THE SCOTSMAGAZINE.
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 MDCCXXXIX.

VOLUME I.

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

EDINBURGH:
Printed by SANDS, BRYMER, MURRAY and COCHRAN.
1865, June 5.

Imperfect bound.

Substitute for an imperfect copy bought with the Shapleigh Fund.
THE general increase of readers for some years past, and the many advantages arising from it in a nation where Liberty is enjoy'd, have encouraged various attempts to suit the learning of the times to the purchase and opportunity of persons of every station.

Amongst these, after many trials without success; after Monthly Mercuries, Chronicles, Registers, Amusements, &c. had been tried in vain, a Monthly Magazine at last appear'd, which, from the industry and influence of the proprietor, soon met with encouragement; the variety of which it consist'd, and the unusual quantity it contain'd, yielding satisfaction to all who gave it a perusal.

The kind reception which the Gentleman's Magazine met with, quickly produced a rival; and as it is much easier to improve the plan of another, than to form one, the London Magazine appear'd with some advantage: And, had not the managers of that work discover'd so much prejudice against the Gentle,men to whom they owed its existence, it would, probably, have had superior success. But, as it is, they are both enabled to appear with far more advantage than any works of the same kind which preceded them.

The demand for these Magazines being considerable in this kingdom, and our distance from the place of their publication rendering their contents stale before they came to hand, several persons were put upon endeavouring to remove these inconveniences by supplying their place with a production of our own. But this was found liable to so many difficulties as were not easily remov'd:—though at length they were surmounted; and The SCOTS MAGAZINE was offer'd the publick when the taste for such collections promis'd all desirable success.—And we are far from complaining of its reception.
Besides these, there were other, more important causes for undertaking this work; since, surely the interest of Scotland, abstractedly consider'd, is worthy our most watchful attention: In which view we have had the pleasure of gaining the thanks and approbation of several Gentlemen who have done great honour to this undertaking. And while many are so variously engaged to promote the particular interest of the more Southern part of this island, it is at least laudable, if it be not necessary, to pay some separate regard to the welfare and prosperity of a country that has been the scene of actions the memory whereof will ever bloom while Fame exists.

For, though in many things calculated for the good of Great Britain, Scotland is little more than nominally consider'd; her distance from the seat of monarchy, instead of dispiriting, should prompt her sons to compensate that misfortune by their extraordinary zeal in her service, to shew themselves equal to the present disadvantage of their situation; and, by an earnest exertion of their talents, revive that universal esteem which Scotland so justly acquire'd amongst her neighbours by the valour and learning of our ancestors.

Besides these, several other reasons produce'd this Magazine:

One, That our readers might have a more impartial view of political disputes than had appeared in any other.

Another, That the occurrences of Europe might not be wholly lost, to make room for the low views of private persons; and that the fate of kingdoms might not give place to personal quarrels.

That the just and grievous charge of castration and mutilation might be entirely remov'd, by admitting every Gentleman to speak his own language.

That the Caledonian Muse might not be restrain'd by want of a publick Echo to her song.

And, finally, That our countrymen might have the productions of every month, sooner, cheaper, and better collected, than before.

Such
S
t was our plan: And if those of our countrymen who are biased in favour of far-fetch'd productions, will deign us a
critical perusal, we flatter ourselves with being found to exceed
our brethren in many articles; and we have endeavour'd to be
behind them in none.—We have so constantly preferred the
pleasure of our readers to any low considerations of our own in-
terest, that we cannot but hope any variation from those of
England, which may at first be dislik'd merely for being a va-
tilation, will be readily approv'd upon a strict comparision.

To say more upon this subject, would be passing that judg-
ment which we ought, and cheerfully do, submit to the publick:
To say less, would be equally subject to blame; as we think, in
an undertaking of this kind, it is as necessary to offer our mo-
tives, as our performance, to the judgment of our readers.

Though we do not offer to swell the intention of this work
so far as to pretend to be free from all desire of gain; we can,
with the utmost sincerity, assure the publick, that any increase
to the generous encouragement we have already met with, shall
be carefully applied toward making this Magazine more accept-
able. And we hope we have already convinced our readers,
that we are as earnest after its merit, as the profits it may be ex-
pected to produce:—Though this may, indeed, be vindica-
ted from the rules of private policy; for, however men may
from indolence, or other causes, be sometimes deceived, profit
is only accidental where the foundation for expecting it is not
good.—If our great labour and expence produce not an ade-
quate return to our readers, we must inevitably be losers by our
affidavit: And if we are found worthy the continuance and in-
crease of the countenance we have received, we are bold to say,
we fear not but we shall have it: since, notwithstanding the fas-
tionable complaint against the modern taste, it is our opinion
that though sometimes, from unavoidable circumstances, a work
of merit may fail of the encouragement it deserves; yet such in-
fances are very rare, when compar'd with the numerous attempts
made, without even a probability of success, by persons incapable
of executing what they undertake.

Our most grateful thanks are due to our many kind and in-
genious correspondents; by whose aid we have been greatly af-

ffted,
...and the publick agreeably entertained. And we must own, that the cheerful help we have received from most parts of this kingdom, gives yet further hopes of success, as it proves that the real intention of The Scots Magazine is agreeable to those upon whose favour it must principally, if not entirely, depend.

We hope our conduct, with respect to our correspondents, has convinced them of an unbiased regard to whatever they have favoured us with, by giving all possible attention to what Essays we have received, in verse or prose. When we have returned any, without inserting them, we hope the reasons given for such omissions have been satisfactory: And if the authors of those which have been omitted and not called for, will be pleased to reflect, the cause of our omitting them will be easily discovered; for, as no private views have influenced our choice, and as originals are so acceptable to all readers, it is evidently against our inclination to leave out any we receive.—Many we have now by us which will soon appear: but when the nature of a Magazine is considered, we shall not be blamed for small delays, which are sometimes unavoidable.

Impartiality is so necessary in a compiler, that we doubt not but our readers will excuse our inserting some sentiments they may not altogether approve, and some that seem even inconsistent with each other. In Religion and Politicks, especially, it is impossible to avoid offering what some will admire whilst others disapprove: In the latter, to avoid the tedious controversial dissensions between one writer and another, we have chiefly confined ourselves to Essays upon the most important and interesting subjects.

We shall only add, that as our study is to instruct and entertain, in such manner as is most agreeable to our readers, we shall cheerfully comply with any hints given for the improvement of our design; and beg leave to repeat it again, that before everything else, whatever concerns the interest of this kingdom, shall always be preferred; for as our labours, so are our wishes, employed on the Prosperity of Scotland.

Edinburgh, Dec. 31.

1739.
THE SCOTS MAGAZINE, AND GENERAL INTELLIGENCER.

JANUARY, 1739.

To be continued every Month. Price Sixpence each.

CONTAINING:

A SUMMARY of the State of Europe at the beginning of the year 1739.

WEEKLY ESSAYS: On the unsettled state of our affairs; Mr. D'Anvers's speech to his departing friends; The projector's farse, from Common-Sense, &c.

POETICAL ESSAYS. The first Psalm imitated; To the Rt. Hon. Mr. S——

The Relapse; Ode to W. P——y Esq.; On Mr. Murray's marriage; A Supper, &c.

A Letter from London relating to the Stage, &c.

DOMESTICK OCCURRENCES, FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Register of Books.

N. B. As it is proposed to make this Magazine a complete Chronicle of the Time from its commencement, we shall not insist any Political Debates, till we can offer those of the current year, which will be continued with all possible care from the time of our beginning them, in the month of July.

EDINBURGH: Printed by W. SANDS, A. BRYMER, A. MURRAY and J. COCHRAN. Sold by the Booksellers in Town and Country, and at the Printing-houses in Burnet's Close. MDCCXXXIX.
A SUMMARY of the state of Europe.

STATE of the Turkish empire p. 3
Treaty with P. Raguge, his death 4
State of the Russian empire ib.
Scotsmen in high stations there ib.
Conduct of Count Munch and Lacy admirable 5
State of the German empire ib.
Unhappy state of Daxat and Cornwall ib.
State of Poland. It observes a strict neutrality. Reasons why 6
The Pope’s dominions in a bad state ib.
Naples and the Two Sicilies likely to make a figure in Europe ib.
Corsican affairs uncertain ib.
Tibezdeo supported by some crown 7
Venice observes a neutrality ib.
Disturbances at Geneva accommodated by the mediation of France ib.
Differences between Sardinia and the Emperor ib.
Persia in a good situation ib.
Denmark improved in its trade ib.
Regulations in their religious ceremonies ib.
Sweden improved 8
Little remarkable in Portugal ib.
Spain lately invaded ib.
France in a flourishing condition ib.
States General intent on the accommodation between Great Britain and Spain ib.
Disputes likely to arise about the succession to Burgundy and Flanders ib.
Great Britain intent on the negotiations with Spain ib.
Carnival, 1851

WEEKLY ESSAYS.

On the unsettled state of our affairs 9
Cromwell’s letter to the French King 11
Mr. D’Amrou to his departing friends 12
Sale of theatrical goods 15
Character of K. Henry V. 17
Ab. for granting letters of marque 18
English princes careful of the property of their subjects 19
Pantalon made a minister 20

Arguments for esteeming the industrious poor p. 23
Love of fame a prevailing passion 25
Odd instances of it in the dress of some modern beaux 26
Complaint against men who destroy the fair sex ib.
Arguments for putting laws strictly in execution 28
The navy more useful than the army, the world paid 34
Thoughts on the improvement of the stage ib.
The King’s speech to parliament 32

POETRY.

A flight.—On Mr. Murray’s marriage.
Imitated 33
Horace, lib. I. Ode 26. paraphrased 33
The first Psalm imitated.—To the R.
Hymns; Miss St—s 35
The Relation
To W—— in P—y, Esq. — New-year’s
Ode 37
Song 38
A letter relating to the Stage, &c. ib.

Domestic Occurrences.

Account of the Royal Infirmary 39
of the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge 40
of the late violent storm ib.
List of ships thereby damaged 41
Proposals for erecting an Hospital for employing the Poor, &c. in Edinburgh 42

Mortality bill 43
Preference 43
Marriages and Births ib.
Deaths 44
Foreign affairs ib.
List of new books 45
The Scots Magazine.

JANUARY, 1739.

A Summary of the State of Europe at the beginning of the Year 1739.

The interests of the several Powers of Europe never fluctuated more in time of the most general war and confusion than they have for some years past; which yet have not been remarkable for any great event tending to the advantage of Religion or Liberty: And though every crown has been concerned to facilitate or retard the views of the contending parties, it is not easy to determine who has gained most by the many schemes and alliances which have, more or less, alarmed every state in Europe.

The Turkish empire has long been looked upon as able to raise a prodigious number of troops on any emergency; but those troops were commonly thought destitute of the discipline necessary to enable an army to act with success; and their want of commanders sufficiently experienced in the art of war, has been used as one argument of the ease with which the Ottomans might be disposed of by the many valuable provinces they hold in Europe; and the great propensity of the subjects of the Porte to insurrection and rebellion, has helped to strengthen the opinion of its being incapable to withstand a general attack from the several Powers whose dominions join those of the Grand Seignior. But the late bravery and conduct of the Turkish forces lay us under a necessity of changing our sentiments with regard to their courage and skill in martial operations; for they have shewn, that they want neither courage to sustain an attack, nor judgment to improve an advantage: We have seen their frontiers invaded by two powerful empires, who sent four considerable armies upon them at one time, with such rapidity as threatened no less than their meeting in the heart of the Sultan's dominions; yet they have prevented almost every danger that threatened them from so formidable an invasion, at the least expense of blood that can be imagined; a few well-judged marches and counter-marches having prevented the hazard of general engagements; and some flight blockades have avoided the loss of blood, the famine and misery, that constantly attend sieges; Oczakow, Perekop, Nis fi, Orlova, Ushtra, &c., having been taken from the Turks with much expense and difficulty, but regained with uncommon ease.

Before the opening of the last campaign, the Grand Vizier was deposed, and some officers whom he most intrusted, were executed. On the advancement of his successor, who now fills that high office, we were told by repeated accounts from all quarters, that he was the most ignorant hot-headed minister that ever was raised to so high a trust; that he was wholly unskilled in civil government, and knew not any thing of the art of war; being equally contemptuous by the divan, and hated by the army. But, from what has happened during his ministry, we must think him greatly misrepresented, or peculiarly happy in his affiant counsellors, and prudent commanders.

The countenance and support which Prince Ragotti, hereditary Prince of A Trun-
Transylvania, &c. for some time received from the Grand Seignior, has probably been of considerable service to the Turks on the side of Hungary; it being generally said, that the natives of that and the adjacent countries have so warm an affection for that Prince, as inclined them rather to chuse being governed by a Turk who supported him with dignity and honour, than even by a Pope who they imagined kept him from the possession of his inheritance. And the Porte appears so sensible of this, that, as an honour before unheard of, in March last the Grand Seignior concluded a treaty with that Prince, consisting of eleven articles; the principal of which were, "That Prince Ragotzki should be acknowledged Free Sovereign of Hungary and Transylvania; that the Chrisitians, subjects of the said Prince, shall have the free exercise of their religion in the Ottoman empire; that the election of his successors shall be according to the laws of the country, independently of the Ottoman Porte: On condition, nevertheless, That in case of a war in Europe, Prince Ragotzki shall march to the Grand Seignior's assistance with an army of 100,000 men." Soon after this treaty was signed, a design was discover'd among many of the Hungarian Nobles, to introduce the Prince into that kingdom; whereupon his Imperial Majestie published a reward of 6000 florins for his head; which when the Prince was acquainted with, he instantly proclaimed a reward of 100,000 ducats for the head of the Archduke, dead or alive.—The death of this Prince is confirmed from Widdin, and will, probably, have considerable effect on affairs in Transylvania and Hungary.

A peace between the Turks, Russians, and Imperialists, was much talked of last winter, and is now revived; but the present success of the Turks leaves not much room for the Christian Powers to expect the Grand Seignior will agree to any articles of advantage to the empires with which he is engaged.

The country about Smyrna has for some time been greatly molested by a rebel named Saris Bey Oglew, who has laid the whole neighbourhood, and even the city itself, under contribution, and is now said to command above 20,000 men.

The empire of Russia has, the two last campaigns, gained great honour by the valour and conduct of its troops; which indisputably is in a good measure owing to the great resort of Gentlemen from other countries, who are drawn thither by their love of warlike actions, and the generosity with which strangers are received by the illustrious Miftres of the Russian empire; who, far from confining her favours to her own subjects, or rejecting any for being born under other governments, makes merit the sole object of her regard. And that the bounty she bestows is not ill-placed, is evident from the services done by our brave countrymen under the Russian banners. And we may surely be indulged to take a little rational pride, in finding no action of consequence performed in which the Gentlemen of this nation are not in a particular manner distinguished for their bravery and resolution: At the head of the Russian fleet we find a Gordon, in the highest rank of the army, a Keith; and Douglas, Lesley, and many more, send their names from the extremities of that vast empire, and even from the inmost plains of Tartary; which was not long ago observed by the author of one of the London Daily Papers, as an instance the Scots nation might justly boast; "while our countrymen, added "be, have few other seats to brag of but what are performed in the Haymarket on an opera or masquerade night." —But, to return.

Though the success of the Russian arms, in almost every attack they have made upon, and in every skirmish they have had with the Turks, is confirmed from all quarters; yet the large extent of the countries lying between the Russian territories and the scenes of action, have rendered the advantages arising from these operations much less considerable than might naturally have been
expected from such a series of success: For, the enemy making it their first care to lay waste the countries through which the Raffians were to march, the difficulty and hazard attending their receiving provisions, would have dispirited almost any other troops in the world. And, when we consider them many hundred miles in an enemy's country, depending on no other succour or supply than what reach'd them by the same tedious route themselves had taken, to find them vanquishing armies far superior in number to their own, must sufficiently convince their abilities for war, and the advantages they would have procured for their Imperial Majesties, had they been employed to subdue countries as easily kept as conquer'd.

Velt Marshal Munich (under whom the Earl of Crawford served voluntary last campaign) found confes'd the greatest General Europe can now boast: that great commander having display'd such courage and conduct, such boldness to attack, and wisdom to avoid an engagement, when not promising of victory, as equals what we most admire in the greatest heroes of antiquity: And every action of this General discovers to us much caution and preventive care, that it is not easy, on some occasions, to know which deserves most praise, the politician or the soldier.

Velt Marshal Lacy has likewise supported his character with great honour, through the various, difficult and dangerous expeditions he has been employed in; in all which he has acted as much for the honour and interest of his Imperial Majesties, as the nature of the operations assigned him would admit. The two last campaigns he was engaged with a very fierce and active army of Tartars, headed by a large body of veteran Turkish troops, who used their utmost skill to distress and harass this General in a country that was their own, while his whole army had not a pint of water without obtaining it by the sword: yet, under these, and numerous other hardships, he possessed himself of several advantageous posts, overcame those bodies of the enemy which attack'd him, and took Perecop when opposed by an army double the number of his.

The Bashaw taken at Oczakow, and another brought by Count Lacy from the Crim, are both prisoners at large in Petersburg.

The affairs of the German empire are at present in an indifferent situation. At the opening of last campaign, the Imperial armies marched into the field with loud declarations of retrieving the credit of the German army, said to be lost by the ill conduct of the valiant and greatly unfortunate Count Seckendorf: but, instead of gaining honour or advantage for his Imperial Majesty, his forces seem to have given ground almost as fast as the Ottomans came to take it; while the governors of the garrisons they left, destitute of men and provisions, to the mercy of the enemy, fell victims to their friends, for taking the best steps left in their power.

In this place it is scarce possible to avoid dropping a tear to the memory of the brave and long-experienced General Doroat, who was executed at Belgrade for the surrender of Nissa; and the valiant Count Cornberg, whose big heart broke under arrest, for delivering up Orfova, when he had only 150 men left to bring out of it. Hard is the soldier's lot, who can only save his life by victory, when he is destitute of every thing necessary to obtain it!

Whatever were the motives of his Imperial Majesty for commencing hostilities against the Turks, the fortune that has hitherto attended his arms cannot any way have answered his expectation; for, besides the loss of several thousand subjects, if we believe some accounts which came with great appearance of truth, a considerable district of country has been lost on the side of Ta-misvaer, &c. And 'tis allowed, by advices from Vienna, that the Turks, after having assembled an army in the neighbourhood of Belgrade, have demanded contributions of that province, and also of Croatia.

This inaspects of the Imperialists cannot possibly be attributed to the want
of men, or of skilful commanders; for, notwithstanding the losses the empire has sustained of Generals within these few years, his Imperial Majesty is still possessed of Count Koniglegg, Seckendorf, Khevenhuller, Palsi, Hilbourghausin, Wallis, and several others, who have given the world convincing marks of their fitness for command.

Poland was so reduced by the blood and confusion which attended the election of its present Sovereign, that the neutrality she has hitherto endeavoured to preserve in the disputes between her neighbours on all sides, is by far the most eligible conduct of any, in a kingdom whose strength was so near being exhausted by its own intestine broils: And this neutrality was the more necessary for Poland, since, had that crown declared for either of the contending parties, its dominions would almost inevitably have become the theatre of the war, from its convenient situation for that purpose, and the known maxims of all commanders, to remove the scene of action into an enemy's country.

The Grand Seignior has more than once assured his Polish Majesty, that not the smallest injury shall be done the Polish territories by the Turkish troops, if he continues to preserve an exact neutrality in the present contests between the Porte, Russia and Germany. And the Emperor and the Czarina, tho' so extraordinarily afflicting to raise his Polish Majesty to the throne he now enjoys, have generously considered the difficulties surrounding him, and have not demanded that assistance, which he could not well have refused, however fatal it might have proved to his subjects.

The state of the several sovereignties of Italy has called the publick attention for some years; and, whatever interests have influenced the Princes possessed of that country to divert the Ecclesiastical State, the Holy Father has always, however reluctant, consented to what has been insinuated on by his neighbours, as well as to the demands of more distant crowns; a right having been required by one Prince to make Bishops, &c. and a privilege insisted on by another to be excused the payment of what had hitherto been esteemed a sacred tribute;— nor has his temporal authority been thought sufficient to prevent the march of some troops through his dominions, he having been one week glad to furnish provisions for the same regiments, which the week before he forbid entering his territories: And, if the humour of levelling his authority should continue among those Princes who profess an obedience to his decrees, it is to be apprehended, if he has a kingdom at all, it must not be of this world; but that he will be obliged, in good earnest, to seek it in another.

Don Carlos appears now to be fixed in the quiet possession of the kingdoms of Naples and the Two Sicilies; he having been acknowledged as Sovereign of these dominions by most of the European Princes, as well as by his Holiness, whose acknowledgment always trots hard after possession: And these kingdoms, being joined in one Prince, whose sole care will be their good government, will probably make a considerable figure in the affairs of Europe; though their strength was scarce discernible while in the hands of a Prince whose greater dominions swallowed the attention necessary to promote the interest and advantage of these: it being certain, that the Neapolitan Majesty has made several regulations tending to the ease and advantage of his subjects; and his marriage with the Princes Royal of Poland has met with the general approbation of the friends of both crowns.

Corsica has long furnished subject of speculation to the politicians of Europe. The accepting Baron Theodore as Sovereign of that island; his sudden departure from thence; his detainment and quiet release in Holland; his appearance at some other places; his return to Corsica, and reported cold reception; and the great quantities of ammunition,
munition, &c. he sent thither during his absence, and took with himself; the large sums he must have expended, and the seeming impossibility of his raising any sum at all: have baffled the penetration of the most discerning: For, as we have been often told, that this inscient Monarch is supported by some crown, which the world little imagines to be concerned in his fortunes, it is natural to think, that the present situation of his affairs would have discovered the canals of the aide he has from time to time received; but, by what appears by the last advices from Italy, every thing relating to him remains as much a secret now as at his first attempts on royalty.

The interposition of his Most Christian Majesty to reconcile, as it is commonly phrased, the Corsicans and Genoese, at first alarmed the friends of Theodore with apprehensions of being obliged to submit to the unlimited power of their former detested governors: But, when the French troops were landed, and the articles of accommodation came upon the carpet, their fears in some measure decreased; it not being easy to determine, from the tedious method in which this proposed reconciliation has advanced, what is the real intention of the French court with regard to that island.

The seizure of Theodore at Naples, and his confinement in the castle of Gaeta, has thunder-struck most of our Corsican politicians; as it is not easily reconcilable with an opinion which prevailed with many, of his being privately supported by Spain: But, from accounts of his easy confinement, and his cheerfulness under it, there is not great probability of his being under much apprehension from either the French or Genoese.

The accession of the Duke of Lorain to the Great Dukedom of Tuscany, has not yet been attended with the many benefits his new subjects promise themselves from the presence of a Prince so universally esteemed.

The Venetians, after a long delibera
tation, (while the fate of war seemed precarious) determined on a neutrality in the contests between the Christian Powers and the Turks; probably not a little to their advantage; having thereby secured their plains from blood, and their trade from interruption.

Some intelligence brooks, which threatened the utmost danger to the republick of Geneva, have been accommodated by the mediating hand of France, and the cantons of Zurich and Bern; and the city restored to its former tranquility.

A difference has for some time subsided between his Sardinian Majesty and the Emperor, concerning the possession of some isles in Italy, now in the hands of the Piedmontese: but it is not probable that his Imperial Majesty will at present be so frenzious in his demands as at another time; the assistance of Savoy, and every other ally, being much wanted in the general defence of the empire.

Prussia has not been concerned in the troubles of Europe, any farther than the troops its Sovereign, as Elector of Brandenburg, sent to the assistance of his Imperial Majesty; though the good order of his Prussian Majesty's forces is known to all his neighbours; nor are his grenadiers equalled by any nation in the universe.

Denmark has, within a few years, greatly improved her commerce; the establishment of an East-India company at Copenhagen having diffused a spirit of trade over great part of the Danish dominions. And his Danish Majesty, during the last year, has made several good regulations in the religious ceremonies of his subjects; having abolished the exorcisms used in their baptism, and removed the confession-chains out of the churches: though the people, ever fonder of ceremony than religion, expressed some resentment at first, but are now tolerably reconciled to the alteration.
The trade of Sweden has likewise been much increased; an East-India company being established at Stockholm, many improvements made in their manufactures, and a treaty of commerce concluded with the Grand Seignior.

About the middle of last year, his Swedish Majesty's health was so precarious, that, with the consent of the states of his kingdom, he resigned the government to the Queen his comfort, who was Queen-regnant at the time of their marriage.

Nothing remarkable has happened in Portugal since the return of the English fleet from Lisbon; the court of Spain having desisted from those measures which gave such uneasiness to his Portuguese Majesty, as called for the interposition of Great Britain.

Spain has, during the last year, been free from action by sea or land than for some time before; which some attribute to the difficulties attending the demands of Great Britain relating to the injuries suffered by the subjects of his Britannick Majesty from the subjects of Spain; which are said to have employed the Spanish councils in an extraordinary manner. But it is not improbable, that the full settlement of Don Carlos in Italy, the appointment of Don Philip to be High Admiral of the Spanish monarchy, and the fixing the Cardinal Don Lewis (aged now above nine years) in the archbishopric of Toledo, may have given some present satisfaction to the fortunate mother of those Princes. And 'tis certain that the appearance of the British fleet in the Streights must be a curb to any enterprise by sea, though we have not yet received intelligence of any engagement.

France has been engaged in no war since the campaigns in Italy and on the Rhine, the expedition to Corsica having been attended with no blood yet: tho' the office of Mediator has distinguished the Gallick name of late years, in the affairs of Geneva and Genoa; and has also been often earnestly offered to reconcile the Turks and Germans, and, what is still more remarkable, the crowns of Great Britain and Spain: But her good offices, however it happens, are more readily offered than accepted.—Cardinal Fleury continues in the administration with general applause from the people, though his Christian Majesty's behaviour to the parliament of Paris has no way increased the liberty of France, nor diminished the prerogative of the crown.

The States General of the United Provinces give the utmost attention to every step taken with regard to an accommodation between Great Britain and Spain: for, should a rupture break out between the two crowns, it would be difficult for the States General to avoid being affected one way or other.

Notwithstanding the powerful alliances of his Serene Highness the Prince of Orange, his succession to the estates of his late Majesty K. William is not yet determined.

The succession to the duchies of Berg and Juliers has called much of the publick attention during the last year. And the claimants have lately so much increased, that the settlement of that long-depending inheritance is far from being in any likelihood of pleasing them all.

The attention of the subjects of Great Britain is so generally bent toward the negotiations with the court of Spain, that as nothing final is yet published on that head, we must refer to subsequent advices for the determinations relating to that momentous affair.
to such of our readers as have not been very conversant in the transactions abroad, it may not be amiss to add the few following remarks on such other countries as will most probably furnish matter of intelligence.

Persia, after a long scene of war and confusion, was scarcely fixed in a state of peace and serenity, by the various labours and successes of its present sovereign, Koulí Kán, before the successor of Merriweisz, the first of the modern disturbers of the tranquillity of that kingdom, raised such a rebellion in the province of Candahar, as has employed the whole force of the nation for some time; and no advices have sufficiently confirmed the reports of their being yet reduced to obedience.

The kingdom of Morocco has, since the death of Muley Ismael, been involved in one continued agitation of government, in rapine and blood; the numerous offspring of that Prince having furnished several competitors for the throne, of parties sufficient to divide every province of that unhappy nation. Muley Hamet Aebeey, and Muley Abdolemosch, the two first antagonists, being dead, the contest lies now principally between Muley Abdallah, who, by his numerous cruelties, has shewn himself a true son of his fainthearted father, and Muley Ben Lariba, who is said to be the most humane and polite of all his brothers.

The interest and protection of the Plantations in America depend so much on the negotiations now on the carpet, that little can be said till the disputes with Spain are terminated; and though the many reports of the Spaniards having seized Georgia are without confirmation, there is too much room to believe they are not to good neighbours as could be wished an infant colony, which requires assistance from all around it; whereas this settlement can hope for none from the side of the Spaniards, and not too much from Carolina.

CRAFTSMAN, Jan. 6.

Formerly gave my readers a little essay on the New Year, and exhorted them to begin it with political A regeneration. But I cannot boast of much success in this attempt, for eleven years past; though we have since had several excellent laws made to prevent unlawful gin-drinking, smuggling and flagellation, which I hope have had the desired effect, by the assiduous care of our vigilant magistrates, both civil and military. But the greatest, political defilements still remain to be cured.—Luxury, corruption, avarice and ambition are as rampant as ever.—Our taxes are as high, and our debts I am afraid not much diminished.—Our trade and manufactures continue in the same languishing condition, and will every day grow worse, unless some speedy remedy be applied.—These causes have spread a face of poverty over the whole nation; especially the distant manufacturing ones, which hath excited multitudes of poor wretches to several acts of violence, notwithstanding our army, as well as the Risé and Black Risé.—Nobody can pretend to say that they have been worked up to these outrages by seditions writings, which very few of them can read or understand; and I have not yet heard any Gentleman malecontent charged with secretly abetting them. No, these tumults are plainly owing to the want of employment, the sinking of their wages, and the dearness of provisions, occasioned by high duties on most of the necessaries of life; which affect the master-workmen, as well as the poor labourers, and disfigure them to pay the usual price.—The same bad consequences extend to landed Gentlemen, by the breaking of their tenants, or the fall of their rents, which few of them, at this time, are able to bear:—Nay, it may go farther still; for where nothing is to be bad, the government cannot be supported, and even the King must lose his right.

These are truths well known to every Gentleman, who lives the least in the country, and does not fatten upon the spoils of the publick in this town, which
is the worst place in the whole kingdom to form a judgment of our condition; though the decay of trade, and scarcity of money are too sensibly felt even here.

— I wish the trade men may not find it so in the payment of their Christmas bills.

As to foreign affairs, the case seems to be as bad, if not worse; for the balance of power and the liberties of Europe are certainly more in danger, at present, than at any other period of time. France and Spain have been extending their dominions, and have still some other views of the same kind. The former plainly keeps its eye upon Flanders and the Palatinate; whilst the latter is endeavouring to get another province or two in Italy. I am afraid the present treaty between the Emperor and France, which is now said to be concluded, will not mend the matter; for a close conjunction between those two crowns will, undoubtedly, be more formidable to Europe than the late unnatural alliance, as it was called, between the Emperor and Spain: But, if they should all three unite, and draw the King of Sardinia into the alliance, they might canton out the best part of Europe amongst themselves. I mention this only by way of conjecture; but there seems to be at present too good an understanding among them. The mysterious affair of Corsica begins to explain itself; for, if His Majesty King Theodore is really confined in the castle of Gaeta, by an order from the court of Spain, there must be some juggle between two crowns, whom I shall not mention; and, perhaps, the Genoese may have reason to repent of their late proceedings, as well as the poor Corsicans.

But these are not all the bad symptoms abroad; for, as Mr. Freepo hath fully proved in my last paper, the French and Spaniards, to mention no other nations, are continually improving their manufactures, extending their trade, and encouraging their colonies: whilst we have, indeed, had the dexterity to avoid an actual war; though it was thought necessary to send two powerful squadrons, at a very great expense, to protect our navigation, colonies, and other possessions. How far they have succeeded, for the honour of the nation is visible to the whole world. Gibraltar and Portmahon are absolutely secured, for the present, by a numerous fleet in the Mediterranean; whilst an other, stationed in the West Indies, had hitherto protected our colonies and plantations from any attempt. Even Georgia is safe. But I must confess it is a little strange that the Spaniards should dare to continue their depredations and insults, of which we have frequent advices, whilst the seas are guarded by so great a naval force. This cannot be owing to their right of sovereignty over those seas, as the Gentlemen birelings suggest; nor to our own passive obedience and non-resistance, as the malecontents seem to intimate; but must be imputed solely to the audacious insolence of a few practical villains, who steal out in the dark and snap up our ships, without any secret connivance from the King of Spain, or his governors in America. It cannot therefore be doubted that His Catholick Majesty will readily give us leave, in the new accommodation, to fishes the seas of those robbers, who commonly make use of his colours, and thereby cast a reflection upon that nice panoply of honour, for which the Spanish crown is so famous, and hath always been so jealous.

However I could wish that some honourable gentlemen at home would be pleased, in the mean time, to look over Milton’s letters, written by the direction of Oliver Cromwell, the parliament, and others, to most of the greatest Potentates and sovereign States of Europe. They will there see what a glorious spirit even those unlawful governors exerted in defence of their countrymen. They were not only ready to receive the complaints of a large body of merchants, and represent them in the strongest manner to those, by whom they were aggrieved; but did the same by any single person; not only in points of trade, but even in cases of private rights and property. Whether all these representations
sententiam and memorials succeeded, I cannot say, since it does not appear from the letters themselves, and history seldom takes notice of such circumstances; but, considering the spirit of those times, and that there are but very few instances of above one letter upon the same subject, it is natural to conclude that most of them did succeed; particularly those of Oliver, who was not satisfied with inexcuseable, procrastinating, and unintelligible answers, or the breach of any promises made to him. — There are so many instances of this, that it is needless to cite any of them, and therefore I shall return to the letters.

They were written in Latin, and I never saw any version of them into English. I shall therefore refer my learned readers to the original; and give those, who are strangers to that language, a little specimen of one to the King of France, as well as I can translate it from so great a master of the Roman style.

To the most serene Prince LOUIS King of France.


Most serene King, my dearest friend and ally,

"It is with great reluctance that we are so often obliged to trouble your Majesty with the injuries done by your subjects, since the renewal of the peace. However, we assure ourselves that it was against your Majesty's consent; and we cannot refuse to hear the complaints of our people. — It plainly appears, from the judgment of our court of admiralty, that the ship Anthony of Dieppe was justly taken, before the conclusion of the treaty. Part of the prize, amounting to about four thou-
sand bides, was bought by Robert Brun merchant of London; as those, who were authorized to sell it, have testified to us. About two hundred of these being exported to Dieppe, after the ratification of the treaty, he complains that he sold them to a certain carrier of that place, and the money being paid into the hands of his factor there, who floated it, a law-suit was commenced against himself; and that he would not procure justice in that court. For this reason, we thought it proper to beseech your Majesty, that the whole affair may be referred to your own council; and that the money may be no longer detained, under the pretence of unjust a demand; for if what was transferred and decided, before the peace, is to be called into question again, after the peace, we cannot understand what we treat ties are. Indeed, there will be no end of such disputes, if some exemplary punishment is not soon inflicted on these common violators of treaties, which we hope will be one of your Majesty's first cares. — In the mean time, may God keep you under his most holy protection.

Your Majesty's most affectioned friend,

O. CROMWEL.

D From our palace at Westminster, the
Communedom of England, &c.

The reader will perceive that this vigorous remonstrance, to one of the great powers in Europe, was only in behalf of a single merchant, and about a few bides. — How would the old upspringing-Protektor have thunder'd, if either the French or the Spaniards had, for a long course of years, not only plunder'd our ships, and treated our seamen with cruelty, but likewise insulted the honour of the English flag, and even sent defiance to himself? — Let the history of his life and character, from all parties, determine this point.

Our present, lawful, and excellent governors have presented several memorials and remonstrances, of the same spirited kind, to the court of Spain, against their long-continued depredations, ravages and inhumanities; which have been likewise back'd with a powerful armament, as I have already observed: And if it should be asked, what notable exploits they have performed, my answer shall be, in the words of the ministerial writers, that PEACE is better than WAR, and that these armaments have brought the
the Spaniards to terms, as that at Spithead did some years ago. — If I am farther asked, what these terms are, I must be silent, and refer my readers to the treaty itself when it is produced.

Upon the whole, it is my sincere desire, that the approaching session of parliament may lay the foundation of many happy new years to his Majesty, and all his people.

Gazetteer, Jan. 4.

The reading the puff in Common Sense, December 30. I endeavoured to persuade Mr. D’Anvers; but I found him so full of repetition and trifling absurdity, that before I could reach Mr. Freeport’s name, I was overcome by a powerful slumber; during which, Mr. D’Anvers remained both in my hand and my head; and when I awoke, I wrote down what I could recollect of a speech which may be of some use to a whole who wish well to that departed patriot.

Mr. D’Anvers, to his departing friends on the beginning of the new year.

Brothers in design and disappointment,

With too much truth I may now assure you, that repeated instances have convinced me, the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong; — for you must own, one and all, that no man ever exercised such alacrity to gain a point, nor is any person living so fit for the task I have undertaken as myself. — ’Tis now several years since I first promised you relief from the hardships and difficulties, impositions and oppressions, I assured you lay on your shoulders; and I appeal to yourselves, if I have not shewn the utmost vigilance in bringing about that reformation in the state, which I have all along declared to be the only means by which I could work your redemption: nor can you accuse my courage and resolution with any shadow of justice; for I have ventured to assert what none beside myself dared to imagine, having always had sufficient presence of mind to maintain, at all hazards, what I found necessary to advance; — and my inclination to serve you, enforced by the warm assent of some Gentlemen who wished you as well as myself, have prompted me to say, in the face of the people, what would in any country have roused an ignominious exit. Has one opportunity offered to render the Gentlemen in the administration odious, that I have not improved the utmost of my power, though perhaps not always to the extent of my wishes! Instances of this kind are too recent on your memories to require my naming them, it being unusual for grateful minds to forget intended services, or to overlook the inconceivable difficulties I have lain under to preserve, what you have always called, the spirit of my paper, and at the same time keep clear of a h—r, for though it is an easy matter to approve with safety, like the mercenary hacck, who opposes me, yet to blame, at all events, requires more than common talents: For when the present possession of power, have taken such measures as the voice of the nation has approved, it has been matter of no small difficulty to supply a fresh cause of complaint, and to prevent our Generals from being totally deserted. And if with this view I have sometimes involved myself in a few seeming incoherencies and contradictions, charge them not upon me, any otherwise, than as the best means I could contrive to support the clamour we were once so fortunate as to raise to a height sufficient to give us a prospect of the golden days we have so long laboured for: nor have these little slips been of any bad consequence, since you must not forget, that whatever was said in order to detect me, must necessarily come from the advocates of our enemies; and then Court Writer, and Tool of Power, satisfied any man who was wise enough to fear no farther.

But, if my modesty would permit me, I could veil these foibles with a cloud of uncontroverted benefits I have brought to the nation in general, and in a particular manner to you, Gentlemen: How has the political knowledge of these realms
Hav'd with uncommon intrepidity, and multiplied charge upon charge, and complaint on complaint, till I was so fortunate as to have the proof of our grievances attempted in the p—t itself, by such Gentlemen as were generally allowed most capable of proving what I had aver'd at their imputation.

—but here we may date our overthrow: no sooner were records inspected, and accounts re-searched and examined, with the impatient attention of our friends and well-wishers, and indeed of the whole nation, but all we had affirmed was disapproved beyond a colour of contradiction; the whole legislature, and every body else, being convinced, that the most important of our many accusations were groundles, and founded in nothing more than our enmity to the persons principally concerned in the transactions we accused of fraud and embezzlement: And it was scarce in the power of man to prevent the event from turning upon us. Then it was I most needed assistance; and then I met with it: But however excellent the remarks and dissertations furnished me in themselves, the people were so generally, I know not how to say unjustly, prejudiced against their authors, that had they confined the Gospels only, it would have been hard to prevail with many to read them. He wrote one week, I praised him the next; again he wrote, and my praise succeeded till growing impatient of intercourse, he left me to despair, in order, since he has no prospect of acting any more as a Politician, to retire, and turn Philosopher, or rather Historian, since we have already been professed the History of his own times; of which, some have had ill nature enough to say, should he write with impartiality, his own crimes would make no inconsiderable part.

Thus, Gentlemen, you see me abandoned by every aid that promised assistance, and left alone to find fault with our governors, at a time when the want of sufficient cause of complaint has been one great cause of my being defected.—The new year approaches, and with it an unpleasing prospect of
labour and fatigue to me, and of no great benefit to our friends. Never was there a time when I stood in such want of your support and recommendation; My lectures go not now into hands enough to be of any service to the cause we have at heart; and all who wish it, well, must either exert their utmost power to get me taken notice of; or, with the utmost concern I speak it, the once adm'rd Caleb D'Avers must sleep with his fathers.— Start not at the thought; for, without your cheerful assistance, the completion of it must be endured. — But, Gentlemen, however desperate the present state of our affairs may appear, our credit is not perhaps past retrieving: The accommodation with Spain will furnish matter of grumbling, in whatever manner it is conducted; peace and war cannot both be chosen; and which soever be preferred, there will be room enough left to commend the other as far the most advisable. — Trade has lately employed pretty much of the publick attention; and as few private companies are without persons interested therein, you must, at every opportunity, complain of the decay of our traffic, and the ruin of our manufactues: If the increase of our navigation to more than double what it was in the reign of Queen Anne, be brought as an argument of the increase of our commerce, you may reply, with as good an air as I do, that you don't know they are all employed in our own commerce, and in carrying our own manufactues to foreign markets. — If the master-claithers in the West use any oppressive means to diftreers their artificers, be sure to attribute the blame to the A——-n, as sufferins the poor men to be imposed on. — If the abundance of buildings, furniture, plates, and jewels, be argued as an instance of our national wealth, you may rejoin, that they are frequently sold for less than a third of their first purchase; and, possibly, your antagonists may be fools enough not to know, that their being sold for so little at second-hand, is an argument of the general ability to purchase them now: — advertising these things for sale, you may tell them, is

an instance of the decay of trade; when you think they will not be able to see that, in fact, it proves only the desire of those wanting to sell to have the more purchasers, and thereby to have the highest price that can be got. — When the reduction of interest is mentioned, you must infer, that it proves nothing more than the scarcity of money, and the numerous inconveniences arising from landed Gentlemen marrying, and giving portions to their children. — One thing you must avert, where-ever you come, which will require some resolution to vindicate, and yet it must be defended; I mean, the fall of the value of our land estates: for though every country parish through the kingdom abounds with instances of estates being increased within the last thirty years to near twice their former value, and of some to treble the income they at first produced to the present position, it bears such a face of prosperity as will never facilitate our wishes, not any way conduce to promote the uneasiness among those who have no land, which it will be impossible to create among those who have.— And if all these should not prove satisfactory, you may safely enough add, that the willingness with which people put their money into the publick funds, is occasioned by the fear of being too precocious; but if any should happen to reply, That the publick funds subsist by no other means than trade, you must then answer — what appears most to the purpose, for at present I have no reply to that objection.

Thus, Gentlemen, I have laid before you, with my usual peripatetic, the state of our affairs at the entrance of the year: The more our number is reduced, the greater occasion there is for a firm union among us.— And be sure to remember, that no measure taken by the A——-n must be allowed to tend to the publick good while we remain private men.


T is now about two months since I observed an advertisement, offering me peated
The old reformatio used by Mark Antony when he harangues the populace upon the death of Julius Caesar, was purchased very cheap, by Orator Henry. — There was also a small parcel of thunder and lightning, and a shower of snow, the latter very much foiled, but nobody bid for them: — The tea was sold by the pound, at the common price of waste paper; the clouds are now hanging up in Rag Fair: — As to the halters in Timon of Athens, they were not put up, but, being called for, the broker acquainted the company, they were the only things which the players kept for their own use.

— Nam sic iuvat inv sud aequas.

As the conversation naturally turn'd upon the revolutions occasion'd by the act for regulating the stage, there was a person in the company that pretended to very good intelligence, who told us, that the projector of it, having laid a restraint upon the genius of others, was resolv'd to give a looee to his own; and, by the allusion of the Laureat and the Gazetteers, had already written a farce; of which some of the actors having seen a copy, it was their opinion, that the audience would tear up the benches, and throw them at their heads, if they represented such damn'd stuff: but this did not discourage him; for having a company of players in his own pay, whom he has always used to acting the most scandalous parts, he intends to make them represent it upon a stage of his own. As I could give a hundred instances of his being most scandalously ignorant of the unities of action, time, and place, I shall certainly write a criticism upon this farce as soon as it appears; and, to prejudice myself for it, have been refreshing my memory by reading over the best criticks; when I don't doubt but I shall convince the world, that he has the worst head for conducting a drama of any person that ever meddled with the stage.

I take this opportunity, likewise, of acquainting the publick, that I intend shortly to bring a play upon the stage myself; for I have been studying for several
Weekly Essays in January 1739.

Several months how a man that has a talent to ridicule vice and folly may be still useful to his country, notwithstanding the power given by this act to the Chamberlain.

I remember a Noble author hath said, that when the imaginations of ingenious men are confined and restrained by power, and they find that it is not safe for them to speak their minds, they will have recourse to burlesque, or buffoonry, to express what they think. —

I have taken this hint, and am resolved to hold my tongue; and yet I am determined to be devilish satyrical upon the stage, as well as the deputy-licenser, and also his deputy: all this shall be done without a word spoke in my comedy. — Let the publick into a secret, my play shall be danced.

I don't doubt but the writers on the corrupt side will (in their stupid way) attempt to ridicule my dancing, because it is possible they may have heard that I am a cripple by the gout. But I would have them to know, that though I am disabled, by age and infirmities, from the practice, I am deeper in the theory than ever. — I am like an old General that can project the operations of a campaign, direct the order of battle, and advise how the enemy may be attack'd, though he is not able to take the field in person. — To speak without a figure, I hope to make others dance, though I can't dance myself. — I have, by long study, composed a language for the looks and gestures; and I don't doubt, but, in a little time, motion will become as intelligible as words.

It has been no small mortification to me to find, that France hath carried the vogue from all the world, both for politics and dancing. — We have elsewhere observed, that there is a kind of sympathy betwixt politics and music; the relation betwixt politics and dancing is so much stronger, that, without flattering the metaphor too high, we may say, the present Cardinal Fleury is a most excellent dancer: — All the world acknowledges his superiority in this science, by allowing him (contrary to the laws of dancing) to lead up every dance in Europe, while they are humbly content to dance after him, and think themselves very happy that he gives them leave to pay the fiddlers.

The plot of my play, I think, is well contrived; nor are the incidents less diverting; and I flatter myself that the publick will think the humour well work'd up. — My design is, to bring the present posture of affairs in Europe upon the stage in a political dance; — Nicolini has rehearsal'd his part, he dances a Cardinal very well; I have also written a part for Mr. Lane. —— The parts of the German and Dutch plenipotentiaries may be danced by any hearty actors, of which, I hope, the house is not unprovided: — The part of the projector may be performed by a candle-snuffer; for, as he will have nothing to do but to bridle, to be bubbled, and kick'd, it is only equipping a clumsy D fellow with a bag of counters, and the business is done. —— The title of my play shall be, The Balance of Europe, with the comical and diverting blunders of Sacamo the Weigh-snuffer.

This new species of comedy will certainly puzzle the critics. — As to my own part, since I have taken care to write all my steps, nods and grimaces, exactly according to the rules of Aristotle, I may challenge them to do their worst. — The licenser will have nothing to say to me; for I have taken the opinion of counsel learned in the law, and I have it under their hands, that I am neither within the letter nor the meaning of the act.

This contrivance will go a great way towards defeating the doctrine of Innervando; for, suppose a poet should bring an actor of a ridiculous figure upon the stage, scratching his head with one hand, and pulling up his breeches with another, what can a special jury make of it?

The case stands thus: The licenser can restrain the tongues of the actors, but they still enjoy the free use of their own legs, their own arms, and their own muscles: — If Live, said liberty remains, vice and folly shall not escape.
In the reign of his father, *Henry IV: whose temper was naturally jealous, and (as Kings are often apt to do) too much listen'd to the flatterers about him; who, conscious of the Prince's superior merit, used their utmost endeavours to separate him from his father, by exciting the King's jealousy, and artfully rendering the Prince's actions, however innocent in respect to his allegiance, odious and suspected, in which they so far prevailed, as to induce the King to remove him from being President of the council, and to place his son John, afterwards Duke of Bedford, in the Prince's room:—I say, notwithstanding these frowns from court, he shewed by many instances, before he reigned, that he knew how to obey.

The following epithets, (so commonly used, and too frequently misapplied to others) of a submissive son, an obedient subject, a tender husband and father, were manifested in him; to which may be added, That he was a wife, valiant and successful warrior; a constant protector of justice, according to the religion of those times, and a true lover of that country, which by choice had called upon his family to rule over it. —In a word, his reign was a reproach to most of his predecessors, and I heartily with more of his successors (his love of foreign acquisitions excepted) had followed his example.

Amongst the many wise laws he made, I shall beg leave to recite one; the consideration of which is the occasion of my giving you the trouble of this letter. It was made in the 4th year of his reign, the 7th chapter; the title, In what cases Letters of Marque are to be granted.

The intent of this act, as it appears to me, was to give his people a right to secure their property, and retrieve their losses from foreign invaders, without subjecting their cause to foreign courts, or being liable to delays by solicitations and negotiations, till by length of time every body, except themselves, had forgot.

Weekly ESSAYS in JANUARY 1739.

got their losses and oppressions. — A law made by a Prince to confederate in his counsels, and so steady in the execution of them, was a sufficient notification of his resolution to persevere in the protection of the property of his subjects, and carried a greater terror than laid complaints and mighty armaments would have done, had his counsels been sickle, and the execution of what was determined more remiss. — But let us see the act itself.

"Lest, because our Sovereign Lord the King hath heard and conceived, at the grievous complaint of the Commons of his realm in this parliament, for that, in respect of a statute made at his parliament, held at Leicester, the last day of April, in the second year of his reign, in which statute is contained, That the breaking of truce, and of safe-conducts, and wilfully receiving, abetment, procurement, counsel, hiring, sustaining and maintaining of breakers of truce, and of the safe-conduct of the King our Lord, to be made by his liege-people from henceforth, within the realm of England and Ireland, and the country of Wales, or upon the main sea, shall be judged 

and determined for high treason done against the crown, and the King's dignity — secondly; by reason of which statute, though the King's subjects be so much grieved against the truce, that they dare not provide remedy by way of act, for that the King's enemies, as well in the parts beyond the sea, as in the realm of Scotland, have thereof taken great courage to grieve the King's faithful liege people, in slaying some of them, and in taking some of them prisoners, and also taking their goods and chattels, against the tenour of the truce, as well upon the main sea, as upon the marches of Scotland (whereof the said Commons have humbly beseeched our said Sovereign Lord the King to provide remedy. — Thirdly; the King, willing in this case, as well as in any other, to take order for the indemnity of his liege-people and faithful subjects, hath declared in this present para-
not deficient in some circumstances: all which I submit to better judges than myself.

But I cannot forbear observing, upon the face of it in general, that it seems to breathe a noble spirit, worthy of the immortal Plantagenets; most of whom carried their prerogative very high, and sometimes oppressed their subjects; but always exerted themselves in their defence, when they were unjustly treated by other Princes or States.

The Tudor Race did the same; particularly Queen Elizabeth, of ever-glorious memory, who gave many proofs that she would rather lose her crown than suffer her people to be insulted and abused by any upon earth.

As much as the Stuart family may be blamed, in several other particulars, I do not remember any great complaints against them upon that account—Even King James I. who was certainly the most pusillanimous of them all, and egregiously bumbled by the Spaniards, for many years together, once showed a spirit in behalf of his trading subjects, as you formerly observed. I cannot at present recollect any thing of this nature, or any occasion for it, in the reign of K. Charles I. the latter part of which was so terribly convulsed with a bloody civil war, that there was no opportunity for him to look abroad, and trade was almost entirely at a stand. But you gave us a notable instance in your last paper, to which many more might be added. That though Oliver Cromwell was an usurer and tyrant at home, he would not suffer even one Englishman to be male-treateed abroad. In the reign of K. Charles II. besides the treaty of 1667 between us and Spain, we obtained the American treaty of 1670, by which our freedom of navigation in the West-Indies, and our right to the bay of Campeachy, were established. King James II. was remarkable skilled in maritime affairs, and very well qualified, as Mr. Addison somewhere observes, to have made an excellent Prince over a Roman-Catholic people; but his religion was so pre-dominant, that it proved his ruin, and brought about the revolution.

The Prince of Orange being born and bred up in a country, which depends upon trade, had very good notions of commerce; and, when he became King of England, gave several evidences of it particularly in his declaration of war against France, where the injuries received by his trading subjects, and the insults offered to the English flag are emphatically mentioned.

Queen Anne followed his example, as soon as she came to the crown, by declaring war against France and Spain, in pursuance of the alliance, which her predecessor had formed with several great powers of Europe, for preferring among other things, the freedom of Navigation and Commerce.

Every body knows how many treaties have been made since, both by his late and his present Majesty, on the fame lawful account, though they have not yet had the desired effect; but, as there are two more treaties of commerce now on the tapis, if not actually concluded, between the crown of Great Britain and those of France and Spain, there can be no doubt that our trade will, at last, be effectually secured; and that his Majesty, with the assistance of his parliament, will out-do all his legal predecessors, the Plantagenets, Tudors and Stuarts, as well as Oliver Cromwel, in the protection of his liege people and faithful subjects, against the long-continued insults, depredations and barbarities of their enemies.

I am,

Sir,

Yours, &c.

HANOVERIUS.
We just mentioned, in our last, that the Professor had written a Farce; since which, a copy of it was sent us by a person to whom it was communicated. It must be observed, that the Professor, his brother, the Poet Laureat, and sixteen of the Gazetteer Authors, having joined all their heads together, the following Piece was produced, and was to have been acted by the French Players if they had continued here this winter.

La SCENE est à PARIS.

L'ECOLE de la POLITIQUE: Où, PANTALON reçoit Ministre.

Parodie de la dernière Scène du Malade Imaginaire, De Molière.

Première Entre de Ballet March de la Faculté Ministeriale, au son des Instruments.

Les Collecteurs de L'Excise; Les Collecteurs de la Douane; Les Officiers de la Poste; Les Commis de la Chambre des Comptes; Les Directeurs des Companie; Les Chapelains de la Cour; le Docteur Codex; un Troop des Pensionnaires; le Poète Laureate; la Mere Osborne; le Mylord Fanny; le Chevalier Billy; Maqueraux, Espions, Delateurs, entrant les Premiers.

Après eux viennent, deux a deux, les Commissaires de toutes les Impôts; puis les Docteurs en politique; qui vont se placer aux deux Cotéz du Theatre.

Le Président coiffez d'une grande Perruque, faite de Billets de Banque frizée; son Habit doublez de debentures de l'Armée, avec des Parements de Billets de la Marine; avec un Neud d'Épule composé du Contrat de la Banque, et du Contrat du Fourage:—Une grande Bourfe, pleine des Guinées, attachée à son Cienture, qu'il distribue à toute la Compagnie avant qu'il prend la Place.

Le Premier Docteur habillé en Harlequin, son Habit étant tout lardé des Traités, des Preliminaires, des Conventions, des Memoirales, &c. &c.

Le Président uffis dans un Fauteuil qui est à Milen, & Pantalon, qui doit être reçu Ministre, se place dans un Chaïfe plus bas.

The SCENE is in PARIS.

The SCHOOL of POLITICKS: Or, PANTALON made a Minister.

Being a Parody of the last Scene of the Malade Imaginaire, of Molière.

The Scene opens with the Procession of the Ministerial Faculty, to the Sound of Mufak.

The Collectors of the Customs, the Officers of the Post Office, the Clerks of the Treasury, the Directors of the several Companies, the Court Chaplains, Doctor Codex, a Troop of Pensioners consisting of Persons of all Professions, the Poet Laureat, Mother Osborne, the Lord Fanny, the Chevalier Billy, Pimps, Spies, and Informers, walk cross the Stage.

After these move, two by two, the Commissioners of all the Taxes; then the Doctors in Politics, who place themselves on each Side of the Stage.

The President is drest in a large Perriwig, made of Bank Notes curled up; his Coat is lined with Army Debentures, turned up and trimmed with Navy Debentures; his Shoulder-Knot is made of the Bank Contract, and Forage Contract:—He has a large Purse, full of Guinea's, tied to his Waist, which he distributes among the Company before he takes his Place.

The first Doctor is in the Habit of a Harlequin, his Coat being loaded with Treaties, Preliminares, Conventions, Memorials, &c.

The President is seated in an armed Chaire placed in the middle of the Stage; Pantalon, who is to be received a Minister, it placed upon a small Chaire at the lower end.

The Rest being Latin, we shall refer such of our Readers as do not understand that Language, to the Vicar of the Parish to translate it for them.
Le President.

Santissimi Doctores,

Excellentes Professores,

Quae additi sunt;

Et vos alii, Messiores,

Commissores & Collectores,

Inimici des tueris;

Attollus tota Compagni,

Solvus in harmoniam;

Salus, Favor, et Argumentum,

Attollus bonum Appetitum.

Non possum, Domi Consociis,

En moe fatis Admiramini

Quis bona Inventio

Est Politicae Professa,

Quae, sumus Nominis solo,

Facit a Jogo vivere

Tant des Genii omni Generis.

Dumque ille est nostra Sapientia,

Boni Sensus atque Prudentia;

De fortum tracta

A nos bene conferant,

Et premae Gaudia non recivere

In nostro Corpore Indocto

Quam Persostas incapabiles

Et totas Dignas repromptulas

Ita Plausa honorabiliter.

Cest pour cela, qua nuna convocati estis

Et credo quod tarrantibus

Dignam Materiam Ministrum

In Savanti Homine, quos voici,

Quem dono ad interrogandum,

Et a Fondo Examinandum,

Velitis incapaciataribus.

Premier Docteur.

Si mihi Licentiam dat Dominus Praesas,

Et tanti Docti Doctores,

Et Assistentes Illustres,

An tres savantes Candidato,

Quem estimo al honorum,

Demandaber Cauam et Rationem quaer.

Argentum facit bene votate?

Pantalon.

Mihis a docto Doctore

Demandatur Cauam et Rationem quaer.

Argentum facit bene votate?

A qui respondeo,

Qua est in eo

Virtus dominativa,

Cujus est Natara

Conscientiam assuprire.

Chouer.

Bene, Bene, respondisti;

Dignus, Dignus, es intran

In nostro docto Corpore.

Second Docteur.

Demandabro tibi, Docte Candidate,

Quid, in Affinis Foribus,

Convenit facere?

Pantalon.

Principio Bravare,

Postea Guaranare,

Enfuita Mediare.

Chouer.

Bene, Bene, &c. ut supra.

Tresime Docteur.

Mais si duo Puissances,

Imperatur et Hollandiis;

Non volunt agreeare,

Quid Methodum trouveare?

Pantalon.

Cum Ambobus Traitare,

Ambos Guarantare,

Cum Ambobus Rumpare.

Quatrieme Docteur.

Demandabo tibi, Docte Candidate,

Si habes Experimentum,

Bene Probatum et Inventum,

Teneare semper Contentum

Liberum nostrum****?

Pantalon.

Plaças multas donare,

Postea haranguare,

Enfuita votare.

Cinquieme Docteur.

Sed si P——

Eleuchtum sit male-contentum,

Vult Ministrum chassere,

Quid illi facere?

Pantalon.

Houfam bene pugare,

Novas plaças creare,

Postea haranguare,

Enfuita votare.

Sixieme Docteur.

Docte Domine Candidate,

Propone tibi ad respondendum,

Quid est nobis faciendum,

Si Diego non vult accommodare,

Si Naviros vult plunderare,

Mercandos nostros massacare,

Et Orellos matellorum Amputare?

Pantalon.

Flotam magnam assemblare,

Postea multo fanforanare,

Sub Pena Mortis Ordonare,

Admirallos de non battare.

C a 48
Septieme Docteur.
Demandabo tibi, Docte Candidate,
Quid uel E —— governandam,
Et Animas nostras conservandam,
Trovias a propos facere?

Pantalon.

Beneficium donare,
Poftea confecrar,
Ensuita tranflatare.

Huitieme Docteur.
Super fatas Poficias
Doctas Candidatus dixit Miravillas:
Mais, fi non enneui Domiium Præfidentem,
Doctiffimam Facultatem;
Et totam honorabilem
Companiam econtantem,
Faciam illi unam Questionem,
Cum exercitu in Pace
Quid convenit facere?

Pantalon.

Soldieros Powderare,
Officerios far votare,
Malvotantes cañherare.

Chœur.
Bene, Bene, respondift, &c. ut supra.
Le Præfident a Pantalon.

Juras guardare Statuta
Per Facultatem praewentura,
Sinc Sensu aut Jugeamento?

Pantalon.

Juro

Le Præfident.

Essere, in Omnibus
Debatis et Questionibus,
Moe Avifo,
Aut bono, aut mauvaiso?

Pantalon.

Juro

Le Præfident.

De non jamais fervire
Ministris aucunis
Quam nobis præsentibus
Pro Amicis nostris providentibus,
La Nation dût elle crevare;
Et tota Europa abimare?

Pantalon.

Juro

Le Præfident.

Ego, cum bono Stipendio,
Dono tibi, et concesso,
Virtutem et Puffiancam
Truitandi,
Guamatandi,

Mediandi, Blunderandi,
Confoundendi,
Corrumpendi,
Pillagendi,
Stockjobbandi,
Ruinandi,
Dominandi,
Impuné per totam Nationem.

Les Excifemen, Commiffionaires, &c.
viennent faire la Reverence en Cadence
a Pantalon.

Pantalon.

Miniftres Emmenhentiffimi,
Tuque Praefes Prudentiffime,
Ce feroit, sans Doute, a moi Chafte fola,
Inpta et ridicula,
Vobis Louangeas donare,
Qui non Louangeas defervatis,
Nec d’etre blamati curatis,
Dummodo bene mangeatis,
Et plaça veftras poftédictis;
Agrete que, avec meo Voto,
Pro toto Remerciamcnto,
Rendam gratiam Corpori tam Docto;
Vobis, Vobis debo
Bien plus que a Nature, et a Patri meo.
Nature, et Pater meus,
Duncium me habent faétum;
Mais vouz (ce que est bien plus)
Me havetis faétum Miniftrum,
Qui hoc in Corpore, que voila,
Imprimat Refentimentum
Quod dura tant que meum Employ-
mentum.

Chœur.

Vivat, vivat, cent fois vivat,
NovusMiniftrus qui tam bene respondit,
Mille, Mille annifs, et mangeat, et parlet,
Et parlet, et negoitit, et bibet.

Les Commiffaires, &c. dansant a
Son des Instruments.

Premier Docteur.

Puiffe toti Anni
Lay effere boni,
Et favorahiles,
Et non’habere jamai
Quam courtas Sessiones
Parvas Oppofitiones,
Et magnas Acquisitiones.

Excut emmet.

Anglicis — Away with them all.
Weekly ESSAYS in JANUARY 1739.


Nil habet infelix pauperis durum in se, quam good ridiculos homines facit.

Mr. Hooker,

I perceive myself, from your regard to Christianity, and to every thing descriptive of divine goodnes, that this letter will be favourable with a place in your Miscellany, though the Poor appear the heroes of the piece, and the Rich are treated with some freedom and plainness. I would not be thought insensible of the respect due to men of birth and distinction, nor that pride and beggary are too often seen inseparable companions. I would therefore avoid every thing tending to promote an indecent liberty with the one, and which may raise the notions of the other above their proper sphere and province of action. The good man as well as great one will have no cause to be offended, nor can you fear disobliging any rich man, who is a friend to religion and virtue, and ready to employ his wealth in their support; for such are in the class of those for whom I have the utmost regard. The haughty and insolent, the proud and overbearing this letter is addressed to, whose treatment of those below them prove them ignorant of the use of inferiority, and seems to deny the poor the privilege of fellow-creatureship. How would the nature of man be humanized in this respect, and what a just value would be set upon labour and industry, did we oftener form an idea of the poor's services to society, and view them in those offices and employments without which the greatest inconveniences would arise! Those stations and circumstances which are overlook'd, or beheld with scorn and contempt, are in short most beneficial to the world, and may be reckoned amongst the kind dispensations of providence. As we may trace its footsteps through every part of created nature, so in low life; in the abilities and constitutions of the poor, are the prints of it to be remarked and admired. We seldom indeed look below us for agreeable objects. If we are upon the hill of fortune, the sight is fixed on the higher hill in the view, tho' the valley should as much engage our affections, which is so conducive to a beauteous prospect, and whose use and fertility is productive of so much more real advantage than the barren height. There are wrong estimates of persons and things; the cart loaded with provisions and necessaries must not stop the progress, but give way to the rattling gilt equipage, which has often left bunfiness, though it lays claim to place and precedence. The gay and painted tulip is admired, whilst the more useful medicinal herb escapes notice and observation. Thus the idle man of fortune and dregs is preferred to the more useful member of society, to the poor man whose daily labour brings daily service to mankind. All regard is paid to shew and figure, and real merit is the last thing observed and admired in man. Grandeur and magnificence are courted, when the poor man, whose labour clothes and feeds us, is ridiculed and set at nought. Nothing more offends the good-nature'd and humane part of the world, nor may be presumed more affrontive to the divine Orderer of all things, (the honour of whose creation the poorest have a right to) than insult and reproach. The affinities of the poor should be oftener recollected, and the benefit received from their necessity and dependence more frequently considered. It is very prettily argued by Sir Richard Steele, where an excuse is offered for an uncommon civility and ceremony to an inferior: "It is not enough barely to pay — we ought "to do something more than barely gratify "them, for what they do at our command "only because their fortune is below us." The esteem of every thing should be proportioned to its usefulness and service, and, if the industrious and ingenuous poor can be proved beneficial to society, I can't see why they should not share its respect and affection. Society, like a house, would be greatly at a loss if all its furniture was only ornamental. The necessaries and comforts of life are handed up to us from the poor. I never see lace and embroidery upon the back of a beauty; but my thoughts
thoughts descend to the poor fingers that have wrought it, and to whose ingenuity the pretty fellow is owing. There is certainly as much merit in weaving a fine silk, as in ability to buy it. A rich man is a sort of herald proclaiming the poor's excellencies. Let us but form an idea of men of fortune left to themselves without their service and attendance, and one could hardly think the world productive of so much usefulness and insignificance. Like Midas, a rich man can't eat, he would starve with his gold, and compose the most unhappy part of human society. He would soon appear in the most deplorable state of indigence, and be more dirty and ratter'd than these objects of his ungenerous ridicule. Providence has lower'd the notions and views of some for the sake of others, given different talents and dispositions to men suitable to their different stations in life. It has inured some to labour and hardships, and made them ignorant, as it were, of the amenities of their species, to render them condescending and submissive to their circumstances. But a learned author, to remove our odium and contempt of the poor, thus observes in their favour: "That in the common nature of mankind we all agree. In the bodies of poor and rich there is the same rare composure and admirable artifice, the same infinite wisdom and goodness in framing the one as the other. There is not a joint, a limb, a bone nor a fine, not a vein nor an artery, muscle, nerve, nor least string or little instrument of vital or animal operation or motion, but is alike to be found in the poor as in the rich." What would avail our large estates, and great tracts of land without their labour? It must be till'd and manured before corn can be produced, and that must be afterwards thresh'd and baked before even a King can have bread to eat. Pride and luxury are the reigning vices of the age, and even here they must be obliged to the poor for supplies and materials. This is a service I own I am sorry to see them employed in. With a rich man's luxuries, like a poor man's bread, were to be earned by the sweat of his own brow. I could wish to see an extrava-
gant profuse person broiling in his kitchen to set out his luxurious dainties; then might we hope to see such forsooth delicacy at an end, and that luxury would be unfashionable by such a pair to come at them. But, to take on more pleasing view of the poor in their stations of labour and industry, let us observe their cheerfulness and strength, their capacity and inclination to help us in the most offensive and disagreeable offices. What a sink would the town be without them? how unwholesome and inufferable with all its grandeur and opulence? what nuisances are removed, and how clean and comfortable are we made by their labours? Could the white hand of a Lady be laid to it? or would any sinnical composition of powder and perfume give a helping hand to remove the soil and filth which would sicken and poison the town by continuance? In short, the porter's knot is a more useful implement than the finest sword-knot; and whilst the latter, by his vices may be hurtful to society, the former, only for the privilege to live, is burden'd for its service. All our markets are pleasing scenes of labour and industry; and, to conclude, there is a real patriotism in the honest and industrious poor, which should make them valued and regarded by their brethren and countrymen, which should recommend worn-out labour to our pity and relief, and remove all derision and contempt of inferiority. I shall only observe further in their behalf, that for their scanty portion of the good things of life they are more diligent in their religious duties, than those who enjoy them in larger proportions. Early prayers are attended by those poor suppliants, whilst the bounties of providence can hardly lead the rich at any time to their duty. Their Sundays and days of rest are for the generality observed and sanctified, whilst the horses are saddled, boots and whip are called for, to equip the carlefs rich for their rural pleasures and expeditions. For such neglects and omissions of duty,

One of the greatest wits of the present age has fixed the universal passion of mankind to be the love of fame; for whether from the generous springs of virtue, or the depreciated ones of folly, ambition may take its source, it is that which in fact is the chief government of our actions: It is from this passion that the desire of becoming remarkable and particular so generally prevails; for most people covet the notice and admiration of others, imagining that thereby they in reality become wonderful and extraordinary. Though all men are in some degree actuated by this principle, yet it appears differently in each, according to the temper and inclination of the person whom it actuates upon: when it meets with bold enterprising spirits, it makes them heroes; when with covetous dispositions, knaves; and country ‘Squires it converts into huntsmen and jackeys, and our London petit maîtres into jots and coxcombs.

In this paper I shall not undertake to comment on all the effects which the love of fame has on mankind in general, but shall confine my observations on how strangely it operates on the last species of persons I mention’d, our London beaux esprits. The young fellows of this metropolis, who have an ambition to be remarkable, without any one good or amiable quality to make them so, immediately have recourse to dress; an address and particularity in this respect makes them distinguished, and draws the eye of the world upon them: but tho’ it should be with the utmost contempt, they attribute it to another cause, as either the gentleness of their persons, the je ne sais quoi of their address, or the elegance of their taste. I look upon the dress to be an indication of the mind; nor do I think, from the observations I have made, that I am deceiv’d in my opinion: When I see a man clean and genteely plain, dress’d in the manufacture of Great Britain, whose appearance shews more a study for decency than finery, I scruple not to judge that person a man of sense, a useful subject, and an honest Englishman: On the other hand, when I behold a fop, dress’d up in a tawdry finery, or a coxcomb defending in his habit to the imitation of the lowest class, I venture safely to give them the character of vain-conceited, empty, insignificant wretches: But however insignificant they may appear, we have at present a reigning ambition among our young Gentlemen of degrading themselves in their apparel to the class of the servants they keep. It may at first seem very extraordinary that these sparks should act thus to gain admiration: But from what other cause can it be that my Lord *Jebu* wears a pluth frock, a little narrow-edg’d lace’d hat, a colour’d handkerchief, and in this habit drives a motley set of horfes, and a coach of his own, built by his own directions, in humble imitation of those which carry passengers on the road? it is the knowledge of his own abilities which dictates this conduct: How pleasing is the reflection to him, that when he goes through a country-town, sitting with becoming grace in his box, he hears the people say, There goes my Lord *Jebu*!— His great abilities in driving, his exactness of mimic industry in dress, and his effability to his brethren of the whip, must give his Lordship a sensible satisfaction, that this particularity makes him as well known in most roads throughout England, as the honest fellows themselves who drive the stages. I will not undertake to say, whether it is in imitation of his Lordship, or whether the product of their own fertile genius’s, but I have lately observ’d a great number of smart young fellows, dress’d in the manner of my Lord; a narrow-edg’d Hat flapped down,
A plain short, buck-skin breeches, and an India handkerchief round the
neck, seem to constitute the character of a pretty fellow. There are another
set of sparks who choose rather to appear as jockeys, and it is seldom or never
they are to be seen without boots, whips in their hands, and black caps
instead of hats. Another class of these gentry disguise themselves in rug and
duffel coats, which it seems are politely termed wrap rafals; and in short, dark
wigs, and dirty linen; chusing rather to appear like pick-pockets than Gentlemen.
My country readers may wonder that I should insinuate these persons as examples of ambition; but they will allow them to be candidates for public notice, when I inform them that in these habits they appear with a kind of pride in all the publick places about town: They have at last carried it so far, that in those dresses they come into the boxes at the theatres; and where one would expect to see a genteel polite circle, we view Ladies of the first Quality and distin-
faction surrounded by a parcel of men who look like stage-coachmen, jockeys
and pick-pockets.

As this manner of dress is accompanied with as rude a manner of behaviour, I advize these young sparks not to have so great a desire of being distinguished for the oddity of their appearance; but instead of that ardent emulation they shew to imitate the inferior class of mankind, they would exert their rational faculties, and endeavour to seem, as well by their habit as conversation, men of common-sense and common good-manners.

There is another class of pretty-fellows whom the love of fame strangely affects, and whose conduct the following correspondent very unjustly complains of. I shall insert the Lady’s letter here, but shall more particularly consider her complaint in some future lucubration.

To Mr. Stonecastile.

Sir,

Your paper is in some measure calculated for the benefit and advantage of the fair sex, I hope, among the

many enormities which you take notice of, you will not entirely overlook this which I would just make bold to mention to you, as a thing that has contributed to the disturbance of many castles.

A your fair readers.

To be short, Sir, the thing is this: There are a company of young sparks about town, who make it their chief business to rumble up and down, from one beauty to another, in order, if possible, to gain the good graces of young Ladies, and if I may use the expression, on no other intent than to bring them distress and vexation upon them.

This they lay a foundation for by all the symptoms of flames, tortures, racks, and burnings, and a thousand such expressions, which a wandering genius (together with a long experience) has richly furnished them with.

When they first approach the fair, it is with all the cant of a languishing adorer, utter’d in a continual round of flatteries, and a repetition of the same things; which complaints perhaps have engaged the attention of most of the reigning toasts, one time or other. By this means these wandering lovers have got a peculiar knack of ingratiating themselves into the favour of the female world: And besides such expressions as are above mention’d, they endeavour to win upon the affections of the creature they hope to betray, by telling her her figure is the perfection of all felicity; that in her person alone all the lovely attractivenesses of beauty, as well as the most conspicuous marks of greatness, are assembled together; that nature form’d her to be the object of thoughts, the adamant of all loves, and the centre of celestial beauty; in fine, that heaven is in her smiles, and despair in her frowns.

Thus, by degrees, the heart of the fair creature is melted to pity and compassion, and by this means ten thousand distractions immediately enter, through the fallencies and perjury of these admirers; for no sooner have they gained their point, but this pretended flame extinguish’d, and they are engaged in displaying their love to another, in order...
Weekly ESSAYS in JANUARY 1739: 27

der to inflame her heart also, and so the poor creature is left in the utmost perplexity to rescue herself out of it the best way she is capable; though, perhaps, it is attended with many heavy sighs, and gloomy reflections of love, jealousy, anger and sorrow, till the whole soul is drenched in a sea of sorrow.

