir John Rutherford of that ilk.—The Counteſs of Winchelſea and Nottingham, deliver'd of a daughter.--The Viſcounteſs Mountjoy, of a ſon.

Deaths.

At Paris, James Touchet, Earl of Caſtlehaven in Ireland, and Baron Audley in England. — Sir John Comyns, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, S. Britain.—James Herbert, Eſq; member for Oxford.—William Hucks, Eſq; member for Walingford, brewer to the houſhold, ſaid to be worth 500,000l.—Richard Levett, Eſq; Alderman of Alderſgate-ward, London. — Gregory Weſtcombe, Eſq; one of the band of Gentlemen penſioners.— John Aſhley, one of the Gentlemen Uſhers.—Col. Dalway.—In Barbadoes, Gen. Pierce, in September.—Off of Newfoundland, in his paſſage home from Virginia, Capt. Richard Symonds, of the Colcheſter man of war.—In the iſle of Leon, aged 121 years and 4 months, Bernard Salunt, born at Narbonne. He retained his judgment till the laſt.—Aged upwards of 90, William Wightman ſkinner, ſometime Conveener of Edinburgh. —Adam Mercer Writer in Edinburgh. — Of the ſmall-pox, aged 13, Miſs Irvine, daughter of Mr Alexander Irvine of Saphock, Advocate, much lamented.

Preferments.

Sir Edmund Probyn, one of the Judges of the King's-bench, *Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, S. Britain.*—Martin Wright, Eſq; one of the Barons of the Exchequer, *one of the Judges of the King's-bench.*—Sir Thomas Abney, Serjeant at law, *one of the Barons of the Exchequer.* — Auguſtine Earle, Eſq; *a Commiſſioner of Exciſe, S. Britain.*—[*The above taken from the Gazette.*]—George Stone, Eſq; *Receiver-general to the general poſt-office.*—Mr Naiſborough, *Deputy-clerk of the crown.*—Thomas Gordon, Eſq; *Groom of the bed-chamber.* — William Benn, Eſq; a ſoap-boiler, *Alderman of Alderſgate-ward.*—Ld James Cavendiſh, *Colonel of Dalway's dragoons.* — Colonels Cholmondeley, Pawlet and Mordaunt, *Colonels of three regiments of foot.*—John Murray, Eſq; *a Lieutenant in the horſe-guards, blue.*—George Mure, *Captain-Lieutenant*; Thomas Dalton and James Erſkine, *Lieutenants*, and James Mure, *a Cornet, in the royal Scots Gray dragoons.*—Andrew Booth, *a Captain*; William O Farrel, *an Enſign*, and Thomas Morris, *Adjutant, in Gen. Tyrrel's regiment.*—Ld Lempſter, *an Enſign in the firſt regiment of foot-guards*, and John Bateman, *an Enſign in the ſecond.* — Capt. Cornelius Mitchell, of the Buckingham, *Commander of the Argyle.*— Sir William Hewit, of the Baſiliſk, *Commander of the Colcheſter.*—Capt. John Peddie, of the Prince of Orange merchantman, (which he defended bravely againſt a Spaniſh privateer, but was afterwards loſt in the ſtorm) *Commander*

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of the Basilisk. 'Tis said he has receiv'd about 3000 l. in presents, for his bravery, and that all the crew are likewise liberally rewarded.

Died within the walls of the city of Edinburgh, and buried in the Grayfriars church-yard, November 1740.

Men 17, Women 18, Children 73. In all 108. Increased this month 4.

Age.	N°.	Diseases.	N°.
Under —	2 48	Old age —	9
Betwixt 2 & 5	21	Consumption	18
5 & 10	4	Fever —	7
10 & 20	2	Measles —	24
20 & 30	3	Small-pox —	22
30 & 40	2	Suddenly —	3
40 & 50	11	Still-born —	3
50 & 60	4	Teething —	5
60 & 70	2	Pleurisy —	2
70 & 80	8	Chincough —	5
80 & 90	2	Convulsion —	6
90 & 100	1	Flux —	1
		Gravel —	1
		Iliac-passion	1
		Palsie —	1

NEW BOOKS.

YES they are. *In answer to, Are these things so?* Pr. 1 s.

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The operations of the war for the first twelve months examined. 6 d.

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A letter to a member of parliament on the present state of affairs. 1 s.

The faction. A tale. 6 d.

He has kept his word. A poem on Admiral Vernon. 4 d.

Truth in fiction. 4 d.

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A cursory view of the creation. By Thomas Cooke, A. M. 4 s. 6 d.

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The novels of Bandello, in Italian. In 4 parts, 4to. 2 l. 5 s. *the small, and* 3 l. 10 s. *the large paper.*

The concise practical measurer. 2 s.

The Gentleman's compleat book-keeper. By R. Hayes. 4 s. 6 d.

Seven conferences on painting. 4 s. 6 d.

A treatise concerning the malignant fever in Barbadoes. By Dr Warren. 1 s. 6 d.

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M. Tyrii dissertationes, Gr. Lat. 4to. 18 s.

Causes of some late divisions in dissenting congregations. By H. Moore. 6 d.

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The good patriot's security in the time of publick distress. A sermon, on Admiral Vernon's birth-day, from Isaiah xxxiii. 15, 16. 6 d.

Novum Testamentum Græcum. 3 l. 6 d. Edit. nov. Edinb.

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The SCOTS *Magazine.*

DECEMBER, 1740.

PROCEEDINGS of the *Political Club*, continued from p. 511.

In order to let the reader understand the nature and cause of the following debate, I must acquaint him, that on Tuesday Dec. 18. *last, a motion was made in the house of Commons, That that house should be called over upon* Wednesday Jan. 16. *then next; but, upon the question's being put, it passed in the negative. This being something new, it occasioned a debate in our club, upon* Jan. 31. *which was opened by* M. Cato *thus.*

Mr President,

IT is with regret I observe, that almost every session introduces something new, in diminution of the liberties, or derogatory to the constitution of this kingdom. In former times, the grant of a supply often stood a long debate in this house, and was sometimes absolutely refused; now it is always granted *nemine contradicente*. The *malt* tax was never introduced till towards the latter end of K. William's reign, and was at first most strenuously opposed: nay, even during the war in Q. Anne's time, it was often opposed, and was looked on as a tax so burdensome upon the poor labourers and manufacturers of this kingdom, that no man imagined any minister would have the assurance to propose renewing or continuing it, after the war was over. Even our neighbours of Scotland thought themselves so sure of this, that by the articles of union they stipulated to be free from this tax only during the war. But they, as well as we, have since found ourselves mistaken. This grievous tax has been continued to this day, and is now, in some measure, become a motion of course. The *mutiny* bill was at first thought to be a most dangerous innovation, and was therefore most violently opposed, especially in time of peace; but it is now become so familiar to us, that we pass it regularly every year, without the least opposition, as if a standing army and a mutiny act were two things absolutely necessary for the subsistence of our constitution. Not many years ago, the members of this house, when assembled, looked upon themselves as the grand inquest of the nation, and therefore thought themselves in duty bound to enquire into every grievance and complaint, without any other foundation than a publick rumour; but now every motion that tends to an enquiry into any complaint, is rejected; or, if any such enquiry be ever set on foot, it is committed to those who are themselves suspected of being the original and chief cause of the complaint.

Thus, Sir, we have for several years gone on approaching, I'm afraid, to the confines of slavery; and in this session we have made a new and a very extraordinary step. Till this session it was always thought, that every member of this house had a right to move for a call of the house. We are fellow-labourers for the publick good; we are all joint guardians of the liberties of our country; and every member has a right to insist upon it, that his companion should attend and bear an equal share of the burden, or at least a share proportionable to his strength and capacity. But in this session, Sir, we have seen a motion for a call rejected, tho' that motion was the first of the kind

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that had been made, tho' it was supported by strong reasons, and tho' it was desired by near one half of those that were then present. This I must look on as a most dangerous innovation; for when we begin to encroach upon, or derogate from our own rights, no man can tell how far it may go. I do not know, but I may live to see the question put, upon a Gentleman's rising up to speak, Whether he shall have leave to speak? And if ever such a question should be put, I shall not in the least doubt of its being carried in the negative, in case there should be a suspicion of the Gentleman's intending to utter things disagreeable to those that may then have the direction of the majority of this house.

For this reason, Sir, I was extremely sorry when I saw the question put upon such a motion, and still more sorry when I saw that question carried in the negative; and if I were not fully convinced, that there were then several objections to the motion which do not now subsist, I should take care not to lay a foundation for another precedent of the same nature. But as the most material objections are now removed, I believe, I may venture to move again for a call of the house; and as I am under great concern for the success of my motion, I shall beg leave to explain some of those objections which do not now subsist.

For this purpose, Sir, I must take notice, that if the last motion for a call had been complied with, the country Gentlemen who have no place or office under the crown, and are therefore under no obligation, but that of conscience, to attend the service of this house, unless we force them to it by a call, would have found themselves under a necessity of keeping their Christmas in town, instead of keeping it in the country; and I must further take notice, that, according to my observation, every Gentleman in this house that has, or is suspected of having a post, office or pension from the crown, gave his negative to that motion. Now, I hope, they will give me leave to suppose, which very few others will do, that their giving this negative proceeded from the great regard they have for the poor people in the country. By the nature of their place or office, they are obliged to attend punctually the business of this house, and to reside, for the greatest part of the year, perhaps the greatest part of the seven years, in this great city. By this means the poor in the country are deprived of that hospitality, which they so generously, and so charitably keep, when an election, or some such occasion, calls upon them to visit their constituents; and in order to atone, as far as they could, for the loss the poor suffer by their absence, they were unwilling to draw away from the country any of those Gentlemen who might, and were inclined to keep their Christmas there. But as Christmas is now over, this reason no longer subsists; therefore I now hope to have the concurrence of many of those Gentlemen who voted against the last motion for a call; and I wish for it the more ardently, because I expect no success unless I have the concurrence, or at least the connivance of some of them.

Another objection, Sir, that does not now subsist, is that which was removed the very last day of our meeting together in this house: I mean the motion for leave to bring in a bill, for the better securing the freedom of parliaments, by limiting the number of officers to sit in the house of Commons. This bill, if it should pass into a law, would certainly exclude many Gentlemen who have now the honour of having seats in this house: at least it would render them incapable of being chosen members of a new parliament, unless they should resign the offices they now enjoy. I have so good an opinion of the officers and other placemen who are now in this house, that every one of them would, I believe, give it his concurrence, notwithstanding the private disadvantage it would be to him, if he thought the passing of such a bill absolutely necessary for the preservation of our constitution. But, I hope they will pardon me if I think,

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their private interest prevents their seeing the publick necessity; for, in this, my opinion is confirmed by their unanimously joining to put a negative upon the very motion for leave to bring in such a bill. Now, when the last motion for a call was made, it was strongly suspected, nay it was, I dare say, by most of them firmly believed, that there would be some such motion soon after the Christmas holydays; and as most of the country Gentlemen that were then absent, have upon former occasions appeared to be friends to every such proposition, it was the business of those that were against it, to prevent their being brought up to town, till after that motion was over, in order that the motion might appear to have as few friends in this house as possible, especially considering the vast majority of friends the bill appears to have in every other part of the kingdom.

This, Sir, was, I believe, the most material objection against a call when the motion was last made: which I am the rather induced to believe, because I observed that most, if not every one of those that appeared against the call, appeared likewise against the motion for this bill. And in this I must allow they acted like good Generals: for when a General expects to be attack'd, it is certainly his business, if possible, to prevent the enemy's being able to assemble all their forces together; especially when he can do it without dispersing or losing the assistance of any of his own troops. But as this attack is now over; as they can be afraid of no future attack in this session of parliament, I hope, they will allow us to have the authority of this house, for compelling the attendance of those members, who can by no other means be compelled to attend their duty in the execution of that trust which they have accepted of from their country. Therefore I cannot think, that even the Hon. Gent. near me, will now be against a call, unless he be, on his part, meditating some new attack. To have the house called over once at least in a session, is in itself so reasonable, and has been so constantly practised, that I shall expect even his concurrence, unless he has something *in petto*, which he thinks will suit best with a thin assembly: and if, by giving his negative to this question, he declares he has, I hope it will have the same effect with a call; I hope it will bring every absent member to town, that has the least regard for the liberties of his country.

After having thus shewn, Sir, that those reasons which induced many Gentlemen to be against the last motion for a call, do not now subsist; if I knew any reason still subsisting against it, I would endeavour to state and answer it: but I cannot really suggest to myself the least shadow of a reason now subsisting against it, except that which I have mentioned, and which, in the opinion of most Gentlemen present, will, I hope, be a prevailing argument in its favour. I say, Sir, I cannot suggest to myself the least shadow of a reason against what I am to propose; for surely Gentlemen are not in earnest when they say, that because many Gentlemen absented themselves from the house last session, after being convinced that their presence could be of no service to their country, therefore no Gentleman ought to be compelled, during this session, to give his attendance. This may be a foundation for some Gentlemens shewing us how great masters they are of wit and humour, (as they did upon the last motion for a call;) but it can never be a foundation for a serious argument. And I must observe, that however witty those Gentlemen may be upon the secession, as they are pleased to call it, it had a very good effect. I am convinced, the Gentlemen that retired from the house, did more service to their country by retiring, than they could have done by continuing in their seats. They saw they could not by their presence prevent or alter the destructive, pacifick humour some Gentlemen were then in; and therefore they resolved to try what they could do by their absence. Accordingly it had the desired effect; it made us resolve to vindicate our ho-

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nour and our rights by arms, since we saw we could not do it by fair means: and if the war be but tolerably conducted, it will, with the assistance of providence, contribute as much to the glory and advantage of this nation, as any war we were ever engaged in.

As this change of measures removed the cause which Gentlemen had to absent themselves from the house, most of them have now returned; because, if we are really resolved to prosecute the war with vigour, their attendance here may be of some service to their country. Those who are now absent, have no reason of a publick nature for their absence; and I am for having the house called over, in order to see, whether any, and which of them may have a good reason of a private nature: for surely they ought to be here, if they have no good reason of any kind for being absent. Not only the constant custom of parliament, but many cogent reasons of a particular nature at this time plead in favour of what I propose; and there is not the least shadow of reason against it: even those who have been for many years the constant and unvariable friends of the administration, can now have no objection to it: and, if a negative be put upon it, merely out of a wantonness of power, it may again afford a good reason of a publick nature, not only for those that are absent to continue so, but for many of those that are present, to retire a second time; for when things are carried in this house without any reason, by what I must, in such a case, call an unreasonable majority, those who are governed by their reason have no business here; because their attendance can be of no service to their country, and may throw a blemish upon their characters. As the custom of this house does not allow of protesting, or entering our dissent upon the journals, when destructive measures are pursued, and authorised or approved by this house, neither the present generation nor posterity can distinguish who were for or against that authority or approbation; and therefore, the only method Gentlemen have for vindicating their characters, is to retire from an assembly where their presence may give countenance to resolutions which their negative cannot prevent, nor their conscience approve.

This sort of absence, Sir, is what even an administration ought to prevent, or put an end to as soon as possible; because it can never happen, but when such questions are carried, as are condemned by a great majority of the nation. The present administration have wisely taken care to remove the cause of many Gentlemens absenting themselves from the house last session, by giving them, as well as the nation, the satisfaction they desired; and the best method they can take for preventing the like in time to come, is to put always a greater confidence in their arguments than in their numbers. I hope they will do so upon the present occasion, and therefore I shall beg leave to state some of those arguments in favour of my motion, which proceed from the critical situation our affairs are in at present. Let us consider, Sir, we are now engaged in a war, which is already expensive, and may become dangerous. We have it from a great authority, that *in a multitude of counsellors there is safety*; and as we, in this house, may assist his Majesty not only with our purses, but also with our advice, therefore, the more numerous and full our assembly is, the better advice we may give, the more weight, I am sure, it will have, both abroad and at home. The resolutions of a full house will add great weight to all his Majesty's negotiations abroad, and encourage foreign powers to enter into alliances with us. But a little while ago we were told by an Hon. Gent. whose veracity cannot be questioned, and whose knowledge may be depended on, that we had not one ally in the universe. In the present war we have, as yet, no occasion for an ally; we can have no occasion for an ally, unless our enemies should get some very powerful allies to assist them. The resolutions of a full house of Commons will shew the spirit of the nation, and may thereby very pro-

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probably prevent our enemies getting any ſuch aſſiſtance; or, if they ſhould, thoſe reſolutions may enable his Majeſty to form a confederacy upon the continent of Europe, which may give our preſent enemies and their future allies ſo much to do at land, as may diſable them from giving us any oppoſition at ſea, or in any part of the Weſt-Indies: whereas, if it be obſerved by foreign powers, as it certainly will, that there is but a ſmall number of members in this houſe, and that the friends of the adminiſtration have, by a moſt extraordinary and unprecedented negative, prevented an increaſe of that number, they will either conclude, that the preſent war is not a national, but a miniſterial war, which, I am ſure, is far from being the caſe; or they will conclude, that our miniſters have entered into the war, only to amuſe the people, and that they have not a mind to proſecute it in ſuch a manner as to give ſatisfaction to the nation; either of which concluſions will not only diſcourage thoſe that incline to give us aſſiſtance, but encourage thoſe that incline to give aſſiſtance to our enemies.

Thus it appears, Sir, that, with regard to our affairs abroad, it is abſolutely neceſſary to have a full houſe; and, with regard to our affairs at home, it is ſtill more neceſſary. Let us conſider, Sir, that in this war, and indeed in every war we can be engaged in, we ought to take all the methods we can think of, for giving ſatisfaction to thoſe that contribute towards the expence of the war, and ſpirit to thoſe that carry it on. The people will pay their taxes with pleaſure, when they find they are granted by a full houſe; becauſe they will ſuppoſe that no larger ſums are granted, than are neceſſary; and that every ſhilling they pay, will be applied, with the greateſt œconomy, to the publick ſervice. Then, with regard to thoſe that are, or may be employed in any of our warlike operations, there is nothing gives greater ſpirit and confidence to thoſe that fight either by ſea or land, than their being convinced, that they are directed in every thing they undertake by wiſe councils, and commanded by brave and experienced officers. This both our ſoldiers and ſailors will believe, when they find that all our meaſures are adviſed and comptrolled by a full houſe of Commons: they will ſuppoſe thoſe miniſters to be wiſe, vigilant and careful, that are willing upon all occaſions, and in every ſtep, to ſubmit their conduct to the review of a full and free houſe of parliament: this will inſpire every ſoldier with a confidence of ſucceſs, and this confidence will always be almoſt an infallible means to ſecure it.

On the other hand, Sir, if this houſe be not near full, eſpecially if its being ſo be prevented by thoſe that are the known friends of the adminiſtration, what muſt the conſequence be? Does not every one know, that thoſe who are in any poſt or employment under the crown, muſt attend upon the private call of the miniſter; but that thoſe who are under no ſuch influence, depend only upon the publick call of the houſe? Does not every one know, that the former will be made uſe of whenever the miniſter thinks he has occaſion for it; and will not every one ſuppoſe, that he prevents the latter, becauſe he is afraid of having his conduct enquired into or directed, by a full and free repreſentative of the nation? From hence every man muſt naturally conclude, that his conduct is either weak or wicked, or perhaps both; and this will of courſe raiſe an univerſal diſſatisfaction among the people, and a general diffidence among our ſoldiers and ſailors. This diſſatisfaction may expoſe us to a real danger of being invaded, and this diffidence may render it impoſſible for us to prevent or oppoſe that invaſion.

The preſent ſituation of our affairs, therefore, both at home and abroad, particularly require a full houſe; and beſides this, Sir, we have now under our conſideration ſome affairs of the utmoſt importance to this nation. We have already ordered a bill to be brought in for regiſtering ſeamen. What ſort of one it may be, I do not as yet know; but it is an affair in which the liberties and

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and well-being of one of the moſt numerous and uſeful bodies of men in the kingdom are deeply concerned; and therefore, I am ſure, it highly deſerves to be conſidered in a full houſe. It is really, in my opinion, an affair of ſuch conſequence, that I ſhould think the very rumour of our being to have ſuch an affair ſoon before us, would render a call unneceſſary. It certainly would do ſo, if Gentlemen were properly touched with what may ſo ſenſibly affect the happineſs and proſperity of their country; but the queſtion that was before us the very laſt day we met here, convinces me, that nothing but a call can force ſome Gentlemen to attend the ſervice of their country in this aſſembly. In that queſtion the preſervation, the very being of our conſtitution was concerned; and yet there were not much above two thirds of our number preſent; which was, perhaps, the occaſion of a negative's being put upon the queſtion; for I muſt obſerve, that, of thoſe who were for that negative, there were, at leaſt, two thirds that poſſeſſed places or offices under the crown, and were conſequently, from their private intereſt, engaged to have a negative put upon that queſtion. I am far from ſaying, that any one of them was governed by ſuch a motive; becauſe, in all affairs of a publick nature, I believe, they never have the leaſt regard to their private intereſt: but, if it could be ſuppoſed, that any member of this houſe were governed by his private intereſt, it muſt be allowed, that ſuch a member would never vote for excluding himſelf from having a ſeat or voice in this aſſembly, till after he had reſigned the lucrative poſt or office he enjoyed under the crown.

This late experience, Sir, has convinced me, that nothing but a call can bring up the members that are now abſent; and, as it has been the conſtant cuſtom to call over the houſe at leaſt once in a ſeſſion, as there are many ſtrong reaſons of a particular nature now for it, as there is not the leaſt ſhadow of a reaſon againſt it, I hope it will be complied with: therefore, I ſhall conclude with moving, *That this houſe be called over upon this day three months, being the 21ſt of February next.*

The next ſpeech I ſhall give you was made by C. Triarius, *to this effect.*

Mr Preſident,

I Shall agree with the Hon. Gent. who made you this motion, that the ſeceſſion which happened laſt ſeſſion of parliament, was the cauſe of our changing our meaſures; but I differ widely from him as to the manner in which that cauſe produced its effect. He ſeems to think, it had an effect upon the court of G. Britain, and was the immediate cauſe of our giving over to negotiate, and beginning to fight with Spain; whereas, I think, it had not the leaſt effect upon our court, but had an immediate effect upon the court of Spain, and was the only cauſe of that court's refuſing to comply with any one thing that was ſtipulated by the convention. I am perſuaded, the Spaniſh miniſter here thought the ſeceſſion of ſo extraordinary and dangerous a nature, that our miniſters would ſubmit to any thing from Spain, rather than declare war while the nation was in a condition ſo diſtreſſed and forlorn: nay, I do not know but that he was confirmed in this opinion, by ſome amongſt ourſelves without doors; and an account of this ſeceſſion, with his opinion upon it, being tranſmitted by him to the court of Spain, they gave entire credit to his account, and placed an implicit faith in his opinion; which was the cauſe of their obſtinacy; and their obſtinacy was the cauſe, and a moſt juſt cauſe too, for our court's altering its meaſures. Thus the ſeceſſion was the cauſe, but not the immediate cauſe of our beginning hoſtilities againſt Spain. When that memorable event happened, we were in a courſe of negotiation; even Spain itſelf ſeemed inclined to do us juſtice: but that event put an end to their peaceable inclinations, and this of courſe put an end to ours.

From hence, I think, Sir, it is at leaſt highly probable, that the war we are now engaged in, was chiefly owing

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o the seceſſion; and when Gentlemen conſider this, however confident they may at any time think themſelves of being in the right, notwithſtanding the majority's being of a different opinion, I hope they will be cautious of ever leaving the houſe in a body, as many of them did at that time; becauſe it can never be of any ſervice, and may be of great prejudice to their country. The only precedent I can think of for ſuch a method of proceeding, is that which happened in the long parliament in K. Charles I.'s reign; and the conſequences that enſued at that time, cannot, I am ſure, give encouragement to any man to follow the example. The misfortunes and the melancholy cataſtrophe of that reign, and the tyranny that was afterwards ſet up, ought to be a warning to Gentlemen, not to deſert the ſervice of their country in this houſe, even tho' many things be agreed to by the majority, which they think inconſiſtent with the intereſt of their country. At leaſt, they ought not to leave the houſe, unleſs their attendance here be abſolutely inconſiſtent with the ſafety of their lives, which was the caſe of many members at that time.

But, Sir, when Gentlemen retire voluntarily, and as it were in a pet, they can expect no excuſe from their country, and, I am ſure, they deſerve no favour from thoſe that continue in their duty. Suppoſe ſome of theſe pettiſh ſeceders ſhould, in a little time, reaſon themſelves out of their pet, and ſhould return to their duty in this houſe; could they with any countenance deſire, that the houſe ſhould do them the favour to compel the attendance of their companions? If they did, ought it not to be ſuppoſed, that they did it for no other reaſon, but that their return might be as conſpicuous as their seceſſion? This, Sir, I take to be the very caſe at preſent. A number of Gentlemen retired laſt ſeſſion from the ſervice of their country in this houſe, I muſt ſuppoſe in a pet, becauſe I can aſſign no other reaſon; many of them have this ſeſſion returned, but ſome have not: and now thoſe that have returned, deſire the favour of us, to call the houſe over, in order to force the reſt to return to their duty. I ſay, Sir, they deſire the favour; for a call is a favour granted by the houſe to thoſe that deſire it. It is not a right that every member may inſiſt on. Every member has a right to move for it; but a queſtion is always to be put upon that motion, and it is never complied with unleſs agreed to by the majority. A call is therefore very different from the right every member has to be heard; for, when a member riſes up to ſpeak, I believe, it was never yet put to the queſtion, whether or no he ſhould have leave to ſpeak?

The motion now before us is therefore a favour which the Hon. Gent. that made it deſires of us; and every Gentleman has a right to conſider whether it ought to be granted, and to refuſe it if he thinks it unreaſonable. I am one of thoſe that think it unreaſonable, and ſhall therefore be againſt granting it. We gave thoſe that are returned, leiſure to cool of the pettiſh humour they had fallen into laſt ſeſſion. I think it was right to do ſo; and, with regard to moſt of them, it has had a proper effect. If there are any of them that are not as yet grown cool, and therefore continue in the country, I am for leaving them ſtill there. The country, we know, is a proper place for reflection and conſideration; and no cure is ſo good for a pettiſh humour, as cool reaſoning and mature deliberation. If we ſhould force them out of their country-retirement, they will probably oppoſe every thing we do; and it is not ſo much the numbers, as the unanimity of thoſe that are here, that gives credit to the nation, or weight to his Majeſty's negotiations at foreign courts. Even at home, the diviſions among the people without doors, are generally owing to the diviſions among thoſe within; and when the diviſions among thoſe within appear to be near equal, they often occaſion what approaches very near to ſedition among thoſe that are without. We ſeem now to be pretty unanimous, at leaſt with regard to our foreign affairs. Even

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thoſe who have this ſeſſion returned to their ſeats in this houſe, ſeem willing to agree to every thing that may contribute to a vigorous proſecution of the war: and no wonder they ſhould be ſo; for they cannot well refuſe to contribute all in their power to the vigorous proſecution of that war, which they themſelves were, as I have ſhewn, the remote authors of. This unanimity will ſhew our enemies what they are to expect; and, by deſtroying their hopes of being able to hurt us or defend themſelves, will of courſe render them inclinable to agree to reaſonable terms; which muſt neceſſarily bring the war to a happy and ſpeedy iſſue: therefore we ought to do nothing that may in the leaſt interrupt that unanimity which now ſo happily prevails amongſt us.

Beſides, Sir, the Hon. Gent. who made you this motion, has himſelf, I think, given you a very good reaſon for not agreeing to it. In giving a reaſon for the ſeceſſion laſt year, he told us, that Gentlemen may ſometimes, for the ſake of conſcience, and for preſerving their characters, be obliged to leave the houſe: he even ſeemed to intimate, that this was the cauſe of Gentlemens leaving the houſe laſt ſeſſion. Now, if ſome of thoſe Gentlemen have got over this ſcruple of conſcience, how do they know that all the reſt have? We muſt naturally, or at leaſt charitably, I think, ſuppoſe, that thoſe who have not returned, have not as yet got over this ſcruple of conſcience; and as I ſhall always be againſt putting any ſort of force upon a ſcrupulous and tender conſcience, I muſt be againſt compelling the attendance of ſuch Gentlemen in this houſe. I am far from finding fault with any of thoſe Gentlemen that have returned; I think they have done their duty in doing ſo: but I cannot help comparing them to the preſent King of Spain. He, ſome years ago, reſigned his crown, out of a pet; and, I think, it was a religious or conſcientious pet too. I wiſh they had done with him, as the ſubjects of a near ally of his ſince did: I wiſh they had held him at his word, and never allowed him to reſume, as they might and ought to have done; for his ſecond ſon, now Prince of Aſturias, was the natural ſucceſſor to his eldeſt, who died King of Spain. But they allowed him to reſume his crown; and we know what diſturbances he has ſince bred in Europe. If the Gentlemen who left their ſeats laſt ſeſſion, had been taken at their word; if we had ordered their ſeats to be filled up by new elections, they could have complained of no injuſtice. But we have this ſeſſion allowed ſuch of them as have returned, to reſume their ſeats. In this we have ſhewn ourſelves to be as indulgent as the ſubjects of the King of Spain; and, I hope, they will take care not to make ſuch an uſe of the indulgence they have met with, as his Catholick Majeſty has done. They have hitherto ſhewn, that they do not incline to do ſo; but, if we ſhould call in thoſe that, for ought we know, are ſtill in a bad humour, I do not know what might happen. Evil company, they ſay, corrupts good manners. 'Tis a dangerous experiment, to mingle the infected with thoſe that are but juſt recovered. For this reaſon I was againſt the call, when it was laſt propoſed; and as this reaſon ſtill ſubſiſts, I am ſtill againſt it.

There was no true reaſon, Sir, for being againſt the call, when it was laſt propoſed, but what ſtill ſubſiſts in its full force. Every one muſt be ſenſible, that the Hon. Gent. was not ſerious in the reaſons he aſſigned, and which, he ſaid, are not now ſubſiſting. However merry he may make himſelf upon this occaſion, and we are all ſenſible of his ſuperior talent in that way, I ſhall always think, that Gentlemen are more uſefully employed in entertaining their neighbours in the country, than in oppoſing every neceſſary meaſure of government in this houſe; and therefore I ſhall always be againſt compelling any man to come here, who, by his former conduct, has given me reaſon to ſuſpect, that, when he is here, he will certainly do ſo. As for the queſtion that was before us the laſt time of our meeting here, which was but the day before yeſterday,

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day, I shall never be afraid of its g consider'd in a house full of mem-, that are free from the prejudices passion and interest. The reasons nst the question are so many and so erful, and the reasons for it so few so weak, that, in such a house, I not in the least doubt of its meeting ays with the same fate, and that the e full the house is, the greater the ority will be that appears against it. his therefore could be no reason, for any Gentleman's being against all, the last time it was moved. With , I am sure, it would rather have en a reason for my being for a call; cause, tho' some of those that are ab- it would perhaps have voted in favour that question, I am convinced many ore of them would have voted against

My chief reason for being then a- inst a call was, as I have said, be- use I was against our doing any thing at might interrupt or lessen that una- imity in this house, which, with plea- ire, I observe in every thing that re- tes to a vigorous prosecution of the ar; and as this reason against a call now as strong as it was at that time, must therefore be against agreeing to he Hon. Gent.'s motion.

The next that stood up was Mecænas, *the purport of whose speech was thus.*

Mr President,

THE secession, as it is called, which happened upon a very remark- ble occasion last session, is a point that annot be reasoned upon here; and herefore I shall make no application f what I am going to say. I have eard, Sir, of physicians taking their eave of a sick house, when they thought hey could do no good there, and were ot over greedy of fees; for some are o keen after fees, that they would stay nd prescribe to a dead body. But I ave heard of others, of a more gene- ous character, refusing to continue their ttendance, when they fear'd it was of o benefit; and yet returning again up- n being called to a new consultation, when better symptoms appeared, and greater hopes of a recovery; to offer at least the proper remedy, whether it should be taken or not.

Upon this Pomponius Atticus *stood up, and spoke in substance as follows.*

Mr President,

THE motion now under our con- sideration, is a matter of such in- difference to me, that I am perfectly easy whether you agree to it or not. I shall grant that it is very usual to call the house over, at least once in a ses- sion; but I could never observe that it was of any advantage to the publick, and it is often of great inconvenience to private Gentlemen who have the ho- nour, in this case I may say the mis- fortune, to have a seat in this house. I take it for granted, that every Gentle- man who has any thing to offer for the service of his country or constituents, or who thinks he has any thing to guard against that may be of prejudice to ei- ther, will attend duly in his place; and, I cannot think, there is any great necessity for a Gentleman's being here, who thinks his absence can do no harm, nor his presence any good. But, when the house is ordered to be called over, with the usual *certiorari*, That all those who do not then attend, shall be taken into custody; no Gentleman can be sure that his excuse will be admitted; and therefore many think themselves obli- ged to attend, tho' their attendance can be of no service at that time to the pu- blick, and may be of great prejudice to them in their private affairs.

From this consideration, Sir, I have always been of opinion, that a call of the house is neither necessary, nor ought to be made so often as it is; and since, in the last session, we indulged a great many with the privilege of being ab- sent, tho' we knew they had no ex- cuse, I think those that are now absent have reason to expect, at least from them, the same indulgence. I shall not find fault, Sir, with the privilege Gen- tlemen took to themselves upon that occasion. Whatever was their pretence, they soon found their absence condemn- ed by the whole nation; and, I believe, they have since heartily repented of

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what they did: which makes me, and I hope it has made their ſeveral conſtituents, ready to forgive them. But I cannot forbear taking notice, that the obſervation made by the Hon. Gent. who ſpoke laſt, puts me in mind of a merry paſſage in a French play, where a Gentleman aſks a ſervant, how her maſter does? In a fair way of doing well, Sir, ſays ſhe; for his phyſicians have juſt taken their leave of him.

Now, Sir, to apply this to what happened laſt ſeſſion, I muſt obſerve, that after our political phyſicians had taken their leave of the houſe, as ſome of them did in a very ſolemn manner, things went better than they had done for a great while before. Several laws were paſſed, which gave great ſatisfaction to the people; every thing was carried on with great concord and unanimity; and to the joy of our friends, and diſappointment of our enemies both at home and abroad, the nation ſoon appeared in perfect health and full vigour. Among ſeveral good laws paſſed in that interval, I cannot but take notice of the *Act for granting a liberty to carry ſugars of the growth or manufacture of any of his Majeſty's ſugar-colonies in America, from the ſaid colonies directly to foreign parts, in ſhips built in G. Britain, and navigated according to law.* As our ſugar-trade had, for ſome time, been in a declining condition, this act was as much wanted, as it gave univerſal ſatisfaction when paſſed, except to thoſe whoſe private intereſt led them to be againſt it; and yet, if our political phyſicians had been attending, 'tis probable they would have oppoſed the bill: for they generally oppoſe every remedy that is preſcribed by thoſe who muſt be ſuppoſed to be our beſt phyſicians, becauſe they have the beſt opportunity of knowing the ſtate and circumſtances of the nation. The *Act for the more effectual preventing of exceſſive and deceitful gaming*, was likewiſe paſſed during the ſeceſſion, and is a law that muſt be agreeable to every one who has a due regard to the morals or happineſs of the people; yet, if this bill had been at any other time propoſed, it would perhaps have been violently oppoſed for, in this caſe, as in every other of the like nature, it would have been ſaid, that every new penal law was an addition to the power of the crown, already too extenſive; which, in my opinion, is the ſame as if a phyſician ſhould object to a preſcription, becauſe of its being proper for giving ſtrength to his patient.

For this reaſon, Sir, if the fly ſervant-maid were, upon this occaſion, aſked ſuch another queſtion, I'm afraid ſhe would anſwer, In a very bad way, Sir; for his phyſicians are moſt of them returned. But to be ſerious, Sir, I am of opinion, that no Gentleman ought to abſent himſelf from the ſervice of his country in this houſe, when he can without any great inconvenience attend; and therefore I ſhall be againſt the motion, becauſe our rejecting it will, I think, be a ſort of tacit reprimand, with regard to thoſe that, without any good reaſon, withdrew from their duty laſt ſeſſion of parliament.

The laſt that ſpoke in this debate was L. Geganius, *whoſe ſpeech was thus.*

Mr Preſident,

AN Hon. Gent. that ſpoke ſome time ago againſt the motion, allowed, I think, that the ſeceſſion, as he was pleaſed to term it, was the reaſon, tho' not the immediate cauſe of that alteration which ſoon after happen'd in our meaſures. Sir, if it was any cauſe, whether remote or immediate, it has done ſignal ſervice, and has given great ſatisfaction to the nation. But the ſeceſſion could add nothing to the obſtinacy of the court of Spain; becauſe that court was before, as obſtinate as it was poſſible for them to be. They never had any inclination, at leaſt not for theſe twenty years, to do us juſtice. By the convention, they neither did us, nor promiſed us any juſtice: they would not ſo much as promiſe, not to do us any more injuſtice; for, upon the face of the convention it appears, that they would not ſo much as promiſe to refrain from interrupting our navigation, and ſeizing our ſhips in the American ſea.

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s. It is evident, that of late years ey never had an inclination to have y thing to do with us, unleſs it was plunder our merchants, and amuſe r miniſters with fruitleſs negotiations; d a new foundation for allowing our- ves to be treated in this manner, was our miniſters got by that famous nvention. This, I am convinced, ould have been the conſequence, if it id not been for the ſeceſſion. Our iniſters would, upon the foundation of at convention, have gone on to treat nd negotiate with Spain, perhaps for venty years more, and the Spaniſh uarda coſtas would, in the mean time, ave gone on in plundering our mer- ants and interrupting our trade. But ich a number of members withdraw- ng, upon that convention's being ap- roved of, convinced our miniſters, that he nation would no longer endure to e treated by the court of Spain in ſuch treacherous and ignominious manner. Our miniſters from thence ſaw, that hey muſt begin to fight, either with Spain, or with their own countrymen; nd they wiſely choſe the former, as be- ng the ſafeſt for themſelves, as well as he moſt honourable.

This, Sir, I am convinced, the whole nation is convinced, was the real cauſe of that alteration in our meaſures which happened ſoon after the ſeceſſion; and therefore, however much it was condemned by thoſe that remained within doors, it was condemned by no man without, unleſs he was ſuch a one as was under a mercenary dependence upon ſome of thoſe that remained within. By none others, Sir, was it ever condemned; and as the Gentlemen who withdrew upon that occaſion, are no way ambitious of having their conduct approved of by ſuch judges, I am ſure no one of them has ever yet repented of what he did: ſo that if the Hon. Gent. that ſpoke laſt never forgives but upon repentance, thoſe Gentlemen muſt all yet, and I believe for ever will, remain under his wrath; but they are not, thank God! liable to his vengeance.

The only ſerious argument I have heard, Sir, againſt the motion is, leſt it ſhould interrupt or leſſen that unanimity which now appears, in providing for every thing that may be neceſſary for a vigorous proſecution of the war. In which, I am fully ſatisfied, the Hon. Gent.'s fears are altogether groundleſs. I dare anſwer for every one of thoſe who retired from the houſe laſt ſeſſion, and are now abſent, that no one of them will oppoſe any meaſure neceſſary for proſecuting the war; and an Hon. friend of his may, I believe, if he pleaſes, anſwer for moſt of the reſt. I am perſuaded, that no Gentleman who is now in the houſe, or can hereafter be in it, will openly oppoſe providing for a vigorous proſecution of the war; and therefore I ſhall only wiſh, that it may be as vigorouſly proſecuted, as it will be unanimouſly provided for.

In this ſeſſion of parliament, therefore, Sir, no Gentleman could be under any real apprehenſions of a conteſt about any thing relating to the war, tho' every member belonging to the houſe were now preſent, and continued ſo till the end of the ſeſſion; but, as the whole nation will expect to hear ſome good accounts of the proſecution before next winter, I do not know but that we may then have ſome conteſts about the war, with regard to its proſecution; and therefore there may perhaps be ſome amongſt us, who are far from wiſhing to ſee a full houſe at any time during next ſeſſion. If there be any ſuch amongſt us, it is certainly their buſineſs to prevent the call of the houſe for this ſeſſion; becauſe it will be a precedent for doing the ſame in the next, and will be, in all future times, a convenient and agreeable precedent for thoſe that are afraid of having an impartial parliamentary enquiry into their conduct. But, for this very reaſon, Sir, I muſt be of opinion, that no Gentleman who is unfeignedly for a vigorous proſecution of the war, or the preſervation of our conſtitution, can, when he ſeriouſly conſiders the conſequences, be for making ſuch a dangerous precedent.

Thus, I hope, Sir, I have fully anſwered the only ſerious argument I have

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heard made use of, against my worthy friend's motion. As for all the other arguments made use of upon the same side of the question, they were rather pieces of wit, than pieces of reason; and, as most of them were pointed at the Gentlemen who last session withdrew from the house, they have nothing to do with any thing that can be proposed in this. But I must observe, that every one of them either missed of its aim, or was very improperly applied. If the King of Spain resigned his crown with a real view of serving his country, he was in the right: if he resumed it again with the same view, he was in the right, and his subjects were in the right to receive him: and as for the disturbances he has since occasioned, I believe, most of them were originally owing to our misconduct; therefore, I am surprised to hear of them from that side of the house. If those who compose the majority of this house, have a mind to prevent Gentlemens ever having a view of serving their country by leaving their seats, the best way is, never to pursue such measures as are disagreeable to a great majority of the nation; and while they take care to avoid such measures, they need fear no disturbances that any Gentleman can occasion, either by leaving or resuming his seat in this house.

As for the piece of French wit made use of by the Hon. Gent. that spoke last, and applied by way of answer to the observation made by the Hon. Gent. that spoke before him, surely, Sir, every one must see that it was misapplied. If the observation is to be applied to the members of this house, (for the Gentleman that made it, did not, I think, make any application) we must all look upon ourselves as political physicians: and indeed we are so; we are properly the state-physicians of our country, because we are to enquire into its grievances or distempers, and apply the proper remedies. Therefore, if that observation is to be applied to us, we must suppose that some of us are willing to attend, if we can but get a fee, even tho' we know we can be of no service to our country; and that others are unwilling to attend, except when they think they can be of real service to their country. I wish, Sir, the application had not been made; for, whatever we may think within doors, those without will judge, who are over greedy of fees, and who are not. But I must observe, that this piece of French wit proceeded from the contempt the French physicians had then brought themselves into, by their ignorance, and by their shewing a greater concern for their fees, than for the health or recovery of the patient. They were at that time become a proverb among the vulgar, and a subject of ridicule in every part of that kingdom, except in their own assemblies: and, if we should, by our ignorance, bring our country into misfortunes, or begin to shew a greater concern for pensions and places than for the welfare of our country, we shall bring ourselves into the same contempt; we shall become a scoff among the vulgar, and a subject of ridicule in every part of this kingdom, except in our own assemblies. If this should ever come to be the case, this French piece of wit may then be properly applied, but not to those members that retire from such a contemptible assembly. It will be applied to the breaking up and meeting of parliament: when our session is at an end, it will be said, The kingdom is in a fair way of doing well, for its physicians have taken their leave; and when we meet again, it will be said, The kingdom is in a dangerous state, for its physicians are, most of them, returned. I hope every Gentleman that has a regard for the honour and dignity of parliament, will endeavour to prevent this misfortune; and as, I think, nothing can contribute more towards our falling into a general contempt, than our putting a negative upon this motion, therefore I shall most heartily give it my affirmative.

The next debate I shall give you, is that which happened in our club upon occasion of the pension-bill, *which was last year past by the Commons, and re-*

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jected by the other house. The question stated in our club, as usual upon such occasions, was, Whether, after the second reading of the bill, it ought to be committed? And our club having assumed the proper character upon that occasion, the first that spoke against committing, was Q. Cicero: *but before he began, he moved, That some parts of the journals in the years* 1729, 30, 31, *and* 32, *might be read; which being read accordingly, he then went on in substance as follows.*

My Lords,

FRom these journals it appears, that a bill with the very same title has been already four times sent up from the other house, and as often rejected by this; which gave me a curiosity, as soon as the bill came up, to look into it, and to compare it with the bill so often rejected: and, I must say, I was greatly surprised, when I found it was almost word for word the same; because I really take it to be an affront offered to us, to send up a fifth time the very same bill that has so lately been four times rejected by us. Surely, those who were the promoters of this bill must think, that we are either short in our memories, or variable in our judgments; for the circumstances of the nation are exactly the same now, as they were then: and tho' we have several young Lords come into the house since that time, yet, I am sure, if all those that were upon former occasions for rejecting the bill, be still of the same opinion, I may easily judge of its fate.

This, my Lords, I should think sufficient, upon the present occasion, for prevailing with your Lordships to put a negative upon this motion, if every Lord now present had been here, upon former occasions, when this affair was fully debated; but, as there are now several Lords here that were not then present, I shall beg leave but just to touch upon some of the reasons formerly urged against this bill; and which are now full as strong as they were at that time, nay, some of them, I think, much stronger. By wise politicians, my Lords, it has always been laid down as a maxim, Not to make any alterations in the fundamental forms of your civil government or constitution, unless some grievance or inconvenience, that is sensibly felt, render it absolutely necessary. And the reasons are very plain; because such alterations are generally attended with convulsions in the state, and because the remedies you provide, are often found to be worse than the grievances you intended to cure. This maxim, therefore, ought always to be observed, in time of peace as well as in time of war; but, in time of war, we ought to be much more cautious of departing from it, than in time of peace.

Now, my Lords, according to this maxim, we must either suppose, that there is corruption in the other house, and that of the worst sort; or we must allow, that we have now, in time of war, a stronger reason for rejecting this bill than we ever had before. To suppose that there is corruption in the other house of parliament, and that sort of corruption too which consists in ready money, or a private pension, would be throwing a very great, and, I hope, a very unjust slander upon the other house; but this I should be very easy about, considering how often they have sent this bill up to us, if it did not at the same time throw a very great, and, I am sure, a very unjust slander upon his Majesty's government. My Lords, it is a crime to corrupt, as well as to be corrupted; and as there can be no corrupted unless there be a corrupter, to suppose that there is, in the other house, any man corrupted by the crown, is to suppose that the crown is guilty of a most infamous crime, which no Lord in this house will, I am sure, suppose, during his present Majesty's reign.

We cannot even suppose, my Lords, that any of those employed by his Majesty in the administration, are guilty of corrupting the members of the other house; because it is not in their power. They can grant no pension but by a warrant from his Majesty; they can give no money, because they have no publick money but what they must account

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count for to his Majeſty, or to parliament. As for that part of the publick money which they muſt account for to parliament, no man will ſuppoſe they can give any part of it for bribing the members; and as for that part which they muſt account for to his Majeſty, they can give none of it, without letting his Majeſty into the ſecret, and making him a ſort of partner in their crime; which no man will ſuppoſe they dare attempt. They can, therefore, have no money for this purpoſe, unleſs they ſhould make uſe of their own private fortunes; and, for ſuch a purpoſe, no private fortune can be ſuppoſed to be equal. But ſuppoſe it were in their power, I do not believe it is in their inclination; and, I hope, many Lords in this houſe are of my opinion. I have the honour to be nearly related to ſome of thoſe employed in the adminiſtration: from thence I have had an opportunity of knowing their moſt ſecret thoughts; and from thence I have formed my opinion. Therefore, if it is neither in the inclination, nor in the power of any one employed in the adminiſtration, to corrupt the members of the other houſe; what occaſion can we have, would it not be altogether imprudent in us, to make an alteration in one of the moſt fundamental parts of our conſtitution, in order to guard againſt a grievance which is neither felt, nor can be, in his preſent Majeſty's reign, ſo much as ſuppoſed?

My Lords, the prerogative our ſovereign has of rewarding merit, in what ſhape, or in what manner he pleaſes, is one of the moſt fundamental, and one of the moſt uſeful parts of our conſtitution; and an alteration in this reſpect, may not only occaſion convulſions, which muſt be dangerous in time of war, but likewiſe it may be attended with inconveniencies which it is impoſſible to foreſee. There are many ſorts of publick ſervices which cannot be immediately explained, which it would be inconſiſtent with the publick good to divulge; and yet, if this bill ſhould paſs into a law, his Majeſty could reward no ſervices in any member of the other houſe, without explaining and divulging thoſe ſervices; nay, and putting it in the power of that houſe to judge, whether thoſe ſervices deſerved ſuch a reward; which might occaſion diſputes between that houſe and the crown, and would certainly diſcourage every member of that houſe from rendering any ſecret ſervices to the publick.

This, my Lords, would be a great prejudice to our civil government; and the frequent oaths that are to be introduced by this bill, would be of the moſt dangerous conſequence, not only to our eſtabliſhed religion, but even to natural religion itſelf. In our ancient polity, both religious and civil, it was a wiſe maxim, Never to oblige or allow a man to ſwear, in any caſe where ſelf-intereſt was concerned, eſpecially when the circumſtances of the caſe were ſuch as made it impoſſible to convict him of perjury, even tho' he ſhould be guilty of it: but this maxim ſeems to be quite overturned by this bill, and therefore I am convinced it will introduce amongſt us an utter contempt of perjury, which is always followed by an utter contempt of religion.

Theſe, my Lords, are ſome of the reaſons formerly made uſe of againſt this bill: they have already been four times approved of by this houſe; they are now ſtronger than ever they were before; and therefore, for the ſake of your own character, as well as for the reaſon of the thing, I hope you will give this bill the ſame treatment it has ſo often before met with.

[*To be continued in our* APPENDIX.]

The SPEECH *of L—d V—t G—OE, in favour of the* Place-bill. *See the other ſpeeches in this debate, p.* 455—461, *&* 489—511.

SIR,

AS the Noble Lord that ſpoke laſt, ſeems to be under ſo great an uneaſineſs, that the officers of the army and placemen ſhould have been, as he thinks, reflected upon by thoſe that have

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have already ſpoke in this debate, as perſons biaſſed by their employments in their way of voting; I ſhall therefore, to oblige him, begin by ſaying that, to be ſure, they are all men of great honour, great probity, and always vote according to their conſciences.

I ſhall now endeavour to anſwer the objections made to this bill, by the Hon. Gent. that ſpoke immediately before the Noble Lord: but hope in the mean time he will forgive me, if I ſay he has not given any one reaſon, that can convince me or any unprejudiced perſon, that a bill for the limitation of places in the houſe of Commons is not a right thing; being, in my opinion, the chief thing that can preſerve our conſtitution from deſtruction.

As I have ever been in this way of thinking ſince in parliament, and always voted for both place and penſion bills; ſo, I hope, whatever I ſhall ſay in ſupport of the queſtion before us, may not be looked upon as done from a ſpirit of contradiction to thoſe that oppoſe it, or that I mean any reflexion to any one whatſoever: but ſhall beg the indulgence of the houſe for a few minutes, to ſhew the danger that may befal this nation if ever there ſhould be an influenced houſe of Commons, the probability of its ſoon being ſo, and the neceſſity to find out, if poſſible, a remedy to prevent its ever being ſo.

No body, Sir, will deny but that, in former parliaments, this houſe has been filled with a parcel of mercenary wretches, who, Eſau-like, ſold their birthrights, and, from being born free, became ſlaves to their purchaſers; and, if it cannot be denied that former parliaments have been corrupted, ſo future ones may; and therefore it is the duty of a good parliament to provide laws, if poſſible, to prevent what muſt ſap the foundation of our liberties, and the very being and intent of parliaments.

To tell the Gentlemen of this houſe of Commons, that a large number of places may not create an influence, would be impoſing upon their underſtanding, particularly when the members hold them no longer than they vote according to the dictates of the miniſter. No, Sir; they are Gentlemen too ſenſible, not to know, that the *touching* from 500 l. to 2 or 3000 l. *per annum*, muſt be a bias over members votes that feel the weight of it, *unleſs in a parliament as virtuous as this is:* and if that muſt be the caſe, and as many places remain to be diſpoſed of amongſt the members in future parliaments as there are now, with the pecuniary influence that might alſo be added, what may not be the conſequence, if ever England had the misfortune to have a bad King?

Then, if there ſhould be a wicked and ambitious miniſter, the diſtributer of corruption, he might raiſe to himſelf a faction, that would ſcreen and ſupport him and his deſtructive meaſures, to the ruin of their country: for no controul to his actions, or juſtice on himſelf for his crimes, could be hoped for, when thoſe that were to be his judges, were partakers of his bounty, and ſhared with him the ſpoils of their country.—Parliaments then, Sir, would only be ſummoned to grant money; but its miſapplication could never be made out, or any redreſs of grievances expected, when every light or proof that might be called for, would be ſure to meet with a negative.

What difference would there be, as to any advantages the nation could reap by it, between a parliament of G. Britain, and thoſe of France, if the members of a Britiſh parliament, by ſelling themſelves for the lucre of their places, became equally ſubſervient to the deſpotick will and pleaſure of the prince on the throne? We then ſhould be told here, as they are there, in anſwer to all attempts of advice or remonſtrances to the crown for the good of the people, *Sic volo, ſic jubeo, ſtat pro ratione voluntas.*

If ever, Sir, there ſhould be ſuch a parliament as I have been mentioning, as there ſurely muſt be ſooner or later if court-influence is to prevail in it, what then becomes of all our boaſted liberty, all thoſe valuable privileges that were ſupported at the expence of ſo much blood and treaſure?

Tho'

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Tho' I must own, were we always sure of as good and gracious a King on the throne as we are blest with at present, or that his successors would equal the present heir-apparent, who, by the many princely virtues and qualifications he is endowed with, presages the happiness we may expect one day or other to enjoy under his reign, there would be no fear of our constitution being endangered. But as our liberties may not always be as secure, as at this happy juncture, this bill is to prevent, in future times, those influences that may be their ruin.

And I will venture to say, there never was a bill more wished for by the people of England in general, than this is; they well knowing how far corruption has, and may hurt this nation; nor are they ignorant of how much larger a number of placemen there are in this house of Commons, than ever were in any former, nor what it costs the nation to support them, and that they are still increasing. Not but that I am persuaded, they are as thoroughly convinced as I, and every Gentleman that hears me, *places have no influence in this house of Commons.*

The nature of this bill is so well understood, and has been so well explained, by the Gentleman that moved for leave to bring it in, that I need say but very little upon that point; it being no ways intended, if it comes into the committee, but that people of merit may have their seats in this house, and enjoy all the offices of state, treasury, admiralty, board of trade, and what other places the committee may judge necessary to have the blank in the bill filled up with.

I will now take notice of the two chief objections made by the Hon. Gent. against this bill. As to the first, where he says, "That preventing the places being disposed of amongst the members of the house of Commons, would be throwing them into the house of Lords, and thereby make that house too powerful;" it can have no foundation from what fell from the Gentlemen that moved for leave to bring in the bill: for they proposed that above 100 of the great places should remain in the house of Commons as at present; and therefore, those that make up the 200 now in the house, and intended to be excluded by this bill, for fear of too great an influence, would be of such a nature that none of the Lords would accept of them.

As to his second objection, "That it is a hardship that a Gentleman who, through his merit, might be preferred by the crown to a place excepted by this bill, should be debarred thereby the service he might do his country in parliament, when by the laws now in being, after his accepting the place, he is to be rechose before he can sit;" I shall say in answer to it, first, That there is nothing new in the legislature deciding by law, who is proper or not proper to sit in the house of Commons: for let a man be worth a million of money, unless he has 300 l. a-year in land, or issuing out of lands, he, by law, is debarred a seat in this house; which, considering the great property and merit he might be master of, may be thought a hardship.

The same hardships may be complained of by the Commissioners of the customs and excise, as well as several other officers who hold places, and by law are equally debarred a seat in this house: and as the fear of influence was the occasion, then, of those officers being deprived this privilege; why may it not be as reasonable, now, for the parliament, for the same cause, to pass a bill to prevent a house of Commons being filled with a much larger number of placemen than in former times were ever heard of?

And as to the second part of this objection, I can only add, that the legislature which enacted, that a member who accepted of a place, should be rechose, to be sure meant well; and, by the by, shews that it thought a place might influence the member that accepted it; and therefore judged it unfit he should any longer sit in the house, unless those who had formerly intrusted him to represent them, and were supposed

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poſed beſt to know his honour and integrity, could rely on him afterwards.

But alas! Sir, how far does this anſwer the intent, when moſt of the placemen may be choſe for boroughs they never ſaw, and where their names, till the time of the election, were never heard of by their electors; or elſe for ſuch venal boroughs, that would prefer a placeman, thinking he would be beſt able to bribe them?

I ſhall beg leave, in a very few words, to give one farther reaſon why this bill is even more neceſſary at preſent, than in former times; and that is, Becauſe parliaments are choſe for ſeven years; and, I think, I may draw my argument from an obſervation I have made on a policy uſed in the military governments abroad, which may equally ſerve for the preſent queſtion.

There, whenever a prince garriſons a fortified town, whoſe only ſecurity in it is the troops he has placed there, he never intruſts them to ſtay above two or three years at fartheſt; well knowing the danger that might enſue, if they and the townſmen ſhould grow too intimate. So, Sir, a parliament that is deſign'd as a guard to the liberty of the people againſt any encroachments of the crown, is much more liable to be corrupted when choſe for ſeven years, than it could have been, as formerly, when annual, or but for three years: for, in that length of time, the crown may eaſier find ways of being more intimate with its parliament than conſiſts with the ſafety of the people.

I ſhall add but one reaſon more, why I ſhall be for this bill; and that is, Becauſe I am required ſo by my conſtituents, who, I think, have a right to direct thoſe that repreſent them; and, as they themſelves are above being corrupted, ſo no wonder they would wiſh to ſee a bill paſs, that they hope may prevent a biaſſed houſe of Commons. And I am not aſham'd to own, that the inſtructions I have in my pocket, will weigh with me; and don't in the leaſt doubt but that thoſe Gentlemen who oppoſe this bill, will find the weight of theirs *in their pockets*.

If a bill of this nature is never to paſs, I will foretel, That, as under the ſhew and maſk of religion, the moſt wicked things have been executed; ſo, under the ſpecious name of a parliament, no longer the guardian of the people, but a miniſterial tool, England will be enſlaved.

COMMON SENSE, N° 161.

The firſt principles of religion neceſſary to the preſervation of liberty.

WHatever our *modern* fine Gentlemen may think, I am convinced, that what we call *political* or *ſocial liberty* depends ſo abſolutely upon the *firſt principles* of religion, that there is no ſupporting the *former* among a people who are generally abandoned as to the *latter*. When a man begins to doubt of the exiſtence of a *ſupreme being*, or of the exiſtence of *his ſoul* after its ſeparation from the body, or of his being *liable* to anſwer *in a future ſtate* for his conduct *in this*, he naturally, and even reaſonably, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, fixes his whole hopes upon the *advancement* of his fortune *in this world*. Such a man has no motive for adhering *ſtedfaſtly* to the cauſe of *virtue* and *liberty*, but the *natural fondneſs* for *eſteem* and *fame*; nor has he any check upon his *vitious appetites*, but that of *temporal puniſhment*, and that of *ſhame* or *remorſe* for having been guilty of that which, he knows, will be condemned or ridiculed by thoſe he has an eſteem or regard for; and how *weak* theſe motives are for the *ſupport* of virtue, morality, or ſocial liberty, both reaſon and experience may evince.

The hopes of *advancing* one's fortune *in this world*, are ſo far from being a motive for a man's *joining* in the ſupport of *liberty*, that with the far greateſt part of the people, I mean thoſe of *mean* or *middling* circumſtances, ſuch hopes muſt generally afford ſtrong motives for *joining* that party which aims at *its deſtruction*; for, under *arbitrary* governments, men make greater and more ſudden advances, than can be made in a *free* and *well-regulated* ſociety. By the

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whim, or fondneſs of an *arbitrary* prince or prime miniſter, a man may, from the *meaneſt* circumſtances, jump at once into the *higheſt* rank and greateſt fortune: whereas, under a *free government*, no man can riſe but by ſlow degrees; and as the publick money is *ſparingly* advanced, and muſt be *ſtrictly* accounted for, no man can expect to make a *very great* fortune by *ſerving*, much leſs by *cheating* the *publick*.

From hence 'tis plain, that in a *free* ſtate, a man of *low* circumſtances, whoſe *only* motive for action is the hopes of *advancing* his fortune, will always have moſt to hope for, by *joining* thoſe that are for *overturning* the *conſtitution*; and theſe hopes will generally prevail with *ſuch men* to believe, that the invaders of liberty have the greateſt probability of ſucceſs, which will of courſe induce moſt of them to join with that party. Therefore, we muſt conclude, that when the people of any ſociety begin to be *generally* influenced by *mercenary* motives only, the *liberties* of that people muſt neceſſarily ſoon fall a *victim* to ſome *bold invader*, unleſs care be taken to reſtore and eſtabliſh among them, the principles of *true religion* and *virtue*.

I ſhall grant, that a man who foreſees and conſiders conſequences, and has a juſt ſenſe of the misfortune of being under a *ſlaviſh* ſubjection to the *arbitrary* will of any man, will always be for ſupporting a *free* government; but in political matters, how few are there that foreſee or conſider the conſequences of their actions? how many, even of the *better* ſort, that would chuſe to be *ſlaves* to thoſe *above them*, provided they might exerciſe an *arbitrary* and *tyrannical* rule over all *below them*? And a *ſelfiſh* fellow, who expects great additions to his fortune, by the eſtabliſhment of *arbitrary* power, will probably conclude, that the *increaſe* of his poſſeſſions will atone for the *precariouſneſs* of his title.

With *ſuch* men, the deſire of eſteem or fame can be no ſufficient guard againſt their *joining* in the eſtabliſhing of *arbitrary* power; for this deſire is always governed and directed by the company a man keeps, and the party he joins himſelf with. It may be as fully ſatisfied by being eminent in a *courſe* of *wickedneſs*, as by being eminent in a *courſe* of *virtue*; and when a man begins to *aſſociate* himſelf with *villains* and *knaves* only, he at the ſame time begins to *deſpiſe* all men of *honour* or *honeſty*; becauſe he is, by the company he keeps, taught to look upon all *ſuch* as *madmen* or *fools*: ſo that the human affection of ſhame or remorſe, is in him directly inverted; inſtead of being a *bar* to *wickedneſs*, it becomes a *bar* to *virtue*.

Se jam pridem potentiæ gloriæque eſſe adeptum, were, I may ſay, among the laſt words of that *great* wicked man *Julius Cæſar*, which ſhew that he was as proud of the glory, *he thought*, he had acquired by *deſtroying* the *liberties* of *his country*, as ever *L. Junius Brutus* appeared to be, of the glory of *recovering* and *eſtabliſhing* its *liberties*; and *Julius Cæſar*'s ſoldiers were as proud of appearing faithful *to him*, and valiant *in his* ſervice, as they could have been, had they appeared faithful and valiant *in the ſervice of their country*. Even a pick-pocket is as vain of being the moſt dexterous *of his gang*, as a patriot can be, of being the moſt eloquent and the moſt ſtedfaſt *in the cauſe of liberty*: And a highwayman and a hero are equally proud of their adventures: the only difference is, that the deſire of eſteem or fame *in the former*, is founded on *vices* which he is taught to look on as *virtues*; *in the latter*, it is founded upon the principles of *true religion* and *virtue*.

The deſire of eſteem or fame can therefore contribute to the ſupport of *liberty*, only when it is founded upon *right principles*; and *ſuch* principles cannot be ſupported without a thorough conviction, that there is *a ſupreme being*, to whom we muſt be *accountable in a future* ſtate for our behaviour *in this*, and that the duty he has preſcribed to us is, *1ſt*, To contribute as much as we can to the preſervation and happineſs of mankind. *2dly*, To contribute to the pro-

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preservation and happiness of the society. 3*dly*, To contribute to the preservation and happiness of our family. *4thly*, To preserve our own lives as long, and improve our own happiness as much as we can.

These are the four measures of our duty *in this life*, and each of the *following* is *conditional* with regard to the *preceding*.

A man who is thoroughly convinced of this, will always *despise* the esteem of villains and *knaves*, and will never desire any fame but that which is founded upon a *performance* of his *duty*; because, if he fails in, or departs from his duty, whatever may be his fate *in this world*, he is sure of being exposed to eternal shame, derision, and remorse *in the next*. But a man who has no views beyond *this life*, nor any principles besides those which are founded upon *ill governed* or *ill directed* appetites, may be easily, and, as I have shewn, probably led astray by the *humours* or *false maxims* that prevail among those with whom he associates himself. And as to *temporal punishments*, they can be no bar to a man's joining a party that aims at the establishment of *arbitrary* power: for when men are resolved to set themselves *above the laws of their country*, which they never do till they have some reason to hope for success, they can be under little or no fear of suffering *by those laws*; at least, their *fears* of temporal punishment must *diminish*, in proportion as their *hopes* of success *increase*: so that the fear of temporal punishment can be no sufficient motive for preventing a man's *joining* that party which intends to *destroy* the *liberties* of their country: and if such a party should succeed, every sort of temporal punishment, instead of being a check *to wickedness*, becomes a check *to virtue*; instead of being a barrier against *arbitrary power*, it becomes a barrier against the restoration of *liberty*: as *Hudibras* facetiously but truly expresses it,

So when tyrannick usurpation
Invades the freedom of a nation,
The laws o' th' land that were intended
To keep it out, are made defend it.

From these reflections we may see, that the only way to *preserve* the *liberties* of a country, is to establish and preserve among the people, especially those of the *meaner* sort, a thorough conviction of, and a strict regard for the *first principles* of religion. By which I do not mean the establishment of any *particular* sect, or of any *particular* set of religious doctrines. On the contrary, I believe the distinctions and animosities that have been introduced, and industriously propagated between the *several* sects of Christianity, have been of the most *pernicious* consequence both to *religion* and *virtue*; and the *more particular* any sect is rendered, that is to say, the more its *credenda* and *ceremonies* are multiplied, the *less regard* will its professors have for those which ought to be the *first principles* of every religion. Men have naturally a warm zeal for the opinions they profess, and when that zeal comes to be wholly attached to the forms, ceremonies, or supplemental doctrines of any *particular* sect, it may lead professors of that sect to transgress the *fundamental* rules of religion and virtue, by sacrificing the *constitution* and *liberties* of their country, to their desire of having the *particular* sect they are of, *set up* or *preserved*, as the *established* religion of their country.

For this reason, I have always thought, that the *most useful* writers upon any subject in which religion has a concern, are those that have endeavoured to establish or recommend the *fundamental* principles of religion, without shewing too sanguine an attachment to the *distinguishing* doctrines of any *particular* sect. — On this account he concludes with recommending an essay, lately published, *for demonstrating the immateriality and free agency of the soul.*

DAILY GAZETTEER, N° 1693.

On DETRACTION.

AMongst the number of base arts which at present are but too much practised in the world, I know none more base or scandalous than DETRACTION; and yet it is, perhaps, that of all others which is least con-

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demned: since if there were no ears open to such as spread, there would be probably no dispersers of private scandal. On people's first coming to town, they are welcomed with a detail of city anecdotes; in return for which, they whisper all they remember of *Bath* and *Tunbridge* slander; and sometimes, to shew their own importance, add a little more. Thus one of the lowest and vilest practices the worst part of mankind can stoop to, is converted into polite amusement, and a conversation so general, that, without reflecting, our young people believe it innocent. Prodigious perversion of the gifts of heaven! We enjoy thought for our own use, and speech to serve others; we employ the one in contriving malicious, and to us useless fictions; we exercise the other in spreading them: and in this manner we first poison our own, and then the sentiments of our neighbours. A noble employment truly!