Dear Mr. Spectator, if you have any regard for our sex, don't fail of exposing these sorts of persons to the world, (in your next paper, if possible) that those of our sex, which may not be spared of them, may by that means receive the poison of their darts; by which you will oblige many of your constant readers and admirers, and particularly

Sophia.

CRAFTSMAN, Jan. 20.

The unsedateness and variety in human nature proceed more from affection than reason. Tempers differ, and passions change; but, in matters of judgment, most agree. I would not be understood to mean anything farther than what is necessary for order and society. This opinion the great Lawyer himself seems to confirm, when he gives that command, Do as you would be done by, which submits to an equitable determination of the respective agents, those actions by which others are influenced. This injunction is founded on truth and justice. Confidence and self-conviction are the strongest evidences to produce the former; and when that is cleared, but a small share of capacity is required to judge uprightly, according to this law. As the word power is taken in the common acceptation, there is no such thing lodged with any man; I mean, every body is enjoined to follow the dictates of reason and virtue; and, as human perfection will aid, to submit to the intuitions of voice and personal affections. Every breach of this law is an injustice to mankind in general; and the higher stations those persons are placed in, who transgress it, there is the greater number of sufferers. Nothing can be more contrary to the intent of this divine command than those common positions; That PRINCES may beowr their favours as they please, and, every body may do what they will with their own; for, according to this sacred doctrine, we are not allowed to make any partial or corrupt uses of whatever we are possessed.

PRINCES were the partiality of self-set aside, would not bestow their favours where there was not some merit. — I do not mean the merit of flattering favourites; or gaining power for arbitrary purposes; but arising from justice and benevolence. — Ministers would not, in this case, grow rich, at the expense of the publick. — Soldiers would not plunder the innocent and defenceless. The Spaniard would not invade our property, or we ourselves the liberty and property of one another. — In following this law, the judge would put himself into the state of the prisoner, and with concern pronounce that sentence, which his office obliges him to do. He would be so far from aggravating the severity of the law, that he would know himself to have as little power as any in the court, where he is confined to certain rules, from which he hath no more right to depart, than to commit sacrilege or murder. — Had this law generally prevailed, penal laws would have been useless; for each man, being endowed with the same good disposition towards his neighbour as himself, would have been more concerned about doing right, than afraid of losing possessions. — Ambition and avarice would have had no existence; but diffidence and fear of partiality, in our cases, might have made it expedient to substitute magistrates, who would have been chosen from amongst the wisest of the people. — Justice would never have been delayed; for as stipendiaries think they cannot do too little for their wages, virtuous men are indefatigable in their pursuits of doing good. — The jargon of Westminster Hall would have been as useless, as it hath been pernicious. — In all probability, this was one of the perfections which the error of our first parents loft. — But that is a speculation very remote.
It is certain, that we find ourselves in a very different situation; and that vice rides triumphant, in defiance of pains, penalties, and the strictest laws, than can be made.

Extrito immanes populos, attollite turres;
Cingite vos turris; viás opprime situs;
Novi dabis murum fæleri——


As nothing hath been yet sufficient to secure us against the rapacious and 
abandon'd, we find ourselves under the greater necessity to exert our utmost endeavours, for our defence and protection.

It would be needless to prove, that let laws be ever so wisely ordained, if they are not vigorously executed, it were better they had never been made; tho', in our own country, where the legislature hath had bills under consideration, I have heard a certain set of people, without doors, argue for passing a bill, in terror of, though at the same time they could not deny that it was too severe for execution.—I have been affronted to think how strangely ignorant, or knavish, and how ready for slavery such wretches must be. Surely, laws not fit to be executed, are not fit to be made.

I am so strong in these sentiments, that I sincerely think, where offences are frequently and notoriously committed, and the laws against them not duly executed, for a certain time, such laws ought to be abrogated of course, without any particular repeal of the legislature; for a nation that can subsist without punishing offenders, may subsist without the power of punishing them. This might possibly be attended with the good conquence of making magistrates exert themselves; and the fear of losing laws would be a sort of obligation to have them duly executed; which might, in some degree, prevent any underhand or collusion gain made by trading Foster-Huces, if there ever should be such men.

The moral laws, of most nations have been nearly the same, in all ages; and the laws that have been made for many hundred years past, are chiefly calculated to inflict still greater punishments on the same vices. But happy would it be for us, if it were a little more considered, that the difference is not so great in the laws themselves, as in the magistrates; and that the vigilance and steadiness of the latter would be much more conducive to the well-ordering of a nation, than severity and singular punishments.

The greatest punishments are designed for the greatest and most hardened offenders; but vice, before it becomes habitual, may be easily check'd; and that is in the duty of a careful magistrate. Would not a magistrate deserve much better of his country, who preserved the lives of men, by forcing them into industry and labour, than in procuring them to be hanged for offences, which idleness and want had tempted them to commit?—Though the latter ought to be done, the former ought not to be left undone.

The integrity and gravity of ministers of justice commands an awe and reverence from the lower people, and respect from all.

In commune judex si quid, cessante se nundum,
Primus justa judicis; tecum obflectan et aequi
Fut populis; nec ferre negas, cum viserae
ipsum

Authorem generet sibi; comitatus orbis
Regis ad exemplum; nec sic iniuste fatus
Humani edicta valent, ut vita regentis.


This was very good advice to a young Emperor; and in free states, where the people have the greatest share in making their own laws, it is likewise good advice to the subordinate magistrates.

Where it happens that magistrates are disolute in their morals, or partial in the administration of the laws; if they assume to themselves a power of differing with some laws, and to some people; whilst they put others rigorously in force, which they know will be agreeable to their pay-masters; or threaten to put others in force, from which most contributions may be raised, such polluting management will render the laws themselves odious.

'The bare increase of a crime, is not always
always a reason for making punishments more severe. — Cautious law-makers ought to have full satisfaction that the magistrates have faithfully and diligently done their duty, and that the growth of the offence hath arisen from the insufficiency of the laws, and not from any neglect in the ministers of justice; for if he defect in owing to them, it would be ridiculous to give those men larger powers, who did not know how to use what they had already, as to put a sword into the hands of a madman.

Now prudent jusuit, quia pecatum est, fed peccator — But if vengeance is more incess’d in the forming of laws than justice; if severe penalties are incess’d, upon the suggestion of a few; or, perhaps, on account of a private fame, to serve particular ends: one may venture to say that they are shot at random amongst a crowd, by which many will be hurt, but nobody knows upon whom the bullet may light.

The most considerate magistrates will cause such laws with reluctance; and the severer the penalties are, the greater will be the opposition and disobedience of the people. Such partial laws will never be submitted to, in the ordinary course of justice: and whenever it is necessary to add extraordinary force, in the place of legal authority, to aid the civil power; I say, whenever these things happen in a country, that ever was free, let them boast of their constitution and liberties as much as they please; but their wise neighbours will shake their heads, and either pity, or insult their forlorn condition.

Of all delinquents, none can do so much mischief as ministers and magistrates. — Common roggeries fall upon particulars only; but the misdeeds of rulers may be public calamities. — Whoever therefore injudiciously curbs the people, in order to increase the power of place-men, ties up a dwarf to unfinish Hymen. It is the same thing as if one’s hand was to be cut off, in order to cure the tooth-ache.

The mildest execution of penal laws cannot justify a superfluous addition of power; for policy may produce a temporary vanity. But when ministers and magistrates are earnest to multiply penal laws, and not as vigorous in the execution of them, it may be more strongly concluded, that they act from a thirst of power, not a principle of justice, and that their chief aim is the making people busy. — They only wait for a convenient opportunity of subjecting the whole to their ambitious purposes; and give no other reason for enlarging their strength, than that they may have a more coercive influence over their fellow-subjects; which is the best reason, that can be given, for not trusting them with it.

Let Solon’s reflection be a warning to us. — "If you now smart, said he, C blame not the heavenly Powers; for they are good. The fault is only our own. We gave him all our forts; we took the chair, and now he makes us slaves; yet we complain." —

I have often consider’d, whether it would not be most advisable, in a free state, to have but few penal laws, and those not very severe, but to be executed without remission. — A Prince, let him be ever so wise and good, cannot possibly judge of proper objects for his forgiveness, but as represented by persons about him: and how conscientious such men are not to misuse the royal clemency, or how detestable it will be in them to barter their master’s mercy in order to fill their own pockets, we may easily guess, if the courtiers and ministers of this age are like those mention’d in history; for in Ben. Johnson’s time, there seems to have been something of this kind of traffick in England.

Ridway robbed Duncote of three hundred pounds;
Ridway was taken, arraigned, and condemned to die;
But for his money was a courtier found;
Begg’d Ridway’s pardon — Duncote now doth cry;
Rid’d, both of money, and the law’s relief;
The courtier is become the greatest thief;
It is a very wise maxim, never to plate more power in any branch of a
state, than what is absolutely necessary for the preservation of the whole.

Power is the offspring of vice: and a very tender and careful daughter she makes; for she never lets her parent want any thing she can procure her.

But those, who are not in love with the family, ought to keep both under.—Let it be always remember'd, that people in power, who want to enlarge it, are endeavouring to incroach upon others; and those who desire to restrain them, are only struggling to secure themselves.

What power was fit, I did on all bestowed,
Nor rated the poor too high, nor pres'd too low
The rich, that rated, and every office bore;
Confus'd by laws, they could not hurt the poor.

Both parties I secure'd from laws' less might;
So none prevail'd upon another's right.

See Plutarch's Life of Solon.

In raising Taxes, Excises upon home-consumption, penalties upon some Exports, and several Imports, it may be necessary (for the support of government, and in order to encourage beneficial commerce) to make penal laws, and to render actions punishable, which before were no crimes in themselves. But the Exigency of State only can justify these laws; which should be very cautiously and sparingly made; for as that man is worst, who hath the fewest faults, so that country will be most virtuous, which hath the fewest fears and temptations for offences.

These laws are commonly put under the management of magistrates, who are paid for their time and care.—Their strictness recommends them to farther preference, and their neglect loses them a beneficial office.—The subordinate magistrates, who have the execution of the laws, meerly moral, are not upon this foot in many countries; so that unless they are endow'd with a more than ordinary share of virtue and publick spirit, there can be no great wonder that the moral laws fall asleep, whilst the others will not let any body rest.

Where the penalties of these laws are burthenome; when it is equally, and as severely punishable, to defraud the customs, as to break an bond, the common people will soon learn to make no difference.—All the consideration will be, where is the best booty?—Thus murders, robberies, and all breaches of moral laws, as well as the invasion of property, will become more familiar and frequent, where penal laws abound.—The remission of crimes may enlarge power equal to the bestowing of largesses; and it is much cheaper benefaction: for all men had much rather be freed from punishment than gain preference: and the exaction of a fine, which might possibly ruin a man and his family, might terrify him into a repentance, where a bribe, of a much greater value, would not be receiv'd: for in a country, so circumfused, I can easily conceive that a man in trade may innocently fall within the letter of the laws.—When there are any popular elections, how fatally this trust may be us'd by bad men, is very evident.

Mr. Common Sense, Jan. 20.

I have belong'd to the sea-service above five and thirty years, have been in seven engagements, five times wounded, and once taken prisoner. The sufferings I mention I think of with pleasure, and am willing to serve my country with the last drop of my blood. But some hardships of another nature, which we seemen have of late years been subject to, I cannot but express with some resentment and indignation; and that is, our being so frequently taken into service, and every now and then discharged, with so little regard and decency, that we are not used even with common humanity. These hardships, which I have too oft seen and suffered, and the inconveniences of which I at this time labour under, have led me to reflect on the little encouragement given to the navy, compar'd with the advantages attending the land-service.

That our fleets are the honour, the defence, the strength of Great Britain, the support of our trade, the dependence
of our friends, and the terror of our enemies, nobody will dispute: And yet the persons to whom these great advantages are owing, are considered in the most mean and desppicable light. When a man has spent all the best of his time A in the dangers and hardships a sea-life is always exposed to, and has had all the risks as to preferment which that service allows, the greatest reward he can hope for as a recompense for his labours is (as a Commissioner or a Flag) an appointment of five or six hundred pounds a-year; and that only for ten or a dozen persons out of so great a number, who every one are worthy of better preference. But what is all this to the number and salaries of Colonels, (to defend C as lower) Brigadiers, Major-Generals, Lieutenant-Generals, Governors of Edinburgh, Portsmouth, Plymouth, Hull, Gibraltar, Portmahon, and all the islands, colles, forts, &c. of late consideration? Add to all this the court preferments enjoyed by the gentlemen of the army; as Secretary of State, Gentlemen of the bed-chamber, Equerries, Pages of honour, and so on. Whereas there are not three people belonging to the sea-service who have any other preferment E in the whole administration than their posts in the navy, or relating to it. I will be bold to say, that one man now in employment, by multiplying preferments, has an income double to what the salaries of all the Admirals, join’d F together, at this time amount to. A stranger that should observe this, would believe that it is the army that is the strength and honour of the nation, that it is they who defend our trade and awe our enemies, and not the fleet.

It puts my blood into a ferment to hear the use of a standing army extoll’d by the penal tongues of court-favourites. I know no other use these land-locusts are of to the publick, but to oppress their quarters, harasf the country by their H marches, infult the Gentry whose eftates pay their subsistence, awe the bouroughs, influence elections, and make the people uneasy and disaffected. These BROOM STICKS (for from their use they may justly be so filed) are fit for nothing but rods for the people’s backs. It was an excellent observation of the present Cardinal de Fleury: The English fleet awes their enemies; their army, themselves.

When ill usage has driven half our seamen into foreign service, the nation will, too late, be sensible which ought to be most respected and encouraged, the gaudy butterflies or the rough honest tarrs.

Yours,

SAMSON MAINMAST.

The Weekly Miscellany, Jan. 27.

G ontains a proposal to the town for the better regulation of the Stage: The intention of which is, to prove, that the immorality and scandalous lives of the majority of our modern Comedians, is the great obstacle to the Stage’s recovering its antient reputation; and that while those who most shine in our Dramatic performances, are known to be vicious, they will never be looked upon with pleasure by the virtuous part of mankind, nor be so capable of representing those characters which ought to appear with most advantage, as they will those which tend to the depravity of the audience; and consequently, that a man who has been guilty of such enormities as have been found notoriously criminal in the eye of the law, ought never more to be admitted upon the Stage, left by the propriety of his action, and the melody of his voice, he ingratiate himself so far into the favour of our lefs guarded youth, as to make them judge too lightly of an offence committed by a man with whom they are so much delighted; agreeable to what was said by a Noble Lord in the debate relating to the regulation of the Stage: “It may be very difficult to make one who is every day at court, believe that to be a vice or folly which he sees daily practised by those whom he loves and esteems.” — The writer of this paper very justly observes, that should his proposal be accepted, the theatre would be deprived of some of its brightest ornaments.
to the Parliament.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on Thursday the first day of February, 1739.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have, upon all occasions, declared, and now freely I have been afflicted with the many hardships and injuries sustained by my trading subjects in America. I have the honour of my crown, and the true interest of my people too much at heart, to see either of them suffer any prejudice or diminution, without pursuing the most proper and advantageous methods for their real security and preservation.

These considerations alone were sufficient to incite me to exert my utmost power, in vindicating and protecting our undoubted rights and privileges of navigation and commerce; and nothing could add to my own zeal in so just a cause, but the due regard I always have to the petitions and complaints of my subjects, and the advice of my parliament. The wisdom and prudence of your resolutions, upon this great and national concern, determined me to begin with the more moderate measures, and to try, once more, what effect and influence my friendly endeavours, and preying in"nences would have upon the court of Spain, towards obtaining that satisfaction and security, which we were intitled to demand and expect; and your assurances to support me in all events, enabled me to proceed with proper weight and authority.

Thus supported by the concurrent advice of both houses of parliament, I left no time in making preparations to do my self, and my people justice, if the conduct of the court of Spain had laid us under that necessity; and at the same time I did, in the strongest manner, repeat my in"nences for obtaining such justice and reparation for the many injuries and losses already sustained, and such an effectual security for the future, as might prevent the consequences of an open rupture.

It is now a great satisfaction to me, that I am able to acquaint you, that the measures I have pursued, have had so good an effect, that a convention is concluded, and ratified between me and the King of Spain; whereby, upon considera-

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the proper emitters to be prepared, and laid before you, for the service of the current year. I heartily wish, that the posture of affairs would have permitted me to retrench the publick expences, for which I am obliged to demand the present supplies: and I make no doubt, but your experienced zeal and affection for me and my government, and the proper concern you have always shown for the publick good, will induce you to grant me such supplies, as you shall find necessary for the honour and security of me and my kingdoms.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I cannot but earnestly recommend it to you, not to suffer any prejudices or animosities to have a share in your deliberations at this important conjuncture, which forms, in a particular manner, to call upon you to unite in carrying on such measures, as will be most conducive to the true interest and advantage of my people.
The preceding Ode imitated.

Arent of peace and sweetest joys,
Where virtue guides and crowns the choice,
Here, Hymen, lead that smiling train,
Nor let the Muse's will be vain;
For, now the fair Eliza his,
Gives Murray claim to all thy bliss.
Those idols of the vulgar fair,
Whose outside is their only care,
Who flutt'ring haunt the park, the play,
And fool an idle life away,
Could never hope her heart to move,
By nature form'd for nobler love.
That love he felt desir'd, who draws
A nation's wonder and applause;
Who speaks, and senates penive fit,
Charm'd with his eloquence and wit;
Who in his country's cause appears,
And every heart is warm that bears
By merit so above contest.
When love invades a virgin breast,
Reason nor can, nor ought to arm;
'Tis virtue, sure, to feel the charm.

Horace, Lib. 1. Ode 26. paraphras'd.

Let not a poet mind the cares of life,
Its gaudy nothings, and its bustling strife;
Let cares attend the Monarch's roof of state,
And hasten no more the muse's calm retreat.
Since short's the space assign'd to mortal man,
Enjoy the day, my friend, while yet you can;
Ere death's black pinions spread the fight,
And fled around us overlauging night.
To Turks leave toils, and fears, and dread alarms;
While glorious Keith's bones terrible in arms;
Leave it to George and Walpole to reign;
Our injured honour, and our ships from Spain.

But come, my friend, and in my peaceful bow'r
In social pleasure pass the genial hour.
No distant bires shall raise the warm debate,
No moans shall rumble, and no foot shall trample.

Here the gay jest the casuist laugh shall bring,
And wilt its honey lend, without the sting.
Smooth shall the gentle minutes roll along,
While wine gives mirth, and beauty furs the song,
(Beauty, my friend, that warms the icy soul,
And adds new pleasures to the sparkling bowl.)
First of the fair thy H — ten shall share,
In manners gentle, as of form divine,
(While pleasing fancy to my view supplies
An angel's sweetness in a Finley's eye.)

E 2
De Urbe & Ponte Londinensi.

Cum Londinensium Neptunus viderat urbem,
In Thamesin, summa, vastus, adusque, salus;
Cum superimphoigum torrenti in flammea pontem
Viderat, & rapido ponere jura freto;
Cum tantae partes, terramina, castrum, tot arcus,
Quum populi ingenti desiderat urges omnes;
Hec pater undaram spectans, fluctuque venera
Consigno, immemoria & variare gyro:
Troja, vale! sedes hæc est Neptunia, dixit,
Quae, nummis & terris, & dominatrix aquis.


How swift, alas! the rolling years
Hasten to dower their destined prey!
A bath each winged minute bears
Which fill in vain the stationers
From the dead authors sweaters away,
And troops of canker-worms, with secret pride,
Through gay vermilion leaves, and gilded covers, glide.

Great B——y, should thy critic win
Each day supply the terming pest;
Of ink shouldst thou subdue rivers drain,
Not one octavo shall remain
To strew thy learning and address:
Oblivion drags them to her silent cell,
Where great King Arthur and his Nobles dwell.

Authors of every face and name,
Knights, squirets, and doctors of all colours,
From the pursuit of lasting fame
Retiring, there a mansion claim;
Dear Dick! such is the fate of scholars!
And will you, with delusive hope misled,
For various readings sojourn which never will be read?

With silver clasps, and corner-plate,
You fortify the favorite book:
Fear not from worms nor time thy fate:
More cruel fuses thy works await;
The butler, with thy impatient cook,
And pastry nymphs with trunk-makers combine,
To ease the growing smoke, and spoil the fair design.

On the Poet L——t, and his Odes.

Pollo, first of Laureats, wood,
And with love-odes and songs pursu'd
In Daphne publick fame.
Keeping in chase the flying fair;
Thou, C——r, now dost, year by year,
His successor, the fame.

Chang'd to a laurel, his coy maid
With proper wreath to crown his brow;
Her arms did kindly lend;
Thine, turn'd into a birchen tree
Alike spreads all her boughs for thee.
But 'tis for other end.

To a young Lady, weeping
Her Sister's wedding.

C

Earl, fair Aurelia, cease to mourn,
Lament not Hannah's happy state.
You may be happy in your turn,
And seize the treasure you regret
With love united, Hymen stands.
And softly whispers to your charm
"Meet but your lover in my bands,
"You'll find your sister in his arms."

SUSPIRIUM.

O! my heart! my wounded heart!
Can I longer bear the smart?
Will the fair one still be coy?
Still refuse th' extatick joy!
Gads! propitious be inclin'd,
Make her pliant, make her kind.
—Said I pliant? said I kind?
Rouse ambition to my aid.
Man for nobler ends was made,
In the senate, at the bar,
Or in glorious fields of war.
But can these my mind engage?
Vain's the thought conceiv'd in rage!
Ah! ambition falls a prices,
Baff'd by the dear one's eyes:
Bacchus, with his midnight crew,
Mirth and mufick may pursue,
Blaste and gay the night prolong.
—She's the burden of my song,
Her forget! endeavour vain!
Reason, never attempt again:
Love must ever rule the roost,
And Myra be my constant toast.

The first and last Stanza's of Mr. Pope's Universal Prayer.

Father of all! in every age,
In every clime ador'd,
By saint, by savage, and by sage,
Jehovah, Jove, or Lord!
To thee, whose temple is all space,
Whose altar, earth, sea, and air:
One chorus let all being raise,
All nature's incense rise!
Poetical ESSAYS in JANUARY 1739.

The First PSALM imitated,
In a Pindarick Ode.

App, O! happy! is his state,
When thoughts are always right;
What small the wicked can aBate;
When all our works delight:
But who the laws of God pursues,
In all he thinks, in all he does,
And only eareful to obey,
Make it his study night and day.

II.
Like some fair tree a brook beside,
Where waters murmur as they glide,
And keep it ever green;
Which blossoms cover in the spring,
Which autumn's golden bonnets bring;
So shall this man be seen.

III.
Re God, in whom he puts his trust;
His good, is ever just;
And will his righteous servants give
Wherewith in peace and joy to live.

THOU beauteous Mourner! partner of my soul.
Suspend thy Grief, bid Sorrow cease to flow;
Calm the loud tempest that thy Soul alarms,
And dins with clouds the luster of thy harms;
While weeping Friendship the last tear bestows;
And pays the tribute it so justly owes:

No common grief provokes the short-lived sigh,
Nor flows seignor's sorrow from a vulgar eye.

THOU, knowst the friendly voice, departed Shade,
That praised thee living, and now mourns thee dead.

With thee, alas! my tender years were trained;
With thee, well pleas'd, I ev'ry toil sustain'd;
With thee my youth in early friendship join'd,
Copy'd the virtues of thy op'ning mind,
But ah! can Friendship's tears appease the tomb?

Relentless Death can Friendship's tears o'ercome!
Far from thy Country and thy Friends remov'd,
From all who lov'd you, and from all you lov'd,
A foreign tomb contains thy soul's ring frame,
And foreign characters express thy name:

By strangers thy last obsequies were paid;
By strangers in the grave thy Corpse was laid.
Was there no Friend, no weeping Parent night,
To stretch thy Limbs, and close thy fading eyes?
To soothe the pangs of agonizing death,
Mark the last word; and catch the parting breath?

Yet round thy tomb the choicest flowers shall grow,
The Rose shall flourish, and the Violet glow;
The Dawning Morn shall shed her orient tear,
And Night in gentle show's bedew thy bier;
Light on thy bosom shall the marble lie,
And round thy tomb the weeping Zephyrs sigh:
A Sister's sorrow shall embalm thy frame,
And Friendship thro' the world re sound thy name.
The Grave shall triumph o'er thy dust—in
vain;
Thou still shalt live,—thy better part remain:
Thy Name the Muse shall from oblivion save,
Deploil the sepulchre, and rob the grave;
The Muse shall lull despair, suspend the smart,
And soothe the pang that wounds a Sifter's
heart.
Go, blameless Shade, thy native skies explore,
Where death and pain shall never reach thee
more;
Where Guardian-angels clap their sounding
wings,
And Heav'n's glad choir sublimer numbers sings:
There a fond Brother's Ghost expects thy Shade,
And calls thee to the mansions of the dead.
Ye kindred-souls, fair victims to the tomb,
Lost to your parents in your earliest bloom,
There by dread Heav'n's tremendous King
approvd.
Love in those regions—as on earth you lov'd!
Cease then, Fair Nymph, let tears no
longer flow,
Nor taint their pleasure with a Sifter's woe;
Favour'd of Heav'n, of Fate thou darling care,
Thou only Hope, and sole surviving Fair,
Thou shalt a sinking Family retrieve,
And both thy Brothers shall in thee survive;
In thee a Parent find his last relief,
And, cheer'd by thee, a Friend forget his grief:
On thee Heav'n the choicest bounties shed,
And dart its influence on thy radiant head;
Joys in proportion to thy charms prepare,
And make you happy, as it made you fair.
Awake! thou beauteous Maid! thy tears
dissip,
And the loud tempest in thy bosom quell;
Suspend thy Grief—bid Sorrow cease to flow,
And let thy Beauty glad the House of Woe.

To the author of the Scots Magazine.

Sir,
The irresistible power of the Scots mus
fick is now so universally confessed
through England, that it is not at all strange
to find frequent attempts to have songs suited
to the melting softness or transporting
levity of the most favourite Scots airs.—The
following was written on a Gentleman's leav
ing his Mistres in much resentment and dif
dain of the fair sex, and immediately meet
ing with another Lady who gave him more angu
ish than he had before known. I thought the
images natural; and if you think them to like
wife, you'll probably infer it
your new undertaking, and the
by oblige.

Sir,
Your hearty well-wi

Newcastle,

Jun. 6.

The RELAPSE.
Tune, Logan-Water.

From fair Calista's cold as
dain,
I sought for refuge on the plain's
The trees, fam'd by the wond'rous
Whit tunesful whisperers soft'd a
care.

II.
From Cupid's pow'r at once I flew,
To love's soft voice I bid adieu;
The nymphs pass'd by, I kept unmov'd,
Nor saw a shape or face I lov'd.

But, ah! how weak is reason's art,
When love points out the killing maiz
Sallynda on the plain appear'd,
I felt the pangs which most I fear'd

IV.
At her approach my blood ran cold,
A melting horror caught my soul;
Her angel-step feiz'd on my eyes,
My thoughts were lost in dread fear prime!

V.
In admiration long I gaz'd,
At all her radiant charms amaz'd
Her awful meiz! majestic grace.
But words must not attempt her face.

VI.
The warbling lullum, gently cog'd,
With thoughts of hard restraint en
rag'd,
Flies to the fields to seek relief;
But there is sure to find his death.

VII.
Ab! lovely Fair! let pity reign,
Nor more appear upon the plain!
If thousands by your looks you kill
You should in mercy thousands bleach!

VIII.
Oh! that my plaint your breast might
move,
For smile or frown, I still must be
The sportive lamb, beneath the king.
Salutes the band that takes his

...
ODE in W——m P—t—y, Esq;

From Liberty and Truth,
By Fortune's crime, my early youth
Dank Error's poison'd springs;
Taught by dark Creeds and Mystic Law,
Wax up in Reverential Awe,
I bow'd to Priests and Kings.

Yet glorious is the great design,
And such, O P—t—y! such is thine,
To prop a nation's frame.
If crush'd beneath the sacred weight,
The ruins of a falling state
Shall tell the Patriot's name.

ODE for the New Year, by C. Gibber,
Esq; Poet Laureat.

Recitativo.

Efulgent God! with radiant smile.
Serene, awake the infant year;
To promise what the Queen of Isles
Shall ages hence be still thy care.

Air.
Her whiter cliffs while seas shall beat.
The surge repels' ball roll the sound
Of Albion's happiness complete.
Of mighty realms remote possess,
Depotick Princes hence shall see,
To make the Monarch great and blest.
The happy subject must be free.

Recit.
Could boundless power, like Albion's King,
On publick welfare fix the mind;
What publick jealous could spring,
Or wish such godlike power confound?

Air.
Serene'ly glorious George his sway
Conciliates to his crown our hearts;
And every law those hearts obey,
Proportion'd happiness imports.
To tell their wants, and ask relief.
Is all the happy subject care;
To grant the laws that heal the grief;
Is more than Kings depotick dare.

Recit.
Say, mystick Fames, whose intense eye
The vast record of fate surveys;
Thou hast seen the oldest empires fade,
And infant wars now kingdoms raise.
In all thy volumes from the world's age,
Where happy states are mark'd at large,
Canst thou produce a fairer smiling page
Than what records the reign of George?

Air.
George the sceptre gently waving;
Makes his laws the land's delight;
Chearful subjects laws obeying,
Guard, and save the royal right.

F 1

Maryland
Mutual blessings thus endearing,
Reach the height of human joy;
George protecting, we revering,
What can Albion's zeal annoy?

CHORUS.
Her Kobiter cliffs while seas shall beat,
The surge repell'd shall roll the sound
Of Albion's happiness complete
To shores of wondrous wonders around.
Of mighty realms remote pass'd,
Dusky Princes hence shall see,
To make the Monarch great and blest,
The happy subject must be free.

To the author of the Scots Magazine.
Sir,

As an instance of the success I wish your much wanted design, I have sent you this little composition; which, as it has been admired by the few who have yet seen it, may not be disagreeable to your Readers.

Aberdeen,
Jan. 17.

R. T.

SONG.

Tunis, Polwarth on the Green.

When beauty's power, alone
Attracts the lover's eye;
TheNever so loud his plaintive moan,
Tho' ten to one but from his pain
He quickly finds relief;
The next he meets upon the plain
May banish all his grief.

II.
But be wist hat the charms
Of dear Mentitia felt;
At once her lovely face alarms,
Her envy accent lights;
In vain relief sent from his care
By other hymns he tries;
He'll meet a thousand who are fair;
Before with one that's wise!

To the author of the Scots Magazine.

Sir,

Haa! ha! ha! split me if I can imagine what induced you to chuse me for a correspondent; who you must know never wrote more than six or eight lines at a time in my life; my observations for ink and paper seldom exceeded the length of—Madam, your fighting Advertiser, Adorer, or Slave (according to the age of the Lady address'd, will gaze his eyes out to-night from the steeple in Drury-Lane, or at the Opera—That is well remember'd, the loss of the ravishing Italians is the most moving subject I could stumble on. Reformation has long been cried for by my aunt and grandmother; though I cannot suppose them to have influence, an event of such moment; but, however it was accomplished, 'tis certain that Heidegger was reduced to the necessity of advertising the Opera subscription in the pultry news-papers, and that fatal preface was followed by a notice of the sale of the furniture of the enchanting Signora Strada.—Because this unexpected flight of the Italians is somewhat difficult to account for, that rogue Harry Cary infacts, that they were driven from among us by the roaring of the Dragon of Wensley; and, on that presumption, has given us a second part, which he calls Margery, or A useful plague than the Dragon; which had been very coolly received, as is the constant fate of More Lest Words of all kinds; and his boasted Lamps was no soon lighted a second time, but out it went. And what is worst of all for this facetious writer, he has, by this last attempt, forfeited the good-will of all the married Ladies, which he gained by his Honest Yorkshire-Man; for, by calling More of Morehall's spouse a useful plague than the dragon, he has banish'd all hope of her being a comforter, friend and physician.

You have doubtles long ago heard of the hostilities between us and the French at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket: Which had like to have been followed by a more general engagement in one of our Great Theatres for Meff. Francique and Le Sage, managers of the French company, having in an advertisement (begging leave last three nights in one of the part thestheaters) affirm'd, that in February
they obtained leave to bring over a French company to perform in the Hay-market; some of the rough curs who turn’d their backs on the French stage, when the curtain drew up, with a loud chorus of the Old English Road-Bed, had ill-nature enough to demand of the fair Frenchmen, previous to any indulgence from the publick, Who granted the leave they mentioned? Which question never being answered, the town joined in a negative to their request; and the matter of Covent-garden theatre offered the publick, that the liberty of his house was granted only on condition of a general approbation; and that he would sooner see the French go without their benefits, than have his house empty the whole succeeding season.

Pantomime entertainments please as much as ever; and the art of criticism on those performances increases beyond belief; nothing being more frequent now, than, instead of Royal Hamlets, Caesar and Cato, to hear of contending Harlequins, Columbine and Pierrot; and you would be surprized to hear with what judgment some of our smarts will delay on the shake of a head, hand, or foot. Nay, so far has this taste prevailed, that Shakespeare’s self has been made to comply with it in the very work thing of this kind, called Robin Goodfellow; and I must own that I was shock’d at the name on such an occasion, as it seemed a violence to nature to introduce any character in which the sibilant along with Harlequin, Columbine, or Pierrot.

The adapting Pantomimes to children, under the name of Lilliputians, has met with more approbation than I at first believed it would have been thought to deserve. To see a little fellow, just breech’d, take upon him the airs of his papa, bear, kid, and ogle at a little puppet, who coquettes and intrigues with as much seeming delight as could be supposed to animate her mother on the same occasion; to see a young rogue attain the theory of cuckoldism, before his primer, and a girl the art of jilting before she has touch’d her sampler—gives fair hope of the early improvement of youth, as must greatly redound to the honour of the Gentlemen who have occasion’d it.

The late Mourning kept us so long in a livery, that our passion for embroidery, lace, &c. runs so high as to make our new cloaths, instead of an ornament, a burden to our shoulders. — Muslin was becoming fashionable; but the encouragement due to the Irish manufactures in Holland, cambrick, lawn, &c., has almost already trim’d the torrent.

Before I conclude, I would protest against all manner of carping at my bad English, want of method; but my wrist is so cramped that I am scarcely able to tell you how much I am

Your humble servant,

London,

Jan. 2.

S. TOUPEE.

EDINBURGH, January 1739.

The Directors of the Royal Infirmary elected the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, the Lord President of the Session, the Lords Minto and Elchies, the Lord Advocate, Mr. James Graham (of Airth) and Mr. Peter Wedderburn Advocates, Commissioner George Drummond, Dr. Robert Lowis President of the College of Physicians, John Clerk, John Lermouth, Andrew Plummer, and Charles Alton, Doctors of Physick, Alexander Munro Professor of Anatomy, Thomas Heriot late Dean of Gild, Mr. Patrick Cuming Minifler, Ronald Dunbar Writer to the Signet, William Mitchel Surgeon, Deacon-conveener, George Cumingham and William Wardrop Surgeons, as Directors for the year ensuing.

Publick corporations, as well as private persons of all ranks, seem to vie with one another who shall encourage this undertaking most. The capital stock is considerably increased. The contributors were erected into a corporation, with perpetual succession, by his Majesty’s royal charter, dated 25th August 1736, by the name of The Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh. — By this charter the Infirmary
At a general anniversary meeting of the society for propagating Christian knowledge, the Most Hon. the Marquis of Lothian was unanimously re-elected President, Mr. William Grant, Secretary, James Davidson, Treasurer, James Nimmo Comptroller, David Spence Accountant, Neil Spence Clerk. And as a committee of Directors, Commissioner George Drummond, Mr. Patrick Haldane, Mr. William Hall, Mr. Albert Munro, Thomas Dunlop, Charles Hope, William Hog, Dr. John Ridder, Alexander Nisbet, George Cunningham, James Bailie, Messrs. James and John Walkers and John Hepburn, and James Donaldson junior.

This society was erected into a corporation by letters patent in the year 1789 and maintain 113 schools, at which there are about 4000 scholars, besides visiting numbers who have been learned to read, and are now employed in business. They have sent four Missionsaries to America.

The eclipse of the Moon, the 13th, at night, began about 26 min. after 9, and ended about 16 min. after 12; apparent time. There was more than 7 silogs eclipsed. From one to four next morning, wind W. S. W. We had the most violent hurricane (with lightning) ever felt here, by which the streets and lanes of this city were covered with large stones, tiles, slates, iron-ports, and rubbish. The cattle suffered extremely; huge stones were carried to some distance, the leads rolled up or blown over the walls, most of the roofs either destroyed or much damaged, particularly the chapel, arsenal, and magazine; a part of Ensign Kinloch's house was beat down, and the walls of the Storemaster's house shattered; but nobody killed, only one soldier and the Storemaster's son were wounded. The entries were obliged to retire to the guard-room. The lead covering stately buildings in the Parliament close were carried off thereof; one part of it, 1200 wt. was born up about half a minute in the air, and carried to the middle of the area, and the rest thrown into Mr. Jelley's kirk. — The People of St.

Gilles'
DOMESTICK OCCURRENCES.

Cattle was much affrighted by it; the leads of the Tyron-church steeple were pulled up; the weather-cock and spire of Magdalen chapel were carried away; the Comyns-church was much damaged, and its fine portrait levelled with the ground.— The chimney of a house at Patrick's wynd falling down, broke the roof and the next floor; by which Mr. Mowbray's child and maid fell one on the other, and were much hurt.— A maid of Sir Thomas Gordon's, in Lawn-market, leaving the house in despair, and saying a grandchild of that gentlewoman's, fell down and broke the child's thigh-bone.— A man was sorely crushed by the fall of a stone from a house.— A large house at the back of the Castlegate, belonging to Mrs. Hyres, was level with the ground, and the tiles were blown off the new play-house.—

In this general panic, we were alarmed by the fire-drum, the catastrophe being much more melancholy in the neighbourhood. The impetuosity of the wind scattered the fires in some chimneys, and set the houses in flames: particularly Mr. Bryson's Brewer at Summerhall, which reduced it to ashes, with above 200 balls of grain, &c., and some low houses at a considerable distance. The wind increased the flames; and the fire-engines could not be used. One Thomas Mackie, a Joiner, who gave the alarm to the family, was terribly scorched. — Another broke out at Alloa, betwixt this city and Newhaven, in the house of Mrs. Angus, which soon reduced it to ashes, with fifty sacks of corn, &c.— Also at Cumbernauld; at Green-end in the parish of Linton; at Inverkeithing in the place of Fife, and at Clackmannan; which did unequal damage to many of the poor inhabitants of these places.

—Numbers of Gentlemen, Farmers, &c. are great sufferers. Many of their houses are blown down; their corn carried away, and miscellaneously scattered in the fields and roads, or blown into water; trees torn up by the roots; some people killed by the falling of houses, and a great number cattle.— The palace of Hamilton and Dalkeith, the abbey of Culross, the castle of Stirling and Clackmannan, the houses of Hope-ten, Aloc, Broack, and Craigmiller, the salt-panes along the coast, and the lead-mill at Leith, are much damaged; the house of Auchinbowie, and the new Church of Killearn are blown down. — At Darnhall and Preussenhall the whole planting was torn up; at Yeffer about 1000 full-grown trees, at the Lord Elphinstone's seat 400, at Edmonston 500, — and at Erneock 8 large fir, 16 foot round each, suffered the same fate.

We have the like accounts from Glasgow, and several places in the country. We have the following advice of the damage done the shipping in several ports of this kingdom.

From Greenock, That the St. Andrew, John Brown, and Martha, James Gregory, were driven up between Ardross and Dumbarton, six miles from Port-Glasgow, so high that a long-boat cannot come to them at high water; and thought to be irrecoverable. Mally, Colin Dunlop, driven up to full sea-mark, in the bay of New-port, and lying upright; a little damaged. May, Alexander Stirling, at the full sea-mark, on her broadside. Nelly, John Stewart, in the same condition. Lizzie, Andrew Crawford, overfet at the back of Newark-cattle. Susanna, William Duncan, put ashore at the Garvel-point; a little before Crawford's dike, her bottom out. Agnes, William Bryson, upon the Rigs, upright, and damaged. The Bark of George Orr at Inverkip put ashore at Garvel's house, east end of Crawford's dikes; her bottom out. Prince Mary, Alexander Campbell, put ashore at east end of Crawford's dikes; standing upright, but her upper works crushed to pieces. Two barks in the same place, standing upright, but much damaged. The Happy Union, put ashore at Mrs. Wair's door, and beat down a good deal of her house. Anse Galley, Hugh Crawford Matter, after cutting her masts, and springing a leak in Lamash road, drove from her estibles, and ran ashore on the Troon-point, betwixt Irvine and Air, and dashed to pieces next day; the crew
DOMESTICK OCCURRENCES.

A boat was cast away near Banff, and eight persons drowned.

The Crawford Galley, William Gregory Maffert, was cast away in Yarmouth Roads, but the crew happily got to land. She had loaded 1400 bolls of wheat at Dundee for Lisbon.

Alexander Thomson Smith at Aberlady, who for some time seemed disorder’d in his senses, went into the road with a knife in his hand, and, without provocation or acquaintance, attack’d and murder’d one Forrester a land-labourer, by cutting his throat from ear to ear, and ripping up his chest. Designing to perpetrate more barbarity, he made up to a Royal Gray Dragoon, who knock’d him down, and had him secured. He was brought prisoner to Haddington jail, and has confessed.

The fine new-built house of Alexander Grant of Delachney, Esq; was burnt to the ground by accidental fire, whereby the whole furniture, plate, about L. 170 in cash, and a great many valuable papers, are consumed.

Informations have been laid against the Comedians before the Magistrates, the Justices of the Peace, and the Lords of Session.

It being necessary, in order to obtain the last advices of every month, to delay publication a few days in the month following, we presume, that should we, in conformity to exact chronological order, omit what occurred in this kingdom during those days of the new month, our Readers might think such occurrences too long deferred to another Magazine: Wherefore we shall, by way of Postscript, constantly give an account of what happens in Scotland from the end of the month to the day of publication.

Proposals are published for building and endowing an hospital or workhouse for employing the poor, and taking care of the orphans and foundlings of the city, as they have already done with success at Glasgow. The Lord Provost has subscribed L. 25, the Baillies, Deans of Gild and Treasurer, L. 10 each, and each member of the town-council an
### Domestic Occurrences

#### Diseases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disease</th>
<th>Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old age</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumption</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small-pox</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fever</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teething</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chin-cough</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child-bed</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suddenly</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gravel</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flux</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Killed by a fall</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Still-born</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Preferments Civil

- **Dr. Hulse**, Physician Extraordinary to his Majesty.
- **Dr. Teffier**, one of his Majesty's Physicians; and is to hold his being Physician to his Majesty's household.
- **Brigadier General Campbell**, Groom of the Bedchamber to his Majesty.
- **David Bruce Writer in Edinburgh**, Agent for his Majesty's board of excise in Scotland.
- **William Williams, Esq.**, Auditor of the excise in Scotland.
- **Thomas Gordon**, Professor of Humanity in the Old College of Aberdeen.
- **Gideon Lockhart Writer in Lanerock**, Principal Clerk to the Justice of Peace Court for that shire.

#### Military

- **The Duke of Marlborough**, Colonel of the Royal regiment of horse in Ireland.
- **The Lord Lempfter**, Lieutenant in the said regiment.
- **The Lord Howard**, Captain in the second troop of life-guards.

#### Naval

- **Admiral Haddock**, Commissioner of the Navy at Plymouth.

#### Ecclesiastical

- **Dr. Matthias Mawson**, Bishop of Landsaff.

#### Marriages and Births

- **Mr. William Somervell of Durater, Advocate**, to Miss Gib.
The Dutchess of Marlborough, — of a fon, and heir. He is still Marquis of Blandford.
The Lady of James Wauchope-Dom of Edmonston, Esq; — of a daughter, and first Child.

Deaths.
Sir Robert Cater, Knight, and Alderman of Cheap-Ward.
Sir Francis Clavering, Baronet.
Mr. Horne, an eminent banker, and chief lamp-lighter to his Majesty, a place of about L. 600 per annum.
Sir Thomas Lovemy, Knt. Alderman for Baffinshaw-Ward.
Thomas Goodman, Esquire, one of the King's physicians.
William Greenwood, Esq; formerly an eminent banker, and a director of the S. S. Company.
Sir Roger Meredith, Knt.
The Lady Newton, relief of Sir Richard Newton of that Ilk, Bart.
Thomas Pearce, Esq; Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's land-forces in Ireland.
Miss Wright, grand-daughter to Sir Nathan Wright, Knt. formerly keeper of the Great Seal.
Col. James Seymour, formerly an eminent banker in Fleetstreet.
Matthew Norris, Esq; (second son to Sir John Norris, Knt. Admiral of the Union Flag) late commander of the Tartar Man of War.
Capt. Webster, of Handsfield's regiment of foot.
Alexander Master of Garlies, at Aix la Chapelle, in the 19th year of his age.
John Stewart, son to James first Earl of Bute, at Rome.
William Mackenzie, Esq; Merchant at Charles-Town.
Joseph Gibson Surgeon and Professor of Midwifery, author of several tracts in the Medical Essays.
James Gordon professor of Humanity in the Old College of Aberdeen.
Mr. Aiton Minister at Kilconquhar in Fife, fam'd for his Arcanum, which effectually cured children of the convulsion fits.

The Lady of Capt. Grant. She was first Lady Kinnaird, and afterwards married to the Earl of Aboyne.
Thomas Dick, late Dean of Gild of Edinburgh.
The young and only son of Principal Wilheart.
Mr. John Gilchrist Minister at Urquhart.
Mr. John Muttar Minister at Tranent.

Foreign Affairs.

Thamas Kouli Kan, the present Sovereign of Persia, has lately sent an embassy to the Grand Seignior; and another to her Imperial Majesty of Russia. The propo-

sals made to the Porte were, "This the Sultan should yield up to Thamias
Kouli Kan all that part of Diarbehia
which was formerly in the possession of Persia; and also cede to him it
perpetuity, all the drift that has
been separated from the Upper Ar-
menia and joined to the Ottoman Em-
pire: That the Grand Seignior shall
abolitely renounce the alliance he
lately entered into with the Great Mo-
gul: That the Caravans of Persia
shall have a right to come directly in
to the Ottoman dominions, and en-
joy the same privileges they have in
those of Thamas Kouli Kan: And
that the new fortifications that have
been made at Bagdat, or Babylon
shall be demolished in preference of:
Commisfary named by Thamas Kouli
Kan." These propositions great-
offended the Grand Seignior, and occa-
sioned the calling of a Grand Divan, at
the members of which unanimous ar-
cried out, That the Persian demand
were injurious to the Grand Seignior
that his Highness must renew the war
against Persia, he being able at the first
time to carry on that against the Chris-
tians with sufficient vigor. The Gran
Viier made a motion for committit
the Ambassadors to the Seven Tower
(the principal state prison of the Turk
ish Empire) but the Grand Seignor
chose only to put a guard of 150 Jan-
saries over them.
We present to your Imperial Majesty, to that Potent Lady, who in grandeur and happiness equals the Moon and the Sun; to that Great Emperor whose fame has surpassed many Sovereigns of the world; to that Sovereign who is adorned with a brilliant crown, and whose reign may God render constantly happy: We present to you that amiable letter, which has been given in charge to us by his Majesty the Shah Nadir, (the title assumed by Nouri Kan on his advancement to the throne of Persia) the great Lord, the great Cagan, whom God has rendered the Conqueror and Sovereign of the kingdom of Iran, so famous in the world, whose reign may God prolong, and who, in consequence of the good friendship subsisting between the two Empires, has sent us, his servants, in an embassy to your Imperial Majesty. We don’t presume to trouble your Majesty with a recital of the contents of this letter, but most humbly beseech you to cause your faithful Ministers to read it, in order to make a report thereof to your Imperial Majesty, and then to let us know your gracious resolution.

To this speech an answer was returned from the Czarina, by one of the ministers of her cabinet, expressing her acknowledgments to the Persian Monarch for this embassy, and assuring him that nothing on her part should be wanting for augmenting and confirming the good understanding between the two powers: After which, the Ambassadors, and eight of their principal attendants, were admitted to kiss her Majesty’s hand; and, after making three low bows to her, they withdrew.

The conferences upon the operations of the ensuing campaign, are begun at Vienna; and the Imperial Admiral Pallavicino has received orders for build-
talk of it with much resentment, and has left the palace of Buri in spite of the
Republick, which seems not much pleased at his shortening his appointed quar-
tantine without their leave.

The confinement of Baron Theodore at Gaeta, in the territories of his
Neapolitan Majesty, had no sooner rai-
sed various conjectures relating to his
imprisonment, than he was released, and
took the tour of Sicily, which gave a
fresh subject of speculation; especially,
as it has been reported from several pla-
ces, that the Corficans, on receiving ad-
vise of his being set at liberty, and gone
to Sicily, in order to embark for Corfi-
cas, made loud acclamations of, God
bless the King of Spain, and Theodore,
his Vice-Ray! On the 12th of last
month an action happen'd in Corfica,
in which the natives are said to have
gain'd a considerable advantage: Since
which the Count de Boisieux, Com-
mander in chief of the French forces
there, has drawn all his troops into Ba-
fia, and prohibited even any officer
from flirring out of that city. The
Corficans having repoffessed themselves
of the open country, punish all who
adhere to the Republick of Genoa in
the most desperate manner: Two of the
principal Noblemen of the island having
taken upon them the title of Lieute-
nants General, and enjoined the inha-
bitants, on pain of death and confisca-
tion, not to acknowledge the Republick
of Genoa in any shape whatever.

A letter from Rome assures, that af-
ther Theodore had been twelve days a
prisoner at Gaeta, and treated with all
manner of distincion, he set out under
the protection of a troop of horse, which
was relieved by another troop that es-
forced him to Terracina, the first port in
the Ecclesiastical State on that
side of the country; that when he came
there, he found two vessels with 26 oars
each, and 40 Corfican officers on board,
who, upon sight of their chief, threw
themselves into the water to receive him,
and carried him in their arms on board
one of the vessels, upon which they both
immediately weighed anchor in sight of
the convoy of horse, which then re-
turned into the road to Gaeta.

From Paris it is said, that fresh
inforcements are getting ready for
Ctica, and that the Marquis de Maleba
is nominated to command the French
troops in that island, Count de Boisieux
having desired to be recalled.

Cardinal Fleury, first minister to
Most Christian Majesty, has so well
covered of his late dangerous indispo-
tion, that he is now said to enjoy be-
ter health than he has for several yea-
past. It is reported, that the French
King has invited Prince Charles of Li-
rain to his court, with design of con-
cluding a marriage between one of
his Princesses of the Blood and that Prince.

The attention of Europe, as well
of the subject-objects the two crowns prin-
cipally interested therein, seems to
in an extraordinary manner drawn
the accommodation between Great Br-
tax and Spain; couriers having, at
some time, been in continual motes
between the two courts, which have
prompted several news-writers to give
the publick such accounts of the pro-
cedings relating to this subject, as has
appeared most reconcilable to their own
judgments; but every thing hitherto
publisht of this kind appears so conjun-
tural, that, rather than amuse or
readers with uncertain reports relative
to an affair of such importance, we will
defer it till we have authority not to
be disputed for what we assert.

Some Hanoverian soldiers been
sent in December last to take posses-
sion of the territory of Steinhorst, which
his Britannick Majesty, as Elector of
Hanover, purchased in August last; the
Danish soldiers, who were in possession
of it, refusing to surrender it, a dispute
enflamed, and several were killed on both
sides, after which the Hanoverians dis-
pussels the Danes, whose Sovereign
immediately ordered some forces to
march that way; as did likewise from
troops of the Electorate of Hanover
but the difference is in a fair way of be-
ing accommodated.

Letters from Hanover assure us, that
his Britannick Majesty's preference is ex-
pected in his German dominions the
summer; when it is thought the
that every thing will be adjusted between their Britannick and Prussian Majesties; and it is said a double marriage between the two crowns will be then concluded.

Letters from Sweden say, that on new-year’s day his Swedish Majesty revived the government.

General Keith passed lately through Berlin in his way to Paris, where he is going, being accompanied by his brother, the late Earl Marishal, of Scotland, to be cured of the wound he received in his foot at the taking of Ockakov.

The troubles in Barbary still continue; though cruel executions are not so frequent in that country now as formerly. Muley Abdallah, who is so justly abhorred for his numerous barbarities, having lost all hopes of the throne, is retired to Guinea. He declared when he went off, that he was forry he had cut off, at most, no more than 2000 heads; adding, that if he had beheaded as many as his Father Muley Ismael, he should have been a peaceable possessor of the crown. The two principal competitors for this government, at present, are Muley Hamet Ben Lariba, and Muley Hamet Mustardi: the former of which has the advantage of the latter, by being aided by the Blacks, and in possession of the city of Mequinez, in which the Emperors of Morocco usually reside. But as the late Muley Ismael left no less than seven hundred sons behind him, every one of whom looks on himself as intituled to the throne, equally with the rest, there is no prospect of an end to the disputes with which that unhappy country has been so long distressed.

Charles-Town, South Carolina.

The small pox has carried off abundance of the inhabitants, so that the country people will not venture to come to town, and but few people are seen in the streets. At their first breaking out we were advised to prepare against a sudden attack of them by drinking tar-water, which had the desired effect. It is not only a preservative but an antidote against 'them.' It has therefore been desired to publish the manner of making and using it.

RECEIPT.

About two quarts of tar, which is a sufficient quantity for six persons, put in the evening upon it about five pints of water. After having stirred it well, let it settle, and the next morning pour off the clear water, and take half a pint—every other day is sufficient for two weeks; then a quarter of a pint is enough to be taken every other day during the time of infection. The tar is not to be renewed till after two months. This is also a most excellent remedy for consumptive people.

REGISTER OF NEW BOOKS.

An enquiry into the Jewish and Christian Revelation, in a dialogue between an Indian and a Christian.

A miscellany in prose and verse, by Capt. Morrice. Price 2 s.

The infancy of the world considered, as a very unfit season for the manifestation of the Messiah.

Verses on the death of Dr. Swift; written by himself in November 1731.

A supplement to Dr. Kennedy's Ophthalmographia, or treatise of the eye.

The furprise, or, A young gentleman turned apothecary.

A continuation of Mr. Whitefield's Journal; containing his observations and pious remarks on what happen'd in his return to England after his very short stay at Savannah in Georgia, whether he went to convert the Indians.

The Christian a new creature. pr. 6 d.


Several odes to his R. Highnes the Prince of Wales, on his Birth-day, Jan. 20. By Poets expectant.

The Raven and Owl: a dialogue. pr. 1s.

Considerations upon the present state of our affairs at home and abroad. Published by T. Cooper, publisher of the Daily Gazette.

The Wolf unclear'd. pr. 6d. Written with a design of making Mr. Lee, who, though a dignified Priest of the Renish Church, has for some time laboured to expose the errors of their idolatrous doctrine, appear an enemy to the Protestants in his heart. A mean attempt! the pulling down a building being seldom found the best method of strengthening its foundation.

A letter to the proprietors of the South Sea company. pr. 4d.

The Church of England vindicated in requiring subscriptions to the 39 articles. pr. 1s. 6d.

A letter to the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, on his doctrine of Regeneration. By Tristram Lland, A. M. pr. 6d.

A cant, an oratorio. pr. 1s.

An address to Students in Divinity. By Apr. Taylor.

An index to the Publick Records. pr. 3s.

Select Contemplations and Meditations, by a Lady. pr. 2s. 6d.

Four Original Letters. By Theob. Gibber. pr. 6d.

The Comfort of Matrimony. pr. 6d.

The Honour of Cuckoldom. pr. 6d.

The trial of W. S. Eley at the suit of Theob. Gibber. pr. 6d.

Syphilis, part 2. By Dr. Turner. pr. 3s. 6d.

The Jew's complaint. pr. 6d.

An encyclopaedia, the advance of the price of Coals of late years. Written to detect some combinations greatly prejudicial to the publick. pr. 6d.

A serious address to the Church of Scotland. pr. 6d.

A tractise of Human Nature. pr. 10s.

News from the Dead. pr. 3d.

Account of the foundation and government of the hospital for Foundlings at Paris. pr. 6d. The proper instruments for erecting one at London, for the good of unmarried wms, have passed the seals, and a large subscription is expected to support the charge of so very necessary a work!

Considerations on the institution of Marriage. pr. 2s.

Vitulus aureus; or, The Golden Calv. By Joachim Philander. pr. 4s.

Alberti Schultens oratio academica in memoriam Hermanni Boerhaave. pr. 1s.

Twelve Moral Essays of Seneca. Translated by a gentleman of Christ's Church, Oxford. pr. 1s.

An historical account of the degradation of Gold. By R. Boyle, pr. 6d. Memorials and characters of excellent persons, N. 1 and 2. pr. 1s. each.

The Babel of Quakerism thrown down. pr. 1s.

Poems by Mr. Pope. pr. 5s. A collection of those last published by their author.

The charge of the Bishop of Oxford [Dr. Secker] to his Clergy. pr. 6d.

A New Year's Gift. pr. 1s.

La litterie Francoise, nouvelle edition. pr. 2s.

The true Gospel of Jesus Christ; and the dissertation on Providence, by T. Chubb, vindicated by T. Chubb. pr. 1s. Universal love and godliness inclined to be the great duty of all people. By R. Willows, M. A. pr. 2s.

Sixteen Sermons, by Josiah, Lord Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh. pr. 4s. 6d.

Fourteen Sermons, by J. Orr, M. A. pr. 5s.

A Sermon preach'd in Gravel Lane, on New year's day, by H. Read. pr. 4d.

A practical treatise of Painful Distempers. By Theob. Lomb, M. D. pr. 4s.

A defence of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield. pr. 6d.

The eternity of Hell torments. By G. Whitefield, B. D. pr. 6d.

Rules for a holy life, by Dr. Leight- tom late Archbp. of Glasgow. pr. 6d.

A letter to Mr. Ebenezer Erksine, by Euzelus Philalethes. pr. 3d.

On the solidity of copper-coins, a satire, pr. 4.

The main duty of Bishops, a sermon, by Mr. Robert Paton Minster at Renfrew. pr. 4d. Done, from a copy taken in short-hand, the author refusing to consent to the publication of it.
SCOTS MAGAZINE.

FEBRUARY, 1739.

To be continued every Month. Price Sixpence each.

CONTAINING,

Weekly Essays. On the danger of a Standing Army, and the erection of Barracks in the neighbourhood of London; Advantages attending an Honourable Peace; An enquiry into the nature and legal cause of Divorcées; Remarks on the Militia, and the Game-laws; On the danger threatened by the liberties taken by the Methodists, a religious sect in England; Observations on the Convention; The state of the S. S. Company's demands on Spain, &c. Convention between Great Britain and Spain, and the Two Separate Articles. The King of Spain's previous Declaration and Protest.

The House of Peers Address, and the substance of that of the House of Commons.

The case of Richard Copithorne, sole owner and master of the Betty Galley.

The city of London's Petition to the Parliament.

The House of Peers Address upon the Convention.

Poetical Essays. An ode to Fame; To Mr. Mallet; Vigilantis vota, dormientis femina; The relenting Fair; Songs, &c.

A letter relating to the Stage, &c.

Domestic History.

Foreign History.

Register of Books.

EDINBURGH: Printed by W. Sandes, A. Brunner, A. Murray, and J. Cochran. Sold by the Booksellers in Town and Country, and at the Printing-house in Burnet's Close. MDCCXXXIX.
CONTENTS.

Weeekly Essays.
The danger of a standing army. Uses of a numerous one. p. 51.
An army of 12,000 sufficient. Civil, sea-pensioners and workmen in our dock-yards another army. The yearly expense of the army. Of the erection of barracks near London.
The martial law dangerous to our liberties. An extraordinary instance of obedience in a fakherini. The danger of disbanding mercenary troops. Of the profits of vacant regiments and military governments.
An honorable peace without war an extraordinary case.
Answers to the animadversions of a year. An address to the gentlemen in the pit.
Original design of divorce. Advised to the married and unmarried, in order to prevent them.
Account of the Citizen.
Of the militia and game-laws.
Character of the Methodists. Their doctrines, and manner of propagating them.
An instance of their forwardness.
Constitution between Great Britain and Spain.
First separate article.
Second separate article.
Swareing to the observation of treaties now out of use.
Though solemnly entered into, seldom fulfilled.
Designs of the present convention. Observations on the first article of it.
Observations on the third article, and the author's opinion what ought to be done in the future treaty.—on the article relating to the differences between Spain and the S. S. Company.—on the previous protest—on the powers given to Plutarchian to adjust disputes about limits by sea and land.
The power of seaching within any limits, very dangerous.
The article for adjusting territorial limits calculated for contracting our boundaries in Carolina.
The property of Carolina in trustees; without whose consent it cannot be disposed of.
Supposed last will of Cardinal Maffey.
His character compared to that of another Prime minister.
Further remarks on the convention. A certain Gentleman compared to one who undertook to teach an afo to speak Greek.
The convention a humbugation of the previous protest of the King of Spain.
British courage in former times.
The King of Spain's protest.
Address in favour of Mr. Vaux.
Cafe of Richard Capitoni.
Address of the house of Peers of the house of Commons.
The S. S. Company's demands on Spain.

Poetry.
To Cupid. To Stella. Relenting Fair.
On a Candle. The Parson and the Devil.
The Dream. Myrtle to Mira. To Mifs. An ode to Fame. To Mr. Mallet.
A letter relating to the Stage, &c.

Domestick History.

Foreign History.
The reasons of the Carthians attachment to Theodore. Register of books.
Several poems, &c. are come hand too late to be insert in this Volume.
The Scots Magazine.

FEBRUARY, 1739.

Craftsman, Feb. 3.
Considerations upon the danger of a Standing Army in a Free Nation; and the erection of Barracks in the neighbourhood of London.

The dangers, mischiefs, and oppressions of a numerous standing army, in time of peace, have been so often and so fully explained, both within doors, and without, for above forty years past, that it may seem needless and impertinent to trouble the reader with any thing further on that head: but every day's experience furnishes us with something new upon it, and makes it necessary to inculcate the same doctrines of liberty, which we have always asserted, into the minds of the people, (especially at this time of the year;) lest long use and custom should familiarise them to a military force, and subdue their ancient spirit, as it hath already done in most other countries.

A numerous standing army cannot possibly be of more than three uses: that is, to protect the people against their foreign enemies; to quell domestic insurrections; or to introduce and support an arbitrary government.

As to the first, No body can pretend that our present army hath been of any use to us, for twenty years past; and in whatever state of embroilment the nation may be, from the multiplicity of our treaties, and the measures we have long been pursuing, the present interest of England requires no intervention of a land force to guard and support it.

Secondly, By domestic insurrections I do not mean every little riot, or tumult, which does not arise from any particular disaffection to his Majesty, and might be easily suppressed by the civil magistrate; but a general rebellion, or insurrection, which is manifestly designed to subvert our laws, religion and liberties: though I cannot conceal my opinion, that this seems to be the crisis of the present government; it being now almost doubtful whether a tumultuous rabble, or a military force, are to get the better. In either case, we are undone; which is a melancholy consideration to all persons, who with well to this government, or to any government, when they see such a disposition in the common people to throw off all restraints of law. — Neither can I think that an army is necessary, or proper, to awe the freedom of elections, or to influence our legal diversions; much less to protect a parcel of foreign vagrants, who came over hither and made an audacious attempt, against law, to debauch the minds and morals of the people.

Thirdly, Though a large body of regular, mercenary troops is certainly necessary to support or introduce an arbitrary government, there can be no occasion for it under his present most gracious Majesty, whose title is founded on the principles of liberty, and I hope will be always established in the hearts and affections of his people. We may therefore assure ourselves that the army is not kept up with any such iniquitous design.

But it may be suggested, perhaps, that a standing army hath been sometimes maintained for another reason, besides those I have mentioned; that is, to support an odious minister in the execution
of his wicked schemes and projects; tho' I am sure the present advocates for military power will not insist upon this argument, in favour of their parties; whose measures have been so wisely conducted, and his administration grown so popular; that they have often afforded all opposition and discontent to be, in a manner, at an end.

What reason then can there be for keeping up such a number of forces, at this time? — I cannot possibly think of but one, which was started some years ago, by a Right Honourable Gentleman, that our very security is our greatest danger: For having amused the nation from year to year, with an acknowledgment that a standing army was a real grievance, unless in cases of the utmost necessity; and that we should be relieved from it, as soon as the tranquility of Europe was settled; which was then done, or pretended to be done; he was obliged, at last, to throw off the mask, and tell us, that no time is proper to reduce the Army. His words are these, as reported by his late advocate Mr. Walpole: — While the affairs of Europe were unsettled, and dangers were threatened from every quarter, and on every hand, there was no temptation for any power to embroil themselves in new difficulties; but now there is room for ambition to look round. — So that, according to this doctrine, whether the affairs of Europe are settled, or unsettled, we are still to be burthen'd with the same standing army, if not a greater; because, forsooth, in times of peace and tranquility, there is room for ambition to look round.

It appears from the foregoing, that I am not for breaking the whole army; but only for reducing it to such a number as may be necessary for our guards and garrisons; since in case of any little tumults, it shews a weakness in government to fly for protection to a military force.

But if we must be governed by mercenary troops, I think Twelve thousand men, which have been often proposed, amply sufficient for all the ends of a good government, in time of peace; and all that the ministerial writers have hitherto thought fit to acknowledge in favour of the present army.

There is likewise another army, besides these fourteen thousand men, which lie almost as inchoate as Mr. Bay's army in the Rebechael; I mean the porters of Chelsea College, and the workmen in our dock-yards. Most of the former have been in actual service abroad; and, the called invalids, are fitter to man garrisons, at least, than any of our new-raised, unfledged soldiers, who never saw any engagement, except in Hyde Park. — My readers will be surprized, perhaps, to see me mention the workmen in our dock-yards, as an additional part of our army: but, if I am not very much misinformed, they are as regularly disciplin'd, and instructed in the use of arms, as any of our mercenary troops; and would be able, with the assistance of our men of war, to prevent any sudden surprizes in the ports and harbours, to which they belong. At the revolution, the workmen at Chatham-dock, with their axes and other tools only, drove one of King James's regular regiments out of Rochester.

I have said enough to prove that the present number of forces are unnecessary, at this juncture. — But there are several other things worth observation, concerning the burthen and danger of such a numerous army.

In the first place, the yearly expense to the nation, raised by parliament, to maintain these forces, amounts to about 700,000 l. besides arms, ammunition, &c. — To this must be added another burthen upon the poor people, who are obliged to quarter them; it having been computed, that every soldier quartered upon an inn-keeper, in town or country, costs him near as much as he costs the government; besides the infirmities, outrages, and lewd examples of debauchery and idleness, which they spread through the whole nation. — This hardship upon publick houses, in particular, is still more grievous since the late act, to prevent the retailing of spirituous liquors, especially punch; for how can it be expected that a poor inn-keeper, or alehouse-keeper, can afford...
afford to quarter two or three impudent fellows, who think they have authority to use him as they please, whilst he is debauched exercising the most beneficial branch of his trade, for the fake of the civil-life? Multitudes of houses have been already shut up on this very account; and I wish the landed gentlemen may not find fresh instances of it every quarter-day.

Perhaps, it may be owing to the difficulty of quartering, that several barracks are already built about this metropolis, and I am told that more are intended: a fight to which this nation hath never been accustomed, and is enough to give us dreadful apprehensions; for these military edifices are no less than garrisons in effect, where the soldiers are kept distinct from their fellow-subjects, and converted into a sort of fanatics, ready to march out in a body upon any occasion. It is true, that none but the Horse-guards have been yet assembled in this manner; but, as precedents are too frequently followed, we are not sure that it may not in time extend to the whole army; or, at least, that it may not be judged necessary to keep a constant camp in Hyde-park, which I look upon as the campus martius of this kingdom, where young gentlemen learn the art of war, in mock-battles; and, like the ancient Romans, afford great diversion to the spectators. — Thus, again, Spithead may be properly called our naval-church, where sea-engagements were represented in the same pacific manner. The only difference between us is, that the Roman ferox were intended chiefly for diversion, and were exhibited to the people, upon particular occasions, without any expense to them; whereas we are obliged to pay for our military sports, at a very dear rate; for besides the vast expense of keeping these performers in constant pay, which the Romans never did, it is computed that as much gun-powder hath been consumed, within twenty years past, in field-days, reviews, and salutes, both by sea and land, as would have gone a great way towards supporting an actual war. I cannot, indeed, say that we have had no ferox and bloodshed for our money; since I remember that, some years ago, a poor button-maker was shot in Hyde-park, who had the curiosity to see one of these rare-frogs, and rashly placed himself in the front of the battle. — An accident of the same kind happened in Queen Anne’s reign, by springing a sham-mine in Bunhill-fields, where the city-militia were representing the siege of Ljus, by which several persons were dangerously wounded. — I am likewise told that several big-belly’d women have been frightened into miscarriages, by volleys of fire-arms, as they were innocently passing through Hyde-park, not suspecting to meet with a battle there; And I myself have more than once been in danger of breaking my neck, by the same means; my sober nag not being used to such martial entertainments. — But that, indeed, would have been of but very little consequence to the publick, and much less to the administration, or myself, since it would have saved us both a great deal of trouble and expense. — To return, and be serious:

This affair of barracks is an innovation, which certainly deserves the notice and animadversion of parliament; left it should grow upon us by degrees, as it seems to do, and establish a military power absolutely distinct from the civil power, and independent of it. — I can never take a little walk to Marybone, without thinking myself in an enemy’s country; or, at least, that there is a rebellion or civil war in the nation.

— This new creation of barracks, is the more unnecessary, because there is always one battalion, at least, kept as a garrison in the Tower, and another in the Savoy, which are certainly sufficient to quell any little riots, at either end of the town. — But these new barracks, look as if the whole city was to be surrounded with them.

The soldiers, both officers and private men, are already too much distinguished from the rest of the people, as I have formerly observed; being trained up in different principles, and subject to different laws. Besides, the military prudent
ments are so severe, and the execution of them so sudden, that they are extremely dangerous to our liberties and constitution; for it is held a maxim in military discipline, that subordination is absolutely necessary, and that no inferior officer is allow'd, upon any occasion, to disobey the commands of his superior.

There cannot be a stronger instance of this than a conversation which happen'd, several years ago, between some gentlemen of the army, upon the same subject.—One of them, who happen'd to be the superior officer in company (for they all belong'd to the same regiment) started an argument, How far soldiers were oblig'd to obey orders; and whether there were not some cases, in which they might legally refuse them? To which the others reply'd, By no means.—What, said the first, should I command any of you to kill a man, without any reason, would you obey me?—No doubt, said the others.—Suppose again, reply'd the first, that I should order you to betray your post, or revolt; what would you do in that case?—Why, obey your commands, said they all, for the crime would not be ours, whose duty it is to pursue our orders; but yours, who gave them.—Well then, says the best officer to one of them, I command you, Sir, to put this barrel of gunpowder, which was then near at hand, into the fire.—The brave, but too obstinatin, fudat'tern, (thinking it his duty, upon the principles of military discipline) immediatly snatch'd up the barrel, and clapt it upon the grate; which the reader will naturally conclude put the whole company into no small consternation. But the commanding officer had the presence of mind to order his inferior to take the gunpowder off the fire again, when the barrel was almost burnt thro'; which he did, in the most undaunted manner, and stamp out the flames with his feet.

If this is military law and discipline, is it not a melancholy and terrible consideration?—Is it not like the same submission of a Turkish Vizier, or Baflow, who servilely kisses the Grand Sei-

guin's letter, that orders him to be strang'd or beheaded?

But it is to be hoped, that experience hath, in a good measure, already exploded these pernicious principles. And since I have mentioned the Turks, I must take the liberty to observe how cautious all Princes ought to be of disoblige a numerous body of mercenary troops, of distinct bodies: for though they may be ready and willing enough to keep the rest of the people, from whom they are separated, in absolute subjection whilst they are in good humour; yet upon the least difquiet, no body of people upon the face of the earth, are so apt to take fire, and burn upon their masters.—This is not only the case of Turks, where no revolution can be effects without the aid of the Fanissaries, or of other arbitrary countries, where any mercenary armies are kept up: but we have too many examples of it in the history of our own country. —The army rais'd by the parliament, against King Charles I. kick'd that every parliament out of doors.—The same army afterwards made a bold attempt to devour Oliver Cromwell, and would have done it, had not his invincible spirit suppress'd the mutiny, to the immense danger of his own life. —The last happy revolution was, in a great measure owing to King James II.'s disoblige his army, by clogging it with boys of fers, and putting them over the head of Englishmen. This is the most modifying thing in the world to garments of the sword; and I leave it to the consideration of those, whom it concerns, whether putting young officers without any military pretensions, or the heads of old, experienced ones, who have borne the heat and burden of the day, when their country's cause required it, may not be attended with bad consequences?

I shall conclude this paper with an observation more, which I think, will deserve the enquiry of parliament; and that is, how the profits of vacant regiments and military governments are apply'd. We have lately
had nine or ten of these vagrant at a time, and for a long time; which must amount to a large sum of money. Since therefore the nation is now oblig'd to bear the whole expense of the army, without a shilling from the crown, I think it be reasonable that all possible savings should be made for our ease; and as the tranquility of the times hath given ministers an opportunity of keeping up several regiments without Colonels, and sustaining armies without Governors, there can be no doubt that the savings upon this account, will be laid before the parliament, and apply'd to the public service.

N. B. Common Sense of Feb. 3. is upon the same subject with the foregoing; and there is such an affinity between the methods in which it is handled in each of those papers, that we judge it unnecessary to infer both at full length, and thought it more proper to give the Craftsman entire, than to abridge the two.

DAILY GAZETTEE, Feb. 7.

The superior advantages attending an honourable peace, to what could be expected from a hazardous war; and the expediency of the measures taken with the court of Spain for the recovery of the damages received by our Merchants, &c. from the subjects of that crown.