Detraction, strictly speaking, is *covertly* taking away the reputation of a person absent. It differs in this from *calumny*, which is an *open publication* of injurious falshoods, and consequently so much the worse. A spirit of detraction flows commonly from one of these causes: An implacable and envious aversion to the person injured, which excites a desire of lessening and disparaging them on all occasions; yet without seeming to do it, because that would be lessening ourselves. Or it is done to gratify this humour in another person; and then it proceeds from a flattering, fawning disposition in the detractor; which is more dangerous than the former temper, for this reason: The malicious envy but a few, but the sycophant wounds as many as he has patrons, and they prejudices. But the worst species of these human vipers is behind, *viz.* A wanton spirit of defamation, which wounds without particular design or motive: a spirit so opposite to humanity, and so near akin to that of the devil, as scarce to be credited were it not for daily instances of it.

As there are various sources of detraction, so are the methods various which detractors use. Thus, sometimes they invent falshoods, and cunningly convey them as reports they had received. This is the grossest kind of detraction, and ought therefore to be mentioned first. The next is more refined: it consists in a certain manner of relating truth, so as to prejudice the person of whom it is related, as effectually as if it had been a coined slander. Sometimes a detractor pushes this a step further, and swells or exaggerates the truth, in order to impress the ill opinion he aims at exciting, the more strongly on the mind of the person who hears him. This proceeds either from the abundant malice in the speaker, or an apprehension that the auditor wants quickness of apprehension. It is likewise a common art amongst these murderers of characters, to stab with a question, or destroy with a doubt. *What if he intended so?* or, *One would be apt to think from such a behaviour*, is sufficient to injure any man living, how innocent soever. But of all the modes of detraction, that which is allowed most injurious, is the detracting under colour of praise. Some practise this with prodigious address; insomuch that they will, by publishing their esteem of a man, deprive him of all esteem, and compliment him out of the good graces of all they speak to.

After having thus endeavoured to paint the folly I would expose, it is surely proper to add this natural observation, That detraction hurts, and sometimes sorely too, all it concerns: the speaker first; next the hearer; and, lastly, the party against whom it is directed: A dangerous diversion, where one shaft wounds three, and that at a cast. Neither are the hurts skin-deep. The wound of malice reaches the detractor's heart, and, rankling there, is continually furnishing new stores of venom. The shaft which strikes the hearer also pierces deep: the relish of one slander begets a listening after another, and this, by degrees, becomes a habit. The inoffensive object of their rage is also wounded thro' and thro'. As soon as one lets fly, another running

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to repeat, redoubles the injury; and thus, before a man is aware of his danger, he is deſtroyed. Detraction, like white powder, kills without noiſe; nor does a poiſoned bullet do its buſineſs more effectually than theſe deadly tales of the detractor.

In the higheſt ſtations of life this is no longer conſidered as a vice, but rather as a neceſſary art of policy. Nay, which is truly ſtrange, thoſe who give themſelves high airs of probity, who rail at corruption, and ſcorn the methods other men are conſtrained to take, nevertheleſs practiſe detraction without ſcruple, and, by all the ways they can contrive, deſtroy the reputations of ſuch whoſe fortunes are out of their reach. Hence it comes to paſs, that no character is tranſmitted without ſtain to poſterity. The very conjectures of the great are thought worthy of being preſerved; and thus a man's quality ſerves to ſanctify his vices. The ſtory which, without an author, or coming from a mean one, would die without credit, lives, and gains belief, when father'd by a man of figure, tho' that man is more like to ſpeak from prejudice than a meaner. Horrid complaiſance! which ſerves only to miſlead mankind, and to beſprinkle the faireſt fames with ſable ſpots, as furriers do ermine. Happy would the world be, if a purer kind of ambition reigned, and all who are, or affect to be great, would in conſequence thereof diſdain doing any thing that is little: happier ſtill, if the pretenders to probity would content themſelves with minding their own, without cenſuring other folks actions.

Amongſt the meaner ſort of people, this ill quality makes dreadful havock. Go where you will, detraction is the general theme. In the morning, this demon delights in coffee-houſes; there firſt they demoliſh the characters of their ſuperiors, and then of each other. If you ſit ſilent half an hour, you hear the ſecret hiſtory of the whole neighbourhood, and know more of moſt mens affairs within a ſtone's throw of the place, than they themſelves can tell. At noon, detraction enters with the ſecond courſe, and ingroſſes the converſation as ſoon as the cloth's taken away. It makes the chief part of the entertainment, and without this, your gueſts would be few and mute. In the afternoon it preſides at the tea-table, and is allowed to give the plaineſt green-tea a flavour ſuperior to hyſon. It brings in the cards in the evening, ſupplies muſick while a perſon deals, and accompanies the ratifea which revives the loſing gameſters. At all times detraction is well received, and never better than amongſt thoſe who ſuffer by it moſt. Fearful infection! which one cannot think of without horror, and from which, ſuch is the contagion, one knows not how to fly.

Neither is it in cities only where this fell fury ſheds her baleful influences. All the villages circumjacent to this metropolis are thoroughly infected, and the itch of miſrepreſenting one's neighbours, ſpreads daily farther and farther; ſo that quickly even the country will afford us no protection. Nay, in the little village where I reſide, neighbours are continually wounding each other, or countenancing this conduct in their ſervants. Inſtead of peace, harmony, and reciprocal good-offices, which ſhould endear rural retreat, nothing but whiſpers, rumours, flying ſtories, which breed jealouſies and foment diſſenſions. Strange! that, while the unavoidable miſchiefs we ſtand expoſed to are ſo many, we ſhould ſpend ſo much time, and take ſo much pains in creating new. We are here to-day, we are gone to-morrow. A paſſage thro' life, reſembles a paſſage in a ſtage-coach, and yet the company can never agree to make the journey eaſy.

I will conclude this paper with adviſing my readers to conſider what I have offered particularly, and beſeeching them to lay their hands upon their hearts, and reflect on the danger, the ſcandal, the folly of either being guilty of this vice, or encouraging thoſe who are. Can there be in nature any thing blacker, baſer, or below a man, more than taking from another's character? Some of the *Tartars*, 'tis ſaid, fancy they ſhall en-

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enjoy the wit, the learning, the genius of the perſon they kill. One would think the detractor had this notion. But alas! if he has, he is much miſtaken. In detracting from another, we debaſe ourſelves: nay we do it in the eyes of ſuch as careſs us for our ſtories. They like the treaſon, but abhor the traitor. And on a cloſe enquiry we ſhall find, that we in our own breaſts do the ſame thing; for however common, however well received any vice may be, yet when men conſider coolly, they condemn it in their hearts. This is a tribute due to virtue, and conſtantly paid her by the reaſon of the very worſt of men. And a juſt ſenſe of this ſhould, one would think, go a great way in reforming them. But the miſchief is, that our cool moments are few, and tranſient; our hot fits frequent, and laſting.

There could be nothing more eaſy than to proſecute this ſubject to a much greater length, if one had any idea of its producing a better effect: but in this ſketch the uglineſs of the monſter may be ſeen; and therefore, here I lay down my pencil, that I may not ſeem in love with deformity, or too prone to dwell on the weakneſs of human nature, which is a ſpirit near of kin to detraction.

COMMON SENSE, N° 199.

Humorous defence of our conduct in the management of the war.

IT hath been objected, That, while we had eighty men of war at anchor in our roads and harbours, there was not one cruizing either within or without the channel; and that our merchant-veſſels fell into the mouths of *Spaniſh* privateers, where they expected to meet *Engliſh* men of war ſtationed to convoy them in.

If this be true, I take it to be the moſt politick of all our meaſures; for had we ſpread our ſhips of war over the ſeas, the *Spaniſh* privateers would not have ventured out, and then how ſhould we have catch'd them?

Good ſportſmen lay baits to draw otters and foxes out of their holes: if our political ſportſmen have done the ſame thing by *Spaniſh* privateers, it hath had ſo good an effect, that one of them (as I have been inform'd) fell into the trap; for, chaſing a ſhip into the middle of one of our ſquadrons, he was nabb'd by it. After he was taken, he frankly own'd, that he was drawn into this trap by believing that there was not an *Engliſh* man of war left upon the ſeas.

If it be urged, That the privateers often eſcaped the trap, and ran away with the bait; we anſwer, It is of ſmall importance: for what were theſe baits? nothing but trading veſſels: not one of our excellent m——y, nay not one of the inferior placemen were concerned in any of them, either as owners, freighters, much leſs inſurers.

Upon the whole, our placemen may ſay of theſe captures, what Sir *John Falſtaff* ſaid of ſome other robberies: We praiſe them, we laud them, they hurt none but honeſt men.

There have been murmurs in relation to the continual preſs for ſeamen, which hath laſted a year and a half without intermiſſion; and alſo about thoſe frequent and ſalutary embargoes, which, it is pretended, is a meaſure never to be taken but in the laſt neceſſity, a meaſure which nothing can excuſe but the ſaving the nation.

As to this it may be anſwer'd, That the expeditious fitting out of ſuch immenſe fleets, againſt ſo formidable a maritime power as *Spain*, was a matter of the laſt neceſſity; and the important ſervices in which they have been ſince employ'd, juſtify the embargoes, and ſhew that they have ſaved the nation, or, at leaſt, they have ſaved themſelves.

While ſome have been grumbling that by our fleets being kept at home, *Jamaica* and the other ſugar-iſlands lay at the mercy of the *Spaniards*, if they had had the courage to have ſent out their *Ferrol* ſquadron with a few troops to have attacked them; others have been making a noiſe about the great charge incurred to the nation by the hire of ſo many thouſands of foreign troops in *Germany*. Both theſe par-

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neasures were juſtified, by what a right worthy Gentleman, a placeman, ſaid o one who, thinking to puzzle him, tho' he fancied him to be in the ſecret) ſked him, what the *Daniſh* and *Heſſian* roops were hired for? His anſwer was, They are hired to defend our ſugar-co-onies in *America*; and then laughed at is own wit, like an arch wag as he was.

Our army at home hath been no leſs erviceably employed, than our navy. As to any expence occaſioned by the ugmentation of our land-forces, or by he encampments, all the world muſt ee it was abſolutely neceſſary. The *paniſh* privateers have been bold e-ough to venture into the channel: ad not our army been drawn together nd encamped, what ſhould hinder hoſe privateers from making a deſcent pon us, and involving the nation in lood?

Theſe camps have been uſeful in de-ending us againſt deſcents from *Spaniſh* rivateers upon the ſea, and have ſer-ed to divert our people aſhore. The perations of the war have been con-ucted ſo much to the honour of our ommanders, that the campaign is fi-iſhed without the loſs of a man, ex-ept two or three that are in danger f being hanged for ſtealing of ſheep.

The army was increaſed moſt cer-ainly with no other deſign, but to at-ack the *Spaniards* in *America*: but as t is not proper to ſend troops into that limate in ſummer, becauſe it is too ot, nor in winter, becauſe it is too cold, he beſt way to ruin *Spain* is, to keep hem at home; ſo that I am ſorry they re gone at laſt.

All our meaſures have ſomething in hem to elevate and ſurpriſe, it is no vonder therefore they have been at-ended with ſo much ſucceſs. And ince I have named ſucceſs, let me put he world in mind, that to be eſteemed ortunate, has, at other times, recom-nended men to the favour of the people; nd ſure no man ever deſerved the title f Fortunate ſo much, as the great per-on to whom this nation owes its pre-ent pitch of grandeur. No ſiniſter ac-ident hath interpoſed to diſappoint any of their ſchemes; all hath gone on without the leaſt ruffle from *France*; our fleets have rode at anchor in our own harbours, and our armies have encamped upon our own plains, in ſpite of *Spaniards* and of froſty weather. Nay they have been no leſs fortunate in their perſons than in their politicks: ſome of them from bankrupts, enjoy the affluence of princes; and from the dread once of a jail, now find themſelves ſuddenly tranſported into a palace; from the corrupter down to the *Don*, who was made a Gentleman by his Catholick Majeſty, one would ſwear they had all riſen with their —— uppermoſt.

Daily Gazetteer, N° 1716.

The preſent clamours againſt the adminiſtration expoſed.

THE nation ſeems at preſent in the condition of a young heir, on one ſide beſet with pickthanks and paraſites, and attended on the other by true friends and candid counſellors. From the former nothing is heard but ſatyr, ridicule and laughing; while in the mean time they profeſs they are perſuaded the publick is betrayed, plundered, and on the point of being undone. The latter, without diſcouraging us by ſuch harſh expreſſions, modeſtly repreſent the danger we are in, propoſe to us the proper methods to extricate ourſelves, and beſeech us only to be ſerious and attentive.

If ever there was a war entered into on national motives, this is it; and therefore ſuch as are for carrying it on properly, that it may end ſucceſsfully, ought to merit the nation's eſteem. Yet ſuch is the aſſurance of ſome men, and the perverſeneſs of others, that nothing can anſwer their clamours, or quiet their diſcontents. The providing and putting to ſea ſuch a navy as this nation never had before, in the beſt order, and the moſt compleat condition, paſſes with them for nothing, nay for a crime; becauſe they cannot ſail without winds, or beat enemies that do not appear.—But perhaps they are not properly

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perly commanded. — Quite the contrary. This is the ſole thing in which our malecontents have ſhewn ſome modeſty. They admit that *Vernon* is a hero; that *Haddock* wants neither capacity nor courage: and as to *Cathcart* and *Ogle*, they are men whoſe merit malice is afraid to touch, and of whom envy itſelf can ſpeak no evil. Yet the miniſtry who fitted out theſe fleets, and made choice of theſe men to command them, are a lukewarm miniſtry, no friends to the war.

Of late, the murmurs of the party have run ſtronger againſt the army than the navy; but with as little reaſon.— We have been told by unqueſtionable authority, that we are at preſent in danger of having a more formidable power than *Spain* upon our hands; whence the neceſſity is evident, of our being put into ſuch a condition, as that, while we gloriouſly carry on the war abroad, we may have nothing to apprehend at home. That we are fully provided for the former, I have already ſhewn; nor do the malecontents ſeem longer inclined to diſpute it. No; they place all their hopes in oppoſing all the meaſures neceſſary for taking the ſame care of the latter. What theſe are, the experience of former times, and the prudence of the wiſeſt men amongſt us have ſufficiently declared, *viz.* a ſtrong fleet on our coaſts, and a competent number of regular troops. The former is already taken care of, and we are told that ſuch an Admiral is to command, as is ſuperior to all objections; a man never baffled by any thing but providence, and who never miſſed of victory, when he contended with another enemy than the weather.

ANACREON, Ode 49. By Mr Berry.

To a PAINTER.

SKilful artiſt, Painter hear,
How my lyre delights the ear,
And while it charms thy raviſh'd heart,
Exert the wonders of thy art.
Draw a people blyth and gay,
Laughing ſporting life away;
Let them beat in dance the ground,
While their pipes the Bacchæ ſound;
And, if thou canſt perfection give,
Bid every breathing figure live;
And then, leſt life inſipid prove,
To make them happy, bid them love.

ANACREON, Ode 51. By the ſame.

On a DISK, ſculptur'd with *Venus*, &c.

RAre artiſt! whoſe inventive ſkill
Could this orb with wonders fill!
Where the mimic ocean glides
Soft with well-diſſembled tides,
The waves ſeem floating, and above
Shines the beauteous Queen of Love;
The workman's fancy mounted high,
And ſtole th' idea from the ſky.
Tranſporting ſight — the waves conceal
But what 'twere impious to reveal!
She, like ſome flow'r all bliſſom'd gay,
Shines along the ſmiling way.
The am'rous waters, as ſhe ſwims,
Crowd to embrace her ſnowy limbs;
Then proudly, ſwelling to be preſt,
Beneath her ſnowy fragrant breaſt
Ambitiouſly upriſe on high,
And lift the Goddeſs to the ſky,
And, while her lucid limbs they lave,
She brightens the tranſparent wave.
So violets enlighten'd glow,
Surrounded by the lily's ſnow.
But ſee! a lovely ſmiling train,
Conſpicuous o'er the limpid main,
The Queen attends! in triumph moves
Gay Cupid *with his laughing loves.*
On dolphins borne, in ſtate they ride,
And beautify the ſilver tide.
Dancing around in ſhoals they play,
And humble adoration pay.
Rare art! that life to phantoms gives!
See! ſee! a ſecond Venus *lives.*

Occaſioned by a Recovery from a tedious Illneſs.

FAther divine! eternal one!
While heav'n *pure homage pays,*
From this dark point beneath the ſun,
Accept a mortal's *praiſe.*

Yet what the praiſe my breath can give,
What's all that I can ſay,
But that the God in whom I live,
Has given me health to-day!

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e theme my voice *in vain essays,*
Then let my life *persue:*
et what I am *record thy praise,*
Expres'd in what I do.

hee more than all; and, as myself,
Oh! teach me man *to love!*
e this my fame, my glory, wealth,
My bliss below, above!

or let my love to man *be* vain,
My love to God *be* blind;
f thee some knowledge *let me* gain,
Some blessing give *mankind.*

hro' ev'ry change my life may know,
My ebbing, flowing tides;
irm be my faith, that all below
Love *join'd with* wisdom *guides:*

hat ev'n thy justice *tends to bless,*
Tho' little understood;
hat partial evils love express,
And work the gen'ral good.

But frail, alas! this mortal clay;
This reas'ning mind how frail!
Let strength be equal to my day!
Nor height *nor* depth *prevail!*

When o'er my roof affliction lowrs,
Sustain my sinking heart;
In all my gay unguarded hours,
Oh! keep my better part!

And when this tott'ring fabrick falls,
Assist my soul to soar,
Where full possession never palls,
To know and love thee more.

Anacreon, Ode 54. *Grown Young.*
By CHARLES CHESTER, Esq; M. D.

When sprightly youths my eyes survey,
I too am young, and I am gay:
In dance my active body swims,
And sudden pinions lift my limbs.
Haste, crown, Cybæba, *crown my brows*
With garlands of the fragrant rose!
Hence, hoary age!—I now am strong,
And dance, a youth among the young.
Come then, my friends, the goblet drain!
Blest juice!—I feel thee in each vein!
See! how with active bounds I spring!
How strong, and yet how sweet I sing!
How blest am I! who thus excell
In pleasing arts of trifling well!

A NEW-YEAR's ODE, 1741.

Come my countrymen all, and, like Englishmen *bold,*
Let us hail the new year, nor speak well of the old:
Let us strive with our might, let us pray, let us fast,
That the new may be better by much than the last.
Let us beg that a parliament new may be giv'n;
Let us pray for the good number three, *and not* sev'n.
May our fleets which so wantonly ride o'er the main,
Which so gayly have rode it and rode it again,
Make our enemies tremble, and make them but few:
With conquest and glory to return, will be new.
May our armies be useful at home or abroad,
In subduing our foes or in mending the road.
May our merchants again have a brisk trade in view;
Tho' it hath been of old, it will seem to be new.
Tho' some are wrong-headed, may none be so wrong,
As to quarrel with me, 'cause of my new song.
May our B— (God bless them) of learning the chief,
With the new year (O! may they) turn o'er a new leaf.
May the state (if it wants it) be chang'd in each thing;
Every person be new there, except a new King:
And, that all who deserve it, may have what is new,
May this year give the devil and Tyburn *their due.*

On seeing some lines from Mr Pope's *Essay on Man*, beautifully transcribed by an eminent Writing-master.

THO' POPE's *fam'd numbers shine, from native fire,*
Each list'ning muse exulting round his lyre;
Tho' they're the same with homely types impress,
Or, in rough scrolls, still more obscurely dress:
Yet when their charms we thus pourtray'd descry,
With sweeter force they catch th' admiring eye:
Embellish'd, here, with all the penman's art,
They gain a quicker passage to the heart.
So Phœbus *still is* Phœbus, *tho' in clouds*
(Long hid from mortals) he his beauties shrouds;
But when he bursts forth in his robes of light,
Mankind, enraptur'd, hail the glorious sight;
Bask in his beams with joy unfelt before,
And what they feel, and what they see, adore.

On the death of *WILLIAM DUFF* of *Whitehill*, Esq; late Provost of *Banff*.

Ingens sui desiderium moriens reliquit.

WHO can behold, and shun to drop a tear,
When all the town in sable weeds appear,

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For him who made the publick good his aim,
And by the city's thriving rais'd his fame?
Tho' great your grief, and just your cause of woe,
Your wound yet green, your loss you scarcely know.
No city e'er a better burgher had,
To guard her int'rest, or advance her trade.
No frowns or flatt'ry of the rich or great,
No hope of sordid gain, or private hate,
E'er bias'd him to yield, or join with those
Who durst the city's publick good oppose.
Candid in commerce, once the word he spoke,
No man can say that word he ever broke.
I strive not here in pompous phrase to shine,
Or paint fictitious merit in each line;
Yet justly I can say, because 'tis true,
Thro' a long tract of time the man I knew,
Sincere in friendship, honesty his view.
May angels waft his soul with endless joy
To that blest'd place where pleasures never cloy!

Banff, Dec. 24.

Maria Milkmaid to *Corydon*. [See p. 463.]

TO the exposer of a woman's shame,
And dire destroyer of a virtuous name,
I thus do send, and, tho' in rustic verse,
Rude as the winter winds, my tale rehearse.
Long had I wish'd to grasp the lovely youth,
And long conceal'd that dearest dearest truth,
Till that by chance we met the other day,
He all desire, I frolicksome and gay.
He kiss'd; I yielded to his wish'd desire,
And wish met wish.— But we must go no higher:
Cross fate determin'd Cory to pass by;
He, rudely forward, catch'd unwary I;
Our bliss protracted.— When we'll meet again,
My thoughts employs, me pleasure gives and pain.
You'll call this folly, and perhaps 'tis true;
But still this folly is practis'd by you.
It proves your weakness that you publish mine,
And makes your folly deviate to a crime.
This be his fate, ye powers above, decree;
Revenge is sweet to womankind and me:
O! may some dorty fair his heart engage,
Stung with love's cruel, sharpest, keenest rage;
May some coquet ay toss him to and fro,
Despis'd by womankind where-e'er he go;
May blissful sleep ne'er close his wakeful eyes;
Be all his language broken words and sighs;
And may despair and disappointments meet,
His love gain hatred, rage with rage unite;
Then in a pet may he the world forgo,
In search of peace dive to the shades below.

Dalkeith. BITTER-BEARD.

The LOOKING-GLASS.

Taken from Mrs DIXON's poems.

EVadne, *once a flaming toast,*
Perceiv'd her power decay;
Never consider'd time rides post,
Nor will be bribe'd to stay.

Poor Jenny *oft was in disgrace,*
When things succeeded ill;
No fault there cou'd be in her face,
'Twas Jenny's *want of skill.*

Madam, says Jenny, *all in tears,*
You can't be better dress't;
Your Ladyship to me appears
A Venus, *I protest.*

New-place the glass, Evadne *cries;*
What can the matter be?
Aminta *now has all those eyes,*
Which once were fixt on me!

The toy was mov'd from side to side,
Yet gave them no content:
At length to break it both agreed,
By way of punishment.

The guardian Silph *who lay conceal'd*
Within the mirror's frame,
Soon as their mischief was reveal'd,
Accosted thus the dame:

Evadne! *darling of my care,*
Your anger is in vain:
The innocent reflector spare;
Of what dost thou complain?

Was not an early homage paid
Those charms you now deplore?
Remember, thou ungrateful maid,
Thy past despotic power.

Art thou, Evadne, *yet to learn*
There is no second spring,
For that which gives thee this concern,
And all this trifling?

Partial to thee, my darling care!
Beyond frail nature's date,
I have preserv'd thee still so fair:
But now 'tis not in fate.

No flow'r so sweet, so fresh, so gay,
Can stand the winter's blast;
Their bloom goes off, they soon decay,
And wither thus at last.

Jane,—*bring my night-dress, put it on,*
And set the glass aside;
When once a woman's beauty's gone,
How needless is her pride?

To

the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR, Edin. Dec. 29.

Aft ſevere winter reduced many people to great ſtraits; and indeed the charities on that occaſion were eral beyond example. But alas! the treſs ſtill continues, and is even great- increaſed, as proviſions are now much ncer, and the number of the indigent eater. Therefore care ſhould be ta- n to procure them all the relief poſ- le. To this end I ſend the following opoſal, to be publiſhed or deſtroyed as ou think it deſerves, or to be amended ſuch judicious Gentlemen as favour e publick and you with their advice id aſſiſtance in ſuch caſes.

For method's ſake, allow me to re- ce all the indigent to three claſſes: Thoſe who can work none. 2. Thoſe ho can work ſome, but not ſo much as at by their labour they can earn all e neceſſaries of life. 3. Thoſe who ould by their labour earn the neceſſa- ies of life, if they were employed. — he firſt are beſt intitled to be admit- ed into publick hoſpitals, and kept here during their incapacity; and the econd, into workhouſes. And it may e hoped, if the ſame ſpirit continues hat has of late ſo conſpicuouſly diſ- played itſelf, we will, in ſome time, by ood management, have publick re- ceptacles for moſt, if not all of ſuch per- ons; which indeed were much to be wiſh'd. But the preſent neceſſity calls for a preſent remedy, and that to per- ſons of all the three claſſes: all of whom may be equally indigent; for if thoſe who can work, are not employed, their ſtraits may be as great as the ſtraits of thoſe who cannot work. I ſhall there- fore firſt conſider them all in the ſame light, and then propoſe ſomething pe- culiar with relation to perſons of the third claſs.

What in the firſt place then I pro- poſe is,

1. That in each city or pariſh there be a ſufficient number of ſmall boxes, with the name of the city or pariſh, and the number, on each box; and that in each there be a ſlit, into which any money being put, cannot be taken out till the box be opened: And that there be a like number of badges, with the ſame inſcription.

2. That ſome judicious perſons be appointed to have the inſpection each of a certain number of poor; and that the boxes and badges be delivered to them, in order to be given to the poor. Theſe inſpectors, if you pleaſe, you may call *Deacons*.

3. That every perſon who pretends to need relief from his fellow-creatures, be directed to apply to ſome of thoſe Deacons.

4. That the Deacons give a box, and affix the correſponding badge to the breaſt or ſhoulder of every perſon requiring it; and that, beſides the inſcription above mentioned, he add, both upon the box and badge, the number of perſons the bearer of the box begs for; ſince often one may beg for ſeveral relations who are not able to come abroad on account of ſickneſs or infirmity, as huſbands or wives, parents or children, *&c.* And that when he gives out a box and badge, he enter the name of the perſon, the number of the box, and the number he begs for, in a book.

5. That none be allowed to beg but ſuch as have a box and badge; and that it be humbly recommended to all charitable perſons, to put what money they give to beggars into the box.

6. That each Deacon appoint all the poor under his inſpection to attend, with their boxes, at certain times, in ſome publick place. That he there open each box, take out the money, mark in his book the ſum each contains, and the ſum total of the whole, and then deliver to each beggar what may ſupply his own neceſſities, and the neceſſities of thoſe he begs for, till the time the boxes be opened again, and no more.

7. That a phyſician and ſurgeon do likewiſe attend, in order to examine into the reality of their pretended diſtempers, and to apply proper remedies.

8. That the place of conveening the beggars be ſuch as that all perſons may have acceſs to be preſent, and ſee the money

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Gold, by its dire resistless dint,
Thro' double guards and rocks of flint,
Breaks quicker than the vengeful bolt,
Shung down from high Olympus' *top;*
Witness, O sage! of Œcleus' *line,*
Ev'n tho thy foresight was divine,
Wa'n't this that butcher'd thee and thine?

By means of this catholicon,
That thund'ring prince Amyntas' *son*
Unwall'd strong towns, unhing'd their gates,
And trampl'd on his rivals necks,
With golden bendlets bound their hands,
And made them bear his stern commands;
Rough Admirals ev'n pleasure feel,
To swallow down the gilded pill,
And send their country to the ——.

The man who swells his bags with ore,
But feeds the itch of having more;
Wrapt in disquietude and pain,
Adds fewel to the burning flame:
Vain honours, titles, pomp and snares,
Ambition, av'rice, riches, cares,
Abhorr'd I scorn; nor will I hide,
My head in clouds of tow'ring pride.

Like thee, bright glory *of the age,*
For heav'n indulgent will enlarge,
And bless the man, whose reason checks,
And curbs his madding appetites;
For me I'll chuse the middle state,
Nor envy, whilst the pow'rful great
Batten in ease, in pleasures swill,
Boundless, unpleas'd, unsated still;

And in my sober pittance, which
The haughty great, the high, the rich,
Leering disdain, more pleasure boast,
Than tho' my swelling barns should burst,
With what the lab'ring hind with pain
Sweeps from Apulia's *fertile plain;*
Or the vile worldling purse-proud wretch
His cank'ring trash who dares not touch.

Bless'd with a pure delicious spring,
And wood to warm thro' Boreas' reign,
A thriving farm, with wholsome plants,
Even paramount to all my wants,
The prince who fills rich Libya's *throne,*
The dazling splendors of his crown
I mock, as mixt with care and pain,
Much happier in my lot than him.

No jars of liquorish honey gat
From fam'd Hymettus' *flow'ry top,*
Or numerous casks of generous wine,
Which in cool vaults lie mellowing,
No fleece of rich Milesian *dye,*
Fit for the soft luxuriant high,
Can I command; these I disclaim,
As quite superfluous and vain;

Since by your goodness I'm set free
From cringing abject poverty,
Great blessing sure! and what's yet more,
The boon your bounty gave before,
T' inlarge, if ask'd, you'll not deny:
No; like yourself, still you'd comply:
But all my passions I'll restrain,
Thus yield my quota to maintain
The publick grandeur with less pain,

Than tho' I rul'd rich Crœsus' *throne,*
And Phrygia *join'd were all mine own;*
Since such as these are ne'er content,
The more they have, the more they want,
Endless in both: but bless'd the man,
To whom with wise o'er-ruling hand
Kind heav'n bestows what may suffice
To live with honour and with peace.

CLAUDIUS.

Anacreon, Ode 25. By Mr Chester.

BRing me, O bring th' enlivening draught,
Lenient of grief, and anxious thought,
Then Care retires, asham'd to shew
His downcast eye, and faded brow.
I banish business to the great,
To all that curse, yet covet state.
Death hastes amain, then who would run
To meet what most he strives to shun?
Or antedate the dreadful day
By cares, and aid the fiend to slay?
If tears could bribe his dreadful pow'rs,
I'd weep, and bless the precious show'rs;
But let our lot be joy or woe,
Alike he speeds to strike the blow.
Then crown the bowl—ye sorrows, fly
To kill some wretch who wants to die.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR, Dec. 10.

PLease insert the following problem in your *Magazine.*

Given two polygons in a plane from all the angles of which there are drawn lines concurring in a point in the same plane, that the sum of the squares of the lines drawn from the one polygon may be to the sum of the squares of the lines drawn from the other polygon in a given reason, required the locus of the point where the lines concur.

To

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR, Edin. Dec. 29.

LAst ſevere winter reduced many people to great ſtraits; and indeed the charities on that occaſion were liberal beyond example. But alas! the diſtreſs ſtill continues, and is even greatly increaſed, as proviſions are now much cancer, and the number of the indigent greater. Therefore care ſhould be taken to procure them all the relief poſſible. To this end I ſend the following propoſal, to be publiſhed or deſtroyed as you think it deſerves, or to be amended by ſuch judicious Gentlemen as favour the publick and you with their advice and aſſiſtance in ſuch caſes.

For method's ſake, allow me to reduce all the indigent to three claſſes: 1. Thoſe who can work none. 2. Thoſe who can work ſome, but not ſo much as that by their labour they can earn all the neceſſaries of life. 3. Thoſe who could by their labour earn the neceſſaries of life, if they were employed. — The firſt are beſt intitled to be admitted into publick hoſpitals, and kept there during their incapacity; and the ſecond, into workhouſes. And it may be hoped, if the ſame ſpirit continues that has of late ſo conſpicuouſly diſplayed itſelf, we will, in ſome time, by good management, have publick receptacles for moſt, if not all of ſuch perſons; which indeed were much to be wiſh'd. But the preſent neceſſity calls for a preſent remedy, and that to perſons of all the three claſſes: all of whom may be equally indigent; for if thoſe who can work, are not employed, their ſtraits may be as great as the ſtraits of thoſe who cannot work. I ſhall therefore firſt conſider them all in the ſame light, and then propoſe ſomething peculiar with relation to perſons of the third claſs.

What in the firſt place then I propoſe is,

1. That in each city or pariſh there be a ſufficient number of ſmall boxes, with the name of the city or pariſh, and the number, on each box; and that in each there be a ſlit, into which any money being put, cannot be taken out till the box be opened: And that there be a like number of badges, with the ſame inſcription.

2. That ſome judicious perſons be appointed to have the inſpection each of a certain number of poor; and that the boxes and badges be delivered to them, in order to be given to the poor. Theſe inſpectors, if you pleaſe, you may call *Deacons*.

3. That every perſon who pretends to need relief from his fellow-creatures, be directed to apply to ſome of thoſe Deacons.

4. That the Deacons give a box, and affix the correſponding badge to the breaſt or ſhoulder of every perſon requiring it; and that, beſides the inſcription above mentioned, he add, both upon the box and badge, the number of perſons the bearer of the box begs for; ſince often one may beg for ſeveral relations who are not able to come abroad on account of ſickneſs or infirmity, as huſbands or wives, parents or children, *&c.* And that when he gives out a box and badge, he enter the name of the perſon, the number of the box, and the number he begs for, in a book.

5. That none be allowed to beg but ſuch as have a box and badge; and that it be humbly recommended to all charitable perſons, to put what money they give to beggars into the box.

6. That each Deacon appoint all the poor under his inſpection to attend, with their boxes, at certain times, in ſome publick place. That he there open each box, take out the money, mark in his book the ſum each contains, and the ſum total of the whole, and then deliver to each beggar what may ſupply his own neceſſities, and the neceſſities of thoſe he begs for, till the time the boxes be opened again, and no more.

7. That a phyſician and ſurgeon do likewiſe attend, in order to examine into the reality of their pretended diſtempers, and to apply proper remedies.

8. That the place of conveening the beggars be ſuch as that all perſons may have acceſs to be preſent, and ſee the

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money distributed; and that they be invited to inform of the good or bad behaviour of any beggar, that they may be encouraged or reprehended as they deserve. All beggars may be known by taking the number of their box or badge. — Here I cannot but take notice of the indecent liberties taken by beggars at burials, especially at the house immediately after the corpse is carried out.

9. That whatever money remains after supplying the necessities of the poor, be kept by the Deacon, or applied for the support and relief of industrious, poor, but modest labourers, who chuse rather to live in the greatest poverty upon what they can earn by their labour, than be burdens upon the publick; or to other pious uses.

10. That at certain periods all the Deacons in every city or parish meet, examine one another's books, appoint what money they have on hand to be properly applied, and make such regulations as they shall judge necessary.

11. And because it is proposed to give a box to every one who requires it, and that some may pretend they beg only because no body will employ them, That therefore every beggar be obliged to work, for some short limited time, to any person who pleases to employ him, for his bare subsistence; but if he be kept beyond the time limited, that his employer allow him something for cloaths.

12. That in great cities, a Clerk be appointed to keep the books, for the ease of the Deacons; and that the Deacons appoint different times for conveening their respective poor, so that one Clerk may attend them all.

13. That in some country parishes, where there is not much money current, and of consequence the boxes would be useless, That the beggars be furnished only with badges; and that they be conveened at certain periods, to answer to any charge that may be brought against them.

If beggars were put under these or the like regulations, none of them could make a lucrative trade of begging, or live in luxury or debauchery upon what their feigned tears and affected cries and gestures often extort from compassionate and charitable persons. Nay, 2. importunate beggars might be made useful to society, by collecting for the relief of poor industrious labourers. 3. The state of all beggars might be known, so as none could impose upon the publick by feigned distempers, pretending to have more children or relations to provide for than they really have, or other falshoods. 4. All sturdy beggars might be detected, and forced to work. 5. All persons might have an opportunity of seeing how their charities were applied, of offering their advice to the Deacons, and of asking, when the funds would permit, some relief for poor labourers. — But I must hasten to what I have to say with relation to persons of the third class.

Here I cannot but observe, that as labour is the chief support of society, those people of substance who employ their thoughts in contriving, and their means in executing projects whereby a number of hands get employment, are certainly the best friends of society. And it were much to be wished that people, especially in these hard times, would lay themselves out this way, and look upon this as the most useful charity; since the publick are not only relieved of the burden of all the poor that are employed, but these even contribute their mite chearfully for the support of such as cannot work. And as money laid out this way might in time produce good returns, the generous would thus be enabled to make their charities more extensive.

But it sometimes happens, that people are difficulted how to find out the persons proper for executing what they project; as, on the other hand, people who want employment, are no less at a loss who to apply to. Therefore, what I propose on this head, Sir, is, *That you allot a certain space of each* Magazine, *in which any person may insert what kind of work he wants to have done, and those who want employment, the kind of work they are qualified for, or their age, education,*

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ation, or other circumſtances that a per-on deſigning to employ them would be de-rous to know; and that in either caſe otice be given where to enquire; though, f the perſons pleaſe, their own names may e concealed. And as you profeſs to be ſervant of the publick, you ought to o it with as little charge as poſſible, e-pecially to the poor. Thus your *Ma-azine* would become a kind of publick narket-place, where employers and la-bourers might as it were meet together monthly. And who, with coffers or barns full, could ſee poor labourers ſtanding idle and ſtarving in the market-place, without being ſenſibly touched, and opening his purſe or granaries for their relief; eſpecially when in many caſes it might be done without loſs, nay even with advantage to himſelf? Nay no man, who knew how he could give employment to one ſingle perſon, could diſcharge that duty he owes the publick till he made publick intimation of it; nor could thoſe who want buſineſs, diſcharge that duty they owe to the publick and themſelves, till they ſeriouſly conſidered, and made publick intimation what they were beſt qualified for.

Several advantages might enſue from this ſcheme: As, 1. Some people who do not know what to apply themſelves to, might find ſomething propoſed which they would be qualified for executing. 2. Perſons might be induced to enquire into, and propoſe ſome things that would tend to the conveniency and uſe of mankind, which would otherwiſe never be brought to light. 3. Perſons of ſuperior knowledge in agriculture, or in any trade or manufacture, who could employ a number of hands profitably, would have a fair opportunity of making their ſchemes known, and of requiring aſſiſtance for putting them in execution. 4. Some well diſpoſed perſons or ſocieties might be induced, as the moſt eaſy as well as uſeful way of giving charity, to offer to lay out ſums for employing a number of hands, in any uſeful labour, that would procure bread to the labourers, and would probably in the event yield returns near equal to the money laid out. — But I leave the alteration, improvement or further proſecution of what I have propoſed, to abler hands; having ſufficiently diſcharged my duty, in communicating what appeared beſt to me upon ſo important a ſubject.

I ſhall only add, that I think the poor ſhould be conſidered as the children of the publick; and as neither their education, company, nor manner of living, afford them ſuch opportunities of improving their minds, and acquiring right notions of things, as others have, that therefore allowance ſhould be made for their weakneſſes, and that, if poſſible, they ſhould be allured rather than forced to comply with what is intended even for their own good, eſpecially when any new regulation with regard to themſelves is made; for the narrowneſs of their minds makes them very jealous. And for this lenity the preſent calamity is a ſtrong argument; for we can ſcarce think, that any thing leſs than the ſevere ſtings of want could force them to expoſe themſelves to the inclemency of the moſt rigorous weather, and that even at the lateſt hours, or draw doleful groans and unaffected tears from their tender infants, as yet untaught the arts of diſſimulation: of which we ſee numberleſs inſtances.

In order to carry any project to execution, it is neceſſary it be communicated to proper perſons. As the Lords of Seſſion generouſly concur with the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, in taking proper precautions to prevent the bad effects of the preſent dearth, it might perhaps be proper to ſend copies of this letter to their Lordſhips, alſo to the Barons of Exchequer, the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* and other boroughs, Juſtices of Peace, Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, the Truſtees for encouraging Manufactures, the Society for improving Agriculture, *&c.* But of this you will be beſt judge. So, begging pardon for having encroached ſo much upon your patience, I ſubſcribe myſelf,

A Lover of Mankind,

INDUSTRY.

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Agreeable to the above hint, we publiſhed this Gentleman's letter a few days after it came to hand, ſcribed to the Lords of Seſſion, Barons of Exchequer, Magiſtrates, Juſtices of Peace, &c. to whom we ſent copies.—Whatever reſolution any city, pariſh, or ſociety, take with regard to this propoſal, ſhall, if we be favoured with a copy of it, be inſerted in our *Magazine*; which, however, we intreat may be conciſely written, the great variety we give in ſmall bounds obliging us to be very frugal in point of room.

In the ſecond part of this propoſal, our correſpondent has, as we may ſay, pitch'd upon our *Magazine* for the ſcene of action. What he deſires on this head, ſhall be readily agreed to. But as his directions are general, we beg leave to propoſe a method which we think the beſt for putting the ſcheme in execution, ſubject always to the correction of the judicious projector, or of any other.

That our readers may have no cauſe to complain of encroachments made on their property, the cover of the *Magazine* ſhall be the place. Employers and labourers ſhall be ranged under two general titles, *viz. Employment for labourers*, and, *Labourers wanting employment*. When perſons formerly inſerted continue unprovided, reference ſhall be made to the *Magazine* and paragraph where they are to be found, which ſhall be numbered for the more eaſy diſcovery. During the continuance of the preſent calamity, the poor ſhall be ſerved *gratis*; and the charge to others ſhall be very moderate. As we meet with encouragement in the ſeveral corners of the kingdom, the utmoſt impartiality ſhall be ſhown to all, and preference given according to the order in which perſons apply. For the more exactneſs, 'tis intreated the notes be given in to the printing houſe; and that the perſon directed to be enquired for be properly deſigned.

We ſhould be wanting in our duty, if we did not here make our grateful acknowledgments to this Gentleman, for favouring us with his thoughts upon a ſubject of ſuch univerſal concern. We likewiſe lay hold of this opportunity, humbly to invite and intreat others to follow the example ſet them by him and ſome other worthy Gentlemen, in preſenting the publick with whatever they think of ſervice to mankind, or diſcoveries in arts or ſciences; and we promiſe to inſert their eſſays with all convenient ſpeed, provided they meet with approbation from thoſe judicious or learned Gentlemen by whoſe advice we chuſe to be directed, our undertaking being deſign'd, as well for *uſe*, as for *entertainment* to the publick.

COMMON SENSE, *Dec.* 6.

A propoſal for defraying the expence of the war without burdening the people.

ABout a year before the preſent war broke out, a certain Gentleman, who had ſome reaſons that were merely perſonal for oppoſing a war, and for wiſhing that things might always go on in the ſame hopeful way, was pleaſed to declare, That, to his knowledge, the nation had not one ally left in the world, neither had we money to go to war; which I think is the moſt ſevere charge that ever yet was made againſt the preſent miniſtry.

I believe we have made more treaties and conventions ſince our domeſtick and foreign affairs have been conducted by two men only, than were made in 200 years before: and have we negotiated ourſelves into ſuch contempt with all the nations upon earth, that not one, no not one will enter into any friendſhip with us?

We have enjoyed a long ſtate of tranquillity, a peace of thirty years; time enough in conſcience to bring an increaſe of wealth and power to the moſt inconſiderable nation in the world. We have been viſited neither by peſtilence nor famine, no publick calamity hath afflicted the land, and we have had an open, an uninterrupted trade with all nations upon earth except our own colonies in *America*; and yet we are told, we are ſo reduced, we are grown ſo

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ſo weak as not to be in a condition to vindicate our rights againſt a nation which before theſe two perſons became politicians could not hold out ſix months againſt us.

Is it not time to aſk, who are the cauſes of this deſolation? Is it not high time to know who hath robbed the country of the fruits of thoſe bleſſings which providence has beſtowed upon it; where are the caterpillars that devour the fertility of the land? How comes it to paſs that providence beſtows its bleſſings in vain, and that the merchant, the manufacturer, and the labourer grow the poorer for their induſtry? Muſt not ſuch queſtions be aſk'd?

The greateſt and moſt valuable preſent that providence can beſtow upon a nation, is to raiſe up wiſe and virtuous men to preſide in its councils. *France*, within leſs than thirty years, hath been viſited by a raging peſtilence, which ſwept away its people by thouſands; it hath ſeen two years of ſcarcity, which were little ſhort of famines; and ſhe has been engaged in a war, nay a very expenſive war: and yet, by the virtue and wiſdom of her councils within, ſhe is riſen to a figure in the world beyond what ſhe ever made ſince the eſtabliſhment of her monarchy. If all theſe bleſſings are demonſtrably owing to the wiſdom and integrity of her miniſters, is it not full time to enquire to what cauſe the direct contrary are owing here?

The nation is now engaged in a war; and, whether the people have bread to eat, or not, money will be raiſed to carry it on. Pacifick armies at home, pacifick armies abroad, unactive naval expeditions, and that bottomleſs pit *ſecret ſervice*, have been attended with an expence ſcarce known in former ages, even in time of war: but ſtill there is a ſtock of wealth left in the nation ſufficient for its defence, though it is not in the hands of the people; and no doubt it will be raiſed upon thoſe who are able to bear the burden.

In *Richard* II.'s time, a meſſage being ſent to the parliament to deſire the ſupplies neceſſary to enable the King to carry on the war, the parliament gave the following anſwer to the meſſage, That there would be no occaſion to burden the people with the expence of this war, for that the King might get money enough from his miniſters for that purpoſe, who were grown immenſely rich; and adviſed the King by all means to take it from them, and ſpare the people. And in another parliament in the ſame reign (for parliaments were then annual) it was enacted, That the common people ſhould be wholly exempt from paying any tax towards the maintenance of the war; but that all monies raiſed for that purpoſe ſhould be laid upon Dukes, Earls, Barons, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, mitred Abbots, rich Curates, Knights and Eſquires.

I am afraid that the Knights and Eſquires at preſent in this kingdom are as little able to pay towards the war as the common people. I muſt except ſuch as have the good fortune to enjoy the favour of our moſt excellent miniſter; who, it muſt be confeſſed, bear no ſhare in the miſery of the times. But, notwithſtanding the face of poverty that now overſpreads the land, there is ſtill, I ſay, a ſufficient ſtock left for carrying on a war for ſome years. The preſent immenſe civil liſt enables the crown to contribute largely towards it. Poor Q. *Anne*, who had no revenues from any dominions abroad, and whoſe civil liſt yielded but little more than half what the preſent produces, gave 100,000 *l.* in one year, ſaying, ſhe would ſhare with her ſubjects in the burden of the war.

We have been told, that his Majeſty has extended his generoſity to his ſubjects of the electorate; we need not doubt the like in any thing that may contribute to comfort and relieve the induſtrious poor of this kingdom, already labouring under taxes beyond any of their neighbours.

In the reign of K. *William* the civil liſt happening to produce more than was intended to be given, and more than was neceſſary for ſupporting the dignity of the crown, (for it amounted to near 700,000 *l.* in one year) the parliament,

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liament, not thinking it consistent with the trust reposed in them by the people, to leave a revenue in the hands of the crown, which, whenever there should be a weak or a wicked administration, would certainly be employed to poison that fountain from whence our liberties flow, took 100,000 *l.* a-year from it.

Notwithstanding that the present civil list is so much larger than that of any of our former Kings, there will be no occasion for an act of resumption, when all the world sees it bestowed, not in corrupting those who should be our friends at home, but in defending us against our enemies abroad.

It is true, that in free countries the crown should be kept at all times dependent upon the people. An immense revenue for life may render the people dependent upon the crown, and, in a little time, slaves to the crown. We will grant, that the savings of the present overgrown civil list will neither be employed to undermine our liberties at home, nor to purchase dominions abroad, that may be an expence, but never can be of use to *G. Britain*. The minister's character for virtue and integrity is our great protection in this case. But the danger lies here, that future princes will expect as large a revenue, and if their ministers should happen not to be persons of quite so much honour as the present, the consequences may be fatal.

Besides what the crown may be able to contribute, there is another large fund for the war; I mean the vast wealth in the hands of the placemen. It hath been a glorious time with them for many years; the wealth of the nation hath been flowing into their coffers; they may well say, the nation is rich, for they feel no share of its poverty. I think the placemen may look upon themselves in some sense as the proprietors of all the lands in *England*, and consider the owners only as their stewards. The manufacturer may work, the farmer may plow and sow, and the landlord may receive rent when he can get it; but how much of this goes to the use of their own families? Others may labour in the hive, but it is the placemen that devour all the honey. Such are the emoluments of salary, and the sweets of perquisite, that we have seen in another reign the petty clerks of offices turning the Gentleman of fortune out of his borough, and he that was born to servitude hath become a legislator. So much better is it to receive taxes than to pay them.

Now is the time for them to convince us that placemen are not dangerous to the constitution; for sure they will not expect to riot in luxury and corruption while the very vitals of the people are wasting and exhausting in taxes, to pay the interest of *Debts*, and to support the war. It is fit to put them in mind of one thing, that the salaries of the civil employments in this kingdom alone, amount to more than those of *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Holland*, put together, tho' the revenues of one of those countries amount to more than ours: and well they may; for they have double the number of people to pay them.

I have been informed, that the base salaries of the treasury and exchequer offices amount to 90,000 *l. per annum*, an immense sum! and that a scheme was offered to a certain Gentleman some years ago, for doing the whole business for 8, or at most for 10,000 *l. per annum*. But, as great a blunderer as he is esteemed, he knew better things than to encourage such schemes. If a man knows by experience that he owes his security to the height of the national expences, that they are the magazine from whence he draws all his strength, and that they may be his fund for corruption; perhaps, if others attempt to lessen the publick charges, he will not be ashamed openly to oppose it.

The salaries in the customs, excises, and all the other offices are proportionably extravagant. It is a strange thing to say, but it is true, that the bare management of the several branches of the revenue, is a greater burden upon the people now, that is to say, it amounts to more yearly, than the whole revenue did about an age since.

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It is to be hoped, that all useless salaries will immediately be thrown into the publick stock. The placemen are in a long arrears, they are vast debtors to their country. In such a time of distress, while the exhausted gentry and commonality are paying thousands to the publick, they will not, they cannot have the assurance to draw thousands from it: let them therefore ease their country in the expences of this war, otherwise the people may be under a necessity of turning over a new leaf with them.

As the plenty they enjoy amidst the people's distress, hath been drawn from the publick; the publick in its necessity hath a very good right to expect large contributions from them. The least that can be expected is, that all of them (except those of the lower rank) will remit their salaries during the continuance of the present war. Perhaps it might be the best expedient that could be found out for putting a speedy end to it: but be that as it may, it is certainly an act of common justice. Many wise men think the constitution may be in danger from their increase, as well as from their ingrossing too large a share of the wealth that is left in the kingdom: let them do something to shew they have no mind to be burdensome; let them prevent a necessity for acts of enquiry and resumption; if those things once begin, it may be worse than the suspension of two or three years salary.

CRAFTSMAN, N° 742.

Extracts from Oliver Cromwel's Declaration against Spain, in 1655, written originally in Latin by Milton.

THE just and most reasonable causes and grounds of our late enterprize upon some islands possessed by subjects of the King of *Spain* in the *West-Indies*, are very obvious to any that shall reflect upon the posture, wherein the said King and his people have always stood, in relation to the *English* nation in those parts of *America*; which hath been no other than a continual state of *open war* and *hostility*, at the first most unjustly begun by them, and ever since in like sort continued and prosecuted, contrary to the common right and law of nations, and the particular treaties between *England* and *Spain*.

It is true, indeed, that of late years the *English* have for the most part been *patients*, and upon the *defensive* only; which may possibly occasion some to look upon the late expedition into the *West-Indies* as an entrance into a *new war*, and not (as it was indeed) the prosecution of a *war already in being*, and still (notwithstanding all endeavours on the part of *this state*, for settling a firm peace and friendly commerce in those parts) obstinately continued and carried on by the *Spaniards*; who, as often as they have opportunity, without any just cause or provocation at all, cease not to kill and slaughter, nay sometimes, in cold blood, to murder the people of this nation, spoiling their goods and estates, destroying their colonies and plantations, taking also their ships (if they meet with any) upon *those seas*, and using them in all things as *enemies*, or rather as *rovers* and *pyrates*; for so they most injuriously and ignominiously brand all nations, except themselves, which shall presume to sail upon *those seas*, upon no other or better right and title than that of the *Pope*'s donation, and their first discovering some parts of the *West-Indies*; whereupon they would appropriate to themselves the sole seigniory of *that new world*: of which most absurd pretension there will be occasion to speak more largely, when we come to consider the causes why the *Spaniards* should think it reasonable for them to exercise all manner of hostility in those parts against the *English*, in so far as to make such of them as, by stress of weather, shipwreck, or other like casualty, are cast upon those coasts, prisoners, nay slaves; and yet to account it a great injury, and breach of the peace, (even here in *Europe*) for the *English* to attempt any thing upon them in those parts, by way of retaliation, and for their just satisfaction.

But

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But although the King of *Spain's* Ambassadors (emboldened upon the assurance of a *prevalent Spanish faction* always in the council of the *late King* and his *father*) have had the confidence to make most ridiculous and irrational complaints and demands upon any thing done in that kind by the *English*; yet would not the *said Kings* (though too much addicted to the *Spaniards*) ever tie up their own subjects hands, where the *Spaniards* held their hands to be loose, but suffered them to repel force by force, and to exercise acts of hostility in those parts against the *Spaniards*, who never would keep any peace there; in so much that about the year 1640, when this question came into debate before the council of the *late King*, the *Spanish* Ambassador demanding the stop of certain vessels then in the river, ready to set sail for *America*, with commissions to exercise acts of hostility there against the *Spaniards*; and the *English*, upon a demand made of commerce in the *West-Indies*, by the Lords of the council appointed for that affair, being denied the same, they determined that the ships should proceed in their enterprizes, which they did accordingly.

Thus far the *late Kings* owned their subjects in the war they maintained in *those parts*, upon their *private account*; although through the prevalency of the *forementioned Spanish faction*, they would never afford them that *publick protection* which was due to them, and which was suitable to the honour and interest of this nation. And it would have been as dishonourable and unworthy for *us*, who, through the goodness and providence of God, were so well furnished with *ships of war* fit for *foreign service*, to have let them *lie rotting at home*, rather than to have employed them for the just revenge of so much *English* (why may we not also say *Indian?*) blood, so unjustly, so inhumanely and cruelly spilt by the *Spaniards* in those parts; *since God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation:* and at one time or another, by some hand or other, God will have an account of the innocent blood of so many millions of *Indians*, so barbarously butchered by the *Spaniards*, and of the wrong and injustice that hath been done unto them.

[Then, after a particular account of the contravention of treaties by the *Spaniards*, and of their depredations, insults and barbarities towards the *English*, the *declaration* goes on thus:]

But since the King of *Spain* hath, both by word and deed, declared the treaties of peace to be so understood, he hath consequently concluded himself to have first violated the sacred bonds of friendship, by so many acts of open hostility, first exercised by him upon the *English* in those parts, and from time to time continued ever since the last treaty of peace, as before hath been particularly declared: which is a thing so evident and notorious, that our adversaries themselves cannot surely have the face to deny the *matter of fact*; but will chuse rather to insist upon the *matter of right*, and that as the King of *Spain* hath assumed, amongst his titles, that of *Rex Indiarum*, so indeed all the *Indies*, and *Indian* sea, both *North* and *South*, are his proper dominions, and that they are all *enemies* and *pirates* who come there without his commission; which truly, if it were so, both we and all other nations ought to quit to him all we hold in those parts; and, displanting our colonies, ask him pardon for the wrong we have hitherto done unto him. But if we look into the ground of his claim and title, it will appear a very poor and weak foundation to raise so great and so bloody a building upon, as this hath, and is likely to prove.

A double title is pretended; that of the *Pope's donation*, and that of *first discovery*. As to the *former*, we know very well that the *Pope* hath, indeed, been very free in disposing of kingdoms and countries; therein being very unlike him whose *Vicar* he pretendeth to be, that should not take upon him so much

as

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be theme my voice *in vain essays,*
Then let my life *persue:*
et what I am *record thy praise,*
Expres'd in what I do.

hee more than all; and, as myself,
Oh! teach me man *to love!*
e this my fame, my glory, wealth,
My bliss below, above!

'or let my love to man *be* vain,
My love to God *be* blind;
f thee some knowledge *let me* gain,
Some blessing give *mankind.*

bro' ev'ry change my life may know,
My ebbing, flowing tides;
irm be my faith, that all below
Love *join'd with* wisdom *guides:*

hat ev'n thy justice *tends to bless,*
Tho' little understood;
hat partial evils love express,
And work the gen'ral good.

ut frail, alas! this mortal clay;
This reas'ning mind how frail!
et strength be equal to my day!
Nor height *nor* depth *prevail!*

Vhen o'er my roof affliction lours,
Sustain my sinking heart;
n all my gay unguarded hours,
Oh! keep my better part!

And when this tott'ring fabrick falls,
Assist my soul to soar,
Where full possession never palls,
To know and love thee more.

Anacreon, Ode 54. *Grown Young.*
By CHARLES CHESTER, Esq; M. D.

WHen *sprightly youths my eyes survey,*
I too am young, and I am gay:
In dance my active body swims,
And sudden pinions lift my limbs.
Haste, crown, Cybæba, *crown my brows*
With garlands of the fragrant rose!
Hence, hoary age!—I now am strong,
And dance, a youth among the young.
Come then, my friends, the goblet drain!
Bless juice!—I feel thee in each vein!
See! how with active bounds I spring!
How strong, and yet how sweet I sing!
How blest am I! who thus excell
In pleasing arts of trifling well!

A NEW-YEAR's ODE, 1741.

COme *my countrymen all, and, like* Englishmen *bold,*
Let us hail the new year, nor speak well of the old:
Let us strive with our might, let us pray, let us fast,
That the new may be better by much than the last.
Let us beg that a parliament new may be giv'n;
Let us pray for the good number three, *and not* sev'n.
May our fleets which so wantonly ride o'er the main,
Which so gayly have rode it and rode it again,
Make our enemies tremble, and make them but few:
With conquest and glory to return, will be new.
May our armies be useful at home or abroad,
In subduing our foes or in mending the road.
May our merchants again have a brisk trade in view;
Tho' it hath been of old, it will seem to be new.
Tho' some are wrong-headed, may none be so wrong,
As to quarrel with me, 'cause of my new song.
May our B— (God bless them) of learning the chief,
With the new year (O! may they) turn o'er a new leaf.
May the state (if it wants it) be chang'd in each thing;
Every person be new there, except a new King:
And, that all who deserve it, may have what is new,
May this year give the devil and Tyburn *their due.*

On seeing some lines from Mr Pope's *Essay on Man*, beautifully transcribed by an eminent Writing-master.

THO' POPE's *fam'd numbers shine, from native fire,*
Each list'ning muse exulting round his lyre;
Tho' they're the same with homely types impress,
Or, in rough scrolls, still more obscurely dress:
Yet when their charms we thus pourtray'd descry,
With sweeter force they catch th' admiring eye:
Embellish'd, here, with all the penman's art,
They gain a quicker passage to the heart.
So Phœbus *still is* Phœbus, *tho' in clouds*
(Long hid from mortals) he his beauties shrouds;
But when he bursts forth in his robes of light,
Mankind, enraptur'd, hail the glorious sight;
Bask in his beams with joy unfelt before,
And what they feel, and what they see, adore.

On the death of *WILLIAM DUFF* of *Whitehill*, Esq; late Provost of *Banff*.

Ingens sui desiderium moriens reliquit.

WHO can behold, and shun to drop a tear,
When all the town in sable weeds appear,

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leſs ſeed, and have a far better return, than if ploughed: for altho' the firſt crop ought to be the beſt of new ground, as having moſt ſtrength; yet, as it is never broken by the plough, it is the worſt of ſeveral after crops.

As this method of delving hath always been thought moſt profitable, even when corn was cheap, it is plain, that when it is at ſo high a price as at preſent, the ſavings of ſeed will pay for the extraordinary labour. I am informed, that, at the regular ſtated price in the weſt country, where this huſbandry is much in uſe, an acre of clay land is trenched three foot deep at 50 *s.* and the good labourer will make a ſhilling a-day. Now, at that rate, new ground may be delved a foot deep, conſiderably under 10 *l. Scots*, as the under digging is worſe to accompliſh. And ground thus huſbanded, muſt be ſown, in the common method, much thinner.

Planting of corn was formerly thought a great advantage: drilling is an improvement upon that: which, altho' I cannot approve of in graminous plants, ſuch as, wheat, oats and barley; yet, in peaſe, beans, and other legumes, it is of wonderful benefit, both as to ſaving ſeed, increaſe of the crop, and benefit to the land; and may be uſed by drawing a furrow with the ſide of a how; tho' the machines do bettet. Now, in this year, when the peaſe-crop is intirely failed, ſo as there will not be peaſe got ſufficient to ſow in the common way at any price, what a benefit will it be that the peaſe-crop be drilled?

Peaſe will do very well in drills without delving; but it will be beſt to give it two ploughings if the ground be ſtiff: and they may be either ſown at two foot diſtance, and twice howed in ſummer, as is the univerſal practice of above half a dozen counties in *England* for common gray peaſe; or ſown in ſingle or double rows, at three foot and a half or four foot diſtance, and horſe-howed. The diſtance betwixt the two rows in a double row is four inches. I am convinced thoſe who once try this method, if right managed, will never give it over, even when corn is cheap.

I am, &c. A. B.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

THE Duke of Courland, upon taking poſſeſſion of the regency of the empire of Ruſſia, uſher'd in his government with ſeveral popular regulations and ſpeeches, and the people made very great rejoicings on that occaſion. But the Duke of Brunſwick, conſort to the Princeſs Anne, and father of the young Emperor, having thrown up all his employments, and the Regent having arreſted ſix Ruſſian Lords, who, he thought, were conſpiring with the Duke againſt him, ſeveral ſecret conferences were held at the Princeſs Anne's on the 7th and 8th of November, between the Duke, the Princeſs Anne, Count Munich, Count Oſterman, and ſome others of their moſt particular confidents; at which it was reſolved, to arreſt the Regent, in the name of the young Emperor, and diveſt him of the regency. For this purpoſe, an order was ſigned by all preſent, in the name of the young Emperor, and on the 9th, between three and four in the morning, Count Munich, accompanied by his Adjutant-General, and Gen. Uſchakoff, went with a ſtrong detachment of the guards, to the ſummer-palace, where the Duke Regent reſided. They immediately ſecured the guard, threatning to kill whoever ſhould dare to reſiſt. Then Count Munich cauſed, in the name of the Emperor, the apartment of the Regent, who was in bed, to be opened, having firſt ſecured all the avenues about the palace. The noiſe having awaken'd the Regent, he leap'd out of bed in his ſhirt, and got hold of his ſword. At this inſtant Count Munich enter'd, and ſaid, *I arreſt your Highneſs on the part of the Emperor, and here is my order*. The Duke defended himſelf as long as he could with his ſword; and, after being diſarmed, he ſtill ſtruggled with ſo much force, that his ſhirt was torn all to pieces: and it was yet with ſome trouble before the guards could make themſelves abſolute maſters of him. His Dutcheſs, on her part, did not make leſs reſiſtance, who, with a ſabre ſhe had got hold of, deſperately wounded one of the guards, be-

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efore they could wrench it from her. C. Guſtavus Biron, the Regent's brother, aking his ſword in one hand, and a pi-ol in the other, endeavour'd to eſcape hro' the garden; but he was intercept-d, taken, and diſarmed, by the guards oſted to ſecure that avenue. After the Regent and his Dutcheſs were dreſſed, hey were conducted, with their family, o the winter-palace, where the Empe-or and imperial family were, and from hence, in four covered waggons, to the ortreſs of Schluſſelburg. Immediately afterwards a general diſcharge of the ar-illery was made, the Princeſs Anne, nother of the Emperor, was declared Regent of the empire, with the title of *Great Princeſs of all the Ruſſias*, and a ſolemn *Te Deum* was ſung, upon the happy delivery of the Emperor and royal family from a man whoſe ambi-ion had made it almoſt abſolutely ne-ceſſary for him to deſtroy them; for, after he had got himſelf declared ſole Regent by the will of the late Czarina, he had certainly but two ways to take; the one, to recommend himſelf to the father and mother of the infant Empe-ror, by reſigning his regency to them; and the other, to cut them both off as ſoon as poſſible. The former, his am-bition, it ſeems, prevented him to take; and in the latter, he was probably pre-vented by this ſudden, well concerted, and providential revolution. Next day a declaration, ſigned by the whole ſy-nod, the miniſtry, and the Generals of the army, was printed and publiſhed in the Emperor's name, which ſet forth the crimes of the Regent, and the rea-ſons for diveſting him of the regency; and the populace rejoiced as much at his downfal as they did at his elevation. The Duke of Brunſwick has ſince been declared Generaliſſimo, and Lt Col. of the horſe-guards, Count Munich Prime Miniſter, and Count Oſterman, High-Admiral.

The Queen of HUNGARY, &c. has declared the Great Duke, her huſband, joint Regent with her of all her domi-nions, that he may be intitled to vote at the enſuing election.

On the 14th Dec. his PRUSSIAN Majeſty, with betwixt 20 and 30,000 of his troops, 14 battering cannon, 18 field-pieces, ſeveral falconets, about 200 ammunition waggons, &c. enter'd the territory of Sileſia: On which he pub-liſhed the following manifeſto.

We Frederick, by the grace of God, &c. to the inhabitants of the dutchy of Sileſia, ſend greeting. As it hath pleaſed the Almighty to take out of this world the Emperor Charles VI. *and thereby to deprive the empire of its head, as well as the illuſtrious houſe of Auſtria, which laſt by the extinction of the male line, finds itſelf expoſed to many troubleſome events, thro' the pretenſions which are formed to the ſucceſſion of his Imperial Majeſty; events that have already in part manifeſted themſelves, and which appear upon the point of breaking out like a conflagration, in which the dutchy of Sileſia is likely to be involved; in the preſervation and proſperity whereof we have the more intereſted ourſelves, as it ſerves for a bulwark and defence to our territories in the empire; and as thoſe who form pretenſions upon the hereditary countries of the houſe of Auſtria, may by open force ſeize upon this dutchy, to the great prejudice of our dominions, and of thoſe which confine thereupon, as it would probably kindle the fire of war upon our frontiers, and expoſe us to great dangers: in order therefore to prevent ſuch evil conſequences, at a time when Europe is threatned with a general war, we thought ourſelves, from the principle of ſelf-preſervation, authoriſed by the laws of nations, to prevent the execution of ſome views which ſeemed to tend infinitely to our prejudice, which are in part concealed, and partly made publick; and being determined by other powerful and important reaſons, which we will not fail in due time of making publick, we cauſed our troops to enter Sileſia, in order to cover it from any attack or invaſion to which it was ſubject: and as we have therein no intention of diſobliging her Royal Majeſty of Hungary, with whom we ardently wiſh to entertain a ſtrict friendſhip, and to contribute to her real intereſt and preſervation, after the example of our glorious predeceſſors, which time will ſufficiently make appear; as this*

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is our ſole view herein, and we are now employed in explaining ourſelves to, and coming to a right underſtanding with her ſaid Majeſty, all and every therefore of the inhabitants of the dutchy of Sileſia, and of the countries incorporated in it, of what rank ſoever, may be aſſured, that no hoſtilities will be committed againſt them by us or our troops, but on the contrary will find the effects of our royal protection in the enjoyment of their rights, &c. publick or private, eccleſiaſtical or political. We ſhall be very attentive in cauſing our troops obſerve exact diſcipline, that none may be moleſted in their property. And we promiſe ourſelves, that not being come here with an evil intention, but rather for the good and advantage of the inhabitants, and for preſerving the peace, which is as neceſſary for them as for us, that they will undertake nothing contrary to, or claſhing with theſe gracious and friendly declarations, which may oblige us, againſt our will, to have recourſe to other meaſures, the bad conſequences of which they will have no body to impute to but themſelves. Signed, FREDERICK.