Here is nothing more uneasy, or more ingratefull to a person who truly loves his country, than to find himself under a necessity of engaging in political disputes; for since there are seldom carried on with that temper, which can alone render them truly useful and laudable; so, to an honest man, it is matter of real disquiet, when he is compelled to express himself with any degree of resentment on publick affairs; because, whatever he may think of their sentiments, he still retains a tenderness for his opponents, as much as they are for his countrymen. Those who have written in defence of the present administration, are, in this respect, under extraordinary difficulties: for, while others act without any regard to rules of decency, consideration of truth, or respect to persons; they, who neither have, nor ever can obtain such a suspension, are obliged to make use of quite another file, and to content themselves to oppose reason and argument against a torrent of outrageous calumnies, and a continued strain of malicious buffoonery, which will always have a crowd of such admirers, who will laugh at the Merry Andrew's jokes, and be poisoned by his master's physic. However, this will not justify the friends of the government in imitating its enemies; and, therefore, the I dedicate this paper to the consideration of the present state of affairs, and to the refuting what the authors of the malcontents have lately advanced about them; yet I shall not forfake my old manner; but endeavour calmly, and without passion, to defend those measures, which, as they had no end but the publick good, so they have been perfused with such calumnies, as wisdom as do the nation honour.

During the recess of parliament, the publick attention hath been taken up chiefly with the consideration of foreign affairs; and the general inquiry hath been, whether the war would produce a war, or an honourable peace with Spain? We are now no longer at a loss on this head: We have been affured, that without recurring to the uncertain method of obtaining an honourable peace by war, we are to receive it from the appearance of war only. This is so rare a cafe, that it seems many do not understand it. They remember a long and bloody war; and, which is more, a successful and glorious war, ended by a peace whereby we got little: and they cannot conceive how we should obtain all that we desire, without making war at all. Their surprise I do not wonder at; but I confess, I am amazed at their ingratitude: For, not satisfied with intriguing a thousand doubts, which have not the least foundation, or appearance of foundation, they are many of them
pleased to dislike the thing as it stands. A peace on their own terms is not sufficient; for it is a peace not obtained in their own way; and, therefore, they account it worse than no peace at all. And, in support of these extraordinary positions, they have a set of extraordinary arguments at their fingers ends: which, if they can make any real impression on the minds of men, I shall only say, that such minds must be of as extraordinary a make as the arguments by which they are governed; since they are certainly such as no unprejudiced man can possibly be influenced by, or see any force in, as I shall presently prove. But, in the mean time, I cannot help saying, that I see, with great concern, those, who have been labouring, not only with diligence, but success, in the service of their country, must confound themselves with the old reflection, That nothing is more princely, nothing more noble, than to do good, and to suffer reproach for doing good.

At the head of their grounds for grumbling, stands this whimsical demand: Since it appears by the King of Spain's stipulations for the indemnification of our injured merchants, that they were really injured, why did not our fleet proceed immediately to hostilities? Here was a just cause for war; the nation expected it; a plan of operations had been printed in the Craftsman; the publick had been at a great expense; all things were in readiness; there was nothing wanting but courage in the ministry, to revive the glory of the British name, by once again invading the Spanish territories, burning their sea-ports, destroying their naval power, and leaving them utterly incapacitated to give us further trouble. This would have been truly heroic; this would have raised the reputation of our government; this would have struck terror abroad, and have given general satisfaction at home. But this opportunity has been slip: Our fleet, which might ruin Spain, hath been a mere pacific fleet; and, for all that it has done at Port-Maban, might as well have rode at Spithead. After this, what is to be expected? what weight will this nation have abroad? what will become of the honour of the flag? — I protest I have stated this point as fairly as I can: and I do solemnly aver, that I think it the duty of every friend to the administration, to give the arguments of the malecontents their utmost weight; because it is their interest that the people should see things truly as they are, and not have them misrepresented to them in half lights.

That his Catholic Majesty's disposition to do us justice, should be converted into a cause for making of war upon him, is like most of the arguments of this party, new and arch, but at the same time base and inconclusive. Those our merchant ships were taken by the Spaniards unjustly, and of consequence contrary to our treaties with the King of Spain, yet they were not taken without pretence: and, therefore, when the injustice was discovered, and his Catholic Majesty appeared ready to make satisfaction for what was past, and to provide against such mischiefs for the future; we should certainly have violated our treaties, and even the laws of nations, if we had commenced a war. Besides, if the malecontents themselves had been in the ministry, I have the charity to believe they would not have done it; because such a proceeding would have been not only inconsistent with, but absolutely repugnant to the addresses of both Houses of Parliament; which, with all due submission to those ingenious and authoritative writers, I take to be more expressive of the sense of the nation than either the Craftsman or Common Sense. But suppose we had acted in the manner the malecontents desire; suppose we had burnt, plundered, and destroyed an enemy's country; must we have made war for ever? No, certainly; even the malecontents would not have expected that. Well then! the best end it could have had would have been an honorable peace, in all probability, without satisfaction to the injured merchants: for, either the Spaniards would not have had it in their power after a consuming war, or some malecontent ministry might have made
made a second Utrecht treaty, and valued themselves upon saving the blood and treasure of the nation, and on the re-

floring peace to Europe. So that, taking things in this light, it is certainly as well as it is. The nation in general hath an honourable peace, and a parti-
cular satisfaction is also stipulated for the merchants; and this without run-

ning any risk, and without the fa-
sing the people with a series of ex-
petutions, the necessary consequences of our commencing hostilities. There is not therefore the least cause for calling in question the courage of the ministry; but there is abundant reason for ap-

pealing the wisdom, moderation, and happy success of his Majesty's councils. In former reigns our fleets have fought, and have conquered, and yet the nation hath obtained nothing: In the present, our fleet, without fighting, hath ob-
tained more than victory could have given us. While the terror of the Eng-

lish fleet can do this, let it ride at Spit-

head, or at Port-Mahon. And as for the

weight of Great Britain abroad; I dare

answer for the administration, that they

will never desire more from the mala-
cents, than that their conduct was as

well regulated at home. Our fleet is al-
ways in a condition to do us justice with
respect to our neighbours, so that the

honour of the crown will be always safe; but the honesty of his Majesty's go-

government hath not, I confes, had so
go od an effect upon all his subjects: tho'
I do not doubt but a time will come,
that the honour of the state will be as

well provided for, as the honour of the

flag; which was never carried higher

than now.

Another worthy reason offered to the

people to prevent their approving what

they ought to applaud, is, That Spain is

much inferior to us in power; that

in the West-Indies especially, the sub-
cjects of the British crown might have

been greatly enriched by a war; that

even in Europe extraordinary things

might have been done, whole provinces

might have been added to our dominions; and all these great things might have

been performed by a naval armament

only. This argument is not altogether con-
fident with the former; since it intim-
mates, that the zeal of some people for

war, is not so much founded in the ju-

stice of the cause, as in the probability of

success. A very hopeful principle

this, and worthy those who approve it! But, taking it for granted, (as indeed

there is no way of arguing with the

malecontents, if you do not take all they

say for granted;) would a war so appa-

rently unequal, have been much for

the honour of Great Britain? would it

not have betrayed a spirit of ambition,

not to say of rapine? would it not have

exhausted the coffers of the nation, to fill

those of private men? would any con-

quest that we could have made, have

proved of any real benefit to this coun-

dry? or, would they not have proved the

quite contrary? Let the wilest of the

malecontents point out to us where this

nation in general was a gainer by a war,
or by foreign conquests; and then it will

be time enough to return them a more

particular answer: I would likewise be

glad to know, whether the most famous

maritime powers that have flourished

heretofore, were not undone by acting

from that spirit with which these pa-

triotis would inflame their countrymen?

And if this be so, I should be glad to

understand, why we should not look

upon them as warnings, rather than ex-

amples? To all this I beg leave to add,

that we are a trading nation; that we

carry on a great and a gainful trade to

Spain; and that therefore it would be

a little unnatural, to carry on such a

war in favour of trade as should de-

stroy it. As it is, we shall have a share

in the Spanish wealth through the indus-
tory of our people, and the wisdom of our

merchants: In another way, we should

only have a chance for it from the votes

and extravagances of our privateers.

On the whole, I conclude, that admit-

ting we are much more powerful than

the Spaniards, the conduct of the mini-
gistry hath been suitable to what might

have been expected from a brave and

generous people: whereas the conduct the

malecontents recommended, would have

been directly the reverse.

The
The third and last argument on which these Gentlemen insist is, the expediency of having procured a peace, rather by chastising the Spaniards than by negotiating with them: because there is no trusting to their treaties; because they have heretofore promised as much as they can do now; and because there can be no security of their keeping their words better for the future, than they have done in times past. So that the best peace that can be made, will be no more than a temporary expedient, which in a short time will require either new negotiations, or new armaments.

In order to lay any foundation for this string of extraordinary reasons, those who make use of them ought to have shewn, first, That treating our neighbours ill, is the way to make them treat us well; and, secondly, That amongst politicians, it has been accounted just, never to pass by an injury, or to make up a difference, without beating those with whom we have suffered. Now I do conceive, that neither of these can be proved. As to the Spaniards, we have heretofore beat them; and, if I am not mistaken, the malcontents themselves have allowed, that all ill-will towards us, hath proceeded from thence; which does not make it very probable, that beating them again would make them our friends: though it is universally allowed, that being friends with us, is both our interest and theirs. On the other hand, if a man, who is no enemy to the government, may pretend to reading, I will venture to affirm, that there are the best authorities in the world against this doctrine. Xenophon lays it down as a rule in his Greek history, That a wise people will not engage in a war, not that there should be important reasons for so doing. And Cicero observes, that there is a measure to be kept in our revenge and our punishments; and I know not, says he, whether an offender's repentance be not a sufficient satisfaction. And as to the manner in which we have obtained peace, Pliny, in the 7th epistle to his 2d book, says, He vanquished them by the terror of his arms, which is of all others the most graceful kind of victory.

Books are faithful counsellors to King and people; and whatever measures appeared just and honourable to the forefathers, must be just and honourable now: for as things never change their nature, so it is not probable that fine judges could be made fools in their nature. Further still, we have now a certain satisfaction stipulated, which we never had before; and this greatly varies the case, because it is a precedent for times to come. Besides, they will not now be ready to break treaties, when they are sure to pay for them; as they will also be left with fewer pretences when those negotiations are concluded, for which a limited time is settled. I might add many things to what I have already advanced; but I do not define either to tire the patience of the reader, or to trespass upon it in another way, by entering minutely into all the stories that have been told, in order to influence the minds of the people, and give them wrong notions of things: I aim only at making things clear on one side, and not at blackening the other.

The same prudential reasons hinder me from entering into an enquiry after the true motives to this strong desire of war, expressed by the malcontents; that I am persuaded it would be no hard matter to find out and to expose them. I will content myself with saying, the people ought to have a care how they listen to such suggestions from any party, because they have in this respect been often deceived already. In the reign of K. William, a certain false impeached the Earl of Portland, L. Somers, and the rest of the ministry, making the Partition treaties; and every same faction, in the latter end the Queen's reign, valued themselves making another treaty, which was perfect transcript of those they had before condemned. Hence it is plain, that such as make it their business to oppose an administration, do not consider publick affairs with a view to the service of the publick, but with a view to their private interest: to which it war is necessary, they will, with
Weekly ESSAYS in FEBRUARY 1739. 59

A struggle, plunged their country into it, and leave her to get out as she can; having this cause always at hand. That they found a war prepared for them when they came into power; and this notwithstanding, it was of their own preparing.

I will close this paper with humbly interesting my readers to take notice, that I have therein kept closely to the point in debate: I have not wander'd into personal satire or affected digressions; I have not introduced turms of wit, or pleasant paradoxes of ridicule, to keep people from attending the main thread of my subject; but I have exercised the liberty of a true Briton, by speaking my thoughts freely on matters of the highest importance to every Briton. And I hope, that what I have advanced, will not be the worse received because it is not a libel on the administration; but that every man will give it a fair and equal hearing, and decide upon it as his good sense directs, and not as he is influenced by his private interest or his passions.

The Universal Spectator, Feb. 3.

C ontains an address to the Gentlemen in the pit, (the seat of criticism in the theatres) advising them to set about a thorough reformation of the Stage; which, he says, ought to be the publick school of morality, and not a place for the exhibition of buffoonry and legerdemain. He tells them, that a kind of rude interludes obtained first in England in the reign of Edward IV. which were represented by boys in inn's, &c. Marlow being the first celebrated actor, and Shakepear the first poet who called the publick attention, by the prodigious force of his natural genius: to which Ben Johnson added art; and Fletcher, grace, ease and delicacy: Tho' the Stage acquired its magnificence of scenery, drefs, and other decorations, after the restoration. The corruption which soon followed he very justly attributes to the extravagancies of Mr. Dryden; and assigns, though I cannot see for what reason, the disreputation of tragi-comedies to the writings of Mr. Addison; whereas, had he given him self time to reflect a little, he would have found that many continue to be yet acted with considerable applause, as Oroonoko, &c. — He concludes thus: "In a word, Gentlemen, the Stage, "properly regulated, is the noblest "school in the world; no character is "too high or too low to escape its no- "tice, no vice or folly saved from its "rebuke, no virtue above its praise."

Weekly Miscellany, Feb. 3.

An enquiry into the nature and legal cause of Divorces.

Mr. Hooker,

T HE general invitation which you have given, and the good exam- ple you have propos'd to all well-diffused genius's to appear under your banner, in the cause of religion and virtue, have encouraged me to offer to you and your readers a few loose and unconnected reflections, on an affair which, I think, very properly falls under the design of your paper. A report has reach'd this part of the king- dom, but I hope altogether without foundation, that several Divorces are now in agitation in some very con- siderable families. The number of these, if we are to give credit to com- mon fame, is so great, that there is too much reason to apprehend very melancholy and extensive consequences, and to fear that this, like too many other polite evils, will become fashionable and epidemical.

The original design of Divorces was, to dissolve the marriage-contract in some flagrant and notorious cases, particularly where the principal conditions of marriage had on either side been violated and infringed. Some are of opinion that it was first granted, not for the male sex, but for the realese of défre's'd wives from the tyranni of lewd or imperious husbands. Theodosius and Valentinian, Christian Emperors of Rome, gave husbands a liberty in some cases to repudiate their wives upon strong suspicion only, without any proof of actual crimes. A-
amongst the ancient Jews, the parties themselves were the sole judges of the occasion and reasonableness of Divorce: they only wrote a bill, which was to be attested by some Rabbins, or witnesses of note, to prevent all disputes in an affair of such consequence. A law thus loose and indeterminate was liable to great and notorious abuse from every capricious or licentious temper; and there could, I think, be small security and assurance of a settled and lasting union, where a separation was so ready at hand upon every trivial disagreement. Our Saviour, in one of his conferences with the inquisitive Jews, limits and regulates this their indeterminate law, and confines the reasonableness and legality of Divorce only to the violation of the marriage-bed. Our Canon law literally adheres to this restriction; not without many objections from some writers; and particularly from Mr. Milton, who lays down many other cases wherein a Divorce may be very reasonable, just, and necessary. I will not presume to decide in this controversy, or to prescribe what cases may be admitted as a sufficient plea either for the einen out, or for the granting a legal dissolution of the marriage-contract; my present design is, in some plain and obvious resolutions to the married and unmarried of each sex, in order to prevent any ruptures of this kind, and to restrain every inclination of such sed and pernicious tendency. The thoughts which I would offer to the publick, are such as will naturally arise in the breast of every benevolent person on such an occasion: and tho' they are too often passed over with coldness and inattention, merely because they are obvious and easy; yet, I believe, were they duly weighed, they might prevent many unforeseen ill consequences which too often attend the married condition.

First, then, let it be considered, whether matches of more traffick and bargain do not too evidently lead this way. In these cases, the inclination or aversion, the harmony or disagreement of temper in the parties principally concern'd, are never consulted; and two unhappy persons are publicly and solemnly link'd together, without any other prospect of satisfaction, than a recourse to some speedy method of separation. Here too give me leave to observe, that the affections of each may too probably be pre-engaged to different objects, and that marriage, where it cannot be avoided with the consent and approbation of friends, is entered upon only as a friendly expedient for the gratification of a criminal passion with the greater secrecy and security. If intrigues of this nature continue concealed, if they divert the affection from its proper object; if discovered, they either introduce confusion and misery into a family, or end in the indelible scandal and perpetual separation of the unhappy parties, and open a further source of vice and dissolution.

Secondly, let it be considered, how remarkably the prevailing and fashionable debaucheries of the present age contribute to this lamentable state. Attempts upon chastity are by one sect esteem'd marks of an elevated genius and spirit; and they are too often received by the other as nothing more than gallantry and good-breeding. When people have occasion'd themselves to such conversation, and can venture, that boldly to the very utmost limits of virtue, it is too easy for them to pass over the bounds, and to slide without any reluctance, what they have talked of without due detestation and abhorrence. As an antidote against this too general and contagious evil, I would warn my readers to avoid all liberties, and temptations of this kind. I must take the freedom here to mention one favourite diversion of lasciviousnes; the nurse in which virtue and religion are depriving of their last refuge, fame; which restrains many within the bounds of decency, after they have broken through the ties of principle and conscience. Here immodesty and extravagance may take their utmost living without any publick loss of reputation: thou hast, alas! the effects of these may perhaps...
he in good time, where it was expected they should have been never known. Against this fatal state I would particularly caution the heedless and unwise, as well as against every false impression, which may embolden the imprudence of seducers, or give any encouragement to those who are, or should be united to them for life. I do not mention this to encourage every notion of a suspicious mind; but to hint that great prudence and caution are on each side necessary; on the one hand, no manner of hesitation should be shown to a passion of itself in general too predominant and ungovernable; on the other hand, the least compliance should be given to the bold expectations of the easy and flattering traitor, who is too quick in discerning, and too ready to improve every circumstance, which promises success to his villainous intentions. And, lastly, let me again observe, that neither party can be too cautious either of entertaining, or giving occasion to suspicion; which, tho’ perhaps groundless, hath too often given the first inclinations towards separation and Divorce.

Give me leave now to recommend it to the most impartial and serious consideration of all those who have join’d themselves by solemn and publick contract, in the sight of God and man, that every expedient should be attempted, before they think of differing that strict and sacred union. In this unhappy case, the peace, the reputation, and both the temporal and eternal welfare of each party are eminently concerned. It includes, in its manifold influence, friends, relations and children; who are thus deprived of the natural affection of their parents, and want that happy initiation in the peaceful paths of virtue and religion, which may lead them to a better fortune than that of their unhappy parents. Prudence and good temper can often procure happiness even in forced matches; and a discreet and well-tim’d compliance on one side, can soften and correct the most perverse and obstinate dif-

position on the other. Extravagance and idleness may indeed consume the most plentiful fortune; yet may timely caution and frugality raise again a sinking family, or conduct a much smaller income with happiness and reputation. A continued conversation may bring to light many amiable and endearing qualities, which caprice or prejudice had for some time overlooked; and the generous forgiveness of offences on each, or on either side, may kindle up a real and lasting affection, and reunite hearts which have been long unhappily divided. Let the lively transports of such a change and reformation speak for themselves: they want no arguments of mine to recommend them.

As for Divorce, whatever necessity there may be for it, (and necessity there may be for it, if plain Adultery appears, and the injured persons can see no hopes of reformation, or cannot possibly reconcile themselves, after such injury, to the duties of the married state,) I cannot reflect upon it without the utmost regret. And, tho’ I am myself a single person, I cannot but lament the inevitable scandal which so many unfortunate divisions must bring upon marriage, and the evil precedent which they will give to the caprice of untractable and peevish dispositions, to that licentiousness which daily contributes so largely to the increase of private misery, and to the great prejudice of the publick. I doubt not, Mr. Hooker, but your concern upon this melancholy report, which so evidently impeaches the morality and religion of this nation in general, is very sincere and affectionate. But I hope it will not incline you to be too partial to this rabidly of mine; which, I do assure you, I cannot think worthy of a place in your paper, unless you think it may possibly put others in mind of improving upon this attempt of

Your humble servant,
And constant reader,

PHILOGAMOS.

K & Google The
The Citizen, N° 1.

Or, The weekly conversation of a society of London Merchants on Trade and other Publick Affairs.

To be continued every Friday.

It is so natural to expect some strength and spirit in the setting out of a paper, even though it should grow languid afterwards, that we did not doubt of finding the venerable name of Citizen begin with an essay worthy the attention of our readers; but are obliged to acquaint them, that this first paper offers nothing relating to trade or other publick affairs but what has lately been presented the publick by other writers in a much more awakening manner. —But, left the subsequent Citizens may happen to be worth perusal, we judge it necessary to give such an idea of that part of the present paper, relating to the description of the London Merchants constituting this society, as may be sufficient to make any future mention of them intelligible.

The writer of the paper assures us he was born and bred a plain Citizen of London; and having served half of his apprenticeship to a Turkey merchant in London, and the remainder in his master's service in Smyrna, he spent some time in France on the most polite parts of society, (I know not how he can well include this in the breeding of a plain citizen) which enabled him to support his share of conversation in the best company with a decent ease: And says, that his aversion to all kinds of constraint, prevented his meeting at daily and weekly clubs to smoke and drink away the time, &c. wherefore he chose a single life, that he might serve his country; but, as he could not hope to do it without forming a society for improvement, he employed himself to find out persons fit for that purpose. The first he met with was Mr. Goodfellow, a Spanish merchant; the next, Mr. Lane, an East-country merchant, who deals to Russia, Sweden, and Denmark: to whom they added, Mr. West, a Barbadoes merchant; Timothy Bond, a Virginia factor; Jona-
visibly endangered by it, but likewise on account of the expense of maintaining such a large number of forces: for though we have been in a state of profound peace above twenty years, as the court-advo- 
cates acknowledge and boast; yet it is too well known and felt, that we are still burdened with an immense load of debt, a multiplicity of heavy taxes, and several other grievances, both of a foreign and domestick nature.

It is meer force to tell us, that the militia cannot be made useful now, as well as in former times, at a much cheaper rate to the publick, and infinitely more for the preservation of our liberties, than a mercenary, standing army, entirely under the command and disposal of the crown; though the crown is so far from paying any thing towards the expence of it, that it is a considerable gainer in several particulars, which I need not mention at present.

But, instead of any attempt to make the militia serviceable, for these good ends, they are indifferently depreciated, exposed to publick scorn, and render'd absolutely unusable to the people. This hath been often explained, in the course of these papers, as well as in much better writings; but there is one point, not quite new indeed, but what I have never yet mentioned myself, upon this subject; and that is, the Game-laws; which have in effect disarm'd all the common people in England, under 100 L a year in landed estates, except the servants of Noblemen and Gent- 

I have now before me a treatise, written soon after the revolution, and by a jealous advocate for it; in which, among other things, the consequences of these Game-laws are fully considered; and therefore, to avoid the imputation of singularity, I chuse to make use of this author's arguments rather than my own: but as they are too circumstantial and diffus'd for such a paper as this, my readers must accept of a short abstract of them, instead of a regular quotation.

According to the ancient law of Eng- 

land, as he observes, the whole nation is obliged to bear arms, excepting only the honourable judges of the land, and the reverend clergy: for proof of which he cites the statute of the 33. of Hen. VIII. cap. 9. as the centre of all former laws made on the same occasion, and then unrepealed; as I think it is at present.

By this law it is enacted, That all persons shall be regularly instructed, even in their tender years, in the use of arms, which were then in fashion; that is, the long-bow and arrows: and that all parents and masters, shall provide their children and servants with the necessary arms, and oblige them to exercise them at stated times.

The manifest design of this act was, to arm and discipline the whole body of the people, for their own defence; and therefore, as my author observes, was not look'd upon as a penal law, but a confirmation of their ancient privilege; since it appears, by the following clause, in the same act, that it is confined to the King's natural born subjects, in exclusion of all foreigners, viz. "—That no manner of person, not being born within the King's obedience, or made denizen, shall use, within the King's obedience, shooting with long-bows, without the King's licence, on pain of forfeiting such bows, arrows, and shafts as they shall be found shooting with; and any of the King's subjects may have authority to take and seize the same forfeitures for their own use; without a warrant from a Justice of Peace, or even so much as a Con- 
stable to keep the peace between the Englishman and the Foreigner."

It must be confessed, that cros-bows were forbidden by law, in those times, for the preservation of the game; but they trusted their game to the long-bow, as we may now do to the musket and bul- 
ket, without any danger. — Small shot, indeed, are more dangerous to the game now, than the Norman cros-bow was heretofore. But then the making and using of shot, as the same author observes, may be either prohibited to the poorer sort of people, or brought under as strict regulations as the cros-bow then was.

But, however this may be, what rea-
Weekly ESSAYS in FEBRUARY 1739.

It may justly be reckoned among the special misfortunes which the Christian faith labours under among us a present; that, while the spirit of fidelity is openly attacking the fundamentals of all religion, the opposite spirit of Enthusiasm (as if one extreme had begot another) should at the same time revive, with most of the same symptoms as appeared upon it when it disfigured our unhappy country about an hundred years ago. The Abbeys may well rejoice, because they are sure to find the account in it. For, as the Chriftians in the only religion which they are afraid of; so, if they can get mankind behold it in the ridiculous light which bigotry places it, men of good sense, but unsteadfast judgment, will soon come to disbelieve it, and then to disbelieve it. On this account I cannot pass the new sect of the Methodists tattle up among us claims our particular attention. At first we only look upon them as well-meaning zealots, people, whom the irreligious boldness of these wicked times had driven some what too far into the contrary extreme. They were a sort of Presbytery professors gaters, that would be righteous enough much
and there were hopes that, when this devotional effervescence had boil'd over, they would return to that proper medium where true piety and Christian prudence sits its centre. But, instead of that, they are constantly making, and discovering new advances; and have proceeded so far as to eject the liturgy and the usual expostulations out of their meetings, and declare[d] for contemporary divisions both in their prayers and expanding.

The leis[ure] are allowed to be useless; and even common, as I am in-, begin to usurp publick offices. If any one objects to these absurdities, they are ready with an answer, that those for the future quite unapproachable; for they allege the Spirit is what they do, with whom they have, I know not what, communications, and whose impressions they receive (as they say) even in a sensible manner. They pretend to a sort of sense per-sons, and boast of inward joys above other Christians, and at the same time, by the Quakers, disclaim being able to describe or prove to other people, the nature or necessity of their spiritual decisions. They distinguish themselves from others, by having received the spirit, with which, and other such causes, they are united together like a host of religious free-masons. The efficacy of regeneration they make not to arise from baptism in persons who have committed no actual sin, or from true Christian repentance in those who have; (if that can according to the Scripture physiology be call'd regeneration,) unless it be attended with such inward vises, feelings, and experiences, or accompanied with such confident persuasions as neither they can explain, nor can be understood, or at least, explained according to their notions of justification by faith. In general, they seem to be practising over the lection th'm by the old Puritans before the beginning of the Grand Rebellion. In the confusions of those times (Jesu Bis- hop Burnet) there were set on foot great dividings concerning justification by faith, and these were both so subtle, not did seem to have such a tendency to Antinomianism, that many books were writ on those subjects." Before these times we may observe most of the same methods used by the Ana Boapistes in Germany; whose beginnings were as innocent, tho' I hope the dreadful and bloody events will find no parallel among us. Take the account of them, Mr. Hooker, from your ancestor's preface to his immortal work, as he quotes it from Guy de Brux, who write their history.

"They began secretly, with making their doleful complaints everywhere where they went; That, albeit the world did begin to profess some dislike of those which was evil in the kingdom of darkness, yet fruits worthy of a true repentance were not seen; and that if men did repent as they ought, they must endeavour to purge the truth of all manner of evil, to the end there might follow a new world afterwards, wherein righteousness only should dwell. Private repentance, they said, must appear by every man's fashioning his own life contrary unto the common and order of this present world, both in greater things and in less. To this purpose, they had always in their mouths those greater things, charity, faith, the true fear of God, the cross, the mortification of the flesh. All their exhortations were to set light of the things in this world, to account riches and honours vanity; and, in token thereof, not only to seek neither, but if men were possessors of both, even to cast away the one, and resign the other, that all men might see their unassigned consecration to Christ. They were solicitors of men to fast, to often meditations of heavenly things, and, as it were, conferences in secret with God by prayers, not framed according to the frozen manner of the world, but expressing such fervent desire as might even force God to hearken unto them. Where they found men in diet,attire, furniture of house, or any other way, observers of civility and decent order, such they reproved as being carnally and earthly minded. Every word o-
thertwine than severely and sadly ut-
ter'd, seem to pierce like a sword thro'
them. If any man were pleasant, their
manner was, presently with sights to
repeat those words of our Saviour Christ:
We be to you which now laugh, for ye
shall lament. So great was their delight
to be always in trouble, that such as
did quietly lead their lives they judged
of all other men to be in most dange-
rous case. — From this they proceeded
unto publick reformation; first ecclesias-
tical, and then civil. Touching the
former, they boldly avouched, that
themselves only had the truth; which
thing, upon peril of their lives, they
would at all times defend: And that,
since the Apostles lived, the fame was
never before in all points sincerely
taught. Wherefore, that things might
again be brought to that ancient inte-
grity which Jesus Christ by his word
requireth, they began to control the
Ministers of the gospel, for attributing
so much force and virtue unto the Scrip-
tures of God read; whereas the truth
was, that when the word is said to en-
gender faith in the heart, and to con-
vert the soul of man, or to work any
such spiritual divine effect, these speech-
es are not thereunto applicable, as it is
read or preached, but as it is engrafted
in us by the power of the Holy Ghost,
opening the eyes of our understanding,
and so revealing the mysteries of God,
according to that which Jeremy pro-
mised before should be, saying, I will
put my law in their inward parts, and
I will write it in their hearts. The
book of God they, notwithstanding, for
the most part so admired, that other
disputation against their opinions, than
only by allegation of Scripture, they
would not hear. Besides it, they thought
no other writings in the world should
be studied; in them as much as one of their
great Prophets exhorting them to cast
away all respects unto human writings,
so far to his notion they condescended,
that as many as had any books save
the Holy Bible in their custody, they
brought and set them publickly on fire.
When they and their Bibles were alone
together, what strange fantastical opi-
nion for ever at any time entred into
their heads, their use was to think the Spirit
taught it them. And forasmuch as they
were of the same suit with those of
whom the Apostle speaketh, saying, They
are still learning, but never attain to the
knowledge of truth, it was no marvel to
see them every day broach some new
thing, not heard of before; which reff-
less levity they did interpret to be their
growing to spiritual perfection, and a pro-
sceeding from faith to faith. The dif-
ferences amongst them grew by this
means in a manner infinite; so that
scarcely was there found any one of
them, the forge of whose brain was not
poissifed with some special mystery.
Whereupon, although their mutual con-
tentions were most fiercely prosecuted
amongst themselves; yet, when they
came to defend the cause common to
them all against the adversaries of their
faction, they had ways to lick another
whole, the founder in his own per-
suasion excusing the dear brethren, which
were not so far enlighten'd, and per-
severing a charitable hope of the mercy of
God towards them, notwithstanding
their twerving from him in some things.
Their own Ministers they highly ma-
uginized, as men whose vocation was from
God: the rest their manner was to term
disdainfully Scribes and Pharisees; and
account their calling an humain crea-
ure; and to detain the people, as much
as might be, from hearing them. These
men at the first were only pitted in the
error, and not much witholded by any
the great humility, zeal, and devotion
which appeared to be in them, was i
all mens opinion a pledge of their harm
les meaning. The hardest that mens
found understanding conceived of them
was but this, O quam bonus facto miseri
errant? With how good a mean-
ing thesee poor fouls do evil? Lasts
made request unto Frederick, Duke of
Saxony, that within his dominion the
might be favourably dealt with and sys-
red; for that, their error exempted
they seemed otherwise right good men.
By means of which merciful tolerant
they gathered strength, much more the
was safe for the state of the common-wealth wherein they lived. They had their secret corner-meetings and assemblies in the night; the people flocked unto them by thousands. The means whereby they both allure and retained so great multitudes, were most effectual: First, A wonderful shew of zeal towards God; wherewith they seemed to be wrap'd in every thing they spake: Secondly, An hatred of sin, and a singular love of integrity; which men did think to be much more than ordinary in them, by reason of the custom which they had, to fill the ears of the people with invective against their authorised guides, as well spiritual as civil: Thirdly, The bountiful relief wherewith they eased the broken estate of such needy creatures, as were in that respect more apt to be drawn away: Fourthly, A tender compassion which they were thought to take upon the miseries of the common sort; over whose heads their misericord was, even to pour down flowers of tears, in complaining, that no respect was had unto them; that their goods were devoured by wicked corrompters, their persons had in contempt, all liberty, both spiritual and temporal, taken from them; that it was high time for God now to hear their groans, and to send them deliverance: Lastly, A cunning sleight which they had to stroke and smooth up the minds of their followers, as well by appropriating unto them all the favourable titles, the good words; and the gracious promises in Scripture; as also by calling the contrary always on the heads of such as were severed from that returne: Whereupon the people's common acclamation unto such deceivers was, These are the men of God; these are his true and sincere Prophets. Now, whatsoever they did collect out of Scripture, when they came to justify or persuade it unto others, all was the heavenly Father's appointment, his commandment, his will and charge. Which thing is the very point in regard whereof I have gather'd this declaration. For my purpose herein is to shew, that when the minds of men are once erro-

neously persuaded, that it is the will of God to have those things done which they, fancy, then opinions are as thorns in their sides, never suffering them to take rest till they have brought their speculations into practice. The ends and impediments of which practice, their refusals desire and study to remove, leadeth them every day forth by the hand into other more dangerous opinions, sometimes quite and clean contrary to their first pretended meanings. So as what will grow out of such errors as go masked under the cloak of divine authority, impossible it is that ever the wit of man should imagine, till time have brought forth the fruits of them; for which cause it behoveth wisdom to fear the sequels thereof, even beyond all apparent cause of fear. That things doubtful are to be confirmed in the better part, is a principle not safe to be followed in matters concerning the publick state of a common-wealth: But howsoever these and the like speeches be accounted as arrows idly shot at random, without either eye had to any mark, or regard to their lighting-place; hath not your longing desire for the practice of your discipline brought the matter already unto this demurral amongst you, whether the people, and their godly pastors, that way affected, ought not to make separation from the rest, and to begin the exercise of discipline, without the licence of civil powers, which licence they have sought for, and are not heard? Upon which question as ye have now divided yourselves, the warier sort of you take the one part, and the forwarder in zeal the other.

O merciful God, what man's wit is there able to found the depth of those dangerous and fearful evils, wherein to our weak and impotent nature is inclinable to sink itself, rather than to shew an acknowledgment of error in that which once we have undisguisedly taken upon us to defend, against the stream as it were of a contrary publick resolution? Wherefore, if we any thing respect, their error, who being persuaded, even as ye are, have gone further
spoito that persuasion than ye allow—there is—most just cause to fear, lest our hasteless to embrace a thing of so perilous consequence should be more just cause to fear, lest these evils, which as yet are more easily to prevent, than they would be for them to remedy.

On last Sunday our new Minister discovered a most violent temper than is consistent with their great pretensions to modesty and submission. The story is as follows, and as it was related to me by the Gentleman who read prayers. At St. Mary-le-bone, Westminster, there is a Friday evening lecture; and whilst the Reader came, he found in the church-yard, at the west door, a number of people singing psalms. When the reader got into the church, he was instructed by some unknown persons, as he passed through a great crowd to the pulpit. As soon as the clergyman appointed to preach came, he was solicited (if an overbearing importance may be so called) to resign the pulpit to Mr. Whitefield, who (as is supposed by his not appearing at the prayer) was waiting at some neighbouring house to know the issue of their application. But the Reader continuing as determined to do his own duty as Mr. Whitefield was to do it for him, they at last induced that by force which they could not gain by persuasion. So the Reader was easily induced in his pew, which was locked, the Service being appointed by the Reader, and in Mr. Whitefield's interest, and granted by several really loyal and another party conveyed the unseated clergyman triumphantly up into the pulpit, and kept society on the stage, for fear he should be taken down in so forcible a manner as he got in. If this should be true, I need but add to the Reader, who consented to be the truth of it.

There are many instances, too well attested to leave any room for any doubts concerning the truth of them, of those unchristianish means of getting into pulpit against the injunction and wishes of the proper ministers, or opulent preachers. One of these I can assign upon my own knowledge, because it was announced upon me by some of the W.'s followers, who show that I would not agree with the people upon the terms; and that if, by taking the pulpit for a yerar, and then leaving him W. or some other minister. This was, indeed, an exceedingly forcible, and was, I believe, published in the Church of England, it might be necessary to mention these particulars, that the case may be upon their guard. Yea, the

The CONVENTION between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain...

Published at London by authority of French, Spanish, and English, are delivered to the Members of the House of Parliament.

Without difference between any, a hundred, between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, an union of the colonies, searching, and ending all the present of rights, that involving any of us, and all the present on which, as well in the High Church, as in the Low, there are some changes which differ more, and much more common, such as the more than one can now write a letter to the present laws, and to present them for the future, as they might never more happen to happen between the said crowns. For this reason, this disaffection the union of Great Britain and Spain, the new by the title of Spain, having another name than us in the present and danger. The good correspondence which is so happily and finally, I mean the previous to great and full power, viz. this foundation fit for Benjamin Moore, Esq. his Court of Disputes, or the Lord. The Government on his Catholic Majesty, and his Catholic Majesty the Pope. Day, Octob.
CONVENTION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND SPAIN.

On the Queen, Knight of the order of the Garter, Commander in Chief, and First Secretary of State and of the Dispatches, wrote, after previously producing their full powers, having conferred together, have agreed upon the following articles.

I. Whereas the ancient friendship, so desirable and so necessary for the reciprocal interests of both nations, and particularly with regard to their commerce, cannot be established upon a footing foundation, unless care be taken, not only to adopt and regulate the provisions for reciprocal reparation of the damages already sustained, but above all to find means to prevent the like causes of complaints for the future; and to remove obstacles, and fit every thing which might give umbrage; it is agreed to labour immediately, with all imaginable application and diligence, to attain so desirable an end; and for that purpose there shall be named on the part of their Britannick and Catholick Majesties respectively, immediately after the signing of the present Convention, two Ministers Plenipotentiaries, who shall meet at Madrid within the space of six weeks, to be selected from the day of the exchange of the ratifications, there to confer, and finally regulate the reciprocal provisions of the two nations, as well with relation to the trade and navigation in America and Europe, and to the limits of Florida and of Carolina, as concerning other points, which remain likewise to be adjusted, the whole according to the treaties of the years 1667, 1670, 1713, 1715, 1721, 1728, and 1729, including that of the eleven of November, and the convention of 1716. And it is also agreed, that the Plenipotentiaries, so named, shall begin their conversations six weeks after the exchange of the ratifications, and shall finish them within the space of eight months.

II. The regulation of the limits of Florida and of Carolina, which, according to what has been lately agreed, was to be decided by Commissions on each side, shall likewise be committed to the said Plenipotentiaries, to procure a more fair and effectual agreement: And during the time that the discussion of that affair shall last, things shall remain in the aforesaid terri-
take other proper measures, for causing the
above said engagements to be fulfilled, in
the same manner as if this convention
did not exist.

IV. The value of the ship called the
Woolfall, which was taken and carried
to the port of Campeche in the year 1736,
the Loyal Charles, the Dispatch, the
George and the Prince William, which
were carried to the Havana in the year
1737, and the St. James to Porto Rico
in the same year, having been included in
the valuation that has been made of
the demands of the subjects of Great Britain,
as also several others that were taken be-
fore; If it happens, that in consequence
of the orders that have been dispatched
by the court of Spain for the restitution of
them, part, or the whole of them have
been restored, the sums so received shall
be deducted from the L. 95,000 Sterling,
which is to be paid by the court of Spain
according to what is above stipulated: It
being however understood, that the pay-
ment of the L. 95,000 Sterling, shall not
be, for that reason, in any manner de-
layed; saving that what may have been
previously received, shall be restored.

V. The present convention shall be ap-
proved and ratified by his Britannick Maj-
esty and by his Catholick Majesty, and
the ratifications thereof shall be delivered
and exchanged at London within the space
of six weeks, or sooner, if it can be done, to
be reckoned from the day of the signing.

In witness whereof, we the under writ-
ten Ministers Plenipotentiaries of his Brit-
annick Majesty and of his Catholick Maj-
esty, by virtue of our full powers, have
signed the present convention, and caused
the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.
Done at the Pardo the 14th day of Ja-

January 1739.

B. Keene. Sebastian de la Quadra.

(L. S.) (L. S.)

First separate Article.

Whereas it has been agreed by the first
article of the convention, signed this day,
between the Ministers Plenipotentiaries
of Great Britain and Spain, that there shall
be named on the part of their Britannick
and Catholick Majesties respectively, im-
mediately after the signing the above said
colvention, two Ministers Plenipotenti-
aries, who shall meet at Madrid within six
weeks, to be reckoned from the day of the
exchange of the ratifications, of their said Majesties, to the end that
some


future, and in establishing thereby, a per-
fect good understanding, and a lasting
friendship between the two crowns, have
named, and do by these presents name,
viz. his Britannick Majesty, Benjamin
Keene, Esq; his said Majesty's Minister
Plenipotentiary to his Catholick Majesty,
and Abraham Caffrey, Esq; his said
Britannick Majesty's Consul General at
the court of his Catholick Majesty, and
Plenipotentiary for that purpose; and
his Catholick Majesty, Don Josepfi de las
Quintana, his Consellor in the Superior
Council of the Indies, and Don Stephano
Josepfi de Alarcon, Knight of the order
of Calatrava, Consellor in the former
Council, and Superintendant of the Chas-

ber of Accounts, who shall be immediately
instructed to begin the conferences. Am

whereas it has been agreed by the 3d arti-
cle of the convention signed this day,
that the sum of L. 95,000 Sterling, is
due, on the part of Spain, as a balance
to the crown and subjects of Great Bri-
tain, after deduction made of the demands
of the crown and subjects of Spain; his
Catholick Majesty shall cause to be paid
at London, within the term of four
months, to be reckoned from the day of the
exchange of the ratifications; or sooner if it
be possible, in money, the above mention-
ed sum of L. 95,000 Sterling, to such
persons as shall be authorized, on the part
of his Britannick Majesty, to receive it.

This separate article shall have the
same force as if it was inserted word for
word in the convention signed this day,
and shall be ratified in the same manner,
and the ratifications thereof shall be ex-
changed at the same time as those of the
said convention.

In witness whereof, &c. [as in the
convention.]

B. Keene. Sebastian de la Quadra.

(L. S.) (L. S.)
CONVENTION between Great Britain and Spain.

Second separate Article.

Whereas the under written Ministers Plenipotentiaries of their Britannick and Catholick Majesties have this day signed, by virtue of full powers from the Kings their masters for that purpose, a convention for settling and adjusting all the demands, on each side, of the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, on account of seizures made, ships taken, &c. and for the payment of a balance that is thereby due to the crown of Great Britain; it is declared, That the ship called the Success, which was taken on the 14th day of April 1738, as she was coming out from the island of Antigua, by a Spanish Guarda Caza, and carried to Porto Rico, is not comprehended in the aforesaid convention; and his Catholick Majesty promises, that the said ship and its cargo shall be forthwith restored, or the just value thereof, to the lawful owners; provided that, previous to the restitution of the said ship the Success, the person or persons interested therein do give security at London, to the satisfaction of Don Thomas Geraldo, his Catholick Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary, to abide by what shall be decided thereupon by the Ministers Plenipotentiaries of their said Majesties, that have been named for finally settling, according to the treaties, the disputes which remain to be adjusted between the two crowns; and his Catholick Majesty agrees, as far as shall depend upon him, that the aforesaid ship the Success shall be referred to the examination and decision of the Plenipotentiaries; his Britannick Majesty promises likewise to refer, as far as shall depend upon him, to the decision of the Plenipotentiaries, the brigantine Faithful, seized in the port of Dublin in Ireland, in the year 1735. And the said under written Ministers Plenipotentiaries declare by these presents, that the 3d article of the convention signed this day, does not extend, nor shall be construed to extend to any ships or effects that may have been taken or seized since the 10th day of December 1737, or may be hereafter taken or seized; in which cases justice shall be done according to the treaties, as if the aforesaid convention had not been made; & being however understood, that this relates only to the indemnification and satisfaction to be made for the effects seized, or prizes taken; but that the decision of the cases, which may happen, in order to remove all pretext for dispute, is to be referred to the Plenipotentiaries, to be determined by them according to the treaties.

This separate article shall have the same force, &c. [as in the former.]

In witness whereof, &c.

B. Keene. Sebastian de la Quadra.
(L.S.) (L.S.)

N. B. The Convention and the Two Separate Articles, as above, were, each by itself, ratified by his Britannick Majesty at St. James's the 24th January 1739, and by his Catholick Majesty at the Pardo the 15th January 1739.

CRAFTSMAN, Feb. 17.

Observations on the Convention.

If an intire stranger to political affairs should look over the numerous collections of treaties between the Princes of Europe, which have been lately publish'd, he would certainly be apt to wonder how there came to be any differences amongst them at present. In former times, the contriving Powers oblig'd themselves by oath, in the most solemn manner, to perform their respective engagements; and yet history furnishes us with frequent instances of Princes, who have violated their oaths, and departed from their engagements, soon after they were made, in the most scandalous manner. But this, indeed, was in Popish times, before the true light of the gospel broke in upon us, and when a dispensation from Rome was thought sufficient to atone for any sort of crimes, especially in Princes. For this reason, the practice of swearing to the observation of treaties hath been generally, if not entirely, laid aside, ever since the reformation, as a scandal to religion, both by Protestants and Roman Catholics.

Yet even still the title, preamble, and articles of most treaties run in a very solemn style. Some of them, even
seven of very modern date, begin, in the name of the MOST HOLY AND UNDIVIDED TRINITY; and there are very few without making God Almighty a witness to them. —— The first article commonly contains a mutual stipulation, that all hostilities shall cease on both sides; and that, for the future, there shall be a perfect amity, friendship, and good correspondence between the contracting parties. —— But how falden are these contracts fulfill'd? —— How hath the treaty of Utrecht, for instance, been observ'd towards us, with relation to the demolition of Dunkirk, and several other particulars? —— What have we gain'd, since that time, by all our treaties, provisional treaties, preliminaries, conventions, ratifications, congresses, and pacifications whatsoever, except new insults, new depredations, and a vast addition of new expenses? —— This is the more hard upon us, because we have enter'd into all the propositions of foreign powers, with the greatest cordiality, and fulfill'd our engagements even to a nicety; especially to style, with whom we are at present concerned.

Not only the oath, but even the word of a King hath been always held sacred; and therefore if the modern way of trampling is to be look'd upon only as a trial of skill at negociation, I think all the ancient forms of religion ought to be laid aside, and others substituted in their room, signifying, that a treaty is only a mutual agreement, during pleasure, which either party is at liberty to break, as soon as he finds it for his interest; according to Machiavel's celebrated maxim of Regiones del Stato.

But we are bleed'd at present with a minister, who hath so great a regard for religion, that he chose rather to indulge our enemies by the mild and peaceable arts of negotiation, than make use of that force, which was put into his hands, and might have occasion'd a great deal of bloodshed.—A convention is not only concluded, and sign'd, but ratified; and though it is a convention only, yet it is a declar'd preliminary to a future treaty, in which all our differences with Spain, of many years standing, are to be finally adjourned, not only in the West Indies, but elsewhere. —— I shall say but little of this convention, because it is now under the consideration of parliament; but will confine myself chiefly to the future treaty stipulated by it. —— However, it is necessary to say something upon the convention itself, and to point out the many signal advantages which we are promised by it.

It appears, by the preamble which is very briefly worded, that the design of this convention is to prevent an open rupture between the two crowns of Great Britain and Spain, by putting an end to all the grievances alleged on each side, for the present, and to prevent them for the future, in state, if it should be found impossible to remove, or to drop all these grievances and abuses, they will at least be regulated, which must, no doubt, afford our merchants very comfortable prospects.

By the last article, it is agreed that instead of Commissioners, who have been so long employed to no purpose in this affair, there shall be called Ministers Plenipotentiary; who, being persons of a much higher character than Commissioners, will certainly have more influence, and even put an end to this disagreeable work. These Gentlemen, indeed, have nothing to do with the claims of our respective countries, but they are to be mediators in this affair; and are to effect all differences that may be brought before them, by the two crowns, without their knowledge or consent. But these Plenipotentiaries are to discuss and adjust all disputes about limits and boundaries, both by sea and land, as well as other points not particularly mentioned, and all this is to be finish'd in the space of eight months, after the convention is ratify'd; whereas the Commissioners appointed by the treaty of Utrecht had three years allow'd them at first, and three years afterwards, without doing any thing, except receiving their letters, and putting the nation so
Weekly ESSAYS in FEBRUARY 1739. 73

Thus much is sufficient to show the excellence of the present situation, which has laid the foundation for a durable treaty. But as nothing is absolutely certain in the situation, except the payment of a small sum of money, in comparison of all our losses, sufferings, and insults, for so many years, everything else being left to the adjudication of Philipiiamartius in a future treaty, which is not yet begun; I may be allowed to speak more plainly upon it, and deliver the sense of an Englishman, what might be done, and what ought not to be done, at the present critical juncture.

I am at a loss to guess what is meant by the conclusion made, on account of the demands of Spain; for our means of war have taken two or three of their ships in the West Indies, and our ships register being very lately, we never confiscated any, by way of reprisal, nor even kept them as a pledge in our hands, but immediately released them, for the sake of peace and good understanding. — For what therefore is this conclusion to be made; or what are the demands of Spain upon us? — It cannot surely be for destroying their fleet on the coast of Sicily, twenty years ago, in pursuance of our engagements to guarantee the neutrality of Italy, to which Spain could be no stranger; and however irregular that action might be thought, in some particular, for want of a formal declaration of war, yet it was voted just, wise, and honourable by parliament, and the commanding officer was rewarded for it, in a very distinguished manner. It was likewise soon afterwards settled between the two powers, by the treaty of Madrid, in the year 1721, which was confirmed by the treaty of Ryswick in 1790. By that treaty nothing further was stipulated on our side, nor claimed by Spain, than a redistribution of the captured ships taken, in the condition they were then in, or the money they were paid for, in case any of them were sold. Nay, we went further; for his late Majesty having been graciously pleased to give them to the republic, they were afterwards purchased of them with public money, at an expense of above 20,000 l. in order to restore them to the Spaniards. Having complied with all this, and fulfilled our engagements, by offering the Spaniards restitution of their ships, they would not receive them, under frivolous pretexts; and therefore they ought not to bring this demand upon the court again, after so many years.
I am justified in this assertion and manner of reasoning by those, who drew up the instructions to our late Commissioners, in pursuance of the treaty of Seville; for, by the 5th article they are ordered to insist, that the treaty of 1721 was fully compleated, for the reasons before mentioned.—Would it not therefore be dishonourable for these Gentlemen, as well as the nation, to recede from their positive instructions, and give up so important a point to the Spaniards, after all their ill-use?—Have we not, at least, as good a right to demand satisfaction for the damages and expences they put us to, many years afterwards, by the siege of Gibraltar, which was likewise undertaken and carried on, without any previous declaration of war? As to the article in the convention, concerning the differences between the court of Spain, and our South Sea company, which are excepted in the present convention; I must observe, that altho' his Catholic Majesty may have a demand upon the said company for about 68,000 l. as it is reported, by virtue of the Aftento treaty; yet I am informed that the company have a just demand of above 6,000 l. that sum upon Spain, for seizures of their ships, interruption of their trade in New Spain, till the markets were over, refusals of schedules, to which they have an undoubtedly right by treaty, and several other accounts. It cannot therefore be doubted that our Plenipotentiaries will insist very strongly, in the negotiations of the future treaty, upon the balance on our side, in this particular, and on the regular grant of schedules, for the future; since if the Spaniards should be paid their whole claim, without any satisfaction for a much greater demand upon them by the South Sea company, it is a very odd method of settling accounts; and the Spaniards will be so far from paying one shilling to our merchant, that they will be very great gainers by the treaty, as well as by their former depredations.

But I cannot conceal my astonishment to hear of a separate protest, which Spain declares to be an essential part of this agreement, referring to itself a power of suspending the Aftento trade, if the South Sea company do not pay the sum demanded, within a short time; declaring likewise that, under the invalidity and force of this protest, the signing of the said convention may be proceeded on; and in no other manner upon the firm supposition of which, and that it may not be eluded on any account or pretext whatsoever, his Catholic Majesty hath been induced thereto. But as this protest is not published, with the convention, I suppose it is not yet ratified, and there can be no crime in willing that it never will; but if it should, and the South Sea company refuse to pay the money, it will at least give us some chance of getting rid of the whole convention, if it should be found either disadvantageous, or dishonourable.

The next point worth observation is, that although the Plenipotentiaries, according to this convention, are to adjudge all disputes between Great Britain and Spain, about limits, both by sea and land; it is to be hoped that the Gentlemen, who are to be intrusted with this important affair on our side, will not depart from one single title of our right, according to treaties and the laws of nations. For the sake is plainly this:—We are either to give up certain points of the utmost consequence to our trade, or we are not.—If we give up these points, we may as well throw them in Jamaica and our other sugar colonies into the bargain.—If we do not give them up, and the Spaniards insist as peremptorily on their side, we are then in just the same condition as we were many years ago; with this difference only, that we shall hereafter be less able to do ourselves justice; and the Spaniards, perhaps, in a better condition to withstand us, by becoming more firmly united with France than they are at present.

Should we yield to them the power of searching, within any stated limits of their shores, we give up everything; for they will be the sole judges of the distance; and the merchant, who may be taken, perhaps, three, four, or
Weekly ESSAYS in FEBRUARY 1739.

frontier of the utmost importance against Spain. Nay, our Noble Lord, not caring to sell his property, which was an eighth part of the whole, had great clamours raised against him, by our present ministers, for obstructing, in some measure, their views of publick utility, at that time. However, he contented to give up all necessary power to the crown, reserving to himself only the eighth part of all future profits. So that this is absolutely as much his property, as any man's house is his own, and cannot be legally or equitably given away by any body, without his particular consent.—When the publick had made this purchase, what did the crown do? Why it made an absolute grant, or conveyance of the whole to particular trustees, who are now vested with the property of it; nor can the Commiffaries, or Plenipotentiaries, dispofe of it, under any pretence whatsoever, without their special leave and approbation.—The publick have likewise supported this infant colony at large annual expences; and if the whole is to be now given up, or even brought into dispute, would it not be highly dishonourable to England, and especially to those who engaged the publick to become purchasers of it, unless we gain some other considerable advantage by such a cession?—But there is something still farther, in favour of this new settled colony, and must intitle it to the greatest regard; which is, that it is the only colony planted by his present Majesty, and called by his name. Our Plenipotentiaries therefore will certainly exert themselves, upon this occasion, for the honour of his Majesty, as much as the reugency of Hanover have done for the preservation of the new acquisition of Steinboft.

It is said, that our right to the possession of the Bahama Islands is likewise disputed, upon the same idle pretence; and Jamaica may be demanded upon as good grounds. If therefore the Spaniards are to be gratified, or even not strenuously opposed, in all these unreasonable and illegal demands, we shall be soon driven out of the West-Indies, and
and must leave the French and the Spaniards to dispute the sovereignty of those seas, and the dominion of the whole American world.

I cannot conceive what is meant by the other points which are left to the discussion of the Plenipotentiaries; unless it is a specific renunciation, on the part of Spain, to any right, or claim whatsoever, to Gibraltar and Portimabo; as likewise a confirmation of our right to the bay of Campeachy, or at least of cutting bay-wood there, and gathering salt on the island of Tortugas; for neither our ministers, nor our plenipotentiaries, can possibly give up our right in any of these respects, under any pretense of justice to the nation, or doing honor to the King.

I have thus, in a cursory manner, made a few remarks on this convention; which, being of the utmost importance to Great Britain, will no doubt be more particularly scanned and examined by those, who are immediately concerned in the consequences of it. But in this all mankind seem to be agreed; that be it good, or be it bad; be it honourable or dishonourable; the whole merit or demerit belongs to one single man, who undertook the negotiation, and made himself answerable for it.

How happy therefore must that country be, whose Prime-minister is an able, honest, disinterested, upright man? I will illustrate this observation by the example of Cardinal Fleurce; to which I was led by reading a paragraph in one of the Cologne Gazettes, where an account was given of the suppos'd death of that prelate, and of his last will and testament; in which the whole value of his estate, except a few moveables, is fixed to amount to no more than 1300 l. Sterling. Methinks, I see that good old Frenchman making his will, and declaring, that he leaves his country, which he found depressed with debt, reduced by a long and unsuccessful war, sunk in its reputation, almost destitute of a good project, and labouring under a long minority, now reviv'd in its credit, flourishing in its trade, recover'd in its reputation, and triumphing over its former enemies, by whom it was thus reduced; strengthen'd with uncommon union at home, as well as universal alliance; and influence over all Europe. — Methinks, I hear him say, I leave Lorré to France; I leave them Dunkirk to their ancient enemy, the house of Austria, humbled; and Flanders to their power, whenever they please to take it; but, above all, I leave my countrymen trade, and manufactures; my particular bequests, hoping the full sum of 1300 l. to be equally divided amongst them.

Were I to compare this character with that of another Prime-minister, who shall be nameless, how would the parallel run? After as long and even an absolute administration, can be found that he did not find his country in flourishing condition? Can he say that any one tax is reduc'd? Can he deny that, after above twenty years peace, he has made a trifling part of the national debt that has been discharged, notwithstanding the ample provision made for that purpose many years ago? Is the reputation and honour of that country establish'd abroad? Is she not involved in a multitude of incomprehensible and contradictory treaties? Hath she conspired, as he ought to do, the bane and affections of the people to his Royal Master? or, being utterly regardless of all these, is he not content to sum up the whole with saying; Item, I leave my relations forty of the best employed in the nation, for life; and to my eldest son, half a million of money, besides plentiful provision to all my younger children?

**Common Sense, Feb. 24.**

Remarks on British Courage in former times, and the Convention in our own

BOTH Houses having last year entered into vigorous resolutions to support his Majesty in whatever measures
fures should be taken in order to obtain justice and full satisfaction from the Spaniards, for his injured subjects, such formidable squadrons were fitted out, in consequence of these resolutions, that we had no less than a hundred fail of ships at one time in commission; a most immense expense to this nation.

Our ministers, so supported, have been able to prevail upon his Catholic Majesty, without firing a gun, to sign a convention.

Our Merchants flatter'd themselves that, before we contended so much as to enter upon a treaty with his Catholic Majesty, he would have been oblig'd, by way of preliminary, to have renounced all pretensions to searching our ships; but this, as well as our right to cut logwood in the bay of Com- pauchy,—to loading falt at the island of Tortuga, and also the settling the limits of Florida and Carolina, (by which it will be determined whether Georgia, which hath cost this nation so much money, shall belong to England or Spain,) are referred to one Mr. Keene, and one Mr. Calvert, and such Com- missaries as the King of Spain shall appoint; which, no doubt, is as well.

I hope the demand, which Spain some years ago made of Gibraltar, upon pre- tence of a promise on our side to give it up to them, will not be referred also; because, by yielding to refer things to Commissaries, it may be understood by the Spaniards as acknowledging the right to be doubtful; and we have no reason, by what is past, to suppose that Spainish Commissaries will decide a doubtful right in our favour.

Those who have no very good opinion of the perfons, at present, at the helm of our affairs, have taken occasion, from hence, to represent this transaction as a ministerial expedient; for, say they,—if the ministers had weight and credit enough with the court of Spain to bring it to those terms which the nation expects, and to which we have an undoubted right, they have had time enough, and have wanted no support to effect it; and the malecontents at such infidels, they will not believe that two Plenipotentiaries can make use of more persuasive arguments than a hundred fail of men of war.

To this, indeed, the friends of our most incomparable ministers answer. That if his Catholic Majesty should not make those concessions necessary for settling our rights upon a solid foundation, we are but where we were; we may break off the treaty, and so fit out new squadrons. To which the malecontents reply, That this may be sput to the Spainiards, but must be death to us:—The immense charges waste us, while they do not put themselves to the expense of a dollar; and, as Pyrrhus said he should be undone by two or three such victories, we may be ruined by two or three such negociations.

They compare the politicks of a certain Gentleman to that of a bold enter- prizing fellow who undertook to teach an afs to speak Greek.—The story being told to the King, he sent for the fellow; who resolutely persisted, that he would do it in such a time, if he had a certain allowance per diem. The time was fixed, and the King promised him his reward; but this condition was annex'd to it. That, if he did not perform it by the limited day, he should be hanged; and, accordingly, had him guarded that he should not run away.

The fellow being ask'd, when he was out of the King's presence, how he could have the impudence to undertake a thing that was impossible, his answer was, That either the King might die, the afs might die, or, perhaps, he himself might die, before the limited time.

If any minister has been teaching an afs to speak for us; if, for reasons that only regard himself, he has been amusing the nation with things he never intended to perform, or knew he was not able to perform; as he has been much better paid, he ought to have the same reward at last.

Don Sebastian de la Quadra's declaration, or protest, in the name of the King his master, which was made and sign'd previous to the convention, seems to
to be an innovation, in the forms and methods usually practiced in negotiation; but his Catholic Majesty was resolv'd that he should not be misunderstood, for he says,—under the validity and force of this protest, the said convention may be proceeded on, and in no other manner.—So that the convention seems to be purchased at the price of receiving and agreeing to this protest; and, indeed, it is said, in the body of the protest itself, that it is by reciprocal agreement.

Plutarch, in the life of one of the illustrious Romans, I think it is Paulus Æmilius, after describing the strength of both armies and the conduct of the Generals, says, that which over army Paulus Æmilius had commanded must have gained the victory.—I don't doubt, had all circumstances been equal betwixt us and Spain, but whatever side our ministers had been employed in, must have gained the advantage in this negotiation; but, to the misfortune of Spain, circumstances and events were entirely on our side.—I say nothing of the vast superiority of our naval strength, which alone must give weight to any arguments:—But the affairs of Italy being unsettled, the farther view of the court of Spain with respect to the establishment of Don Carlos, and their being come to no perfect understanding with the court of France, must have put the Spanish ministers under such difficulties in their treating with us, that they must be obliged to yield to terms which they would not submit to at a more favourable juncture; they must have purchased peace upon any conditions.

If, therefore, more honourable and advantageous terms have not been obtained for Great Britain, by this convention, and should not be obtained by the convention which is to follow, than ever were granted to us before; I would advise thee, Don Benjamin, to bid adieu to the lanes and alleys of Lyon, where thou hast the good fortune first to behold the light, and remain in that country which hath done thee the honour to dub thee a Gentleman.

If the Spaniards, who are so well acquainted with this Gentleman's excel-

lent for negotiation, should tempt him to engage on their side, I ask thee, Don Sebastián de la Quadra, what will become of thee? Don Benjamin must be the man.—Little didst thou consider, Don Sebastián, whom thou hast to deal with in this knotty affair: it was not only Don Benjamin of Lyon, but another person, his adviser, of much larger head,—a head as fat as his head and thy head put together.

If the Spaniards think they have reason to be dissatisfied with this convention,—the declaration or protest before mentioned, might be form'd on purpose to give them a pretence to break off and begin again. They may talk as the English officer did, who was taken prisoners at the battle of Almamara; who, dining with some French and Spanish officers, where the conversation turning upon the events of the battle, and some of these seeming to think that our side had not made the most of it, he answered gallantly, Let us change Generals and we'll fight the battle over again.—The Spaniards may be for changing ministers and beginning the treaty again: but we must beg their pardon there; we knew when we are well. If we should make such a concession, they might also be desirous of having that great man, who hath made us so mighty among the nations, to go over and direct all their affairs: a matter which it would be the interest of all Europe to oppose; for were Spain directed for fifteen or sixteen years by so able a head, it might gress powerful enough to aim at universal monarchy.

To speak more familiarly of this affair, I hope it is a good convention; so it is a point in which the nation cannot be deceived. The interest of England with respect to Spain, is understood by every trading man in the kingdom.—We know the strength, or, to speak more properly, we know the weakness of Spain;—we know what we have to expect, and what must be obtained to keep the nation from sinking into contempt and ruin:—Though one man may be more presumptuous and
more arrogant than all; no man is wiser than all; and therefore no artifices to puzzle, to conceal the state of our case, will do:— the multitude hath many eyes; they have many that see for them, some of which are persons of a more discerning light, perhaps, than he who flatters himself they are all blind.

If the great assembly of the nation approves of this convention, I shall certainly persuade myself that it is safe and honourable; for they cannot, at last, they will not give a sanction to madness and folly. Some author, whom I have forgotten, indeed, tells us, that a parliament may vote, that black is white. It may be so; but black will be black still, in spite of all the votes in the world. However, we are in no danger of any thing like this from our present parliament; and therefore I say, if it is approved, it must be a good convention.

The courage and strength of the nation hath been so often felt, that it can never grow contemptible, but by an extreme weakness of conduct within. If we once come to lose by a treaty more than it is possible we could lose by an unsuccessful war, we shall become the bubbles and dupes of the world. I am confident there is as much good sense in the nation at this time, as when we made the most glorious figure: If it is not brought into council and action, I am afraid the fault lies in our want of spirit as well as honesty. If perfons mean in character, and meaner in understanding, should be sent to negotiate with foreign states, it does infinite mischief; for they will be apt to judge of a whole nation by the sample which is presented to them, and you will find infinite difficulties in treating with a people that once comes to despise you. The great art of government consists in knowing the talents of men, and appointing them to such provinces for which they are disposed by nature, and fitted by education. A pilfering low genius, extremely qualified to make a fraudulent contract, or falsify an account, may (where impudence and cor-

ruption can prevail) pass for a clever fellow, especially among stockjobbers, and low mechanicks who have a turn to knavery; but raise such a man up to the great affairs of a nation, where not only the knowledge of his own, but that of all other countries is absolutely necessary, he is out of his element:— He is doing he knows not what, and going he knows not where:— He is steering in a vast ocean without the least knowledge of the compass. If presumption and conceit (inseparable from ignorance) possess him, he will suffer no man to come near the helm but himself, and then the government must unavoidably suffer shipwreck, unless he is treated as it is lawful, by the maritime laws, for the sailors to treat a pilot, who hath taken upon him to conduct the vessel into port, and, by his ignorance, is running it upon rocks or quicksands. See a treatise, De jure maritimitis et navali.

The providence may think it fit to punish this nation, yet I think it will not permit it to fall. All the grievances it hath suffered for many years past are imputed to one M.—r; nor is it unjust to lay all to his charge, since, in the insolence of his security, he hath often taken them all upon himself. He hath, indeed, been a disgrace upon the nation, and the whole world is sick of him; but he is almost come to the end of his race; he hath filled up the measure of his iniquity: He may struggle for a short reprieve, but he is in the toil, and never will get out; without pretending to the gift of prophecy, we may pronounce him fall'n. It is impossible, from the nature of human affairs, but the spirit, or, call it the genius, of the nation must get the better. If the tools that have hitherto been his support, still persevere to defend him, they adopt his guilt, and must share in his ruin; for these is scarce one instance in history of a whole people, even in the most arbitrary countries, being against one man, but they prevailed at last.
Don Sebastian de la Quadra’s Protest, in the Name of the King of Spain, dated at the Pardo, Jan. 10. 1739.

DON Sebastian de la Quadra, Counsellor and First Secretary of State of his Catholic Majesty, and his Minister Plenipotentiary for the convention which is treating with the King of England, by order of his Sovereign, and in consequence of the repeated memorials and conferences that have passed with Don Benjamin Keene, Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannick Majesty; and having agreed with reciprocal accord, that the present declaration shall be made as the essential and precise means to overcome the so much debated disputes; and in order that the said convention may be signed, does declare in due form, that his Catholic Majesty refers to himself, in its full force, the right of being able to suspend the Aesthetic of Negroes, and of dispatching the necessary orders for the execution thereof; in case the company does not subject itself to pay, within a short term, the L. 68,000 which he has confessed to be owing on the duty of Negroes, according to the regulation of 52 d. per dollar, and on the profits of the ship Royal Carolina; and likewise declares, that under the validity and force of this protest, the signing of the said convention may be proceeded on, and in no other manner. Wherefore, upon this firm supposition, and that it may not be eluded, on any motive or pretext whatsoever, his Catholic Majesty has been induced thereto.

WEEKLY MISCELLANY, Feb. 2.

THE Rev. Mr. Venn, who was author of the Miscellany of February 10. concerning the doctrine and behaviour of the Methodists, and the rash attempt of Mr. Whitefield in forcing himself into a pulpit, happening to die before he could vindicate himself from some misrepresentations charged upon him, it must give much pleasure to every man of honour and candour, to see all the Gentlemen who were any way concerned in furnishing him with intelligence relating to that fact, cheerfully assist their departed friend, by signifying their names to a truth he can no longer defend. — But as those attestations only confirm the circumstances of the fact, as related p. 68. the mention of them here is sufficient.

THE CITIZEN, No. 2.

Is employed to prove the right of Great Britain to her possessions in America, particularly to Virginia: And

THE CITIZEN, No. 3.

Proves, by two citations from original grants from K. Charles II. that the ancient limit of the territories of Virginia (before Carolina, &c. were dismembered from it) extended to the 29th degree of Northern latitude; whereas Georgia lies in the 30th degree of the same latitude.—Whence it appears, that St. Augustine itself lies within the boundaries of the British dominions!

The case of Richard Copithorne, sole owner and master of the ship Betty Galley.

THE said Richard Copithorne, being bound upon a voyage from Melissa to London, was, upon the 29th June 1727, N. S. attack’d by a Spanish privateer under Turkish colours; and upon refusal to strike, the privateer charg’d him with his whole fire, and boarded him with a great number of men; which oblig’d him to take the necessary means for his defence, and thereby forc’d the enemy to put off, leaving about thirty of their men behind, who were reduc’d to the necessity of taking to the ship’s tops, rigging, and sides, where they could best below themselves with most safety.

The privateer, finding his men thus left on board, and not able to compass his designs; in order to regain his men, boarded the ship a second time, with stink-pots, powder-flasks, and pole-axes. Upon which the said Copithorne discharged his great guns loaded with double-round and partridge, with all his small arms, and at the same time set fire to his powder-kegs; which obliged the enemy a second time to retire.
The enemy, finding they could not force him to submit, resolved (having little or no wind) to take the ship in tow; and by that means to carry her to the island of Alboran, (being about two miles distance) there to destroy the ship upon the rocks, and put every soul to the sword; as afterwards appeared to be their design.

Copithorne, finding himself in this desperate condition, gave orders to change the helm; which brought the privateer a-long-side: And making use of that advantage, fired his guns again, laden as before; which not only cut the harser of the privateer, and unhitched many of her oars, but also laid her upon the carcen; where she lay two hours before she could amend her damage; during which time there were about fifty of the enemy on board Copithorne's ship, cutting and destroying masts, sails, and rigging, and at the same time a continual fire from the privateer at his close-quarters; and the Spaniards on board were by their own boat supply'd with fresh men and arms, and the same boat carried off their dead and wounded.

After five or near six hours engagement, Copithorne's deck blew up by accident unknown, the bulk-head falling flat upon deck; and the enemy from the forecastle at the same time fired a volley of small-shot into the cabin. By the blowing up the deck, Copithorne's foot was taken in between two planks; which kept him fast for an object of the enemy's cruelty, who snapp'd several pistols and guns at him whilst in that condition; and they snapp'd him, and without mercy butcher'd, cut and stabb'd him so inhumanely, that they themselves believed him to be dead, as he lay upon the floor, naked, and weltering in blood. After some time, and with some difficulty, they got his foot clear, and by four men tost'd him out upon the deck, and from thence into the boat, and carried him on board the privateer; where he lay in the most miserable condition, naked, for nine days before he was landed: in which time the Captain of the privateer and company put it to the vote, whether they should murder the prisoners, and carry the ship to Ivissa or Majorca, to dispose of as they thought proper; or spare the prisoners lives, and carry them to Malaga, according to their orders; and it was carried by a majority of two or three votes only, to spare their lives, and stand in for Malaga. Having thus resolved, they kept the prisoners on board the privateer fourteen hours, without a drop of fresh water to relieve them; which obliged two of them in that time to drink salt water several times: and they supplied Mr. Copithorne with no other sustenance than bread and fish-bones from the Captain of the privateer's table; neither would they grant him a little spirits to wash his wounds, nor in the heat of the day allow him the benefit of the arming which they had to keep off the scorching sun, but drew it aside on purpose to torment him with the heat; which (being naked) blister'd his body in a most dismally manner, and the cold dew of the night falling afterwards, gave him as much uneasiness as the wounds he received in the engagement. Having thus us'd him for nine days, they carried him into Malaga; where he was informed, that the enemy had loft twenty-four or twenty-five men, and had a considerable number wounded; and also found that the ship and cargo was lawful capture. Upon which Nicolas Holloway, Esq; his Majesty's Consul, made a demand of the ship and cargo, and all damages to be made good. And proper application was also made to Mr. Vander Meer, Ambassador of the States General then at Madrid, and Sir Charles Wager at Gibraltar; from whom great hopes were conceived that the ship and cargo would be restored to the owners, and the damages made good, according to the true intent and meaning of the Preliminary Articles: but there came an order from Madrid the 4th October following, to sell the ship and cargo for the use of the cruel captors.
It is very remarkable in this affair, that the preliminary articles were signed at Paris the 31st May 1727, N. S. which was twenty-nine days before the said ship was taken; and, upon the 18th June 1727, his Catholick Majesty accepted and sign'd the said preliminary, tho' he detained them several days before he accepted the same; and upon the 29th following, all hostilities cease'd at Gibraltar and the camp of St. Roche; and upon the 25th of the same month it was publicly known at Malaga (from whence the said privateer sail'd the same evening) and other parts of the sea-coasts, which was four days before the said ship was taken.

There have been sundry applications made, in the most respectful and pressing manner, for redress in this affair; and the said Copitthorne hath made a journey on purpose to Seville, and attended the Committaries some time, in hopes of obtaining satisfaction for himself and the other sufferers, which was attended with a great expense and loss of time.


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.

Amongst the many convincing proofs which your Majesty hath given, of your paternal and unwearied care of the rights of your people, nothing can fill their hearts with more grateful sentiments, than that sincere and affectionate concern, which you have so often declared, for the many hardships and injuries sustained by your trading subjects in America. The honour of your Majesty's crown, and the true interest of your people, are, and ever will be, inseparable; and as your Majesty hath, on all occasions, demonstrated to the world, that you have both equally at heart, it was impossible for us, not to have the firmest dependence on your zeal and vigour for their real security and preservation.

The gracious regard with which your Majesty is pleased to express for the real estate and advice of your Parliament, is a great instance of your Royal goodness: And thence your Majesty's constant desire, out of tenderness to your people, to avoid involving the kingdoms in the manifold inconveniences of war, must incline you to approve of a beginning with more moderate measures, yet we never entertained the least doubt but that true greatness and fortiens which inspire your Royal breath, would induce you to exert your utmost power in vindicating and protecting our undoubted privileges of navigation and commerce, and in doing justice to yourself and your subjects, if the conduct of the court of Spain had made such methods necessary.

We beg leave, on this occasion, to offer to your Majesty our unsigned thanks for your great goodness and cendefension in acquitting us from the throne, that a Convention is concluded and ratified between your Majesty and the King of Spain whereby reparation is agreed to be made to your subjects for their losses, by a certain stipulated payment; and Plenipotentiaries are appointed for regulating, within a limited time, all those grievances and abuses, which have hitherto interrupted our commerce and navigation in the American seas; and that your Majesty will be pleased to order the Convention and Separate Articles to be laid before us.

We should fall short of those warm impressions of gratitude which we feel in ourselves, as well as be wanting in our duty, if we did not return your Majesty our most thankful acknowledgments for your Royal care, in making use of the confidence reposed in your Majesty, with no other view, but the general and lasting benefit of your kingdoms. Reparation for past injuries and losses, and effectual security for the future, founded in justice and warranted by treaties, have been the great views of your Majesty and your Parliament in this national and important affair; and if those purposes can be attained without plunging the nation into war, it must give the truest satisfaction.
The ADDRESS of the House of PEERS.

To all our faithful subjects, who cannot but be as desirous to preserve the peace, as they are able and ready to defend and vindicate their rights against the encroachments of all aggressors.

We are deeply sensible, how unbecoming and pernicious it would be, at any time, to suffer either prejudices or animosities to mix themselves with Parliamentary deliberations; and your Majesty's gracious recommendation to us, particularly to avoid them at this important conjuncture, cannot fail to awaken in us a more than ordinary caution on that head. Great Britain hath but one common interest, consisting in the security of your Majesty's person and government, and the welfare and happiness of your people: And when your Majesty is pleased to exhort us to unanimity, it is only calling upon us to unite for our own preservation. We therefore beseech your Majesty to accept the strongest and most effectual assurances, that we will zealously and cheerfully concern in all such measures, as shall be most conducive to those great and desirable ends.

The House of Commons, in their Address, acknowledge his Majesty's great goodness in the constant regard his Majesty has been pleased to express to the petitions and complaints of his subjects and the advice of his Parliament, and in pursuing such measures for the honour and dignity of his crown, and the true interest of his people, as his Majesty judged most proper and advantageous. They congratulate his Majesty on the success of his Royal endeavours, in concluding a Convention with the King of Spain, whereby reparation is stipulated to be made and paid to his Majesty's injured subjects, and Plenipotentiaries are appointed for regulating all those grievances and abuses which have hitherto impeded our commerce and navigation, and for removing all future causes and pretences of complaint.

They conclude with assuring his Majesty, that his faithful Commons will efficiently support him in accomplishing and bringing to perfection that great and necessary work, in such a manner as may answer the just demands and expectations of his Majesty and his people; and promise to grant such supplies as shall be necessary for the honour and security of his Majesty and his kingdoms.

The Citizen, No. 4.

The following account having been sent us by a person whose knowledge and credit may be depended upon, we thought it would be agreeable to our Readers.

In the year 1718, the King of Spain ordered all the effects of the South-Sea company in the West-Indies to be seized; which was rigorously executed, and the goods carried by the King's officers into his ware-houses. These effects (by a fair account delivered to Lord Stanhope) amounted to $50,000 l. prime cost. The Spaniards, who had bought goods and negroes of the company's factors upon trust, took this opportunity, (many of them) not to pay their debts, and there was no selling any negroes; which much increased the losses of the company, great number of those negroes dying in the company's settlements. And the inhumanity of the Spaniards went so far, that the Bishop of Carthagena would not suffer any of the negroes that died in his Diocese to be buried. All the while the company kept their factories at La Vera-Cruz, Panama, Portobel, Carthagena, and Buenos Ayres, and two agents at Madrid, which put them to a very great expense; so that the loss the company suffered by this seizure could not amount to less than one million Sterling.

'Tis true, that when the two courts were agreed, the King of Spain ordered the effects that were seized to be restored; but the produce of what was restored, (which was sent to England by one of the company's ships) did not exceed 200,000 l. and consequently the company was prejudiced by this seizure full 800,000 l.

In the year 1727, when the King of Spain besieged Gibraltar, he sent orders to his officers in the Indies to seize again the company's effects; which were put in execution, and it is said this
second seizure amounted to 900,000 l. and that the company suffered more on account of bad debts, and not selling their negroes, than they had done by the first. When the peace was concluded, the King of Spain ordered again the company’s effects to be restored; but what was restored did not amount to 190,000 l. and the produce was sent to Spain by one of the King’s ships, in indigo, pieces of eight, and cochineal. When the ship came to Cadiz, the indigo and pieces of eight were delivered to the company’s agents; but the Spaniards kept the cochineal; so that the company did not recover of this second seizure, above 150,000 l. and were greater losers by this than by the first seizure.

The South-Sea company, by their account delivered to both houses of parliament, received out of the produce of the late Directors estates upwards of 2,300,000 l.

The publick has allowed to the company, since the year 1721, about 17,000 l. a-year over and above their four per cent; which in 18 years amounts to upwards of 300,000 l.

These two millions six hundred thousand pounds (except about 200,000 l. lost by the whale fishery, and spent in the building of a house) have been absorbed by the encroachments of the Spaniards, and the many perplex’d and intangling difficulties they have raised on account of the company’s trade, from the very beginning of the Asiento to this day.

SONG. To Cupid.

Sweet, my love, oh hear me now, and help to ease a love-sick heart; or rather aid my trembling soul, and teach me to reveal my heart.

Tell her, whose goodness is my base, whose looks have smelt my peace away, oh whisper how she gives me pain, while undersigning, frank and gay.

’Tis not for common charms I sigh, nor what the vulgar beauty call; ’tis not her cheek, her lip, her eye; but ’tis the soul that lights them all.

For that I drop the tender tear; for that I make the artless mean; oh whisper love into her ear, and make the bashful lover known.

To the author of the Scots Magazine.

SIR, Glasgow, Feb. 20.

The first of last month I received, the following lines, which have something in them to dislike what I have ever before seen upon the same subject; that I am persuaded the author will not blame my offering them for the edification of your readers. I am, etc.

ELI HESSA.

To STELLA:

With a BIBLE for her New-year’s gift.

Strange present, fair one, from a youth in love!

A Bible sent a virgin’s heart to move; Sinner Cassandra might have hop’d to succour, or Great Amadis by his wild disperse; Ovid or Waller’s softer lines might melt; But from the Bible can love’s pang be hid? Yes, Stella, yes; this sacred vol will displease! The beauteous love has made in earliest days; No sooner had th’ Almighty form’d thy sire, In station blest it, and choises in each defer, But untainted innocence to love essay’d. And for a beauteous mate incessant prayr’d. His boon was granted, and kind beauteous decree sent him fair; But—O! my dear sent one thee!

The relenting Fair.

When first the bashful swain began To speake his fond passion with a sigh; To so much goodness love and truth; What maid could have been deaf but I.

While be the kindest soul express, Too cruel I conten’d his care; Now all his passion fires my breast; I love, I languish, and despair.

What tho’ I wear my late disclaim, The gentle youth would sure forgive. Ah no! no!—Life would be a pain. From one whom I forbid to love.

Then, DAME, when I’m gone, renew Accus a bapte then loving maid: Think, she who cross’d thy love before. By force, in death, ’s cold arms is laid.
To the author of the Scots Magazine.

SIR,

Edinb. Feb. 7.

A few nights ago two friends of mine agreed each to write a verse to the tune of The Lass o' Patie's Mill, the worst to forfeit a bottle; and while they were disputing what to choose for the subject, the candle, wanting to be finished, relented them, and they agreed to make a candle their theme. — I was umpire; and shall be glad to find the pick of my judgment. — However they may be approved, they will most properly reach the world through your hands, since they are at least home productions. Yours, &c. T. A.

SONG.

Tune, The Lass of Patie's Mill.

In vain my taper burns,
And lends its feeble ray;
Until my fair returns
How tedious is delay!

When Stella is away,
The Sun's no longer bright;
Her presence brings the day,
Her absence leaves the night.

Another. By a different hand.

Address'd to the Candle.

When Phoebus' beams are gone,
And Cynthia's face we view,
Each mortal eye would return,
Wert not for help from you:

For, aided by thy glance,
I Myra's charms still find;
But since they kick'd to France
Where'er the fair seems kind.

SIR,

Browmick, Feb. 12.

The Rev. Mr. A—n, Rector of Barr—de in Gloucestershire, falling into the Orchestra at the rehearsal of the Pericles of Shakespeare, altered by Mr. Lillo, gave occasion for the following long; which has met with the approbation of several private companies, and may probably be agreeable to many of your readers.

Several in this town approve your design, and from the gentlemen of the army, and others who have leisure for such purposes, you will believe, receive considerable assistance, which you can only merit by closely adhering to the Plan of your Design. Your hearty well-wisher,

Orlando.


A Parson, who long had taught virtue in vain,

Unable from vices his rude flock to restrain,

Rejoys'd from experience, and what he had read,

That it still would be so till the Devil were dead.

Derry down, &c.

II.

But, how to come at him appear'd the great case;
For, tho' oft at your elbow, but few for his face:
At length, (happy thought) to his fancy it came,
If he went to the stage he could scarce miss his aim.

Derry down, &c.

III.

For there, at last the Priest, uncontested he reigns,
(With his daughters the nymphs, and his demurs

the wains;

— I'll hasten to London — where, thirsting for
To Lillo's rehearsal next morning be came.

Derry down, &c.

IV.

Perverse lay the Devil, and lest'd at his guts,
(Who'd ev'ry corner in search for his rift.)

Then, by way of defiance, undaunted he stood,
Pointing full at the Priest, till he chill'd all his blood.

Derry down, &c.

V.

But, being recover'd, Ah! Satan, be cry'd,
I'll revenge my wretch'd race, let whatever beside;
No longer this place with thy art shall abound,
And increase every day, while the church loses ground.

Derry down, &c.

VI.

The Devil, well us'd to each foot of the way,
Stepping crost to the pit, led the Parson astray;
Who, qutting a stool at old Belchard's base,
Puff'd with head on the pianose like sick on a drum.

Derry down, &c.

VII.

Ah! jest of devils! rank see to the just,
How vain was my faith in thy guidance to trust!
In my church should't thou ever but dare to appear,
I'll say thee as low as thou'lt stumble me here.

Derry down, &c.

VIII.

A match, said the Devil; if'ter I inwa's

Thy preaching, or praying, or binder thy trade,
Let my punishment then be made full as severe,
As is due to the fool who moves out of his sphere.

Derry down, &c.
To the author of the Scots Magazine.

SIR,

The following lines were writ by a young Gentleman of 17, student at the university here: If you think they will be favourably received by the publick, you may present them in your next Magazine, and oblige.

Tours, &c. Favitor.

Vigilantis vesta, dormantis somnia.

He twirled his fears the bright I'd all the skies,
And balmy summer feast'd my weary eyes:
When, lo! a lovely youth approach'd my bed,
Whose smiling temples were with hair so spread;
A flowing garment did his limbs surround,
Which lightly hung, and careless swept the ground;
On his left side a golden lyre was hung,
Which straight he touch'd, and thus melodious sung:
Ripe, gentle youth! awake thy infant muse,
And try what thoughts true beauty can infuse;
Where ev'ry feature in her face you'll find
Sweet as her words, and suavely as her mind;
Still entertaining, negligent of air,
Manners refin'd, obliging as she's fair;
Engaging temper, innocently soon;
Void of all female frauds, and mean deceits;
Nature gave all the charms she could confer,
And rob'd from others to bestow on her.

Description fails.— Come, gentle youth, be cries;
What words can paint, shall bless thy longing eyes.
This said, I rose; and swiftly as thought we flew,
Where sybarites open'd to our view;
Where warbling birds awake the cheerful dawning,
And fragrant beauties pass the sweet adorning;
When thus my guide: See yonder gay above;
There bend thy steps, and fire thy soul with love.
This said, he disappear'd: when straightway I, Proud of his precepts, readily obey.
The bow'r I enter'd, whereon roses laid,
Fair Delia slept, in all her charms array'd.
Here all the beauties that the world could boast,
In this more beauteous object would be lost;
Here ev'ry charm that Phebus sang before,
I found enchant'd by various graces more.
Amaz'd I stood, and view'd the beauteous fair,
Now stir'd by Love, and now depress'd by Fear:
Love whispers softly, Steal a balmy kisst.
Fear bids me flee, and disapproves my bliss.
But fear gave way, and I, with eager haste,
Flir'd to surround her dear diaphanous Gaze—
But see! she's gone! and all my joys are o'er,
And flow'ring transports in a moment lost.
Ixon thus sought Juno's dear embrace,
And clasps'd an empty phantom in her place.

MYRTILLO TO MIRA.

My lovely Mira! these bright eyes
First rais'd the infant fire,
And kindled in my flaming breast
The ravishing desire.
"Twas thy sweet face that tost me first,
Thy beauty made me know,
"As Cupid's altar I must kneel,
And to his sceptre bow.
O cruel! can you bid me, thou,
No more adore these charms?
Or, in imagination, die
Enraptured? in thy arms?
Can one so near all'd to be known,
Demand so hard a gift?
Or things that nature cannot grant
From a devoted ask?

No, Mira, no! I can't obey
The streams shall backward roll;
And thou, O damask rose, shall be
And flow'res at the pole;
My feeble tale shall cease to play
My limbs forget to move,
And my power be lost in death.
If ever I change my love.

To the charming Mifs

Deck'd with flowers
Midst the bow'rs,
See my beauteous Chis reclining
Soft reposing,
Charm'd discomposing,
Ever fair but never kind.
Sad in anguish,
While I languish,
Linnet's lend their living ear,
Me they pity
Be soft charity,
Or in concert for the fair.

Valleys sounding,
Rocks rebounding,
In compassion speak my mean
Vocal mountains,
Crystal fountains,
All the plaintive notes return.
Fairest creature
Form'd by nature,
Kindly bear your love complain;
To my plight
Be compising,
For I die if you disdain.
Poetical ESSAYS in FEBRUARY 1739.

An Ode to F A M E.

L O! as you promontory's pendant brow,
That threats the seadov'd gulf below,
In the dam air sublime,
Fame spread's her buoyant pinion wide,
Disdaining Britan's sluggish clime;
And, in a moment's flight,
Determines to alight
On this lone Guest; more formidable side.—
Stay, Goddess, I conjure thee, stay;
And, ere irrevocably fear's away,
 Thy piercing trump apply,
And pour so vehement a blast,
as shall alarm earth, sea and sky,
Havest the present age, and accost to the last! —

— She bears the muse's call,
And with obedient breath
Inspires the mystic strain! —
Hark! hark! the swelled sound,
Tempests the air around,
Razes the sleeping main;
Shakes earth's remotest bound;
Pieces the very centre of the ball,
And almost wakes death!

Quin! again the upbraiding peal renew,
Make courtesy deafness bear;
Mute tyrant-poor's and base corruption fear;
Let faints close their guilty steps pursue!
Again! again it roars loud;
A thunder from a bursting cloud!
We deign Pashians catch the fierce alarm,
And, for'd with martial flame,
Luxurious Persians arm
And bravely emulate the Greek and Roman name.

But, death to basefess eyes!
Britannia's genius slumbering lies,
Doomed first on carpets spread,
Defeat to the honourable found
That kindled virtue thro' the world's vast round;
Num'd with inglorious peace,
Embroiled with toil and raft,
And to all sense of emulation dead!
Her pillars field is burn'd aside,
And her neglected lance,
The terror once of trembling France!
Disdainful Cupids wantonly befristed
Unwise she feels her idle bands
Pier'd with golden bands;
The victor laurel too
Drop wisht'rd from her brow;

While in its stead farcevick banner ties
A rofe-wreath, emblem of a victim down'd
For sacrifice!

Ob where are all her ancient honours flown?
Her Senators of high renown;
Her Patriots, such as dar'd withstand
The freums of judg', the charms of gold;
Made proud opprobrium quit her greedy bold,
And from the jaws of ruin snatch'd their
parents' land.

Alas! the monumental bâst
That guards their awful dust,
And the historian's faithful page,
Are the sole relics of that nobler age!
Unlest then, Goddess! thy awakening strain
Can rouse the mighty dead again,
Gone, give thy fruitless labour o'er,
And quit for ever this degenerate place!
For, where all voices make their joint abode,
Fame's to be starr'd as beacon's sourred,
And night-beght Oblivion worship'd as
a God.

To Mr. M A L L E T.

Occasioned by being at the representation
of MUSTAPHA:

To trace the workings of a monarch's mind,
Hurry'd by passions of the gloomy kind;
Influence the dire effects from hence proceed,
Where pow'r gives sanction to the blackest deed;
Where dayward slaves the few reign's nod obey,
And yield up all their rights to loufleis sway:
To picture virtue in its truef light,
And show what is good is always right;
Vice in its native colours to reveal,
And mark the secret pains the vicious feel,
Such as too oft ambition does impart,
To stab the guilty statesman to the heart;
These haft thou, Mallet, beauteously display'd,
With nature to conduct, and art to aid.
Nor is thy tow'ring genius here confin'd,
Boundless as nature acting in the mind;
'Tis thine to bid the tend reft passions rise,
And call the generous tear from pitying eyes;
To wake soft frowns in the breast humane,
That feels for suffering virtue nameless pain;
Ruin'd and chaplet morals to impart,
At once to charm and to improve the heart.
Be Mustapha the proof, where phall'd we find
Sense, conduct, beauty, wit and judgment
join'd.
Shakespeare's being a Comedian he
turn'd the heads of too many of his
successors, for one Gilder is so much as
one age can reasonably expect.

Last night I went to Dutch Lane to
see Mr. Mallet's tragedy of Mustapha,
a play acted for the first time: The pit was
before five o'clock, filled with Gentle-
men who made a very polite appearance,
and were mostly of the Scots nation,
the author having been some time a
domestic of his Grace the Duke of
Montrose. Considerable expectations
were formed of a genius which was
some years ago capable of producing
the justly admired tragedy called Ever
dice. Before the curtain drew up, some
Gentlemen crouding themselves among
the musicians, gave occasion to convince
the whole audience, that, should they
be found necessary, a sufficient quantity
of cat-calls, and other instruments of
theatrical damnation were provided;
but the whole play was acted without
one hisp or other mark of dislike.

To say the truth, the language is in gen-
eral strong, and many of the abominations
are grave, the characters well chosen,
and the incidents natural enough.

Yet I am sorry to say it, the best de-
scription, and the most moving expres-
sions, passed in silence, while any casual
expression which was capable of being in-
terpreted into a meaning unintended
(I believe) by the author, met with the
loudest applause. The characters are, as
well as I can remember, Selima, Empe-
or of the Turks; Mustapha, his eldest
son by a former Queen; Roxalinda, his
Empress; a son of her's, the Grand
Vizier; the Mutif; and a daughter of
the Sophi of Persia, privately married
to Mustapha.—The Vizier and the
Empress, afflicted by the Mutif, contrive
the ruin of Mustapha: To rescue whom
from the fate that threatened him, his
brother, the son of Roxalinda, contrives
a rebellion in the army, and comes to
his relief, but too late; in the contest
the Vizier received a wound, of which
he dies, after owning his guilt: On the
fight of Mustapha's corpse, his brother
flaps himself; the Empress sues for
death.
DOMESTICK HISTORY.

Neil Macvicar, an Agent about the said court, had a plea with James Cochran of Hill. Towards the end of the summer session, a complaint was laid before the Lord Drummore, Ordinary in that cause, alleging there had been vitiations of the summons and executions relating thereto. It being then near the close of the session, his Lordship sealed up the papers till November; when they were opened in presence of the bench; and his Lordship received directions to enquire into the affair. In consequence of this, when the evidence came to be examined, Cochran deponed, That Macvicar had prevailed on him, for the sum of 70 Sterling, and other valuable considerations, to drop the complaint; but had, at the same time, obliged him to give his bill for the said sum, that, in case it came to be enquired into, he might say, the money was for value received; and promised to cancel the bill after Cochran should be examined. This fact was refused by Macvicar; but he acknowledged he had a bill on Cochran for that sum; which, he said, was granted to him for the expense of the first process, determined against Cochran. The Lord Drummore ordered the money to be brought in; which was done, and lodged in his Lordship's hands. But Macvicar had indorsed the bill to Archibald Maclauchlan Merchant in this city, who immediately caused arrest of the sum in the Lord Ordinary's hands. This was done while his Lordship was in his robes, and sitting in judgment! Such a daring infilt deprived particular notice. Therefore the case was immediately reported to the Lords; who, justly astonished at such conduct, ordered Maclauchlan to be immediately sifted before them. On his examination he prevaricated so grossly, that their Lordships were obliged to pronounce a sentence proportioned to his crime. At the same time, it appeared that Macvicar had been his prompter; on which account he was committed to jail till the matter should be further enquired into. After the evidence was exa-

S. TOWER.

EDINBURGH, February 1739.

The company of Comedians being prosecuted before the court of Session, their Lordships, after hearing counsel on both sides, found them guilty, and decreed for the penalties in the late act against strollers.
DOMESTICK HISTORY.

examined, Macvicar moved, by a petition, that a day might be appointed for hearing his cause. This was agreed to by their Lordships; and, at the same time, they recommended to the Lawyers for the Crown to purifie on the complaint. This was done; and his Majesty’s Solicitor shewed, by an induction of circumstances, that Macvicar was guilty not only of the vitiations complained of, but likewise of subornation of perjury. His Council replied: But his guilt appeared so plain, that the bench unanimously agreed (though with a visible concern) to pronounce the following sentence, viz. “Find the said Neil Macvicar, being a writer, and being an ordinary pratticer in managing of caules before this court, is guilty of victiatiing, razing, superinducing, and unwarrentably altering a summons at his own instance against James Cochran and others; part of the record of this court, and the foundation of the proceedings in a caufe betwixt him and the said James Cochran depending therein: And find, That during the course of the proceedings upon this complaint, the said Neil Macvicar hath been guilty of many undue, sinistrous and criminal practices, in order to file the complaint, and conceal his own guilt; by clandestinely inducing the said James Cochran to transact upon, discharge, and pass from the said complaint, after the same was taken in judgment; by giving him considerable sums of money, in order to induce and enable him, under false colours and fictitious pretences, to give false evidence in the course of the examination; and by endeavouring to persuade and suborn Archibald Maclachlan, a witnes adduced in this caufe, to commit perjury, and give false evidence upon his examination; and by attempting to impress large sums of money into his hands, in order to enable him more effectually to disgrace the truth; and by affirming and insinuating upon many gross falsehoods in open court, now appearing to be so: THEREFORE the Lords have declared, and hereby declare, the said Neil Macvicar to be, from hence forth; and in all time coming, infamous, and incapable of all publick trust or office, or of passing upon any affize or inquest, or bearing witness in any caufe or trial; And do hereby declare his moveable goods and gear to be etcheat and forfeited, and ordain the same to be inbought for his Majesty’s use: Further, the Lords do banish the said Neil Macvicar, during all the days of his life, forth of Scotland, from and after the first day of November next; with certification, That if, after the said first day of November next, the said Neil Macvicar shall be found or apprehended within any part of Scotland, that he shall be immediately committed by warrant of any Magistrate or Justice of the Peace having power of commitment, to the next sure priors, and shall be transmitted, with the first conveniency, by the Sheriff of the county where he shall be so committed, to the next Sheriff, and so forth, from Sheriff to Sheriff, until he be lodged in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, there to remain until an opportunity offer of transporting him to one of his Majesty’s plantations of America; and shall then be delivered over by the Magistrates of Edinburgh to any merchant, ship-master, or other person, who shall find surety, under the penalty of L. 200 Sterling to transport him to, and land him in one of his said Majesty’s plantations; with certification, That in case he return to Scotland at any time thereafter, he shall be punished with the highest pains that may be by law inflicted upon persons returning from banishment or transportation: And the Lords ordain the said Neil Macvicar to be now carried back to prison, and there to remain till the first day of September next, and then to be disfrifed out of prison, in order to his going into banishment, as above adjudged: And they appoint this their sentence and judgment to be recorded in their books of Sederunt, there to remain to the terror of others from committing the like practices in time to come.

The Magistrates and Council of this city, on account of some late differences,
Domestic History.

The merchants of the city of Glasgow, the Montrose, Dunedee, Kinghorn, Mont-Berwick, Dunbar, Stirling, and Dunfermline, have severally discharged petitions to parliament, praying, That the American trade may be free and safe, on ships exempted from the search of guard-captains, and reparation made for the damages and insults already sustained.

London, February 1739.

The Lords assured the S. J. Company's admiral to the King in 1739 to be laid before them. It was moved, that the discharge of that Company, (at its members) should attend at the reading the address, and when the convention should be considered; but both these were carried in the negative.

Two motions were made in the House of Commons, and carried in the affirmative, viz. one for laying before the King in council the instructions sent to a certain Admiral, to the Governors of the British plantations, &c. the other for copies of the general memorials, &c. presented to the King of Spain or his Ministers.

Since the publication of the convention, several merchants, owners of ships, and other sufferers by Spanish depreciation, are preparing petitions proving their title, and craving to be admitted to a part of the L. 95,000 to be remitted from Spain.

The Treasurers for the colony of Georgia have presented a petition, praying, That the Plenipotentiaries may be instructed to provide for the safety of that colony, in regard that Mr. Geraldino, in a letter dated 21st September 1756, to the Duke of Newcastle, asserts, That Georgia is expressly a part of the territory of the King his master.

Richard Copiphorne, owner of the Betty Gally, and the owners of the Loyal Gally, William Fugely, Captain, both taken in the Mediterranean, and carried into Malaga, since signing the prelusionsaries, have likewise presented their cases to the House.

Petitions have also been presented by the merchants of London, Bristol, Liverpool, &c. and by Thomas Rose, &c. owners of the Sarah, John Vaughan, Master, newly arrived from his imprisonment in Old Spain.

Several complaints have been laid before the House of the decay of our woollen manufacture. And the number of land forces for the current year, viz. 177,000 (the same as last year) was reported and agreed to by a majority of near 60. As also 12,000 farrers (at 4 l. per month per man) were voted for the service of the current year. Several accounts were presented from the war and navy office, and the sum of 282,989 l. is ordered for the Ordinary of the navy.

The humble petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commoners of the city of London, in Common Council assembled, sheweth,
Your petitioners must humbly apprehend, that the trade from the British Majesty's kingdoms to his American colonies, is of the utmost importance, and almost the only profitable trade this nation now enjoys, survive'd by others; and they were induced to hope from his Majesty's known goodness, and paternal care of his subjects, supported by the vigorous resolutions of both houses of parliament, and the equipment of a very powerful fleet, that his Majesty's trading subjects in the seas of America, as well as in all other parts of the ocean, would not only have received a full satisfaction for their losses occasioned by the depredations of Spain, but also an undoubted security for their commerce for the time to come; and that a reasonable and adequate reparation would likewise have been obtained, for the barbarities and inhuman cruelties exercised by that nation on the English seamen, who have had the unhappiness of falling into their merciless hands.

Your petitioners must humbly beg leave to testify their great concern and surprize to find, by the convention lately concluded between his Majesty and the King of Spain, that the Spaniards are so far from giving up their (as we humbly apprehend) unjust pretensions of a right to visit and search our ships on the seas of America, that this pretension of theirs is, amongst others, referred to the future regulation and decision of plenipotentiaries appointed on each side, whereby we apprehend it is in some degree admitted.

We humbly conceive we have too much cause to fear, if the right pretended to by Spain, of searching British ships at sea, be admitted in any manner or degree whatsoever, that the trade of his Majesty's subjects to America, will become so precarious, as to depend, in a great measure, upon the indulgence and indulgence of the Spaniards, of both of which they have given us for some years past such precedents, as we humbly think this nation can have no cause to be satisfied with.

Your petitioners beg leave further to express their humble apprehensions, that such a precarious situation as this, must inevitantly expose the trade to the American seas to continual interruptions and perpetual alarms, as well as to frequent losses; that to these unhappy causes they humbly apprehend, the present low state of the British colonies in America, may in a great measure be attributed; and if the cruel treatment of the English seamen, whose hard state has thrown them into the hands of the Spaniards, should be put up without any reparation, your petitioners humbly apprehend, it may be the means of deterring the seamen from undertaking voyages to the seas of America, without an advance of wages, which that trade or any other will not be able to support.

Your petitioners therefore having laid before this honourable house, the high importance this trade is of to the kingdom in general, and this city in particular, thought it their indispensible duty, to represent in the most humble and respectful manner to this honourable house, the fatal consequences of leaving the freedom of navigation any longer in suspense and uncertainty: They therefore humbly hope this honourable house will take it into mature deliberation, and do therein as to their great wisdom shall seem meet.

And your petitioners shall pray, &c.

EPITAPH on a Bankrupt.

Deum daves secures (if creditors should come),
For once a debtor may be found at home:
By debts arrested, and in jail here laid,
The first, the left, the only debt be paid.

PREFERMENTS CIVIL.

John Earl of Breadalbane, — Lord Lieutenant of the county of Perth.
The Lord Abercawmery, — Master of the jewel-office.
David Lord Balgonay,—a Commissioner of Police.
Lady Anne Montague,—one of the Ladies of the Bed-chamber to Princess Amelia.
James-Glen of Longcroft, Esq; — Governor of Carolina.
—MacCollach, Esq; — Surveyor-General of his Majesty's revenues there.
Thomas Drury, Esq; — a Baronet of Great Britain.
Timothy Rogers, Esq; — Master Extraordinary in Chancery.
**DOMESTICK HISTORY.**

**DEATHS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Age Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Earl of Hyndford</td>
<td>Colonel of a regiment of foot on the Irish establishment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Lord John Murray</td>
<td>Captain of a company in the guards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Earl of Loudon</td>
<td>Captain Lieutenant of a company in the third regiment of foot guards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four Gentlemen</td>
<td>Lieutenants in the guards, viz. Mr. Charles Churchill, Mr. Perry, Mr. Urquhart, and Mr. Newton, son of the General.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Gooch</td>
<td>Bishop of Bristol, to the see of Norwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rev. Dr. Tennison</td>
<td>Archdeacon of Caermarthens, and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, a Prebend of Canterbury.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rev. Mr. Deedes</td>
<td>— a Prebend of Canterbury.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rev. Mr. Marsh</td>
<td>— one of his Majesty's Chaplains in ordinary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rev. Mr. Reyner</td>
<td>— Chaplain in ordinary to the Prince of Wales.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James D'Ashwood of Northbroke</td>
<td>— to Miss Eliza Spencer, sister to the Dukes of Hamilton.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Montgomery, Esq.</td>
<td>— to Miss Sawbridge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Erskine jun. of Dun, Esq.</td>
<td>— to Miss Margaret Inglis.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MARRIAGES.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sir James D'Ashwood of Northbroke</td>
<td>Oxfordshire, to Miss Eliza Spencer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Montgomery, Esq.</td>
<td>to Miss Sawbridge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Erskine jun. of Dun, Esq.</td>
<td>to Miss Margaret Inglis.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**DISEASES.**

- Suddenly 3, Convulsion 1, Anphias 1, Over laid 1, Still-born 3, Old age 1, Consumption 25, Small-pox 10, Fever 15, Teething 9, Chin-cough 12, Child-bed 1.

**POSTSCRIPT.**

**LONDON, March 3.**

Thursday last a motion was made in the House of Lords for the following address to his Majesty, and carried by a majority of 21.


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 most humble thanks for your gracious condescension, in laying the Convention between your Majesty and the King of Spain, dated the fourteenth day of January last, N. S. together with the Separate Articles, before this House.

We think it our indispensable duty, on this occasion, to express our just sense of your Royal care of the true interests of your people; and to acknowledge your Majesty's great prudence, in bringing the demands of your subjects for their past losses, which have been so long depending, to a final...
adjusment by the said Convention; and procuring an expeditious settlement for a speedy payment; and in laying, a foundation for accomplishing the great and desirable end, of obtaining future security, and preserving the peace between the two nations.

We beg leave also to declare to your Majesty, our confidence and reliance on your Royal wisdom and steady attention to the honour of your crown, and the welfare of these kingdoms, that in the treaty to be concluded in pursuance of this Convention, proper provisions will be made for redress of the grievances so justly complained of; and particularly, that the freedom of navigation and commerce in the American seas, to which your Majesty's subjects are entitled by the laws of nations, and by virtue of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, will be so effectually secured, that they may enjoy unimpeded their accustomed rights of navigation, and carrying on trade and commerce from one part of your Majesty's dominions to any other part thereof, without being liable to be seized, unjustly or unjustly, or to any other violation or infringement of the said treaties; the mutual observance thereof, and a just regard to the privileges belonging to each other, being the only means of maintaining a good correspondence, and lasting friendship, between the two crowns.

Permit us, at the same time, in the most dutiful manner, to express to your Majesty, our firm dependence, that in the treaty to be concluded in pursuance of the said Convention, the most regard will be had to the rights belonging to your Majesty's crown and subjects, in adjusting and settling the limits of your Majesty's dominions in America; and to give your Majesty the strongest assurance, that in case your Majesty's just expectations shall not be conjured, this House will heartily and zealousy concern in all such measures, as shall be necessary to vindicate your Majesty's honour, and to preserve to your subjects the full enjoyment of all those rights, to which they are entitled by treaty, and the laws of nations.

His Majesty's most gracious answer.

My Lords,

I thank you for this dutiful Address, and for the grateful sent you expresed of

my care of the true interest of my people.

You may depend upon it, that I have the honour of your crown, and the welfare of my kingdom entirely at heart; and that nothing shall be wanting on my part, to secure to my subjects the full enjoyment of their navigation, and commerce, and their other just rights.

Verily made Extempore.

No men's now of good Queen Bess's days,

When England ruled all monarch of the seas,

Her ships with freedom travers'd her own main,

And swarm'd the universe in states of Spain.

But tears now trickle down Trade's meaner face,

And swyn starts to for his sad disgrace;

As cowardly courage raise by others shewn,

So Spaniards dare d to check a Briton's tears.

Ab's had this insult in C,—on 4's days,

Not half the ears in Spain his wrath would eafe.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

The report of Count Dasham's disgrace, which was for some time confirmed from Constantinople, in advice to every part of Europe, appears to be no more than a stratagem of the Porte, to account for his departure, from that city without informing the publick that he was gone to take a view of the Turkish frontiers, in order to make a report of the operations which he judges most expedient for the ensuing campaign. The Baffaw of Bender, who commanded upon the Niester against the Russians last year, has been called to account for his conduct, and disgraced; whether in punishment of his supposed neglect of duty, or in gratification of the known ill-will the Grand Vizier bore him, is not easily determin'd. It is certain, however, that the Baffaw is generally lamented, being one of the most valiant and wise commanders in the Ottoman empire. The Grand Vizier's credit is said to increase daily; the fortifications of Widdin, Nissa, and Orlova, are repairing, and
and the magazine filling with ammunition, &c.

Reports vary with regard to a response between Koulai Kan, the Sophi of Persia, and the Grand Seignior himself, as to the departure of the Persian ambassadors they were not only complimented with the presents usual on such occasions, but, above what was ever before known, each of them was presented with forty pieces.

From Paris we are informed, That Koulai Kan has declared to the Grand Seignior's ambassador at Mahrana, That he would treat with the Porte upon no other foot than Sha-Abdes the Great, his glorious predecessor, had done; that he demanded likewise that Mecca (famous for the wonder-working tomb of Mahomet) should be commissary to Turkestan and Persia, &c.

It is not easy to ascertain any thing of the present designs of the courts of Vienna and Muscovy, the Grand Seignior insisting upon the restitution of the fortress of Aoph as a preliminary article to any treaty of peace.

The Emperor has invited the Right Honourable Lord Cranstoun to the rank of Lieutenant General of her forces; but his Lordship returned an answer to her Imperial Majesty, his having no inclination to be other than a volunteer under any other crown save that of Great Britain; but that it was his design to serve in the capacity of a volunteer the next campaign against the infidels, under the Russian banners, being willing to mount the theatre of war with the first of them.

The affairs of Corsica, notwithstanding the martial mediation of France, remain much in their former situation; the transports sent to reinforce the French troops in that island having been parted, and many of them much dispersed; and the Corsicans were far from regretting the misfortunes of those intended succours, that such of them as the waves threw in their power were put to the sword; So warmly is the resentment of these people against all who in any shape favour the Genoese. Count Boisfeuille, commander of the French troops in Corsica is dead; and the arrival of a nephew of Baron Theodore's in that island has given fresh spirit to the natives, by affording them of his uncle's design of being with them in person in a short time. Among the reasons alleged by these people for their unshaken attachment to that brave adventurer, are the following, &c.

"That the kingdom of Corsica cannot be happy unless it be governed by a Sovereign, who having no other dominions, will always reside in the kingdom, and make it his sole care to govern his people; like the father of a family, who having but one only son, studies to procure him all the advantages possible: That God had given them such a Sovereign in the person of the Baron de Neuflor, whom they have acknowledged and proclaimed for their King: That this Baron, who has no other estates, will only make it his business to govern according to the laws of his kingdom, and to make his people happy. That he and his descendants, who will be Corsicans by birth, being free from all farther ambition, and content with their little inheritance, will set open its harbours, and by preserving a perfect neutrality, furnish all neighbouring powers with provisions, which will naturally spread plenty over the whole face of the country: That they can never hope to enjoy such happiness under the government of any other Sovereigns; not only because in their reigns the island could only hope to be governed by deputies, but because foreign Princes being exposed to war, the kingdom of Corsica would be liable to suffer the calamities attending it, when probably her interests might be no way concerned."

The Most Christian King has declared the marriage between Louisetta Elizabeth, the first Princess of France, aged 12 years next September, and Don Philip, second Infante of Spain, aged 19; and between the second Princesse, Anna Henrietta, her twin-sister, and his Sardinian Majesty's eldest son, aged 23.
A Register of Books for February 1739.

Manders. A satire. price 1 s.

Glorious twenty-three. pr. 6 d.

Self-love and virtue reconciled only by religion. pr. 6 d.

Dissertation upon tythes. pr. 6 d.

New treatise of husbandry. By S. Trowell. pr. 2 s. 6 d.

Defence of natural and revealed religion; being a collection of sermons preached at Boyle's Lectures. pr. 3 l. 3 s. in sheets.

Peace and no peace. pr. 6 d.

A kind of dialogue in Hudibrasick. pr. 6 d.

New translation of Juvenal's satires. pr. 5 s. 6 d.

Measuring completed. By T. W. pr. 2 s. 6 d.

The wonderful vision of hell. pr. 6 d.

History of Solymon the Great. pr. 6 d.

The mythology and fables of the ancients explained from history. By the Abbot Banier. pr. 6 s.

The natural history of North Carolina. By J. Brichell, M.D. pr. 5 s. 6 d.

A merry conversation between a Quaker and his maid. pr. 6 d.

A summary of descents in see simple. pr. 6 d.

A compendious essay upon vocal musique. pr. 6 s.

The royal gauger. By Charles Leadbetter. pr. 6 s.

The history of Gustava Vasa. pr. 1 s.

Arithmetic in whole numbers. By J. Hewitt. pr. 1 s.

A rhapsody on pleasure and virtue. pr. 1 s.

The star-gazer. pr. 6 d.

Present state of politics in Europe. pr. 6 d.

Remarks on a pamphlet called Observations on the Whigs and Tories.

An abstract of the life of Mr. Halyburton. pr. 1 s.

Rules and orders for a religious society. pr. 4 d.

The imperious style of the Turks exemplified. pr. 6 d.

The schismatics delineated. pr. 1 s.

Spanish insolence. pr. 1 s. 6 d.

Country Common Sense, part 2. pr. 6 d.

Lay-tyranny; or, the oppression of the clergy by patrons, &c. pr. 1 s.

Contempt of the clergy considered. pr. 2 s. 6 d.

Some thoughts on standing forces. pr. 6 d.

Brief enquiry into standing forces. pr. 1 s.

Panegyric on a court. pr. 1 s.

Mustapha. A tragedy. pr. 1 s.

Dialogue between Menalos and Philemon. By R. Brevett. pr. 6 d.

Delays dangerous. pr. 4 d.

The ladies dispensatory. pr. 2 s. 6 d.

Necessity of good works. By J. Gill. pr. 6 d.

An ode to William Pultney, Esq. with other poems. pr. 1 s. 6 d.

An epitaphy dissertation to the clergy of Middlesex, by way of reply to Mr. Waterland's charge. pr. 1 s. 6 d.

Christian worship. pr. 1 s. 6 d.


Expository letter to Mr. Whitefield. pr. 6 d.

Defence of Whitefield. pr. 6 d.

Seventeen hundred thirty nine.

[Not by Mr. Pope.]

A congratulatory poem to Sir Robert Walpole, on the convention.

Sir *** speech upon the peace with Spain. pr. 6 d.

And about two dozen of defects, observations, remarks, &c. &c. &c. on the convention with Spain, pr. 6 d. each.

Shaving Ambassadors beards the delight of the Ammonites; or, A further mite of testimony. A sermon by another mighty man of the covenants. pr. 3 d.

A new and exact account of Jamaica; wherein the ancient and present state of that colony, its importance to Great Britain, laws, trade, &c. are considered. pr. 3 s. 6 d.

Jesus Christ in the poor; a sermon preached on Mat. xxv. 40. by Mr. Niving Minister of the meeting-house in Sterling. pr. 4 d.

The convention. pr. 3 d.

Observations on the convention. pr. 4 d.
THE SCOTS MAGAZINE.

NEMO ME IMPUNE LACESSET

MARCH, 1739.

To be continued every Month. Price Sixpence each.

CONTAINING,

Weekly Essays. The force and folly of Pride in all men, and particularly in Writers of every kind; The danger and interest of Great Britain with regard to the Russian empire; Observations upon the Convention; Bob Booty's speech; A short dissertation upon Masquerades; Further remarks upon the Convention; Portrait of a Learned Coxcomb, and the folly of boasting an Illustrious Defect where an answerable fortune is wanting; History of Appius; The fatal consequences of a Division in Rome; The causes of the loss of the Liberties of Castile; Contet between Lord Strutt and 'Squire Bull.

Poetical Essays. Epitaph on a blind man's dog; Rural Virtue; A panegyric on a Court; The Lover's monument; On the Duke of Argyle; The Fallen Angel; A decision for the Ladies; On a Lady buried in marriage; Psalm xxix. paraphras'd; A Night-piece; On the Spaniards having liberty to search British ships; Songs, &c.

A letter relating to the Stage, &c.

Domestic History. Church affairs; Decisions of the house of Peers; Maritime affairs; Mortality-bill; Pre-ferments, &c.

Foreign History.

Register of Books.

EDINBURGH: Printed by W. Sands, A. Brymer, A. Murray and J. Cochran. Sold by the Booksellers in Town and Country, and at the Printing-house in Burnet's Cloze. MDCCXXXIX.

Of whom may be had the Magazines for the two preceding months.
CONTENTS.

WEEKLY ESSAYS.

An usurp'd superiority offensive p. 29
An author's task difficult ib. 101
The world not bettered by them ib.
Ruffians, formidable by reason of her natural advantages ib.
Might easily take possession of a fine haven in Scotland ib.
G. Britain's interest with regard to her ib.
The privilege of searching not given up by Spain ib.
Bob Booth's speech 105
A description of the masquerade 106
Remarks on that diversion 107
Complaints of the convention not groundless 108
The treaty of Utrecht invalidated, and the S. S. company sacrificed by it ib.
Britain to pay for the loss Spain sustained in 1718 111
Main articles left undecided ib.
Character of a learned coxcomb ib.
Misfortune of being well descended, if poor ib.
Influenced in a widow Lady's Character of Appius 114
Desperate state of Rome ib.
A division in a state hurtful ib.
Character of Sextius and Licinius ib.
Honesty of the Roman people ib.
The Cortez of Castile corrupted by the minister ib.
A civil war ensues ib.
Methods that should have been used ib.
The Castilians enslaved ib.

POETICAL ESSAYS.

Epitaph on a blind man's dog 123

Rural virtue 124
Panegyrick on a court. Saw you no my Maggy? Lover's monument 127
Mary Scot. Indictment. On the Duke of Argyle 128
Flirt and Phil. On a Lady buried in marriage. Psalm xxxix. paraphrased. On the Spaniards being liberty to search 130

A letter relating to the STAGE, &c 131
Proposal for relief of musicians widows 131
Account of Gustavus Vasa 132
A dispute between Musicians and Comedians 133

Lord Strutt and 'Squire Bull.

Ground and cause of their differences 134
Bull's preparations for going to Low 134
The Steward's reasons against it ib.
Articles insinuated by the tenants ib.
What was agreed to thereupon ib.
Ill relieved by the tenants ib.

DOMESTIC HISTORY.

Account of the Seceding Brethren 135
Determination, and grounds of the case relating to the estate of Burgundy 136
Maritime affairs 136
Mortality-bill. Preferments ib.
Marriages. Births. Deaths 146
Foreign History 141
Books 143

We acknowledge our obligation to several correspondents, and beg the continuance of their favours. Some Essays, &c. we must defer inserting till another opportunity; which we hope the authors will easily excuse, as we intend to adhere closely to what we proposed on that head in our Plan.

The ingenious Gentleman, whose letter we received, March 27. may have solution of his question, if he pleases to direct where it shall be sent.

'Tis hoped that such as favour us with Essays, &c. will pay the postage.
The Scots Magazine.

March, 1739.

Universal Spectator, No. 540.

The force and folly of Pride in all men; particularly in Writers of every kind.

Sir,

When I tell you I had the honour of conversing intimately with that celebrated constellation of wits, who were concerned in the Spectators and Tatlers; and that I even remember many of the sprightly follies of the Sackvilles, Sedleys and Drydens, from their own mouths, you will naturally conclude I am far from being a young man; and, consequently, 'tis my own fault, if I have not acquired some few advantages to myself, both from the merits and follies of my contemporaries.—If I have, I frankly own they are due to the dint of age and experience only: instead of pursuing knowledge, I have pursued pleasure; and if pleasure itself had not in some sort paved the way for knowledge, I believe the little share I now have, had been much less. In a long course of years, and a great variety of acquaintance, 'tis impossible to avoid making some observations; and, as these are rather the result of what we feel than what we are taught, they are perhaps both more useful in practice, and harder to be effaced, than by others. — Of these, I look upon the modest distrust of our own abilities, and a decent regard for those of our friends, or of whoever we converse with, or address ourselves to, to deserve a place among the principal. As there is hardly a man living who has not some pride in his composition, 'tis scarce possible to usurp a superiority without offence (I had like to have said, injury) to those to whom the insult is offer’d.—Precedencies, arising from birth, titles, wealth, place and authority, are easily allowed, from the force of custom and the laws of society; but those that are challenged from the pre-eminence of understanding alone, are never exacted but to the manifest disgrace and prejudice of him who is consider’d as the inferior. Hence, though his resentment may be awed or stifled, it burns inward; and he that thinks he triumphs, instead of conquering, has only made an enemy. — Whatever real difference there may be in capacities, the vanity of the fool may be as large as that of the wit; and the tenderer the part, the more grievous the wound. Even, therefore, where 'tis charity to instruct, such address should be used as to convey it almost insensibly; and the giver should be as delicate in his terms, as the truly-generous endeavour to be in bestowing an alms.

I should be sorry, Sir, if there was any occasion to apply what I have said to Authors: they cannot but be sensible of the truth and importance of these hints; and, no doubt, make it both their study and glory to comply with them in the exactest and politest manner imaginable. — To instruct a numerous, learned and accomplished nation, is no trifling task, requires no small stock of genius, no little application, no contemptible fund of knowledge, no trifling resource of philosophy. — 'Tis to be presumed, therefore, that all the Gentlemen who engage in that arduous undertaking, have examined themselves by the severest tests, and write from the honest
honest conviction of their hearts, that they are really qualified to top the character they assume. — If so, what large and ample opportunities does the present age afford us of self-gratulation, for being blessed with such numbers of Beaux Esprits in every branch and species of elegant or useful knowledge? Every year produces new writers in every science; and every season, every week, nay every day, brings to light most amazing instances of their mastery in their different professions. — We have Politicians, on one side, so shrewd and so vigilant, that the smallest speck or flaw in the most brilliant administration cannot escape their detection; and, on the other, such as will not suffer the most refined, nay almost imperceptible beauty, to be passed over without a due equivalent of praise. We have Orators that would make even Tully and Demosthenes blush, and Poets that mend Moliere, nay Shakespeare himself. We have Historians that can represent truth as fable, and fable as truth; we have Philosophers that can furnish out new hypotheses every day, all admitting of demonstration alike; and Polemic writers, who are in so little danger of being confuted, that they are not to be understood. Then for Satyris, there is hardly a vice but has its writer to expose it; nay those that last, almost equal the number of thoes that offend: one would think, Parnassus produced more bitches than bays; and they lay it on so home, as if they were pittified with the very spirit of the beatle. Former ages, out of an ill-judged tenderness, were contented with exposing the crime, and spared the criminal; but thoes 'tis our happiness to be disciplin'd by, call us into court by name, and tell us our faults as plainly as an indictment: beside which, to their honour be it spoken, they are as impartial as death himself; neither age, sex or quality escape them; they make use of the same free style to all, and peer and pick-pocket, prostitute and dutchees, are executed on the same scaffold.

Perhaps, Sir, you may think these Drucanfirs of the gray-geese-quill, by this conduct, trespass a little on the rules of decorum above mentioned; perhaps, likewise, many other odd, or fashion'd fellows, like us, may be the same opinion: but will they not come off victoriously, by pleasing genius, fire, novelty, and the example of their great leader, not only to invade our cenures, but warrant the general applause? — We are to confide art, genius, wit and fancy, have guid numbers to the temple of fame; in nature, bitternes, railing and incivility, few or none: if, therefore, they can strike out a path of their own, they will have the honour of the discovery; or perhaps with this peculiar circumstance that none hereafter will dare to follow them. 'Tis true, this new path of their is as broad and easy as that to hell; call fool and knave, sop and coward, rhyme, being no Hercules labour: as to write the names at the bottom of that they are suppos'd to belong to, very nearly resembles the story of the painter, who was forced to do the same by his pictures. — Beside, if a man would not be thought to expose, merely to discharge his own gall, or bad the least tenderness for the frailties of his fellow creatures: he would chuse rather to tickle than wound, and aim more at reformation than punishment. Most men are inwardly convinced of their own follies and vices; but then they abash to have them laid open to the censure of others. The first sensation that we feel, perhaps, on such occasions, is shame; but the next is anger: and, instead of effacing the satyrism as the physician of our souls, as Shakespeare expresses it, we consider him as the ascetic of our characters. In my humble opinion then, Sir, a writer should first give us testimonials of his own prudence, before he commences censor of the absurdities of others; and, at the same time that he declares war with vice, he should make it appear he is in league with virtue. — Alas! there is no set of men in the univerfe, who have less reason to be vain than authors. — To look into the advertisements of books for the year,
year, one would think (like the Spec-
Bate surveying the Quack-bills hung
round the Royal Exchange) that they
contained preventions, or cures, for e-
every evil which could infect the mind.
But when we would trace out the truth
by their effects, how great is our disap-
pointment? Instead of curing the most
dangerous and inveterate maladies, the
slightest, least alarming symptoms, re-
main immovable, and disgrace their
boasted recipe's. In short, after so many
times, illuminated with every light of
knowledge, have roll'd away; after the
art of printing has multiply'd copies of
the most valuable books into almost ev-
every hand: are we become one jot
wiser or honester than our forefathers?
are our laws better regulated, our poli-
cies better understood, our morals
more perfect, or our manners more re-
fin'd? If not, who will stand forth to
perfect, what the united genius, and
application of so many illustrious men,
labour'd at in vain?

Again, Sir, if we look into the li-
braries of the curious, where no ex-
pense has been spared, or judgment
been wanting, to collect out of the ruins
of antiquity every venerable relic of
polite literature; how few are the num-
ber of volumes which the largest of them
contains, in comparison with those that
are lost, irrecoverably lost, even to their
very memory, as tho' they never had a
being? Nay, how few of these, tho'
seal'd the wreck of time hitherto, are
commonly read, known, or talk'd of? Here
and there a favourite shelf con-
tains all that contribute either to our
pleasure or profit; while the residue
remains covered with dust and cobwebs,
known only by their places to the libra-
rian, and now and then looked over in
a catalogue.

Nor has this unlucky destiny only
befallen the obsolete authors of former
tages; but, in spite of the advantage
of printing, has already overtaken num-
bers of the moderns. 'Tis well known
that Chapman, Ogilby, and Blackmore,
had once their days of grace, and en-
joyed the favour of the publick in a
very eminent degree; yet are now hard-
ly any where to be found but in the
linings of trunks and band-boxes: and
yet these, when living, talked with
more estimation of their arts, genius,
and learning, than either Milton or
Shakespeare, and boasted as loudly of be-
flowing immortality on whom they
pleased.

To conclude, I am very sensible, Sir,
that if authors find 'tis a very difficult
task to correct the world, the world
would find it a far more difficult task
to correct authors.

I am, &c.

The Citizen, No. 6.
The danger and interest of Great Bri-
tain with regard to the Russian
empire.—— Occasioned by a positing
in a former Citizen, "That it will
"always be the interest of the Mari-
time Powers to keep the Turk in
"profound Peace with his neighbours
"of Christendom."

Sir,

It is not from a love of contradiction,
but with a view to moderate the ill
effects of political errors, among a people
acclimated to receive and propagate
them, that I oppose my own thoughts
against those of a body of Gentlemen.
But truth pays no homage to num-
ber: If it did, what a blessed constitution
were theirs, whose Liege-lord is major-
ity!

Let us first consider Russia with re-
gard to herself; and, next, with respect
to Great Britain.

Her natural advantages, for extend-
ing her power, are superior to those
of other empires in Europe.

Her extent, in mere measure of land,
is beyond all proportion the largest;
even equalling all the other dominions
of Europe conjointly. — Her situation
is, both naturally and politically, the
safest: Naturally, because much lefs
approachable by an army of adequate
enemies; and politically, because neigh-
bour'd within reachable distance by no
power that is a match for her own. —
Her government is unlimited monarchy:

Q. As
As her resolutions are therefore more bold, their execution is less slow and incumbr’d. — Her people are abstemious and hardy; and delpiers of death, beyond those of any nation, I think I may say, either antient or modern. — Her armies are recruitable, to a degree beyond measure or end: For she affixes into that service dependent nations of inexhaustible Tartary; as good natural soldiers as any in the world, and soon made fit to incorporate among the national troops, by the discipline that is taught them in Russia. — The revenues of this monarchy are infinite; and improvable to an extent beyond reckoning; because the people, having been accustomed, from time immemorial, to monopolies in the crown, of the most considerable branches of produce, submit, without murmuring, to impositions, which could not be attempted in any of the other dominions of Europe, without hazarding a subversion of government.

As to the growth of her empire by sea, she has within herself all the several materials which are collected, for the service of other states, from remote, and sometimes hostile dominions. She has pitch, tar, oak, fir, hemp, fine iron, saltpetre (all the stores and supporters of war) self-dependent, and incredibly plentiful.

She has vast, deep, inland rivers, which extend navigation from one end of her empire to the other. She has inaccessible harbours, and docks of the boldest and noblest invention, for securing and exercising her fleets; which, from the aids in the foregoing article, she can build at the most moderate expense. — Add, that in case of a maritime war, she has little or no foreign commerce, whereby to suffer depredation or captures; while the nations depending on trade would be in danger of a stop in their vitals: For, having no call but Arms for her mariners, she would cover the sea with her capers; and these the would propose to maintain, without charge to herself, from the plunder of others. — The natural confluence of this, with regard to a trafficking enemy, would, in a war of continnance, be a general stagnation of trade, and decay of their best manufactures. Hence discontents would in-fallibly follow; then insurrections, and open rebellion. Excees too, and exam, the funds for support of resistance, would fail, by the ruin of trade, in such a predatory war as I speak of: where the enemy is, by land, too remote and too strong to be dealt with; and, by sea, too wide-spread and unembodied to be opposed either with fleets or wild squadrons: only snapping up our mercantile runners; while (on his own part pursuing no trade, he would be sure to afford no reprisals.

But though from natural obstacles such as desarts, frozen seas, or impassible forests and mountains intervening it would be a difficulty hardly surmountable, for any warlike and powerful nation of Europe, and for England especially, to invade the dominions of Russia; the Russian, on the other hand would be sure to find England more open. And, because our defence in our fleets may be objected as a sufficient security against an attempt of that nature it may be of use just to touch a fligh hint, that relates but to one dangerous entrance, of many, on a side that may possibly defer to be guarded, hereafter, with a care that seems hitherto to have been either unthought of or neglected.

Almost opposite to the Sound there are havens in Scotland which nature seems to have formed for reception and security of fleets. — One in particular (I do not think it proper to name it) is the finest, perhaps, in the island. It is beyond all denial the safest; that is most capable of being strongly defended: were it to be fortified, either by our selves, or an enemy: For it is scarce more than pifol-shot over at its entrance, betwixt rocks that are almost naturally impregnable; yet expands itself within, to an extent, and with a full depth of water, that are hardly any where else to be met with; and has the bottom the cleanest in the world, and most proper for anchorage.
Suppose it were practicable for an enemy (and why should it not, since 'tis open?) to take possession of so inviting a haven, with a body of 10 or 12,000 well-armed and well-disciplined soldiers, let us weigh a few of the terrible consequences:—They might secure themselves against any superior attempts from the sea: else how are our own ships laid up, with the safety we conclude them possessed of, in our harbours of Portsmouth, Chatham and Plymouth? neither of which, except the last, can compare, as to natural strength, with the haven I am in this place considering.—They might, perhaps not unreasonably, expect, upon declarations they could not fail to be furnished with, adapted, with the customary artifice, to the supposed dissatisfaction they would promulgate themselves a support from, to be joined by no contemptible body of natives; many more, to imagine the least, than could be wanted for guides, to say nothing of auxiliaries.—I don’t know what may be thought by our queasy presumer in politics, but I should be apt to conclude, both from reason, and the examples in history, that when a powerful army was landed at one end of an island, it secured against attempts from without, and strengthened by malecontents from within, nothing human, in the probable course of successes, could prevent them from marching on, at their will, to the other.

And, to shew that there is nothing chimerical in a supposition that the Russians (were not the manifest forecast of our ministers a resource to be always relied on?) might, if made enemies by the fate of some future event, take advantage of the open condition wherein the present renown of our arms, and the weakness of faction among us, very safely permit such a haven to lie, let it be remembered how customary it has been, as well for the great ships, as the galleys of that formidable nation, to take on board 10, 15 or 20,000 of her soldiers, and navigate the Baltic from one end to the other, under the national and unexceptionable pretence of exercising both her land and sea forces.

In one of these summer reviews, what (but God, and the Spirit he so visibly breathes on our councils) could hinder their passing either through the Belts, or the Sound; and, crossing suddenly to the port we have our eye on, seize, and fortify it impregnable, almost as soon as a courier, could bring us news of the purpose they came with? What sea-strength have we station’d along the whole eastern coast of the island? And as to our more prompt landing army, very dreadful, no doubt, it must be confess’d, and will be found! but no man who is a judge of our military establishment, who considers the length of the march, the division and distance of the troops, with the danger of leaving, at such a juncture, the places wherein their stay might be necessary, will imagine it possible, that any body of those forces could be soon enough ready for looking such an enemy in the face as we speak of.

And, now, that we may bring home these reflections to the matter immediately before us; since such were our danger from Russia, in case of a quarrel, will it not be worth while to obviate all prospects that may bring it upon us?

While the seat of that empire continues in the North, it is certain its views will be Northerly: In which case, so many vigilant councils as have purposely been established for enlarging their national interest, cannot long be kept blind to their loss in the balance of trade, while they permit themselves to lie under the necessity of purchasing their expensive consumption (for example, of tobacco and sugar) from England.

If, under influence of some new light of reflection, they should mediate to settle colonies of their own in America; and that too near, and more fatal to ours, than we could think it our interest to suffer; we must either submit, and, by acquiescing in the growth of their colonies, lose a profit that is the
support of our own; or we must oppose their new settlements in their infancy, and, by effect of that step, draw on, as an unavoidable consequence, the resentment and hostility of their mother country in Europe.

See here a very obvious, and, sooner or later, a certain foundation for that political pique, which may teach Russia to think it her interest to weaken our present capacity of restraining the growth of her empire.

What is then to be done for prevention of this probable evil? There is one (and perhaps but one) generous method of doing it: and it is, by receding from the mistake you have approved in our politics, and, in place of promoting pacific dispositions between Russia and Turkey, use the utmost of our skill and our power to inflame and push forward hostilities; till the Russians, if possible, might restore the Greek empire to Christendom, and seat themselves at Constantinople, instead of at Petersburg.

Such a change in the seat of their power would necessitate a change in their prospects. New advantages would lie open to their ambition, from easier conquests to be made, and improvements in their trade, to be look'd for toward the warmer and more generous climates on the banks of the Black sea and the Càphian. And when once Constantinople were become the capital city of the Russian dominions, they would consider Petersburg, and its chilly dependencies in the Baltic, but as a backdoor, toward a part of the world, against which if they secured but their frontier, it would be all that their distance could fort with.

And thus, by our seasonably contributing to an increas of her strength in the way she pursues it at present, we remove our own danger for ever; nay, we open to ourselves and our posterity new and noble enlargements of commerce, in countries where, while the Turk holds possession, we can have room but for very narrow advantages.

On the contrary, if under delusive, feeble prospects of peace, we should, by preventing an expulsion of Mahometan inflicts from Europe, hold the centre of Russian dominion too near us, it will, in the nature of things, be impossible to evade such a clashing of interests, as must give birth to never-ending disputes, and involve us in numberless dangers. I am, &c.

BRITOPHILUS.

The nervous and strong manner in which our worthy correspondent Britophilus has been pleased to offer his objections to the sentiments of this Society, with respect to peace and war between the Russian and Ottoman empires, having been considered, with due attention by all the company; they gratefully acknowledge the favour done them, by setting a matter of that importance in so clear a light: And, on a supposition that these Eastern climates would in a short time have the same effect on the Russians, as they have had on the Turks and other warlike nations, who have lived under their influence, by rendering the people indolent, luxurious, and slothful, the company do entirely coincide with Britophilus's Sentiments: but if otherwise, as they apprehend, the vigilant and enterprising spirit which of late has appeared in the government of Russia, should, on such an event, exert itself in the improvement of rich manufactures and other branches of trade, which those fruitful climates would readily afford, they doubt very much whether the maritime powers, and Britain especially, would find any great interest of advantage in the supposed extension of the Russian dominions: which, with great deference, they submit to the consideration of their judicious correspondent.

COMMON SENSE, March 3.

A Point of universal concern must, in a free country, become the subject of universal debate: — Every man hath a right to deliver his opinions upon it, and every man ought to do so, that the sentiments of all may be made known to the few who are appointed to repre
represent the whole community. — This is a sufficient justification for what hath already, or what may hereafter be said upon that important affair, which, at present, engages the attention of the whole nation.

It was not the loss which fell upon a few particular merchants, that rais’d the concern of the whole people, — nor was the principal object of the address of both houses to his Majesty: — Humanity and compassion might, indeed, make us feel for every sufferer; but it became a national concern, when, by being permitted in some instances, it might spread to the whole. If those unhappy people who were plunder’d by the Spaniards, had met with their fate from rocks and seas, we should certainly commiserate their condition; but we should not think the whole nation involv’d in their ruin.

It is therefore certain, that if Spain had made full restitution to our merchants to the last shilling, it was not satisfaction sufficient. — The nation certainly expected a strong and absolute security for the freedom of their navigation for the future. — It may be said, that our rights were clear and explicit before, and secured to us both by the law of nations, and by particular treaties, and, of consequence, that no declarations could make them more apparent. — Allowing all this to be true, since they have been invaded, it was necessary to obtain stronger securities from Spain, either to give us a new title, or, at least, to confirm and strengthen that we had before.

A clear, plain and unambiguous acknowledgment of our rights to a free and uninterrupted navigation was the least we could expect. — Every refusal, may every delay, in a point of such importance, was a dissolution of all former leagues and covenants, and amounted to a declaration of war, and left us at liberty to make use of that force which God and nature had put into our hands for our defence.

I would not be understood to mean as if I intended to lessen that just compassion which every Englishman ought to feel for the sufferings of our merchants; but as their case is of a nature to be involv’d in that of the whole community, I would not separate them. — If full security be obtain’d for a free and uninterrupted navigation for the future, as well as their past losses made good, they are upon the same foot with the rest of the subjects, and may make themselves amends for their past disappointments.

That the Spaniards consent to pay our merchants a sum of money for what they have plunder’d, is certain; but we cannot infer from hence, that they give up all right to searching our ships hereafter for what they call contraband goods: — They are distinct and separate points; and we have been inform’d, that some ships have been searched and rummaged, which have neither been seized nor plundered. — A custom-house officer hath a right to visit all ships in our own ports, but he hath no right to take any thing away. — If he should be punish’d for robbing, we cannot infer from thence that he had no right to search. — It is to be hoped, therefore, that our Plenipotentiaries will insist upon satisfaction to be made for the insult of searching our ships upon the open seas, and a clear renunciation of all right to do the same hereafter.

Besides, where a gross sum is paid, and the application of it left to others, no consequence can be drawn to explain the true meaning and intention of him who first advanc’d it. — Spain pays a sum of money to our ministers, in satisfaction for the deprivations committed by her subjects upon ours; but we do not know for what particular captures the reparation is designed by Spain. — Many ships were taken, many outrages committed, and variously circumstanced: If the sum allowed be not sufficient to take in all, to make full and entire satisfaction to every individual that hath suffer’d, how can the application of our ministers point out the intentions of the court of Spain, and shew what ships they intended to make satisfaction for, and what not? And
therefore, if a plain elucidation be not obtained, they may be left free to chicanery hitherafter, and say, they never gave up the right of searching. In which case, the national grievance would be left unredressed, which would weigh heavy even upon the unhappy sufferers past, to whom a future security would be of far greater importance, than full separation for their losses past.

But let us suppose the natural inference to be drawn from this article to be in our favour; yet I am afraid they do not agree with us in the interpretation of it. — I have reason to think, that application hath been made to them for a more clear and explicit acknowledgment of our right; if so, it is natural to believe they have refused to make it. — If it be really understood by the ministers of both crowns, that conferring to pay for part of what hath been plundered from us, is giving up the right to search for the future; it is pity, for the satisfaction of our own people, as well as to prevent mistakes when Spain may have other ministers, that both articles are not provided for in the same explicit terms. If it be referred to Plenipotentiaries, our trading people apprehend, it is leaving a thing doubtful, about which there cannot be a foundation to raise a question.

I cannot say how far we may depend upon being made easy in those points that are still left to be discussed; — whether, when our fleet is recalled, and that of Spain returned home loaded with treasure; when she is stronger in purse and hath less to apprehend, she will make concessions she refused before. — If one nation collects its strength, while another exhausts it; if one nation makes use of events and circumstances, and another neglects them; it is no hard matter to guess which will get the better in negotiation.

**POSTSCRIPT.**

A certain person, who hath long been distinguished by the name of Bob Booty, was lately put into bodily fear, upon advice that several worthy persons were resolved to put an end to his rogeries, for the good of mankind. — Bob had not only laugh'd at honesty all the days of his life, but brag'd, among his gang, that justice was much more afraid of him, than he was of justice; but no sooner was Bob acquainted with the danger that threatened him, but he fell into such a panic that his very influence forsook him. — The first expedient that came into his head was, to call together his gang: — a summons was left at each of their habitations, in these words, — You are dejected to meet your friends at the cellar in Knaves Acre, near Thieving Lane. — This was the place where they always assembled to receive Bob's orders when a job offered.

The troop being met, and Bob, by the help of a joint-stool, having raised his peron to a certain eminence above the rest of the company, began to cough and hem, according to the custom of orators before they harangue; but Bob found his spirits so low, that he could scarce give utterance to his thoughts: — thrice he essay'd to raise his heart from the bottom of his abdomen, and thrice it sunk below his waist-band. At length, having recovered his voice, and, like good Aeneas,

—duplex tendens ad leyera palmas,
Talia voce referat —

Which is as much as to say, he spoke to the following effect:

**Friends and Associates,**

YOU, whom I have raised, from the most contemptible part of mankind, to be the companions of my adventures, for no other merit but that of your eminent worthies, attend to an affair that is of no less consequence, than whether we shall be any more a gang, or not.

You know I am pursued by our common enemies, a parcel of pedling rascals who are stiled, The Society for the Reformation of Manners: — The danger which now threatens me, I implore entirely to your want of vigour for my service: — You behave as if you had lost your courage, which hath given spirit to our enemies; — unmindful of the
Weekly ESSAYS in

the obligations you owe me, you shirk
when I want you most.—Have you
forgotten how many years I have been
emptying other men's pockets to fill
yours?—Have you forgotten that I have
starved thousands that you might wallow
in luxury?—If I have pillaged,
have I not shared the booty?—What-
ever other men may reproach me with,
it cannot be denied but I have reward-
ed the gang:—Yet now, forsooth,
some of you pretend you cannot go such
lengths, and that you shall lose your
characters. —D—m your characters,
have you not been paid for them?—
Would you eat your cake, and have
your cake?—Have you no conscience
in you?—Would you pretend to keep
your characters after you have sold
them? Now you pretend to blush, with
a P—x to ye; D—m your modesty, it
does become you indeed to be ashamed
of anything! Come, come, act like
men of sense; you know I always told
you, that right and wrong consist in
nothing but power, and the strength of
numbers. The rogue at the bar, you'll
say, is despicable; that's true: but should
a rogue get up on the bench, he'd be
feared.—If we flick together, we may
gain the better of this attack; and when
it is over, robbery shall be law, justice
and virtue; and, instead of halters ab-
out our necks, we may have ribbons
about our shoulders: for I will crush
our enemies to atoms; I will ruin them
with their own money, so that they
shall never more be able to give us dis-
Turbance; nay, I'll bring our profes-
sion into such vogue, that an honest
man shall be ashamed to show his face.

But I mistrust several of our associates;
what! they sneak in time of danger.—
I see it is they that have not yet been
dipp'd in dirty work; I always apprehen-
dended mischief from that quarter: I
suspected they would bilk me upon the
first coup d'eclair I perform'd. —I of-
ten told you, if there was one honest
man in the gang, it might be our ruin;
but you mind nothing. You would draw
in some perfections of reputation, under
pretence we acted upon honourable prin-
ciples. I told you they would leave us

MARCH 1739. 107

the minute they were undeceived; now
you see what comes of it.—I cannot do
every thing myself; it should have been
your business to have fowled them over
head and ears in iniquity, that they
might not be able to go off.

If you fancy that, by giving me up,
you may slip your own necks out of the
halter, you are bit. —If it is decreed,
that I must swing, I am resolved not
to swing alone; for, by G—, I'll peal
every knave and fool among you, that
is to say, the whole gang here present,
d—m my eyes if I don't, and so look
to it.

Weekly Miscellany, Mar. 17.

Short dissertation upon Masquerades.

In nova, fort animus mutatus dicere for-
mas, &c.

Ovid.

Mr. Hooker,

I Was the other day at a crowded
coffee-house near the Royal Ex-
change; when, to my great surprize,
not a word was spoke of the Convention;
which obtain'd for that time a most fa-
vourable rebuke from cenfure and re-
mark: even the papers of the day went
without their usual compliment of per-
usal, and the adventures of the Ma-
querade expelled every other topick of
conversation. The night before, it
seems, had open'd this scene of gal-
antry and politeness, and drawn most of
the present company from their shops
and their compting-houses. As their minds
had been unstir'd but busines' some time
before, so I found them as yet unfit for
their respective employments; and the
loose behaviour, which it would have
been next to virtuous to conceal, these
boasters of their shame seem'd labour-
ing for an opportunity to discover; in-
fomuch that, out of charity, I could
have almost with'd the coffee-house a
masquerade, and that these mirrors of
folly and indiscretion had still been in-
cog. In short, every one had some in-
trigue to brag of; and the only misfor-
tune hinted at in this ingenious diver-
sion was, any favourable opportunity
loft of injuring some husband or father
in his property. The charming Shepherdes, the pretty Quaker, the nimble running Footman, and coy Nun, &c. which compos’d this whimsical, group of figures, were the subjects of conversation and encomium. The Christian and the Turk, the short-cloak and the Popish domine were there seen in coadjition, could all play and get drunk together; even the merchant was there reconciled to the Spaniard, and the search and unlawful visiting which the former had so much complain’d of, was an unjustifiable liberty with another man’s vessel, which now, under this cover, he had no objection to. I found, from their description, that the jokes greatly lay in suiting a dress to a man’s person and capacity. The habit of a fat greasy cook was extremely proper for a man of bulk and corpulence, and the plump gentleman so ingeniously disposed of was quite charming and engaging; that of a chimney-sweeper was esteemed very witty and humorous in a dirty fellow, who is naturally averse to cleanliness and decency; a poor ill-natur’d man, or a growing husband, was mightily admired in a bear skin; a rustling bar gown was expressive of loquacity and assurance; and some stations of eminence were archly represented in old women’s dresses; and to the man of complying principles, leadinglings were thought properly adapted. From this description of the most innocent and pleasing part of the diversion, they proceeded to an account of their amours and assignations; of the illegal captures and seizures which the morning produced; of the whisper’d obscenities, loose witticisms and impure dialect of the place; and the whole ended with a filthy declaration of intemperance and debauchery, in a vain boast of having ate and drank out the value of their tickets. I had almost forgot to tell you, that amongst the other listeners to this ingenious conversation, there were two spruce gentlemen whom I knew to be clergymen, and whose opinions I was mighty glad to have of the above mentioned entertainment. With grief I speak it, they were men entirely of this world, though in a profession to direct men to a better. Their present preference was that of an upper kind of saucyvant, called a Lord’s Domeitick Chaplain. But I found by their discourse they had neither of them offended their noble patrons with prayers or remonstrances. One of them confessed he never done any such duty in the family and the other as frankly told me that had been no prayers since the death of my Lord’s grandmother. The interest of his patron at court more than any thing else he seem’d desirous of, and both of them had a levity of behaviour which was as much out of the character, as they were out of the habit of a clergymen. They were extremely favourable in their opinions of masquerades, gave a full and unlimited liberty to men in the choice of their diversions, and rather seem’d to wonder at my want of taste, than inclined to answer my objections. This I thought tallied exactly with their masquerade dress of a button’d-up hat, &c. I could not avoid giving Mr. Hooker this intimation, and hope, from his candour and impartiality, to see such conduct exposed in his paper; for the order never suffers so much, as in their behaviour, whose loose deportment and licentious conversation is a stab to their brethren. But I shall now proceed to give you my opinion and remarks upon this favourite entertainment of the town, and then relieve you and your readers, by concluding the whole. If I mistake not, a masquerade has the honour and reputation of being an exotic, and has with great pains and industry been imported for the amusement and impoverishment of the English; many of whom, notwithstanding the badness of trade and the times, can find three or four pounds for an evening’s transformation. There is a part of mankind, from whose thoughtlesness and inconsideration, together with an unhappy possession of fortune, nothing, how preposterous or extravagant soever, is the least to be wondered at; but that any man, remarkable for virtue and sobriety, only to
gratify his curiosity, should be at so
much expense, and encourage so ab-
surd and ridiculous a diversion, gives
me at once surprize and concern. E-
every one puts on a disguise to conceal
himself and his actions from notice and
observation, and which no one has oc-
casion for, whose deeds and words are al-
ways in character. A mask is put on
for liberty to say things we are ashamed of
without one, and the tongue indulges itself in impurity and indecency un-
der this cover and secretion of the per-
son. To the honour of the fair sex, and particularly the English ladies, they have a native modesty, which is an ad-
ditional beauty; and can a parent an-
swer sending his daughter, in the bloom of
innocence and virtue, where she will
necessarily hear things to blush and be
offended at? No man that is not aban-
donned and lost to all civility and good-
manners, can avoid treating a modest
woman with regard and deference.