He alſo made the following ſpeech to his troops: *Gentlemen, I do not look upon you as my ſubjects, but as my friends. The troops of Brandenburg have always ſignaliz'd themſelves by their courage, and have given, on divers occaſions, marks of their bravery. I ſhall be an eye-witneſs to all your exploits. You will alway fight in my preſence, and I will recompence thoſe who ſhall diſtinguiſh themſelves by their zeal for my ſervice, rather as a father than as a ſovereign.*

Some politicians ſuppoſe the march of the Pruſſians to be a ſcheme concerted between the Queen of Hungary and the King of Pruſſia, in order to have an army of obſervation ready which may keep the Elector of Bavaria in awe. The pretence of making good a right to that dutchy, or to ſome part of it, ſeems deſign'd to ſtop the mouth of thoſe who might accuſe the Queen of violating the publick peace, and of kindling a war in the empire, by engaging one Elector to march againſt another upon the bare ſuſpicion of ſome turbulent deſign being in agitation.

France, Germany, and Italy, have ſuffer'd greatly by the ſwelling of their rivers, ſeveral bridges, houſes, cattle, &c. being ſwept away, and many people drowned.

HOLLAND has likewiſe ſuffered by breaches in their dikes, great part of the country being overflow'd. Five of the provinces of that republick have already conſented to a ſecond augmentation of 10,000 national troops, and 10,000 foreigners.

The number of burials in Amſterdam for the year 1740 amounted to 10,056, which is 2549 more than thoſe of the preceeding year.

We hear from Antigua, That an embargo is laid on all the veſſels of force at MARTINICO; that thirty of them were preſſed into the publick ſervice, capable of carrying between 20 and 30 guns; and that every 10th negro is employ'd in making baſkets, &c. for the Marquis d'Antin's ſquadron, newly arrived there.

Advice is alſo received, that the FERROL ſquadron is arrived at Porto Rico.

LONDON.

ORders are given for raiſing ſeven regiments of foot and four of marines, and ſome more men of war are put in commiſſion. — By a proclamation, Dec. 30. two guineas is promiſed to any able ſeaman, 30 s. to any ordinary ſeaman, and 20 s. to any able landman, that ſhall enter into his Majeſty's navy on or before Feb. 15. and orders are given to all Britiſh ſailors, in the ſervice of foreign princes, to return home. — By another proclamation, a faſt is ordered to be obſerved thro' Britain, on Feb. 4. for imploring ſucceſs to his Majeſty's arms, &c. — The Commons having addreſſed his Majeſty, deſiring, that the half-pay officers might be employed in the army; his Majeſty anſwered, *I ſhall always have a due regard for my half-pay officers, and employ ſuch of them as are properly qualified for the ſervice.* — Dec. 18. his Majeſty went to the houſe of Peers, and gave the royal aſſent to the land-tax bill, at 4 s. per pound, for the year 1741. — His Majeſty

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eſty has taken off the embargo from rice, fiſh, and malt made or declared for exportation before Dec. 6.

The Spaniards have taken the Wilhelmina, Backer, from Amſterdam for Leghorn, and carried her into Barcelona; the Henry, Tanner, taken off the South of Ireland, after 22 broadſides exchanged, and ſeveral killed on both ſides, carried into St Sebaſtian's; the —— ſloop, Tilden, from Jamaica for Boſton, carried into St Auguſtine's; the ——, Trout, from Boſton for Jamaica, carried into the Havannah; the Mary, Flowers, coming out of the bay of Honduras,

A French ſhip, mounting 20 braſs guns, with about 3000 fanegas of corn, 10,000 dollars, a Spaniſh Serjeant and ſix ſoldiers on board, were taken near Algezira, and carried into Gibraltar.

P. S. On the 3d January the Lord Mayor and Aldermen made their compliments of congratulation to his Majeſty on the birth of a Princeſs in the following ſpeech.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

THE ſafe delivery of her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of Wales, and the birth of another Princeſs, are events of ſo much conſequence to theſe kingdoms, that the Lord Mayor and court of Aldermen of your city of London have moſt humbly deſired your Majeſty's permiſſion to tender their dutiful congratulations on this joyful occaſion.

It is no ſmall part of our happineſs, that whilſt other kingdoms and ſtates moſt anxiouſly perceive great and noble families in whom they are intereſted drawing towards a period, we of this nation have the pleaſure to behold many deſcendents from your royal perſon; the beſt ſecurity (under the bleſſing of God) for the long enjoyment of our religion and liberties.

Happy are the people whoſe prayers for their prince are then moſt ardent, when the ſenſe of their own felicity affects them moſt. Such, Sir, are thoſe we offer for your ſacred perſon; formed, we confeſs, with a view to our own intereſt, but at the ſame time ennobled by a true principle of gratitude.

January 6. S. S. trading ſtock was 99. Ditto Old Annuities, 110, 1 qr. Ditto New, 110, 1 half. Bank ſtock, 139. India ditto, 156, 1 half. Three per cent. annuities, 99, 1 qr. a 1 half Million Bank, 112. Royal aſſurance, 89. London aſſurance, 10, 3 qrs. Engliſh copper, 3 l. 15 s. Welch ditto, 15 s. African, 10. Seven per cent. Emperor's loan, 98. Five per cent. ditto, 75, 3 8ths. Bank circulation, 2 l. 10 s. prem. Three per cent. India bonds, 4 l. 3 s. prem. Three 1 half per cent. Exchequer orders, 1 prem. Three per cent. ditto, 6 diſcount. Salt tallies, 1 qr. a 1 half prem. Lottery tickets, 8 l. 10 s.

EDINBURGH.

In order to obviate the apprehenſions of ſuch perſons as may incline to import grain to the port of Leith, for the market of this city, the magiſtrates, by an act of council, have promiſed to indemnify all loſſes by mobs to the importers, betwixt this and the 10th of September next; and the Lords of Seſſion have approv'd the ſame, and ordered it to be recorded in their books.

Since the 25th Sept. laſt there has been ſent to England from the port of Leith, 103,194 yards linen, 11,750 yards woollens, 5818 lb. thread and yarn, 6466 lb. ſnuff, 6682 dozen ſkins, 3275 dozen linen handkerchiefs, 31 tuns tallow and candles, and 6220 pairs ſhoes.

P. S. Jan. 6. The magiſtrates, in order to diſburden the city of thoſe poor who have no title to its charity, and to provide for the maintenance of thoſe who are the proper objects of its care, have, by a proclamation, ordered them to be diſtinguiſhed by badges, which ſome of them have already received, that they may be taken care of as the magiſtrates ſhall hereafter direct; and that every perſon found begging within this city, without a badge, after the 13th inſt. be, for the firſt fault, committed to the houſe of correction for 48 hours, fed on bread and water, and kept at hard labour.

Jan. 9. Oat-meal ſold here at 15 d. per peck, and peaſe-meal at 10 d.

BIRTHS.

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money distributed; and that they be invited to inform of the good or bad behaviour of any beggar, that they may be encouraged or reprehended as they deserve. All beggars may be known by taking the number of their box or badge. — Here I cannot but take notice of the indecent liberties taken by beggars at burials, especially at the house immediately after the corpse is carried out.

9. That whatever money remains after supplying the necessities of the poor, be kept by the Deacon, or applied for the support and relief of industrious, poor, but modest labourers, who chuse rather to live in the greatest poverty upon what they can earn by their labour, than be burdens upon the publick; or to other pious uses.

10. That at certain periods all the Deacons in every city or parish meet, examine one another's books, appoint what money they have on hand to be properly applied, and make such regulations as they shall judge necessary.

11. And because it is proposed to give a box to every one who requires it, and that some may pretend they beg only because no body will employ them, That therefore every beggar be obliged to work, for some short limited time, to any person who pleases to employ him, for his bare subsistence; but if he be kept beyond the time limited, that his employer allow him something for cloaths.

12. That in great cities, a Clerk be appointed to keep the books, for the ease of the Deacons; and that the Deacons appoint different times for conveening their respective poor, so that one Clerk may attend them all.

13. That in some country parishes, where there is not much money current, and of consequence the boxes would be useless, That the beggars be furnished only with badges; and that they be conveened at certain periods, to answer to any charge that may be brought against them.

If beggars were put under these or the like regulations, none of them could make a lucrative trade of begging, or live in luxury or debauchery upon what their feigned tears and affected cries and gestures often extort from compassionate and charitable persons. Nay, 2. importunate beggars might be made useful to society, by collecting for the relief of poor industrious labourers. 3. The state of all beggars might be known, so as none could impose upon the publick by feigned distempers, pretending to have more children or relations to provide for than they really have, or other falshoods. 4. All sturdy beggars might be detected, and forced to work. 5. All persons might have an opportunity of seeing how their charities were applied, of offering their advice to the Deacons, and of asking, when the funds would permit, some relief for poor labourers. — But I must hasten to what I have to say with relation to persons of the third class.

Here I cannot but observe, that as labour is the chief support of society, those people of substance who employ their thoughts in contriving, and their means in executing projects whereby a number of hands get employment, are certainly the best friends of society. And it were much to be wished that people, especially in these hard times, would lay themselves out this way, and look upon this as the most useful charity; since the publick are not only relieved of the burden of all the poor that are employed, but these even contribute their mite chearfully for the support of such as cannot work. And as money laid out this way might in time produce good returns, the generous would thus be enabled to make their charities more extensive.

But it sometimes happens, that people are difficulted how to find out the persons proper for executing what they project; as, on the other hand, people who want employment, are no less at a loss who to apply to. Therefore, what I propose on this head, Sir, is, *That you allot a certain space of each* Magazine, *in which any person may insert what kind of work he wants to have done, and those who want employment, the kind of work they are qualified for, or their age, education,*

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cation, or other circumſtances that a perſon deſigning to employ them would be deſirous to know; and that in either caſe notice be given where to enquire; though, if the perſons pleaſe, their own names may be concealed. And as you profeſs to be a ſervant of the publick, you ought to do it with as little charge as poſſible, eſpecially to the poor. Thus your *Magazine* would become a kind of publick market-place, where employers and labourers might as it were meet together monthly. And who, with coffers or barns full, could ſee poor labourers ſtanding idle and ſtarving in the market-place, without being ſenſibly touched, and opening his purſe or granaries for their relief; eſpecially when in many caſes it might be done without loſs, nay even with advantage to himſelf? Nay no man, who knew how he could give employment to one ſingle perſon, could diſcharge that duty he owes the publick till he made publick intimation of it; nor could thoſe who want buſineſs, diſcharge that duty they owe to the publick and themſelves, till they ſeriouſly conſidered, and made publick intimation what they were beſt qualified for.

Several advantages might enſue from this ſcheme: As, 1. Some people who do not know what to apply themſelves to, might find ſomething propoſed which they would be qualified for executing. 2. Perſons might be induced to enquire into, and propoſe ſome things that would tend to the conveniency and uſe of mankind, which would otherwiſe never be brought to light. 3. Perſons of ſuperior knowledge in agriculture, or in any trade or manufacture, who could employ a number of hands profitably, would have a fair opportunity of making their ſchemes known, and of requiring aſſiſtance for putting them in execution. 4. Some well diſpoſed perſons or ſocieties might be induced, as the moſt eaſy as well as uſeful way of giving charity, to offer to lay out ſums for employing a number of hands, in any uſeful labour, that would procure bread to the labourers, and would probably in the event yield returns near equal to the money laid out. — But I leave the alteration, improvement or further proſecution of what I have propoſed, to abler hands; having ſufficiently diſcharged my duty, in communicating what appeared beſt to me upon ſo important a ſubject.

I ſhall only add, that I think the poor ſhould be conſidered as the children of the publick; and as neither their education, company, nor manner of living, afford them ſuch opportunities of improving their minds, and acquiring right notions of things, as others have, that therefore allowance ſhould be made for their weakneſſes, and that, if poſſible, they ſhould be allured rather than forced to comply with what is intended even for their own good, eſpecially when any new regulation with regard to themſelves is made; for the narrowneſs of their minds makes them very jealous. And for this lenity the preſent calamity is a ſtrong argument; for we can ſcarce think, that any thing leſs than the ſevere ſtings of want could force them to expoſe themſelves to the inclemency of the moſt rigorous weather, and that even at the lateſt hours, or draw doleful groans and unaffected tears from their tender infants, as yet untaught the arts of diſſimulation: of which we ſee numberleſs inſtances.

In order to carry any project to execution, it is neceſſary it be communicated to proper perſons. As the Lords of Seſſion generouſly concur with the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, in taking proper precautions to prevent the bad effects of the preſent dearth, it might perhaps be proper to ſend copies of this letter to their Lordſhips, alſo to the Barons of Exchequer, the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* and other boroughs, Juſtices of Peace, Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, the Truſtees for encouraging Manufactures, the Society for improving Agriculture, *&c.* But of this you will be beſt judge. So, begging pardon for having encroached ſo much upon your patience, I ſubſcribe myſelf,

A Lover of Mankind,

INDUSTRY.

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Agreeable to the above hint, we publiſhed this Gentleman's letter a few days after it came to hand, deſcribed to the Lords of Seſſion, Barons of Exchequer, Magiſtrates, Juſtices of Peace, &c. to whom we ſent copies.—Whatever reſolution any city, pariſh, or ſociety, take with regard to this propoſal, ſhall, if we be favoured with a copy of it, be inſerted in our *Magazine*; which, however, we intreat may be conciſely written, the great variety we give in ſmall bounds obliging us to be very frugal in point of room.

In the ſecond part of this propoſal, our correſpondent has, as we may ſay, pitch'd upon our *Magazine* for the ſcene of action. What he deſires on this head, ſhall be readily agreed to. But as his directions are general, we beg leave to propoſe a method which we think the beſt for putting the ſcheme in execution, ſubject always to the correction of the judicious projector, or of any other.

That our readers may have no cauſe to complain of encroachments made on their property, the cover of the *Magazine* ſhall be the place. Employers and labourers ſhall be ranged under two general titles, *viz. Employment for labourers*, and, *Labourers wanting employment*. When perſons formerly inſerted continue unprovided, reference ſhall be made to the *Magazine* and paragraph where they are to be found, which ſhall be numbered for the more eaſy diſcovery. During the continuance of the preſent calamity, the poor ſhall be ſerved *gratis*; and the charge to others ſhall be very moderate. As we meet with encouragement in the ſeveral corners of the kingdom, the utmoſt impartiality ſhall be ſhown to all, and preference given according to the order in which perſons apply. For the more exactneſs, 'tis intreated the notes be given in to the printing houſe; and that the perſon directed to be enquired for be properly deſigned.

We ſhould be wanting in our duty, if we did not here make our grateful acknowledgments to this Gentleman, for favouring us with his thoughts upon a ſubject of ſuch univerſal concern. We likewiſe lay hold of this opportunity, humbly to invite and intreat others to follow the example ſet them by him and ſome other worthy Gentlemen, in preſenting the publick with whatever they think of ſervice to mankind, or diſcoveries in arts or ſciences; and we promiſe to inſert their eſſays with all convenient ſpeed, provided they meet with approbation from thoſe judicious or learned Gentlemen by whoſe advice we chuſe to be directed, our undertaking being deſign'd, as well for *uſe*, as for *entertainment* to the publick.

COMMON SENSE, *Dec.* 6.

A propoſal for defraying the expence of the war without burdening the people.

ABout a year before the preſent war broke out, a certain Gentleman, who had ſome reaſons that were merely perſonal for oppoſing a war, and for wiſhing that things might always go on in the ſame hopeful way, was pleaſed to declare, That, to his knowledge, the nation had not one ally left in the world, neither had we money to go to war; which I think is the moſt ſevere charge that ever yet was made againſt the preſent miniſtry.

I believe we have made more treaties and conventions ſince our domeſtick and foreign affairs have been conducted by two men only, than were made in 200 years before: and have we negotiated ourſelves into ſuch contempt with all the nations upon earth, that not one, no not one will enter into any friendſhip with us?

We have enjoyed a long ſtate of tranquillity, a peace of thirty years; time enough in conſcience to bring an increaſe of wealth and power to the moſt inconſiderable nation in the world. We have been viſited neither by peſtilence nor famine, no publick calamity hath afflicted the land, and we have had an open, an uninterrupted trade with all nations upon earth except our own colonies in *America*; and yet we are told, we are ſo reduced, we are grown ſo

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so weak as not to be in a condition to vindicate our rights against a nation which before these two persons became politicians could not hold out six months against us.

Is it not time to ask, who are the causes of this desolation? Is it not high time to know who hath robbed the country of the fruits of those blessings which providence has bestowed upon it; where are the caterpillars that devour the fertility of the land? How comes it to pass that providence bestows its blessings in vain, and that the merchant, the manufacturer, and the labourer grow the poorer for their industry? Must not such questions be ask'd?

The greatest and most valuable present that providence can bestow upon a nation, is to raise up wise and virtuous men to preside in its councils. *France*, within less than thirty years, hath been visited by a raging pestilence, which swept away its people by thousands; it hath seen two years of scarcity, which were little short of famines; and she has been engaged in a war, nay a very expensive war: and yet, by the virtue and wisdom of her councils within, she is risen to a figure in the world beyond what she ever made since the establishment of her monarchy. If all these blessings are demonstrably owing to the wisdom and integrity of her ministers, is it not full time to enquire to what cause the direct contrary are owing here?

The nation is now engaged in a war; and, whether the people have bread to eat, or not, money will be raised to carry it on. Pacifick armies at home, pacifick armies abroad, unactive naval expeditions, and that bottomless pit *secret service*, have been attended with an expence scarce known in former ages, even in time of war: but still there is a stock of wealth left in the nation sufficient for its defence, though it is not in the hands of the people; and no doubt it will be raised upon those who are able to bear the burden.

In *Richard* II.'s time, a message being sent to the parliament to desire the supplies necessary to enable the King to carry on the war, the parliament gave the following answer to the message, That there would be no occasion to burden the people with the expence of this war, for that the King might get money enough from his ministers for that purpose, who were grown immensely rich; and advised the King by all means to take it from them, and spare the people. And in another parliament in the same reign (for parliaments were then annual) it was enacted, That the common people should be wholly exempt from paying any tax towards the maintenance of the war; but that all monies raised for that purpose should be laid upon Dukes, Earls, Barons, Archbishops, Bishops, mitred Abbots, rich Curates, Knights and Esquires.

I am afraid that the Knights and Esquires at present in this kingdom are as little able to pay towards the war as the common people. I must except such as have the good fortune to enjoy the favour of our most excellent minister; who, it must be confessed, bear no share in the misery of the times. But, notwithstanding the face of poverty that now overspreads the land, there is still, I say, a sufficient stock left for carrying on a war for some years. The present immense civil list enables the crown to contribute largely towards it. Poor Q. *Anne*, who had no revenues from any dominions abroad, and whose civil list yielded but little more than half what the present produces, gave 100,000 *l.* in one year, saying, she would share with her subjects in the burden of the war.

We have been told, that his Majesty has extended his generosity to his subjects of the electorate; we need not doubt the like in any thing that may contribute to comfort and relieve the industrious poor of this kingdom, already labouring under taxes beyond any of their neighbours.

In the reign of K. *William* the civil list happening to produce more than was intended to be given, and more than was necessary for supporting the dignity of the crown, (for it amounted to near 700,000 *l.* in one year) the parliament,

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liament, not thinking it consistent with the trust reposed in them by the people, to leave a revenue in the hands of the crown, which, whenever there should be a weak or a wicked administration, would certainly be employed to poison that fountain from whence our liberties flow, took 100,000 *l.* a-year from it.

Notwithstanding that the present civil list is so much larger than that of any of our former Kings, there will be no occasion for an act of resumption, when all the world sees it bestowed, not in corrupting those who should be our friends at home, but in defending us against our enemies abroad.

It is true, that in free countries the crown should be kept at all times dependent upon the people. An immense revenue for life may render the people dependent upon the crown, and, in a little time, slaves to the crown. We will grant, that the savings of the present overgrown civil list will neither be employed to undermine our liberties at home, nor to purchase dominions abroad, that may be an expence, but never can be of use to *G. Britain*. The minister's character for virtue and integrity is our great protection in this case. But the danger lies here, that future princes will expect as large a revenue, and if their ministers should happen not to be persons of quite so much honour as the present, the consequences may be fatal.

Besides what the crown may be able to contribute, there is another large fund for the war; I mean the vast wealth in the hands of the placemen. It hath been a glorious time with them for many years; the wealth of the nation hath been flowing into their coffers; they may well say, the nation is rich, for they feel no share of its poverty. I think the placemen may look upon themselves in some sense as the proprietors of all the lands in *England*, and consider the owners only as their stewards. The manufacturer may work, the farmer may plow and sow, and the landlord may receive rent when he can get it; but how much of this goes to the use of their own families? Others may labour in the hive, but it is the placemen that devour all the honey. Such are the emoluments of salary, and the sweets of perquisite, that we have seen in another reign the petty clerks of offices turning the Gentleman of fortune out of his borough, and he that was born to servitude hath become a legislator. So much better is it to receive taxes than to pay them.

Now is the time for them to convince us that placemen are not dangerous to the constitution; for sure they will not expect to riot in luxury and corruption while the very vitals of the people are wasting and exhausting in taxes, to pay the interest of Debts, and to support the war. It is fit to put them in mind of one thing, that the salaries of the civil employments in this kingdom alone, amount to more than those of *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Holland*, put together, tho' the revenues of one of those countries amount to more than ours: and well they may; for they have double the number of people to pay them.

I have been informed, that the late salaries of the treasury and exchequer offices amount to 90,000 *l. per annum*, an immense sum! and that a scheme was offered to a certain Gentleman some years ago, for doing the whole business for 8, or at most for 10,000 *l. per annum*. But, as great a blunderer as he is esteemed, he knew better things than to encourage such schemes. If a man knows by experience that he owes his security to the height of the national expences, that they are the magazine from whence he draws all his strength, and that they may be his fund for corruption; perhaps, if others attempt to lessen the publick charges, he will not be ashamed openly to oppose it.

The salaries in the customs, excise, and all the other offices are proportionably extravagant. It is a strange thing to say, but it is true, that the bare management of the several branches of the revenue, is a greater burden upon the people now, that is to say, it amounts to more yearly, than the whole revenue did about an age since.

It

It is to be hoped, that all uſeleſs ſalaries will immediately be thrown into the publick ſtock. The placemen are in a long arrears, they are vaſt debtors to their country. In ſuch a time of diſtreſs, while the exhauſted gentry and commonality are paying thouſands to the publick, they will not, they cannot have the aſſurance to draw thouſands from it: let them therefore eaſe their country in the expences of this war, otherwiſe the people may be under a neceſſity of turning over a new leaf with them.

As the plenty they enjoy amidſt the people's diſtreſs, hath been drawn from the publick; the publick in its neceſſity hath a very good right to expect large contributions from them. The leaſt that can be expected is, that all of them (except thoſe of the lower rank) will remit their ſalaries during the continuance of the preſent war. Perhaps it might be the beſt expedient that could be found out for putting a ſpeedy end to it: but be that as it may, it is certainly an act of common juſtice. Many wiſe men think the conſtitution may be in danger from their increaſe, as well as from their ingroſſing too large a ſhare of the wealth that is left in the kingdom: let them do ſomething to ſhew they have no mind to be burdenſome; let them prevent a neceſſity for acts of enquiry and reſumption; if thoſe things once begin, it may be worſe than the ſuſpenſion of two or three years ſalary.

CRAFTSMAN, N° 742.

Extracts from Oliver Cromwel's Declaration againſt Spain, in 1655, written originally in Latin by Milton.

THE juſt and moſt reaſonable cauſes and grounds of our late enterprize upon ſome iſlands poſſeſſed by ſubjects of the King of *Spain* in the *Weſt-Indies*, are very obvious to any that ſhall reflect upon the poſture, wherein the ſaid King and his people have always ſtood, in relation to the *Engliſh* nation in thoſe parts of *America*; which hath been no other than a continual ſtate of *open war* and *hoſtility*, at the firſt moſt unjuſtly begun by them, and ever ſince in like ſort continued and proſecuted, contrary to the common right and law of nations, and the particular treaties between *England* and *Spain*.

It is true, indeed, that of late years the *Engliſh* have for the moſt part been *patients*, and upon the *defenſive* only; which may poſſibly occaſion ſome to look upon the late expedition into the *Weſt-Indies* as an entrance into a *new war*, and not (as it was indeed) the proſecution of a *war already in being*, and ſtill (notwithſtanding all endeavours on the part of *this ſtate*, for ſettling a firm peace and friendly commerce in thoſe parts) obſtinately continued and carried on by the *Spaniards*; who, as often as they have opportunity, without any juſt cauſe or provocation at all, ceaſe not to kill and ſlaughter, nay ſometimes, in cold blood, to murder the people of this nation, ſpoiling their goods and eſtates, deſtroying their colonies and plantations, taking alſo their ſhips (if they meet with any) upon *thoſe ſeas*, and uſing them in all things as *enemies*, or rather as *rovers* and *pyrates*; for ſo they moſt injuriouſly and ignominiouſly brand all nations, except themſelves, which ſhall preſume to ſail upon *thoſe ſeas*, upon no other or better right and title than that of the *Pope*'s donation, and their firſt diſcovering ſome parts of the *Weſt-Indies*; whereupon they would appropriate to themſelves the ſole ſeigniory of *that new world*: of which moſt abſurd pretenſion there will be occaſion to ſpeak more largely, when we come to conſider the cauſes why the *Spaniards* ſhould think it reaſonable for them to exerciſe all manner of hoſtility in thoſe parts againſt the *Engliſh*, in ſo far as to make ſuch of them as, by ſtreſs of weather, ſhipwreck, or other like caſualty, are caſt upon thoſe coaſts, priſoners, nay ſlaves; and yet to account it a great injury, and breach of the peace, (even here in *Europe*) for the *Engliſh* to attempt any thing upon them in thoſe parts, by way of retaliation, and for their juſt ſatisfaction.

But

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But although the King of *Spain's* Ambassadors (emboldened upon the assurance of a *prevalent Spanish faction* always in the council of the *late King* and his *father*) have had the confidence to make most ridiculous and irrational complaints and demands upon any thing done in that kind by the *English*; yet would not the *said Kings* (though too much addicted to the *Spaniards*) ever tie up their own subjects hands, where the *Spaniards* held their hands to be loose, but suffered them to repel force by force, and to exercise acts of hostility in those parts against the *Spaniards*, who never would keep any peace there; in so much that about the year 1640, when this question came into debate before the council of the *late King*, the *Spanish* Ambassador demanding the stop of certain vessels then in the river, ready to set sail for *America*, with commissions to exercise acts of hostility there against the *Spaniards*; and the *English*, upon a demand made of commerce in the *West-Indies*, by the Lords of the council appointed for that affair, being denied the same, they determined that the ships should proceed in their enterprizes, which they did accordingly.

Thus far the *late Kings* owned their subjects in the war they maintained in *those parts*, upon their *private account*; although through the prevalency of the *forementioned Spanish faction*, they would never afford them that *publick protection* which was due to them, and which was suitable to the honour and interest of this nation. And it would have been as dishonourable and unworthy for *us*, who, through the goodness and providence of God, were so well furnished with *ships of war* fit for *foreign service*, to have let them *lie rotting at home*, rather than to have employed them for the just revenge of so much *English* (why may we not also say *Indian?*) blood, so unjustly, so inhumanely and cruelly spilt by the *Spaniards* in those parts; *since God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation:* and at one time or another, by some hand or other, God will have an account of the innocent blood of so many millions of *Indians*, so barbarously butchered by the *Spaniards*, and of the wrong and injustice that hath been done unto them.

[Then, after a particular account of the contravention of treaties by the *Spaniards*, and of their depredations, insults and barbarities towards the *English*, the *declaration* goes on thus]

But since the King of *Spain* hath, both by word and deed, declared the treaties of peace to be so understood, he hath consequently concluded himself to have first violated the sacred bonds of friendship, by so many acts of open hostility, first exercised by him upon the *English* in those parts, and from time to time continued ever since the last treaty of peace, as before hath been particularly declared: which is a thing so evident and notorious, that our adversaries themselves cannot surely have the face to deny the *matter of fact*; but will chuse rather to insist upon the *matter of right*, and that as the King of *Spain* hath assumed, amongst his titles, that of *Rex Indiarum*, so indeed all the *Indies*, and *Indian* sea, both *North* and *South*, are his proper dominions, and that they are all *enemies* and *pirates* who come there without his commission; which truly, if it were so, both we and all other nations ought to quit to him all we hold in those parts; and, displanting our colonies, ask him pardon for the wrong we have hitherto done unto him. But if we look into the ground of his claim and title, it will appear a very poor and weak foundation to raise so great and so bloody a building upon, as this hath, and is likely to prove.

A double title is pretended; that of the *Pope's donation*, and that of *first discovery*. As to the *former*, we know very well that the *Pope* hath, indeed, been very free in disposing of kingdoms and countries; therein being very unlike him whose *Vicar* he pretended to be, that should not take upon him so much as

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as to be a judge to divide inheritances, much leſs to give them away at his pleaſure, as the *Pope* hath done the kingdoms of *England*, *Ireland*, and others. But we acknowledge no ſuch power in him; nor do we believe that any nation is ſo void of ſenſe as to think he hath any ſuch power; or that the *Spaniards* themſelves do believe it, or would affirm it, if the *Pope* had given as much away from them, as he hath given to them. And if the *French* and others, who acknowledge the *Pope's* power in eccleſiaſtical matters, do eſteem this title of the *Spaniards* ridiculous, it cannot be expected that we account it any other; and ſo we leave it as not worthy of any further anſwer.

And of as little weight is their *other title*, as if the ſubjects of the King of *Spain*, having firſt made diſcovery of ſome few parts of *America*, and having given names to ſome *iſlands*, *rivers*, and *promontories*, they ſhould be thereby intitled to the ſole ſeigniory of *that new world*. But an *imaginary title*, upon ſuch a *preſcription*, without *poſſeſſion*, cannot create any real right. The beſt title that any can have to what they poſſeſs in thoſe parts of *America*, is *plantation* and *poſſeſſion*, where there were no inhabitants; or, where there were any, by their conſent, or at leaſt in ſuch waſte and deſolate parts of their countries as they are not able in any meaſure to plant and poſſeſs; God having made the world for the *uſe of men*, and ordained them to *repleniſh the ſame*.

Upon which grounds, as the *Spaniards* will have little right to what they hold, having got all they have, contrary to the conſents, and out of the bowels of the *firſt inhabitants*, in whoſe blood they have founded their empire; and not found, but made great iſlands and whole countries void of inhabitants, having rooted out all the *natives*; ſo, on the other ſide, the *Engliſh* will have a very clear title to their plantations, eſpecially to divers iſlands, which the *Spaniards* have aſſaulted, and ſlain their colonies in, which either never had any inhabitants, or, if deſtroyed by the *Spaniards*, were alſo deſerted by them, and left unpeopled. So that by the law of *nature*, and of *nations*, they rightfully accrue to the *occupiers* and *poſſeſſors* thereof, according to the known maxim, *Quæ nullius ſunt, & pro derelictis habentur, cedunt occupanti*; although, if we had diſpoſſeſſed the *Spaniards* of the places where we planted our *colonies*, and where they had firſt diſpoſſeſſed and rooted out the *natives*, we, as avengers of thoſe people's blood and wrongs, ſhould have had a better title to their countries than their oppreſſors and murderers. But our plantations having been where neither *natives* nor *Spaniards* had any poſſeſſion, nor had left behind them any habitations, cattle, or other thing, which might in any ſort retain, or preſerve their claim or title, our right in thoſe places was the more clear, and the wrongs and injuries done unto us by the *Spaniards* the more apparent; eſpecially in ſuch places as were ſeized upon in time of open war between the two nations, (as were the iſlands of *Providence* and *Tortuga*) whereupon if the *Spaniards* could have pretended any precedent dormant title, yet, not making their claim upon the cloſe of the laſt peace, by the 2d article thereof they concluded themſelves as to any ſuch pretenſions, and extinguiſhed all future claim and right thereunto.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR, *Edin.*

I Have had a ſcheme for relieving and employing the poor tranſmitted to me [*p.* 565.] I think the author's endeavours that way very charitable and commendable. But I approve moſt of your office of intelligence for labourers, and ſuch as are willing to employ them; and in that view I would ſuggeſt to Gentlemen and Farmers, That what is ſaved of ſeed-corn, and beſtowed upon labourers wages, if the produce be the ſame, adds to the quantity of grain in the country by how much is ſaved, and is beſtowing a charity on the poor labourer. Now, as it will not be prudent to ſow much poor land when the ſeed is ſo dear, if old rich land be delved or trenched, it may be ſown with

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at last become contemptible among the vulgar, and this would of course lay open the flood-gates of all other sorts of wickedness.