There is something awful in virtue, which keeps lewdness and obscenity at a
distance; and why should the noble charter be a moment surrendered, much
more the charite ear lent to a whole
night’s ribaldry and indecency? In ho-

nour to her late Majesty’s memory I
mention it, and as a publick proof of
her wisdom and prudence, masquerades
were her great aversion; and it is said
she constantly went into the city on a
masquerade-night, to shew her laud-
able contempt of pleasures tending to
corr upt the morals of her people. It
seems to me as dangerous and foolish to
expel a wife or a daughter at this place,
as our money or jewels upon Houn-
flow-heath, when infested with high-
waymen. We are naturally averse to
reproof, and hate nothing more than to
hear of our faults; and yet crowd to a
place, where, the moment we are dis-
covered, every minute ridiculous action
of our lives is with great freedom rela-
ted to us. The liberty which we will
not allow a preacher at church, we suf-
f er any fellow to take at the masque-
rade, and are treated there with the
greatest familiarity, by those who in
our own cloaths and houes we should
think much beneath our notice and ac-
quaintance. Persons of high rank and
dignity (if such can be supposed to mix
promiscuously with people of all condi-
tions and principles) are not secure
from abuse and impertinence; and the
greater a man is discovered to be, the
greater whetstone he is made of saucy
wit and raillery. I can’t help blaming
this freedom, more than pitying the
persons thus indecently treated; and it
was well enough said by a mother to her
daughter, who complained of loing her
watch in going to see Jack Shepherd at
Newgate; That she knew no business she
had there. This puts me in mind of a
clergyman, who complained to a person,
that one of his servants had taken the
way of him, and abused him upon the
road. The offender being called up,
he pleaded his innocence in his igno-
rance of the gentleman’s profession,
 since there were no marks of it either
in his habit or behaviour. Upon which
it ended with a prudent advice, That
for the future he would never disguise
himself, or seem ashamed of a habit
which he had taken upon him, and in
all probability would have secured him
from the insolence he had met with.

The limits of your paper will not
suffer me to enumerate the many dan-
ergas and inconveniences arising from this
foreign and unnatural diversion, the
many random shots of folly and im-
 pertinence which to a man of reason
and good senfe must render it odious
and disagreeable. If I am not misin-
formed, there is an express law against
it; and how it can secure itself under a
different appellation, I am much at a loss
to determine: but I think a stop might
very easily and effectually be put to it,
and by a little clause in the Black act
such injuries and offences be prevented
and provided against.

You, Sir, I look upon as a champion
of religion and virtue; and if you will
give these remarks and observations a
place in your paper, you will oblige
many of your readers, to whom this
diversion gives great offence and uneasi-
ness, and which to frequent is a great
reflection.
reflection upon every one professing a religion whose glorious character stick is never to behave itself unseemly.

I am, &c.

Craftsman, March 17.

Remarks on the Convention.

SIR,

Many persons, on both sides, have already given their opinion in print of the late Convention; and therefore I desire the same privilege of publishing mine, which I think agrees with that of every man in the kingdom who dares speak his thoughts, and even of those who dare not.

I with there were no grounds for the objections of the malcontents, That there is nothing in it but what a broker might have done, and a bad one too; since it contains nothing but a reference to an account not produced, and a balance to be paid by some body, who does not seem in earnest to design it. All the rest, say they, is quite a mystery, the work of a K—ne and a C—f—, upon whom the fate of G. Britain is to depend, not only whether we are to continue masters of the sea, but whether we have a common right to the use of it, without the licence and permission of these new pretended sovereigns and proprietors of half the world. Such is the fluctuation and inconstancy of human affairs, that G. Britain is reduc'd to sue for peace from a proud and cruel nation, which was so lately obliged to beg it from our victorious arms! I do not know how this change is brought about from any loss of power on our side, or any acquisition on theirs, except what is the work of our own bands, and at the expense of this nation, in asfilling them to conquer kingdoms with our fleets, which are now no longer formidable. The very debt contracted, by these great exploits, are made the pretence for a conduct, which becomes only the vanquish'd. After a minister hath declared, in full parliament, the weakness of a state, which is the effect of his own weak measures; does he expect that a proud and subtle adversary will not take the advantage of our affairs? No; surely, he might have known that reputation is the great support both of peace and war. When that is lost, we must be the prey of every nation, which is disposed to insult us; and, what is more to be apprehended, our allies, if we have any, may desert us, as of no use or assistance to them. This was the case of the Latins, as we find it in Livy: Latii status, ut neque bellum, neque pacem patri passivi.

As this is the sole excuse why our treaties come out so short of what was expected, since Spain would give us no better, let us examine the benefits and boasted fruits of this memorable Convention, which the minister hath taken entirely upon himself, and rob'd the rest of his fellow-servants of all that honour, if they have so much sense left as to take him at his word, and get down in time from that base upon which they are all now mounted.

Let us, I say, examine the Declaration agreed to by the two Pleniposit's of G. Britain and Spain, the basis upon which the whole treaty stands. Is not the treaty of Utrecht invalidated, in some measure, by this accord or declaration? Are not the rights and interests of the South-sea company sacrificed to the unjust demands of the court of Spain? Is not this great company, established by a solemn treaty, confirmed by all of parliament, and of which his most Sacred Majesty is Governor, put out of the protection of the crown, unless they redeem themselves by a fine of L. 68,000? This is so extraordinary a case, that I do not wonder it was left out of the body of the treaty, but only agreed to between our Pleniposit's and theirs, and made a condition fine qua non to the ratification of the whole Convention. Had this been a theological dispute between Don Quadra and Don K—ne, I should not have been surpriz'd at a distinction so nice and Jesuitical. But, alas! this expedient seems to be of our own growth, and not that of Spain. If Don K—ne had been bred up to the quibbles of our law, I should have suspected him. But this
Weekly ESSAYS in MARCH 1739.

This was certainly the invention of some learned head in Westminster-Hall, in order to save the honour of the Great Seal, and the danger which might arise from it. However, be it as it will, the company must pay the money, or there is an end of the Convention; since our injured merchants cannot have the proposed satisfaction for their losses, small as it is, unless they, who made the treaty, would be pleased to pay it out of their own pockets.

So far I could forgive the two Doms of England and Spain, if they would condescend to stop here, and only take this small fine from the proprietors of the company, which I submit to the wisdom and honesty of our present Directors, who are not easily amused. But what grieves me most, in this affair, is another demand, in which the honour of the nation is chiefly concerned. We are to pay, it seems, for the damage sustained by the Spaniards when we disturbed their fleet in the conquest of Sicily, in the year 1718. I thought so then, and think so still, that this was the most glorious action of that reign, as it put a stop to the hasty growth of the naval power of Spain, preferred Italy, and the peace of Europe. Well but, say they, we agreed to restore them, by the treaties of Madrid, Seville, &c. Why therefore did they not take them, when offered, but suffer them to rot at Portmahon? Did they expect an equivalent of so many ships of war out of that brave squadron which conquered them? But, alas! those treaties were very far from justifying this concession, in the general opinion of the nation, whatever they might elsewhere; and, perhaps, it would have been better, if it had never been mentioned in a treaty, but a secret way found out to gratify their pretensions, by giving them some other rotten ships of little value. Instead of this, our destruction of their fleet hath been represented, both by the Spaniards and their tools in England, as an act of piracy; Sir George Bryer and his squadron are branded as pirates; and consequently the robberies, insults and barbarities of the Spanish guardia costas are only just reprisals upon us. So that I apprehend the balance of these depredations, on both sides, makes up the account referred to in the Convention. This is what the Great Man says is making Spain pay costs, and acknowledging our right to fail to our own plantations whenever we please.

I take this to be the sum of his triumph over the poor Spaniards; and when they dismiss our English Dons, at the end of their negotiations, we shall know what we have farther to pay. This, I say, is all that appears, at present; for the rest is nothing but mist and darkness; and we must go to the Pardo for farther light and information. When the eight months are expired, from the 24th of January last, we shall know the fate of the British commerce, and our right to go to our own colonies, if the commission of our Plenipo's should not be continued to the end of the next session of parliament.

But here I must ask, why all this solemnity about a trifling sum, to be paid on one side, or the other? Are the great points of visiting, searching, limits, and the possession of Georgia unsettled, and left to the decision of Don Benjamin, and Don C—t—s? Is it reciprocally agreed already, on both sides, without the knowledge of these two great Plenipo's? For what can they do at Madrid? Are they to stay till the seas are measured, in order to limit the navigation of G. Britain; or are they to see our colonies fairly divided? Whatever restraints we may think proper to admit upon our own navigation, I can never believe that such unlimited powers are given to any two men, without consent of parliament, even to those of the most exalted understandings; and therefore I must conclude that this bargain is already struck and concluded; though, perhaps, not yet proper to see the light. But what we do not see, or rather what we are desired not to see, is seen by all Europe, and by every man in England, who hath his eyes open, notwithstanding the thin vail thrown before them. It is a matter of too much triumph for a proud nation.
tion to conceal any concessions made to them of the rights and commerce of G. Britain, and their superiority over us in this negotiation; though our great man is so happy as to procure an approbation of all his measures, past, present, and to come.

It is certain, at least, that the state of the question upon this subject is altered from what it was last year: for it seems that we are not, indeed, to be liable to be stopp'd, visited, or search'd, on the open seas, or to any other violation or infringement of the said treaties; the mutual observance thereof, and a just regard to the privileges belonging to each other, being the only means of maintaining a good correspondence between the two nations. But no notice is taken of the declaration and resolution, last year, that no sorts of goods, merchandizes, or effects, carry'd from one part of his Majesty's dominions to any other part thereof, were to be deemed or taken as contraband, or prohibited goods, by any treaty subsisting between the crowns of G. Britain and Spain. Besides, the manner, in which the article of not visiting, stopping, or searching, on the open seas, is to be restrain'd, with regard to the privileges belonging to Spain, gives us too much cause to apprehend that our navigation is to be confin'd to some limits, with respect to their coast, besides their ports and bays; and that if we transgress those limits: if there should be found on board any such ship, what they call contraband goods; the whole shall be deem'd a legal seizure and confiscation.

However the matter stands between our great man and Don Quadra, I sincerely wish, from the bottom of my soul, both for the sake of the minister, as well as my King and country, that the Con---- on may go no farther. How fatal would it be to this nation to give Spain a right of searching our ships, under any pretence whatsoever, but as it is already limited by treaties? and what treaty is there between us, which gives them a right to search any more than ourselves? Let them examine every treaty mention'd and confirm'd by this Convention, and they will find the case to be as I have represented it. Have not we the same right to search a gal-lion or two, if we find them straggling near our shores, as they have to search any of our ships? Let this be the condition, and we ask no more. But shall we suffer the Spaniards to call the whole ocean their own, and give laws to a nation, which they never conquer'd, except by treaties? We are as yet a maritime power, and superior to any other in Europe. But God only knows how long that may be our case. Our seamen are the life and strength of this country. They do not only support our maritime force, but are the very being of our commerce; and that commerce is the nurcery of our seamen. If any branch of our trade suffers by force, or other interruptions, for a considerable time, that trade must be lost, and the nurcery of our seamen so far destroy'd. But what is still of more fatal consequence, the spirit and valour of our seamen, so famous throughout the whole known world, must be damp'd by the frequent insults and abuses of a cruel and contemptible enemy, till they become as tame as that enemy can with, or as they were formerly themselves.

From such a melancholy prospect, what have we not to fear? From such evils, good Lord deliver us, and bring the authors to shame and confusion. At least, let us not throw ourselves headlong into the bowe of bondage. But as no such treaty yet appears, we may safely conclude, that Meff. K---- and C---- will be suspend'd, before they are able to accomplish all this mischief. I am, &c.

Universal Spectator, March 10.

Portrait of a learned Coxcomb; and the folly of boasting an illustrious descent where an unfavorable fortune is wanting.

T Here is no species of affectation that has been more exposed and ridiculed than fopperies in dress, speech, and behaviour: Plays, farces, essays, abound,
abound with instances of characters serv'd up for the publick entertainment, for being distinguish'd only by absurdities of that class. But among all the different kinds of coxcombs that are the growth of our fertile soil, and which have been successively made the lead of wit and humour, to the belt of my remembrance, the learned coxcomb has hitherto escaped. I don't mean the dry, formal, arrogant, presuming, overbearing pedant: he has had justice done him already very handsomely and effeminately by several authors; and, out of his own element, the university, is seldom or ever to be met with: not that it was ever known, that a reformation was wrought on a creature so warp'd by prejudice, ill-digested learning and self-conceit; but rather the strain is almost worn out, and the coxcomb reigns in his stead.

The coxcomb, I mean the learned one, is a thing that is as vain of the little knowledge he has, as a pop of a well-fancy'd or new-fashion'd suit of cloaths; and wears it, like him, not for use, but ostentation. All that he reads, or hears, or thinks, he centres in one point, that of qualifying himself to lead the company, and ingross three parts in four of the conversation. Hence it is, that, let him be where he will, he begins the dialogue, changes the subject to what he pleases, and as often as he pleases; elevates his voice the loudest, decides with the most sufficiency, is in pain if all he says is not applauded, and raves like a lunatick when contradicted. In booksellers shops he determines the fate of a book as soon as he has read the title-page, ranks the precedence of authors, proportions the merit of every living genius from Pope down to *****, points out the strength and weakness of each, and modestly infinuates there is a certain intimate of his, that, if he could be prevailed upon to write, would infinitely surpass them all.

In coffee-houses he gives the law, and admits of no appeal: Politicks, news, scandal, are all his province alike; and so liberal is he of his knowlage, that scarce a man enters, or goes out, but he has the goodnes to oblige with some valuable hint, or to correct in some popular error. As no one, if you will believe him, has so good, or so early intelligence of what's doing in the great world as himself; so no man communicates it more freely: What he was instructed with, as a secret of the utmost importance, even on his own evidence, he divulges to all that will give him but the hearing. If any man, of less assurance than himself, should presume to controvert the minutest particular, he immediately quotes the most illustrious authorities by name, as his bosom friends, and confounds those with his impudence that he could not convince with his arguments.

At the Opera or Play-house, one would think no body had a right to acquit or condemn but he: Before the curtain draws up, he gathers a little circle about him, to hear his skill in criticism, his long acquaintance with the stage, and a short history of the numbersless pieces, that, like the ghosts in the What-d'ye call it, owe their deaths to him; talks of Handel as his right hand man, calls Pope by his Christian name, and speaks of Shakespeare as a good, pretty writer, considering the times he lived in. After the performance is begun, he draws the eyes of the whole circle upon him, by his obfureperous outcries and self-sufficient behaviour: If the actors displease him, he has no mercy on the poet; if the poet, he is as inexorable to the actors; and if the audience don't take their cues wholly and solely from him, he damn's them all.

To court he never comes, complaining merit is there joftled aside by worthless titles, and learning eclips'd by well-bred impertinence; and, not content with abusing himself, rails at all that do not the same. According to him, every man is either knave or fool, or both, that is seen there; and every woman, no better than she should be. From generals, he descends to particulars; arraigns this Lady, that Lord; this
this character, that person: pardonable in no one particular, but that he attacks all Sexes, degrees and parties, alike; and that what would be malice in another, is in him but the vanity of being thought a wit.

In private families he behaves with the air of a censor, rather than a visitor; plays the critic on the furniture, the disposition of the pictures, the fashion of the plate, the equipage of the tea-table, and even the bill of fare. Neither does he stop here; but gives the Lady his advice in the colour of her cloaths, the setting of her jewels, and the lining of her chair; then turns him about to the Gentleman, with whom he makes as free, in the choice and arrangement of his books, the merits of his servants, and the education of his children. Nay, if a family-hint happens to be dropt, he seriously prefers both to lay the whole affair before him, offers his advice and his services, and takes upon himself to answer for the event: Or, should they be on their guard against his officious impertinence, and let nothing escape of that nature, he sets his head to work to recollect everything he has heard of their affairs; and, if any circumstance arises to his purpose, blurts it out, and blesseth himself that they have an opportunity of putting his abilities to a trial.

This is the miniature of an accom- plish’d coxcomb; to draw him as large as the life, would be to write his story; and, I think, no one is so worthy of that task as himself. Some people, perhaps, may think such a character the creature of imagination only; but many more, I am persuaded, will trace out his resemblance among their acquaintance. This, however, is obvious, that the man of mode and drefs is but a mere innocent in comparison to him: He is satisfied with thinking himself a pretty fellow; but the other inflicts on your acknowledging his superiority as the wiser man: Give the first a fine coat and a glass, and he entertains himself in talk, without so much as throwing away a word or thought on all the world beside; but

the last, though, to the full, as much a self-lover, does not know his own image when he sees it, and is fond of the society of others, only that their follies and mistakes may serve as foils to his own suppos’d excellencies.

SIR,

M Oft people, allied to great families, are extremely apt to value themselves upon it, as a sort of hereditary preceendency over the rest of the world: and none display this vain-glorious weakness more, than those who receive least advantage from the very thing they boast of so much; I mean the remote or declining branches of these illustrious stocks, who are, generally speaking, so far from being countenanced by their principals, that they are confidered and treated even with more pride, distance and contempt, than strangers in as bad or worse circumstances than themselves. Nay, the very services they apply for as relations, they are refused for that very reason; and my Lord, or Lady, reddens at their names, as if their misfortunes rather merited reproach, than pity or assistance. Hence they are chac’d from their tables and levees, their letters are order’d to be refused; and, if they petition even to be their servants, that very blood which they plead in their recommendation is still an insurmountable bar: hence, if they complain ever so pathetically to others, or make ever so strong an interest to be provided for elsewhere, ’tis look’d upon as a sufficient answer; That such or such Noble families are your relations; and if they have no bowels for your distresses, why should I? and hence, entirely abandon’d to their calamities, they become, partly from their pride, and partly from their inability to serve themselves, the most genuine objects of compassion on the face of the globe.

This, Sir, if not convinc’d by your own observations, you will make no scruple to believe, when I assure you, that, within these ten months, a widow Lady, descended from and allied to the greatest families in the nation, was reduc’d
I think, been attended to quite so much as it deserves. Every one knows the character of the famous Decemvir Appius, a bold, presumptuous, fraudulent, wicked man, with some parts; and how, under the vail of the legislative authority, with which he and his faction had been intrusted, for the good of the publick, they exercised a tyranny worse than that of the Tarquins themselves.

The effect of it was (as Livy, lib. 3. says) that not only the Romans themselves were reduced to a state of despair, but that the neighboring nations began to treat them with contempt: *Nec ipsa Jolum defpenderant animos, sed contemni capti erant a finitimis populi.* This contempt grew on great depredations and insults from those who before had trembled at the Roman name.

Appius and his faction were at a loss what to do. They convened the senate; but the best of the senators had withdrawn themselves from it, and were retired into the country.

*Indignitate rerum cesserant in agros; suarumque rerum sollicitis, amifâ publicâ, tantum ab injuria se absese rati, quantum a cætu, congruiffique impotentium dominorum se amorâtant.*

"In vain (says Dionysius Halicarnassus) did the herald summon them to meet: No one would go to the senate but the partisans of the Oligarchy, and the most wicked and scandalous of that faction." Not having the Greek by me, I will quote the words of the French translation. *Le beross est beau les a-peller, et crier à haute voix; personne ne se rendit à l'assemblee except les partisans de l'Oligarchie; entr autres les plus mecbans, et les plus decriez de cette faction, Denis D'Halijarn. l. 11. c. 11.*

What a picture does this give us of the state of Rome at that time! In the senate a faction, who, calling themselves the legislature, had suppressed the laws, undermined the liberties, and exposed the honour of their country to the scorn of foreign nations: In a voluntary retirement all the friends of their country, all who desired its glory, or intended
ed its good. What a reverse was here of the natural order of things! The reader may wonder, perhaps, that these worthy patriots should thus abandon the senate to the creatures of Appius. But what could they do there? The weight of the faction was such, that it was as vain to oppose, as it was shameful to comply: they might have dishonoured themselves, they could not save the republic: Ils n'étoient pas assez puissans (lays Dionysius) pour leur tenir tête, ou pour reprimier leur violence; le seul parti qui leur refloit à prendre, estoit d'abandonner Rome: “They had not strength enough to resist, or to repress the violence of these men; the only party which remained for them to take, was to abandon Rome.” To what end, indeed, should they have imposed on the publick by pretending to keep up the forms of a free government, when the essence and life of it was entirely lost? Was it not better to open the eyes of the Roman people, than, behind the screen of authority, and the name of a senate, to cover the crimes, the follies, the oppressions of a faction, which (as Lucy lays) donis corrumpbatur, et malebat licentiam suam, quam omnium libertatem? Yet, the necessity of a war being more evident by the daily incursions of the enemy, some of the senators who had separated themselves before, returned to the senate: There they declared it to be their opinion, that no troops should be raised till the constitution was restored.

But the partisans of Appius carried their point, as the others might have foreseen. A war was voted, and the management of it committed to those who had drawn it on by their ill conduct alone. What was the consequence? they were shamefully beat; the Roman soldiers would not fight under such Generals: Ne quid duci atque auidicio Decemviri orum prospere usquam gereretur, vincit et per suum, atque illorum dedecess patriebantur. So that it appears the honest part of the senate, who were the minority, would have done more wisely to have remained in their retreat, than to have assisted the faction in providing supplies for a war, which, under such an administration, they had reason to conclude would be carried on, like their other affairs, corruptly, weakly, ingloriously, unsuccessfully.

What ensued by the accident of Virginia’s rape, is very well known. It will only observe, with Dionysius, l. c. 4. That although that accident was an immediate ruin to Appius and his party, yet the discontent of the publick, which were the real causes of it, were owing to a series of infamous and tyrannical proceedings; and it was so evident that this would undo him, that one of his best friends, Caius Claudius, before the accident happened, openly exhorted him “to lay down his ill-got power, and not endanger the whole, by making his safety incompatible with that of the state.”

I shall quote some words of his speech from the French translation of Dionysius, l. 111. c. 17. Vous faut-il d’autres preuves du mauvais état où se trouve aujourd’hui la république, et du mecontentement général des citoyens, que la défension des plus bonnes gens? S’ils parler des autres, combien y a-t-il des sénateurs qui restent à Rome, excepté quelques uns, qui vous font attachée par les liens de la parenté, ou ceux de l’amitié?

Peut-être avez-vous fait entre vous quel que traité secret; peut-être vous êtes-vous donné une foi mutuelle; peut-être aussi vous avez pris les Dieux à temoins de vos engagements: si cela est ainsi, facchez des semblables promesses, faites au préjudice de la patrie, et des citoyens, ne pouvez-vous faire sans impunité; contez que de les exécuter ce feroit un nouveau crime, et qu’au contraire c’est un mérite d’y manquer.

Which in English will run thus: “Do you need any other proofs of the present ill condition of the commonwealth, and the general discontent of the people, than the defection of the men of the greatest honour and integrity? To say nothing of others, how many senators are there who stay in Rome, except some who are attached to you by the ties of relation or friendship?

Perhaps you have made among your
Weekly Essays in March 1739.

"If a secret treaty; perhaps you have mutually given your faith to one another; perhaps you have even called the Gods to witness your engagements; if it be so, know that such promises, made to the prejudice of your country, and of your fellow-citizens, cannot be made without impiety; consider that to execute them would be a new crime, and that, on the contrary, it is a merit to break them."

I have left out a deal more to the same purpose; but the turn of the whole is to persuade Apius to restore the constitution: for the opposition was not personal; but the aim of the senators, who had withdrawn themselves from him and his party, was to remedy grievances, and to bring the government back to its first principles. If Apius would have consented to this, they would not have hurt a hair of his head. But such was his lust of dominion, that he was deaf to advice, and continued his tyranny, till, all uniting against him, he suffered the punishment which his crimes deserved.

The fatal consequences of a Division in Rome.

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione quaerentes?

There has seldom happened a popular commotion in any state, be the authors of it ever so indolentious to colour self-interested proceedings with the appearances of publick spirit, but upon a close examination it will fall under this definition: The rage of many, for the advantage of a few, at the manifest risk and peril of the whole.

Many instances might be brought from the Roman history in proof of this assertion; for as the Romans were a brave and generous people, lovers of liberty, and consequently jealous of everything that look'd like an attempt upon it, they were the more exposed to the practices of wicked and designing men, the whole system of which politics was built upon that virtuous principle of extracting private advantage from publick tumult and dissatisfaction. Secessions and seditions (terms profusely used by Roman authors, and which seem to differ only in the degree) were frequently the works of these worthy patriots, brought about by false alarms, false suggestions, imaginary grievances and causes, which the people themselves as little felt as they enjoyed the remedies.

I was led into this speculation by reading, and comparing with Livy, the account which the Abbé Vertot gives of those disturbances occasioned in the Roman commonwealth, and conducted by L. Sextius and C. Licinius Stolo, upon the subject of admitting Plebeians into the confulsip; a question in which it seems the people took very little concern, though their leaders, so much as to make it an absolute condition of their assenting any longer in the publick councils, or contributing in any shape towards the service of that people, whole rights and interests they were (as Tribunes) in the most solemn manner intrusted with. Such was the publick spirit, so disinterested the views, so great the gratitude and affection which these honest Tribunes bore to the people they represented!

But before I proceed any further, it may not be amiss to take a more particular view of their characters.

L. Sextius and C. Licinius were neither of them without abilities, of turbulent, factious, discontented tempers, and determined at any rate to poise themselves of the confulsip. With these qualifications, and these motives, our two patriots set out in pursuit of the confulsip.

The people were too well satisfied with the hands in which this high office had been hitherto lodged, to receive hastily any proposal for changing them. What was then the expedient? why, dress it up in a popular garb, annex it to an Agrarian law, and a law for the reduction of debts, and see, if thus sweeten'd, the people may not be prevailed upon to swallow it. Palatable as the proposal now was, we still find they
they refused to do so. Il était question d’interesser tout le corps du peuple dans ce projet, (lais Vertos ;) ce qui n’était pas si aisé; la multitude étant bien plus touchée de l’espoirance du partage des terres, ou de la diminution des dettes, que de la dignité consultative, qui ne pouvait jamais regarder, que les puissans de son ordre. Which in English runs thus: “The business was, to interest the whole body of the people in this project: No easy task; the multitude being much more sensibly affected with the hopes of sharing the lands, or of having their debts diminished, than with the consultative dignity, in which none, but the most powerful of their order, could ever have any concern.”

Livy describes, pretty much to the same effect, the sense that the people had of the insincerity of their leaders politicks: Concilium plebis habito, appariuit que ex promulgatis plebi, que latoribus gratiora essent; nam de fœnere atque a-gro rogationes juvebant, de plebei cons-fulatu antiquabant. “An assembly of the people being held, it was there evident which of the laws offered were most acceptable to the people, and which to the proposers of them; for they enacted those concerning the lands and the reduction of interest, but absolutely rejected that which related to the plebeian confulate.”

So heinous a distinction between their own cause and that of their Tribunes, was not to be forgiven the commons; it drove our adventurers almost to despair. They now threw off the mask; anger and disappointment hurried them into such measures as fully explained the true motives of their pretended zeal for the people’s welfare: Le deux Tribunes, alarmés de cette froideur, seignrent de ne vouloir plus prendre de part aux affaires; ils refusèrent même de concourir dans l’élection de nouveaux Tribunes pour l’année suivante. “The two Tribunes, alarmed at this indifference of the people in regard to the confuship, pretended they would take no more share in publick affairs; nay, they actually did refuse to concur in the election that was to be made of Tribunes for the ensuing year.” What a defection was here! what a base, selfish interested decent of their own duty and the people’s trust? No fececcion of the whole body of the people, but a most ungenerous revolt of the representatives from their own constituents Aut omnia accipite, aut nil ob, was the language to the people; that is, in plain English, “Do our business, or we renounce yours.”

It is a great reproach to the Roman constitution, that, notwithstanding barefac’d a sacrifice of the people’s interest to their own ambition, one of these men did at last obtain the confuship; but not till he had plunged his country in all the confusion and dangers that a five years interregnum could produce: and this surely is a price no country would willingly pay for satisfying any private man’s lust of power.

I cannot take leave of this subject, without observing, that when these false patrons of the people had stirr’d up such tumults in the state as were little less than an invitation to foreign invasion, the next honest step they took was, to prevent, if possible, the raising an army. Delectum impedire, is, throughout Livy, the last resource of all disappointed Tribunes; chusing rather to expose their country, naked and defenceless, to the enemy, than not govern it themselves in the manner their own rage and ambition dictated to them.

As frequently, however, and as dangerously as the Roman people were deluded; when the peril became imminent, and the cause of their country cried aloud for their assistance, they never failed to give it. They lifted cheerfully, served bravely, and made that timely distinction between those seditious hunters after power, and the true friends of their constitution, which secured their rights and privileges at home, and led them to almost certain conquest abroad.

The causes of the loss of the Liberties of Castile.

I shall go on, as I did in my last, to entertain my readers with remarks upon history, either ancient or modern; not according to any regular plan, like the incomparable writer of the Differentia upon parties, but as the course of my studies or amusements happens to throw it in my way.

I have been lately engaged in reading the history of the wars of the Commons of Castile, by the judicious Dr. Geddes; from whom we have a much better account of the ancient constitution of Spain, than in the celebrated historian of that country, Mariana; who is so servile a flatterer of monarchy, that, thro' his history, it scarce appears that the Castilians were ever free: but from our countryman's labours it is flown, undeniably, that if they could have guarded the spirit, as well as they did the forms of their government; if they could have check'd the influence of the crown in bestowing employments, as well as they had limited its power in other respects; England and Sweden would not have been at this day the only nations in Europe that are free under a King.

I shall now content myself with some short observations upon that fatal period when the liberties of Castile were first betray'd by a corrupted Cortez, and then destroy'd for ever by an ill-conducted civil war.

Never was country more flourishing than Charles of Austria found Spain at his accession to that crown, upon the death of Ferdinand the Catholic. He was himself a brave, magnanimous prince: but, unfortunately for him and for his subjects, in the hands of a minister the most rapacious and corrupt of those times. After this tutor of the King (for so he was) had pillaged Castile, by all the arts of ministerial rapine; as an expedient to get more, he advised the calling a Cortez. To secure himself a majority there, he got it called at the Groin, a town of Galicia, which was an inconsiderable province, wholly attached to the court: whereas in the great cities, Valladolid and Toledo, the majority within doors might have been frighten'd by the majority without, and the loud voice of the publick have prevail'd over the whispers of corruption; for the Castilian deputies were not yet so harden'd in guilt by the force of habit or example, as to feel no shame in being publickly considered as the betrayers of their country.

When the King came to the Groin to hold his Cortez, two considerable men, Don Peter de Lajof a Vega, and Don Alonso Sylva, who were both in his service, and had both military commands, had so much regard to their honour and the good of their country as to wait upon him, and remonstrate against their proceedings. But the only answer they received was, that one of them, upon his allegiance, should repair immediately to Gibraltar, whereof he was Governor; and the other, to Naples, to look after his regiment. Thus, by the advice of his tutor, did his Majesty treat those in his service who had the courage and virtue to convey to him the sense of his people. But these worthy patriots flighted his orders, attended the Cortez, and entered a protest against all that should be done in that affair; to which the city of Toledo, whose commissioners they were, had sent no procurators, not looking upon it as a lawful Cortez.

The procurators of Salamanca having likewise protested against the giving a new donative, before the time was expired for the payment of one that had been granted in a former Cortez; were expell'd the house for adhering to that protestation: and the great number of the procurators and of the chief cities (I transcribe the words of Dr. Geddes) did violently oppose the giving of any money, the sum that had been demanded was granted by a majority, who were said to have been bribed by bribes, and by promises of offices made to them by the Bishop of Badajox, and the Commandador of Calatrava; who, for such practices, were everywhere called Flemish tools; as the Nobles,
bles, for looking on, and complying with such things, were called Chevrie's [First Minister to Charles V.] Journeymen; who, so they could but have a share of the spoils, did not care how much their country was plundered by foreigners.

This threw the people of Castile into despair: they saw their liberties given up by their representatives; the sense of the nation disregarded by those, who ought to have made it the sole rule of their conduct; and a corrupt pecuniary influence governing all, under a minister who had no other notion of the ends of power, than to acquire riches for himself; or of the means of supporting it, than by bestowing a share of them on those who would abet and aid his oppressions.

This carried them to violences, natural enough in such a situation, but which they had better not have run into, as appeared by the event. After associating together for the defence of their liberties, and revenging themselves on those who had sold them so shamefully, with an intemperance of anger, which dishonoured justice, as must inevitably happen in these popular commotions, they drew up a manifesto which contain'd all their demands. It deserveth to be read at length in Dr. Geddes, but I shall only mention one article, which seems to be the most important of all.

Art. VI. That it shall not be lawful for the King to give any office or salary to any of the procurators of the Cortez.

Had they carried this, this would have carried all the rest, so far as was just and consistent with the good of the state. A Cortez free from influence would have redressed all their grievances, delivered the King from evil counsellors, and restored the constitution. But this, and all the rest, was denied them by the faction at court; and they were driven into confusions; which Cardinal Adrian himself, whom the King had left Regent when he went into Germany, was so honest to tell him, ought not to be charged on the Castilians, but on his covetous and tyrannical ministers, who had made them desperate.

In the mean time, the Nobility acted a cold and neutral part. They were most of them attached to the crown by places or grants; and the Commons were so imprudent as to confirm that attachment, and force them out of their inactivity, into a direct declaration for the court, by demanding a resumption of grants, which would have ruined most of the great families. However, some of them entred into treaty with the Commons; and the Countable of Castile offered them articles, upon which he promised to join with them, if denied by the King. They were five in number: I will observe only upon the last.

Art. V. That it shall not be lawful for the King to lay any new taxes upon the subjects, unless they be given by a free Cortez.

This sounds very spacious; but, in effect, was nothing at all; for as it is not explained what should be done to make it a free Cortez, a Cortez with a majority of place-men, might have sat and called themselves free, and imposed the most oppressive taxes at the will of the court! so that the only difference to the people of Castile would have been, to find themselves ruin'd, not by the single power of the King, but with the help and by the authority of the whole corrupted legislature.

As this fell very short of the demand they had made, it was wisely rejected by all, but a few weak, half-reasoning men, who could not distinguish between names and things. Other articles were proposed to them by the Almirante of Castile, still less advantageous and solid than the five above named. Two of them were, That jumplary laws should be made, and that means should be found for preventing the exportation of wool. These were good popular points; but of no use at a time, when the question was, Whether Castile should be free or enslaved?

Had a free Cortez been called, well purged of corruption, it might have been proper enough to have considered of the economy of the state; but what was it to the Castilians, whether those who betray'd them to the court, went thither in plain coats or in lace and embroidery, or whether their wool was ru
hon or not, when a clandestine trade was
tarrying on between the members of the
Cortes and a profligate minister, in
which the commodities truck'd for were,
on one side, places and pensions, on the
other, the liberties and honour of Ca-
stil? But these propositions were only
thrown out to catch the weak and the
jealous; men of deferment few
through them, and rejected them with
sagacity. All hopes of an accommoda-
tion being then at an end, a civil war
ensued; in which the Commons acted
so hastily, that it could end in nothing
but their utter undoing. For, first,
they united the Nobility on the side of
the crown, by violently attacking their
interests in the tenderest points; they
entered into no concert with Valencia,
which was in arms at the same time a-
gainst the King and Nobles, upon the
same motives; and they gave time to
their enemies to recover strength, and
bring a disciplined army out of Na-
ero against their militia, which might
have been easily prevented had they
acted with vigour at first.

There are many other faults in their
conduct, which, whoever reads this un-
fortunate war, will observe, with sor-
row mixed with indignation: but there
was an original fault in their first setting
out, which, had it been rightly avoid-
ed, would, I believe, have prevented
all the rest, and saved them from the
cruel necessity of appealing to the sword;
and appeal always calamitous, always un-
terminable, sometimes fatal.

As one of the best uses of history is,
to review a series of measures, to con-
sider how they were conducted to the
end proposed, and what alterations
might have been made in them for the
better obtaining those ends, I shall
make no apology for a few speculations
upon what I think the Commons of
Castile ought to have done at this time.

It seems to me, that when it appeared
by the vote they had given, that the
majority of the Cortes at the Groin
were under the influence of the court, all
the honest part of the assembly, who
had opposed that faction, should have
followed the example of the procurers
of Salamanca, have protested ag-
ainst their proceedings, and, without
flying to be expelled, have withdrawn
from an assembly where their presence
could do no good: They should then have
united together upon one great point,
upon the restoring the independency of the
Cortes, by removing that influence
which, as experience had shown, was
strong enough to secure to the crown a
constant majority there, against the sense
of the nation.

To bring this about, a limitation of
the number of place-men, in those assem-
bles, would have been, I think, better
than a total exclusion of them, upon
many accounts. First, It would have
been a less violent measure, and have
met with less opposition from the King
or the Nobles. Then it would have
been liable to no objections, as suppos-
ing an inconsistency between the service
of the crown, and that of the publick;
since it would have left the grand officers
their seats, and excluded such alone as
gave a reasonable jealousy, from the
means of their circumstances, and
could no way be necessary for the infor-
mation of the Cortes.

Next, It would fully have answered
the end proposed; which was, not to
weaken the crown, but to set such
bounds to the influence which a court
might have in a Cortes, as would pre-
vent a bad minister from being sure of
carrying, there, whatever he took to be
necessary for the support of his power,
the destractive to the interests of his
master and the state. This they should
declared to be the condition of their returning to the Cortes; as the
only reason of their separation was,
their inutility of flattering where reason
and the voice of the publick could no
longer prevail. This they should have
made the ultimatum of their demands
upon the crown; and, with all duti-
ful submission, have proposed it to the
King.

This should have been universally
understood as the aim of those who op-
posed the minister; not the turning out
one set of place-men, and letting the in-
fluence of their places remain; not the
brog-
Weeky ESSAYS in MARCH. 1739.

bringing in abler ministers to go on in the same method of government, and by a wise administration reconciling those to the principle, who saw the danger of it under a weak one, and opposed the evils it caused.

Under this standard, I say, should all these have united, who meant the freedom, the honour, the preservation of their country.

If any, through singularity, had left them, it would have hurt only themselves; it could not have weakened the party, it could not have prejudiced the cause. A association formed upon this just and moderate plan, that proposed to itself so reasonable, so constitutional an end, could not have given offence to the most decent men, fear to the most quiet, or scruples to the consciences. All the cities and towns would have approved of it; and the Nobility must have come into it, or have owned themselves a faction, which, having given up the independency of one part of the legislature, acted in concert with the minister to destroy that of the other part.

The King himself could not have refused to just a petition, which made no encroachment on the prerogative of his crown, and only took from his ministers those rotten supports which they would be ashamed to lean upon, if they had virtue and ability, the solid pillars of a good administration. Could any man deny, for instance, that officers of the army ought not to have seats in the Cortes, after the answer made by the King to the two deputies of Toledo, whom he ordered away to their regiments? If they had obeyed that order, as their military duty required, what became of the duty they owed their country? If they refused to obey, they lost their commissions; and it might have happen'd that those commissions were the bread of them and their families. Was it safe for the liberties of Castile, that such a contest as this, between clashing duties, should be always struggling in the minds of a considerable number of their representatives?

Was it safe or honourable for the state, that every Clerk of an office should be brought into the Cortes, to sit there as equal in dignity, and, with the freedom of a legislator, to differ in opinion from those whose command he had that morning received with the submission of a servant? that these and such as these should decide upon the greatest national interests; who, if they voted according to their consciences, must have lost their salaries; and, if they lost their salaries, had nothing else to have them from starving? No; the unreasonableness of all this would have carried conviction: the clearing the Cortes of such members would have been the demand of the whole nation; and the minister could not have refuted it, when it appeared that nothing but they could bring back the separated members, or appease the publick discontent. And what trace of faction could have been found in this conduct? was it any thing farther, than to own things were as they were, and to propose the only remedy that could mend them again? For, till this was obtained, it was most certain nothing else could; and this being once obtained, all else would follow of course.

This would have taken off their excises, restored their finances, and recovered their trade. When the deadly load was removed, the natural spirit and vigour of liberty would have worked for itself, and thrown off all that has offended it, till the constitution had recovered its original health.

If it could have been supposed, that at that time the King was so obstinate as to have refused this remedy, to the prayers of his people, it was but waiting patiently till the rapaciousness of his favourites having reduced him to extortions for want of money, he should be forced to call another Cortes, (as he did two or three years after his return from his German dominions;) at the election of which (had no civil war interven'd) the appeal to the people might have taken effect: they might have chose no procurators who would not engage themselves to vote, before they entred upon
Weekly ESSAYS in MARCH 1739.

To the author of the Scots Magazine.

SIR,

The following being the work of a youth in his 16th year, is not, I think, unworthy a place in your Magazine, were it only to provoke some of our Gentlemen of genius and leisure to attempt the translation of many other pieces of the same celebrated author; which, when arrayed with the elegant ornaments of our modern language, could not fail to please and entertain those who are not able to discover the beauties of his original compositions, which have always hitherto suffered'd very much by translation. I am,

Your humble servant,

Orlando.

BERWICK,

March 20.

EPITAPH on a blind man's dog.

From Buchanan.

Here rests Lyciscus, undisturb'd, and freed
From all those toils and watchful cares of life
His master's age and want of sight require'd.—

When he, necessitated, walk'd abroad
To seek what nature crav'd, I led the way:
Nor needed he the guidance of a wall;
His staff was useless, and his steps secure;
For all his confidence was plac'd in me,
Nor plac'd in vain.—When, seated on a turf,
Pleading his blind and miserable state,
He begg'd assistance, and a kind relief;
From those on whom great nature had bestow'd
An easy fortune and a heart to give:
Mean vixens, tho' tempting slumber clos'd my eyes,
My ears never slumber'd to my duty's voice;
Nor ever disobey'd my master's call,
If to receive from his rewarding band
The relics of his feast, a crust or bone;
Or, (night approaching) with a cheerful prance,

To guide him safely to his wife'd-for home.

These were my cares, this my officious life,
Till age and sickness slow-creeping seiz'd,
And robb'd me of my breath, and to deprive'd
Poor Iris of his guardian and his guide.

But, that injurious time might not defect
The memory of his faithful servant's name,
He rais'd this humble monument to tell
The Dog's Fidelity and Master's Love.

RURAL
RURAL VIRTUE: Or, The Heroic Shepherdess.

Address'd to Miss Wyndham.

Two branches, sprung from Scotland's royal stem,
With adverse titles claim'd the diadem;
Baliol and Bruce: and both so near ally'd,
That scarce for either Justice could decide.
Friends favour'd each, and Slaughter ready stood
To float the mourning land with native blood;
When to First Edward's judgment both submit,
And plead in person their contested right.

The subtle empire, mind's of his trust,
By self'd by what was gainful, more than just,
Reposed by ambition to dispose the crown,
And set the highest bidder on the throne.
Bruce, fond of patriot-glory, scorn'd to treat,
And in his virtue only would be great:
But Baliol, with the charms of empire for'd,
Submitted to the injurious terms requir'd;
Paid servile homage to the band that gave,
And, free before, became a royal slave.
Yet, soon repenting, forever, by force, to break
The gallant yoke from his disaffected neck;
But, lack'd in repeated trials, by'd
A captive to the prince his rage defy'd!
While Bruce, bis rival, triumph'd in his place,
And bow'd for ever his unhappy race.

His heir surviv'd him, but a banish'd man
In France, obscure, without a hope to reign!
Of sable genius, faming to aspire,
But chain'd to earth by slavish, and low desire.
Eager his favor-rites wishes to perform,
Provided that the game was still in view;
Or, weary of the course, be, instants, chose
A new:

Glory his suffrage held a madman's dream;
Pow'r, a gay voyage through a troubled stream;
Learning, the real reed bubble of the schools;
Virtue, the joy of philosophick souls;
Wealth, but a slave to wait on passion's mood;
And Pleasure, all to be implored of GOD.
As the full stretch, once spurring thro' the grove,
The chase his soil, and his amusement love!
His hounds loud opening with a jovial cry,
The mountains echoing to the huntsman's joy,
A gay th'memorial earth, serene th' indulgent sky!

* Of England.
Poetical ESSAYS in

Deep in the shade, distlinguished to the sight
By a broad sheet of far reflected light,
Till a swiftest stream, like crystal cool and clear,
And just in dying murmurs reach’d her ear;
Then wide-expanding, as it downward flow’d,
Of intertwined landscape in its mirror show’d.
In this he hung; and, bending down her face,
Wild’d on the image in the liquid glass:
For late alarms forgot, and void of fear,
Innocence was beauteous peculiar care!
While thus amiss, she bears the thick’ning sound
If heavy footsteps break the trembling ground;
And from her sweet repose with fresh surprise,
And swiftest again, as fear from Milchies flies.
Left Baliol, with redoubled warmth and surcease,
And love’s whole art of soft persuasion was
To gate her speed; disowns all hope designs,
And vows her beauty is a guard divine.
But all is lost; pray’t, vows, persuasion, love?
Deaf as the adder, whom no charms can move.
In these along, as wafted by the wind;
Nor once replies, or deigns a glance behind.
The forest path, they reach a level green,
Under’d with boughs, and tufts of trees between.
Here meet the panting maid to breathe,
And joy’d as the awrked seam’an ’scap’d from death:
The guardian house-dogs, in the middle way,
Shut their favourite, and around her play;
Wound by their signal, glad her parents rise;
I weume bone the darling of their eyes.
Baliol, with transport, ey’d the bony face,
Perfused bribe would here be sure to win:
In his presumption, frank his passion told,
And back’d his suit with all alluring gold;
And so, by pleas’d his illustrious name,
And made his birth a pander to his fame.
The boary pair with fix’d attention hear’d
To acknowledge’d flame; and, fond of the reward,
Left with compling glances on the maid,
Prompt to submit, inclining to persuade!
Then foe, averse, with anger and disdain,
The arms of injur’d beauty! thus began:

MARCH 1739.

Back to gay courts, mistaken Prince, remove!
There spread your golden snares for venal love!
There pride will breaken, avarice betray,
And wealth restore what scandal takes away!
But here’tis useless—Here the tempting bane
Can nothing add, and therefore tempts in vain.
Health breathes its blessings on the green hill’s brow,
Sweet smiling Pleasure glads the vale below;
And Love, the essence of all joys in one;
Here lays his wings aside, and throws his arrows down:

Love born of innocence! whose genial fire
Hea’n kindled first from angels pure desire!
His, chaste as blushing morn, my willing breast
Shall freely cherishe as a welcome guest!
But Luft, who mimicks that celestial flame,
Offspring of casual heat! and fire of shame!
May all his wiles, and all his charms employ,
But never deceive me into guilty joy.

This said, in frowns she turn’d. But
Balio, stung
With keen desire, and sense of offer’d wrong,
Strove to subdue her scorn with praise’d art,
Looks, language, tears;—all that bely the heart!

Now, as of angels love old fables feign,
By Love transform’d, he roams a courtly swain.

On rural gallantries employs his care;
Calls the first royes for his fair-one’s hair;
Explores the flow’ry mead, th’ imbou’ring wood,
Cool grove, extended plain, and quinding flood;
The rude rock; pendant, vale of oak-leaf-green,
And every beauteous haunt of ev’ry scene.
In each, by turns, Love tells his wanton tale,
From the morn’s firefonte, to sweet ev’n

By turns, in each his fond allurements fail:
Stern Honour, still the virgin’s faithful guide,
To step by force oppos’d a guard of pride,
Immure’d her heart, composed her lips and eyes,
And stifled ev’ry wish that strove to rife.

Weary, at last, to sue so long in vain,
And yet too much incant’d to refrain,
He deign’d the function of the nuptial yea;
To reconcile her virtue to his joy.
Yet long the prudent maid ev’n this declin’d,
Conscions to extremes of life could ill be join’d:

And
Poetical ESSAYS in

MARCH 1739.

Inglorious youth! to Eastern climes repair—
There sink in sloth! disolve in pleasures there!
Nor, with thy base example, taint our
chastister air!

Know, + Edward! active Edward mean
to raise

Thy ruin'd hopes; with condescending grace
Invites thee to revive thy father's claims;
And win the honours of thy royal name.

But, should this tale of scandal reach a
ear,
Dare not to wish! but wed, with her, a
flair!

A crown, or steep-book, then, this moment's
chafe!

This moment all thy fate has left to doze!
Defy the future! or the past'd excuse!

He said: Mute wonder feit'd the gaseal
strong;
And Baliol's heart twixt love and empi
bung

Wav'ring.—Sufience fo balance'd either sea!
With equal weight, that neither could pres
vail.

When thus the maid, magnanimously braw
With eye ferene, her gallant suffrage gave
Be bold, my Lord! and, fearless of th
smart,

Tear the barb'd arrow from your tortos
heart!

It aks but courage, and a moment's pain.
And time soon cloes up the wound again:
Summon, then, pride, fame, instinct to your aid
And let the voice of Fortune be obey'd!

— I cancel all my claims, your vow refor
Nor ever will obstruct your grandeur more;
Fond of your honour now, as of my own
before!

— Then kis'd his hand; nor waiting a red
Like happiness, flew instant from his eye.

Baliol, her parting steps with anguish
view'd,

(To all the virtues, graces, loves pur"f'd,
Fix'd in a stupid game,— till she was gone
Unable to accept an offer'd throne.
But then, his wishes varying with the feet
Before ebb'd out, and thinst of rule flow'd in.
Pomp, in gay vijfions, dance'd before his sight
And seem'd the paradise of all delight
Some tears be shed; but 'twas a famer
flow'r,

Heat-drops of love! no soner felt than o'er

* A noble Scot of the faction of Baliol.
† The Third of England.
Poetical ESSAYS in MARCH 1739. 127

To the author of the Scots Magazine.

S I R, Kelfo, Mar. 7.

By letting the following song have a place in your next Magazine, you will oblige Your humble servant

T. E.

Tune, Saw you no my Maggy?

How Peggy charms me!

Ev'ry look still warms me,

Ev'ry thought alarms me,

Left I lose the fair.

Sure a finer creature

No er was form'd by nature,

So match each feature,

So divine an air.

When I hope to gain her,

Fate seems to detain her:

Could I but obtain her!

Her alone I've chose;

And, since love inspires me,

As her beauty fires me,

And her absence tires me,

'Tis breast I'll vent my woes.

Edinb. Mar. 7.

The LOVER'S MONUMENT.

From Parian mines, or mines of Greece,

No costly Monument opprest,

Grant me, ye Gods, my weary bones

With beauteous heaps of polished stones;

But let me for my crowning bane

A little turf upon my grave.

Then, with the dear remembrance

Mour'd

Of what so much alive I lov'd,

From the same ground I'll rise, and be

The Queen of Beauty's fav'rite tree,

A Myrtle; whose wide boughs shall

spread

Around a dark, but grateful shade.

Here the young pairs shall yearly come,

With pinions off'ring to my tomb;

And to the pipe of rustick found

In circling dances tread the ground.

Beneath my bough the swain shall sit

Secure at noon from summer's heat;

And, while his lambkins crop the

graze,

Sing to his soul of ev'ry grace

Adorns his beautious Mistress' face.
The Poetical ESSAYS in MARCH 1739.

The INDIRECTMENT.

TUNE, A cobbler there was.

MY Lord, for your patient attention I sue
And, Dons of the jury, I crave it of your
—That Lady who stands with so blameless an air
Is — a thief, and the truth I am come to declare
Derry down, &c.

II.

Street-robbers by law are condemnd' to a rope;
Which crime is found there is small room
For hope:
And the reason is plain why the law is severest;
What is worse than to rob us, they put us in fear.
Derry down, &c.

III.

This being premis'd, on my oath I declare,
To other night in the street, by the eyes of that fair,
I was order'd to stop, when scarce able to stand,
And fear'd out of my waist at the look of command.
Derry down, &c.

IV.

Confounded I stood at the sudden surprize,
When Strait a sharp lancet came, slap, from her eyes.
—She, seeing reftiness was out of my power,
Style my heart, and retain it at this very hour.
Derry down, &c.

V.

If crimes of this kind should be let to gain ground,
To the state it is of fatal effect will be found;
Should our youth of their hearts thus be rob'd in
the night,
Who shall we appoint the bold Spaniards to fight?
Derry down, &c.

VI.

Would your Lordship but let me her sentence pronounce,
For the sake of example this Lady I'd pronounce;
She should be condemnd' with that blush on her face,
To —— meet me this evening at the same place.
Derry down, &c.

The following Encomium is said to have been
spoken extempore in a very August Assembly.

THE grateful ages past a God declar'd,
Who wisely counsell'd, or who wisely warr'd:
Hence Greece her Mars and Pallas dress'd,
Made him the hero's, her the patriot's guide.
—On both accounts ARGYRE may justly claim,
A god-like honour, and immortal name:
For be alike in field and senate join'd,
Great in his deeds, and wise in his designs.

HARRY

Perhaps some happy lover there
May meet the kind relenting fair,
And mix with kisses tales of love;
Kisses the dead would almost move.
With freser green I'll deck my head,
With greater joy diffus'd my shade;
The bitter are my berries now,
Sweeter than honey shall they grow;
The Cypress shall not ever be,
Nor the chaste Laurel, Daphne's tree.

Edinb. Mar. 16.

Mary Scott's the flower of Yarrow,
adapted to the present age.

In ancient times, as songs rehearse,
One charming nymph employ'd each verse;
She reign'd alone without a marrow,
Mary Scott, the flower of Yarrow.
Our fathers, with such beauty join'd,
This matchless fair in crowds admir'd.
The matchless then, yet here's her marrow,
Here's another flower of Yarrow.

II.

Her beauty, unadorn'd by art,
With virtue join'd, attracts each heart;
Her negligence itself can warm us;
She scarce knows her power to charm us.
For ever cease, Italian noise;
Let ev'ry string and ev'ry voice
Sing, Mary Scott without a marrow,
Mary Scott, the flower of Yarrow.

SIR

The following song, which
I am sure you will own,
an original, being presented me
by a Gentleman whom I think a
fool, and who thinks himself I
don't know what, I desire you
will present it to the publick; that,
by the reception all his works must,
I am sure, meet with, he may be
convinced of his incapacity for
writing; and no more, by way of
compliment, compare his Mistress
to a felon at the bar of justice.

I am, your humble servant,
(if you insert it)

Newcastle, Mar. 17; Lizzy LOFTY,
Poetical ESSAYS in MARCH 1739.

Harry and Hetty.

How happy is Confidence! void of all blame,
She fears at that trifling thing, a good name;
Injust reputation, bids manners be gone.
Can Hetty e'er dance with such tight fetters on?
But adore to these fairies! mere virtue and vice,
Such poetical folks we must drop in a trice,
Our charmer to paint: Hark! hark! the soft chaunter!
Those trills might lure Plato about to gallant her.
'Tis on her mind we must build her a name,
Since, with Pharaoh, to hardneps of heart she lays claim:
Ye chiefly her chastity sure she may brag on,
En vogue, but a Fauvist, dare mount on a dragon?
Pease her fond Sprymy, the threadbare his coat,
His riches (collected) may rise to a — great:
But what's vast to him, to whom right's a mere
A grandeur differs by a nip of Welsh ale?

O Harry! consider how galling a thing
The want of a beggar, with the pride of a King!
'Tis madneps to fret on the strength of your pocket,
'Tis threat ning to fire the world with a rocket.

For the fartbings his children amongst you lay out,
Rife, neighbours, and lag your humility out;
Prevent impraductions, which beauty may fall,
By a — figuring with his tail, and a — n to you all.

Come let us return to the load of our song,
A burden so Euge we can scarce drag along!
O help, benefic bellman! won't your muse but contribute,
She'd be foul'd by a song, who would fanning on a gibbet.

Bee Budgell work'd honey from what I shan't name:
We should think ourselves happy could we do the same;
'Midst wiles be benefic, 'midst madness be mild:
But who can touch pitch, and not be delf'd?
Their refleetions on Hetty are quite thrown away;
To a few the same thing is a psalm or a play:
Can a brute guess the meaning of virtue or fin,
Who wallows and grits about in her gin?

Verles written in a Lady's PRAYER-BOOK.

Last with a pure a mind, a fair a frame,
A faint's humility, a seraph's flame;
Fret with no want, polluted with no stain;
Why needs the fair, what pardon would she gain?
Until the lovely Nealot floop to pray
For thousands, whom her eyes have led astray.

Verles written in a Lady's PRAYER-BOOK.

The Fallen Angel.

Some mirthful lads, the other day,
A fancy took to act a play —
Each chose the part that pleas'd him best.
Young Phanton too, amongst is the rest,
Choost one: — be long'd to represent
A messenger from Heaven sent.

As he came failing thir'd the air,
His heavenly errand to declare,
(Whether on purpose, or by chance,
Is no material circumstance)
O sad disjaffer! the machine
The hero was support'd in,
Crack'd on a sudden from above,
And did irregularly move.

A afraid of whatshag might be the event
Of such unlucky accident,
The angel cries, "G-d-d-n you all!
"Take care, or else, by G-d! I fall.
"Just as he said, it came to pass;
And down he fell upon his a —
Which having scratch'd, by G-d be foul'd,
He'd never be an angel more.

A Night-piece.

Happy hours, all hours excelling,
When, from jealous parents
All attend at Chloe's dwelling, (free,
Sweet, engaging company!)
There, no pervert age molesting,
We pursue our youthful joys,
Music, dancing, harmless jesting,
Such delight as rarely joys.

If for dance we are preparing,
Then 'tis, "Partner, why so sad?"
"Let's be bright, and call off caring;
"Tune away the Highland lad."
Now methinks I feel performing:
"How the limbs from pavement bound!
Vital spirits sweetly warming,
Eccbo yielding back the found.

All contentious, sports we vary;
Dear variety is best:
Some tell fortunes — waho's to marry
Still returning jest for jest:
Then, with ale as brown as berry,
Or a glass of gen'rous wine,
Toasting, singing, making merry —
Gods! what bliss! almost divine!

Shades
Shades of night at length retiring,
Sol appearing o’er the hills,
We (each other kindly greeting)
Part, the more against our wills.
But, as such is mortal folly,
That long solitude gives pain,
We (to banish melancholy)
Fix a time, and meet again.

FLIRT AND PHILO.
A Decision for the Ladies.

Wit, by learning well refin’d,
A beauty, but of the rural kind,
To Sylvia made pretences:
They both profess’d an equal love,
Yet hop’d by different means to move,
Her judgment, or her fancies.
Young sprightly Flirt, of blooming mien,
Watch’d the best minutes to be seen;
Went when his glads advis’d him:
While meagre Phil of books enquir’d,
A wight for wit and parts admir’d,
And witty Ladies priz’d him.

Sylvia bad wit, bad spirits too;
To hear the one, the other view’d;
Suspended held the scale;
Her wit—her youth too claimed its share.
Let none the preference declare,
But turn up—heads or tails.

To the memory of an Agreeable Lady, buried in marriage to a person undeserving her.

Was always bold, and ever will,
By sage mankind, discreetly
T’anticipate a better ill,
Than undergo a greater.

Poor Gratia, in her twentieth year,
Foreseeing future woe,
Chose to attend a Monkey here,
Before an ape below.

PSALM XXXIX. paraphras’d.

Ring to the Lord, ye mighty rulers, bring
Young rams, the firstlings of the fleece store;
Bow humbly down before the Lord, your King.
Celestial anthems to Jehovah sing;
Reverence and worship, tremble and adore.
The boisterous ocean’s troubled waves obey
Silent Jehovah’s all-commanding word;
The whiten’d billows of the foaming sea
Dove’d on the rocks, with mists obscure the day.
But hasting back, confess the awful God.

He bards the rattling thunder thro’ the skies,
Darts lightnings in the cloudy air;
He speaks the word, and black’ning storms are;
But at his voice they impend and sink.
And all the beantons horizon is clear.

Voila, inexpressible theme of angels song,
And mens amaz’d! the voice of God most high;
Which roots the stately pine, the waving dune;
Of Lebanon’s cedars, and the intrails strong;
Of knotted oaks, loud thund’ring from the sky.

Seek at his voice earth feels a general quiver;
Whose forests whirling ride the dusky air,
And by the roots up turn, with rustling sound,
Confus’dly dancing in mysterious round;
Their Maker’s glorious majesty declare.

His voice the hinds perceive, and drop their young;
Untimely births; his voice the flames can fever;
Where, high above the water-floods, among
The brambles be fits, by cedars to be sung;
Almighty Lord and King, and that for ever.

Thus great, thus terrible is God: but when
To mercy be inclines, with white-ro’d peace
And innocence be glad the sons of men;
Protest from serpent’s tooth, and lion’s den,
And gives their flocks and herds the wild’s increase.

On the report, that the Spaniards are to have
The liberty to search the British Ships, within
Two leagues of their coasts in America.

HOW would our neighbours fear at this strange event?
What, Spaniards search the masters of the main?
When that day comes, no more let Britain boast
Her ancient courage and her naval boast.
Let her two hundred ships in barren rot,
And all her sea achievements be forgot;
pretend henceforth to you regality no more,
But seek protection from some foreign pow’r.
Thus should the nation ap’t, who tho’ foe might
With ease compel the foe, yet fears to fight,
And, stead of wounding wrongs, gives up her right.
A Letter relating to the Stage, &c.

Sir,

London, March 27.

At a time when the service of the publick is so loudly talk'd of on all hands, I am strongly inclined to make an attempt of that kind myself, by recommending to your countrymen the imitation of a foundation lately begun here, for the relief and support of the widows of musicians; for the benefit of whom an ode was t'other day performed in the Hay-market. What makes this charity more cheerfully subscribed to by the lovers of our own country, is a hope that the Italian warblers, who have on other accounts been found so expensive, will not soon become chargeable to this design. — Whether in such a settlement it would be necessary to include the most industrious branch of the melodious fraternity, the bag-pipe professors, ought to be determined by the general voice; which, by what I can judge from the accounts I have heard of that moving instrument, would be in its favour; whereby these poor widows would become the care of the publick, whose husbands are more the servants of the publick, than, perhaps, any other men whatever, by enduring so many weary walks and dripping trudges themselves, in order to aid the pleasure of others. And that such a contribution would be general, can scarcely be doubted, while their affluence is so constantly wanted in companies disposed to that innocent mirth and blameless jollity for which the Scotch nation has been long remarkable.

The town is at present amused by the author of a tragedy called Gustavus Vasa, the deliverer of his country, with advertisements and other remonstrances against the ufage he would be thought to have received from the L—d Ch—n, and the Gentlemen appointed by him to peruse pieces offered to the theatres. To give a proper representation of his case of complaint, &c. it will be necessary to offer a very short account of this Gentleman in his character of a writer, and of the extraordinary measures taken by himself, and the person interested in the sale of his writings, to palm him upon the town as a Horace and a Shakespeare, before his writings had made good his right to the reputation of Francis Quarles.

About three years ago appeared his first piece, a small poem called Universal Beauty, remarkable for no particular excellence whatever, and distinguished from the short-lived productions of every writer by none beside the puffs of Tasso's Jerusalem, the first book of which was published by this writer last year, and in several news-papers said to be translated by Mr. Henry Brooke, student in the Temple, and author of that excellent poem called Universal Beauty. He afterwards published more of Tasso, which passed in the utmost silence upon the town; and Mr. Brooke remained in the indifferent light of a person who had attempted to please, with such a resolution of meeting success, as had induced him to submit to such steps to obtain it as were in fact the most effectual to prevent it. — After several little homebred praises in the papers, in the Gentleman's Magazine for January last was inserted some verses in his praise, with notes; one of which affur'd us, that his mode was so prodigous that he was thirty years of age before his friends could prevail upon him to appear in publick; and another informs us that he has several pieces by him that come as near as any to Milton in manner and style; an information for which the publick immediately owned the kindnels of this embryo bard. And as a tragedy written by him was praised in the above recommendation, the critics began to think their own proper sphere of approbation or dislike, invaded; and it being agreed that a play of merit could stand in no need of preparatory encomiums, it was determin'd in two large assemblies of first-night judges, that though Mr. Brooke's tragedy of Gustavus Vasa should be found to have a common share of merit, that could not be sufficient to atone for the mean impertinence of amusing the town with puffs of a play whose desert they were not capable of determining; and it was agreed

...
natural opera, has been honour'd with his Majesty's Royal presence, and has had polite audiences twice since. It being musical performance, the pit has been raised to half a guinea, and the gallery to five shillings, as has hitherto been the practice in such cafes: Though since the flight of the Italian, people seem more generally inclined to have some reason or other given, why the prices must be more than double for the performance of a few musicians and two or three voices, for two hours at most, than for the action of a play &c. for four hours at least? — It is urged by some, That the qualification of a fine musician are very rare; and his skill tends to move the more delicate passions of the mind, he merits more reward than a man whose uttermost art reaches no farther than the common influence of mirth and sorrow. To which it has been replied, with some warmth, That the greatest force of harmony tends only to a melting softness, useless in every respect, and of the most transitory duration; which is so far from strengthening and improving the human mind, that its direct tendency is, to enervate all the useful faculties, and lose the ineffable power of reflection in an insensible admiration of the force of mere sound. That it frequently happens, that a proficient in this soft science has not any thing more to recommend him to the favour of mankind, than a casual excellence at some part or other of a science, which ought to be admired, indeed, but with the utmost caution; left, by pleasing the ear too much, it should, in effect, ruh the understanding: Whereas a Comedian cannot claim more praise than Nature assigns him and Nature approves; and as she is his standard for action; and virtue the aim of his toils, he can merit no praise from an audience to which he is not, in the strictest sense of the word, useful, either by exposing the folly of others, or by representing their own foibles in such lights as they cannot fail to dislike. Besides which, and numerous other arguments in their favour,
favour, it is said, That a good Player must be a man of wit and sense, of humour and politeness, to be capable of getting into the various characters he is to represent, in order to perform them with success; that he must be an absolute master of every passion of the mind, and a tolerable judge of men and things: Whence, say the advocates for the Comedians, must appear the evident absurdity of rating the performances of a man thus qualified, under that of a man who merely happens to have a good natural voice, to be expert in the exercise of a fiddle-tick, or to have wind enough to sound a horn.

Should this comparison generally prevail, of which there is at present great probability, we may hope in time to hear a TUNE of Mr. Handel at as low a price as a PLAY of Shakespeare or Sisley. I am, &c.

S. TOUPEE.

COMMON SENSE, March 31.

Contest between Lord Strutt and *Squire Bull.

Sir,

In obedience to your desire, I have sent you a full account of the disputes between Lord Strutt, and 'Squire Bull, which are now the only subject of conversation in our country.

You must know, these two gentlemen, whose estates are neighbouring, tho' in different counties, are both proprietors of some lands which lie at a distance from the rest of their estates; the passage to which lies across a large common, which, time out of mind, has been free to both. My Lord, who is a proud cunning man, and was ever a mortal enemy to the family of the Bull, some time since took it into his head to order his servants, that whenever they found any carriages belonging to Mr. Bull's tenants crossing the common, they should seize them and bring them home to his house, under a pretence of their having been to fetch corn, or cut timber out of his Lordship's grounds. These orders were punctually obeyed; and whenever any of 'Squire Bull's tenants drove, their waggons on that side the common next the inclosures belonging to my Lord, (which the badness of the ways often oblig'd them to do) his Lordship's servants were sure, though against all law and justice, to attack them, even with fire-arms, and not only plunder the loading, but abuse the men in the most barbarous manner, and carry away the waggons and teams under a pretence of having committed a trespass. But what renders, my Lord Strutt's behaviour the more extraordinary is, that 'Squire Bull has long been acknowledged, and known by all the country round, to be Lord of the manor of this common.

This practice was long carried on, through the connivance of a Steward, to whom the 'Squire has long trusted the management of all his affairs, and who, by the by, is thought round us to have neither honesty nor abilities sufficient to qualify him for the office.

At length 'Squire Bull's tenants, tired out and in a fair way of being ruined by these plunders, determined to lay their grievances before their Lordship, in a body; which they did; and at the same time assured him, that unless they had some redress and satisfaction, they must throw up their farms, since it was impossible for them to pass with their goods to or from market without endangering their lives or fortunes. What at this time had a very bad aspect, and raised great jealousies of the Steward, was, that he endeavored as much as possible to prevent the tenants delivering this remonstrance to his master: But, notwithstanding his opposition, it was delivered, and the 'Squire was so gracious as to promise them relief.

Upon this, 'Squire Bull, by the advice of his friends, resolved to go to law with Lord Strutt, and spare no expense in defence of his rights: In consequence of which resolution, he borrowed large sums of money, see'd his council, and made all necessary preparations for trial.

All this time it was observed, that
my Lord Strutt never made one step, nor expended one farthing towards his defence; but, instead of that, continued his insults on the Squire’s tenants as usual. This, as you may well imagine, surprized the neighbours; till at length they discovered that the Squire’s Steward was in league with my Lord, and had privately acquainted him that he need not be under any apprehensions concerning the suit his master had commenced, for he would take care it should never be brought to trial.

This was agreeable to my Lord’s wish; for he consider’d, that while Bull was wasting his estate in preparations for an imaginary trial, he would be the better able to support the expense when it came to a real one. Besides, Squire Bull’s Steward had several reasons for putting off the trial: He was apprehensive, that in the course of the evidence, every thing which had passed between my Lord and him (and they had long held a clandestine correspondence) might be brought to light. Again, he knew that his master, in order to decry the expense of the lawsuit, must increase his rents; and which he was sensible the tenants were unable to pay, through the cruel exactions he had long continued to make upon them; by which means his iniquities would have been discover’d. For it is notorious throughout all the country, that he has rack’d and oppress’d the tenants, infomuch, that the farms on Squire Bull’s estate, which were formerly held to be the best all around us, are now scarce worth tenanting. I have heard some of the oldest tenants say, that they never remember any Steward in the Bull family so ill-beloved, or guilty of such enormous impositions: which is not altogether improbable; for though it is allowed that he was taken into the family as a beggar, there are some will not scruple to say, he has now almost as good an estate as his master.

Upon these considerations Squire Bull’s Steward was determin’d, at all events, to prevent bringing the cause to an issue; and accordingly told his master and some of his friends (who were very much enraged at the unwarrantable proceedings of my Lord Strutt,) that he himself would undertake to accommodate all matters with his Lordship, both to the honour of his master, and the tenants satisfaction. Upon this, the proceedings at law were stopt, and some considerable time past in endeavouring to reconcile the differences; but during all this time, my Lord behaved in the most haughty, insolent manner, absolutely refusing to make any concessions; and, though a proposal of amity was carrying on, still continued his violence.

This behaviour, you may be certain, made Mr. Bull’s Steward very uneasy; not for his reputation, for he despised that; but his place, perhaps, lay at stake, and depended on his success. At length, finding my Lord immovable, he had recourse to a stratagem; which was, to prevail on his Lordship to sign a paper that had the form and appearance of an agreement, though in fact, no one article in it could possibly be of any service either to his master or the tenants.

The articles on which Squire Bull’s tenants chiefly insisted were:

1. Reparation for the damages they had sustain’d. 2. Security for a free passage over the common, for the future.

All the satisfaction Squire Bull’s Steward was able to obtain in these points, amounted but to this:

In the first place, Lord Strutt agreed to pay about a third part of the tenant’s demands; but, at the same time, insist’d the Squire should deliver up one of his tenants, who was under his protection, and who, Lord Strutt pretended, though without any foundation, was indebted to him in a sum almost equal to that which he was to pay the rest of the tenants for their damages.

As to the second article, which certainly was the most material, Lord Strutt refused to comply with it any further, than agreeing to refer it to the future consideration of two sleeping Attorneys.
This agreement, ridiculous as it may appear, the steward was hardly enough to prevail on 'Squire Bull' to sign; nay, had so much impudence as to boast what eminent service he had done his master's estate by it. But when 'Squire Bull' communicated this affair to his friends, who generally come about Christmas time, in large bodies, to visit him, they were alarmed, and hoped the 'Squire' would by no means be satisfied with so scandalous an agreement.

The tenants finding they were to receive for trifling a satisfaction for their lives, and no security for an unmolested passage over the common for the future, have applied to 'Squire Bull's' friends to assist them in their interest in the recovery of their rights and liberties.