From this consideration, my Lords, if our liberties were now in danger from corruption, if some new remedy were necessary for putting a stop to that evil, I should nevertheless be against this bill; because the remedy would bring on a greater evil than that which it is intended to cure. But as, I think, we are at present, whatever may be pretended, in no more danger from pensioners in either house of parliament, than we are from the Jews in the city of London, I think it as unnecessary to provide any new remedy against the former, as it would be to put yellow caps upon the latter; and I believe, the Noble Lord himself does not think it is necessary, or that it would be proper, to put any mark of distinction upon the Jews that reside in this kingdom: nay, I believe, he will grant, that the danger apprehended at Rome, which was the occasion of putting a mark of distinction upon them there, was rather imaginary than real; and that it was suggested by that selfish, narrow, persecuting spirit, which clapt tails to the *hereticks* in Spain.

But why, my Lords, should we give so much attention to this outcry against corruption, and yet wholly disregard that outcry against resentment, malice, envy, disaffection and sedition, which prevails among another set of people? for as no man is willing to suppose, that any difference from his opinion proceeds from reason, the friends of the administration are as apt to impute the opposition to these motives, as the opposers are apt to impute an approbation of the government's measures to corruption. For my own part, I am so charitable as to believe, that both sides are governed by their reason; and therefore, if it should be thought necessary to oblige the members of the other house to swear, they had never given their vote in parliament for any reward or promise whatsoever, I should think it necessary, at the same time, to oblige them to swear, they had never given a vote in parliament, out of resentment, malice, envy, disaffection or sedition; for I think the man who is under the government of either of these, as far from being a free agent, as he that is under the influence of corruption.

The next that stood up was Sp. Carvilius, *whose speech was as follows.*

My Lords,

WHen one considers the nature of this bill, it is really amazing to find it meet with any opposition in this house. It is so far from being an innovation with respect to our constitution, that it can scarcely be said to be a new law; because the sole intention of the bill is, to amend and enforce laws that are already in being, and laws too which were made to obviate and prevent a practice that has often been used, and that has always been acknowledged to be of dangerous consequence to our constitution. To pretend that we are not at present in any danger from the private pensions that may be given to members of the other house, must appear absurd to every man that considers the nature of ministers, or the nature of mankind. My Lords, it is a danger we can never be free from, nor can ever sufficiently guard against, as long as it is in the power of a minister to give, or of a member to receive. It is absolutely necessary for a minister to have the consent or approbation of parliament in almost every step of his conduct; therefore, from the very nature of ministers we must suppose, that if he cannot obtain such consent or approbation by his authority, he will endeavour to obtain it by his power; and from the nature of mankind we must suppose, that among such a number of men as are in the other house, the minister will always find some of them ready enough to prostitute their consent or approbation for a considerable bribe or annual pension. Thus we must always be exposed to this danger, and we are now a great deal more exposed to it than ever we were heretofore; because our ministers now have infinitely more

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o give, and cuſtom or example has, I'm afraid, greatly added to the number of thoſe that are ready to receive.

This, my Lords, the Gentlemen of the other houſe are fully ſenſible of, and therefore they have endeavoured, by this bill, to add to the ſtrength of thoſe laws which were made for guarding againſt a danger that has greatly increaſed ſince the laſt of them was enacted. By this bill there is no alteration made in our laws or conſtitution: there is no man excluded from having a ſeat in the other houſe, but thoſe who, while they ſit there, are guilty of a continued breach of the laws of their country, and would certainly be not only expelled, but proſecuted, if their crime could be diſcovered and proved. By the very act of ſettlement itſelf, my Lords, it was expreſly enacted, amongſt other things, That no perſon having a penſion from the crown, ſhould ſerve as a member of the houſe of Commons: and tho' this clauſe was in general repealed by an act of the 4th and 5th of Q. Anne, yet it was then again thought ſo reaſonable to exclude penſioners from having ſeats in the other houſe, that it was of new enacted, That no perſon having any penſion from the crown during pleaſure, ſhould be capable of being a member of any future houſe of Commons; and by an act of the 1ſt of the late King, this incapacity was farther extended to all perſons having any penſion from the crown, for any term or number of years, either in their own names, or in the name of any other perſon in truſt for them, or for their benefit. Thus your Lordſhips ſee, that by the laws now in being all perſons who have penſions from the crown during pleaſure, or for any term or number of years, are rendered incapable of having ſeats in the other houſe; and by theſe laws great penalties are inflicted upon thoſe who preſume to break through them. But as no proviſion has been made by either of theſe laws for diſcovering ſecret offenders, and as every man muſt be ſenſible that ſuch penſions may be given privately, the Gentlemen of the other houſe have thought it neceſſary, and I hope your Lordſhips will think it neceſſary, to provide the beſt remedy that can be thought of for this defect, which is the chief, and indeed the ſole intention of this bill.

I cannot help, therefore, being aſtoniſhed at its being pretended, that this bill will occaſion any alteration or innovation in our conſtitution; and there is nothing convinces me more of the neceſſity there is for paſſing it, than the circumſtances of the Noble Lords who I find oppoſe it. To the honour of the adminiſtration in the firſt year of the late King, I muſt obſerve, that the law paſt at that time for excluding penſioners from the other houſe, was introduced by a Secretary of ſtate, and approved by moſt of thoſe in the adminiſtration; and it was prudent and right in them to do ſo. A miniſter that has no intention to make uſe of bribery and corruption, has no occaſion to oppoſe any bill that can be thought of for preventing ſuch infamous and illegal practices; and therefore, when I find ſuch a bill oppoſed by thoſe who are the known friends of a miniſter, it will always be a prevailing argument with me, not only to think that there is a preſent and preſſing neceſſity for ſuch a bill, but alſo to think that the bill propoſed will be in ſome meaſure effectual. Whether the bill now before us will be altogether effectual, is what I ſhall not pretend to determine; but I am convinced, both from the nature of it, and from the oppoſition it meets with, that it will have ſome effect. It will at leaſt raiſe the price of proſtitutes, becauſe the more riſk a man runs, the higher wages he will of courſe expect; and the higher you raiſe the price of thoſe who are liable to be corrupted, the more difficult will every future miniſter find it to corrupt: ſo that at laſt you may render the practice impoſſible, notwithſtanding the many and great boons our miniſters have now to beſtow; and then they muſt think of gaining the conſent or approbation of parliament by their authority in perſuading, and not by their power in corrupting.

But ſuppoſe it were your Lordſhips opi-

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opinion, that this bill would be altogether ineffectual, can this be a reason for not committing it? If the intention of the bill, if the principle upon which it is founded be right, the imperfection of it is no reason against committing it; because in the committee you may alter and amend it, so as to remove every imperfection: therefore I must think, that the Noble Lords who oppose committing it, disapprove of the principle upon which it is founded; and indeed most of their arguments seem to tend that way. Such a bill's having been rejected by this house in former sessions, is no reason for our rejecting it in this. Some of the best laws that were ever made, have at first met with the unlucky fate of being rejected. The triennial bill was at first rejected by this house, and yet the very next session it was approved of and passed by this house; and tho' it was at that time rejected by the crown, yet in the next following session it met with the approbation of the three several branches of our legislature, and was accordingly passed into a law. That law, 'tis true, has been since repealed; but, nevertheless, it has always been deemed by a great majority of the nation, to be an excellent law; and many of those who joined in the repeal of it, I believe, now heartily repent of their having done so. But the very repeal of that law is a strong argument in favour of the bill now before us; for the longer the term is, for which the representatives of the people are chosen, the greater security ought the people to have, that those representatives shall not, from any selfish view, betray the interest of their country in parliament.

To pretend, my Lords, that we ought never to think of guarding against pensioners in the other house, till we find the majority of that house approving of some weak or wicked measures of government, is the very same with saying, that no man ought to think of repairing his house, till it has tumbled down, and overwhelmed him in the ruins. Will pensioners ever acknowledge, that they have agreed to any weak or wicked measure? will a pensioner ever agree to give up the only tenure by which he holds his pension? And if the majority of the other house should once come to be pensioned and corrupted, could it be expected, that such a house of Commons would ever concur in passing any law against pensioning and corrupting? I can freely declare that, in my opinion, many things have of late years met with the approbation of both houses of parliament, that very little deserved it. I believe there are very few Lords in this house, that will now approve of every thing that has, for these twenty years past, been approved of by parliament; and therefore, if every Lord makes this the standard for his opinion of this bill, I have no great doubt of its meeting with the fate it deserves. Whether the undeserved approbation some late measures have met with in parliament, was owing to the number of pensioners in the other house, I shall not pretend to determine; I shall not even pretend to affirm, that there are at present any pensioners in that house: but when we see members obtaining very great and lucrative posts for their brothers, sons, or distant relations, it cannot but occasion a suspicion, that they have a fellow-feeling in the salary or perquisites; and this suspicion is a good reason for passing this bill. But suppose there were no such suspicion; suppose we were absolutely certain that there are at present no pensioners in the house of Commons, there is a possibility, nay a very great probability, that there will be such, as soon as we have the misfortune to fall under the government of a prince, or administration of a minister, whose projects or schemes cannot be supported by reason: for every one must see, that the laws in being are not sufficient for guarding against the mischief.

By the laws now in being, my Lords, it is made criminal for any man that accepts of a pension to keep his seat in the other house; but those laws have provided no method for discovering and proving that crime: and as a pension may be

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be given, as infamous penſions are generally given, without allowing any perſon to be privy to it but the corruptor and the corrupted, if you have a mind to prevent the practice as far as lies in your power, you muſt put it to the oath of one of the parties, which is the deſign of this bill. I ſhall not ſay, that this method will be in every caſe effectual: I ſhall admit, that ſome penſioners may be abandoned enough to add perjury to their treachery, and to declare upon oath, they have no penſion, in that very aſſembly where they earn their infamous wages, and perhaps in the very face of him who pays them. But what is propoſed by this bill is, my Lords, the utmoſt you can do: it will be a ſort of teſt-act upon penſioners; and ſurely thoſe who are ſo ſollicitous about keeping the Diſſenters in ſubjection to a teſt-act, cannot refuſe to ſubject thoſe who are ſuſpected of being penſioners to the ſame method of purgation.

The teſt-act againſt the Diſſenters, my Lords, was never yet thought ſufficient for preventing occaſional conformity; and yet no true lover of the church ever thought it ought, for that reaſon, to be repealed. The teſt deſigned by this bill againſt penſioners, may not, perhaps, be ſufficient for keeping all of them out of the houſe of Commons; yet no true lover of our conſtitution can, for that ſingle reaſon, think it ought not to be impoſed. It will have ſome effect: I believe it will have a very great effect; becauſe of the danger a man muſt in this caſe run, by taking a falſe oath. The revenue of a Gentleman, who is no trader or gameſter, is generally pretty well known; and his yearly expence may be pretty nearly gueſſed at by his neighbours and ſervants. This, upon a ſtrict enquiry, will always afford a ſtrong preſumption againſt him; and as the perſon that pays him his penſion, may afterwards turn evidence againſt him, he can never be abſolutely ſecure againſt a conviction; which will, I believe, terrify moſt men from being guilty of the crime.

I find ſome Lords are, upon this occaſion, extremely apprehenſive of corrupting the morals of the people by a multiplicity of new oaths. I wiſh the ſame apprehenſions had prevailed, when ſuch an infinite number of oaths were contrived for collecting our cuſtoms and exciſes. Moſt of thoſe oaths are to be taken by multitudes of people, and in caſes where there are great temptations for perjury: the oath now propoſed, is to be taken by none but members of the other houſe; and the temptations to perjury can never be great or frequent, but when our conſtitution is in the utmoſt danger. It is therefore ſomething ſtrange, that we ſhould be ſo little apprehenſive of corrupting the morals of the people by a multiplicity of oaths, when we are contriving methods for preſerving the revenue of our ſovereign, and ſo very apprehenſive of the like effect, when we are contriving methods for preſerving the conſtitution and liberties of our country. A foreigner, upon conſidering this behaviour, would be apt to judge, we had very little concern about the latter, provided we could but enjoy a ſhare of the former; and, if we ſhould reject this bill, without much better reaſons than I have yet heard againſt it, I fear, moſt of our own people will join in forming ſo falſe an opinion of this honourable and auguſt aſſembly.

Your Lordſhips muſt be all ſenſible, how prevalent the jealouſy is at preſent, of there being a great number of penſioners in parliament. The Gentlemen of the other houſe have endeavoured to allay that jealouſy, and to vindicate the honour of their aſſembly, by ſending us up this bill. If it ſhould be thrown out here, what will the nation think? will it not be generally ſuppoſed, that it is in this houſe where the number of penſioners prevails, and that here the penſions have their moſt infallible effect? or perhaps it will be ſuppoſed, that there are penſioners in the other houſe as well as in this, but that the penſioners in the other, for the ſake of recommending themſelves to their conſtituents, had leave from their maſters to agree to this bill, becauſe thoſe maſters knew, they could depend upon the number and ſubmiſſion of their penſioners

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oners in this, for throwing it out. I am very ſenſible, my Lords, there is no real ground for either of theſe ſuppoſitions; but thoſe without doors, who do not know the reaſons upon which your Lordſhips proceed, when they find a bill rejected which makes no alteration in our conſtitution, which does not ſo much as make an alteration in any former law, which contains nothing but an enforcement of the laws in being againſt penſioners; ſuch perſons, I ſay, may think, they have reaſon to make one or other of theſe ſuppoſitions: and ſhould not we be extremely cautious of giving the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon for judging ſo unworthily of our aſſembly?

I do not know, but that ſome of your Lordſhips may be of opinion, that the laws now in being, for excluding penſioners from the other houſe, are inconvenient, and therefore wiſh they were repealed. If they are ſo, let them be repealed; for we ought not to ſit here, and ſuffer any laws to remain in force, that are inconvenient to the ſociety. But, if they are not inconvenient; if they are neceſſary for guarding our conſtitution againſt corruption, the moſt dangerous, becauſe it is the moſt ſecret enemy to a free ſtate; they ought to be enforced, they ought to be rendered effectual, by all the methods that can by the wit of man be invented, or by human power exerciſed. In caſes of ſuch a ſecret nature we muſt, we ought to call the divine power to our aſſiſtance, by interpoſing the religious ſolemnity of an oath. By interpoſing an oath, my Lords, in matters of great conſequence, and which cannot frequently occur, we ſhall never render the ſolemnity familiar and contemptible; and where is there a matter of greater conſequence, on this ſide the grave, than the preſervation of the conſtitution of our government, and liberties of our country? It is by interpoſing an oath in trivial matters, in ſuch as frequently occur, and chiefly affect the meaner ſort, that we render the ſolemnity familiar and contemptible to the vulgar; and I wiſh the invention of ſome of thoſe who are ſuppoſed to be no friends to this bill, had in this reſpect been leſs fruitful.

My Lords, as the laws now in being for excluding penſioners from the other houſe, muſt, to every man that conſiders them, appear to be altogether ineffectual; if this bill be rejected, I ſhall, even in my time, if I live but a very few years, expect to ſee the other houſe full of penſioners. I ſhall expect to ſee a miniſter in that houſe, out of a wantonneſs of power, by his ſole *Ne* throw out a bill of the utmoſt importance, without deigning to give his ſlaves ſo much as one reaſon for what he obliges them to do. This indeed, if it ſhould ever happen, I ſhall look upon as a ſign of his power, but not of his prudence; and I may propheſy, that if ever a miniſter ſhould get ſuch a power over the other houſe, his power in this will be as abſolute, and equally inſolent.

Upon this Gentleman's ſitting down, C. Cicerejus *ſpoke to this effect.*

My Lords,

I Shall always be as ready as any Lord in this houſe, to enforce the laws now in being, for excluding penſioners from having ſeats in the houſe of Commons; I ſhall readily concur in any method that may be propoſed for that purpoſe, provided it be ſuch a one as I think conſiſtent with our conſtitution: but when the method propoſed, evidently tends to the overthrow of that conſtitution, which we all ſhew, and I hope ſincerely, ſo warm a zeal for preſerving, I hope I ſhall always have virtue and reſolution enough to give it my negative, let the conſequence be what it will. If the laws now in force, for terrifying a penſioner from keeping his ſeat in the other houſe, are not ſufficient, I hope ſome method will be found out, for rendering them ſo, without giving ſuch a power to the other houſe, as muſt ſoon overturn our conſtitution: which, I think, would be the certain effect of the bill now before us; for it would ſhew very great imprudence, as well as great ignorance of our conſtitution, if we ſhould expoſe ourſelves to a new danger, for the ſake of avoiding a danger of a different nature, which we

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are already pretty well, if not effectually guarded againſt.

By the law of the 4th and 5th of Q. Anne, my Lords, mentioned by the Noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, it is enacted, That if any perſon having a penſion from the crown during pleaſure, ſhall ſit or vote in the other houſe, he ſhall forfeit 500 l. to ſuch as ſhall ſue for the ſame. And by the act of the 1ſt of his late Majeſty, likewiſe mentioned by the ſame Noble Lord, it is enacted, That if any perſon having a penſion from the crown, for any term or number of years, either in his own name, or in the name of any other perſon in truſt for him, or for his benefit, ſhall preſume to ſit or vote in the other houſe, he ſhall, in ſuch caſe, forfeit 20 l. for every day in which he ſhall ſo ſit or vote there, to him who ſhall ſue for the ſame.

Theſe penalties are ſo high, that in my opinion, my Lords, no Gentleman of fortune will run the riſk of incurring them, for the ſake of any penſion the crown can beſtow; and we know, that none but Gentlemen of fortune can be choſen members of the other houſe. For this reaſon, notwithſtanding the ſuſpicions that prevail, and are moſt induſtriouſly propagated, without doors, I cannot think that there are at preſent any penſioners in the other houſe; and indeed, from the very nature of things, I am convinced of it. No prince, no miniſter, will ever give a penſion, for the ſake of engaging a man's vote in parliament, unleſs there be an abſolute neceſſity for ſo doing; and whilſt a prince, or miniſter, deſires nothing of parliament, but what is reaſonable, and agreeable to the public intereſt, there can be no ſuch neceſſity: for, however much ſome men may be actuated by malice or diſaffection, as long as the adminiſtration purſues no meaſures but ſuch as are neceſſary for ſecuring the happineſs of their country, I hope they will always find a majority in both houſes of parliament, ready to approve of ſuch meaſures, without any penſion or reward. This has, in my opinion, been the caſe, I ſhall venture to ſay, ever ſince the acceſſion of our preſent royal family. Our miniſters may, perhaps, have thought of ſome meaſures that were diſagreeable; but as ſoon as they found they were ſo, they have always given them up: and ſome things have, perhaps, afterwards appeared not to have been ſo right; but at the time they were reſolved on, they appeared otherwiſe: and our parliaments will, I hope, be always ready to forgive human frailty, in all caſes where no neglect or overſight can be imputed to the authors or actors.

This, my Lords, is my opinion of our late conduct; and therefore I cannot ſuppoſe that there are at preſent any penſioners in the other houſe, or any penſioner in the nation, but ſuch as are intitled to it out of charity, or ſuch as have merited it by their paſt ſervices to the publick. I ſhall admit, that a prudent man will take care to repair his houſe before it tumbles about his ears; but no prudent man will put himſelf to the trouble and expence of repairing his houſe, when no flaw or defect appears in any part of it: and if it ſhould ever appear from experience, that our laws for excluding penſioners from the other houſe are in any reſpect deficient, I hope thoſe who have a regard for the liberties of their country, will take the alarm time enough to get that defect remedied, before the moſt artful miniſter can ſecure ſuch an abandoned majority of penſioners in the other houſe, as to render the cure impoſſible; for it is an old maxim, *Nemo repente fit turpiſſimus*, and this maxim may be applied to an aſſembly, with as much, if not more juſtice, than to any ſingle man.

But ſuppoſe, my Lords, I were convinced that theſe laws had by late experience been found deficient, I ſhould nevertheleſs be againſt the method propoſed by this bill for removing that defect; becauſe I think the remedy more dangerous than the diſeaſe. Our conſtitution, my Lords, and the happineſs of it, conſiſts in an equal mixture of the three principal forms of government; and therefore, no new regulation ought to be made, that viſibly tends to deſtroy that equality, or that balance, upon

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which our conſtitution depends. We have as much reaſon to avoid every thing that may tend to the introducing of a republican form of government, which generally ends in an abſolute tyranny, as we have to avoid thoſe things that may tend to the introducing of an abſolute monarchy. In all ſuch caſes, we ſhould conſider, that we are ſteering between Scylla and Charybdis; and that by too cautiouſly avoiding the one, we may make a wreck of our conſtitution upon the other. For this reaſon, we ought of all things to be cautious of veſting any new and diſtinct powers in the other houſe; and as this bill veſts in them a new power, which they are to exerciſe ſeparately and diſtinctly by themſelves, and without the concurrence of either of the other two branches of our legiſlature, I think it would expoſe us to the danger of falling under a republican form of government, and conſequently an abſolute tyranny, a great deal more than we are at preſent expoſed to the danger of falling under an abſolute monarchy.

I know, my Lords, that great endeavours have of late been uſed, to perſuade the people, that there is a great number of penſioners in the other houſe; and as thoſe of an inferior rank are naturally ſuſpicious, as well as envious, of their ſuperiors, theſe endeavours have, I believe, ſucceeded with a great many, ſo as to make them fond of this bill. As their penetration is not generally very extenſive, they do not ſee the fatal conſequences it is attended with; and therefore, they ſuppoſe, that none but thoſe who pay or receive penſions, can be againſt it. I am, therefore, ſenſible, I undertake a very unpopular taſk, when I oppoſe this bill; but I diſdain a ſlaviſh popularity, as much as I ſhould diſdain a ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion to the pleaſure of any prince or miniſter. The favour of the people may, I know, be acquired by humouring their prejudices, as well as that of a prince by humouring his paſſions; but this ſort of favour is, in neither caſe, of any long duration. The people by their prejudices, as well as the prince by his paſſions, generally ſoon lead themſelves into ſome misfortune; and as ſoon as this happens, the paraſite, in both caſes, becomes hateful and contemptible.

For this reaſon, my Lords, we ought, in no caſe that comes before us, to give ourſelves any concern about what the people may think without doors. We ought to conſider only the circumſtances of the caſe, as they appear to us; and when we do this deliberately, and reſolve accordingly, the people without doors, as ſoon as they have had time to hear and conſider our reaſons, will generally approve of our reſolutions; and will then begin to hate and deſpiſe thoſe, who endeavoured to prepoſſeſs them with a bad opinion of either houſe of parliament.

L. Æmilius Paullus *roſe up next, whoſe ſpeech was in ſubſtance thus.*

My Lords,

WE are now upon a bill for putting an end to, or at leaſt preventing one ſort of corruption in the other houſe; and, from the oppoſition the bill meets with here, and the imaginary dangers that are ſuggeſted for ſupporting, or rather excuſing that oppoſition, thoſe who are not perſonally acquainted with the Noble Lords who have ſpoke upon that ſide of the queſtion, would, I think, be apt to ſuppoſe their opinion to be, either that corruption is now become a neceſſary evil, without which the forms of our government could not be preſerved, or that it is an evil of very little conſequence, and not at all inconſiſtent with the ſubſtance of a free government. Corruption, my Lords, has always hitherto been allowed to be vile, to be dangerous. I have, for my own part, diſcouraged it in all ſtations: I ſhall always diſdain the obedience, or the paraſitical ſort of aſſent that is to be gain'd only by corruption; and I have always been ſorry, when I obſerved it was not equally diſcouraged by others: for, if it were no way encouraged by thoſe in high ſtations, it would never be poſſible for the mode in any country to cover that infamy, which naturally attends the

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the corrupted; nor would the quality of the offender ever atone for the wretched meanneſs of the offence.

I need not trouble your Lordſhips with explaining what is, in this country, meant by a legal adminiſtration: every one knows what it is; and every one knows, that it may be eaſily ſupported without corruption. Miniſters, my Lords, (for, according to our conſtitution, we ought always to have a great many of them) that have nothing in view but the publick happineſs, and who have wiſdom and diſcernment enough to purſue that ſteadily, may deſpiſe the aſſiſtance or approbation of thoſe, who aſſiſt or approve, only becauſe they are paid for ſo doing. Such an adminiſtration will always have the majority of the nation of its ſide, and conſequently may, without any corrupt means, have always a majority in parliament. Therefore, a legal and a wiſe adminiſtration can never ſtand in need of corruption, for the exerciſe of any of its functions; but an illegal one, an adminiſtration conſiſting of one ſole and arrogant miniſter, who will admit of no partner or aſſiſtant, but ſuch as implicitely ſubmit to his direction, can never be ſupported without corruption: it is againſt law, and againſt law it muſt be ſupported. Under ſuch an adminiſtration, indeed, the forms of our government cannot be preſerved, without evading or violating our laws againſt corrupt practices; but under ſuch an adminiſtration, while it laſts, the ſubſtance of our conſtitution muſt be ſuſpended; and we had better be without the forms: for, preſerving the forms of a free government, will only ſerve to lull and keep the people aſleep, till their chains are riveted, and till one ſole miniſter has ſo firmly eſtabliſh'd his power, that it may be eaſily tranſmitted to, or taken up by another. Many of our princes, and their ſole miniſters, have in vain endeavoured to eſtabliſh an arbitrary government, without the aſſiſtance or ſhew of a parliament; they have endeavoured to do it by open force, and by open force they have been all diſappointed, and the miniſters often hanged: but by the ſlow and ſilent approaches of corruption, eſpecially now the crown has got ſuch a variety of means in its power, an arbitrary government, more deſtructive and more expenſive than the other, may be eſtabliſhed by the authority, and ſupported by the ſhadow of a parliament; for if a prince, or his ſole miniſter, ſhould ever have it in his power to have always a corrupt majority in each houſe of parliament, a Britiſh parliament will be no more than a Turkiſh divan.

Corruption is therefore, my Lords, of all dangers the greateſt our conſtitution can be expoſed to, and the moſt to be apprehended. Its approach is imperceptible, but its blow, if not prevented, is fatal; and you cannot prevent its blow, unleſs you prevent its approach. The laws now in being for excluding penſioners from having ſeats in the other houſe, were deſigned as a ſafeguard againſt corruption's entering, in one ſhape at leaſt, within the walls of that houſe; and when we are conſidering, whether thoſe laws ought to be enforced, we have no occaſion for examining into late meaſures, or for ſuppoſing that any late practices have been made uſe of for corrupting the members of either houſe. We have now as much reaſon to guard againſt the approach of corruption, as we had when thoſe laws were made; therefore we are now to conſider only the laws themſelves; and if they appear to be inſufficient, they ought to be amended, whether any corrupt practices have lately been made uſe of or not. That theſe laws are inſufficient for the end intended, muſt, I think, plainly appear to every one that peruſes them. There are penalties, 'tis true, inflicted upon penſioners that ſhall preſume to ſit or vote in the other houſe; but it is evident that thoſe penalties can never be recovered, becauſe the fact can never be proved. A penſion or a bribe may be given in ſuch a manner, that even he who gives it, can be no direct witneſs againſt the receiver; and it is always given in ſuch a ſecret manner, that the criminal may have good reaſon to think, his

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his crime can never be discover'd. For this reason, no penalty you can inflict, will ever have a great effect; and this makes it necessary, in cases of suspicion, to require an oath from the party suspected.

I shall not say, my Lords, that the oath required by this bill will have all the effect that could be wished; there may be some so abandoned, as to despise the religious ceremony of an oath: but it will have an effect upon a great many; and even the most abandoned will be shy of denying their having a pension upon oath, in the very face, perhaps, of the man who pays them their pension. Nay even prudence itself will make men shy of being guilty of perjury, lest the concealment of their crime should afterwards be imputed to them as a favour, and made use of as a handle for obliging them to do as much dirty work afterwards without a pension, as they had done before for the sake of a pension. It is an old and a true proverb, That when I trust a man with my secret, I make him my master. An avaritious, or an extravagant necessitous man, may accept of iniquitous wages from a minister, and yet he would not, perhaps, chuse to be such an absolute slave to that minister, as he must be, should he put it in his power to convict him of perjury. Therefore, the oath prescribed by this bill, will certainly have a very great effect; and as the laws proposed to be enforced by this bill, evidently appear to be insufficient, this method of enforcing them ought to be chosen, at least till a more effectual one can be thought on.

What the Noble Lords mean by present danger, when they say we are in no present danger from corruption, I cannot comprehend. My Lords, it is an evil we always have been, and always must be in danger of. It has often been practised; it always will be practised, as often as ambition in a prince, or wickedness or weakness in a minister, renders it necessary for him to have recourse to such an infamous practice. We may sometimes be said to be in no present danger of an invasion, yet would he not be look'd on as a madman, who should make that an argument for not repairing our navy, *especially if*, upon enquiry, it should appear to be unfit for service?

Without finding fault with any late measures, without accusing any one in the administration, I will affirm, my Lords, that we are now in greater danger from corruption, than we were either in the 4th and 5th of Q. *Anne*, or in the 1st of his late Majesty's reign: for the more power the ministers of the crown have to corrupt, whether they make use of that power or no, the more danger we are in from corruption; and every one knows, that the ministers of the crown, have now a much greater power to corrupt, than they had at either of those periods. This should make us resolve in time, to take all the methods that can be thought of for guarding against the use of that power; for it is already so great, that if we should have the misfortune to fall under a prince or administration that will make use of it, I fear it would then be impossible for us to guard against it. On the contrary, if the means of corruption, now in the power of the crown, should be thought insufficient for securing a perpetual corrupt influence over both houses of parliament, such an administration would take hold of every grievance, every war, every misfortune the nation could be exposed to, for increasing those means, in order to render the effect infallible; and unless a most extraordinary spirit of virtue, as well as jealousy, should begin to exert itself, I'm afraid it would be impossible, as the laws stand at present, to prevent their success by any legal or peaceable method. For this reason, my Lords, I look upon the present question to be a sort of trial of skill, the fate of which is to determine, whether or no our constitution is hereafter to be destroyed by corruption, and the people reduced to the fatal necessity of endeavouring to restore it by the sword. If this should ever come to be the unlucky fate of this nation, those who now oppose our making use of legal means for preserving our constitution,

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ſtitution, whilſt it is yet in our power, will have no great reaſon to rejoice in their paſt conduct.

Let us conſider, my Lords, the vaſt ſums of money that are now at the diſpoſal, or under the direction of the crown; the infinite number of lucrative poſts, places and employments, moſt of them unknown to our anceſtors, now depending upon the ſole and arbitrary pleaſure of the crown; and the great variety of penal laws, by one or other of which the moſt innocent may be made to ſuffer, the moſt cautious may be intrapped, and from which the moſt guilty may be ſcreened, by virtue of that diſpenſing or mitigating power, which, with reſpect to many of them, is now lodged in the officers of the crown: let us, I ſay, my Lords, conſider theſe things, and we muſt acknowledge, that the preſent danger we are in, of having our parliament converted into a Turkiſh divan, is far from being imaginary: And when we are under ſuch well grounded apprehenſions, ſhall we rack our invention for viſionary dangers, in order to excuſe our agreeing to any method for guarding againſt a danger ſo real, and which may, upon the firſt change of miniſters or meaſures, become inevitable and irreſiſtible?

I muſt confeſs, my Lords, I do not know what the Noble Lord means, when he ſays, the balance of our conſtitution will be deſtroyed by means of that ſeparate and diſtinct new power which by this bill is to be lodged in the other houſe. I do not know of any power that is by this bill to be lodged in the other houſe, but the power of turning a man out, that ought not, that cannot, by the laws now in being, ſit or vote there; and this is a ſeparate and diſtinct power which that houſe now enjoys, and which has been always allowed. This bill can, therefore, make no alteration in what the Noble Lord calls the balance of our conſtitution; but if by this bill, or ſome ſuch bill, we do not prevent corrupt and mercenary ſlaves from entering into that houſe, I can foreſee where the balance of our conſtitution will ſoon come to be: it will ſoon come to be lodged in the pocket of the prime miniſter for the time being; and if our liberties and privileges depend upon that balance, they will then be lodged in the ſame place; which, in my opinion, is the worſt repoſitory they can be lodged in.

I therefore hope your Lordſhips will, by paſſing this bill, take care, that no prime miniſter ſhall ever be able to get the balance of our conſtitution into his pocket; but I muſt here obſerve, that what is called the balance, and indeed the ſecurity of our conſtitution, conſiſts not in the power which any of the three branches of our legiſlature has over itſelf, or any of its own members, but in no one of them having a power over either of the other two. As the three branches of our legiſlature are diſtinct, they ought to be independent; at leaſt they ought to have no dependency, but what proceeds from the publick good, and the mutual happineſs of the three: for if any one of them ſhould ever, by force or corruption, get the abſolute direction or command of the other two, our conſtitution will then be undone, tho' the forms of it might perhaps be preſerved, in order to deceive the vulgar and ignorant. This is the misfortune intended to be guarded againſt by this bill. And it is not of late years only, that this good intention has been ſet on foot. In the end of the late Queen's reign, there was juſt ſuch another bill brought into this houſe; which at that time met with ſo good a reception here, that it was thrown out but by one vote: and its meeting with that fate was occaſioned by the fault of one Noble Lord, who, at the time the queſtion was put, happened to be in the court of requeſts, buying a pen-knife, with two proxies in his pocket.

I ſhall acknowledge, my Lords, that I do not think the bill now before us ſo perfect as it ought to be; but all its defects may, I think, be eaſily remedied by proper clauſes and amendments in the committee: and if your Lordſhips go into a committee upon it, I ſhall contribute the little I can towards making it a perfect bill. I ſhall probably offer ſome

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covery of them had been eaſily made, without perplexing your Lordſhips with this bill. The Jews of Rome, my Lords, becauſe it is apprehended, ſo great a number of them may ſometime endanger the ſtate, as a mark of their religion, are obliged to wear a piece of yellow linen upon their hats. I wiſh, my Lords, we had ſome ſuch inſtitution for the unlawful penſioners; for, as many of the Jews chuſe rather to quit the city, than bear about this mark of infamy, ſo I flatter myſelf, we ſhould have got rid of a conſiderable number of our penſioners, as ſoon as their virtuous characters were known by their yellow caps.