I am, &c.

DOMESTICK HISTORY.

EDINBURGH, March 1739.

No less than 981,378 yards of Linen cloth hath been sent this month to LONDON, besides what has been exported to other places, which, no doubt, has been very considerable. By this we may see that the industrious poor only want proper encouragement to make us rival any of our neighbours in the goodness of that manufacture: And, as a bill is ordered into parliament for taking off the duties on the materials for whitening linen, 'tis hoped it will be very readily agreed to; which will be a new motive to our manufacturers to proceed in the advancement of this valuable branch of trade.

The Farmers in Mid-Lothian have expressed their zeal for the good of their country, by entring into an unanimous resolution against the use of foreign spirits. This laudable example has been imitated by many of this city, who are resolved to use their utmost endeavours to put a stop to the pernicious practice of retailing brandy, rum, &c.

The late General Assembly found themselves obliged to take particular notice of the conduct of Mr. Ebenezer Erskine and his associated brethren; and, after appointing the use of gentle means to reclaim them, empowered their commission (if that method should prove ineffectual) to take all proper steps to sift them at the bar of the next assembly. In consequence of this, several Ministers invited them to a conference, which they constantly refused, unless they would agree to argue the debated points, not as commissioned by the general assembly, but in the quality of fellow-christians. The Commission in November finding there were no grounds to imagine they inclined to alter their conduct, named a committee to prepare a libel to be put in their hands, which was done, and presented to that Reverend body in March. Several warm debates ensued. Whether, in the present situation of affairs, it was expedient to proceed further? It carried by a narrow majority, to put the libel in the Seceders hands, and to grant a warrant for fitting them at the bar of the next assembly, together with witnesses to prove the charge. This Libel enumerates the several crimes which are alleged on these Reverend Gentlemen; and particularly narrates their secession from the church without any justifiable ground, and persisting therein, contrary to their solemn vows at their ordination; assuming a power of erecting themselves into a presbytery, and pretending to judicial acts over the whole church; publishing to the world their Aes, Declaration, and Testimony, wherein they condemn the church, and throw out many groundless calumnies against her; dispensing ordinances to persons without the consent of the Ministers of the congregations to which they belong; ordaining of elders, and keeping saints in different corners of the country; licensing Mr. John Hunter to preach the gospel, and directing him to a particular parish (viz. Larbert) wherein to exercise his ministry; taking off a sentence of excommunication passed by the presbytery of Dumblane; absolving scandalous persons; excommunicating one David Lesly Baxter in Pleasants; baptizing children without proper
proper certificates; obtinately refusing

conferences with the Ministers of their
respective presbyteries; and Mr. Ebe-
nezer Erskine’s protesting against five
elders, members of the session of Sti-

rung, summoning them to appear at the
tribunal of Christ, on the day deter-

mined in God’s secret Decree, to an-
swer for their conduct.

A bill is ordered into parliament, to
enable his Majesty, his heirs and suc-
cessors, to grant letters patent to any per-
son or persons, to present plays, or other
entertainments of the stage, within this
city or suburbs. The Magistrates, the
Univeristy, and the Clergy, have dis-
patched very pressing letters to men in
power, begging their interest to pre-
vent the bill’s passing into a law. And

A petition has been sent up, signed
by several Noblemen, Gentlemen, Mer-
chants, Burgesses, &c. praying that the
bill may pass into a law.

LONDON.

The house of Peers have deter-
min’d the great cause relating to
the succession to the estate of Bargeny,
in favour of Sir Hew Dalrymple.

The competitors were, 1. Sir Hew
Dalrymple of North berwick, eldest
son of Joanna Hamilton, only child of John
Maiter of Bargeny, in whose contract
of marriage with Jean Sinclair, daugh-
ter of Sir Robert Sinclair of Longfor-
macus, the estate was tailed. 2. Sir
Alexander Hope of Kerse, eldest son of
Nicolas Hamilton, only daughter of
John Lord Bargeny, maker of the
tailzie. 3. Miss Mary Buchan, eldest
daughter of Grizel Hamilton, only
dughter of William Hamilton, second
son of the maker of the tailzie, who
afterwards succeeded to the estate, and
upon the death of whose son, James, the
male line of the tailzier’s body failed.

The court of Seffion gave it first for
Sir Hew; but, upon a reclaiming peti-
tion, decided in favour of Sir Alexan-
der. Against which both Sir Hew and
Miss Buchan appealed.

The grounds of each party’s claim
will best appear from the following
clauses of the tailzie, which were the
foundation of very learned pleading
both before the court of Seffion, and
the house of Peers.

The Obligation to Inherit.

—The said John Lord Bargeny bish
and obliges him, his heirs and succes-
sors, with all possible and convenient
diligence, duly and validly to infeft and
seize, by charter and seffion, titulo one
roto, in competent form, the said John
Maiter of Bargeny, and the heirs-male
to be procreate of the said marriage
between him and the said Mrs. Jean
Sinclair his future spouse; without fail-
seizing, the heirs-male to be procreate of
the body of the said John Maiter of Bar-
geny in any other marriage; without
failseizing, William Hamilton, his bro-
ther-ferman, second son to the said John
Lord Bargeny, and the heirs-male to
be procreate of the body of the said Wil-
liam Hamilton; without failseizing, the
heirs-male to be procreate of the body of
the said John Lord Bargeny; without
failseizing, the eldest heir-female of the
body of the said John Lord Bargeny,
and the defendants of her body, without
divisium; without failseizing, the next heir-
female to be procreate of the body of the
said John Lord Bargeny, and the de-
scendants of the body of the said next heir-
female, the eldest heir-female and the de-
scendants of her body, always excluding
all other heirs-portioners, and succeeding
without divisium; without failseizing, John
Houstoun younger of that Ill, eldest son
to the said John Lord Bargeny, and the
heirs-male of the said John Houstoun; and
after naming six other substituts, it
proceeds as follows] without failseizing,
to the said John Lord Bargeny his heirs-
male whatsoever; without failseizing,
to the said John Lord Bargeny his heirs
and assignees whatsoever, the eldest heir-
female, and the defendants of her body,
excluding all other heirs-portioners, and
succeeding always without divisium; and
the defendants of the body of the said Mrs.
Margaret Hamilton, [refer to the tailzie]
being absolutely, and for ever debarred and
excluded from succeeding to the lands and
estate after mentioned, or any part thereof;
and the next person who would succeed
by
DOMESTICK HISTORY.

by the forsaid designation, in case the
dissent of the said Mrs. Margaret
Hamilton's body were extinta, and
naturally dead, although dissenting of the
younger sisters, or any one of a remotest
degree, is hereby appointed to succeed to
the lands, estate, and others after men-
tioned; immediately after the dissent of
the body of the said John Lord Bar-
geny, notwithstanding that the dissent of
the body of the said Mrs. Margaret
Hamilton be on foot; who are hereby al-
together excluded from the benefit of the
forsaid succession, as said is.

The Procurator of Resignation is
words the same with the above
date, only, when the next heir-female
is mentioned, the words, to be procreate,
are omitted.

The obligation for payment of por-
tions to the daughters, failing hose-
man of the marriage.

And in regard, that by the conception of
this present contract, and procurator of
resignation and tasking above written,
being contained, faisicking of heirs-
man presents of the body of the said
John Master of Burgeny, of the said mar-
riage betwixt him and the said Mrs.
Jean Sinclair, surviving, and succeeding
to the said lands and estate, who
shall attain to majority or marriage, the
sums are provided and taskied to the
other heirs-male above mentioned, ait that
the daughters of the said marriage are
thereby excluded from succeeding thereto;
therefore the said John Master of Bar-
geny, be the tenor herein, binds and obli-
ges him, his heirs male and of taskie above
mentioned, That in case there be no
heirs-male procrase of the said marriage
betwixt him and the said Mrs. Jean Sin-
clear, surviving the said John Master
of Burgeny, and who shall attain to ma-
jority or marriage, that then and in that
case the said John Master of Burgeny,
and the heirs-male of his body of any other
marriage, and the other heirs male and
of taskie above mentioned, shall make
payment to the daughters, one or more, to
be procreate of the said marriage betwixt
him and the said Mrs. Jean Sinclair,
of the sums of money after mentioned;

Their Lordships have likewise deter-
mained a cause between William Scott
of Blair's creditors, and Hamilton Blair
his son, by affirming the decree of the
court of Sessio in favour of the son.

Near 20,000 ministerial pamphlets
in defence of the convention have lately
been dispersed gratis among the excite-
ment, euomhous officers, and other
civil, military, and ecclesiastick officers,
which has fallen the price of waste
paper.

Tis remarked, that upwards of 100
members were at the house of Com-
mons before six o'clock in the morning,
the day the convention was consider'd;
and what is very remarkable, there were
480 members at prayers before ten that
morning.

His Majesty has made a present of
mum, mead, cider, and beer, to the
Most Christian King.

Four brandy and rum merchants,
and one cider merchant, were, upon
their petitions complaining of great
damage sustained by leaking casks, and
a high overcharge of the duties, a-
mounting to considerable sums of mo-
ney, upon proper vouchers of such losses,
relieved, according to their request, by
the board of excise.

The French merchants have con-
trasted with some of our greatest Vir-
ginia and Maryland traders, for the de-
lever of above 6000 hogheads of to-
bacco; of which they make incredible
profit, by razing it.

Printed lists of the common-council
of this city, and the several trades they
profess, were delivered at the houses of
Lords and Commons, with the following
lines printed on the front of the paper:

So every carpenter and work-master, that
laboureth night and day; and they that
cut and grave stales, and are diligent to
make great variety, and give themselves
to counterfeit imagery, and watch to finish
a work. — All these trust to their hands:
and every one is wise in his work. With-
out these cannot a city be inhabited: and
they shall not dwell where they will, nor
go up and down. They shall not be sought
for in publick council.

Eodem. xxxviii. versi 27, 31, 32, 33.

There
DOMESTICK HISTORY.

There are five persons in the castle of York for coining guineas; above 1000 of which were found in their custody. And

A discovery has been lately made of several coiners near Derby, and informations are given against many of the offenders, particularly against a Presbytery and Hofer, who has acquired a considerable real estate, to the surprize of every body, his new trade being not then known. He has been, 'tis said, in close consultation with a ruling man; but is not yet committed. The man who made the tools, and was hired to live with him, and assist him in the use of them, was to receive L. 40 for his service; but the Non-con. not being so honest as to pay him out of the profit, the mould-maker has brought his action against him, and sues him for his bargain. Another of the coiners rides about the country with arms; but is not yet taken. Others are mentioned, as concerned in the same vile practices, but none are yet brought under examination, for unknown reasons; and whether this affair must be passed over as a trifle, or be brought to the assizes, a little time will shew.

The drawer who was concerned, in the murder of Lieut. Hume of Rofcree, was found guilty of the said murder at the assizes at Clonmel.

One John Henning, at Barnwood, near Gloucester, who lodged about 13 months with one Mrs. Mills, an elderly gentlewoman of that place, and rented about L. 12 per annum, broke open her box, and stole two silver tankards, a half-pint silver goblet, seven silver spoons, money, &c. to the value of L. 40; in lieu whereof he left a letter as a pill of consolation, stuff'd with scriptural texts, such as,

Lay not up for your fowles treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal.

But lay up for your fowles treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal.

For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.

Be content with such things as they have, for he hath said, I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee.

Bless them that curse thee, and pray for them that despitefully use thee.

Be thou therefore merciful, as thy heavenly Father also is merciful.

Fret not thyself because of him who prospereth in his way, because of the man who bringeth quickened devices to pass.

Eat and drink, and enjoy the fruits of thy labour, for that is the gift of God.

I hope that these frivolous and sudden removeables will put you in mind that you have here no continuing city, and stir you up to live so holly, that was God at any time to say, This night shall thy soul be required of thee, you might with pleasure say, Lo, I come.

John Palmer, alias, Richard Turpin, was tried at York, and convicted upon two several indictments for horse-stealing: The evidence was clear and full, and the prisoner had little or nothing to say in his defence. He was proved by two witnesses from Essex, to be the notorious Richard Turpin (one of whom was Smith who taught him to write) and he himself owned his name to be, but said he was not the Richard Turpin he was taken for, but another person of the same name: He said he had been a Butcher in Lincolnshire, and failing there, retired into that country, and took upon himself the name of Palmer. He did not apprehend any danger from the first acculation of shooting a Farmer's cock, and therefore tamely submitted to the Constable's authority; and after he was charged with horse-stealing, he did not attempt to escape, left, if he did not succeed, an enquiry might be made after him, and a discovery made who he was. His necessity in jail for'd him to get a fellow-prisoner to write the letter which he fign'd, and which pulled off the mask and discover'd him. Since he was suspected to be Turpin, the whole country have flock'd there to see him, and have been very liberal to him, infomuch that he has had wine constantly before him till his trial; and 'tis said the jailor has made L. 100 by selling liquors to him.
and his visitors. Though the fellow has made a great noise in the world, he'll now die like a dog. A vast number of wagers have been lost on this account.

Since the news of an English ship's being taken in the Mediterranean, orders have been sent to Commodore Brown at Jamaica to convoy home the merchant ships for the future.

The few officers of the garrisons of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, that are absent here on furlows of leave, have received orders to repair forthwith to their respective posts in these ports.

Several Stone-masons, Brick-layers and Smiths, have been hired to go to Gibraltar and Port Mahon.

Orders are issued for enlisting a number of seamen to man the guard-ships.

On the 3d of May the Spanish court is to pay the sum of L. 95,000 towards repairing the British merchant losses.

A considerable remittance is made to the Earl of Crawford at Vienna.

Brigadier-General Guilt is appointed to review the forces in North Britain in place of General Wade.

They write from Dublin, That a commissary has passed the Great Seal, appointing his Excellency Thomas Wyndham, Lord Baron of Finglas, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, to be Lord High Steward of Ireland for trying the Rt. Hon. the Lord Santry; and on Wednesday last the Rt. Hon. Thomas Catter, Sergeant at Arms, issued summons to the Peers of the kingdom, to meet on Friday the 27th of April at the Parliament-house, for trying his Lordship, pursuant to a precept from the Lord High Steward.

Maritime Affairs.

The Tochem, Burtmeester, bound from Ligon to Lubeck, was lost off of Bergen, eight of the crew drowned, and six faved.

The Hendrick, Grieve, was lost near the same place.

The John and Thomas, bound from Rotterdam to Hamburg, was lost in the North sea, the Captain and crew were faved.

The Missing, with Palatines for Plymouth, was drove from her anchors at the horse-shoe, near the cape of Virginia, and loft, with all the passengers, off of Cape Henry.

The Middleton, Fotherby, of Biddeford, was lost about 15 miles to the southward of Boulogne, but all the crew were saved.

Capt. Hudson, bound from Rotterdam for Bristol, was lost on the coast of Bristol.

A Brazil Ship was lost at the bar of Oporto.

The Alicant, Capt. Elliot, from Hamburgh, was lost near Graveline.

The Bristol Brig, John Nicols, bound from Barbadoes to Philadelphia, was lost 12 leagues from the southward of Cape Henlope.

Died within the walls of the city of Edinburgh, and buried in the Gray-friars church-yard, March 1739.

Men 19, women 23, children 73. In all, 115. Increased this month, 33.

Age. N. Diseases. N.

Under 2 38 Old age 5

2 & 5 28 Consumption 40

5 & 10 8 Fever 18

10 & 20 3 Small-pox 8

20 & 30 1 Teething 17

30 & 40 4 Chin-cough 20

40 & 50 7 Suddenly 3

50 & 60 1 11 Rupture 1

60 & 70 11 Palsy 2

70 & 80 3 Still-born 4

80 & 90 0

90 & 100 1

Preferments Civil.

The Earl of Kintore,—Sheriff of the county of Kincardine.

Marquis of Lothian,—Lord Register for Scotland.

Mr. Gordon, late Secretary to the society for the encouragement of learning,—One of his Majesty's council in Carolina.

Mr. Nasmith, (brother to Sir James Nasmith of Poslo, member of parliament)—Clerk to the Admission of Notaries.
The wife of Mr. Murray, Porter to the Prince of Wales,—Wet-nurse to the Prince.

Col. John Pit,—Governor of South Carolina.

Charles Frewen, Esq;—Brunswick-herald at Bath, and Gentleman-usher of the Scarlet-rod.

Nathaniel Stephens,—Deputy Comptroller of the customs in the port of Bristol.

Craifter Greathed,—Comptroller of the customs in the island of St. Christopher’s.

Samuel Holden, Esq;—Governor of the Russia company.

MILITARY.

Edward Montague, Esq; son of the late Brigadier General Montague, and nephew to the Earl of Halifax,—Major of Col. Cornwallis’s regiment of foot.

Duncan Urquhart, Esq; member of parliament for Forres,—Captain of a company in the second regiment of foot guards.

Major Whitney,—Lt. Colonel of the regiment of dragoons commanded by Brigadier General Hawley.

Lieut. John West,—a Captain in the said regiment.

NAVAL.

Sir John Norris,—Vice-Admiral of G. Britain, and Lieutenant of the navy, in room of the Earl of Berkeley, deceased.

MARRIAGES.

The Lord Cardros, son to the Earl of Buchan,—to Miss Stewart, sister to Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, Bart. —Cooley, Esq;—to Miss Jane Trench, daughter and sole heir of the late Sir Fisher Trench.

Thomas Gerrard, Esq; Common-Sergeant of London,—to Miss Gay.

James Ogilvy of Ruthiemay, Esq;—to Lady Betty Maitland, daughter to the Earl of Lauderdale.

Duncan Robertson of Drumachin, Esq;—to Miss May Nairn, sister to the Lord Nairn.

BIRTHS.

Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales,—of a Prince, on Wednesday, the 14th March, about two o’clock in the afternoon, at Norfolk-house in St. James’s square.

When her Royal Highness felt labour-pains, Mrs. Cannon her Midwife was sent for; who thinking she would soon be delivered, his Royal Highness sent a message by the Lord of the Bedchamber in waiting to acquaint his Majesty therewith; upon which his Majesty sent a message to the house of Peers: Whereupon the house immediately adjourned, and the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Dorset, and other Lords of the Privy Council, with several Bishops, repaired to Norfolk-house, to be present at the birth.

And a messenger was soon after dispatched to the Court of Saxe Gotha, to acquaint his Serene Highness of the same. And Messengers were dispatched to all his Majesty’s Ministers abroad, to notify the birth of the Prince to the several courts.

The Countess of Cathness,—of a daughter.

The Lady Aylmer, wife of ——— Fishter of Sandieford, Esq;—of a daughter.

DEATHS.

Charles Earl of Selkirk, one of the sixteen Peers for Scotland, Lord of the Bed-chamber to his Majesty, and Lord-Register for Scotland, at his house in St. James’s place, unmarried, aged about 77, of the stone and gravel. He was next brother to James late Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, uncle to the present Duke, elder brother to the late Earl of Orkney, to the present Earl of Rutherglen, and the Lord Archibald Hamilton.

The Lord Viscount Bulkeley of the kingdom of Ireland, and Member of parliament for Beaumaris, without issue, and is succeeded by his brother in honours and estate.

Mr. Holdgate, an eminent Druggist.
DOMESTICK HISTORY.

Sir John Schaw, Bart. at his seat at Eltham in Kent.

John Elbridge, Esq; Comptroller of his Majesty's customs in Bristol. Among other large legacies, he has left L. 5000 to the Infirmary there, and endow'd a charity-school which he built several years before his death, on St. Michael's Hill, for the educating and clothing a certain number of poor girls.

William Errington, Esq; High Sheriff for the county of Northumberland.

The Rev. Dr. Humphreys, Vicar of Ware and Humbridge. He translated Montfaucon's antiquities, and other Authors, into English.

Roger Tuckfield, Esq; Member of Parliament for Athburton.

Mrs. Anne Scot, a daughter of the family of Gala, and relish of Walter Scot of Raeburn, Esq; of Harry Macdougal of Makerston, Esq; and of Mr. James Home of Eccles, Advocate.

Capt. William Logan, formerly Governor of New Jersey.

Henry Macneal, Esq; Captain of a company in Col. Reid's regiment now in Gibraltar.

James Drummond of Blair-Drummond. Hugh Gibson, Esq; in Somersetshire.

Dr. Dalmaboy, a noted Physician in Bedford Row.

The Lady Juliana Bruce, wife to Charles Lord Bruce, only son of the Earl of Aylebury, who lives at Brussels.


Anthony Hammond, Esq; once Commissioner of the navy, and Pay-master of the forces (under the Duke of Chandois) in Spain.

Mr. Bowman, of Drury-Lane theatre, aged 88, who had the honour to perform several times before King Charles II. and with whom that Monarch often drank a bottle.—He was the oldest Player, the oldest Singer, and the oldest Ringer in England.

William Farmer, Esq; brother to the Earl of Pomfret.

Mr. Michael Lumidien, Advocate,

The Lady Suttie, relish of Sir James Suttie of Balgownie, and daughter to the late Lord President of the Session.

Jean Stirling, the wife of Mr. John Campbell Cashier of the royal bank.

Dr. George Wharton, an eminent Physician.

John Eyres, Esq; of Berry's Hall in Norfolk, a Roman Catholic Gentleman of L. 4000 per annum.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

Accounts from Asia abound with contradictions, which vary according to the interests of the places from whence we receive them. From Vienna we are often told, That the Sophi of Persia is marching with a numerous army to recover the provinces seiz'd by the Porte during the late war: And from Constantinople it is said, That the Sultan and Kouli Kan are upon the most amicable terms; and that the latter is so far from attempting any thing on the side of Turkey, that his whole strength and attention is necessary to oppose the arms of the Great Mogul, who, having declared war against him, is sending an army of 100,000 men to invade his dominions.—However, it is certain that the armies of the Grand Seignior are preparing for the field with more expedition than at present appears among the forces which will probably be employ'd against them.

On the 15th of February, a detachment of 3000 Tartars having passed the river Nisper, in the Ukraine, in order to attack a body of Cossacks and Russians, under the command of Major-General Bachmarow, were, immediately upon their landing, attack'd and defeated by that commander, who took from them 1300 horses, two pair of colours, a great number of bows and arrows, &c. which fo intimidated the Sultan of Biolgrod, who commanded the main body of troops from whence the above detachment was sent, that he instantly retired toward Poland, plundering and burning the small towns and villages in his road, in revenge for
his insuccefs; so that for the victory of the Ruffians, the Poles have severely suffered. — General Keith, who is at Paris in order to be cured of the wound he received in his knee at the siege of Oczakow, has written to Petersburg, that he had put himself under the hands of that able Surgeon M. Morand, and hoped to return to Russia in May or June next.

From Venice it is affirmed, that the Grand Vizier, upon application of the Marquis de Villeneuve, the Ambassador of France at Constantinople, had declared, that as the last proposals made by the Sultan for a peace had been rejected, he would now offer new ones: Upon which the Vizier produced a map, whereon he describ'd to the Marquis a small territory or two his Highness was willing to resign to the Emperor, and the large districts he infisted upon having delivered up to him by his Imperial Majesty, viz. the fortress of Tamefwear, the frontiers of Wallachia, including Vipalanka, Media, Cornia, &c. The Grand Vizier made no secret to the Marquis of the operations he has orders to execute the ensuing campaign, but frankly told him, he would march with the greatest part of his army to besiege Belgrade.

It is likewise written from Venice, that some Turkish merchants in that city have received information, that Mahomet the Bashaw of Albania, who had render'd himself odious by his cruelties in the exercise of his government of Scutari, being upon the point of taking the field with the militia, to punish the inhabitants of the province of Kuzzi for their contempt of his commands, a conspiracy was form'd against his life; in consequence of which, at a proper opportunity, a musquet was fir'd, upon the report whereof several persons rush'd upon, and stabb'd him in more than a hundred places. — The most rapacious tyrant is so easily subdued, that it is astonishing to reflect how mankind have, in several instances, suffer'd the inhumane disposion of one man to distress and butcher thousands!

The general rendezvous of the Imperial army is said to be fix'd for the 5th of May, in the neighbourhood of Belgrade. The Velt Marshal Count Wallis is to have the command in chief, but is not yet departed from Vienna. The Turks have made a fresh attempt to penetrate into Transylvania, but were repulsed by the troops under the command of the Prince de Lobkowitz. The Countess of Sceckendorf is arrived at Vienna from Gratz, to solicit that entire liberty for her husband which has so long been promised.

The Emperor has lost another of his Generals by the death of Henry William, Count de Welzegg, &c. a member of the Emperor's privy-council, one of his Chamberlains, Velt-Marshal, General of his forces, &c. &c. in the 74th year of his age. — But Count Sceckendorf continues in good health.

The French mediation succeeds almost as badly in Corsica as at Constantinople; for notwithstanding the repeated accounts from Paris of the Corsican submission, their delivering up their arms, &c. it is very certain that the French troops are pent up, or chuse to remain in Baftia, to prevent any insult from the natives of that island, and that every day affords fresh examples of the firm attachment of that people to their King Theodore, who has so far prevailed upon the affections of his subjects, as to be equally rever'd by them in his absence, as when he is present among them: An instance not common in longer establishment governments.

From Madrid we learn, That the L. 95,000 stipulated by the late convention has been transmitted to Sir Thomas Geraldino at London; and that the Spanish court every day expected the arrival of the Spanish fleet from Buenos Ayres, which is freighted with an immense treasure.

His Holiness of Rome has lately given several marks of his affection for the Chevalier de St. George, who expresses the highest veneration for the Holy Father.
Velt Marshal de Grumbkow, Prime Minister to his Prussian Majesty, died lately at Berlin.

Five members of the Swedish senate have been expelled for practices against the interest of their country.

Trade is at present more generally consider'd throughout Europe than was ever before known; the improvement of manufactures in France having roused several other Powers to embrace every opportunity of extending their commerce: By which it is expected that the importations at several foreign ports from Great Britain will not receive any considerable increase.

The crown of France having demanded a liberty of sending the several merchandise of that kingdom into the dominions of the States-General duty-free, some difficulties have arisen against conforming to that demand; upon which it has been reported, that several battalions of the French troops are marching towards the Maese. — Should any contest arise upon this account, it will not be easy to determine who must assume the mediatorial office, since France will become it as oddly in a case wherein she is a party, as on some other occasions.

The States General, as well as several European courts, are very much chagrined at the news of the alliance lately formed between the crowns of France and Spain, and at the promotion of the Archbishop of Embrun to a Cardinal's cap: It being apprehended that Cardinal de Fleury designs this Prelate, who is of an intriguing enterprizing genius, exceeding subtle, and very haughty, for his successor in the ministry.

Paris, Mar. 18. Last week 12 surgeons were shipp'd for Corifica; so that there will probably be sore and bloody work in that island.

From Bourdeaus we hear, that thirty Capuchin Friars have lately died of poison they receiv'd by drinking too much of some wine which one of their brethren had fined down with arlenick, instead of spirits.

The Register of Books.

The Philosopher's Stone, or Grand Elixir discover'd by Friar Bacon.

A letter of Claudio Tolomei, translated from the Italian; in which is examined, Whether a Prince should punish his Magistrates and Ministers, who, against the duty of their office, have injured the people; or rather, cover and conceal their crimes, and, by some secret way or other, put a stop to them? With historical notes, and political reflections.

The second and last volume of the Batchelor of Salamanca; written by M. le Sage, and translated by M. Lochman.

Truth; a counterpart to Mr. Pope's Essay on Man. By Mr. Ayre. price 6d.

Second volume of Common Sense letters collected.

A letter to a Noble Lord, on repealing the Ten Commandments. pr. 1 s.

Characters; an epistle to A. Pope, Esq; and Mr. Whitehead. pr. 1 s.

The entertaining correspondent, or curious relations, digested into familiar letters and conversations. pr. 10 s. Published monthly, and now collected.

The green cloth, or the verge of the court. An epistle. pr. 1 s.

An address to the merchants of G. Britain; or an impartial review of the conduct of the administration, with regard to our trade and navigation in general. pr. 1 s.

The vestry laid open; or a full and plain detection of the many gross abuses, impositions and oppressions of felekt vestries. pr. 1 s.

A view of the present evidences for and against Mrs. Stephens's medicines. pr. 2 s. — As this is sent into the world by the Gentleman who has in so extraordinary a manner undertaken to make a medicine of common success, an uncommon charge to the publick, the utmost care has been taken in his own vindication. — It is hoped Mrs. Stephens has been grateful to her friends.

The case between the clothiers and weavers. pr. 1 s.

A letter to Dr. Mead, concerning some antiquities in Berkshire. By F. Wife, B. D.
The trials of seven pyrates. pr. 6 d.
The history of Northamptonshire, by the late J. Bridges, Esq; N. 1. pr. 1 s.
The Old Whig, or the Conscientious Protestant, in 2 Vol. 8vo. Collected from the late weekly journal of that name: being, most of them, papers written with ingenuity, style and candor.

The first satire of Persius. By Mr. Dudley. pr. 6 d.
The irresistible fair. By J. Dodd. pr. 6 d.

The eighth and ninth epistles of the first book of Horace imitated by G. Ogle, Esq; pr. 6 d.
Dionysius Longinus on the sublime. By W. Smith, M. A. pr. 4 s.
A letter to Sir R. W. on the present posture of affairs. pr. 1 s.
Chronological tables. By A. Blandy, M. A. pr. 6 s.
Letters and dispatches of the late Earl of Strafforde. pr. 2 l. 2 s.
The modern Englishman. pr. 1 s.
The London citizen injured, pr. 1 s.
—Containing an account of the cruel treatment of Mr. C—n, bookseller to her late Majesty, in a private mad-house, &c.
A letter to Mr. Sn——ll on liberty. pr. 6 d.

The travels and adventures of Edward Brown, Esq; pr. 5 s.
Expostulation with the clergy about the test-act. pr. 4 d.
Further considerations on the present state of affairs. pr. 1 s.
Remarks on the review of the controversy about Demoniacks. By T. Hutchinson, D. D. pr. 6 d.
A letter concerning the fitness of Diff'rents serving Sheriffs of London. pr. 6 d.

The objections against the repeal of the test-act. pr. 1 s.
Mr. Walpole's cause. pr. 6 d.
The smugglers defeat, or the golden fleece revived. By G. Bridges. pr. 6 d.
Epidemical madness. pr. 1 s.
Measuring made easy. By J. Overley. pr. 2 s.
Works of Mrs. Rowe, and her husband. pr. 9 s.
The cafe of King Jehoashaphat, and the Church of England. pr. 1 s.
A view of the Necessitarian, or beft scheme; freed from the objections of Mr. Croufart, in his examination of Pope's Essay on Man.

An enquiry into the fitness of attending parliament. pr. 6 d.
A practical exposition of the four Evangelists, in the form of a paraphrase. By J. Guyde, D. D.
Roger and Joan, or the country-wedding; with several new songs, set to musick by Mr. Lampe. pr. 6 d.
Manners decipher'd; a reply to Mr. Whitehead on his satire called Manners. pr. 1 s.
Remarks on Mr. Euler's treatise of motion, &c. By F. Robins, F. R. S. History of the life and reign of Edward and Eleonora. pr. 6 d.
Observations on the remarks upon Mr. Whitefield's journal, &c. pr. 6 d.
On prophecy, as pointing out the Messiah; a divine ode. By W. Brownwood, M. A. pr. 1 s.
The erroneous translations of th' vulgar versions of the Scriptures detected, &c. By J. Lookup, Esq; pr. 1 s.
The Statues, or trial of constancy; a tale for the ladies. pr. 1 s.

A series of wit and policy; being a full justification of all our measures ever since 1721. pr. 8 d.
A review of all that hath passed between the courts of Great Britain and Spain relating to our trade and navigation, from the year 1721 to the present convention. With some particular observations upon it. pr. 6 d.
Ministerial prejudices in favour of the convention, examin'd and answer'd. pr. 4 d.

A general account and description of the island of Corfica: including a genuine relation of the late revolutions there, occasioned by the oppressions of the Genoese. With authentic memoirs of Baron de Neuhoff, titled Theodore I. of Corfica: containing an exact narrative of his adventures and misfortunes, down to the present time. To which is prefixed, a correct map of the whole island. pr. 1 s.

Besides a number of new attacks and defenses of the convention.
THE SCOTS MAGAZINE.

APRIL, 1739.

To be continued every Month. Price Sixpence each.

CONTAINING,

Weekly Essays. Dr. D'Avenant's caution against the appearances of Slavery; Fools of different complexions; Common Sense's defence of the Convention; Didascalus Phileros Doctor of Love's Advertisement for beginning a course of Experimental Love; Regard due to a good Minister; A discourse on Predestination; Proposals for regaining our National Honour abroad and at home; Thoughts on a bill said to be intended to prevent frauds in the Stamp revenue.

Account of the trials of Seven Pirates.

Account of Father Bougrant's tract, intitled, A philosophical amusement on the language of Beasts.

Poetical Essays. Calliope's directions how to deserve, and distinguish the Muses inspiration; Odes in illustriissimum Joannem Arvathelie Ducem; Prologue to Hamlet when acted for the benefit of Shakespeare's monument; Prologue to Gustavus Vasa; To Sleep; Resolve, &c.

A letter relating to the Stage, &c.

Domestic History. Church affairs; An account of Turpin the Highwayman; Maritime affairs; Preferments, &c.

Foreign History.

Register of Books.

EDINBURGH: Printed by W. Sands, A. Brymer, A. Murray and J. Cochran. Sold by the Bookellers in Town and Country, and at the Printing-house in Burnet's Close. MDCCXXXIX.

Of whom may be had the Magazine for the three preceding months.
CONTENTS.

WEEKLY ESSAYS.

The state of Rome under Augustus, a warning to a free nation in which liberty is destroyed. Proofs of the Tories, which if gone into by the Whigs, would subvert the constitution. The adundance of a minority in parliament of no effect, when the majority is corrupted. Sir Joshua's fell not owing to the senate. A corrupt people never recover. Republican, the worst tyranny. Folly of being harried in company. Of being pleased with bassey. Ill-placed misery the worst of evils. But sometimes necessary. Common Sense's proposal against ministerial pamphlets. Defense of the constitution. Use of her calumny. Utterance of money. Proposals for a course of experimental love. Description of the love-sickness. Of the love Telestic. Of the love Microtopsy. Advantages of good statesmen. These liable to most difficulties. Character of one. Ought to be supported. Predestination defined. Reasons against that doctrine. Objections answered. Conduct of Mr. D'Aubigny. Not to be corrupt, look'd on by some as a crime. Corruption destroys both itself and the constitution. Corruption act as necessary as a gin act. Draught of it. Reasons why corruption prevails. Story of a stupid clergyman. Whigs led out of the way by Robin the Coachman.

Cock of Lord Macclesfield. p. 165
Abuse of horse-races. ib.
Secession of the fair sportsmen. ib.
Dues with a good design. ib.
The Porting of a condit. ib.
Craftsmen and common sense in danger. ib.
A clause in a bill to regulate the face of stamped paper. ib.
Advantages of such a bill. ib.
A minister unsafe without it. ib.
The Spanish War mutilated. ib.
The times left out. ib.

PYRATES TRIALS. Indictment. ib.
Witnesses deposition. ib.
Sentence. ib.
Two pardoned. ib.
Of the understanding of beasts. ib.
Of the language of beasts. ib.

POETICAL ESSAYS.

Calliope's dittoings. 177
Ode in Iounien Argonautia Ducem. 178
Prologue to Hamlet. 179
To Sleep. Ode extemper, Rehobo. 180

A letter relating to the STAGE, Etc.

Hendall accused of forged. 181
Tragedy not to be useful as Comedy. ib.
Remarks on the petitions against the Edinburgh Play-bills. ib.
Usefulness of dramatic representations. ib.

DOMESTIC HISTORY.

Account of the present Ministers, Etc. 183
Account of Turkey. 185
Maritime affairs. 186
Preferences, Etc. 187
Mortality-Bill. 188

Foreign History. ib.

Register of Books. 191

We are still in arrear to some of our Correspondents, especially the Poetical; for which we must yet beg excuse.
CRAFTSMAN, April 7.

Dr. D'Avenant's Cautious against the appearances of Slavery.

---ali militem divis, populum abdest, cunctas delacias octo pelletis; inferjere patiatur, nancia finis, magistratus, legum in se tradere, nullus adversus est; enfratellii ut sit actio, et proscriptions eciidissant. Ceteri Nobilium, quam quis servitut praeferat, optatis ex beneficiis ecelibvibus; ac novis ex rebus auctis, tuto et pres- sentia, quam vetera ac periculosa majus. Neque provinciis illum terram situm abest, ac filio saeclis populique imperio, ob certe animi potentiam, et acceperimus magistraturn, invasibus legum accipere, quae vi, arma, sedem procellam turbabunt.


Nothing can give a few people better warning than this instance from the Roman history: for, when the Senate, the magistrates, and the soldiers are corrupted, the people will put no confidence in them, and rather choose to submit to the arbitrary will of one man, who hath it in his power to reward their servility, than be farther imposed upon by a pack of profligate tools, whose duty it is to defend them.

It is observ'd by a very judicious author, (Dr. D'Avenant) now before me, that the liberties of a country are seldom invaded all at once. The steps of power are leisurely and slow. Ministers, who have it in their thoughts to change the nature of a government, go to work by degrees. At first, they make use of the most popular bands they can possibly procure, ordering it in such a manner, that the people may not perceive who it is, that puts their fetters on. But these popular men are turn'd out, at the first convenient season, that all may be of a piece. Their next business is, to corrupt such persons as have the clearest shame; whom they discard, when sufficiently tainted: and this they do, that the people may think all mankind alike; which naturally drives them to follow those only, who are in power, and who can do them good.

Afterwards, they get from the nation all the money they can; the collecting of which erects new employments; and creates them a number of dependents; who, in one certain place, are their chief strength, and best support. By the distribution of these sum, they likewise make more friends; but being never out of fear of
accounting for all at last, their principal aim is, to procure their master such a standing revenue as may make him subsist, without the people's help. If they find this impossible, or difficult, then by accusations, by exorbitant proceedings, without any precedent, and by harraffing private persons, either in their fame or fortune, they endeavour to make all the different ranks of the people out of love with their ancient constitution. But when they have done all this, they will not yet think themselves quite out of danger: Senatus & popular sumpsam obcura nomina, eti aliquando obumbren et, Tacit. l. 2. bis. They will still lie under apprehensions of being reach'd at last, by the guardians of liberty. Therefore, to damp all thoughts of freedom, to influence the better sort, and to awe the vulgar, their last work is, to procure a standing army.

Dr. D'Avenant speaks this only, upon the supposition of some future corrupt times: and I apply it accordingly; for no body can suppofe me to mean the present. — In the same manner, and with the same honest view, he reasons in another place, on the supposition that the principles of each party are such as he states them; which, if true, I think them so just, and so apposite to my present purpose, that I am sure all my unbiased readers will be pleased with a quotation of them; which are as follows:

If old Whigs should hunt after places, as much as ever the Tories did; and if, like them, upon preferment, they should become quite new men, in voting, thinking, and speaking, in a moment making a sudden turn from the whole course of their former lives; if old Whigs, as the Tories did, should ever take bribes and pensions to betray their trust; if they should do anything to break into the Habers corpus aet, which is the chief guardian of our liberties; if they should oppose any good act for the frequent sitting of parliaments, which want in our constitution produc'd all our former misfortunes: — If, as the Tories did, they should send their emissaries about to influence or corrupt elections; if old Whigs, to whom
Thus far the Doctor reasons upon a supposition, which I hope will never be the case, that the old Whigs should become so depraved and corrupt, but I think him a little deficient in not pointing out some remedy for such a terrible disorder, if it should ever happen. He recommends, indeed, the constant attendance of members of parliament, in order to prevent it: but, in the case he supposes, of a corrupt majority in parliament, governed by plate, pensions, and bribes; of what use would be the attendance of a minority, who may have struggled for many years, against a torrent of corruption, and found all their endeavours to serve their country of no effect? Of what use was the senate of Rome, under Augustus, Tiberius, and their successors? Why, it was so far from doing the people any good, or retrieving their ancient liberties, that it served only to rivet on their chains, and sanctify all the vile actions of the Emperors, their favourites, and creditors. There were, perhaps, several senates, of good private dispositions, in the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero; but what would their opposition have signified, against a most corrupt and slave-like majority, except exposing themselves to the refentment of an arbitrary minister, who governed his master, and was supported by him? It is certain, at least, that the fall of Sejanus, the infamous minister of Tiberius, was not owing to the virtue of the senate: for whilst he continued in the Emperor’s favour, the senate adored, and even deified him; but as soon as Tiberius withdrew his smiles, and sent a letter of complaint against him, they immediately gave him up, to be torn in pieces, with the same servility as they before voted statues for him, and even swore by his name.

But God forbid, as Dr. D’Avenant observes, that the condition of Rome, when Tiberius assumed the empire, should ever be the case of England; for our constitution will be entirely lost, when such a corruption happens. We may, indeed, prefer the name of liberty, and some of its outward forms; but no more than what will help to keep our chains the fatter on. Tyrannies have been often subverted, where the Princes govern merely by their own will, without giving to their subjects the least appearance of being free. But those absolute monarchies are hardly to be shaken; and that servitude is lasting, where the people are left to make their own fetters. — In another place of the same discourse, he speaks thus:

When corruption hath seized upon the representatives of the people, it is, like a chronic disease, hardly to be rooted out: When servile compliance and flattery come to predominate, things proceed from bad to worse, till at last the government is quite disfigured. Absolute monarchies are in danger of great convulsions; when one man, their Prince, happens to be weak or wicked. But commonwealths, or mixt constitutions, are safe, till the chief part of the leading men are debauched in principles. However, monarchy hath this advantage, that the one man, their Prince, is mortal; and, if bad, may be succeeded by a better. But a people, thoroughly corrupted, never return to their right reason: and we see, that the depravity of manners, which began in Rome, presently after the second Punic war; amongst the Nobility and Gentry, became every year worse and worse; till at last Caesar destroyed the commonwealth: and, after his time, under the succeeding Emperors, every senate grew more abject and complying than the other; till, in process of time, the old Roman spirit was utterly extinguished; and then that empire, by degrees, became a prey to barbarous nations.

If all the parts of a state do not, with their utmost power, promote the publick good; if the Prince hath other aims than the safety and welfare of his country; if such as represent the people do not prefer their courage and integrity; if the nation’s treasure is wasted; if ministers are allowed to undermine the constitution with impurity; if judges are suffered to pervert justice, and wrest the law, then is a
mistgovernment the greatest tyranny in the world. It is a tyranny establisht by a law: It is authorized by consent; and such a people are bound by futters of their own making. A tyranny, that governs by the sword, hath few friends but men of the sword: but a legal tyranny, where the people are only called to confirm iniquity with their own voices, hath on its side the rich, the fearful, the lazy: those, who know the law, and get by it; ambitious churchman, and all those, whose livelihood depends upon the quiet posture of affairs: and the persons here described compose the influencing part of most nations; so that such a tyranny is hardly to be shaken off. — Men may be said to be enslaved by law, or their own consent, under corrupt republics, such as was the Roman commonwealth, from the time of Cæsar till the attempts of Caesar; and, under degenerate mixt governments, such as Rome was, whilst the Emperors made a show of ruling by law, but with an au’d and corrupted senate: to which form of government England was almost reduced, till K. William, of ever-glorious and immortal memory, came over, to put our liberties upon a firm and stable foundation.

These quotations from D’Avenant, and some remarks upon them, may possibly give the ministerial advocates an handle to suggest that I design a parallel between former and present times. They have a peculiar privilege of abusing Gentlemen, even of the greatest distinction, who are out of the ministry: but I am not at liberty to defend them at present; though I presume the Gentlemen will take a proper opportunity of vindicating themselves, and make the people understand the reasonableness of their late conduct.

Universal Spectator, April 7.

Fools of different Complexions.

There are some men who either have, or affect to have, such an obstinate aversion to every absurd, odd, or conceited character, that they make themselves almost as ridiculous, by their excessive delicacy, as they represent those very humorsists to be, whom they so cordially despise, and so industriously avoid. Invite them to a party of pleasure abroad, or an evening’s entertainment at home, they enquire as scrupulously into your company, as a bigotted Roman Catholic would into your bill of fare in Lent; and if any one of these importent ingredients should be found in it, however unexceptionable the rest, like garlic it poisons the whole house; and they would no more be prevailed on to visit you, than if you had the plague, or they were sure to catch the very same follies or stupidities they reprehended so severely in others. Hence, if by accident they stumble into strange company, they fit as uneasily as a miser among thieves; and, as soon as ever decency will give leave, hurry off with as much joy and precipitation as Francis I. when he was let free from the captivity of his most implacable enemy Charles V. Hence, when entertained by those they love bet and esteem most, when in the highest spirits, and in a manner overflowing with cheerfulness and good humour; at the very first appearance of a new face, all is dampt at once: they become, instantly, dumb as the ancient oracles; and not only look on the stranger as an intruder, but an enemy. Thus they grow as suspicious as old tyrants, as hard to be pleased, expect to be humoured as much, bring the curse of every man’s folly they encounter upon themselves, and put it in the power of fortune to rob them of all the pleasures of free and friendly conversation.

There is another species of men, in every respect, the direct opposite of this, who consider life as an irregular face; and who make it their business to laugh at every actor that appears, and every scene that passes. To these, folly, affection, and absurdity of all sorts, are the whole salt of society; and, unless both their meals and conversations are季节ed with their darlings ridicule, neither has their due relish; and they call it the drudgery of life, without any of the
Weekly ESSAYS in APRIL 1739.
The entertainment. Coxcombs of all sorts are but so many buffoons and Merry-Andrews to make them sport, and their extravagant actions but so many extemporary interludes; which, as rising from pure nature, afford, say they, more exquisite pleasure, than the most masterly imitations of the greatest genius in the world. — I once knew a gentleman who was perfectly infatuated with pursuits of this nature; insomuch that he did not content himself with lying in wait for fools, but made it his whole business to hunt them out; being more pleased with startling fresh game, and laming them down, as he called it, to oblige his friends, than with all the other enjoyments that flatter the ambition, luxury, or vanity of mankind. He that gave him the first hint of such a one, was received with such extravagant acknowledgments, as if he had brought him news of the highest happiness that could possibly befall him. From that moment his whole thoughts were employed in setting out this new delicacy to the best advantage: he made interest to be acquainted with him; he desired to have the honour of being numbered among his friends; and, when he was become thoroughly master of his blind side, he made a magnificent entertainment, complimented the foot of the play as the principal guest, and, with the greatest gravity imaginable, let him up for the butt and laughing-stock of the whole table. This was his element; here he was in his kingdom; and, 'till the humour was quite exhausted, or a new vein interfered, no consideration could prevail with him to give it over: though his character, health, or even his life lay at stake. — But though he had such an admirable talent in discovering and exposing the ridiculous in others, he had not the least apprehension, that all this while he was, to the full, as ridiculous himself. If he laughed at the expense of another man's understanding, 'twas likewise to the irreparable ruin of his own estate: if the butt was served up as the principal dish at the feast, he paid dearly for the sauce; and, for my own part, I have often concluded both equally resembled the two Logorheads in the sign; and that he who called such intertempore frolicks wit, would be justly intitled to read the uncouth rhimes generally wrote beneath them.

But this is not the only character which offends by experiments of this nature: there is another much more dangerous, as 'tis either blended with malice, or administers satire so exquisitely dissembl'd, that you mistake it for advice; and, by making a compliment to the judgment of your pretend-ed friend, sink, unawares, into the most fatal absurdities. This belongs to him who gravely affects to discover talents and abilities in you, that you never presumed to flatter yourself with before; who affects you are too modest, too diffident; that no body better deserves, or would so well become, or can so easily procure preferment; that your friends wonder you do not apply, and rather condemn you as one above being obliged, than applaud you for not being troublesome. If the bait takes, and, by your unguarded transports at all these fine things, 'tis manifest you wait but for a little more encouragement; he clenches all, by pointing out what to ask, and who will be proud of being your patron; takes care to put you on a wrong scent in both; refers you to that very creature who will treat you worst, and persuades you to solicit the only thing you are most unfit for; and, when you are become ridiculous to his heart's content, not only joins the laugh, but begins it all over the town.

There are, however, laudable ues to be made of this ironical vein; for example, when it is employed with an honest intention to cure the foibles of a friend, without assuming the self-sufficient character of a formal adviser; or when 'tis extorted by way of self-defence; that is, when impertinence becomes troublesome, and you have no way to make yourself amends, but by turning it into entertainment. — This was the case of a friend of mine, who

* We three, Logorheads be.
Weekly ESSAYS in A P R I L 1739.

had invited me to dine with him at his lodgings some years ago. He was a bachelor, not an old one, tolerably handsome, and in easy circumstances. His landlady, a gay widow, though upwards of forty; and her niece, a coquet, of full half that age, were our company at table; where we had not been set many minutes, before I discovered a manifest rivalry between the two ladies for my friend's heart; the amorous dowager overwhelming him with civilities and compliments; while her niece, touched to the quick that he did not repulse her too forwardly, heartily upbraided him with want of taste and discernment, and appealed to me if love and gallantry were not preposterous on the wrong side of fifty. At this provoking afront the aunt reden'd; I was at a loss which side to take, and Miss put on airs of triumph, as if she was sure of her cause; when my friend, with an infinite deal of humour, took occasion to say so many handsome things of his landlady, and with such a face of sincerity, as not only re-affured her, but enabled her to turn the tables so effectually upon her niece, that the rose from dinner abruptly, quitted the room without taking leave, and shut the door after her with such violence, as shook the house. Eulate with this victory, the good dowager grew so ridiculously vain, that she entertained us by the hour with the whole character and adventures of her niece; displayed all her faults, levities, and miscarriages to the best advantage, and totally forgot the relation to expose the rival; "In short, Gentlemen, [says she, very seriously, by way of finishing stroke,) for all she is so pert, she never had a lover in her life who did not desert her the very instant they had an opportunity of making her addresses to me. 'Tis true, her fortune is dependent; and mine, such as it is, my own; but I have been affur'd over and over again, that was no part of the consideration." Here the good lady toasted my friend's health in a bumper; and he, on the other hand, carried on the scene with so much address, and play'd her off with such a profusion of artifices, that I began to fear the woefully forget there was a third person in company, and indulge her raptures at the form of decorum. But my apprehensions were soon removed: for my friend (not being aware of the situation of a large looking-glass, which was placed so unlucky, as to give her a full sight of his face, when her own seemed to be turned a different way) just at this moment tipt the wink on me, with so arch a look, as explained the whole farce at once; on which the lady fell into a confusion not to be expressed, fiddled a moment or two with her lappets and apron-strings, then flung out of the room as her niece had done, before her, and, immediately, sent in a servant to defire my friend to provide himself with lodgings and fools elsewhere.

COMMON SENSE, April 14.

Defence of the Convention, &c.

I Value myself not a little upon having been the first person who undertook to justify our excellent M—x with respect to the present preliminary convention; and I may, without vanity, add, that I am the only one, on that side the question, to whom the world hath given the least attention.

Upon second thoughts, I will except a pamphlet, intitled, A series of wisdom and policy; which I recommend, because the author's sentiments happen to square with my own.

It is true, the great man hath, upon this, as well as upon all other occasions, founded forth his own praises himself: for which he hath my approbation. If a man doth not shew the world, that he hath a value for himself, how can he expect that the world should have a value for him? If it be laudable for a man to give himself food and raiment when he wants them, by the same rule he ought to give himself praise when he wants it.

His declaring himself a man of parts, might be particularly necessary at this crisis,
cries, in order to remove the impressions of a contrary nature, which some late affairs may have made of him in the several courts of Europe.

A mind raised above its level with a high idea of its own merit, cannot fail of some admirers. What doth it avail, that men of sense despise him! he is not to be divorced from his pursuits by the scorn of millions. Give a man vanity enough, and nothing will put him out of countenance; which hath been of singular use to our great man upon several attacks, and hath not a little contributed to mortify the disaffected.

To come to the point: All his measures have been stigmatized with the genteel epithets of corrupt, and igno-

rent, and blundering; which is owing to the prejudice of the world, that will not read those incomparable papers and pamphlets given gratis, and written by himself, his next relation, and five and fifty other ingenious gentlemen, forty of whom are now learning to spell.

I therefore humbly move, that Mr. Collier or Hopkins shall write notes upon every paper and pamphlet that is given away gratis; the publick must pay it. I have heard people say, and with great resentment. If no body will write, or speak, or— for him, without being paid; why should he expect that any body should read for him without being paid?

In the mean time, I will take up the cudgels in his defence; and, having laid it down as a maxim, That peace is better than war, without an exception in any case whatsoever, I will, upon this foundation, raise a battery, from whence I hope to demolish all the arguments of the malecontents.

It hath been objected, That what betwixt the negotiations of one Gentleman abroad, and the measures of another at home, the nation is neither beloved nor feared; and that one of them hath declared, in the presence of five hundred persons, that we have neither friends, nor allies, nor money to go to war: by which, say the malecon-
tents, they stand condemned by their own confession.

So far from being condemned, I think they deserve the highest praise; for if they have managed so well, that we have neither friends, nor allies, nor money, to go to war, we may depend upon a solid and lasting peace.

If the Spaniards have played the fool, and made use of this time to form alliances and save money, they may be mad enough to go to war; and much good may it do them. I hope our M——have made our safety perpetual, and managed so wisely, that we never may be in a condition to go to war.

For which reason, no man, who is a lover of peace and high taxes, will grudge the money that hath been laid out upon inactive squadrons, as well as upon a pacific standing army; since the very expenses may be made use of as an argument hereafter, that we ought not to go to war. I can now only justify the measures, but I think I can also justify the reasons given for those measures.

It hath been said, That we ought not to go to war, because the event of war is uncertain; and, When war is begun, no body knows when it will end. These are wise sayings, worthy of the wise men who deliver them; and may be applied to some other pretended grievances, as well as war, particularly the decay of trade. I hope, therefore, our merchants will take notice, that the event of trade is full as uncertain as the event of war: That when ships are sent to sea, no body can tell when they will return, or whether they will ever return, or not: for which wise reason let them forbear sending ships to sea. If they are taken by Guarda Costas, or destroyed by tempests, not only the merchant, but the nation loses. — It is newly discovered to be a vulgar error, That merchants are useful to a commonwealth; I hope, therefore, that all men will say, with the friends of the excellent person of whom we are writing, that the
the greatest blessing which can happen to a trading nation is, to lose its trade.

If our Sugar Colonies should be suffered to run to decay, it may be justified by the like good sense. And here I cannot forbear making a compliment to the modesty and publick spirit of that numerous and worthy body called place-men: to them I am beholding for these incomparable arguments; and will pay all due regard to another very late discovery of theirs, that the nation would be better without colonists also.

I will allow, that while they are in a flourishing condition, the inhabitants are worth fleecing; and therefore they might be of use in one respect. — If a Gentleman, who had been a true drudge to a M——, had ruined himself by whores or by dice; to give him an island to plunder, in order to make himself whole again, is very right. — The colonies might be of the fame use of Hounglow Heath to the Gentleman of Industry, after an ill run at Hazard; — but whenever the governors shall shear so close, that the flock will be no more worth shearing, let the French or Spaniards take the colonies, if they will.

As to the colony of Georgia, the malecontents ask, If our right to it was doubtful, why was it settled and maintained at so vast expense to the nation? If it is not doubtful, is it not infamous to suffer it to be disputed?

To this it may be answered, That, without considering whether our right was good or not, a new colony might be necessary at that time. — Soon after the South-sea project had taken effect, it was not safe to walk the streets, for fear of having one's neck broke by the fall of some unhappy sufferer, who was throwing himself from the top of a house; which was occasioned for want of a new colony, to remove there at the publick charge. Now the Charitable Corporation, York Building, and some other projects very advantageous to certain friends of our great man, might make a new colony necessary, in order to carry the sufferers out of the sight of those that had invested their selves with their money. — If it should be necessary to give it up, Carolina near, let them repair thither.

The reducing the claims of the merchants, hath been another subject of complaint: which, in my opinion, all malecontents have answered themselves; for they have intimated, that it was to be paid from hence. — If so, the lower it was reduced, the better.

They have been charged with showing no regard to the inclinations of the people, whereas wise ministers will let mort their very prejudices.

The charge is groundless and unjust. The people's prejudices have been indulged in many instances. — They were prejudiced against a Standing army; it is therefore called a Land force. — Conspiracies is a word they cannot endure; it is changed into Plenipotentiaries. — They have been sick of Treaties; where fore this is called a Convention. — What would they have more? They are charged with letting slip events and circumstances favourable to their country. — That while Spain, in conjunction with France and Sardinia, was reducing the exorbitant power of the House of Austria, they neither succour'd our natural ally, nor so much as obtained satisfaction from Spain for our merchants.

To this it may be answered, That it would have been impertinent to have troubled them at a time their hands were full; if therefore we waited till they had nothing else to do but to answer us, it was very civil, and wipes off at asperation laid upon our M—— of his being an ill-bred person.

They are charged with rendring the naval power of England useless. — If it be useless, it is a sign we are in no danger; which I take to be a compliment to our M——.

They say, our navy, which was once our glory, is become our shame.

This I deny. We have gained no small reputation by the glorious show it hath made upon several occasions: I hope, therefore, let our affairs be never so well settled, that anniversary...
Weekly ESSAYS in APRIL 1739.

As to the scarcity of money com-
mitted of, which is imputed to the
wastes on trade, and the measures of
any years past. If it be true, I look
as it as the greatest blessing of all;
Money is the root of all evil. —
Here-ever that is, care and trouble
and it. If it be going, we may say,
it was our care; and what loss is it to
kind of care? Let succeeding admira-
tions look to it: When tax-men
fall visit us hereafter, we may laugh
at them, as the Philosopher did at the
thieves who broke into his house at
night: As they were peeping into every
hole and corner with their dark lan-
ter, he laugh'd out. They asking
him what he laugh'd at? he answer'd,
without the least concern, 'To see you
look for money here at night, when I
was and none in the day.

When this plague, called money, shall
leave the land, contentions will cease;
and avarice, the most forrid of all vi-
as, will be no more: The merchant
will cease to wander round the world
to gain, the rugged mariner shall plow
the sea no more, the farmer will pay
not rent, and the landlord must live as
well as he can.

Instead of curses and reproaches, let
us offer incense to our most excellent
M--r: let no man say, G--d--a
him. The changes he hath brought
to pass are wonderful: for, behold,
the golden age is returning once again:
Oxford hath fled that place, where
ever, till this happy time, were men
of the same opinion: No jarring, no
debate is heard: within those happy
walls: Peace, unity, and concord, have
driven contemtion hence, and there is
but one mind in many men. Where-
fore, let us welcome the golden age,
and praise the wisdom which hath
brought this wonderful change to pass.

There are one set of men, who, per-
haps, may look a little discontented at
this happy scene: these are the inven-
tors, ministers, ministers, ministerial tools:
for when all opposition shall cease, the
mercenaries must fall greatly in their
price; and we may say of them as a
man of wit said of another such gang in
an island not far West of us,

When the rogues their country fleece.
May they share their peace a-piece.

UNIVERSAL SPECTATOR, April 14.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Shortly will begin at C——r,

A Compleat course of Experimental
Love. In which the whole na-
ture and mechanism of that passion (con-
fiting of its general and special proper-
ties, and its general and special effects)
will be explained; in a manner entirely
new, proper and useful,

By DIDASCALUS PHILEROS,

Matter of that noble science, Doctor of
Love, in the two famous universities of
Paphos and Cyprus, and High-priest of
Venus; who has his diploma ready to
be perused by any Gentleman who can
read Heathen-Greek, the language in
which they are always written; and
who will be, at all times, willing to
compare notes with any adepts in the
said ancient science, or inform any
triable novices, gratis.

N. B. In this course, besides several
curious experiments, there will be ex-
hibited a series of learned and useful re-
marks upon all the several manners of
making love, viz. the Heroical, Ora-
torical, Obling, Pecuniary, Indifferent,
Coxcomical, Peevish, Humorous, Ro-
manick, Ridiculous, Natural, &c. All
which will be treated both in an ana-
logical and comparative manner; and
their several effects, on the several di-
positions of the female mind, as tho-
roughly and clearly exemplified, as the
variable nature of the medium, thro'
which they are to be seen, will give
leave. To which will be added, an in-
saluable
fallible and universal theorem, by the help of which, the most raw and inexperienced may easily and naturally calculate the precise quality or momenta of love in any breast whatever: A secret of infinite service to those among the ladies, who are inclinable to credulity, and lie a little too open to oaths and protestations.

There will likewise be shewn, some curious phenomena upon the Love Dioptricks and Catoptricks:

Such as the Love-Specula; in which the curious spectator will immediately discern True Love from Counterfeit, Plain-dealing from Ill-nature, Truth from Compliment, Candour from Difimulation, Sincerity from Artifice, &c. Discoveries, in which both sexes are equally concerned, and of infinite consequence to guard against each other's knavery.

In the Love-Telescope will be shewn Love infinitely remote, and which was not discernible to the naked eye: to which is added, an explanatory table, to calculate the real distance and magnitude of the object; as likewise in which of the three orbits of possibility, probability, and certainty, it moves.—Note here, that fortune-hunters of both sexes have received infinite benefit from the use of this exquisite instrument; for which reason I take the liberty of recommending it, in an especial manner, to that worshipful society.

In the Love-Microscope, Love will be examined in its minutest particles; their form, texture, and purity, will be discovered to the greatest exactness: by which means the Genuine may be distinguished at first sight from the Adulterate; nay, the smallest atom, that is a compound of both, (for example, part Love, part Intereft; or part Defire, and part Vanity,) may be understood to such a nicety, as to determine which is predominant to the hundredth part of a simple: An experiment of ineffimable importance to young heiresses, and dowager ladies incumbered with great jointures.

To all which will be added, Love's Anatomy; wherein the heart, the seat of that noble passion, will be different, and the numberless faculties, between the organs of sense and it, will be traced out; more particularly those by which Love is first admitted, and those from whence it is supposed to take its leave.—The whole of singular use to the constant and amorous; those who cast fire at every eye they look at, and those who are no sooner rid of one mistrust but they blindly stumble into another.

Some remarks will, likewise, be made on the effects of this passion on the Understanding; with an essay to account for the extravagancies it often causes in Heroes and Philosophers, Wits and Statesmen:

Lastly will be exhibited, a head-ketch of Unnatural Love; taken from an Italian original, and now published for the consolation of W——m Col—

All for love.

Visat Rec.

DAILY GAZETTEER, No 1173.

Regard due to a good Miniftier.

If men ought in general to be re-garded and esteemed in proportion to the service they are of to the publick, as government is absolutely necessary to the well-being of a people, a good Statesman must merit more from those who have the benefit of his counsels, than a man in any other station possibly can; since the advantages he brings to his country are enjoyed by all alike; while benefits of any other nature are usually as confined in their influences as in their intention. And from hence we may trace that warm affection, and high veneration, which the ancients more universally, and the wife among the moderns, have always expressed for those who have sustained the publick cares with reputation, and an unbiased attention to the liberty, interest, and honour of their country; and whenever its enemies exercised their power to diffuse the misfortunes of their true patriots, its friends have always been vigilant in frustrating attempts against them, and in giving them the support necessary to discharge their
portant truths with proper authority and vigour.

It is the observation of an excellent writer, That honour is much more easily attained in the field than in the cabin, courage being more frequently met with than conduct, and fewer qualifications being requisite to sustain the fear of an enemy, than to frustrate their schemes for destruction. And in confirmation of this, it is observable, that while the Heroes of antiquity are named with a kind of romantic and extravagant admiration, their Sages are seldom mentioned without reverence and esteem: which is easily accounted for, when it is considered, that the services of the Warrior are generally more fondly felt than those of the Statesman; the advantages arising from the success of the former, have seldom been so durable as the benefits obtained by the good conduct of the latter. And it is very remarkable, that those men who have most distinguished themselves in defence and protection of the liberties of their country, have always met with most obstruction in the execution of their designs: For, Fame being, in some degree, the desire of all men, and the idol of the ambitious, every action which seems to merit present applause and future fame, draws the envy, and sometimes the resentment of all the aspiring; who, conscious of the inferiority of their own abilities, are weakly inclined to depreciate and render useless in others, the talents which are wanting in themselves. Instances of this kind being both numerous and familiar, it is unnecessary to enumerate examples of so fatally-confirmed a truth: wherefore I rather chuse to describe the man, who, according to the rules of judging among both ancients and moderns, must be confessed the truest friend of his country, and the most rational champion for liberty.

As soon as his years enable him to judge of the interests of the community of which he is a member, he will engage himself in the publick service, more from a desire of serving others, than of magnifying himself; and, with that view, his behaviour will always demonstrate an attention to the welfare of his country, whatever difficulties he may meet with, or whatever cabals may be formed against him. As his motives are just and honourable, their foundation must remain firm and unalterable; and his conduct, being grounded thereon, will know no variation.— If at any time the iniquity of others should render his virtuous love of liberty precarious, he will nevertheless pursue it; and, preferring the good of the publick to his own safety, will make the necessary renunciation against the intrigues and innovations, the perfidy and treason of the enemies of his country, though he should thereby draw their resentment upon himself. And if faction should ever so far prevail, as publickly to resent his generous zeal, and even to reach his person; the occasion of his suffering will be a subject for triumph, while he knows his enemies to be no other than the enemies of his country. Under these circumstances he will support himself with courage and cheerfulness: And if, with his own, the publick liberty seem'd to be threatened; he will rejoice in having so conducted himself, as to be included in the ruin of those liberties and privileges which he was so zealous to protect and to preserve.— And if, by any happy alteration, the enemies of his country, and his most inveterate foes, should be deprived of the power they have attained by arts and deceit, and used with brutality and perfidy; he will then be so far from exercising any resentment against them, that, when the power of injuring the publick is taken from them, and they cease to be longer the destroyers of the national peace, and the violators of the publick faith, &c. his regard for the good of others will incline him to attend more to the future advantage of the whole, than the deserved punishment of a few. — And if he should afterwards, by the force of his long-experienced attachment to the true interest of his country, and his well-known abilities for pu-
blick trust, be raised to the same power that had been abused by the enemies of his country and of himself, he will be so far from growing giddy with authority, or from prostituting the power invested in him for public purpose to private ends, that to the general good every private consideration will give place, and injuries offered himself will be forgotten, whenever their being forgotten promises the smallest advantage to the public; and, instead of exulting over those whom he had opposed, when virtue required he should oppose them, he will interpose in their behalf a beneficence to themselves unknown; and may, perhaps, be prevailed upon to be the principal instrument in procuring them the liberty of returning to crimes from which their crimes had banished them. — If such his generous interposition be disregarded, and the liberty he solicited be misapplied; provided the misapplication affects no more than himself, he will regard it only as a fresh instance of ingratitude in perfons from whom his own generous humanity prevailed upon him to hope amendment, and prompted him to be even officious in serving. That such men are ungenerous to him, will not so much concern him, as their want of due regard to their own true interests. But if they should afterwards become the open and avowed enemies of their native land, then only would he feel some concern, at being (though with the most justifiable intention) instrumental in enabling them a second time to abufe the land of their nativity.

Such a man, and all who act in concert with him for the general good of the people, will as certainly incur the envy of the profligate and the abandoned, the factious and the ambitious, as the support and esteem of the discerning and judicious, the honest and impartial members of the commonwealth: and as nothing but the interest of their country, and the promotion of the general welfare, will be their springs of action; whatever measures are found expedient for those purposes, will be prosecuted with the utmost attention; though interrupted as much as is in the power of those, whose airy hopes centre only in their destruction. In a case of this nature, it is an old maxim, To divide whom we would destroy; and, with this view, it is more than probable, that any transaction which these publick enemies endeavour to load with bad consequences, however ridiculously inferred, they will use their utmost arts to lay to the account of him who is most formidable to their designs. But the same honour, the same integrity, and the same regard to his country, which put him upon the measures his enemies condemn, will be sure to support him unmoved in the pursuit of the benefits they labour to prevent; notwithstanding the empty clamour that may be raised among the more partial and unthinking part of the people, who are sometimes prevailed upon to think a judgment right for being loudly affected; though it generally happens, that an inquiry into the motives and occasion of such vociferous recommendations, is sufficient to produce a change of sentiment in those who are capable of distinguishing between the conduct of the real friends of liberty, and the railings of the restless and the ambitious, the desperate and the disappointed.

Hence appears the regard and affection due to a faithful publick minister: For, since without government no state can possibly exist, the man whose share in the administration of it exposes him to the rage and fury of its enemies, will have the most undeniable and most rational claim to the favour and esteem of its friends; who, as they will know the malice and insults offered him to be the result of his care and attention to the business of his country, will be sure to look upon all clamour raised against him as calculated ultimately to betray the people he is labouring to protect and defend, and to subvert the constitution that is happier than to be capable of gaining any advantage from the people's enemies:
for since the resentment of these will never fail to attend most eminently the man who merits most of the publick, every step he takes in the national service will be sure to be blamed in proportion to its good tendency, and the benefis naturally consequent upon it; and as, in such a case, reason would be of little use in the cause of his enemies, they would be certain to endeavour to confound with their clamour those whom they cannot hope to convince by their arguments. But, as such artifices can prevail, upon but a few, and these not the most able to distinguish between patriotism and counterfeit, the man whose uniformity of conduct proves the deliberation and wisdom of his resolutions, and whose perseverance in the service of the publick, by the means which reason and experience, the interest of a nation, and the voice of all its proved and steady friends, declare most expedient to the publick advantage, will stand in need of no other recommendation to the affection of all who with prosperity to the land he so zealously labours to serve, and in which labour he has been happily blessed with success, in spite of the most outrageous and indecent, the most unwarrantable and unnatural, the most absurd and impolitic opposition, that ever disgraced a land of liberty.

**Weekly Miscellany, April 14.**

A discourse on Predestination, which is still professedly maintained by several of our Dissenters, and likely to spread at present amongst the ignorant people of the Church of England by the means of some Enthusiasts lately risen up in this kingdom.

Mr. Hooker,

The doctrine of absolute Predestination, and irrevocative Reprobation, is an objection to God's impartiality. That God should, as some affect, out of mankind, fallen and behold, in an equal degree of demerit, give his Son to die for the redemption of some of them, and those a small part, and leave the rest without a Redeemer; that, antecedent and without any respect to what they can, or shall do, he has determined some of them to be eternally happy, and some to be as eternally wretched; that accordingly he gives so much grace to the former, that they cannot miss of heaven, and so little to the latter, that they cannot possibly attain it: this is a scheme of doctrine entirely irreconcilable with the divine impartiality; but then it is also irreconcilable with reason, our natural notions of God, plain passages of Scripture, and is only supported by broken fragments and texts of the Bible, consider'd by themselves, without regard to their context and true meaning, misinterpreted and misapplied, and therefore cannot be true.

Our natural notions of the Deity are those of a wise, good, and just being; the maker, the preferer of men; who shews his good-will to all his creatures, and delights in communicating existence, and the benefits of it! Now, Reason says, such a being cannot be fanciful, cannot be hard, cannot be injurious. He who made all men, cannot but love all men, so long as they endeavour alike to please and obey him. God is a Sovereign, but not an earthly one, surrounded with prejudice, ignorance, error, humour, or weakness. We blest his almighty power, because it delights not in doing mischief, because it is sweetened with mercy, regulated by justice, directed by wisdom. Can such a being shew unequal favour, or unequal severity, to objects that are alike? Can he love a man for doing what he could not help doing, or hate a man for doing what he could not but do? Is it the part of wisdom, is it the part of equity, to make a difference in creatures, alike the objects of his wrath or mercy? Is it goodness, is it justice, to bring a peron into being without his consent, without allowing him a possibility of making himself easy, without a possibility of avoiding wretchedness, and that for ever? How could a creature deserve to be put into such circumstances?
constants, before he existed? How then could God place him in them, when he did not deserve it, unless he delights in shewing his power, at the expense of all his other perfections? This is the idea of a sovereign tyrant, not of a wife, a good, a just, a perfect God. But perhaps it will be said, "These are depths too great for shallow Reason to fathom: Who are thou that repliest against God? Search the Scriptures, and see what Revelation has discovered in this matter." Let us search them, then.

Here we find God represented as a matter; but not an hard one, gathering where he has not sowed, or reap ing where he has not sown; but requiring of every man, and accepting every man, according to what he has, and not according to what he has not. We behold him as a Sovereign, different in his administrations, but always just and good: putting mankind under various dispensations, the Jews under a law, the Gentiles under nature; but then talking account and judging them accordingly, the Jews by his law, the other without it. We see him figured out as a father, tender, compassionate, declaring he delights not in the death of him that dies, setting life and death before men, courting them to the one, deterring them from the other, and weeping over those who would not be persuaded to be happy. The sacred page sets before us God so full of love and mercy to mankind, that he sent his only begotten Son, to the intent, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. Does the Scripture confine the benefit of this Redeemer to a few? No, but quite otherwise says, that he died for all; that God laid on him the iniquity of us all. The Apostle to the Romans puts this beyond dispute, where he teaches, that as the gift of God in Christ in some things exceeded the offence of Adam, so in nothing it fell short of it: And therefore, as this brought judgment on all men, so the free gift of life through Christ came upon all men: For as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive. As therefore, if man had kept his integrity, every one would have had it in his power to please God's so by the gift of Christ every one must have it too: since the consequences of redemption extended full as wide, as those of Adam's transgression; that is, to all men. These are plain passages of holy Scripture, which represent too us an universal God and Father of all, an universal Redeemer of mankind, the offers of life and death made to every one of them; and, consequently, a possibility of attaining the one, and escaping the other in every one; unless we can suspect God of practising the greatest mockery and derision to his creatures, as well as injustice.

I proceed to examine the passages brought in support of the contrary opinion, and shew the misinterpretation and wrong application of them. And, previous to this, I must lay down a rule or two necessary to be observed in explaining passages of Scripture, if we have not a desire to be deceived. One is, To consider the occasion, connection, and drift of the place in question, and give it the meaning proper to the argument the writer is engaged in. Another is, To resolve difficult and doubtful texts by plain and certain ones. If in these lights we examine the 29th and 30th verses of the 8th chapter to the Romans, we shall find Scriptures consistent with itself and Reason, in this point, as well as in all others. The Apostle, in this chapter, as almost all through the epistle, sets himself to prove, that the distinction of Jew and Gentile was now ceased; that other nations had an equal share in the Messiah, with the Jews; that, in order to have the benefit of Christ, faith was necessary, and obedience to the new covenant; but not circumcision or other legal performances, as the Jews contended; who would allow the offers of the gospel to be made to none till they became Jews; and those, who would not comply with them in this matter, they persecuted and afflicted; and the Gentile Christi-
Weekly ESSAYS in APRIL 1739.

ans by this means were distressed and
contumeliously used, even to death.
To convince the Jews of their error, and
beat them out of that fond conceit,
that they were the only people of God;
and to comfort the suffering Gentiles;
he tells them, that God had attested
his acceptance of the Gentiles
converts by the gifts of his Spirit to them: For
as many as are led by the Spirit of God,
are the sons of God: — And if sons, then
heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ;
if so be that we suffer with him, that
we may be also glorified together. The
way to this glory is this present state of
suffering: For the sufferings of this
present time are not worthy to be com-
pared with the glory which shall be revealed
in us. We shall be delivered in
God's good time, and shall be com-
forted above our affliction. We hope
for this deliverance, and pray for it.
But, in this case, as in all others, the
Spirit helps our infirmities: for we
know not what we should pray for as we
ought, but the Spirit maketh intercession
for the saints, according to the will of
God, who knows better than we our-
selves, what is good for us, and there-
fore has sent you these present afflic-
tions, to make you more glorious and
more happy by your behaviour under
them: For we know that all things
work together for good, to them that love
God, to whom who are the called according
to his purpose; that is, whom he has
called to this state of affliction and suf-
fering for the sake of the gospel, ac-
cording to his design of putting those
into the post of danger, who, he fore-
sew, would be able to stand it: And
whom he did thus foreknow, he also did
predetermine to be conformed to the image
of his Son, viz. in suffering for him and
like him, that he might be the first-
born among many brethren, the captain
of salvation made perfect through suf-
ferring. Moreover, whom he did pre-
determine for this purpose of suffering for
the gospel at that time, them be also
called to it; and whom he called, them
be also, upon their good behaviour un-
der afflictions, justified; that is, ac-
quitted, received into favour; and
whom be thus justified and approved,
then be also glorified; that is, reward-
ed with the triumphs of his grace in
this life, and, if they preferre in du-
ty, will give them glory in the other.
Here is an account of some, who were
foreseen fit for suffering for religion,
who therefore were destined for that
office, called to it, acquitted for their
good behaviour in it, and rewarded
for it. Not a syllable appears, that
can give the least support to the do-
ctrine of an absolute determination
of any man to happiness or misery, with-
out his having the power to obtain the
one, or avoid the other. It is the
condition of all mankind, to be called
to some sort of duty and station in life.
Whom God foresees fit for one, ac-
cording to his purpose of governing and
conducting the affairs of the world, he
predetermines and calls to it, and ac-
quits and rewards them for behaving
well in it. An eye, tinged with the
rigid Predestinarian tenets, can read
the whole scheme in every word of this
paragraph, and dream of secret pur-
poses, hidden wills, inward efficacious
calls; and what not? but an unpre-
judiced reader will see nothing of all
this, nor will suffer a meaning to be
drawn out of it, inconsistent with the
Apostle's declaration in the verse al-
most immediately following, that God
spared not his own Son, but delivered him
up for us all; therefore not for a few
only, whom he predeterminated, happen
what will, to eternal life.

Having done with this chapter, pro-
cceed we to the next, the 9th to the Ro-
man, which has been thought to con-
tain many passages in favour of the do-
ctrine I am overturning: but, upon
examination, we shall find they are just
as little to the purpose, as that I have
already explained. The Apostle be-
gins the chapter with good wishes and
hearty desires for his countrymen the
Jews, and mentions some of their
privileges, the adoption, the glory of God
in their temple, the covenants, the law,
the service of God, the promises; whom
are the fathers, and of whom, as con-

Digitalized by Google
cerning the flesh, Christ came. But he bids them not be vain of all this, or trust in it: for the promise, as far as it was a promise of salvation and eternal life, was not to all Abraham's seed, or indeed to any barely for descending from him; but to the seed of his faith, those that were like him in goodness, whether Jew or Gentile. For so he expressly says, They which are the children of the flesh, these are not the children of God: but the children of promise are counted for the seed. Then he proceeds to instruct them, not to think it hard, that God now for their sins rejected the Jews from being his people, and chose other nations in their stead to the like honour: “for to raise or depress a people, outwardly to favour and prosper the inhabitants of one country, and not those of another, was the undoubted prerogative of the great Sovereign of the world, without any injury, and therefore without any ground of complaint to any man, beheld in the whole of his existence. Thus he once selected the Jewish people under one covenant, and now he chooses others, with whom to place his name, and to whom to reveal himself; not determining one to damnation, or the other to salvation upon any other terms, than those of having or wanting faith and obedience. If God was at liberty to adopt the Jewish nation, why is he not at liberty now to adopt another to like or greater privileges? For consider,” says the Apostle, “when Rebecca had conceived by one, even by our father Isaac, (the children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth) it was said unto her, The elder shall serve the younger; as it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated. In this passage two things are certain: First, that by Jacob and Esau we cannot understand their persons, but the nations descended from them; secondly, that loved and hated, here, does not mean the one to be favored, and the other damned; but one to be outwardly favored in this life, and the other not so; that is, that one should command, and the other obey him. The reason for the first observation is plain: because what was said of them, was not true of them in their own persons; for Esau never served Jacob, that we read of: but it was true of the nations descended from them; for the posterity of Esau did serve the posterity of Jacob, till at the time foretold he shook his yoke from him: agreeably to what the Lord said to Rebecca, enquiring why the children struggled within her, Two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels: and the one people shall be stronger than the other people, and the elder shall serve the younger—Since then it is certain, we are to understand by Jacob and Esau, in this place, not their single persons, but the nations sprung from them; it is also equally certain, that the words loved and hated, here, do not imply the one to be eternally saved, or the other eternally damned; but only, that the one should bear rule, and be more favored than the other, in the present life. For, since by Esau we must mean the Edomites, sprung from him, will any one in his wits say, that all the Edomites were damned? and, since by Jacob is meant the Jews derived from him, a man must be still as much out of his wits to assert, that all the Jews were eternally saved. And yet both these assertions must be maintained by him, who interprets loved and hated in this text, as relating to the future states of heaven and hell. Since, then, the sense I have given to Jacob being loved and Esau hated, can be the only true one, the meaning of this often objected passage is no more than this, That when Rebecca was with child of twins, Esau and Jacob, before the children were born, or had done good or evil, God said to her, “The descendents of Jacob shall bear rule, and be more honored in this life, than the descendents of Esau.” And
And this he told her before they were born, that God's raising the Jews of nation to greatness, and depressing the Gentiles, might appear to be by virtue of his prerogative; and that his purpose of electing this people to execute his designs, and not the other, might stand; not of works, for one person was not better than the other; but of God, who was pleased, for his own secret reasons, to call the one his people, and not the other. For in such cases, of bestowing outward favours and revelations of himself, God is accountable to none; but will have mercy on whom he will have mercy, and will have compassion on whom he will have compassion, as he told Moses with respect to his choice of the Jews' people. So, then, it was not Elisha's running and crying for the blessing, which could entail it on his posterity: for God was pleased antecedently to shew mercy on the descendants of Jacob, and raise them above the other; which he might do, for wise reasons, which we have no right to enquire into.

The Apostle goes on to tell the Jews, that hardniness of heart had happened to them for their sins and unbelief: that this also was the undoubted privilege of God, to remove the light from those who shut their eyes, and harden them who went on to harden themselves: that in this case, he will have mercy on whom he will have mercy, so whom he will, be hardened. When men have finned themselves out of God's favour, and made themselves ripe for judgment and punishment, God will in anger sometimes defer the execution, soften them in the mean time to go on in wickedness, that his justice on impenitent sinners may more signally appear. Thus did he to Pharaoh and his nation: he had hardened his heart against many messages and many plagues, till at last he made himself ripe for destruction. But God was then pleased to keep him a little longer alive, that his punishment might be more evident in the destruction of him and his people in the Red sea. "I had determined [says God] to destroy thee and thy people with the pestilence; for ye had deserv'd, and I had resolv'd your death: but I raised thee up from that bed of sickness for this very purpose, that I might shew my power in thee, and that my name might be declared throughout all the earth." This the Apostle intimates to be the case of the Jews, who had finned themselves out of God's favour, and deserved his anger long before he poured it on them; but he endured them with much long-suffering, the vessels of wrath fitted for destruction, that he might make his power more clearly discerned, and might take that opportunity of making known the riches of his glory on the vessels of mercy, which he had afore prepared to glory, even the Gentiles, whom he called to be his church and people. The murmuring Jews reply, "If this be the case, if we are cast off from being God's people, because he hardens us; why doth he cast out his will?" The Apostle answers such a bold questioning of the ways of providence in the disposal of its favours in this life, in its chafing this, and rejecting that people, with great indignation, and a passage out of one of their Prophets, Nay but O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus? hast not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour? That is, Hath not God power to raise one nation to the honour of being called his people, and reject another from being so, when they grow unworthy that name? That this is the meaning of the passage; and that by vessel we are to understand, not a single person, but a nation; and by honour and dishonour, outward privileges and advantages in this world; is plain from Jer. xviii. whence this allusion of the potter is taken. For thus it stands there: The Prophet went by God's order to the potter's house, who wrought a work on the wheels, and the vessel that he made of clay, was marred in the hand of the potter, so
he made it again another vessel as
seemed good to him. Then the Word
of the Lord came to the Prophet, say-
ing, O house of Israel, cannot I do with
you as this potter? saith the Lord. Be-
hold, as the clay is in the potter's hand,
so are ye in mine hand, O house of Israel.
What follows, confirms this ex-
planation, where God says, “At what
instant I shall speak concerning a na-
tion, to pull it down, if it turn and
repent, I also will change my pur-
pose: and when I speak of building a
nation, if it do evil, I will not benefit
them.” The full import of the pa-
sage, then, is no more than this: That
mankind are in the hand of God, as
the lump of clay in the potter’s; as
he can frame out of that a vessel of
more or less honourable use, so can
God out of mankind make nations
with more or less privileges: and as,
when the vessel designed for honour
becomes marred in the turning, the
potter can apply it to another form;
so, when a nation, favoured and privi-
leged, hasrended itself unworthy such
honour, God can dispose it in a less
advantageous manner.

These are the principal Scriptures
brought to prove, that God, with re-
spect to another life, has had no re-
gard to what men could do, or have
done; but has chosen some men to be
happy for ever, antecedent to their
birth, and reprobated some to be mi-
serable for ever, and that before they
were born; so that it never was in the
power of the one to be saved, or the
other to be damned. But these texts
appear to have no such meaning; and,
therefore, this doctrine is not founded
in, but is contrary to plain passages
of Scripture, as well as Reasoi and,
consequently, is not true; and, there-
fore, cannot be made an objection to
the divine impartiality; which I have
been contending for. Tours, &c.

CRAFTSMAN, April 21.

Proposals for regaining our national ho-
nour abroad and at home.

Mr. D’Aubigny, grandfather to the
famous Madam Maintenon, tells
us a very remarkable story of himself,
which ought to be a warning to all free
nations against the growth of corrup-
tion. This Gentleman was one of the heads of
the Protestants in the reign of Henry IV.
of France, and opposed the court with
so much vigour, that the King was at
length determined to take away his life,
or at least to confine him in the Bastille.
Mr. D’Aubigny being privately inform-
ed of this design against him, by a Lo-
dy of the court, considered how to pre-
serve himself. After many deliberations
in his own mind, he resolved to go to
court the next morning, and beg a pres-
sion of the King, as the surest method.
The King, who was very much surpris-
ated, as well as pleased, to see a man of
such an high spirit grown a little merci-
nary, immediately embraced him, and
granted his request. From court he went
to the Duke de Sully, the Prime Minister,
who congratulated him upon this occa-
sion, and throve him the Bastille; af-
suring him, at the same time, that he
would have been a prisoner there in
less than twenty four hours, but that he
was now in no farther danger.

This introduction to my paper will,
perhaps, make those stupid animals, the
Gazettes, perk up their ears, as if I
had changed my note, and was begin-
ing to inculcate this courtly doctrine
to the worthy patriots of Great Brit-
ain. That a person is a much better
thing than a prisoner; and if it must come
to one or the other, the choice is easy.
But let the fools have a little patience,
and they will find, that I urge this only
as an example, which ought to give all
free nations warning: for when once
corruption grows prevalent, it is a crime
not to be corrupt; or, at least, is look-
ed upon as a reflection upon those
who are so. In such a case, any Noblemen,
of great distinction and virtue, who
should refuse to accept of a person,
would be marked out as an enemy to the
government; and must either expose him-
self to the resentment of the court, or
forfeit his honour and confidence. Such
a person would, very probably, be
marked out as a constant living re-
proach to his fraternity, an enemy to
the government, and a sort of churl in society; upon which he might expect the following expostulations: "Why, my Lord, should you make any scruple of accepting his Majesty's gracious offer? Don't you see that many Dukes, Earls, and other Peers, of the highest rank, think it no indignity, or reflection upon their characters, to accept of an honorable stipend from the crown? What can you conceive to have been the intention of giving so large a civil lift? Petition! sues damnatque vicissum. The bounties of the crown are not to be slighted and refused. Would you pass for a Jacobite? The very refusal of it, carries a reflection against his Majesty, as if he was pursuing some unwarrantable measures, and may prove very detrimental to his service."

But the grand mercenaries of all countries ought to consider, that corruption must at last destroy itself, and the constitution too. Corruption begats corruption, which naturally introduces luxury, and luxury is the certain for-runner of national poverty. What can be the consequence of this, but some terrible convulsion; which the experience of the last century furnishes us with a terrible example, that whichever side prevails, must end in the destruction of the constitution? The cord may bear straining to a very great length, but it must break at last. Corruption in a state, is just like dram-drinking amongst private persons; which is apt to grow upon them, till it destroys their vitals. I have heard of a man, who had accustomed herself so much to gin, that by degrees she came to drink three gallons a-day; but it soon put an end to her miserable life. I wish therefore that there was a Corruption-act, as well as a Gin-act; the former being so much the more necessary than the latter, as the preservation of the whole community is preferable to individuals.

I could carry on this parallel with humour, and even form some sketch of an act of parliament. The preamble might run thus:

"Whereas great inconveniences have arisen, and do daily arise, from the excessive use of corruption, and by the wicked, pernicious, and infamous practice of taking exorbitant pensions and bribes, whereby many of his Majesty's good subjects are diverted from pursuing their own and their country's interest, to the great discouragement of honesty, the manifest detriment of trade and commerce, and the imminent danger of utter ruin to these kingdoms: wherefore may it please your most excellent Majesty, that it may be enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the day of..."

in the year of our Lord 1739, no man in England, the dominion of Wales, or the town of Berwick upon Tweed, (for I would not as yet extend the act any farther) shall for the future, under any pretence, take or receive, or cause to be taken or received, any pension, bribe, gratuity, gift, bounty, or reward whatsoever.

And be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That all contracts and agreements, for the receiving, paying, or delivering, any money, bonds, bills, flocks, or any other pecuniary rewards, shall be null and void to all intents and purposes whatsoever.

And for the better discovery of such evil and pernicious practices, every person shall be obliged to take the following oath:

"I A. B. do solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I have not, directly or indirectly, either by myself or any agent employed by me, received or enjoyed any place, pension, or gratuity, from any minister, or person in authority whatsoever. — So help me God."

And be it farther enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That every person offending against this act shall, upon conviction, forfeit treble the value of any such place, pension, or bribe; one moiety thereof to be paid to the informer, and the other moiety thereof to the poor of the parish, where the offender may happen to reside; in which the general issue may be pleaded, and the special matter of this act given..."
given in evidence, at the trial; in which action no essign, protection, wager of law, or more than one impor-
tance shall be allowed.

And for the farther discovery of the monies, premiums, or gratuities, which shall be given, paid, or delivered, and to be sued for, and recovered, as aforesaid, it is hereby enacted, by the same authority, That all and every the person and persons, who, by virtue of this present act, shall or may be liable to be sued for the same, shall be obliged and compellable to answer upon oath, to such bill or bills as shall be preferred against him or them, in any court of equity, for discovering any such contrivance, or wager, and the sum of money, or premium, so given, paid, or delivered, as aforesaid.

Provided always, and it is hereby enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That any person, who will submit to be branded with the name of Rogue, Rascal, or Pensioner, to his face; or to have a broad R clapt on his back, denoting to whom he belongs; may still have, receive, and enjoy a pension, not exceeding two hundred guineas per annum, any thing in this act to the contrary thereof in any wife notwithstanding.

Nothing tends so effectually to encourage and propagate this destructive vice of corruption, as the keeping up old party names and distinctions, when the essential differences are swallowed up in a general concern for the publick good. This may be of great use to a wicked and declining minister; but is certain death to the people, if they are foolish enough to bite at so naked an hook.

It is so far, for instance, from being right to keep up the old distinctions of Whig and Tory amongst us, that I think even those of Court and Country ought to be laid aside. The only true and proper distinction, at present, is, that of Country and Minister; which I recommend to my brother-authors for the future. The Ministerial and Country interest hath often been, and may be again, diametricaly opposite; but the Court and Country interest ought always to be the same. I hope it is so now. I am sure, at least, that it might be so, but one measure were taken in good time, which is no difficult matter for any body to point out. Perhaps, it may not be proper for me to mention it, at present; but I dare say every one of my readers will guess pretty well what I mean. If therefore our single, wise act will, in an instant, unite the Court and Country; is it not prodigiously strange, that no one country tier among the whole crowd should have honesty, spirit, or gratitude enough, to hit upon that advice, and give it, in a place where it is so much wanted? What! not one wise, not one honest man, to be found, who will venture to undertake so desirable a work, and which might be so easily accomplished? All persons, who sincerely mean the preservation of the constitution, and the present happy establishment, may co-operate, and must have the same views. I have fhewn, in a former paper, that old Whigs may drop their principles, and adopt the direct contrary, deceiving themselves with an idle notion that they are still following their old principles, whilst they only purfue the fame guide, with whom they first fet out. — This puts me in mind of a fatory, which I heard when at Oxford.

A Reverend Doctor, who was a very learned man, and a very filly fellow, (which, God knows, is too often the cafe) had at last a great inclination to see London. He had an |orfe of his own, and did not care for the existence of a coach. But neither he nor his borfe knew the way. Almfted to discover his ignorance, he resolved to follow the stage-coach; and, for that reason, took particular notice of the coachman, who drove it. At Wycomb, the passengers always shift coaches; which the Doctor not observing, but keeping his eye steadily fixed upon the fame guide, took it for granted that he must be right, and was by
him led the quite contrary road. Which is exactly the case of some of my honest Whig friends; very good men, I dare say; but led out of the way by Robin the coachman. And as the Doctor, after jogging about fifty miles, found himself where he did not design to be; so I hope my good friends will not bring about the very thing which they design to prevent.

Every thing hath its crisis; or, more properly speaking, its se plius ultra. Even, when it arrived to its highest pitch of grandeur, fell headlong into slavery. Even iniquity hath its bounds, and must at last destroy itself. The very nature of government is such, that there will always be corruption, in some degree; but when it spreads like a leprosy over the whole body, it must soon be cured, or destroy the constitution. The case of the late Lord Macclesfield is a sufficient warning to all persons concerned in any kind of political affairs. He sold the places of Masters in Chancery, as all his predecessors had done: but the price growing to an exorbitant rate, he was impeached in parliament, convicted, and fined thirty thousand pounds; in which two Noble Lords, who had been Lord Chancellors, and sold the same places, concurred, and voted him guilty.

I might farther illustrate these observations, by the present, melancholy state of New-market; which is most agreeably situated by nature, in an healthy air, and accommodated with the finest turf in Europe for the diversion of horse-racing. The original design of this entertainment was not only for sport, but to encourage a good breed of horses, for real use; and the royal plate is supposed to be given only with that view, the horses being obliged to carry heavy weights. But, alas! how are these intentions perverted? Our noble breed of horses is now enervated by an intermixture with Turks, Barbis, and Arabians; just as our modern Nobility and Gentry are debouched with the effeminate manners of France and Italy. The many and useful exercise of horse-racing is become a science of such great art and nicety, that the professors of it frequently quarrel about half a pound weight; and is carried to such a pitch of mysterious iniquity, that all mankind complain of it. No man is there ashamed of the character of a Sharp;—It is the business of the place; and often the best proof of my Lord’s parts. You shall often hear a whole table, of the best company in the place, endeavouring who shall be most, in order to impose on their friends, and defraud them in a match. In short, fines, bribery, corruption, deceit, signal men, and all other courtly arts, are there employed.

But, these tricks being discovered, the famous Sportswomen went lately thither, for the last time; and having protested against such foul play, retired, (or, if you please, facetted;) and are resolved to go there no more, till some new regulation is made, to preferve the honour and independency of that worthy assembly: from whence it is concluded that there will be a very tin meeting next season.

I am verily persuaded that none of these facetters have the least design of destroying the primitive design of that place; but only to restore virtue, honour, and honesty to it; that it may be governed, in all things, according to its original institution, and not become a mass of thieves, with the prospect of dishonest gain, in order to cheat one another, and defraud all mankind. If this reformation can be brought about, we shall soon see New-market thrive again; for every body of taste is in love with the place, and delights in frequent meetings, when they are honestly conducted.—But, should the retirement of so many great and worthy persons have a contrary effect, and totally abolish these assemblies, I am thinking how some of the brightest genius’s of the place may be employed to the advantage of this nation. Methinks, the same parts, as could make a good horse-match, might make a provisional treaty, or even a convention.
tion. If a minister should understand how to jockey, I don’t see why a jockey may not make a good minister. They have likewise scales at New-market, to weigh the contending parties; which might instruct our ——, to manage the balance of Europe, with a little more dexterity than some of our negotiators have hitherto done. They have also confederacies there; and now or then, like much greater powers, shift from one to another: but it seldom happens, unless by very bad management indeed, that any one is totally abandoned, and left without any ally at all. I am therefore convinced, that if these adovts were to be employed in political affairs, they would appear much more keen than some of our ministers; and that we should make a little better figure in the eyes of Europe, than we have done for several years past.

COMMON SENSE, April 21.

Thoughts on a Bill said to be intended to prevent frauds in the Stamp Revenue.

SIR,

YOU have sometimes taken occasion to bestow all due praises on our excellent ——, for the signal advantages he is always gaining for the nation’s interests abroad, by the skill he hath shewn in treaty and negotiation with foreign states; which is very right in you: But, methinks, you have not done him justice with respect to the indefatigable pains he takes, to project good laws for the security of the liberty of the subject at home.

It is talk’d, that a bill will shortly be brought in, which may furnish you with matter for panegyric; and the rather, because, if my intelligence be right, yourself and the Craftsman are the principal objects of it; tho’, perhaps, that may not appear upon the face of the bill.

But it seems, one of your brothers of the quill, the ingenious author of a paper intituled All above and merry, or, The Daily Farthing-post, hath not paid all that respect and obedience due to the laws of his country, as becomes a good a Protestant, and otherwise a good a subject: for, whereas he should have contributed the sum of one half penny to the support of the government for every individual copy of his Farthing-post; not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being instigated by the malice of the devil, hath taken the whole farthing to himself, to the great defrauding of his M—— revenue: But you great wits are sometimes guilty of great irregularities.

It is conceiv’d, that the Commissioners of the Stamp office have power to crush him to atoms; but so scrupulously nice are they grown, that, for some reasons which don’t yet appear, they have deferred it, till their hands should be strengthened by new powers. But here a snake may lie in the grass. Therefore, cæcute Craftsman and Common Sense: for, if some Doctors don’t lie, a clause may be slipt in, that will sweep you both from the face of the earth.

You may remember, your well-bred antagonist, the political Merry Andrew, told you not long since, that he had power to crush you; he also signified to you, that you deserved to have your ears cut off: Perhaps you did not understand him at that time. As he is a very arch wag, he deals much in the unintelligible. There is now some reason to believe that he had a mind to joke in his anger, and that his meaning was, that he would crush you by cutting off the ears of your paper.

To explain this matter, let us suppose that a clause should be inserted in some act. That no paper should be stamped but of a certain size; and that size should be so small as not to contain half the matter you now give the publick.

As much as you despise the parts of these great men, they have made a most important discovery, which is, that the profits of your papers arise from the Advertisements. If such a scheme
The scheme therefore should take place, and you write afterwards upon politics, you will have no room for advertisements; and if you insert advertisements, you will have no room for politics, and then no body will buy your papers: so that either way, my friend, (to use your own words) it is over with you.

When Common Sense shall be seen upon the table of a coffee-house pair'd and mutilated, I fancy it will look exactly like poor Jenkins, when he got out of the hands of the Spaniards.

As the whole nation hath felt, by experience, that the projectors of this scheme have nothing in view but the publick good; it is hoped you will acquiesce under any particular loss it may be to you, when your country is to receive many signal advantages from it.

It will first be a great saving to booksellers and other tradesmen, by obliging them to keep that money in their pockets, which they used to give the Craftsman and Common Sense for advertising their several goods.

Next, the paper you use, being of English manufacture, it will lessen the consumption of it, if not entirely destroy it; and it is much for the honour of our projectors, that neither learning, arts, sciences, or manufacture should prosper, while they have power to destroy them.

Next, it may contribute to break some sturdy beggars, called Stationers, who may happen also to be Common Council Men.

As to the great quantities of this paper which may be already made for this use, and can be fit for nothing else, if it be asked, what must be done with it? let the stationers make bonfires of it, to celebrate the birth-nights of our par nobilis.—

I hope you will not be so wicked as to inform, that such an act would be an encroachment upon the liberty of the press, and a step towards taking it entirely away. You may print on; you will be only obliged to give away your works gratis, and even then be upon as good a foot as the ministerial papers are at present.

Nor can you suppose that the projector of this clause means no more than to gratify his private malice against two persons who would not flatter him. Every body knows his frank and generous heart is a stranger to every thing that is little, mean, or malicious. You have heard, no doubt, how like a hero he expressed himself against the author of some theatrical pieces, two years ago, when he said, By G— I'll starve him: and you, who have represented him as a man without faith, must own, that he hath been as good as his word.

It is true, it hath often been declared, that they had no design of meddling with the liberty of the press; but, at the same time, you will allow, it is fit a great M—— should be strengthened with power enough to crush whom he pleases: for great men must be made easy; and therefore why should it not be enacted, that he may do what he pleases, any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding; that the flatterers may be able to say, with truth, that he makes the laws of the land the rule of all his measures?

If there should be such a clause in an act, (for I only have it from the report of some of his people, which you know is a bad authority,) you may depend upon it there is no more a private view in it, than there was in the act for putting the stage under a Court License; which act, you are sensible, was projected merely out of a tender regard to the morals of the people. You will say, perhaps, the example of our great man's integrity and modesty, as well as that of all the other placesmen, would be sufficient for that purpose without a law. That may be; but, however, you are sensible the morals of the people are extremely reformed by this act: Two very wicked plays have been lately prohibited. I pronounce them wicked, though, I own, I have not read them; but I intend
tend to read them as soon as they are published, that I may take occasion from hence to beftome some praiies on the Projector of the act, as well as on the Licenfer, his Deputy, and his Deputy’s Deputy.

I find we are likely to receive greater benefits from this act than we at first expected, for it is to operate upon old plays as well as new. The Spanish Frier was acted the other night to a very great audience: it was written above threescore years ago, in the reign of K. Charles II. a time when the gallantries of the court gave too much countenance to things, not strictly chaste, upon the stage. It happens to be one of those favourite plays which half the audience know by heart. The actor who played the part of Raymond, having left out half of one of his speeches, it was immediately missed by the audience, and called for. The lines he spoke were these:

*What generous man can live with that constraint
Upon his soul!— to bear, much less to flatter
A court like this!— Can I suffer tyranny?
Seem pleas’d to see my Royal Master murder’d,
His crown usurp’d, a staff on the throne?*

There he made a flop, even to a full disgrace. The next actor went on: but the audience thought they had a right to the whole speech, and therefore called again and again for it; but to no purpose; either the actor forgot the following lines, or the Licenfer had forbid him to speak them:

*A council made of such as dare not speak, And cou’d not if they durst.— W hence best men Banish themselves, for shame of being there. A government, that, knowing not true wisdom, Is scorn’d abroad, and lives on tricks at home.*

Now, Sir, if the actor forgot his part, he deferred to be his’d for being so negligent in his business: but if the Licenfer laid his commands upon him, that he should not speak them, the actor stands excused.

It is true, that, to the best of my memory, the act does not give the Licenfer a power over plays written and acted before the making the said law: but, however, if these lines appear few or immoral, it may serve as some excuse for stretching his power a little beyond what is warranted by law; and, at the same time, Sir, it will serve to convince you and others, what wicked ministers there were in the reign of K. Charles II. who suffer’d such things, tending to corrupt the morals of the people, to be spoke upon the stage in their time.

**ACCOUNT OF THE TRIALS OF SEVEN PYRATES, FOR THE MURDER OF Captain Edward Bryan, commander of the Trewsbury of Bristol; and RUNNING AWAY WITH THE SAID SHIP, NOVEMBER 2, 1737.**

At a court of admiralty, held at Cape Coast Castle on the coast of Africa, on the 19th of November 1737.

| James Cornwallis, Esq; President. |
| John Cope. |
| Chief Agents. |
| Will. Tympson. |
| Lieutenant Charles Cathcart. |
| Lieutenant Frederick Cornwallis. |
| David Crichton, Esq; Secretary. |
| Stephen Luffington, Esq; Factor. |

The prisoners being called, the indictment was read as follows:

"Ye James Sweetland, John Kennelly, William Buckley, John Reardon, James Barret, Joseph Noble, and Samuel Rhodes, ye, and every one of you, are, in the name, and by the authority of our Sovereign Lord George the Second, King of Great Britain, &c. indicted as follows: Forasmuch as it appears, that on the second day of this present month of November, you were off of the river of St. Andrew’s, on the windward coast of Guinea, in the vessel called the
the Tryal of the Galley, belonging to some merchants at Bristol, whereof Edward Bryan was the then master; and that you the said James Sweetland, John Kennelly, William Buckley, John Rearden, James Burdet, Joseph Noble, and Samuel Rhodes, about four o'clock in the morning of the same day, by force and arms, and without provocation, the said Bryan did actually murder, by cutting him down the face, whilst he was asleep in his bed, with an ax, and knocking him on the head with the but-end of a musquet, and afterwards throwing him overboard; after which you, with armed and open force, took possession of the said ship, confined in irons such of the crew as you could not depend upon for tarrying on, and perpetrating your wicked and piratical intentions (which, however, through God's assistance, you have not been able to put in execution) and ran away with the said ship out of sight of land, keeping in possession of the said ship for the space of twenty four hours; by which you have committed the complicated crimes of Murder and Piracy: you are therefore brought upon your trials for the said facts before this court, and are to plead Guilty, or Not guilty. What say you, James Sweetland, John Kennelly, William Buckley, John Rearden, James Burdet, Joseph Noble, and Samuel Rhodes; are you guilty, or not guilty, of the facts now laid to your charge?"

To which they severally pleaded, Not guilty.

Names of the witnesses.

Thomas Clements, First Mate.
Thomas Hind, Alexander Walker, Henry Keaton, John Trattle.
John Blackston, Samuel Glover, William Gibbon, John Crane, Patrick Cockram, Philip Thomas, Second Mate.
James Mencius, Surgeon.

The witnesses being produced, and sworn, Samuel Rhodes was called to the bar, against whom Thomas Clements deposed, That the prisoner was at the helm when the ship was retaken; that he knows nothing of his being concerned in the murder of the master; that he was look'd upon by all the ship's company as a simple kind of a man; and believes he knew nothing of their design. Alexander Walker deposed, That immediately after the master was killed, he saw the prisoner with a pistol and cutlase in his hands; that he stood cery while this deponent was put in irons by the armourer; and that upon Joseph Noble's asking him (the deponent) whether he would go in the ship or long-boat? and his replying, that he would go in the long-boat; the prisoner made answer, He must then go without ears and fail. Henry Keaton deposed, That about three o'clock in the morning, being on the forecastle, James Burdet the armourer came to the other side of the forecastle, where the prisoner was asleep; that he awoke him, and told him that the Captain was killed; at which he expressed great surprize, and cried out, Lord have mercy upon me! that this deponent persuaded him to come and fit with him upon the cat-head; which he did for about half an hour, and then went aft; and further he the deponent knows nothing of him. John Trattle, John Blackston, Samuel Glover, William Gibbon, John Crane, Patrick Cockram, and Philip Thomas, deposed, That they were put in irons immediately after the murder of the master; but that being let out to eafe themselves, they saw the prisoner at the helm. James Mencius deposed, That he never saw the prisoner in arms; that he was esteemed a man of no consequence on either side; but that he seemed very well pleased at the ship's being retaken; and that he (the deponent) believes James Sweetland forced him to do what he did. The prisoner, in his defence said, That when the murder was committed he was asleep; that James Sweetland forced him to stand cery
over the fore-hatch way, threatening him with death in case of his refusal. 

James Sweetland being called to the bar, Thomas Clements deposed, That he heard the prisoner say several times, that he had knock'd the master down with the but-end of a musquet, which was produced in court; that he always carried arms, dressed himself in the master's cloaths, took upon him the whole command of the ship; promised him (the deponent) that he should not be hurt, but that if he chose it, he should have the long-boat with a cargo in it, to go where he pleased with.

Alexander Walker deposed, That the prisoner was all the day in arms, acted as Captain, and would have obliged him to go with him; and that upon his excusing himself, he threatened to shoot him with a piftole he had in his hand.

James Mennis deposed, That, as he lay asleep without the cabin-door, he was seiz'd upon by James Burdet and John Rearden; and, being wak'd by them, he heard a stroke given in the cabin; upon which, looking in, he saw the late master, Edward Bryan, with the side of his face cut down, rising out of his cabin, and endeavouring to collar the prisoner; who, upon that, knock'd him down with the butt-end of his musquet, repeating his blow, and reproaching William Buckley, by saying, Damn it, you stand by, and will not lend a hand; and that afterwards, the prisoner, with the assistance of William Buckley, James Burdet, and John Rearden, and a black fellow, afterwards killed by James Sweetland during his command of the ship, threw the master out of the cabin-window; having first made fait to him a screrjuke, and two lead bars. James Mennis'slikewise deposed, That the prisoner filed himself Captain, and acted as such; and that he had often heard the prisoner say, that he had killed the master. All the other witnesses deposed to their seeing the prisoner the day the master was murdered in arms, and taking upon him the command of the ship; and that it was by his orders that they were put in irons. The prisoner being heard in his defence, acknowledged the facts; and only begged for mercy for Rearden, Buckley and Kennedy, who he said were seduced by Noble and himself.

John Kennedy being brought to the bar, Thomas Clements deposed, That he saw the prisoner under arms the day wherein the master was murdered, Thomas Hind deposed, That he saw the prisoner standing at the companion-way at the retaking of the ship, with a blunderbuss in his hand; which, upon his threatening to shoot him, he delivered up to him. Samuel Crown deposed, That just after the ship was taken by the pyrates, he wanted to come up the main-hatch way, but was hindered by the prisoner in arms, who said, Damn you, you shan't come up yet; if you do, I'll shoot you: He afterwards bid them not be afraid, for they would do them no harm; and added, they should have rum enough now. James Mennis deposed, That the prisoner was all that day in arms, seemed very active against them; and that he hindered (him the deponent) and Thomas Clements from securing a piftole in order to help themselves in retaking the ship. All the other witnesses deposed to their seeing the prisoner in arms that day. The prisoner's defence amounted to no more than that he was forced by Noble and Sweetland in what he did; and that he was no ways concerned in the murder of the master.

William Buckley being brought to the bar, Thomas Clements deposed, That he saw the prisoner at the helm the day the master was murdered; that he had arms lying by him; and that upon his reproaching him with the murder of the master, he replied, It could not now be helped; and that he must suffer for it. James Mennis deposed, That he saw the prisoner at the same time in the cabin with James Sweetland and the black fellow, when the master was murdered; and that, upon James Sweetland's saying to him, Damn you, you stand by, and will lend no hand, he law him give the master
the last blow, and afterwards assisted in throwing him out of the cabin-window; that he was afterwards all day in arms, and very active in running away with the ship. The other witnesses deposed to his being in arms the day wherein the Captain was murdered. The prisoner acknowledged the facts, but that he was prevailed upon by Joseph Noble and James Sweetland to do them.

John Rearden being brought to the bar, Thomas Clements deposed, That he heard the prisoner say to some body upon deck, I'll warrant him, he's safe enough now, (meaning, as he believes, the master;) and that he saw the prisoner with a pistol in each hand the day on which the master was murdered. Alexander Walker deposed, That he saw the prisoner up in arms the same day; and that he heard him say, The master was new safe enough, and would never kill half a dozen of us. James Menzies deposed, That the prisoner, and James Burdett, secured him as he lay in bed; and that he afterwards saw the prisoner in arms all that day, and very fierecious in running away with the ship. The rest of the witnesses deposed to their seeing the prisoner in arms on the day the master was murdered. His defence consisted in alleging that he was forced and seduced by James Sweetland; and confessed that he helped to secure the Doctor.

James Burdett being brought to the bar, Thomas Clements deposed, That he was in arms all the day wherein the master was murdered, and very active in obeying James Sweetland's orders, in putting several of them in irons; and that in retaking the ship, he made resistance with a cutlass. Philip Thomas deposed, That the prisoner put him in irons; that he carried arms the whole day, and swore he would stand by the present Captain, naming James Sweetland. James Menzies deposed, That the prisoner helped to secure him; that after the master was killed, he (the prisoner) went upon deck, and said, He is dead now; that he seemed to be the most active man amongst them, and was assisting in throwing the master out of the cabin window; and would have persuaded his confederates to have murdered the said deponent. All the other witnesses deposed to their seeing the prisoner in arms, and that he put them all in irons. Joseph Noble, being brought to the bar, Thomas Clements deposed, That the prisoner was under arms upon deck after the murder of the master; that he laid the gratings over them, and called to the deponent, and Mr. Thomas, the Second Mate, to keep down; that some time afterwards he told them, that the young lads had killed the master, and thrown him overboard; that he was forward and active in running away with the ship; that he stood catty over them in arms till some time in the afternoon, when he began to relent, first proposed, and afterwards forwarded the retaking of the ship. Henry Keaton deposed, That the prisoner was instrumental in retaking the ship; that he carried to the men who were in irons a gun-cartridge, with musquet and pistol shot in it; and that he told them; it was for their use to help them in retaking the ship. James Menzies deposed, That the prisoner was active in running away with the ship, and afterwards in retaking her; that he proposed to the deponent his having the long-boat well fitted to go away with, and that he would hide himself in the bottom of the boat, and go with him; that he afterwards proposed to the deponent the retaking of the ship, and was very assiduous in contriving the proper means; which he at last brought to bear, and then gave a signal to the said deponent, and the rest of them in irons, by firing a pistol when they should make the attack; and that he, at the same instant, went aft into the cabin, accompanied only with John Blackstone, where there were five of the confederates, and that, upon Burdett's making resistance, he fired a pistol, loaded with tobacco pipes, and wounded him over the right eye; upon which
Account of the Trials of Seven Pyrates.

the rest submitted, and begged for mercy. All the other witnesses depo-
sed to the prisoner’s being of great ser-
vice in the retaking of the ship. The
prisoner, after confessing that he was
concerned with the rest of the prison-
ers in running away with the ship, sub-
mittied himself to the mercy of the
court; which he begged might be ex-
tended to him, in consideration that he
soon relented of the crime he had
committed; and he not only proposed,
but, in great measure, perfected the
means by which the ship was retaken.
This, he hoped, as he was no ways con-
cerned in the murder of the master,
would entitle him to some share of
clemency from the court.

The prisoner being carried back,
the court entered into the considera-
ion of the several facts; and having ad-
journed to three o’clock in the after-
noon, all the prisoners (except Samuel
Rhodes) were brought to the bar, to
whom the president spoke as follows.

“You have been brought to your trials before this court for committing
the most horrid crimes of Murder and
Piracy; crimes which can only pro-
ced from the blackest heart, and
which, in this world, can never be
punished with too great severity. For
the one, God Almighty has himself
declared, That he whoever shall shed
man’s blood, by man shall his blood be
shed. For the other, the laws of na-
tions, the laws of reason, of equity,
may, of common humanity, require
the punishment of death, for those
who shall be so far lost to reason and
humanity, that, becoming enemies to
mankind, at the same time they dip
their hands in the blood of their fel-
low creatures, they connive the ruin
and destruction of those who gave
them bread. Nor by piracy is the
honest merchant only spoiled and di-
vested of his property, upon which
himself and family, and perhaps thou-
sands, may, in some measure, depend;
but the honour and safety of our na-
tion in particular, (trade being its chief
support) are, by such base and vil-
lanous actions, (which all of you have
but too plainly manifested) most sensi-
fibly affected. To shew mercy there-
fore for such complicated crimes, would
not only be an act of cruelty and inju-
tice to mankind in general, but like-
wise heap coals of fire on our own heads.

It remains therefore, for me, to de-
clare the sentence that, for your most
abominable and wicked practices, this
court hath passed upon you; which is,

That ye, James Sweetland, William
Buckley, John Rearden, James Bur-
det, Joseph Noble, and John Kennel-
ly, are, and each of you, is adjudged
and sentenced to be carried back to the
place from whence you came, from
there to the place of execution, without
the gates of this castle, and there, with
in the flood-marshes, to be hanged by the
neck till ye are dead; and the Lord have
mercy upon your souls. After this, ye,
and each of you, shall be taken down,
and your bodies hanged in chains.”

The sentence being pronounced, the
prisoners were carried back to prison,
and Samuel Rhodes being brought to
the bar, the court, from the character
and behaviour of the man at his trial,
judging him to be a foolish half-witted
man, and that, by being asleep when
the murder was committed, he was not
privy to the design; and being forced
by James Sweetland to stand, or, or
do as he should otherwise order;
sentenced him to enter into indenture
for the service of the Royal African
company for the space of five years,
without wages. And then the court
adjourned till Monday morning, e-
leven of the clock. And, the court
being then met, Joseph Noble was or-
dered to be brought to the bar, to
whom the president spoke as follows.

Joseph Noble,

“The sentence adjudged against you
by this court on Saturday last, how-
ever just it is, for the wicked crimes
of which you stand indicted; yet,
upon some considerations, the court
has thought fit to mitigate the severest
part of it. The reason for it is, that
notwithstanding, by the confession of
the
the other prisoners, you had the chief hand in laying this horrid scheme; yet it appears strongly in your favour, by the evidence of some of the witnesses, that without your assistance, they had, in all probability, failed in retaking the ship; and, consequently, so wicked a combination must have produced very dismal and cruel effects. To the end, therefore, that in any future attempts of this kind, (which unhappily are but too common) the gate of mercy may not be shut against those, who, by their endeavours, shall show their repentance of so foul and villainous a deed, the court has thought fit to make you an example of their clemency, by granting you a reprieve from your former sentence, until such time as his Majesty's pleasure shall be signified; declaring and adjudging, nevertheless, that in the mean time you enter into bonds for serving the Royal African company, for the space of seven years, for which you are to receive no wages."

After which, Samuel Rhodes and Joseph Noble exchanged indentures with the chief agents, and principal directors for the time being, according to their several sentences; and on Saturday the twenty sixth, the other five malefactors were executed, according to the sentence given against them.

To the author of the Scots Magazine.

Sir,

Newcastle, April 14.

Father Bougeant, a French Jesuit, has lately been expelled the order; and put into confinement, for publishing a short tract, intitled, A philosophical Amusement on the language of Beasts: a treatise which in England would have given no manner of offence; but it is the misfortune of some nations to be prejudiced against any alteration, however so great an improvement, in their vulgar methods of thinking: which is the greatest obstruction of any to the advance of truth, and the banishment of weak and mistaken conceptions of matters in themselves important, as well as those of less consequence. And as this tract will probably make some noise in France, a short account of it will, no doubt, be acceptable to such of your readers as may not see the book itself.

It is divided into three sections. The first treat of the Understanding of Beasts; in which the author explodes the opinion of Descartes, That beasts are mere machines, and that all their actions may be accounted for by the laws of mechanism. In answer to which he argues, That it is as impossible to know that a man is not a mere machine, as that a dog is one; since in the latter are visible the outward signs of many different sentiments of joy and sadness, of grief and pain, of fear and desire, of passions, of love and hatred; in which, though the expression may be different, it will be difficult to prove the principle upon which they act not to be the same that actuates the human species upon, the same occasions: and yet a spiritual soul is what cannot easily be allowed to beasts; since, according to Christianity, they must then necessarily have a paradise and a hell provided for them. This is proved by a concise sketch of the opinions of the ancients relating to this subject, &c. And this writer believes no small pains to make it appear probable that animals in general are possessed by devils! who are assigned such abodes for the punishment of their offences. One argument used for which is, That several tame, and all wild beasts, are exposed to such sufferings of pain, hunger, &c., as cannot be supposed to be inflicted on creatures void of offence. To corroborate which it is urged, that from Scripture it appears the devils are not in hell at present, but only assigned to it at the last day: as when Christ said, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels; whence it is inferred, that though the fire was prepared for them, they were not actually in it: and where the devils ejected out of the possessed say to him, Art thou come to torment us before our time? for, says Father Bougeant, if the devils a-
Finally suffer the tortures of hell, what reasonable meaning can be assigned for this expression? and where St. Jude says, God keeps them in everlasting chains under profound darkness, and reserves for the judgment of the great day the angels which kept not their first estate.—And if it may be allowed that beasts, when they were first created, might properly be said to be good, he seems to think they have grown worse of late years; or else our monkeys would not be so mischievous, our dogs so envious, or our cats so ungrateful and perfidious.—One instance to prove beasts possessed with devils, is that of the herd of swine: for, says this author, as man has not two souls, beasts have each but one devil; and this is so very true, that Jesus Christ having one day driven out many devils, and they having agitated his leave to enter into a herd of swine that fed near the sea, he permitted it, and they entered into the swine accordingly. But what happened? Each swine having his own devil already, a battle ensued, and the whole herd threw themselves into the sea.

Sec. II. treats of the Necessity of a Language between Beasts; under which article it is observed, that language cannot justly be supposed to be confined to any certain accents, or peculiar sounds, since angels speak without a voice; nay, do not ourselves speak every day by certain looks, motions, and gestures? So that, were a whole nation dumb, they would nevertheless soon fix upon a language to answer all the purpuses of words: and it is therefore reasonable to suppose, that each species of animals are as little at a loss to convey their meaning to each other, as ourselves; for, were there not a language among the beasts, for example, how would it be possible for them to build their habitations with that regularity and dispatch which is the admiration of men themselves? These buildings never being attempted but by thirty or forty, more or less, in mutual concert, every one of which keeps to the busines assigned him. Their edifices being erected on the side of a lake, a tree is first cut at the root, and falls into the lake; immediately on which other artificers work it; some prepare piles, others drive them, and others are forming the necessary timbers, while another set of them are employed in bringing clay to fill up the vacancies between the rafters and party-walls: which is brought by the admirable invention of having one take her arms full of clay, and make a kind of cart of her body, by lying on her back, while others drag her to the place appointed: And, after their amazing structure is finished, no dispute is ever heard about taking possession of the different apartments, but age and merit are cheerfully preferred. All which are the most evident marks of understanding and language too; since Babel, though in the hands of human artificers, could not be carried on without one.—And, after some good arguments in confirmation of the commonly received ideas of Infinite, Father Bougeant asks, how it can be conceived that two sparrows, in the heat of their lust, or in the cares attending bringing up their family, have not a thousand things to say to each other? and thinks it impossible, in the order of nature, that a sparrow who loves his wife, has not a language full of expression and tenderness: He must scold her when she plays the coquet; he must menace the sparrows who come to cajole her; he must understand her when she calls him; he must, while she is affably sitting on the brood, be able to provide necessaries for her, and discern whether it be food the asks for, or feathers to repair her nest.—Let a cat but shew herself upon the top of a house, or in a garden, the very first sparrow that perceives her, exactly does what a sentinel who sees the enemy does amongst us; he by his cries warns all his companions, and seems to imitate the noise of a drum beating a march. See a cock near his hen, a dove near the female he is wooing, and a cat after his mate, and there is no end of their discourses.

Sec. III. treats of the Language of Beasts: Birds sing, they say: but this
is a mistake; birds do not sing, but speak; what is taken for their singing, being no more than their natural language: Do the magpie, the jay, the raven, the owl, and the duck, sing? What makes us believe they sing, is their tuneful voice. Thus the Hottentots in Africa seem to cluck like Turkeys, though it is the natural accent of their language. Birds, in this sense, may be said to sing: but they sing not for singing's sake, as we fancy they do; their singing is always an intended speech: and it is comical enough that there should be thus in the world so numerous a nation who never speak but tumultus and musically. And let any one suppose himself in the same circumstances with a magpie, and the tone and accent of the latter will be perfectly agreeable to what a man would say in the same circumstances: "There is nothing more to be had here. Let us go to some other place: Where are you going, Mister? I am going; follow me. Come quick, come in haste. Where are you? Here I am. Don't you hear me? You eat all: I shall beat you. Who is coming there? I am afraid; have a care, have a care; alarm, alarm! let us fly." — Father Bougeant, in answer to the supposition of the language of animals being full of repetitions, instances the Chinese, and other nations, whose sounds are not easily distinguished by foreigners; and thinks a man born deaf, and immediately attaining the use of his ears, would think our language little more than constant repetitions of the same words.

By this faint sketch of this work, you will perceive that many speculative arguments, &c. are brought to illustrate the subject; which seems well worth the consideration of men of delicate and philosophical genius, and appears to me capable of great improvement. Yours, &c.
Poetical ESSAYS in APRIL 1739.

Let your just scene their ruling disapprove,
Even the jest, not least pernicious, love;
Instruct how sure, as if on rain bent, They all the happiness they feel, prevent.

If you attempt the Comic ridicule, Left not alone the grogger knave, or fool;
But all the gallant voices of the age, Of which men boast, should blight upon the stage; The more approved, the more diffus'd they are, Left your impartial pen the dam'rous ill swound spare. Let the nice well-bred beau, himself perceive The most accomplish'd—useless thing alive. Exploze the bottle-parks, that range the town, Shaming themselves; with follies not their own: But chief these foes to virgins innocence, Who, whil'st they make to honour vain pretence, With all that's safe and impious can disperse; To gain, or quit some fond deluded foe, Decit a jest, false vows—but gallantry. Let ev'ry Dorimant * appear a knave, And no false wife, her sadder honour lose. If by severer Satyr you'd correct, Boldly the crimes of ev'ry rank detect; But never defend your cenzure to apply; 'Tis vile Lampoon, below the Muses dignity. Not so to Praisè; each honour'd name rejoice; Peculiar merit most deserves your verse; By virtue dignify'd, the lowest name Is worthy us, and ev'ry tongue of fame. Thus far depends on your own care and art, A life's ease without the Muses part.
If Shakespeare's spirit with transporting fire The animated scene throughout inspire; If, in the piercing wit of Congreve drest, Each scene his darling fully made a jest; If Garth and Dryden's genius, through each line In artful praise, and well-urn'd satyr, prime, To us ascribe th' immortal sacred frame, And still invoke th' auspicious Muses name.

* A loose character in the Man of Mode, a celebrated comedy.

SIR,

THE following poem, upon his Grace the Duke of Argyle, done by a Scot; Merchant, having had the approbation of several of the best judges, as truly Classical, will probably be acceptable to the publick, and therefore may deserve a place in your Magazine.

I am Perth.

Your humble servant,

J. M.
Poetical ESSAYS in APRIL 1739.

PROLOGUE, spoken the 10th of April, 1739, at the Theatre-Royal in Covent-Garden, on occasion of Hamlet being acted for the benefit of Shakespeare's Monument. Written by Mr. Theobald, and spoken by Mr. Ryan.

[The curtain being drawn up to solemn music, discover'd the stage in mourning.]

Metinks, to-night, I cast my eyes around
With awe, and seem to tread on bal-
low'd ground:
The vaunted scene assumes a gloom of dread,
Like that where sleep the venerable dead
And you, a pius train, in pleas'd array
Are rang'd, the solemn obsequies to pay.

Immortal Shakespeare! we thy claim admit
For, like thy Caesar, thou art mighty yet!
Thy spirit walks abroad; and at our bands
The honovry tomb thy right demands —
That debt is paid, and, to thy memory just,
We prefix to execute the pius trust.
Fare rife the marble, and long live the pike,
O'er which thy venerable boists shall sail:
A long respect must guard the sacred tomb,
Where Plautus' tongue is mute, and Every dumb.

Britons! with vittuous pride your merit know:
You've done, what Kings, of old, were fond to do.
—Then, when the Poet's d, the Monarch mourn'd;
And, by command, his ashes were inter'd.

The due respect you've in this tribute shewn
Be speaks the Poet's worth, and crowns your own:
And, haply hence shall spring new Tragic rage,
And disdain Shakespeare's rife to charm the age.

What muse can languish, who may hope to boast
A fame fresh-blooming at the publick cost?
For the dead bard receive our thanks and praise,
And make us sharers of the tomb you raise.
To Fair, who have distinguished thy renown'd favours shown,
And made this Poet's patronage your own;
Urge thee, wise geniour hearts confess thy sway,
To follow, where your virtues point the way:
Then think, this pile his honour'd bones contains;
And frequent visits — here — the soul'd remains.

* A fest of Ladies, who, for the two last se-
sions, had two plays acted every week for their entertainnent; from whence they took the name of The Shakespeare Club.

PROLOGUE to GUSTAVUS VASA.

B

Ritons! this night presents a state difirest'd,
Though brave, yet vanquish'd; and, though
great, oppre'ss'd.
Vice, (rev'ting culture) on her vital pro's,
Her Pears, her Prolates, fell Corruption away'd.
Their
SIR,
A Gardener in this neighbour
hood, a handsome young fellow, and a bathchelor, being be
friended by all the pretty girls near him, who discoveal a desire to waul
in his garden preferably to an
other, occasioned the followin
t lines to be left on the table in a
summer-house.

I am,

A. 

TO SLEEP. [Dalcith.]

P ROPITIOUS Pow'r, to watch'd mortals kind,
Who, not content to feast the perfevse mind
With soft repose, dost splendidly delight
With various scene; our intellectual fight.
Oft, while, within thy downy arms care'st'd,
The flagging body takes refreshing rest;
Freed from its earthly charge, the wakeful soul
Visits the stars, and ranges o'er the pole;
To distant worlds with nimble pinions flies,
And climbs with easy steps the steepy skies.
While bliss'ring winds around my chamber blow,
And all the neighboring fields lie hid in snow;
Whist, uncontroll'd, tempestuous Winter reigns,
And strips of all their bloomy pride the plains;
Wasted by thee, swift Fancy wings her way
To milder climes, where verd'rous fields look gay.
There, lightly skimming thro' mild air, I move
O'er the green meadows and embraed groves:
Or, for'd by Love, an amorous chase I run,
Pursuing Delia thro' the many turn
Of Love's deluding ways; till, gently, she,
By bonnet won, resigns herself to me.
In extasy of bliss intranced I ly,
Till morn's return, and then the phantoms fly.
His kingdom, and the pump of life;
To ransom and regain his wife:
But how, methinks, you d'ye think't would
With modern Queens,—or even me, [be, If nate his chance should chance I attend?
You'd scarce resign your glass or friend!
In answer, therefore, to your query,
The reason is, (with patience bear me)
He was at choice, when o'er the seas'd him,
To cast her off, for one that pleas'd him: Whereas had he, like us, been ty'd,
Or like or hate her, to his bride,
To his life's end, go rack or mangier,
He'd sooner gi'n his crown to change her.
Haddington, March 10.

In the author of the Scots Magazine.

SIR,
London, April 24.

The art of puffing increases beyond belief: and even the great Handell himself has been accused of conforming to this prevailing folly, in an instance where (I cannot help speaking with some concern) there was the least cause for defending to such mean arts. A new oratorio, called Israel in Egypt, was performed the third night to a small, though very splendid audience: on which appeared a letter in the daily papers full fraught with praises of the above piece; and interesting as a blessing for the publick, that Mr. Handell would favour the town with it once more. And that Master of Melody, out of his constant inclination to oblige, condescended to this request; and the oratorio was performed, to the surprise of myself and many more, to a very numerous audience, headed by two personages of the greatest distinction; and, two days after, a second letter was published, pointing out the beauties of that composition, in such a manner as will, if the publick take it for a spontaneous compliment, go near to have it yet once more repeated.

The late act for regulating the stage has already produced some unexpected occurrences; and at present the publick is offered proposals for printing by subscription a tragedy called Edward and Eleonora, written by Mr. Thomson, author of the Seafar, &c. At which some writers in defence of its being denied representation, seem a little displeased; while others think the author has just cause to complain of his treatment. — For my own part, I am perfectly easy whether these Tragical Gentlemen are ever more allowed the use of the theatre: for, if Comedy does not next winter relieve us, I am under no small apprehension that we criticks, who scorn to laugh in a deep scene, shall lose the art of smiling with success; whereby many of our smarts would lose by far the most prevailing part of their rhetoric. — I have studied, sometimes, I believe, for not less than five minutes together, without being able to find out the cause of that swarm of Tragedies with which of late years we have been over-run; and could never assign any reason to my own satisfaction: since I should think it more probable to succeed in a species of writing which owes its origin to scenes of life in which every Gentleman must share the pleasure of application, (as every Gentleman is, in some degree, concerned in them;) than in a train of actions, which, if they ever subsist at all, are not seen more than once in an age; and that never by those who are spectators of the use the Poet makes of them. — But however the criticks may look up the power of a well written Tragedy, I cannot help thinking the most admired of them better adapted for setting the heads of an audience a-gadding after scenes of life which they can never probably attain, than for furnishing them with sentiments which they can reduce to practice. — Your countrymen have sufficiently play'd their parts with the Tragick Mufe; and, were they to favour us with a few Comédies to act in turn with them, they would, probably, in some measure, remove the generally received opinion of their being too philosophick for such lively undertakings.

But perhaps you preserve all your pieces of that kind till the opening of D do your
your own theatre in Edinburgh by special authority. But such an opposition arose against that attempt, as will naturally put those Gentlemen who were most zealous in soliciting that licence, upon weighing its consequences with more deliberation than was at first exercised in that affair. The petitions that have been presented on this occasion, have been here read with considerable attention, and the reasons contained in them pretty generally approved, and much applauded by the more grave and experienced amongst us. And indeed I must confess, that, in my own opinion, the parallel drawn, in the petition of the Lord Provost, &c. between London and Edinburgh, as equally entitled to the benefit of the late act for reducing the number of play-houses, as places of trade; and between the last mentioned city, and Oxford and Cambridge, as universities, bears more weight than I was at first willing to imagine:—Tho' in the petition of the Dean of Guild and his Council, &c. I was a little surprised to find stagnation and revival of trade in general attributed to the influence of the theatre among you: for, during the short time you enjoyed that improving entertainment, the persons who appeared in it were far from boasting of their reception;—for, in a letter from a manager of the company, he complained, that, if they got a bit, a bat (as he expressed it) never failed to come along with it.

I do not think myself properly qualified to attempt deciding a matter of such importance, and with respect to which I know myself attached to one side of the question: And after this acknowledgment you will, I believe, more readily allow me to declare, that, as far as I am capable of seeing into causes, and their effects, I believe our politeness in town in a very great measure owing to the exhibition of Dramatic compositions; where even the very nature of such assemblies must inspire a virtuous breast with thoughts superior to vice of any kind: and, where the known reason assigned for such assemblies is, the improvement of our morals, and the reformation of our manners, it must be the abandoned and depraved only, that can pervert so useful and excellent an institution, to purposes directly inconsistent with the design, as well as the natural tendency of such entertainments. — I know not how far, indeed, some of the worst of our old plays may affect vicious minds: but, in honour of our modern Dramatic writers, or rather, of our deforming audiences, it must be confessed, that so far is the dirty ribaldry that once could alone please, from being countenanced now, that seldom a doubt enticement is allowed; three of which, if apparent to the spectator, would be enough to damn a play of considerable merit; Sport and Sensuality having been long banished to flowers and buds, to their proper places of residence: which may, not improbably, be one reason why it is now so much more difficult to write a play with success, than when immoral infinuations served for thoughts, and an impudent pun was accepted for wit. — What influence a play-house would have in Edinburgh, I will not offer to conjecture; but in London, it is the judgment of several men who express the greatest attention for economy, that, among men of fortune, those evenings which are spent in the theatre are away; the cheapest, often the fairest, and too frequently the most rational of any during the whole winter.

Benefit-nights engross almost the whole stage at present: and though it is from them principally our Comedians obtain support, I have often wished a means could be found out to avoid a custom which is certainly not agreeable to the sentiments of men professed of qualifications necessary for the stage; because it subjects them to a continual dependence upon every face they know.

I am, &c. S. Toupee.

EDINBURGH.

As the case of the Seceding Ministers will probably be the subject of some debates in the ensuing Ge-
DOMESTICK HISTORY.

General Assembly, we hope a short narration of some facts relative to their secession, will be acceptable to our readers.

There being no fixed method for the church-judicatures to proceed upon, in setting Ministers in vacant churches, since the act of Parliament dece hasta removing Patronages, great disturbances happened in different parts of the kingdom upon these occasions. To remedy which, the General Assembly 1732 passed an interim act, till it should please God to relieve the church of the grievance of patronages, vesting the Town-council, Heritors and Elders, in royal burghs, and in landward parishes, the Heritors and Elders, with the power of electing and calling Ministers or Preachers to supply their vacancies; the person elected to be proposed to the congregation for their approbation, or, in case they disapproved, that the reasons should be laid before the Presbytery. This act was, in substance, much the same with the act of Parliament 1690, which was framed by the advice of some of the principal Presbyterian clergy at that time, and with which the church, by an uninterrupted acquiescence, showed her satisfaction, till the 1712; when the Parliament, by an act, refused to patronize the power of presenting Ministers to vacant churches in Scotland. However, the act of Assembly 1732 gave offence to several members of the church, who maintain the divine right of the people to a suffrage in the choice of their own pastors; and especially to Mr. Ebenezer Erskine Minister at Stirling, who testified against it and several other decisions of the church-judicatures with respect to settlements of Ministers in vacant churches, in a sermon at the opening of the Synod of Perth and Stirling. This was the beginning of the divisions that have since followed. For the Synod ordered Mr. Erskine to be rebuked at their bar for reflecting against the proceedings of the church-judicatures. From which sentence he appealed to the Assembly 1733; who, leaving heard parties, ordered Mr. Erskine to be rebuked at their own bar; which was done accordingly. To this sentence, as importing that he had departed from the word of God and approved standards of the church, Mr. Erskine would not submit; but protested, that he should be at liberty still to preach the same truths of God, and to testify against the same or the like defections of the church upon all proper occasions. Meas. William Willoch at Perth, Alexander Moncrief at Abernethy, and James Fisher at Kinclaven, Ministers, adhered to this protest; and then they all withdrew. Whereupon the Assembly passed an act, ordering the protesters to appear before the Commission in August, and to show their sorrow for their conduct; and in case they should refuse to retract their protest, the Commission was appointed to suspend them from the exercise of their pastoral office, &c. The protesters appeared in August, but still adhered to their former protest; whereupon the Commission suspended them. In November they again appeared before the Commission; who, finding they disregarded the sentence of suspension, and continued in their former course, declared them no longer Ministers of the church, and their churches to be vacant from the date of the sentence. This sentence being intimate to them, they read a paper, wherein they made a secession from the church, and protested. That, notwithstanding this sentence, their pastoral relation to their respective parishes should still be firm and valid, and that it should be lawful and warrantable for them to exercise the keys of doctrine, discipline and government, according to the word of God, the confession of faith, and the principles and constitution of the covenanting church of Scotland. The Assembly 1734 sustained their protest and disapproved of the measures taken in some former Assemblies and their Commissions: For they repealed the act 1732, passed an act in favour of ministerial freedom, dispatched Commissioners to address the King and Parliament for a repeal of the Patronage act.
turned a young Gentleman out of his church that had been ordained by the preceding Commission contrary to the inclinations of the body of the Christian people, and impoverished the Synod of Perth and Stirling, under certain limitations, to restore the Seceders to their ministerial charges. Some time thereafter, that Synod accordingly took off the sentences pronounced by the Commission in 1733 against the Seceders. But they refused to come in to the church, which they said had unjustly thrust them out; associated themselves into a Presbytery, assuming a power paramount to that of the church over all Scotland; and published a pamphlet, intituled, A Declaration and Testimony, for the doctrine, worship, &c. of the church of Scotland, in which they review the conduct of the church for a long series of years past, condemn her decisions, and represent her as corrupted. Their party is since strengthened by the accession of Meff. Ralph Erskine at Dunfermline, Thomas Mair at Orwad, Thomas Nairn at Abbotshall, and James Thomson at Burntisland, Miniflers. They are all cited to appear before the ensuing Assembly, and serv’d with a copy of a libel, the substance of which we gave in our last Magazine, p. 135. Yet they still preach in the fields, to very numerous audiences, in several different parts of the kingdom.

Mr. James Bathgate, Minister of Dalgety, who was transported by the Commission to Stirling, has given in a demission of his ministerial charge to the Presbytery of Dunfermline.

Wheat being now scarce in Spain, five ships were lately hired at the port of Leith to carry that commodity thither.

A great many informations have been laid against people in this city for retailing spirituous liquors, four of which being tried before the Justices of the Peace for the shire, have been convicted, and fined according to their circumstances. The Lord President of the Session, who was in the chair, represented in very moving terms, the bad consequences of that pernicious practice, how ruining to the country and destructive of the real advantage which might accrue to the nation by encouraging the consumption of our own spirits.

The estate of Luffness, in East-Lothian, was purchased at a publick roué by the Earl of Hopetown, for L. 835 Sterling.

LONDON.

A large subscription of the merchants, &c. of London, for encouraging the Linen manufacture of Ireland, is near completed.

Some boxes of stones, voided by persons who drank Mrs. Stephens’s medicines, were exposed to view in the house of Commons, and several Gentlemen appeared there who were cured by them, as did some Physicians and Surgeons, to give their opinions about the said medicines.

The Captains of the royal navy will, for the future, be restrained from carrying goods or merchandizes on board the ships of war to foreign countries.

Two persons are ordered to be brought over from Dublin, for arresting a Scots Peer there last summer.

The parliament of Ireland, which stood prorogued to the 3d day of May, is, by his Majesty’s order, farther prorogued to the 16th of August.

The 11th April, at night, the newborn Prince was baptized at Norfolkhouse, by the name of EDWARD AUGUSTUS. The Duke of Queenberry was Proxy for the King of Prussia, the Marquis of Carnarvon for the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttle, and the Lady Charlotte Edwin for the Dukes of Saxe Weissenfels. The ceremony was performed by the Bishop of Oxford.

A large quantity of gun-carriages, with 2000 iron ordnance, were shipped for Spain.

The victualling-office has provided nine months provisions for twelve men of war, besides what are ready at Portsmouth, Plymouth, &c.

An apartment is taken in German street, Piccadilly, for the convenience of
DOMESTICK HISTORY.

of poor lying-in women, at the expence of several of the nobility and gentry, who are carrying on a subscription to establish it. His Majesty has sent a message to the parliament, directing them to make a provision for their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Princesses, upon their surviving his demise.

The crew of the Halifax, Manly, newly arrived at London from the East Indies, say, that in the island Mauritius, they ate of the Mermaid, and that its taste is not unlike veal. It is a large fish of about 3 or 400 weight; the head is particularly large, and so are all the features, which differ but little from those of a man or woman; the male having a beard four or five inches long, and the female a short neck, and breasts exactly human. When they are first taken, which is often on the grafs, they cry and grieve with great sensibility. It is amphibious. They write from Vigo in Spain, that some fishermen lately took on that coast a sort of monster, or Merman, five foot and a half from its foot to its head, which is like that of a goat. It has a long beard and mustachios, a black skin, somewhat hairy, a very long neck, short arms, and hands longer and bigger than they ought to be in proportion to the rest of the body; long fingers, like those of a man, with nails like claws; very long toes, joined like the feet of a duck, and the heels furnished with fins resembling the winged feet with which peinters represent Mercury. It has also a fin at the lower end of its back, which is twelve inches long, and fifteen or sixteen broad.

By a letter from St. Eustatia, by the way of New-York, we learn, that a French trading vessel from the Spanish coast touched there, laden with cocoa, having 20,000 pieces of eight on board. On the coast of Caraccas she met with two Spanish galleys of 20 guns each, which she engaged for twelve hours, and, at last, obliged them to give over. She was very much thatter'd, so that she came up to St. Thomas to refit, and went down again to compleat her trade, and meeting a Spanish guardia costa, she sunk him.

York, April 9. 1739.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR,

On Saturday was executed here the notorious Richard Turpin, by the name of John Palmer. The noise this fellow made for some time is the only apology can be given for troubling the publick with any account of so mean, and, from whatever appeared of him here, so stupid a wretch.

From the best accounts I can come at, it appears, that about two years ago he came out of Lincolnshire to Brough, near Market-Cave, in this county, and lived some time at North Cave, and some time at Welton; at which places he passed chiefly for a dealer in horses, and sometimes went a sporting with the Gentlemen of the neighbourhood. The occasion of his being first apprehended was his shooting a favourite game-cock: for being blamed by a neighbour for that action; he told him, if he would stay till he had charged his piece, he would shoot him also; which was a manner of speaking so unusual, that the master of the cock, and the person threatened, got a warrant for taking him up; and he refusing to find security for his good behaviour, was thereupon committed to the house of correction at Beverley. On this, several informations were given against him, concerning his going frequently into Lincolnshire, and usually returning with plenty of money, and several horses; whence it began to be generally believed he must be either a highwayman or a horfedealer: and the accounts he gave of himself being unsatisfactory, a messenger was sent to Lincolnshire, to enquire the truth of what he said relating to his father's living at Long-Sutton in that county; who returning with a detection of the falsehood of all he had laid upon that head, and a request from a Justice of the peace in Long-Sutton to detain him, in order
order to be tried for some facts charged upon him before his departure from thence, he was removed from Beverley, and by two men conveyed to York castle. While he lay in confinement here, a letter was intercepted by his schoolmaster, who knew his hand-writing, whereby he was discovered to be the infamous Richard Turpin of Essex. The following is the copy of a letter he received from his father, then in confinement for selling a horse his son had stolen.

Dear Child,

I received your letter this instant, with a great deal of grief. According to your request, I have writ to your brother John, and Madame Peck, to make what interference can be made, to Colonel Watson, in order to obtain transportation for your misfortune; which, bad I too! I would freely part with it to do you good. In the mean time, my prayers for you; and for God's sake, give your whole mind to beg of God to pardon your many transgressions, which the chief upon the court received pardon for at the last hour, though a very great offender. The Lord be your comfort, and receive you into his eternal kingdom. I am, Your distressed, yet loving father,

Hempstead.

John Turpin.

All our loves to you, who are in much grief to subscribe our former your distressed brother and sister, with relations.

Nothing remarkable occurred upon his trial. The feeling a mare and foal were flatly proved upon him; and his defence confined only of denials of plain facts; and before the court he was proved to be the notorious Richard Turpin whose father keeps at the Bell at Hempstead in Essex.

The morning he was executed, he gave to five men who were to follow the cart as mourners, 3 l. 10 s. with hats-bands and gloves, and hat-bands and gloves to several other persons; he also left a gold ring, and two pair of shoes and clogs, to a married woman at Brough, though he owned he had a wife and child of his own.

On Saturday last, the 7th of April, he was carried in a cart, with John Stead, condemned also for horse-stealing; and behaved with amazing assurance. One of his legs trembling as he mounted the ladder, he stamp'd down with an air, and look'd impudently round him; and, after speaking a while to the topsman, he flung himself off, and expired in about five minutes.

The accounts published of his robberies, &c. are trifling, and no way answerable to the terror he for some time struck upon the Essex road, and other parts of England; for which reason, I shall not offer you a tedious detail of such trifling events, but subscribe myself,

Your humble servant,

H. G.

MARITIME AFFAIRS.

They write from Riga, that they are froze up very hard, and that five ships from thence, bound for several ports, were lost the 26th of March, N. S. near Salis and Hay, a few leagues from Riga; but the captains and crews were all happily saved.

The Loyal Judith, Atkins Catchard, from Marseilles, was lost at the mouth of the Rhone.

The Lydia and Luciana, Capt. Ladd, from St. Kitts, coming up the Thames, run ashore off of Margate, and was lost.

Capt. Davis Cockeril, was cast away on the Seaton Sands; but all the crew were saved.

The Barbary of Southberry of Dundee, David Greig, was cast away at North-Berwick, but all the crew were saved.

The ship of James Orkney of Montrose, load with meal and yarn, was cast away at Gofwick, five miles south of Berwick, and one man and a boy perished.

The ship of Walter Johnston of Portsoy was lost at the mouth of that harbour, but the crew happily got ashore.
DOMESTICK HISTORY.

The Barbary, Richard Lee, and the Mary, John Taylor, was lost on Lincolnshire coast.

The ——— Capt. Arnould, from London for Newcastle, was lost in Yarmouth Roads, and only 3 men of 17 were saved.

The Old Bowes of Newcastle, Francis Herman, was lost near Whitby, and the crew and passengers perished.

A Spanish guards costa attempted lately to surprize an English trading vessel belonging to Liverpool, on the coast of Guiney. She had put out false colours, to lead them into the snare; but, how soon they found their mistake, by receiving a round of guns, they crowed all their fail, and made off.

A ship was lost off of Yarmouth, occasioned by the ballast running all over side, and five of the hands were lost.

A fine West India vessel was driven ashore between Birchington and the Isle of Thanet.

A vessel bound from Lisbon to the Western Isles was lately lost.

A vessel bound from Lisbon to the Madayers, and another to Figueira, were lately lost.

The Guiney Packet, Capt. Wright, for London from Cape coast, in the service of the African company, was founders at sea; but the Captain, several passengers, and the crew, were saved by Capt. Paul.

Six Dutch ships, bound from the East Indies, were long detained by contrary winds in the Downs. ’Tis remarked, that most of their crews were English sailors.

The William and Elizabeth of Newcastle, Ralph Burfield, is lost on the coast of Boulogne, but the crew were saved.