I am ſure, my Lords, I need trouble your Lordſhips no more to prove the dangerous conſequences that may accrue to the publick, from the violation of our laws, againſt theſe hirelings. Whether this bill will be effectual, whether it will entirely ſtop this channel of corruption, I'll not pretend to ſay; but ſomething muſt be done: let us not refuſe a good thing, becauſe it is not the beſt; or be averſe to remedying part of the evil, becauſe we cannot get rid of the whole. The freedom of parliament has never been loſt, or recovered, but by degrees; and, if your Lordſhips have a mind to amend and ſtrengthen this bill, let it be referred to a committee appointed for that purpoſe. Any thing, my Lords, rather than reject the bill with contempt, as if the independency of parliament were a point not worthy this aſſembly's conſideration. My Lords, it is moſt particularly our care; and tho' ſome paltry venal writers of theſe days, have endeavoured to palliate and juſtify the guilt of corruption, nay even to prove it neceſſary for the carrying on of government, yet I am perſuaded, that ſyſtems ſo inconſiſtent with our conſtitution, have ever been abhorred by your Lordſhips.

However publick virtue hath been derided; however the honeſt ſupport of our country's cauſe has been miſconſtrued reſentment, ſpleen, malice and diſaffection; yet patriotiſm is a virtue that, I hope, will always recommend itſelf to parliaments, ſince parliaments can only ſubſiſt by it. To give the world a proof that ſuch virtue is ſtill amongſt us, let us give our concurrence to this bill; and thus ſhall we put it out of the power of future malice to ſay, that the invidious taſk of throwing out this bill was, with ſucceſs, laid upon us, and that we ſubmitted ourſelves to the unpopular burden, too heavy for the Commons.

L. Caſſius Longinus *ſpoke next, whoſe ſpeech was in ſubſtance thus.*

My Lords,

HOwever unpopular, however invidious it may appear, to oppoſe this bill, yet I think myſelf in duty obliged to take the taſk upon me; becauſe I think it a moſt unneceſſary innovation of our conſtitution, and an innovation that will certainly be of the moſt fatal conſequence to the morals of the people. It has often been the fate of this houſe, my Lords, to withſtand unreaſonable prejudices that have been artfully raiſed among the people; and the more general or violent ſuch prejudices may grow, the more zealous ought we to be for preventing the dangerous effects they may produce, either in the nation or upon our happy conſtitution. For this reaſon, ſo far from yielding to any popular outcry on account of its being general, I ſhall always be for examining coolly into its foundation; and where I can find no ſolid foundation, I ſhall never be for rearing a new fabrick, or any addition to the old.

I know, my Lords, a great outcry has of late been moſt artfully raiſed againſt corruption; and, I believe, there are many well-meaning men who think there is ſome ground for it; becauſe it is natural for mankind to indulge their own vanity and ſelf-conceit, by imagining that thoſe who differ from them, eſpecially in politicks, are governed by any other motive rather than that of reaſon; and as corruption is the moſt obvious motive that can be imputed to thoſe that approve of the meaſures of

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a court, therefore those that disapprove, of course suppose, that most of their antagonists are influenced by corruption. But this to me is no proof, nor so much as a presumption. It is from court-measures alone that I am to judge; and if those measures have been such as I thought reasonable, I cannot suppose, charity will not allow me to suppose, that any Gentleman in either house of parliament was, from corrupt motives, induced to approve of them.

This, my Lords, is my way of judging: I hope it will be allowed to be a reasonable way of judging; and if it is, I am sure it must be allowed by a great majority of this house, that there is at present no solid ground for the outcry that has been lately raised against corruption. I shall agree with the Noble Lords who appear so zealous for this bill, that our constitution may hereafter, and by some changes in the situation of our affairs, come to be in danger from corruption; but, if we were to think of providing against every possible or distant danger that might be suggested by a gloomy and fertile imagination, we should never be a moment at rest, nor our constitution a twelvemonth the same. The Noble Lord who spoke last has allowed, that the liberties of a country were never lost but by degrees; therefore he must allow, that our liberties cannot at once be swallowed up by corruption. It must come upon us by degrees; and of all dangers to which our constitution can be exposed, that of corruption must make the most slow and gradual approaches. We have already many fences against it; fences which, in our present situation, I think insurmountable; but, if I should hereafter find myself mistaken, I shall be as ready as any Lord in this house to add new fences, and to repair the old, in as strong and effectual a manner as possible. This we shall have sufficient time to do, because we cannot but perceive the approach of so dangerous an enemy, by the effect it must have upon one or other house of parliament: for if we should find the parliament approving of publick measures that are in themselves either weak or wicked, we must then suppose, that corruption has begun to break thro' our former fences; and then, indeed, it will be time to think of providing some new defence.

The present bill, therefore, can appear necessary to none but those who think, that the parliament has of late approved of some weak or wicked measures of government; and as I am far from thinking so, I cannot agree to the committing or passing of this bill; especially as I am of opinion, that it would have a most fatal effect upon the morals of the people. I believe it will be allow'd, that there is nothing of more dangerous consequence to the happiness of society, than a general contempt of perjury among the lower sort of people; and we know how ready the lower sort are to follow those examples that are, or which they suppose to be set them by those of superior rank. I am far from supposing, that any Gentleman of the other house has a secret pension from the crown; and far less shall I suppose, that if any one of them had, he would solemnly declare upon oath, he had no such thing: but, my Lords, it is impossible for any Gentleman to guard absolutely against the reproach of malicious tongues, or to prevent that reproach being believed by a great many. There are now, there will always be some Gentlemen in the other house, reproached with having private pensions from the crown; and this reproach will always be believed by many without doors. If this bill should pass into a law, every Gentleman so suspected must swear, that he has no such pension. Would his swearing so, remove the reproach? No, my Lords; it would add to it a new reproach of a much more hainous nature: for many without doors would believe, he swore falsely; and many of the meaner sort, being confirmed in this belief, would, from the example supposed to be set them by a Gentleman of such rank and figure in his country, begin to lose that veneration every man ought to have for an oath; by which means perjury might at

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law, ought to be such a one as may be understood by those that are to take it. The oath proposed by this bill is, I think, such a one as can be understood by no man. *Gratuity* or *reward* are words so vague and indeterminate, that no man can tell what to make of them. It is extremely difficult to settle the boundary between a favour and a gratuity; and the favours that may be conferred by the crown upon the subject are so various, and so frequent, that there would be no end of declaring them, nor any possibility of determining what was a favour, and what a gratuity. A post given to a Gentleman's brother or son, nay even to his footman, at his request, might be interpreted as a gratuity; and would very probably be so by the other house, in case the majority of them did not like his face, and he had for some time neglected to declare it. This would introduce so much confusion, and is apparently so inconvenient for every Gentleman that has, or may have the honour to be a member of the other house, that, I am persuaded, they would never have agreed to a regulation so inconvenient, and at the same time so ineffectual for the end pretended, if they had not had some other view than merely that of preventing corruption.

Whether they were serious or not in passing this bill, can be of no consequence, my Lords, to us. If it were a good bill, I should be for passing it, whether they were serious or not. But, as I think it a bad bill, as I think it a regulation altogether ineffectual for the end pretended, and very dangerous with regard to the end which I suppose to be concealed, therefore I shall be against its passing, without considering in the least, whether or no the other house, or any number of them, was serious in sending it up. If your Lordships think, we have now any just apprehensions from corruption; if we are in any present danger of having a majority of the other house made more subservient to the crown than they ought to be, by pensions and pecuniary rewards; any one that thinks so may present a bill, or you may order the judges to bring in a bill, for obviating that danger: but the bill now before you is not only so imperfect, but so improper for attaining that end, that I think it impossible to make any thing of it in the committee; and therefore I shall be against our taking up our time, which may be otherwise so usefully employed, with going into a committee upon it.

For my own part, my Lords, I do not think we are in any immediate danger from corruption; I do not think we can be in any such danger, while we enjoy the happiness of having his present Majesty upon the throne. He will never ask, he will never allow his parliament to be ask'd to do any thing, but what is necessary for the publick good; and for such purposes no pension or gratuity to any of the members will ever be necessary, unless faction, sedition and disaffection should get possession of a great majority of the nation; which, I hope, will never be the case. We have therefore no immediate call to contrive any new barriers against corruption; and if any of his Majesty's successors should form ambitious views against our liberties, and think of rendering those views successful by corruption, the barriers we have already will, I hope, be able to defend our liberties against such attempts, till our posterity can raise new and more effectual barricades against the approach of that political distemper.

I hope, my Lords, I shall always be as jealous of the liberties of my country as any reasonable man ought to be; and, I confess, we ought always to look with a jealous eye upon the new projects formed by ministers: but there is another set of men, upon whom we ought likewise to look with a jealous eye; and that is, those Gentlemen who, under the pretence of preserving or securing our liberties, are for new-modelling our constitution, at a time when there is no apparent, much less an imminent danger. Securing our liberties has been before now made a pretence for destroying them, and the vulgar and ignorant are always fond of every thing

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to give, and cuſtom or example has, I'm afraid, greatly added to the number of thoſe that are ready to receive.

This, my Lords, the Gentlemen of the other houſe are fully ſenſible of, and therefore they have endeavoured, by this bill, to add to the ſtrength of thoſe laws which were made for guarding againſt a danger that has greatly increaſed ſince the laſt of them was enacted. By this bill there is no alteration made in our laws or conſtitution: there is no man excluded from having a ſeat in the other houſe, but thoſe who, while they ſit there, are guilty of a continued breach of the laws of their country, and would certainly be not only expelled, but proſecuted, if their crime could be diſcovered and proved. By the very act of ſettlement itſelf, my Lords, it was expreſly enacted, amongſt other things, That no perſon having a penſion from the crown, ſhould ſerve as a member of the houſe of Commons: and tho' this clauſe was in general repealed by an act of the 4th and 5th of Q. Anne, yet it was then again thought ſo reaſonable to exclude penſioners from having ſeats in the other houſe, that it was of new enacted, That no perſon having any penſion from the crown during pleaſure, ſhould be capable of being a member of any future houſe of Commons; and by an act of the 1ſt of the late King, this incapacity was farther extended to all perſons having any penſion from the crown, for any term or number of years, either in their own names, or in the name of any other perſon in truſt for them, or for their benefit. Thus your Lordſhips ſee, that by the laws now in being all perſons who have penſions from the crown during pleaſure, or for any term or number of years, are rendered incapable of having ſeats in the other houſe; and by theſe laws great penalties are inflicted upon thoſe who preſume to break through them. But as no proviſion has been made by either of theſe laws for diſcovering ſecret offenders, and as every man muſt be ſenſible that ſuch penſions may be given privately, the Gentlemen of the other houſe have thought it neceſſary, and I hope your Lordſhips will think it neceſſary, to provide the beſt remedy that can be thought of for this defect, which is the chief, and indeed the ſole intention of this bill.

I cannot help, therefore, being aſtoniſhed at its being pretended, that this bill will occaſion any alteration or innovation in our conſtitution; and there is nothing convinces me more of the neceſſity there is for paſſing it, than the circumſtances of the Noble Lords who I find oppoſe it. To the honour of the adminiſtration in the firſt year of the late King, I muſt obſerve, that the law paſt at that time for excluding penſioners from the other houſe, was introduced by a Secretary of ſtate, and approved by moſt of thoſe in the adminiſtration; and it was prudent and right in them to do ſo. A miniſter that has no intention to make uſe of bribery and corruption, has no occaſion to oppoſe any bill that can be thought of for preventing ſuch infamous and illegal practices; and therefore, when I find ſuch a bill oppoſed by thoſe who are the known friends of a miniſter, it will always be a prevailing argument with me, not only to think that there is a preſent and preſſing neceſſity for ſuch a bill, but alſo to think that the bill propoſed will be in ſome meaſure effectual. Whether the bill now before us will be altogether effectual, is what I ſhall not pretend to determine; but I am convinced, both from the nature of it, and from the oppoſition it meets with, that it will have ſome effect. It will at leaſt raiſe the price of proſtitutes, becauſe the more riſk a man runs, the higher wages he will of courſe expect; and the higher you raiſe the price of thoſe who are liable to be corrupted, the more difficult will every future miniſter find it to corrupt: ſo that at laſt you may render the practice impoſſible, notwithſtanding the many and great boons our miniſters have now to beſtow; and then they muſt think of gaining the conſent or approbation of parliament by their authority in perſuading, and not by their power in corrupting.

But ſuppoſe it were your Lordſhips opi-

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opinion, that this bill would be altogether ineffectual, can this be a reaſon for not committing it? If the intention of the bill, if the principle upon which it is founded be right, the imperfection of it is no reaſon againſt committing it; becauſe in the committee you may alter and amend it, ſo as to remove every imperfection: therefore I muſt think, that the Noble Lords who oppoſe committing it, diſapprove of the principle upon which it is founded; and indeed moſt of their arguments ſeem to tend that way. Such a bill's having been rejected by this houſe in former ſeſſions, is no reaſon for our rejecting it in this. Some of the beſt laws that were ever made, have at firſt met with the unlucky fate of being rejected. The triennial bill was at firſt rejected by this houſe, and yet the very next ſeſſion it was approved of and paſſed by this houſe; and tho' it was at that time rejected by the crown, yet in the next following ſeſſion it met with the approbation of the three ſeveral branches of our legiſlature, and was accordingly paſſed into a law. That law, 'tis true, has been ſince repealed; but, nevertheleſs, it has always been deemed by a great majority of the nation, to be an excellent law; and many of thoſe who joined in the repeal of it, I believe, now heartily repent of their having done ſo. But the very repeal of that law is a ſtrong argument in favour of the bill now before us; for the longer the term is, for which the repreſentatives of the people are choſen, the greater ſecurity ought the people to have, that thoſe repreſentatives ſhall not, from any ſelfiſh view, betray the intereſt of their country in parliament.

To pretend, my Lords, that we ought never to think of guarding againſt penſioners in the other houſe, till we find the majority of that houſe approving of ſome weak or wicked meaſures of government, is the very ſame with ſaying, that no man ought to think of repairing his houſe, till it has tumbled down, and overwhelmed him in the ruins. Will penſioners ever acknowledge, that they have agreed to any weak or wicked meaſure? will a penſioner ever agree to give up the only manure by which he holds his penſion? And if the majority of the other houſe ſhould once come to be penſioned and corrupted, could it be expected, that ſuch a houſe of Commons would ever concur in paſſing any law againſt penſioning and corrupting? I can freely declare that, in my opinion, many things have of late years met with the approbation of both houſes of parliament, that very little deſerved it. I believe there are very few Lords in this houſe, that will now approve of every thing that has, for theſe twenty years paſt, been approved of by parliament; and therefore, if every Lord makes this the ſtandard for his opinion of this bill, I have no great doubt of its meeting with the fate it deſerves. Whether the undeſerved approbation ſome late meaſures have met with in parliament, was owing to the number of penſioners in the other houſe, I ſhall not pretend to determine; I ſhall not even pretend to affirm, that there are at preſent any penſioners in that houſe: but when we ſee members obtaining very great and lucrative poſts for their brothers, ſons, or diſtant relations, it cannot but occaſion a ſuſpicion, that they have a fellow-feeling in the ſalary or perquiſites; and this ſuſpicion is a good reaſon for paſſing this bill. But ſuppoſe there were no ſuch ſuſpicion; ſuppoſe we were abſolutely certain that there are at preſent no penſioners in the houſe of Commons, there is a poſſibility, nay a very great probability, that there will be ſuch, as ſoon as we have the misfortune to fall under the government of a prince, or adminiſtration of a miniſter, whoſe projects or ſchemes cannot be ſupported by reaſon: for every one muſt ſee, that the laws in being are not ſufficient for guarding againſt the miſchief.

By the laws now in being, my Lords, it is made criminal for any man that accepts of a penſion to keep his ſeat in the other houſe; but thoſe laws have provided no method for diſcovering and proving that crime: and as a penſion may

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ſeed, from which we draw the milk, with four or five ounces of a light decoction of the heads of white poppy, and to this may be added half an ounce of ſugar-candy powdered.

With this emulſion, an equal quantity of the broth prepared muſt be mixed, and the mixture ſhould be taken warm as common ſoop, in the morning for breakfaſt, and at night going to bed, for ſupper; but before the morning-doſe is taken, he ſhould ſwallow in a bolus, one drop of the excellent white *Arabian* balſam, commonly called *Balſam of Judea*, rolled in ſugar, and the broth after it; at night lying down he ſhould take the ſame doſe, only adding to the bolus one fourth or ſixth part of a grain of laudanum, as occaſion requires, and take the broth emulſionated after it. That little doſe of laudanum is added to prevent or appeaſe the cough, which commonly renews itſelf at thoſe times, and continues with ſo great obſtinacy ſometimes through the night, that a perſon is obliged to have recourſe to one or two other quarters of a grain of laudanum once in two hours, to appeaſe the convulſive irritation which keeps up thoſe ſorts of rebellious coughs which tear the breaſt, and hinder the ſleep that is neceſſary to render ſmooth and digeſt the ſeroſity that hurts the lungs, and to deliver them of it by a more free tranſpiration, which it procures. If by that conduct he may gain the return of the herbs with the ſpring, which render the milk better, it will be proper then to try, whether cows milk mixt, (to preſerve it from ſowring,) with two or three ſpoonfuls of warm water, (that has been boil'd before,) will paſs without curdling, and furniſh (with bread only) a ſoft and ſufficient nouriſhment: however, it is proper, in order to prepare for it, and to facilitate the ſweetening of the blood by the regimen propoſed above, to drink neither wine, cyder, nor beer, or any other fermented liquor, leſt, in turning ſowr, they ſhould hinder the ſmootheſt aliments from taking away the ſharpneſs of the blood. One may, inſtead of thoſe liquors, prepare a good one with the ſhavings of harts-horn, ſlowly ſtew'd in a little water upon hot cinders, and boil'd afterwards with a little dog's graſs and ſome freſh good dates, in a ſufficient quantity of water, to make a light drink, which muſt be renewed every day. I paſſionately wiſh that we could ſpare all this conſtraint, and that it was poſſible to find a remedy as ſingular, as is the merit of him for whom it is demanded, ſuch as might cure him without ſubjecting him to a weary attention to ſo many circumſtances; but it is ſo difficult to prevent the entire ruin of a nervous part, ſuch as the lungs, hurt by that which ſurrounds them continually, that we muſt not complain of the little cares which an affair of ſo great importance demands.

FAGON.

At Verſailles,
Dec. 27. 1706.

An excellent receipt in hard times, when bread-corn was very dear, and fleſh-meat indifferent cheap, given to a poor weaver by an old ſoldier, who, by his pay, did thus feed his wife and three children fat and fair.

HE *took two pounds of fleſh-meat (ſometimes out of the tub, and ſometimes of hung beef refreſhed in water) cut into very ſmall bits, and put into a pot with ſix quarts of water, letting it boil or ſtew till it was tender; then he put to it a quarter of a pound of carrots or parſnips, with a quarter of a pound of turnips, all ſliced pretty ſmall; ſometimes inſtead of theſe a few potatoes alſo ſliced; then about two ounces of onions or leeks, and other greens, according to diſcretion, ſuch as kail, cabbage, lettice, ſallary, &c. the whole thickened with about a quart of oatmeal.* N. B. *Any kind of meal, knocked barley, cotlins, peaſe, or beans, will make a very good ſhift. Theſe well boiled together, and ſeaſoned with a little pepper or ginger, and ſalt, made an excellent well reliſhed ſoop or hodge-podge, which ſerved the whole family a day, without bread or drink.*

The expence of ſix quarts of this ſoop 7 d.

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owners in this, for throwing it out. I am very ſenſible, my Lords, there is no real ground for either of theſe ſuppoſitions; but thoſe without doors, who do not know the reaſons upon which your Lordſhips proceed, when they find a bill rejected which makes no alteration in our conſtitution, which does not ſo much as make an alteration in any former law, which contains nothing but an enforcement of the laws in being againſt penſioners; ſuch perſons, I ſay, may think, they have reaſon to make one or other of theſe ſuppoſitions: and ſhould not we be extremely cautious of giving the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon for judging ſo unworthily of our aſſembly?

I do not know, but that ſome of your Lordſhips may be of opinion, that the laws now in being, for excluding penſioners from the other houſe, are inconvenient, and therefore wiſh they were repealed. If they are ſo, let them be repealed; for we ought not to ſit here, and ſuffer any laws to remain in force, that are inconvenient to the ſociety. But, if they are not inconvenient; if they are neceſſary for guarding our conſtitution againſt corruption, the moſt dangerous, becauſe it is the moſt ſecret enemy to a free ſtate; they ought to be enforced, they ought to be rendered effectual, by all the methods that can by the wit of man be invented, or by human power exerciſed. In caſes of ſuch a ſecret nature we muſt, we ought to call the divine power to our aſſiſtance, by interpoſing the religious ſolemnity of an oath. By interpoſing an oath, my Lords, in matters of great conſequence, and which cannot frequently occur, we ſhall never render the ſolemnity familiar and contemptible; and where is there a matter of greater conſequence, on this ſide the grave, than the preſervation of the conſtitution of our government, and liberties of our country? It is by interpoſing an oath in trivial matters, in ſuch as frequently occur, and chiefly affect the meaner ſort, that we render the ſolemnity familiar and contemptible to the vulgar; and I wiſh the invention of ſome of thoſe who are ſuppoſed to be no friends to this bill, had in this reſpect been leſs fruitful.

My Lords, as the laws now in being, for excluding penſioners from the other houſe, muſt, to every man that conſiders them, appear to be altogether ineffectual; if this bill be rejected, I ſhall, even in my time, if I live but a very few years, expect to ſee the other houſe full of penſioners. I ſhall expect to ſee a miniſter in that houſe, out of a wantonneſs of power, by his ſole *Ne thow* out a bill of the utmoſt importance, without deigning to give his ſlaves ſo much as one reaſon for what he obliges them to do. This indeed, if it ſhould ever happen, I ſhall look upon as a ſign of his power, but not of his prudence; and I may propheſy, that if ever a miniſter ſhould get ſuch a power over the other houſe, his power in this will be as abſolute, and equally inſolent.

Upon this Gentleman's ſitting down, C. Cicerejus *ſpoke to this effect.*

My Lords,

I Shall always be as ready as any Lord in this houſe, to enforce the laws now in being, for excluding penſioners from having ſeats in the houſe of Commons; I ſhall readily concur in any method that may be propoſed for that purpoſe, provided it be ſuch a one as I think conſiſtent with our conſtitution: but when the method propoſed, evidently tends to the overthrow of that conſtitution, which we all ſhew, and I hope ſincerely, ſo warm a zeal for preſerving, I hope I ſhall always have virtue and reſolution enough to give it my negative, let the conſequence be what it will. If the laws now in force, for terrifying a penſioner from keeping his ſeat in the other houſe, are not ſufficient, I hope ſome method will be found out, for rendering them ſo, without giving ſuch a power to the other houſe, as muſt ſoon overturn our conſtitution: which, I think, would be the certain effect of the bill now before us; for it would ſhew very great imprudence, as well as great ignorance of our conſtitution, if we ſhould expoſe ourſelves to a new danger, for the ſake of avoiding a danger of a different nature, which we are

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Aboyne, *Gordon*, L. Glenliver.
Newbrughe, *Livingston*, L. Flaccraig.
Kilmarnock, *Boyd*, L. Boyd.
Dundonald, *Cochrane*, L. Cochrane.
Dumbarton, *Douglas*, L. ——
Kintore, *Keith*, L. Inverury.
* Breadalbane, *Campbell*, L. Glenorchy.
Aberdeen, *Gordon*, L. Haddo.
* Dunmore, *Murray*, L. Fincastle.
Melvill, *Melvill*, (now E. of Leven) L. Raith.
Orkney, *Hamilton*, L. Kirkwall.
Ruglen, *Hamilton*, (now E. of Selkirk) L. Riccartoun.
March, *Douglas*, L. Nidpeth.
Marchmont, *Hume*, L. Polwarth.
Seafield, *Ogilvie*, (now E. of Findlater) L. —— [chaell.
Hyndfoord, *Carmichaell*, L. Carmi-
Cromertie, *Mackenzie*, L. Tarbat.
Stair, *Dalrymple*, L. Dalrymple.
Roseberie, *Primerose*, L. Dalmeny.
Glasgow, *Boyle*, L. Boyle.
* Portmore, *Collier*, L. Milsingtoun.
* Bute, *Stewart*, L. Montstewart.
* Hoptoun, *Hope*, L. Hope.
Deloraine, *Scott*, L. Hermitage.
Solway, *Douglas*, (now D. of Queensberry) L. Tibbers.
* Ilay, *Campbell*, L. Dunoon.

VISCOUNTS.

Falkland, *Cary*.
Dumbar, *Constable*.
Stormont, *Murray*.
† Kenmure, *Gordon*.
Arbuthnot, *Arbuthnot*.
† Kingstoun, *Seton*.
Oxfurd, *Macgill*.
Irvine, *Ingrame*.
† Kilsyth, *Livingston*.
Dumblaine, *Osburne*, (D. of Leeds in
Preston, *Græme*. [England.)
Newhaven, *Cheney*.
Strathallan, *Drummond*.
Teviot, ——
Duplin, *Hay*, (now E. of Kinnoul.)
Garnock, *Cranfurd*.
Primerose, *Primerose*.

LORDS.

Forbes, *Forbes*.
Saltoun, *Fraser*.
Gray, *Gray*.
Ochiltree, *Stewart*.
* Cathcart, *Cathcart*.
† St. Clair, *St. Clair*.
Mordintoune, *Douglas*.
Sempill, *Sempill*.
Elphinston, *Elphinston*.
Oliphant, *Oliphant*.
Fraser of Lovett, *Fraser*.
Borthwick, *Borthwick*.
Rosse, *Rosse*.
Somerville, *Somerville*.
Torphichen, *Sandilands*.
Spinzie, *Lindesay*.
Lindores, *Leslie*.
Balmerino, *Elphinston*.
Blantyre, *Stewart*.
Cardross, *Erskine*, (now E. of Buchan.)
Colvill of Culross, *Colvill*.
Cranstoun, *Cranstoun*.
† Burghlie, *Balfour*.
Jedburgh, *Ker*. [allan.)
Madertie, *Drummond*, (now V. of Strath-
† Dingwall, *Butler*, (D. of Ormond in England and Ireland.)
Couper, *Elphinston*, (now L. Balmerind.)
Napier, *Napier*.
Cameron, *Fairfax*.
Cramond, *Richardson*.
Rea, *Mackay*.
Forrester, *Forrester*.
Pitsligo, *Forbes*.
Kirkcudbright, *Macclellan*.
Fraser, *Fraser*.
Bargenny, *Hamilton*.
Bamff, *Ogilbie*.
Elibank, *Murray*.
Halkertoune, *Falconar*.
Belhaven, *Hamilton*.
Abercrombie, *Sandilands*.
† Duffus, *Sutherland*.
Rollo, *Rollo*.
Colvill of Ochiltree, *Colvill*.
Ruthven, *Ruthven*.
Rutherfurd, *Rutherfurd*.
Ballenden, *Ballenden*.
Newark, *Leslie*.
† Nairne, *Nairne*.
Eyemouth, *Churchill*, (D. of Marlborough in England.)
Kinnaird, *Kinnaird*.
Glasfurd, *Abercrombie*.

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which our conſtitution depends. We have as much reaſon to avoid every thing that may tend to the introducing of a republican form of government, which generally ends in an abſolute tyranny, as we have to avoid thoſe things that may tend to the introducing of an abſolute monarchy. In all ſuch caſes, we ſhould conſider, that we are ſteering between Scylla and Charybdis; and that by too cautiouſly avoiding the one, we may make a wreck of our conſtitution upon the other. For this reaſon, we ought of all things to be cautious of veſting any new and diſtinct powers in the other houſe; and as this bill veſts in them a new power, which they are to exerciſe ſeparately and diſtinctly by themſelves, and without the concurrence of either of the other two branches of our legiſlature, I think it would expoſe us to the danger of falling under a republican form of government, and conſequently an abſolute tyranny, a great deal more than we are at preſent expoſed to the danger of falling under an abſolute monarchy.

I know, my Lords, that great endeavours have of late been uſed, to perſuade the people, that there is a great number of penſioners in the other houſe; and as thoſe of an inferior rank are naturally ſuſpicious, as well as envious, of their ſuperiors, theſe endeavours have, I believe, ſucceeded with a great many, ſo as to make them fond of this bill. As their penetration is not generally very extenſive, they do not ſee the fatal conſequences it is attended with; and therefore, they ſuppoſe, that none but thoſe who pay or receive penſions, can be againſt it. I am, therefore, ſenſible, I undertake a very unpopular taſk, when I oppoſe this bill; but I diſdain a ſlaviſh popularity, as much as I ſhould diſdain a ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion to the pleaſure of any prince or miniſter. The favour of the people may, I know, be acquired by humouring their prejudices, as well as that of a prince by humouring his paſſions; but this ſort of favour is, in neither caſe, of any long duration. The people by their prejudices, as well as the prince by his paſſions, generally ſoon lead themſelves into ſome misfortune; and as ſoon as this happens, the paraſite, in both caſes, becomes hateful and contemptible.

For this reaſon, my Lords, we ought, in no caſe that comes before us, to give ourſelves any concern about what the people may think without doors. We ought to conſider only the circumſtances of the caſe, as they appear to us; and when we do this deliberately, and reſolve accordingly, the people without doors, as ſoon as they have had time to hear and conſider our reaſons, will generally approve of our reſolutions; and will then begin to hate and deſpiſe thoſe, who endeavoured to prepoſſeſs them with a bad opinion of either houſe of parliament.

L. Æmilius Paullus *roſe up next, whoſe ſpeech was in ſubſtance thus.*

My Lords,

WE are now upon a bill for putting an end to, or at leaſt preventing one ſort of corruption in the other houſe; and, from the oppoſition the bill meets with here, and the imaginary dangers that are ſuggeſted for ſupporting, or rather excuſing that oppoſition, thoſe who are not perſonally acquainted with the Noble Lords who have ſpoke upon that ſide of the queſtion, would, I think, be apt to ſuppoſe their opinion to be, either that corruption is now become a neceſſary evil, without which the forms of our government could not be preſerved, or that it is an evil of very little conſequence, and not at all inconſiſtent with the ſubſtance of a free government. Corruption, my Lords, has always hitherto been allowed to be vile, to be dangerous. I have, for my own part, diſcouraged it in all ſtations: I ſhall always diſdain the obedience, or the parafitical ſort of aſſent that is to be gain'd only by corruption; and I have always been ſorry, when I obſerved it was not equally diſcouraged by others: for, if it were no way encouraged by thoſe in high ſtations, it would never be poſſible for the mode in any country to cover that infamy, which naturally attends the

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The Names and Ranks of the several Corps.

The Number before each Name distinguishes the rank.

In GREAT BRITAIN.

Horse guards.
1 *L.* Delawarr.
2 *D. of* Marlborough.
3 *E. of* Albemarle.
4 *E. of* Effingham.

Grenadier guards.
1 *Lt-G.* Dormer.
2 *E. of* Crawford.

Horse.
1 *E. of* Hertford.
2 *E. of* Pembroke.
3 *D. of* Montague.
4 *Gen.* Wade.

Dragoons.
1 *Maj.-G.* Hawley.
2 *M. G.* Ja. Campbell.
3 *Lt-G.* Honeywood.
4 *Sir* Robert Rich.
6 *L.* Cadogan.
7 *Lt-G.* Ker (deceas'd.)
10 *Lt-G.* Churchill.
11 *L.* Mark Kerr.

Foot guards.
1 *Sir* Charles Wills.
2 *D. of* Cumberland.
3 *E. of* Dunmore.

Foot.
3 *Maj.-G.* Howard.
4 *Lt-G.* Barrel.
6 *Brig.-G.* Guise.
8 *Col.* Onslow.
11 *Brig.-G.* Cornwallis.
12 *Lt-Gen.* Whetham.
13 *Col.* Hen. Pulteney.
15 *Maj.-G.* Harrison.
16 *Maj.-G.* Handasyd.
19 *Col.* Howard.
21 *Col.* John Campbell.
23 *Col.* Piers.
24 *Brig. G.* Wentworth.
27 *Col.* Blakeney.
31 *Col.* Wm Handasyd.
32 *Col.* Huske.
34 *L.* Ja. Cavendish.
36 *Col.* Fleming.
42 *L.* Sempill.

Invalids.
Lt-Gen. Fielding.
25 Independent companies.
5 Ditto taken out of Chelsea.

Marines.
1 *Col.* Wolfe.
2 *Col.* Robinson.
3 *Col.* Lowther.
4 *Col.* Wynyard.
5 *Col.* Douglas.
6 *Col.* Moreton.

In IRELAND, MINORCA, and GIBRALTAR.

Horse.
5 *L.* Tyrawley.
6 *Maj.-G.* Neville.
7 *L.* Cathcart (deceas'd.)
8 *Maj.-G.* Legonier.

Dragoons.
5 *L.* Molesworth.
8 *Col.* St George.
9 *Maj.-G.* Cope.
12 *Maj.-G.* Bowles.
13 *Col.* Bland.
14 *Col.* Hamilton.

Foot.
1 *Brig.-G.* St Clair.
5 *Col.* Irwin.
20 *Col.* Rosse.
25 *E. of* Rothes.
28 *Col.* Bragg.
30 *Lt-G.* Bisset.
33 *Col.* Johnson.
35 *Maj.-G.* Otway.
37 *Col.* Ponsonby.
39 *Lt-G.* Parker.

In Minorca.
9 *Brig.-G.* Read.
17 *Lt-G.* Tyrrell.
18 *Maj.-G.* Armstrong.
22 *Brig.-G.* Paget.
26 *Maj.-G.* Anstruther.

In Gibraltar.
2 *Lt-G.* Kirk (deceas'd.)
7 *Maj.-G.* Hargrave.
10 *Lt-G.* Columbine.
14 *Lt-G.* Clayton.
29 *Col.* Fuller.

In the PLANTATIONS. Foot.

Leeward islands.
38 *Lt-G.* Dalzell,

Placentia, Canso, &c.
40 *Maj.-G.* Phillips.

Georgia.
41 *Gen.* Oglethorpe.

Jamaica.
8 Independent companies.

New-York.
4 Independent companies.

Bermudas.
1 Independent company.

Providence.
1 Independent company.

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his crime can never be discover'd. For this reason, no penalty you can inflict, will ever have a great effect; and this makes it necessary, in cases of suspicion, to require an oath from the party suspected.

I shall not say, my Lords, that the oath required by this bill will have all the effect that could be wished; there may be some so abandoned, as to despise the religious ceremony of an oath: but it will have an effect upon a great many; and even the most abandoned will be shy of denying their having a pension upon oath, in the very face, perhaps, of the man who pays them their pension. Nay even prudence itself will make men shy of being guilty of perjury, lest the concealment of their crime should afterwards be imputed to them as a favour, and made use of as a handle for obliging them to do as much dirty work afterwards without a pension, as they had done before for the sake of a pension. It is an old and a true proverb, That when I trust a man with my secret, I make him my master. An avaritious, or an extravagant necessitous man, may accept of iniquitous wages from a minister, and yet he would not, perhaps, chuse to be such an absolute slave to that minister, as he must be, should he put it in his power to convict him of perjury. Therefore, the oath prescribed by this bill, will certainly have a very great effect; and as the laws proposed to be enforced by this bill, evidently appear to be insufficient, this method of enforcing them ought to be chosen, at least till a more effectual one can be thought on.

What the Noble Lords mean by present danger, when they say we are in no present danger from corruption, I cannot comprehend. My Lords, it is an evil we always have been, and always must be in danger of. It has often been practised; it always will be practised, as often as ambition in a prince, or wickedness or weakness in a minister, renders it necessary for him to have recourse to such an infamous practice. We may sometimes be said to be in no present danger of an invasion, yet would he not be look'd on as a madman, who should make that an argument for not repairing our navy, especially if, upon enquiry, it should appear to be unfit for service?

Without finding fault with any late measures, without accusing any one in the administration, I will affirm, my Lords, that we are now in greater danger from corruption, than we were either in the 4th and 5th of Q. Anne, or in the 1st of his late Majesty's reign: for the more power the ministers of the crown have to corrupt, whether they make use of that power or no, the more danger we are in from corruption; and every one knows, that the ministers of the crown, have now a much greater power to corrupt, than they had at either of those periods. This should make us resolve in time, to take all the methods that can be thought of for guarding against the use of that power; for it is already so great, that if we should have the misfortune to fall under a prince or administration that will make use of it, I fear it would then be impossible for us to guard against it. On the contrary, if the means of corruption, now in the power of the crown, should be thought insufficient for securing a perpetual corrupt influence over both houses of parliament, such an administration would take hold of every grievance, every war, every misfortune the nation could be exposed to, for increasing those means, in order to render the effect infallible; and unless a most extraordinary spirit of virtue, as well as jealousy, should begin to exert itself, I'm afraid it would be impossible, as the laws stand at present, to prevent their success by any legal or peaceable method. For this reason, my Lords, I look upon the present question to be a sort of *trial* of skill, the fate of which is to determine, whether or no our constitution is hereafter to be destroyed by corruption, and the people reduced to the fatal necessity of endeavouring to restore it by the sword. If this should ever come to be the unlucky fate of this nation, those who now oppose our making use of legal means for preserving our constitution,

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ſtitution, whilſt it is yet in our power, will have no great reaſon to rejoice in their paſt conduct.

Let us conſider, my Lords, the vaſt ſums of money that are now at the diſpoſal, or under the direction of the crown; the infinite number of lucrative poſts, places and employments, moſt of them unknown to our anceſtors, now depending upon the ſole and arbitrary pleaſure of the crown; and the great variety of penal laws, by one or other of which the moſt innocent may be made to ſuffer, the moſt cautious may be intrapped, and from which the moſt guilty may be ſcreened, by virtue of that diſpenſing or mitigating power, which, with reſpect to many of them, is now lodged in the officers of the crown: let us, I ſay, my Lords, conſider theſe things, and we muſt acknowledge, that the preſent danger we are in, of having our parliament converted into a Turkiſh divan, is far from being imaginary: And when we are under ſuch well grounded apprehenſions, ſhall we rack our invention for viſionary dangers, in order to excuſe our agreeing to any method for guarding againſt a danger ſo real, and which may, upon the firſt change of miniſters or meaſures, become inevitable and irreſiſtible?

I muſt confeſs, my Lords, I do not know what the Noble Lord means, when he ſays, the balance of our conſtitution will be deſtroyed by means of that ſeparate and diſtinct new power which by this bill is to be lodged in the other houſe. I do not know of any power that is by this bill to be lodged in the other houſe, but the power of turning a man out, that ought not, that cannot, by the laws now in being, ſit or vote there; and this is a ſeparate and diſtinct power which that houſe now enjoys, and which has been always allowed. This bill can, therefore, make no alteration in what the Noble Lord calls the balance of our conſtitution; but if by this bill, or ſome ſuch bill, we do not prevent corrupt and mercenary ſlaves from entering into that houſe, I can foreſee where the balance of our conſtitution will ſoon come to be: it will ſoon come to be lodged in the pocket of the prime miniſter for the time being; and if our liberties and privileges depend upon that balance, they will then be lodged in the ſame place; which, in my opinion, is the worſt repoſitory they can be lodged in.

I therefore hope your Lordſhips will, by paſſing this bill, take care, that no prime miniſter ſhall ever be able to get the balance of our conſtitution into his pocket; but I muſt here obſerve, that what is called the balance, and indeed the ſecurity of our conſtitution, conſiſts not in the power which any of the three branches of our legiſlature has over itſelf, or any of its own members, but in no one of them having a power over either of the other two. As the three branches of our legiſlature are diſtinct, they ought to be independent; at leaſt they ought to have no dependency, but what proceeds from the publick good, and the mutual happineſs of the three: for if any one of them ſhould ever, by force or corruption, get the abſolute direction or command of the other two, our conſtitution will then be undone, tho' the forms of it might perhaps be preſerved, in order to deceive the vulgar and ignorant. This is the misfortune intended to be guarded againſt by this bill. And it is not of late years only, that this good intention has been ſet on foot. In the end of the late Queen's reign, there was juſt ſuch another bill brought into this houſe; which at that time met with ſo good a reception here, that it was thrown out but by one vote: and its meeting with that fate was occaſioned by the fault of one Noble Lord, who, at the time the queſtion was put, happened to be in the court of requeſts, buying a pen-knife, with two proxies in his pocket.

I ſhall acknowledge, my Lords, that I do not think the bill now before us ſo perfect as it ought to be; but all its defects may, I think, be eaſily remedied by proper clauſes and amendments in the committee: and if your Lordſhips go into a committee upon it, I ſhall contribute the little I can towards making it a perfect bill. I ſhall probably offer

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law, ought to be such a one as may be understood by those that are to take it. The oath proposed by this bill is, I think, such a one as can be understood by no man. *Gratuity* or *reward* are words so vague and indeterminate, that no man can tell what to make of them. It is extremely difficult to settle the boundary between a favour and a gratuity; and the favours that may be conferred by the crown upon the subject are so various, and so frequent, that there would be no end of declaring them, nor any possibility of determining what was a favour, and what a gratuity. A post given to a Gentleman's brother or son, nay even to his footman, at his request, might be interpreted as a gratuity; and would very probably be so by the other house, in case the majority of them did not like his face, and he had for some time neglected to declare it. This would introduce so much confusion, and is apparently so inconvenient for every Gentleman that has, or may have the honour to be a member of the other house, that, I am persuaded, they would never have agreed to a regulation so inconvenient, and at the same time so ineffectual for the end pretended, if they had not had some other view than merely that of preventing corruption.

Whether they were serious or not in passing this bill, can be of no consequence, my Lords, to us. If it were a good bill, I should be for passing it, whether they were serious or not. But, as I think it a bad bill, as I think it a regulation altogether ineffectual for the end pretended, and very dangerous with regard to the end which I suppose to be concealed, therefore I shall be against its passing, without considering in the least, whether or no the other house, or any number of them, was serious in sending it up. If your Lordships think, we have now any just apprehensions from corruption; if we are in any present danger of having a majority of the other house made more subservient to the crown than they ought to be, by pensions and pecuniary rewards; any one that thinks so may present a bill, or you may order the judges to bring in a bill, for obviating that danger: but the bill now before you is not only so imperfect, but so improper for attaining that end, that I think it impossible to make any thing of it in the committee; and therefore I shall be against our taking up our time, which may be otherwise so usefully employed, with going into a committee upon it.

For my own part, my Lords, I do not think we are in any immediate danger from corruption; I do not think we can be in any such danger, while we enjoy the happiness of having his present Majesty upon the throne. He will never ask, he will never allow his parliament to be ask'd to do any thing, but what is necessary for the publick good; and for such purposes no pension or gratuity to any of the members will ever be necessary, unless faction, sedition and disaffection should get possession of a great majority of the nation; which, I hope, will never be the case. We have therefore no immediate call to contrive any new barriers against corruption; and if any of his Majesty's successors should form ambitious views against our liberties, and think of rendering those views successful by corruption, the barriers we have already, will, I hope, be able to defend our liberties against such attempts, till our posterity can raise new and more effectual barricades against the approach of that political distemper.

I hope, my Lords, I shall always be as jealous of the liberties of my country as any reasonable man ought to be; and, I confess, we ought always to look with a jealous eye upon the new projects formed by ministers: but there is another set of men, upon whom we ought likewise to look with a jealous eye; and that is, those Gentlemen who, under the pretence of preserving or securing our liberties, are for new-modelling our constitution, at a time when there is no apparent, much less an imminent danger. Securing our liberties has been before now made a pretence for destroying them, and the vulgar and ignorant are always fond of every thing

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thing that's new, which has too often rendered ſuch deſigns ſucceſsful. The bill now before us, I think, I have ſome reaſon to conſider in this light; and the more ſo, becauſe of the motion that was ſince made in the other houſe, for excluding all placemen, except a very few, from having ſeats in that aſſembly. Both theſe regulations were, I find, promoted by the ſame men; and if both had ſucceeded, our happy conſtitution would have been brought into the moſt imminent danger: for the crown would then have been under a neceſſity of employing none but perſons of low rank in its ſervice; which would of courſe have rendered the ſervice contemptible, and might very probably have produced ſuch a civil war as we had, but laſt century, between our ſovereign and his parliament. A Noble hiſtorian has obſerved, that in K. *Charles* I.'s time, the arts and clamours of the diſaffected party at laſt ſo far prevailed, that it became ſcandalous to ſerve the crown; which ſo weakened the hands of the crown, and ſo much exalted the power of the leading men in the other houſe, that they involved their country in a bloody and deſtructive civil war, overſet our monarchy, and at laſt turned your Lordſhips out of doors. Theſe wicked deſigns began to be formed in the year 1640; and if theſe two new regulations had met with ſucceſs, I ſhould have had the ſorrow to ſuſpect, that ſome ſuch deſigns were now in embryo: but, thank God, one of them was defeated, upon its firſt appearance, in the houſe of Commons; and, I hope, the other will be defeated by your Lordſhips.

[*This Journal continued in Jan. Mag.* 1741.]

The conſultation of Monſ. Fagon, *Firſt Phyſician to the King, upon the diſtemper of Monſ.* Bayle.

A Perſon can't without concern hear, that an indifference for life, has engaged the illuſtrious Mr *Bayle* to neglect the progreſs of a diſtemper, the leaſt ſymptoms of which are formidable. It muſt be an happineſs to him not to have made uſe of dangerous remedies, but a proper regimen (which is the principal) can never be deferred in theſe caſes without extreme danger. By a conſumption, phyſicians underſtand a decay, or ulceration of the lungs. Mr *Bayle*'s immenſe labours of the mind, give room to fear their decay. The winter wherein the defluxion began, and its perſeverance, give great ſuſpicion of the impreſſion, that an acrid ſeroſity (which has thrown itſelf upon the lungs) may have made on their ſubſtance. The cough, frequent and dry, or elſe attended with ſerous, bloody, or purulent ſpittle, may decide it. Nothing enters immediately into that part, but the air by reſpiration; the reſt arrives not there, but with the blood by circulation: a perſon muſt therefore have great attention to the air that he breathes, and to the aliments with which he is nouriſhed, and make uſe of thoſe two means to introduce agreeable remedies into the lungs. The air ſhould be of ſuch a temper, as to be neither too piercing nor heavy; that which is filled with ſalt exhalations is pernicious to diſtempered lungs, and that wherein there are ſuch noxious fumes, as riſe from turfs burnt, *&c.* is not leſs dangerous. He muſt avoid alſo that which is moiſt and fuſty, and for this purpoſe ſhould not inhabit apartments which are on the firſt floor. Cold and exceſſive heat are equally to be feared, eſpecially the heat of ſtoves, which drive into the air mineral particles that cannot be breathed without hazard. A fire of wood in a chimney that does not ſmoke, and which renews the air without infecting it, is the only agreeable one, provided it be moderate day and night, and that the perſon is at ſuch a diſtance as not to breathe the ſalt of the wood, and yet ſo ſituated as not to ſuffer by the cold, taking care ſufficiently to clothe himſelf that he may not feel it. It is of great importance to prevent this in the night, particularly by covering the head, the neck and the back, ſo as not to perceive the cold that always chills the air at dawn of the morning, and which fails not to awaken the cough in theſe caſes.

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I recommend for this purpoſe, not only thick curtains that ſhut cloſe, but a pavilion under them fixt to the four bed-poſts, and which cloſes on the perſon laid down, and only contains the air that is commodious for reſpiration, and to keep it temperate all the night by the natural heat of the patient, and by the external fire of the chamber. This care regards not only the temperature of the air which we breathe, but alſo that on which the general tranſpiration of the whole body depends, a freedom of which is of infinite conſequence to carry off from the breaſt the acrid parts of that ſerofity that ſoaks it, which, if they were ſtopped by the cold air that cloſes the pores of the ſkin, would much more dangerouſly return upon the lungs, than in the direct attack. But it is not ſufficient to hinder the air from increaſing the diſtemper; we ſhould attempt to fill it with that which may ſerve as a remedy, that ſo it may carry it with it into the lungs. If then there appears an ulcerous diſpoſition in Mr *Bayle*'s caſe, by ſpittle tinctured with blood or purulent matter; in order to charge the air with ſomething balſamick, and which may penetrate immediately with it into the lungs, it is proper to diffuſe in it, many times in a day, the ſmoke from a mixture of equal parts of maſtic and carabe burnt upon red embers, and to order it ſo, that the particles which form that ſmoke, may inſinuate themſelves at a diſtance from the patient into the air of the chamber, that ſo they may be gently breathed without making him cough or ſneeze; or we may take a little of the ſubtile powder of the ſame mixture, and having put it in a thin ſilk bag, by gently ſhaking it, ſpread abroad in the air a little of that balſamick powder or duſt, with the like precautions, to make him breathe almoſt imperceptibly. But if a cough, dry and convulſive, ſhows the dry ſtate of the lungs that are damaged by the ſtipticity of the ſalt, which has begun to prevail in the humours, as the ſpirits (diſſipated by the exceſs of ſtudy) have ceaſed to temper them, the uſe of emollient and vulnerary decoctions will be more agreeable. Recourſe may be had to theſe in boiling the leaves and root of marſh-mallows, the leaves and flowers of colt's-foot, the flowers and ſlices of the roots of nymphæa, the flowers of mullin, lint-ſeed with camomile in milk and water. He ſhould draw in (often in breathing) the vapour of that decoction as it ſmokes, and as near as he can conveniently.

While we carefully attempt by theſe methods to ſerve the lungs with all the ſuccours that can be drawn from the air, we ſhould not be leſs attentive to make all the advantage poſſible of thoſe we may hope for from the blood, that contributes to the nouriſhment of them, and (which without ceaſing flows with rapidity through the fine capillary veſſels) in rectifying it by the choice of good aliments, and procuring to it, by the mixture of ſome balſamick ſubſtances, the means of contributing to the re-eſtabliſhment of the breaſt. The aliments proper to that purpoſe, ſhould be very ſoft, ſimple and eaſy to digeſt; ſuch as fowls boil'd or roaſted, if Mr *Bayle* is in a condition to uſe ſolid nouriſhment; if not, chicken-broth with rice, light ſoops, freſh eggs, gelly of harts-horn or of chicken, and other things of like nature: milk, as well for its ſoftneſs, as for its conſiſtence, and its eaſy converſion into chyle, would be moſt agreeable for all his nouriſhment, with good bread, light, not ſharp, and without barm, if the habitual fever which ordinarily accompanies thoſe attacks of the breaſt, and which increaſes after a meal, does not hinder the good effect of it, by ſowring and corrupting it. But it is my cuſtom to ſubſtitute in its place a kind of broth, mixt with an emulſion, which ſupplies that which we may hope for from the ſoftneſs of the milk, and which carries into the blood ſomething balſamick, ſo far as to make it a kind of vulnerary remedy when it paſſes into the lungs. This broth is made with one chicken, with half a pugil of rice, and a little bit of the root of comfrey, the whole well boiled. We then pound apart a dozen and a half of piſtachioes good and freſh, a dram of white poppy-ſeed,

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The Names and Ranks of the several Corps.

The Number before each Name distinguishes the rank.

In GREAT BRITAIN.

Horse guards.
1 *L.* Delawarr.
2 *D. of* Marlborough.
3 *E. of* Albemarle.
4 *E. of* Effingham.

Grenadier guards.
1 *Lt-G.* Dormer.
2 *E. of* Crawford.

Horse.
1 *E. of* Hertford.
2 *E. of* Pembroke.
3 *D. of* Montague.
4 *Gen.* Wade.

Dragoons.
1 *Maj.-G.* Hawley.
2 *M. G.* Ja. Campbell.
3 *Lt-G.* Honeywood.
4 *Sir* Robert Rich.
6 *L.* Cadogan.
7 *Lt-G.* Ker (deceas'd.)
10 *Lt-G.* Churchill.
11 *L.* Mark Kerr.

Foot guards.
1 *Sir* Charles Wills.
2 *D. of* Cumberland.
3 *E. of* Dunmore.

Foot.
3 *Maj.-G.* Howard.
4 *Lt-G.* Barrel.
6 *Brig.-G.* Guise.
8 *Col.* Onslow.
11 *Brig.-G.* Cornwallis.
12 *Lt-Gen.* Whetham.
13 *Col.* Hen. Pulteney.
15 *Maj.-G.* Harrison.
16 *Maj.-G.* Handasyd.
19 *Col.* Howard.
21 *Col.* John Campbell.
23 *Col.* Piers.
24 *Brig. G.* Wentworth.
27 *Col.* Blakeney.
31 *Col.* Wm Handasyd.
32 *Col.* Huske.
34 *L.* Ja. Cavendish.
36 *Col.* Fleming.
42 *L.* Sempill.

Invalids.
Lt-Gen. Fielding.
25 Independent companies.
5 Ditto taken out of Chelsea.

Marines.
1 *Col.* Wolfe.
2 *Col.* Robinson.
3 *Col.* Lowther.
4 *Col.* Wynyard.
5 *Col.* Douglas.
6 *Col.* Moreton.

In IRELAND, MINORCA, and GIBRALTAR.

Horse.
5 *L.* Tyrawley.
6 *Maj.-G.* Neville.
7 *L.* Cathcart (deceas'd.)
8 *Maj.-G.* Legonier.

Dragoons.
5 *L.* Molesworth.
8 *Col.* St George.
9 *Maj.-G.* Cope.
12 *Maj.-G.* Bowles.
13 *Col.* Bland.
14 *Col.* Hamilton.

Foot.
1 *Brig.-G.* St Clair.
5 *Col.* Irwin.
20 *Col.* Rosse.
25 *E. of* Rothes.
28 *Col.* Bragg.
30 *Lt-G.* Bisset.
33 *Col.* Johnson.
35 *Maj.-G.* Otway.
37 *Col.* Ponsonby.
39 *Lt-G.* Parker.

In Minorca.
9 *Brig.-G.* Read.
17 *Lt-G.* Tyrrell.
18 *Maj.-G.* Armstrong.
22 *Brig.-G.* Paget.
26 *Maj.-G.* Anstruther.

In Gibraltar.
2 *Lt-G.* Kirk (deceas'd.)
7 *Maj.-G.* Hargrave.
10 *Lt-G.* Columbine.
14 *Lt-G.* Clayton.
29 *Col.* Fuller.

In the PLANTATIONS. Foot.

Leeward islands.
38 *Lt-G.* Dalzell,

Placentia, Canso, &c.
40 *Maj.-G.* Phillips.

Georgia.
41 *Gen.* Oglethorpe.

Jamaica.
8 Independent companies.

New-York.
4 Independent companies.

Bermudas.
1 Independent company.

Providence.
1 Independent company

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A Table of all the KINGS of SCOTLAND.

The first column contains the progressive order of the several Kings; the second, their names; the third, the time when they began to reign; the fourth, the number of years they did reign; the fifth, their deaths; and the sixth, their burial-places.

N°	*Names.*	*A.M.*	*Y.*	*Deaths.*	*B. places.*
1	FErgus I. —	3641	25	loſt in the Iriſh ſea — —	The Sea
2	Feritharis —	3666	15	killed by means of Ferlegus	
3	Mainus ——	3680	29	died in peace —— ——	
4	Dornadilla ——	3709	28	died in peace —— ——	
5	Nothatus ——	3738	20	ſlain by one of his Nobles —	
6	Rutherus ——	3758	26	died in peace —— ——	
7	Reutha ——	3784	14	deſerted willingly — ——	
8	Thereus ——	3798	12	died in exile, in York ——	
9	Joſina ——	3810	24	died in peace —— ——	Berigon
10	Finanus ——	3834	30	died in peace —— ——	Berigon
11	Durſtus ——	3864	9	ſlain by his Nobles ——	
12	Evenus I. —	3873	19	died in peace —— ——	Dunſtaffage
13	Gillus ——	3892	2	ſlain in battle —— ——	Dunſtaffage
14	Evenus II. —	3894	17	died in peace —— ——	Dunſtaffage
15	Ederus ——	3911	48	died in peace —— ——	Dunſtaffage
16	Evenus III. —	3959	7	killed in priſon, by a child —	Dunſtaffage
17	Metellanus ——	3966	39	died in peace —— ——	Dunſtaffage
		A.D.			
18	Caractacus —	35	20	died in peace —— ——	Dunſtaffage
19	Corbredus I. —	55	18	died in peace —— ——	Dunſtaffage
20	Dardanus ——	72	4	killed in battle —— ——	Dunſtaffage
21	Corbredus II. —	76	35	died in peace —— ——	Dunſtaffage
22	Lugthacus —	110	3	killed by his Nobles ——	Dunſtaffage
23	Mogallus ——	113	36	killed by his Nobles ——	Dunſtaffage
24	Coranus ——	149	14	died in priſon —— ——	Dunſtaffage
25	Ethodius I. ——	163	33	ſlain by a harper —— ——	Dunſtaffage
26	Satrael ——	195	4	ſlain by one of his courtiers,	Dunſtaffage
27	Donaldus I. —	199	18	died in peace —— ——	Dunſtaffage
28	Ethodius II. —	216	16	ſlain by his guard —— ——	Dunſtaffage
29	Athirco ——	231	12	ſlew himſelf —— ——	
30	Natvaloccus —	242	11	ſlain by his Nobles ——	Dunſtaffage
31	Findocus ——	253	11	ſlain by feigned hunters ——	Dunſtaffage
32	Donaldus II. —	264	1	died of a wound got in battle	Dunſtaffage
33	Donaldus III. —	265	12	ſlain by his ſucceſſor ——	
34	Crathilinthus —	277	24	died in peace —— ——	Dunſtaffage
35	Fincormachus —	301	47	died in peace —— ——	Dunſtaffage
36	Romachus —	348	3	ſlain by his Nobles ——	
37	Anguſianus —	351	3	ſlain in battle, by the Picts —	Dunſtaffage
38	Fethelmachus —	354	3	betrayed to, and ſlain by Picts	Dunſtaffage
39	Eugenius I. —	357	3	killed in battle by Romans —	
40	Fergus II. ——	404	16	ſlain by the Romans ——	Icolmkill
41	Eugenius II. —	420	34	died in peace —— ——	Icolmkill
42	Dongardus —	451	5	killed in battle —— ——	Icolmkill
43	Conſtantinus I. —	457	22	ſlain by one of his Nobles —	
44	Congallus I. —	479	22	died in peace —— ——	Icolmkill
45	Goranus ——	501	34	murdered in his chamber —	Icolmkill
46	Eugenius III. —	535	23	died in peace —— ——	Icolmkill
47	Congallus II. —	558	11	died in peace —— ——	Icolmkill

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A Table of all the Kings of Scotland.

No	Names.	A.M.	Y.	Deaths.	B. places.
48	Kinnatillus —	569	1	died in peace — —	Icolmkill
49	Aidanus —	570	35	died in peace — —	Icolmkill
50	Kennethus I. —	605	1	died in peace — —	Icolmkill
51	Eugenius IV. —	606	15	died in peace — —	Icolmkill
52	Ferquhardus I.	621	11	ſlew himſelf in priſon —	
53	Donaldus IV. —	632	14	loſt in Tay-water fiſhing —	Icolmkill
54	Ferquhardus II.	646	13	died of a fever — —	Icolmkill
55	Malduine —	664	20	ſtrangled by his wife —	Icolmkill
56	Eugenius V. —	684	4	ſlain in battle — —	Icolmkill
57	Eugenius VI. —	688	9	died in peace — —	Icolmkill
58	Amberkeletus —	697	2	killed by an arrow — —	Icolmkill
59	Eugenius VII. —	699	16	died in peace — —	Icolmkill
60	Mordacus —	715	16	died in peace — —	Icolmkill
61	Etſinus —	730	31	died in peace — —	Icolmkill
62	Eugenius VIII.	761	3	ſlain by his Nobles — —	Icolmkill
63	Fergus III. —	764	3	murdered by his wife —	Icolmkill
64	Solvathius —	767	20	died in peace — —	Icolmkill
65	Achaius —	787	32	died in peace — —	Icolmkill
66	Congallus III. —	819	5	died in peace — —	Icolmkill
67	Dongallus —	824	7	loſt in Spey-water — —	Icolmkill
68	Alpinus —	831	3	beheaded by the Picts —	Icolmkill
69	Kennethus II. —	834	20	died in peace — —	Icolmkill
70	Donaldus V. —	854	5	ſlew himſelf in priſon —	Icolmkill
71	Conſtantinus II.	859	15	killed in battle by the Danes	Icolmkill
72	Ethus —	874	2	died in priſon — —	Icolmkill
73	Gregorius —	876	18	died in peace — —	Icolmkill
74	Donaldus VI. —	894	11	died in peace — —	Icolmkill
75	Conſtantinus III.	904	40	died in peace — —	Icolmkill
76	Malcolm I. —	943	9	ſlain in Murray by knaves —	Icolmkill
77	Indulfus —	952	9	wonderfully ſlain — —	Icolmkill
78	Duffus —	961	5	murdered in Murray —	Icolmkill
79	Culenus —	966	4	ſlain at Methven — —	Icolmkill
80	Kennethus III. —	970	24	ſlain at Fettercairn —	Icolmkill
81	Conſtantinus IV.	994	2	killed in battle — —	Icolmkill
82	Grimus —	996	8	killed in battle by his ſucceſſor	Icolmkill
83	Malcolm II. —	1004	30	murdered at Glammis —	Icolmkill
84	Duncanus I. —	1034	6	killed by his ſucceſſor —	Icolmkill
85	Macbeth —	1040	17	ſlain by his ſucceſſor —	Icolmkill
86	Malcolm Canmore	1057	36	ſlain at the ſiege of Anwick—	Dunfermlin
87	Donaldus VII. —	1093	1	died miſerably in priſon —	Dunfermlin
88	Duncanus II. —	1094	1	ſlain as an uſurper — —	
89	Edgarus —	1098	9	died in peace at Dundee —	Dunfermlin
90	Alexander I. —	1107	17	died in peace at Stirling —	Dunfermlin
91	David I. —	1124	29	died in peace at Carliſle —	Dunfermlin
92	Malcolm IV. —	1153	12	died in peace at Jedburgh —	Dunfermlin
93	William I. —	1165	49	died in peace at Stirling —	Aberbrotho[c]
94	Alexander II. —	1214	35	died in peace — —	Melroſs
95	Alexander III. —	1249	37	died by a fall at Kinghorn —	Dunfermlin
96	John Baliol —	1293	4	baniſhed — —	
97	Robert Bruce I.	1306	24	died in peace at Cardroſs —	Dunfermlin
98	David Bruce II.	1330	40	died in peace in Edinb. caſtle	Holyroodh[o]
99	Edward Baliol	1336	2	baniſhed, and K. Dav. reſtored	
100	Robert Stewart II.	1371	19	died in peace at Dundonald —	Scoon

No

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N°	*Names.*	*A.M.*	*Y.*	*Deaths.*	*B. places.*
101	Robert III. —	1390	16	died of diſpleaſure — —	Paiſley
102	James I. —	1424	13	killed at Perth by E. of Athol	Perth Cha.
103	James II. —	1437	24	killed at ſiege of Roxburgh —	Holyroodh.
104	James III. —	1460	29	ſlain at Bannockburn-field —	Cambuſken
105	James IV. —	1489	25	ſlain at Flowden bat. by Engliſh	Holyroodh.
106	James V. —	1514	29	died of a frenzy at Falkland	Holyroodh.
107	Mary —	1543	6	execute in England — —	
108	James VI. —	1567	59	died in peace at Whitehall —	Weſtminſter
109	Charles I. —	1625	25	murdered by rebell. ſubjects	Windſor
110	Charles II. —	1649	36	died in peace at Whitehall —	Weſtminſter
111	James VII. —	1684	4	died in France — —	St Germains
112	William II. —	1688	14	died at Kenſington — —	Weſtminſter
113	Anne —	1702	12	died at St James's — —	Weſtminſter
114	George I. —	1714	13	died at Oſnaburg — —	Hanover
115	George II. —	1727			

A Liſt of the Noblemen and Gentlemen whoſe Characters the Speakers in the POLITICAL CLUB have aſſumed.

A. Poſthumius, Duke of Bedford.
A. Sempronius Atratinus, John Selwyn, junior, Eſq;
Aulus Gabinius, Phillips Gybbon, Eſq;
C. Calpurnius Piſo, John Campbell of Pembrokeſhire, Eſq;
C. Cicerejus, Earl of Cholmondeley.
C. Claudius Nero, Earl of Winchelſea.
C. Duillius, Sir Charles Wager.
C. Helvius, Lord Hervey.
C. Herennius, Edward Hooper, Eſq;
C. Mucius Scævola, Earl of Scarborough, (now deceas'd.)
C. Oppius, Lord Onſlow.
C. Plinius Cæcilius, Lord Chancellor.
C. Sulpicius, Edward Southwell, Eſq;
C. Triarius, Robert Tracy, Eſq;
Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus, Joſeph Danvers, Eſq;
Cn. Domitius Calvinus, Duke of Newcaſtle.
Cn. Fulvius, Henry Fox, Eſq;
Julius Florus, William Pitt, Eſq;
L. Æmilius Mamercinus, Mr Alderman Perry.
L. Æmilius Paullus, Duke of Argyle.
L. Caſſius Longinus, Lord Hinton.
L. Duronius, Lord Delawar.
L. Geganius, Lord Gage.
L. Hortenſius, John Howe, Eſq;
L. Icilius, Earl of Ilay.
L. Junius Brutus, Samuel Sandys, Eſq;
L. Piſo, Earl of Cheſterfield.
L. Porcius, Duke of Portland.
L. Quintius Cincinnatus, William Shippen, Eſq;
L. Valerius Flaccus, Sir William Yonge.
M. Agrippa, Lord Carteret.
M. Bæbius Tamphilus, Lord Baltimore.
M. Cato, William Pulteney, Eſq;
M. Furius Camillus, Sir Wm Wyndham.
M. Giganius Macerinus, Lord Gower.
M. Horatius Barbatus, Earl of Halifax.
M. Tullius Cicero, Sir Robert Walpole.
M. Valerius Corvus, Sir John Barnard.
Mecænas, George Lyttleton, Eſq;
Pomponius Atticus, Horace Walpole, Eſq;
P. Sempronius Tuditanus, Sir Thomas Saunderſon, (now E. of Scarborough.)
P. Villius Tappulus, Mr Alderman Willimott.
Q. Cicero, Lord Walpole.
Q. Fabius Maximus, Lord Bathurſt.
Q. Salonius Sarra, Biſhop of Salisbury.
Servilius Priſcus, Henry Pelham, Eſq;
Sp. Carvilius, Earl of Carliſle.
T. Manlius Torquatus, Col. Mordaunt.
T. Quintius, Lord Talbot.
T. Quintius Capitolinus, John Talbot, Eſq;

To the BINDER.

CUT off from each Month the Title-page and laſt Leaf, being the Cover, and place the General Title-page and Preface before the *Magazine* for *January*.

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