A Spanish sloop, in her passage from the bay of Honduras to the Havanah, was lost. The crew saved themselves by getting on a Maron island, but afterwards famished. Capt. Derby of Bolton having information where the wreck lay, went and took up 7000 pieces of eight, 500 pistoles, a silver tea-table, a gold cup, several crucifixes, and other things of great value, with which Capt. Derby failed, with a design of disposing of them in Holland, but had the misfortune to be lost a few days after, in his passage thither, with all the crew and cargo.

A ship bound from Frederickshalm to Rochelle, Capt. Olie Arandez, was lost near Dunkirk.

The inhabitants of Frazerburgh, upon observing a large ship, without masts or rigging, except a small part of the foresail, about two miles from shore, manned several boats, and made up to the vessel; but, to their surprize, found her entirely deserted; and what became of the crew remains a secret. The greedy fishermen took this opportunity to plunder the ship, but were prevented by the good-natured interposition of some of the inhabitants, who came with a party of soldiers, and, after a short scuffle with them, they hoisted something like a sail on the broken foresail, and, towards night, got the vessel brought near the shore. On examination they find she is called the Felton, belongs to Ipswich, and is loaded with timber from Norway. She is reckoned of about 400 tons burden, and draws 24 foot water. The ropes are so bleach'd, and part of the cargo so spoiled, that 'tis thought the ship has been a long time without her crew. The Lord Saltoun, who is Superior of Frazerburgh, afflicts very generally in securing the goods.

PREFERENCES CIVIL.

The Earl of Hyndford, — his Majesty's High Commissioner to the General Assembly.

The Earl of Buchan, — a Lord Commissioner of Police.

Sir John Eyles, — conjunct Postmaster General with the Lord Lovel.

John Courland, and Andrew Stone, — Deputy Secretaries of State for Scotland.

Sir Robert Byng, — Governor of Barbadoes.

The Lord John Raymond, — Grand Master of the Ancient and Honorable
Domestic History.

Rable Society of Free and Accepted Masons in England.

William Kilpatrick.—Clerk to the record of tailzies, and inventories of heirs serving cum beneficio.

Military.

Brigadier Cope.—Colonel of General Pearce's regiment of horse.

The Lord Cathcart.—Governor of Londonderry.

Marriages.

William Waine, Esq;—to Miss Fleming, eldest daughter of Gilbert Fleming, Esq; Lt. General of the Leeward Islands.

Sir Alexander Macdonald of Slate, Bart.—to Lady Margaret Montgomery, sister to the Earl of Eglinton.

Deaths.

The Earl of Delorain, cousin german to the Duke of Buccleugh, at Bath.

George Watton, Esq, great uncle to the Earl of Rockingham, and uncle to the Earl of Malton.

Dame Christian Scot, Dowager of Brandsfield.

Andrew Gairdner, an eminent merchant of Edinburgh, and a considerable dealer in the manufactures of this kingdom. He was long Treasurer of the Trinity hospital. He was the first projector, and a very considerable benefactor of the Orphan hospital.

Edward Carteret, Esq; uncle to the Lord Carteret.

Mrs. Coftel, a rich maiden Gentlemwoman, the bulk of whose fortune goes to John Douglas merchant in London.

Samuel Boyle, Esq; a near relations to the Earl of Glasgow.

Sir Thomas Moncrief of that Ilk, Bart. Dr. Saunders; Professor of Mathematics in the university of Cambridge. This Gentleman, though blind from two years of age, by the strength of a surprizing genius, and close application to study, attained to so great a proficiency in his art, as to be accounted one of the greatest mathematicians that ever lived.

The new-born son of the Lord Viscount Beaufort.

Sir James Elphinstone of Logie, Baronet.

Mrs. Janet Scot, Lady Middleton.

Mr. Geary, Engineer to London bridge and the new river water-works.

William Leveson Gower, eldest son and heir to the Lord Gower, an brother to the Dutches of Bedford.

Edward Ridder, the famous pastry man, who had taught near 600 Ladies the art of pastry.

Died within the walls of the city of Edinburgh, and buried in the Gray-friars church-yard, April 1739.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>N.</th>
<th>Diseases. N.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under — 2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Old age — 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &amp; 5</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Consumption 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 &amp; 10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Fever 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 &amp; 20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Small-pox 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 &amp; 30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Teething — 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 &amp; 40</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Chin-cough 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 &amp; 50</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Suddenly — 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 &amp; 60</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Convulsion 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 &amp; 70</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Cancer — 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 &amp; 80</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Strangury — 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 &amp; 90</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Palsy — 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90 &amp; 100</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Overlaid — 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 &amp; 100</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Still-born — 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Foreign History.

The allience lately concluded between the Grand Seignoir and the Great Mogul has reduced the Sophi of Persia to a necessity of abating much of his demands lately made to the Porte; and the high claims of that Prince are now said to be comprised in these three articles: 1. That the Grand Seignoir suppres some duties hitherto levied upon the caravans of Persia passing through his dominions; 2. That methods be taken to put an end to the religious differences that divide the subjects of the two empire,
with respect to the facts of Ali and Omar; 3. That the Grand Seignior make good his promise of restoring to Persia a certain number of families taken prisoners by the Turks, or pay a sum of money by way of indemnification. And as it is improbable that these articles will be difficult to settle, these two powers may now be considered as upon amicable terms.

In a late divan held at Constantinople, for settling the operations of the campaign, at which the Kan of the Crim Tartars assented, who was sent for by the Grand Seignior on purpose, it was proposed to the said Kan to make a diversion on the side of the Ukraine; but he represented, that so uncertain was he of what motions the Russians might make, that he was obliged to be upon his guard, that he might be in a condition to repulse them if they should return into his country; that what with the Russians, and what with the Tartars, who had done all they could to deprive their enemies of the means of subsistence, two thirds of the Crim were ruined; that he was not able to mount above 40,000 men on horseback; that with this body of troops he should observe the motions of the Russian army; and that if the latter did not make any incursion into the Crim, he would endeavour to invade the Ukraine again, or to favour the siege of Afoph, in case the Grand Seignior should perfide in his design to attack that place. The Grand Seignior approved of the regulations proposed by the Kan, and has also given orders for reinforcing the squadron which the Captain Bashaw is to command on the Black sea, with eight sultanas, or men of war, and fourteen galleys. The last advice from the Bashaw Count de Bonneval, says he is sick, and narrowly watched in the place to which he is banished.

The Porte is under some uneasiness on account of the progress made by Sare-Bey-Oglu, (son of a Bashaw who was strangled by order of state, and his effects seized) who continues master of the provinces about Smyrna, and it is now said to be joined by the Bashaw of Babylon, lately revolted from the service of the Grand Seignior; and it is apprehended that their armies, when joined, will be able to employ great part of the Turkish forces which were intended for other purposes. Notwithstanding which, it is certain the preparations for the campaign in Europe go on with the utmost expedition.

Complaint having been made by the republic of Poland to the Kan of the Tartars, who ravaged part of the Polish dominions in returning from their unsuccessful expedition in the Ukraine, these chiefs plead in their excuse, that their troops knew not but the villages they pillaged belonged to Russia; but that, in order to rectify to their utmost the bad consequences of their mistake, the subjects of Poland who had been carried into slavery should be sent back, and restitution made for what damages had been done by the Tartars.

The armies of Russia take the field very slowly; and the operations intended for the ensuing campaign are not yet published, nor, probably, resolved upon: and among the various reasons assigned for this seeming delay, there is not one we think worth communicating to the public, chusing rather to wait the discovery which time must make, than offer conjectures which the next post may probably contradict. A marriage is concluded at Peterburg between the Princess Anne of Mecklenburg, presumptuous heiress of the throne of Russia, and Prince Anthony Ulrich of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel; which has given great joy to their Imperial Majesties of Germany, the Emperor having very much interested himself in the match; which cannot but be perfectly agreeable to his Imperial Majesty's desires, whatever prospects it may afford to some other crowns.

Velt Marshal Count Wallis is sent out from Vienna to take upon him the command of the Imperial forces intended to act against the Turks in the neighbourhood of Belgrade, where the Ottoman troops are said to be strong in number and ammunition, 

etc.
F O R E I G N

letters from Choczem say, that 25,000 men are expected under the cannon of that place, 25,000 under Sorokka, and 40,000 under Bender.

Letters from Rome mention frequent conferences between his Holiness and the Chevalier de St. George, at which the Chevalier’s eldest son is sometimes present; from whence his friends conjecture that something of importance relating to his interests is certainly upon the anvil.

Accounts from Corsica grow more and more uncertain every day, which is by many attributed to the skill the French have in concealing their own successes, and the influence they have over the publick intelligence of Europe. However, spite of all the arts of French and Genoese, it is certain, that the Marquis de Mallebois is arrived at Calvi in Corsica with some troops, to take upon him the command of the French forces in that island; to no other purpose than pronouncing the natives rebels, and threatening them with rigorous punishment if they do not instantly strike to the French flag. — But, when the unpardonable perfidy of the Genoese under the mediation of his Imperial Majesty is considered, who can wonder to see them refuse the last drop of their generous blood, sooner than ever stoop to a yoke so often experienced to be insupportable? — By all advice it appears that the native Corsicans are in a tolerable posture of defence; and not a free bract can think of their long suffering, their conduct, and their often-tried courage, without sharing in their misfortunes, and wishing their success: for such has now for many years been the valour of these people, that their struggles for liberty must be allowed to equal, if not to exceed, the most shining instances in ancient history; when the smallness of their number, their confinement to so small an island, and the prodigious aids lent their enemies, are considered! All which render that brave, though much injured people, an example to all modern states which are so unhappy as to fall under oppression; since from them it is evi-

H I S T O R Y.

dent how formidable a few united by the sacred ties of virtue, and a love of liberty and of their country, are to a large number of men joined only by the sand-ropes of the pay they receive; especially where they are foreigners to the interests they are hired to defend.

Berlin, April 10. The Privy Counsellor Wilkers, who was detained in prison near twelve months, having been convicted of mal-practices in the management of the finances of the new marquise, the King has condemned him to be whipped, and then sent to Spandau, to work at the wheel-barrow for his life.

Though the above sentence may be some be thought a very severe one, yet it must by all be owned a very just one; since by it his Prussian Majesty has shown it is his judgment that only a counsellor can betray his trust; and that a Privy Counsellor, when treacherous, loses every proper mark of Nobility, and is fitter for a wheel-barrow than a cabinet.

The dispute between Denmark and Hanover, relating to Steinhorst, is brought to an amicable conclusion, by means of a convention said to be concluded between the courts of London and Copenhagen; whereby Steinhorst is to be evacuated by the Germans, till the possession of that place be settled by umpires, or course of law.

Spain, France and Holland, afford nothing material this month; the courts of Madrid and Paris being employed so much on the intended marriages between them, that scarce any thing else is mentioned from either.

By the Paris A-la-main we are told that they write from Mooten, near Nogent, upon the Seine in France, that as a couple of men were digging a grave in the church-yard there, they turned up the head of a dead person, which they threw upon the grass; but it had not lain there long ere it was perceived to move. The fellows went in a very great hurry to acquaint the parson of the parish, that a small had been interred in the very place where they were
FOREIGN HISTORY, &c. 191

were at work: whereupon the parson went immediately to the spot, and was so surprised at the prodigy when he saw it, that he cried out, A Miracle! a Miracle! as did also the rest of the spectators; and not being willing to stir from so precious a reliquy, he lent for his crucifix, his holy-water bottle, his surplice, his stole, and his square cap, and caused all the bells to be rung, to give notice of it to the parisioners; who assembling together in great numbers, he ordered a dish to be brought, wherein he put the head, covered it with a napkin, and carried it in procession to the church. The people had great disputes by the way upon account of the several claims of affinity to the sacred skull: but they were soon pacified: for when the head was arrived at the church, and placed upon the high altar, while To Deum was singing upon the occasion, just as they came to that verse, The whole church throughout the world doth acknowledge thee, &c. a mole leaped out of the head; upon which discovery of the cause of its motion, the parson put a stop to To Deum, and the inhabitants went quietly home.

Hague, April 24. O. S. The two colleges who have the inspection of the dikes of this province, met last week, to concert how to drain that prodigious quantity of water with which all the meadows are still covered, and, if possible, to make a channel for it to run into the sea. The oldest man living does not remember the waters ever so high in this country as they have been this year, the canals not being able to discharge themselves into the rivers, which have been prodigiously swelled for three months past. The wind has been continually at W. and N. W. So general is the inundation, that the whole province of Holland looks like a sea, to the vast prejudice of the people of the country, who begin to want hay for their cattle, and cannot hope to put them to grazing before the 4th of May, which will be as soon as the meadows can be clear of the waters; a thing that never happened before.

This general flood makes all the necessaries of life dear. We had an account about a week ago, that nine ships, supposed to be Dutch, have been cast away near the Cape of Goodhope. The Prince and Princess of Orange design to go to Breda for the summer season.

Warlaw, April 25. The letters from M. Komarowski, the Polish Resident at Bender, not only confirm the orders given by the Kan of the Tartars, to send home the Polish prisoners; but add, that though the Grand Vizier seemed to be secured of the favour of the Grand Seignior, yet the great number of his enemies at the Porte had taken the advantage of his absence to get him deposed; and that the Grand Seignior had given his post to Ali Pasha, the Seraskier Bafhaw of Widdin. This news is confirmed by letters from Kaminiec. The Grand Seignior having, out of pure friendship to the late Grand Vizier, given him one of his fitters in marriage, the latter thought himself cock-lure that this match would protect him against any disgrace: but his harsh, haughty and inflexible temper, and the death of several Bafhaws, whose behaviour he had rendered suspicious, raised such powerful enemies against him, that they at last work'd his overthrow. This Vizier was the most enterprising man that has been in his post for many years.

REGISTER OF BOOKS.

Philosophical amusement upon the language of beasts. Translated from the French of Father Bougeant, a Jesuit, expels the order for currying it. Price 1s.

- The tragedy of King Saul. pr. 6d.
- Taste, an essay; by J. S. D. S. P.

By which letters we must not always understand, Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, great names being too frequently used on very little occasions.

Mr. Oldmixon's history of England during the reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI. Q. Mary and Q. Elizabeth. Which will render that Gentleman's history
A Register of BOOKS for APRIL 1739.

Lyse orationes & fragmenta Gr. Lat. Lithiasis anglicana, or nature of the stone and gravel in human bodies; by H. Bracken, M. D. pr. 1 s.

Short critical review of the political life of Oliver Cromwell. In which particular notice is taken of his method of making treaties. pr. 4 s.

The country correspondent. pr. 6 d.

In answer to Common Sense's account of a dispute between Lord Strutt and Squair Bull.

Political reflections upon the finances of France. pr. 6 s. 6 d.

Remarks on Mr. Chubb's vindication of his true gospel; by C. Fleming. pr. 1 s. 6 d.

The inspiration of the New Testament asserted. pr. 6 d.

Remarks on the review of the Demonic controversy; by T. Hutchinson, D. D. pr. 6 d.

Clarenden and Whitlock further compared. pr. 2 s.

Impartial examination of the 4th volume of Mr. Neale's history of the Puritans; by Z. Gray, LL. D. pr. 6 s.

Philosophical experiments; by Stephen Hales, D. D. F. R. S. pr. 2 s. 6 d.

Essay towards laying open the decay of the fine woollen trade.

Observations on the present state of poetry. pr. 1 s.

Grobianus; or the complete booby. pr. 4 s. 6 d.

Christianity the sole, true, and infallible way of life.

Letter to Mr. Thomas Chubb; by R. P. pr. 1 s.

Xenophonis defenso & memorabilia Socratis, Gr. Lat. pr. 3 s. 6 d. Edinb.

The life of God in the soul of man; by H. Scougall, A. M. sometime Professor of Divinity in Aberdeen. With a recommendatory preface by W. Wijbant, D. D. Principal of the college of Edinburgh. pr. bd. 6 d. or 5 s. the dozen.

An appeal to the unprejudiced, concerning the present discontent occasioned by the late convention. pr. 6 d.

Malfonry, a poem. pr. 6 d.
To be continued every Month. Price Sixpence each.

CONTAINING:

WEEKLY ESSAYS. Importance of Parliaments, and the advantage of having them often chosen; Danger attending tumultuous Preaching; Queries to Mr. Whitefield; Fatal consequences of Licentiousness in a Government; Observations on the conduct of Mr. Whitefield; A private conversation of Mr. Whitefield; A method of confession for the use of the Women Methodists; The Pinchbeck Age; The subject of Parliaments continued; Defence of the city of London; A letter to N—s P——n Esq; Muster-master General of the ministerial forces.

A letter from an English Gentleman, relating to Trade in Scotland.

POETICAL ESSAYS. To Mr. Brooke, on his tragedy of Gustavus Vasa; On seeing M——m V——te's picture; The Northern Star; A fit Companion; Songs, &c.

DOMESTIC HISTORY. Proceedings of the General Assembly; The King's letter and the Assembly's answer; Debates relating to the Seceeding Brethren; Substance of their Declinature, and of the Act of Assembly thereupon; Maritime Affairs; Preferments, Deaths, &c.

FOREIGN HISTORY. Register of Books.

EDINBURGH: Printed by W. Sands, A. Brymer, A. Murray and J. Cochran. Sold by the Booksellers in Town and Country, and at the Printing-house in Burnet's Cloze. MDCCXXXIX.

Of whom may be had the Magazines for the four preceding months.
CONTENTS

WEEKLY ESSAYS.

Authority formerly allowed to parliament-men... 195
Money, exchange, and monet interests... 195
Seats in parliament, now profitable... 195
K. Charles' ministers introduced corruption... 195
Honeys of Clarendon and Southampton... 196
The parliament's grant to K. Charles' excomitant... 196
Laid a foundation for standing armies... 196
And arbitrary power... 196
Yet not corrupted till 1672... 197
Views then held without a parliament... 197
Their difference from ours in corruption... 197
A bill brought unto the hands of Lords... 197
Occasion'd a tax for purging them... 197
Absurdity of rejecting it... 197
Arguments for frequent new parliaments... 198
Danger of peace-men in them... 198
Religion necessary in life... 198
Mr. Whitefield's conduct absurd... 200
Queries proposed to Mr. Whitefield... 201
Subjects falsely charged with a dislike of their governors... 202
Remains jealous of their liberties... 203
Licentiousness in time of monarchy... 203
The effect of a bad administration... 203
Wage the cause of resilience... 204
Sanguinary laws cannot remedy the causes of the late riots... 205
Mr. Whitefield worse than quacks... 205
Inspirations can only justify his conduct... 206
His practices exposed... 206
Entitled to the benefit of Toleration... 207
Fatal effects of Enthusiasm... 208
Justly to be dreaded... 208
A conversative with Mr. Whitefield... 209
A confession for the Women Methodists... 210
Ovid mistaken in the four ages... 211
The age of Flint... 211
The age of Lead... 211
Of Pinchbeck... 212
Courtiers, patriots, &c. only Pinchbeck... 212
Gotrick the best form of government... 212
Revolution did not cause all abuses... 213
Excluded members from collecting taxes... 213
Bp. Burnet's opinion of the bill for frequent parliaments... 213

Several other Poems, &c. are come to hand, which could not be inserted this Month. We hope our Correspondents will continue their favours.
The Scots Magazine.

MAY, 1739.

CRAFTSMAN, May 5.

Importance of Parliaments, and the advantage of having those often chosen.

The author of the Fittness tells us, that the statute 6. Henry VIII. cap. 16. well deserves the attention of every member of the legislature; in which we are entirely agreed. He quotes the first part of the law for attendance; but leaves out the latter part, which contains the penalty, and shews the difference between our ancient constitution and the present; for it is, "upon pain to every of them so departing, or absenting themselves, in any other manner, to lose all those sums of money, which he or they should or ought to have had, for his or their wages." It will not be disputed that those, who are paid for their attendance, have no injustice done them, if their pay-masters stop their wages, for not doing what they are hired to do. But this shews the essential difference between ancient and modern parliaments, in which such vast numbers of the representatives now receive wages from the crown. In former times, there were frequent new parliaments, and always but short sessions. Wages were then paid, and the poorer boroughs were excused, on account of their incapacity to pay. Laws were likewise made in favour of the Gentry, that corporations should compel none but their own freemen to serve for them; which not only shews that it was esteemed a burthen, but what a considerable number of members were sent by the Trading part of the nation, to take case of their interest; whilst the Landed Gentlemen had only the Knights of the shire to represent them. In those times, they were all united in one and the same interest: The separation of them into the Landed interest, the Trading interest, and the Municipal interest, is a modern invention of divining and governing; for parliaments have been since altered so much, in this respect, by their long continuance, that a seat is looked upon as a profitable place, and every art is used to influence elections. Nothing shews this difference of things, in a stronger light, than the hearing of learned counsel at the bar, in cases of controverted elections, setting forth the great injury that is done to their clients, and the great advantage of being a member of parliament. Nay, the very laws themselves, now allow great penalties to be paid to the candidate, for the injuries done him, in disturbing him from what was formerly thought a burthen. The vast sums, that are now spent to obtain a seat; the varying of the market-prices of boroughs, according to triennial and septennial parliaments, and most places being now given to members, too plainly shews the cause of this alteration, and points out the only remedy.

The ministers of K. Charles II. were very sensible of the use and abuse of parliaments. They were the first, who introduced the art of governing by corruption. The extasy at the restoration intoxicated the nation to such a degree, that they could hardly think themselves safe, whilst they had any liberty left, or refused any thing that was offered. We are

F 5 2
are certainly much obliged to those great and honest ministers, Clarendon and Southampton, for stopping the first fury of those times; by which they gave the nation an opportunity of cooling, and coming to a better understanding of their own interest. The first of those noble Lords was afterwards supposed to have suffered, upon that account; for the court thought that he did not ask enough, when 1,200,000 l. a-year was granted for defraying all the expenses of the government; (for so much being granted, they thought whatever had been asked would be too;) a sum, though nothing in comparison with the present times, for those uses, yet it was thought vast and dangerous, in proportion to what any King in England ever enjoyed before, and was justifiable only by the transport of those times. It enabled the King to keep up a standing army, though a very small one in comparison with what the nation hath been since loaded with; a power unknown in the hands of any of his predecessors; and such a one as laid the foundation of all the subsequent progress of arbitrary power. All the absurd notions and doctrines, upon which his two predecessors had built, and by which they vainly flattered themselves with hopes of enslaving the people with words, were enforced by law, as much as possible. The contrary notions, and real good acts for preserving the liberties of the people, were exploded and repealed; particularly, the act for triennial parliaments, because it had given a set of wicked men an opportunity of destroying the constitution, which the original opposers pretended to preserve. The guilt of those men was made the pretence for eradicating all principles of liberty, as a thing dangerous in itself; nor were they deficient in enacting laws of this sort too.

If we view K. Charles II. in this situation, with respect to former reigns, he seems to have been in full enjoyment of arbitrary power, abounding in wealth, armies, and the power of making laws, for his support alone. This success was certainly beyond his expec-

ation; and therefore he could not foresee any end of it. His love of pleasure and profusion made him necessitous. The just apprehensions of France and Popery, and the many vacancies that happened in the house of Commons, created an opposition, which enabled the friends of liberty to make a stand again. The views of the court were better known. The length of the parliament had given time for a thorough acquaintance with every member; and yet this parliament was not corrupted with pensions, till its twelfth year, 1672, which was first began by Lord Clifford. This was so contrary to the very essence of a parliament, that they have ever since been branded for it. But it is surprising to find so much noise made about, present, about eighteen pensioners in parliament, who received amongst them 7800 pounds a-year; though, if it is considered as the introduction of what hath since followed, the amazement of the thing at that time, together with opening a new scene of government by it; we cannot help applauding those, who expressed so much jealousy upon it, and do them honour by shewing the difference between those times, and the present.

Nothing confounds the true state of things so much, as applying our present ideas of them to the same names, in former times. Some people are apt to imagine, that all the place-men and pensioners constantly voted according to the court’s direction, in those times, without considering the difference of the infancy of what they have at last feen, with so much labour, brought to maturity. The very notion of always governing by a corrupt majority, was too great an absurdity to be swallowed, in those times. Arbitrary power and Popery were then too closely connected together for any schemes of that kind. The notion of the people’s making their own fetters, and the name of the people’s consent, by their representatives, for the service of the crown, and the minister only, could not enter into the imagination of any pers-
...in those times. All the views of arbitrary power were then, to rule all alone, without the name of a parlia-
ment. The private interests of those, who were corrupted, were diametri-
cally opposite. Their fundamental max-
imum was: Not to starve the crown, for
fear of a dissolution; and not to give
too much as a standing revenue, for fear
of being no longer necessary. Upon
his principle, their whole conduct turned;
and all their extraordinary grants
were determinable at short periods.
The danger of religion was the strong-
est bias upon the minds of many per-
sons; and upon all, in a great degree.
They justly apprehended, that if reli-
gious liberty was once lost, their civil
liberties would soon follow. Parlia-
ments, indeed, had formerly changed
the religion of their country, according
to the views of the crown; in which
they gave new instances of their power.
But they never gave up the liberties of
their country, or made themselves the
flavours and tools of power. The interest
of the whole nation, as well as of in-
dividuals, hath always preferred us
from absolute slavery, though often at-
tempted. No temptation to numbers
could ever be equal to it. The very
defense destroyed the nature of the thing,
and their future utility.

These principles carried safety to us,
and great odium to those, who set the
first precedents of corruption in that
assembly; though they received the
money of the crown, and often voted
against what their hearts was most bent
upon. How different are the times
since, even in that point of corruption?
Yet the clamour of the whole nation
ran very high against them, and intro-
duced attempts to put an end to it, for
the future. The first instance was in a
bill, brought into the house of Lords,
in the year 1675, to prevent the dan-
gers, which may arise from persons disaf-
ced to the government. The wise re-
medy for this was, to make the nation
favor, that they would not endeavour to
alter the Protestant Religion, now esta-
blished by law in the Church of Eng-
land, nor the government of this king-
dom, in church or state, as it is now by
law established. This occasioned the
proposal of another oath, to be taken
by the members of parliament, for pre-
serving the independency of parliament,
from the influence of the crown.

This, with reports spread abroad of
their corruption, were the occasion of a
lift, for purging the members, and in-
dicating the honour of the house of Com-
mons, by favoring, as they did, That
they had not, directly or indirectly, re-
cieved any sums of money, &c. since the
1st day of January 1672. This points
out the time, when it was supposed
that corruption was first introduced;
and likewise shews how few were in-
fluenced by such motives; as well as how
necessary the rest thought it to preserve
their own reputations. How different
hath been the conduct since; when en-
deavours have been made to obtain
bills, upon the same plan; and surely
for more visible reasons? Is it not
urged against them, as well as place;
bills, that they are designed as re-
fections upon the members of that very
assembly? But do not they themselves
convince mankind of the necessity of
such bills, from the very motives of not
passing them? That a set of men should
thus acknowledge themselves to be ac-
cused; take the charge upon them; and
for that very reason, will not shew
their own innocence, is somewhat sur-
prizing. The evil influence exists, or
it does not: If it does not exist, every
body would agree to take away all fi-
spicion of the abuse of a power, which
gives such uneasiness to the whole na-
tion: If it does exist, the more unjust-
ly is the remedy, in any degree, refus-
ted, since it the more convinces the na-
tion of the necessity of it; and how
vain are the hopes of any opposition to
a minister, whilst it is impossible, let the
opposers be never so much in the right,
in a cause of the greatest importance to
the people, to have so much as a chance
of carrying any point against him, by
majority of votes?

Soon after this, an address was mo-
ved for, in the house of Lords, for dif-
fering
solving that parliament, and for calling frequent new parliaments. The arguments for it were, That long parliaments had produced an alteration in our constitution; which, joined with this corruption, they could not be considered as the representatives of the people. I shall mention some of the arguments then urged for it, from the State Tracts of K. Charles II. vol. 1. p. 66.

"Parliaments began in the time of Henry VIII. to be longer than they ought; that Prince knowing that long parliaments were fitter to make great changes. They have been too frequent since; but never of that length as this. Besides, the long continuance of representatives renders them liable to be corrupted, and won off from the publick interest. It gives them time to settle their cabals and interest at court, and takes away the great security the nation hath: that if it be possible to happen, that the Spiritual Lords, on account of their great dependence on the crown, together with the Court Lords and great officers, should, in any future age, make up a greater number of the house of Lords, and should pass things very prejudicial to the publick; yet all should prove ineffectual, and the nation remain safe in an house of Commons lately chosen, that have not time to learn new sentiments, or put off their old principles at a good market, &c." The nation was very sensible of this kind of reasoning, (for it is plain that mere pensioners, in the house of Lords, were not so much as dream'd of, in those times) and their apprehensions of such an influence have been ascribed as the reason why the next parliament was chosen so generally against the court. They too were so well convinced of the dangerous consequence of such an influence, that upon being informed of eighteen members having received pensions, in the last parliament, they ordered a bill to be brought in, That no member should receive any pension, or place of profit, &c. The small number of pensioners, as it may be thought at present, upon which this outcry was raised, is very evident. What was the number of place-men, who sat in that parliament, does not appear; but they seem only to be hook'd in afterwards. We may however negatively conclude that they were not many, from the very state of things at that time; for the admiral was in one person, and the Treasurer in one person. The Commission of Trade was composed chiefly, if not entirely, of a committee of the Privy Council, appointed for that use. The inferior officers of them all three were really and so then esteemed, only necessary drudges of the office. The great number of places in the Exchequer were low things, in those days. The officers of the Army were very few too; and probably few or none of the first was in parliament, considering in what low state it then was. To this may be added the number of new places that have been created since; many of the politicians of which have had seats in parliament. This will be farther proved hereafter, when we come to show the vast number of place-men, &c. who have sat in parliament, and that they is not the least employment, which a member is capable of holding with his seat, but what he is thought most capable of executing.

In the times, now under consideration, the collection of the revenue afforded but little corrupt influence. The Caufes were formed, for part of the time, as well as the Exchequer, and House of Commons. To modern inventions we owe the improvements, on that head, of influencing relations, and quartering. Having thus enquired into the state of a corrupt influence in parliament, and the opposition to it; I shall continue the progress of both in future papers; and will conclude my present letter with observing, that if to small a number of place-men and pensioners filled the nation with such dreadful apprehensions at that time, what ought they not to fear from what they have seen since? The more necessary a regulation of this kind hath been, the less success hath always met. The several Laws, which have been already made, for prevent-
Weekly ESSAYS in MAY 1739.

Is it, are sufficient to show how careful we ought to be to preserve the representation of the people untainted: but if at least double the number of places should be in any parliament, besides peers and barons, than ever were when those former laws past'd, for limiting and restraining them; is it not a proof how essentially they are eluded? Will it not demonstrate the certain success of every debate, when all the places are constantly on one side of the question? Debating would then be at an end. What other struggle therefore can be made, in such a cafe, than to bring it to that point, which will make absolutely necessary to regulate such grievance; or that it shall be the allowed principle of our future government, to which all must be obliged to submit, if ever they should be reduced to it. That parliament, themselves would be the greatest burden and grievance of the nation?

Weekly Miscellany, May 5.

An answer attending tumultuous Preaching; with some Queries offered to Mr. Whitefield.

Mr. Hooker,

Nothing can be more entertaining to the mind of the curious, or more improving to the heart of the honest, than reflections on human nature, and human life. What can be more rationally amusing to a reasonable being, than to look inward, and examine its own structure and composition? What more useful, towards the improvement of our nature and the direction of our conduct, than the knowledge arising from such an enquiry? Unless we know what sort of beings we are, how formed, how disposed, how influenced and actuated, we shall make wrong judgments of ourselves; be conceited and fond of our own perfections, (if any thing that such imperfect creatures enjoy may deserve the name of perfection) self-sufficient and presumptuous. Unless we make observations upon mankind, by the assistance of such previous knowledge of human nature, we shall often be imposed upon by fair appearances, by plausible pretences, by bold undertakers; and sometimes led into quite contrary mistakes, as injurious to others, as the former impositions are prejudicial to ourselves; be too narrow, rigid, and uncharitable in our censures; lose the generous pleasure of judging candidly, and deprive the innocent of their just share of esteem and affection. There cannot be a more flagrant instance of a distorted mind and deprav'd affections, than a willingness to detect latent blemishes, and view things in the worst light. What should we think of a man's taste for music, architecture or painting, whose ear is more pleased with discord than with harmony, whose eye is better entertained with disproportion, than with regularity and symmetry? Should we allow any one's palate to be in a natural state, that could relish nothing so well as things four, bitter, musty, or putrid? Not less unnatural is it to take a pleasure in painting our species in the most odious and disagreeable colours, or to resolve their actions into the worst principles. To a virtuous mind vice is the proper object of indignation, folly appears as contemptible to the eye of the understanding; but benevolence inclines, Christian charity commands, the example of our Master invites us strongly to compassion and condour: our own offences and failings give our offending and weak brethren a right, in strict justice, to that merciful allowance and compassionate regard of which we ourselves stand so much in need; and the great mixture of good and evil qualities in mankind leave room for a rational exercise of our charity. There are few men so wholly debased and disfigur'd by their own corruption, but that they retain some faint lineaments of the divine image originally stamp'd upon them, few actions that leave us without some reasonable hope that an honest intention might have its share in the production and direction of them. This good...
in MAY 1759.

Upon cooler thoughts, I soon turned my contempt of the multitude into compassion for their ignorance and simplicity. An instance of the greatest weakness, no doubt, it is, so implicitly to take a man's own testimony for his abilities and integrity. But as no one would despise a child for not having the understanding of a man, so the ignorance of the unlettered vulgar being invincible, their blind credulity is not only pardonable, but in one respect reputable. It is not a reproach to their natural understanding so much as it is an argument of their having wanted the means of information and improvement; and their readiness to credit the professions of others, while it shews their unacquaintedness with the world, it manifests the sincerity of their own hearts. If they were designing and deceitful, they would be distrustful; but, conscious of an honest intention in themselves, they take it for granted, the Doctor would not have the assurance and the roguery to pretend to knowledge which he does not possess, to cures which he never performed, to honours which he never received, as a zeal for the good of others while he means nothing but his own interest. These immoderate frauds upon the innocence, and insults upon the common sense of the well-meaning mob, are a disgrace to our constitution which tolerates them, but a standing proof of the natural honesty of mankind.

We have had reports (the notice which he gave of his intended appearance here, rais'd too great an abhorrence of his conduct to admit of any inclination to see so monstrous a curiosity) of a much more extraordinary itinerant, who lately made a progress into the Western parts of England and some parts of Wales; where, from tambourettes, and march-crofts, on monuments and mountains, he preach'd to vast numbers of ignorant people; and, since his return, in a wide place, near a building which would suit him much better. This is a method quite as new with us, as it is irregular and illegal.
Weekly ESSAYS

A is impossible, indeed, that this Gentleman should ever have had a produce for in such proceedings; because, while there was any serious regard to religion, to order, and the laws of the land, in the mayhacry, they would soon have obliged him, if he needs must preach, to preach only to some fellow-prisoners: and yesterday I heard, with great pleasure, that the Grand Jury design to present these scandalous, disorderly meetings. The Gentleman that on Sunday morning succeeded the Maccabebank in Morefield, pretty near the place where the white bear exhibits himself to publick view every day, (but Sundays) from the wall, instead of a stage, harangued his congregation, and by the choice of his text most blasphemously compared himself, after his usual custom, to our Blessed Saviour. I wonder, for the convenience of being better heard, he did not take the advantage of his neighbour's booth, and preach from the top of that, as being the greater eminence. By a proper understanding between them, they might be of service to one another, since they shew themselves at different times. There is something so extravagantly ridiculous in the behaviour of this young man, that it is very difficult for a person of any humour to keep his countenance: but the dishonour done to God and Religion, by making such a farce of it, the great offence given to all sober Christians, the occasion of impious merriment to the scornful infidels, and its tendency to unsettle and pervert weak minds; these considerations are matter of the most serious concern, and ought to affect those who are intrusted with the execution of the laws most tenderly, (more than they hitherto have done) from a sense of piety, decency, and compassion to thousands of innocent persons, who are daily misled, and greatly injure in many respects. I must postpone any further remarks upon the behaviour of this publick preacher and his brethren, for the sake of complying with a request that I would send you the following queries, which were sent to Mr.

Whitefield at Bristol, but not answered by him.

April 30.

Tours, &c.

QUERIES to Mr. WHITEFIELD.

SIR,

There is no need of any other preface or apology for my desiring a solution of the following Queries, than that the principle, on which they depend, is by you maintained to be of the utmost importance, such as no Christian should be ignorant of, especially a professed teacher and instructor of others. This therefore being a sufficient reason to apply for information from a person so readily disposed to bring mankind out of darkness and error, I proceed to acknowledge,

That I do not perceive in myself those operations of the Spirit, which you discover within, and experimentally feel.

But though I am hitherto unacquainted with this extraordinary and supernatural light, and therefore will not pretend to determine any thing about the reality or evidence of its operation in you; yet I think my natural reason will suggest thus far, that if there is such a light vouchsafed from Heaven, it must certainly tend very much to the benefit and advantage of those happy chosen few, who enjoy this signal characteristic of divine favour; as it will give them the clearest and most perfect knowledge of their duty, and a suitable power of performing it; which seems to me the greatest blessing we can enjoy in our present state of probation, because it would render us easy under all circumstances here, and happy hereafter.

Be pleased therefore to specify,

I. What are those principles, doctrines, articles of faith, motives, &c. which this extraordinary light reveals: after what manner they come into the mind: and by what mark or character you distinguish them from the delusions of fancy, or worst temptation?

II. What
II. What are those particular duties you are enabled to perform, which all others must leave undone, till they obtain the same means of performing them, viz. an extraordinary intercourse with the Deity? Or,

III. If I am mistaken in my conjectures, "That if it doth exist, it must exist for such ends or purposes," be so kind as to mention, in a particular and determinate manner, for what other uses it is given; to what purposes you apply it, or it applies you; and for what special ends desirable, which ends could not be obtained without it?

Here then you have ample room of being serviceable to mankind. For, as you will alledge, that all men might enjoy this signal blessing, were it not for their sins, which either withhold or withdraw it; so you must allow, that if a precise and exact summary were given us of those several doctrines, and duties or advantages, that cannot be known, or performed, or received without this divine assistance, it would greatly alarm, and make us more sensible of our dangerous situation. A good step towards repentance, and amendment of life; or (if you please) toward regeneration and a new birth.

Nor will it take up much of your time in vouchsafing a distinct answer to every particular in this request: for as I do not desire a philosophical account what this spirit is, whether the same with the Quakers, or a different one, or how it actuates, or how consistent with the natural powers of the understanding; and moral agency; but only, of what benefit and advantage it is, and wherefore desirable: I apprehend it can be considered as a matter of fact, and expressed in a few words, with little or no trouble. If I am guilty of any impropriety in my manner of speaking about this mysterious subject, 'tis a mistake unavoidable in my present circumstances; and therefore beg leave to repeat my desire of a clear and explicit answer; an answer not made up of general terms and phrases, of an unsettled meaning; but pointing, and particular, whereby I may perceive the existing of this light within, and the extreme danger of being unconcerned about it: And in the mean time do engage to give to all you advance, a fair and impartial reception, according to the apostolical rule of proving all things in order to hold fast that which is good.

Yours, &c.

COMMON SENSE, May 5.

Fatal Consequences of Licentiousness in a Government.

I T is an imputation most injurious to mankind, (though it has gained too much credit in the world) that their natural disposition is apt to incline them to a druitd and dislike of those who govern them. For my own part, I am satisfied the contrary is so evident, that it has been always easy to discern in people a kind of bigotry (if I may use the expression) in favour of such as have been placed in power over them; which could not, where they have not met with more than ordinary ill usage, be got the better of: nor can I think, it less than great arrogance, and a high insolence offered to mankind, to affirm, that the submission which all the civilized part of the world have thought fit to pay to governments, of one kind or other, when employed in their protection, is wholly owing to fear, or the crafty management of a few individuals.

I know of few histories into which I have ever look'd, that have not furnished me with sufficient grounds to confirm me in my opinion; and when I have read the accounts, which the history of most countries has produced of the barbarities, the enormous luft, the fottish and pusillanimous insolence, or the mistaken and destructive ambition, the wanton cruelties of tyrants; the perfidiousnefs, the rapaciousnefs, the infolence of their creatures and ministers: I have had, as I thought, reason to be astonished at the insensibility of those who suffered them, who seemed to forget they were men, and could so long delay doing that justice, they ow'd them—
themselves, their country, and the whole world.

Were I to look back into our own history, and that, perhaps, not very far, I should not want examples of the partiality people entertain towards those in the highest and most eminent stations, which has inclined them to acquire in the worst treatment, even when they have been most visibly sensible of it: but as instances of this kind may, to some, appear invidious, I will not particularize any here.

I shall therefore beg leave to consider a little the behaviour of the Romans, as they were more at liberty than most modern nations, to discover the propensity of their natural temper and sentiments, by their actions; and as they are look'd upon by many (who undeservedly) as delighting in discord and tumult, and always restlesst and furious against their superiors. But whoever will, with accuracy and judgment, observe their conduct, will find, that though they were stenuous and violent in asserting their liberty, against a most oppressive, insolent, and tyrannical Nobility; yet, as their complaints were for the most part just, and their desires reasonable for a free and defending people, they always shewed the greatest moderation in the use they made of any acquisition they gained from the Nobility in security of their liberty. Which makes Livy (though most evidently a favourer of the Patriots) say, on a very extraordinary example of this nature, Hanc modestiam equitatemque et altitudinem animi, qui nunc in uno inueneris quae tunc populi universi fuit? after he had before confessed, that Consistorum eventus docius, alius animos in contentione, libertatis et honoris alios secundum deposita curtabantur in incorrupto judicio fere.

Nor could those tumults which happened at Rome (as Machiavel well observes) be reasonably called disorderly, and irregular, which produced so many examples of all sorts of virtue; and the success of which, whoever examines, will not find they ocasioned any laws or violence to the prejudice of the common interest, but the contrary. Not could they be said to be bloody or seditions, who, in above three hundred years time, from the expulsion of their Kings, amongst all their heats and animosities, sent not above eight or ten persons into banishment, executed very few, and condemned not many to any pecuniary mulct. See Machiav. lib. 1. cap. 4.

It was under the tyranny of their Kings, and afterwards in the abject state they were reduced to by their Emperor, that riot, licentiousness, and rapine flourished at Rome; and we are told by Livy, that the reason which induced the sons of Brutus, and other young men of quality, to attempt the readmission of the Tarquins, was their reluctance to submit to the wholesome restraint and just severity maintained in a well-regulated commonwealth.

Licentiousness is the constant effect of a corrupt, ill-conducted administration of government, tyrannical and wanton in power, but without authority. For a strict and due observance of laws can be no longer expected, than the reverence for them is retained; but whenever it happens that a people find themselves thoroughly miserable and oppressed, when the dignity of laws is lost and prostituted, when men see those sacred ties multiplied to serve private views and to promote the interest of particular men, this must naturally introduce a contempt of such laws, and a hatred of those that govern: And as the bulk of mankind are not capable of making always the proper distinction, can we suppose otherwise than that hatred towards those in power, and contempt of particular laws, should, of course, introduce a contempt of magnificacy and laws in general?

And what makes this unfortunate situation (whenever any people happen to be in it) the more irretrievable, is, that governors, instead of enquiring into the true, the real source of the evil; instead of extending their care to the redressing, or, at least, alleviating the load of misery which has given the
unfortunatw wretches, affected by it, too great reason for discontent, or, rather, despair: I say, instead of taking such methods of restoring publick satisfaction and ease, the groanings of a miserable people are laid only to be the breathings of rebellious spirits; armies are thought necessary to awe their complaints and increase their poverty; they meet with a treatment from their publick parents (for such all rulers in society are, or ought to be) which the Scripture supposes absurd and impossible for them to receive from their natural ones: when they cry for bread, they are given a stone; when they ask for fish, they are given a serpent.

They are given to understand, as the Israelites were by Rabbem, when they complained of the yoke that was put on them, which, if made lighter, and their oppressions removed, they promised to serve him with fidelity and satisfaction; they are told, I say, as those Israelites were, that their complaints are insolent, and proceed only from the too great ease they lived in, and the idleness and indulgence they had been treated with. My father, says Rabbem, chastised you with straps, but I will chastise you with serpents. And who could wonder the despairing Israelites should say, What portion have we in David? neither have we inheritance in the Son of Jeph.

But though I will venture to affirm, that licentiousness in a state, whether proceeding from a corruption of morals, a contempt of laws, or general discontent, has always had its foundation from the faults of those that govern; yet I am, at the same time, sensible, that when the minds of a people are thoroughly envenomed, their resentment will often exert itself indiscriminately in the most unjustifiable and unreasonable manner, even to a breach, or opposition of laws, perhaps, the most salutary to the commonwealth.

There is one thing will always make people pay a proper regard to obedience to laws and government; that is, if they see, them not made use of to their disadvantage, and find themselves only and thriving under the influence of them. The lower rank of men, who form the bulk of a nation, are always directed in their opinions and sentiments of things from what they themselves feel; and that not absurdly. But if in this general way of judging they mistake in particulars, and are led into unwarrantable actions; yet every lover of mankind and his country must be touch'd with pity and consideration, at the same time that he thinks their punishment necessary.

And here I cannot conclude, without touching first, which I do with sincere concern, on those unfortunate tumults and riots which have of late happen'd in several parts of this kingdom; which should awaken the attention of every lover of his country, and demands the most serious, and highest regard of the legislature: and though every wise and good man must have the greatest detestation of these proceedings, yet it is a most melancholy reflection, to consider the innumerable train of publick calamities that, I fear, have been too evidently the sources of them. It would require more time than is here allow'd me, and, perhaps, a greater insight into those things than falls to my share, to point out the various, though all-concurring causes of these misfortunes: Decay of trade and industry, the certain consequences of high taxes; universal corruption and profaneness in morals, too much encouraged and too much countenanced by higher examples, has brought that general poverty and discontents into those parts of the kingdom, as has reduced numbers of the manufacturers to the state of desperate ruffians, and declared violaters of the laws and peace of that society, of which they might have been the most industrious and useful members, and most flourishing happen.

Therefore, compassion for so many discontent unhappy wretches, the Society of the publick tranquility, the safety of every individual, the honour and continuance of the present happy establishment, nay, the very being of

...
liberty itself, all call aloud and demand some remedy; a remedy that will heal the sore from the bottom, by cleansing the foulsness of the ulcer, and removing the causes of it.

This is not to be brought about by adding sanguinary and penal laws, and by the burdensome and ever destructive expedients of keeping up standing armies; but by eating the people of the load they groan under, disencumbering trade and industry, and healing their discontent; by discouraging idleness and licentiousness, by properly lessening their many incentives and harbours, though it should be attended with the diminution of a small annual income in an over-grown revenue.

Laws and penalties that will bind in chains liberty as well as licentiousness, will always be desired by designing ministers, who often make those very calamities in which their ill-conduct has involved a nation, and which ought to turn to their own confusion, serve as a pretext to increase their power of oppressing, and of adding impurity to their worst desigins. And this artifice ought therefore to be the more guarded against, because weak, though well-meaning men, are often drawn in by the dread of these popular disorders, to contribute to the establishment of the most mischiefous powers. But as even a confus'd state is better than a servile one, so national peace and tranquillity, founded only on the ruins of liberty, is no better than the peace the devil allowed the child in the gospel, it rent him sore and left him for dead.

**Weekly Miscellany, May 12.**

Some Observations upon the Conduct of Mr. Whitefield, &c.

Mr. Hether,

In my last I just mentioned this extraordinary itinerant preacher’s method of procedure, and the success of it with the illiterate vulgar. With your leave I purpose to give you my thoughts, more at large, upon him and his followers. I am a good deal more as a

loss to excuse this Gentleman than the Misunderstand; and there is also less to be said in favour of those who either out of real admiration, or wanton curiosity, attend his enthusiastic ravings. Those Quacks are usually persons of mean extraction, narrow education, as narrow circumstances, and a low way of thinking, the usual consequence of the other disadvantages. It is less extraordinary and less criminal if such a one should not have the nicest notions of decency and modesty, or should not be very scrupulous as to the regularity of the means of acquiring a subsistence. But this Gentleman has had the advantages of a liberal education, been accustomed to discipline in the university, received a regular ordination in an Episcopal Church, and has declared his approbation of the Church of England, where his ordination supposed him to be going to exercise his function; and yet, immediately after his ordination to the Priesthood, without a licence from any Bishop, contrary to all the rules of the Christian Church, contrary to the canons and constitution of our own Church which so lately gave him his orders, contrary to the laws of the land, he goes strolling about the kingdom, shewing the greatest contempt for our excellent liturgy and all forms of prayer, and using extemporary effusions, preaching doctrines different from those which he subscribed before the Bishop, with an unparalleled degree of vanity and vain-glory extolling himself, with the most indecent freedom undervaluing, with the most unchristian spirit of cenuriousness blaming the established Clergy. I should be pleased if I could be his advocate while I am his accuser, and make some apology for the man, while I condemn his faults. But what can candour suggest, what can charity suppose that will give us a favourable opinion of him? For the sake of giving him the benefit of sincerity, though greatly to the discredit of his understanding, I would willingly suppose that he really thinks himself commissioned in an extraordinary manner.
ary manner from Heaven to preach thus irregularly and illegally, and qualified for this high office by as extraordinary an inspiration and assistence from the Holy Spirit. Nothing short of this divine authority can justify his violation of the established laws of Church and State, and his attempting to invade the property of the established Clergy, to whom the care of their particular flocks is committed by the Bishop, and who have as good a title to their pulpits from the Civil Power as any man has to his estate; and nothing less than a supernatural light can enable this young man, without having used, or having had the opportunity of using, the natural and ordinary means of acquiring such knowledge, to understand the Scriptures, and explain all the doctrines and duties of Christianty, much beyond those who have taken a great deal of pains, and had the necessary assistence of books and the conversation of learned men, for a course of many years. I will imagine him to be as ignorant as I possibly can, that I may acquit him, in some measure, of a much greater crime than that of ignorance. But how is it possible for him to be so ignorant as not to know that an Episcopal Clergyman is ordinarily bound to obey the laws of an Episcopal Church, and that a subject of England ought to submit to the laws of his country? Or, how can he avoid being convinced that no man can acquire any kind of knowledge without using the necessary means of attaining it? In order, therefore, to preserve to his character any sense of duty, any veneration for authority, any notion of sincerity, we must supposse him in good earnest to lay claim to a divine commission, which only can exempt him from the force of human laws, and to a divine inspiration, which only can make human literature and study useless, or make him a more able teacher without them, than the most able of the established Clergy are with the help of them. — But how shall we account for his being able, without any reason to persuade himself of the truth of his divine commission and inspiration? It would be a reflection upon the honour of his college, the university, and the very worthy Prelate who ordained him, to suppose him to utterly unacquainted with the rudiments of those points of learning, as not to know that God never commissioned any persons in an extraordinary manner to reveal, or execute his will, without granting some external evidence of their being divinely appointed, or illuminated; and as this Preacher is daily expounding the Bible, he must have observed, that Moses and the Prophets, Christ and his Apostles, had, all, a power of working miracles, not only to satisfy the world, but themselves, of the divinity of their commission and doctrine. If we were to take every one’s word that pretends to a commission, or a revelation, what delusions and confusion would there not arise? And, though God, no doubt, can so apply himself to our minds as to give us reasonable satisfaction without the external evidence of miracles; yet, if his wisdom had used only such internal means of conviction by the invisible operations of his power, unless he had revealed himself to every one, (and then there would be no need of use of any flaring revelation, or ministr,) conceived and warm men would as often mistake their own fond imaginations, or the suggestions of evil spirits, for divine inspirations and impulses, as designing men would impose on others by lying pretences. Now, I never heard that Mr. Whitefield, the Mr. Wesley, or any other of these gifted Gentlemen, have as yet wrought, or pretended to a power of working miracles; though very likely, they may soon arrive to that perfection of enthusiasm. However, as we can have no reason to believe them to be commissioned and inspired by the extraordinary appointment and illumination of the Holy Spirit; so, unless they be persuaded that they are really authorized by an extraordinary power, as Episcopal Clergymen, they offend against the rules of the Chr.
Weekly ESSAYS in MAY 1739.

Different, and utter their extemporary effusions in a conventicle, but not be suffer'd in our churches hypocritically to use our forms, which they despise. Let them carry their spirit of delusion, from among those who disclaim it, and obey its infrangible and irresistible dictates, among their brethren, the Quakers. Let them preach up their Election and Reprobation doctrines among the Calvinists, who maintain them; their Solifidian tenets, among the Antinomians. Our articles which they must subscribe to, are of different sentiments. Let not such bold movers of sedition and ring-leaders of the rabble, to the disgrace of their order, be authoris'd by that Episcopal power which they have set at naught, or regularly admitted into those pulpits which they have taken with multitude and with tumult, or as ignominiously by stealth. Provided they maintain no doctrines destructive of religion in general, or of civil government; different as their sentiments can possibly be from those of the Church of England, wild and enthusiastic as they are in themselves; yet in the name of God, in the name of justice, as Christians, as Englishmen, as Men, let them enjoy the benefit of the Toleration, but let them intitle themselves to it by a proper licence from the civil power. That they should have the liberty of worshipping God in their own way, (that they have endeavour'd to interrupt as in our worship,) this is the voice of God, of reason, and of our laws: but that every man should be at liberty, when, and where, and how he pleases, without first subscribing to some articles of faith, and without any warrant from publick authority, to preach up whatever doctrines he shall think proper, abusing the Established religion and the Established Clergy, (as these Gentlemen have made it their busines to do in their expounding meetings) this is a procedure destructive of all order and religion, and dangerous to the peace and safety of the state; and much more so in an age so fond of novelty, in times so full of discontent, in a coun-

H a try
try of such licentiousness, corrupted in their principles, and almost without any ties of conscience to restrain them from any wicked designs, or attempts. Those who are acquainted with the history of former times, and of other nations, know what monstrous absurdities in opinion, and what vile practices Enthusiasm will produce; from what small beginnings, and by what inconsiderable persons, as to parts and abilities, the greatest disturbances in Church and State have arisen. The last century furnished us with a melancholy proof in our own country. Whoever will be at the trouble of comparing the first rise of those troubles which at last overturned the constitution, and ruin’d the nation, will see too great a similitude between them and the present risings of enthuasiastic rant, not to apprehend great danger, that, unless proper precautions be taken in time, the remote consequences of them may be as fatal. Nay, I may venture to affirm, that the present Enthusiasm have made a much quicker progress since their first public appearance than their predecessors did in the same compass of time, and that the nation is now more disposed to receive any ill impressions, to be fond of novelties, to despise authority, and to run into disorders of any kind, than it was at the beginning of those times of confusion. The daily papers inform us that a person was in imminent danger of suffering violence, only for expressing a dislike of Mr. Whitefield’s conduct in Moorfields; and I have been credibly informed, that some of his followers have threatened to pull down churches because their master and his brethren were not suffered to preach in them. There is nothing that an Enthusiast cannot bring himself to believe, or undertake. Your modern ones do not come behind any of their predecessors for heat and boldness; and it is justly to be feared, they will not, if suffered to take their course, stop short of their madness and wickedness. The enemies of our religion are not less vigilant, artful, or industrious to mix themselves in such company, and make use of them to serve their purposes, whatever the designs of these leaders may be. The Jesuits in disguise, to serve the cause of Popery, were the contrivers and fomeners of the divisions which ruin’d us before; and as they have now as fair an opportunity, there is no doubt but they will be as ready to improve it, to bring about the same destructive designs. Not to see danger from these growing evils, if the causes be slighted, betrays great weakness, or inattention; to flight them, shews great indolence and want of concern for religion and the publick good. I speak freely because I am sincerely affected. It is a matter of importance that will justify some warmth of expression. I speak it with the utmost deference, because I have the most respectful regard for my superiors; but with great plainness, proceeding from an honest zeal. If these Enthusiasts, when they first shew’d their excess of vanity and self-conceit by soliciting pulpits in so importunate and indecent a manner, had been prohibited preaching in the Church of England till licensed to some particular cure, it is not improbable that such a check in the infancy of their madness and folly might have put a stop to them. If the civil magistrate had interposed upon their first beginning to hold illegal meetings in private houses, I am apt to think, whatever Mr. Whitefield might have done, the rest of them would not at that time have left the Church of England, but would have submitted to her discipline, and have waited for some employment in a regular way. Now there seems to be no more reason to expect so much submission from them, than they have to expect any favour from her, till they have submitted themselves, and given sufficient proof of the sincerity of their repentance, and a change of their sentiments. If our Christian magistrates, as they most certainly may and should do, will oblige them to qualify themselves to preach in some certain licensed place, agree:
A Private Conversation of Mr. Whitefield's. 209

agreeably to the act of Toleration, or silence them if they refuse to comply with the laws, the number of their followers will soon be lessend, and their power of doing mischief greatly weakened. But if they are permitted to hold their conventicles at pleasure, and to ramble up and down, singing psalms, and preaching in the open streets, or in more open fields, wanton curiosity will carry thousands to see and hear such new things, hundreds of the ignorant multitude will innocently be corrupted, and the preacher's vanity and enthusiasm, if possible, will be still more inflamed, by a fond imagination, that that vast concourse of bearers, are all admirers, whereas most of them would as eagerly attend any other monster equally as strange as that of a Clergyman preaching in a gown and cassock on a common. Tours, &c.

N.B. Since I wrote my letter I heard the Lord Mayor has forbid Mr. Whitefield's erecting his stage in London; and the Justices of the Peace will act as the duty of their place requires, if they follow his Lordship's example.

A copy of a private conversation of Mr. Whitefield's, taken down in writing after his leaving the room, and brought to him by the Rev. Mr. T.ck-r, Minister of All Saints in Bristol, author of the Queries. [p. 201. 202.] and at his request, sign'd by Mr. Whitefield himself.

Before I went to the university, I led, as I thought, a very religious life; I constantly attended the publick service of the Church, received the Sacrament, gave Alms, fasted frequently fix and thirty hours, and, in short, practiced every Moral and Christian duty, inasmuch that all that knew me look'd upon me as a faint. I then went to the university, where I began my studies in the usual manner, applying myself to the Mathematicks, and Classical Learning; and as God had given me a natural genius, a ready wit, and great sagacity, the college conceived great hopes of my making a pretty scholar, I also dedicated proper prayers to the reading of the sermons of our best Divines, Sharp, South, Calamy; and some of Tillotson's I have read since; Mr. Wofley has read him more: but his works I now look on only as a system of moral ethics; but think he knew no more of true Christianity than Mahomet. During this time I knew nothing of true Christianity, nor was I informed what it was, till I had read a Book, intitled, The Life of God in the Soul of Man; a book worth its weight in gold. I now began to see the necessity of the new birth, and immediately changed my manner of life; and as I had before made the dry sciences the chief of my study, I now applied myself wholly to the Scriptures, and read other books only by the by. The college seeing my course of life thus changed, began to despair of me, as a person disordered in my senses. For two years I underwent a series of temptations, and continual buffetings of the devil; which have in a high degree qualified me for the Ministerial office, in that I have experimentally tried all things, and having suffered every sort of temptation, can suit my advice to the different states and conditions of other people's souls; not to mention my being better qualified than other people for the composing my sermons; for I never preached any thing but what I have experimentally felt; and whereas other people are forced to plod and rack their brains whole weeks in compiling a discourse, I am enabled to compile as fast as I can write.

Mr. Whitefield farther affirms, that the Holy Ghost first appeals to the understanding, then over-rules the will; that its experiences are not to be described to an unregenerate person, any more than colours to a man born blind.

G. Whitefield.

A method of Confession drawn up for the use of the Women Methodists. Taken from the original.

The design of our meeting together is to obey the command of
of God:—Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for the other, that ye may be healed.—To this end we intend to meet twice a-week.—To some punctually at the hour appointed, without some extraordinary reason.—To begin (those of us who are present) exactly at the hour, with singing and prayer.—To speak each of us in order, plainly and freely, the true state of our hearts, with the faults of thought, word, and deed, and the temptations we have been in since our last meeting.—To end every meeting with singing and prayer, suited to the state of each person present.—To desire some person among us to speak her own state first, and then to ask the next in order, as many as and as searching questions as may be, concerning their state, sins, and temptations.

Some of these questions proposed to every one before she is admitted among us, may be to this effect—Have you the witness of God's Spirit with your spirit, that you are a child of God? Have you joy in the Holy Ghost? Is the love of God shed abroad in your heart? If not, Have you the forgiveness of your sins? Has no sin, inward or outward, dominion over you? Have you peace with God through Jesus Christ? If not, Do you see yourself a lost sinner? Do you know you deserve to be damned? Do you despair of being saved, either by your own works, or by your own righteousness, and hope for forgiveness of sins and justification, only through a living faith in Christ Jesus?

Do you desire to be told of your faults? Do you desire to be told of all your faults, and that plain and home? Do you desire that we should tell you whatever we think, whatever we fear, whatever we hear concerning you? Do you desire that in doing this, we should come as close as possible, that we should cut to the quick, and search your heart to the bottom?

Is it your desire and design to be on this and on all occasions entirely open, so as to speak every thing that is in your heart without exception, without disguise, and without reserve?

Are you in love? Do you take more pleasure in any body than in God? Whom do you love just now, better than any other person in the world? Is not the person an idol? Does he not (especially in publick prayer) steal in between God and your soul? Does any court you? Is there any one whom you suspect to have any such design? Is there any one who shows you more respect than to other women? Are not you pleased with that? How do you like him? How do you feel yourself, when he comes, when he stays, when he goes away?

The last ten questions may be asked as often as occasion offers.

These four following at every meeting. What known sin have you committed since our last meeting? What have you said, thought, or done, of which you doubt whether it may be a sin? What temptations have you felt? how was you delivered from them? What comforts or communications have you had from God, since our last meeting?

Universal Spectator, May 19.

The Pinchbeck Age.

As Ovid, almost two thousand years ago, took it into his head to divide the duration of the world into four successive ages, distinguished by the names of Gold, Silver, Brass and Iron, the learned seem to have taken his poetical flights for gospel, and fondly presume that the age of Iron has lasted ever since. But, were we to leave the fable of school, where we found it, and examine the matter of fact, I fancy we should
and to be eminently stupid was the
least qualification for preferment: the
very name of wit was forgot; and, if
by accident, any little spark gleamed
through the substantial darkness, which
surrounded it, as if by instinc, it was
treated as a common enemy, and extin-
guished without mercy. — In short, du-
dring this whole interval, an univer-
sal numbness and lethargy seemed to
have seized on all mankind; the Prince
slumbered on the throne, his Nobles
shrouded at his feet, the head never once
dream'd of day-light, and the whole
load of ecclesiastic despotism was poured
out upon them to press them down to
the centre.

But at last, Boccace and others in
Italy, and our own Wicliff and Chace-
ar, a little uneasy with their burden, began
to rouge first themselves, and then their
country; to them succeeded John Hey
d and Jeron of Prague, Zofinam, Luther,
Calvin, Father Paul, the great Bacon
and several other brave and true spirits,
who purified the age, they lived in,
and improved them to a nobler temper, se-
parated the dross, and brought every
particle to the test of truth and com-
mon sense.

Should it be asked them, of what
metal or confidence we are at present,
that mankind had less of the
in their composition, during the
reigns of those most sacred and excellent
Princes the successors of Orsinus, down
to Constantine; or that, even then, the
Christian religion had taken away their
hearts of stone; as the Scripture ex-presses
it, and given them a heart of flesh. Wit-
ness the long and bloody wars between
the Orthodox and Arius, and the innu-
merable persecutions and masacres that
attended victory on either side; wit-
ness the expensive and destructive, tho'
ridiculous expeditions to the Holy Land;
and witness the astonishing quarrels be-
tween the Emperors and Popes for the
right of inviolites; in which so man-
y millions perish'd, that the church
might be rich and great.

But, this great point carried, the
dreadful blade of religion, for a while,
was witheld; and, as Monks gave the
law to Princes, 'tis no wonder that the
times wore a new face, and from Ada-
am turned to Leed: weight, of course,
they had, but it was like that of sleep,
which oppresses the whole body, and
renders every faculty useless. — Then
it was that dulness was first defined,
in a thousand can make their pretensions good. — Go to the courtier, he that sollicitis, or he that enjoys preferment, and he'll talk of loyalty, and rail at disaffection from morning to night, protest his whole soul to be devoted to his master's interest, and that he would gladly lay down his life in his defence: But convince him, in the middle of his ardour, that he is just disgraced, that his pension is f ip ot, or that even his enemy has got the start of him in the royal favour, his zeal will drop like a peacock's tail; nay, 'tis well, if he does not instantly turn the tables, complain that merit is slighted, and join with the discontented to rail at the times. — On the other hand, go to the patriot, he that speaks it loudest in defence of publick spirit, in arraignment of corruption, and seems most tenderly concerned for the calamities of his country; tell him he is wanted at court, that a knotty point has puzzled the whole council, and that the Sv——n himself has referred the decision to his sentence without appeal; tell him this, and see if his vanity will not get the better of his virtue, if he does not order his chariot immediately to the door, and drive as fast, as J e b u to a kingdom, to give his opinion; not according to the necessity of the case, but the humour he is already resolv'd to oblige, at the expense of his own honour and the publick good. — Go to the man who professes himself most a friend, or most a lover; try him to the quick; if he is constant in one character, or disinterested in the other; if demands upon his fortune will not weary him, or succeed with his mistress cloy him! — Go to the man of trade, who swears by his credit, and affects to found his honesty on his conscience; go trust him to make his own bargain, and leave your own interest wholly at his mercy; — Go to your attorney, and employ him against a man twice as rich, as litigious, and as over-reaching as yourself; let him into the strength and weaknesses of your cause, and treat him as if knavery was inconsistent with his profession; — Go to the bigot, I should say Methodist, who would have you believe his conversation is in heaven; who hurries from mid change to go to prayers; who leaves his dinner and company, abruptly, to go to prayers; and who even disturbs his wife at midnight — to go to prayers; — Go to the salamander-coquet, who stands all trials to have it understood she is above temptation; — Go to the antiquated prude, who plumes herself on her virginity; the notable wife, who makes her yokel fellow a martyr to her virtue; the disconsolate widow, who furvives her husband only in compassion to her children: — In short, go through the world, city, town, or country, church, coast, bar, and exchange; is not Pinbeck to be found everywhere? — In one word, have not we Pinbeck Players, Pinbeck Orators, Pinbeck Apostles, Pinbeck Physicians, Pinbeck Poets, Pinbeck Politicians, Pinbeck B——, and all but Pinbeck K——? To be quite impartial, I don't know but what I myself am of the same hypocritical mixture, and cast in pretty much the same mould: Sometimes, I perceive, I want colour, sometimes weight, always purity; often afraid of the touchstone, but never of the fire, as hoping by what I lose in quantity, I shall improve in value. And having dealt thus freely with myself, I hope no one will be offended, if, with submission to Ovid, I venture to call this the Pinbeck Age.

Craftsman, May 19.

The subject of Parliaments continued.

S I R,

All men and nations, before they are corrupted and debauch'd, have ever sought after those forms of government which are most likely to preserve their liberty. The Gotbeck seems to be the most excellent plan, as it established so many checks to the hand of the state, and the executive power. — A Prince that could do so wrong; an hereditary State of Nobles, with power sufficient to restrain the enormities of the ministers, and
and wisdom to counsel the Prince; and an assembly of real representations of the People, who could have no separate interest to serve, is not only a point in theory, but what experience hath shown us to be the best form of government that we can wish or desire. — But the nature of all government is founded on necessity and protection; to corrupt, but not to eradicate all those motives of aaction in men, which set the whole world in motion; that the pursuit of private interest shall not be detrimental to the public welfare. — No government therefore can be perfect: It must be liable to what it was formed to correct. — The passions of men are the same. — Each endeavour to improve upon another, and surmount these obstacles, which the good of the whole community had raised for their general preservation: And as the power of protecting, rewarding, and punishing, (which is entirely in the crown,) the growing nature of this power must, by degrees, eat up the other parts of the legislature: nothing can preserve us, next to the divine providence, (which hath so often interposed in our favour,) unless an arm of Commons be really the representatives of the People; unless their interest alone is their guidance; unless the avowed and plain motive of their actions are for the good of their constituents; and unless the crown hath not the power of influencing them to the contrary. — This may preserve a constitution, which time hath almost worn out. The terms and names indeed remain; but were we to examine into the difference, it must be by tracing it backwards. In what a glorious light would our present Nobles and Representatives then appear?

The revolution made annual sessions of parliament necessary; but did not correct those two abuses, which arose from their constantly moving in the reign of Charles II. that is, continuing too long the same parliament, and so much influenced by the court, as not to be esteemed the true representatives of the People.

The nation, and even the parliament, soon became sensible of this error, and the want of due care upon which was an evil that was daily increasing, not only from the nature of the thing itself, but from the very means, that were necessary to support the revolution of a free uninfluenced parliament; which was the avowed cause and foundation of the revolution. This occasioned great and unusual taxes. — The management and collection of them added further power and influence to the crown, diametrically opposite, in some measure, to the very end, for which they were raised. — Self-preservation made it necessary to begin, at last, to correct this growing evil, [See 3. 4. W. and M. cap. 5.] though very gently at first; for they only inflicted penalties on excise officers who meddled in collections. The Commons, next year, attempted a Place-bill; which the Lords refused, but sent them a bill for triennial parliaments; which was agreed to by the Commons, and refused the Royal Assent.

We then got a step farther, towards preferring our constitution; for no members, except the Commissioners of the Treasury, Customs, and Excise, could be concerned in the management and collection of any tax then granted, or any that should be hereafter granted. A small progress was thus made to check this growing evil; but the next year we obtained, upon a valuable consideration, what was then thought would prove a full remedy; for which I shall quote Bishop Burnet's authority, who speaks thus, vol. 2. p. 133.

"With the Supply bills, as the price or bargain for them, the bill for frequent parliaments went on; and to this the Royal Assent was given. It was received with great joy; many fancying that all their other laws and liberties were now the more secure, since this was past'd into a law. — By these means, it was hoped that our constitution, especially that part of it, which related to the house of Commons, would again recover both its strength and reputation, which were now very much sunk; for corruption was so generally spread, that it was believed every thing was carried by that method."
We have therefore, upon this point, the opinion of one, who cannot be thought prejudiced against that reign. From hence we see the state of affairs, and what was the general opinion of those times, with respect to the necessity of a remedy, as well as the means of procuring it; and it is probable that, in some measure, it answered the design, since we know that triennial parliaments were not such certain followers of a minister, in every thing, as they have been since the repeal of that act, which enlightened and enlarged the understanding of a minister, so as never to be in the wrong.

This law was more effectual than is generally imagined, though far from being sufficient to prevent the corrupt influence on the members. — The shortness of time to practice on them, and the quick returns to new elections are obvious. — But the frequent dislocations of them, and their going so often contrary to the views of the court, are proofs of another nature. — It was not then thought, that to whomsoever the power was given, they should so implicitly follow that standard, as they did in all long parliaments, both before and since. — A new parliament was then the certain consequence of a new ministry. — The majority on each side continued steady to those principles, which they thought were for the good of their country; and would serve only upon those views: for though party prejudices sometimes prevailed, to the detriment of the whole; yet the opinion of the People was generally represented by those, who were chosen for that purpose. Neither side durst go any great lengths against liberty; for both sides were sensible how much it would affect their future elections. Corruption was not then the single principle of government. The real, or mistaken means, of preferring the constitution, was the fundamental principle of both parties. — I shall not enter into the particular views of those parties, during the time of triennial parliaments. Both were sometimes in the wrong; but the majority of both were fast to their principle, and united against corruption in the house of Commons. The reason was obvious. It was destruction to both parties, who equally thought that they were purifying the good of their country. It was visible that real party differences would be extinct. The names might remain as court-tools; but the parliament, in effect, would be only the representatives of its pay-masters, and be a ministerial party against the whole nation; for there can be no other, if ministerial influence should ever totally prevail. — The possession of power in the hands of a few, founded on pecuniary methods, and governing against the general opinion and interest of the people, is certainly a faction, in the strongest sense of the word; and such a faction there must be, whenever a corrupt influence prevails over all, under the direction and lust of a single minister, who knows by experience that all his dependents and protectors will forsake him, the moment he can feed them no longer. — But, to return to the design of these papers, which is to show the increase of this evil; the ineffectual methods, which have been hitherto taken to remedy it; and consequently the necessity of an act of parliament for limiting the number of officers who shall sit in the house of Commons:

The act for triennial parliaments had not all the effect that could be wished. The change of a minister changed a parliament, and the corrupt influence of places gave either party the superiority; but their ill conduct, in opposition to the sense of the nation, made changes of both, which still the more evinced the necessity of putting an end to this influence. — The King loved prerogative too well, though he came hither to relieve us from it. What we purchased has been already shewn. He would not part with any influencing power, for his life, or the race of the Stuarts. But the next family was to restore and preserve us in our liberties better than the revolution had done; and the nation entered into a new compact, as the condition of receiving them into the throne. — An act was therefore passed
Weekly ESSAYS in MAY 1739, 215

pall'd [2. 13. W. III. cap. 2.] for the farther limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject. — The preamble says:

"Whereas it is requisite and necess-
ary that some farther provision be made for securing our religion, laws and li-
berties, &c."

The act is chiefly founded upon the want of those securities, in his own reign. But I shall consider them as a removal of our constitution. — It was a confirmation of all our former rights, and of the good of the subjects besides.

1st. That the King shall be of our religion. — The religion of a Sovereign is certainly very material. It gave a bias to the politicians of the two preceding reigns; and we had freed ourselves from it by effusive struggles and laws. But no laws will cure the corruption and immorality of the people, first introduced by Charles II. In short, nothing will do it but the example of a great and virtuous race of Princes.

By the 2d article of this act, the nation was not to be engaged in any war for the defence of dominions, which do not belong to the crown of England, without the consent of parliament. — This was also a wise precaution, to prevent our becoming a money-province to foreign dominions; and every body knows how punctually it hath been observed, for nothing of this kind hath been done without the consent of parliament. — The affairs of Bremen, Verden, and Stein-
brust are beneath our notice.

By the 3d article, the King was not to go out of the dominions of the crown, without consent of parliament; which was repealed in the first year of his late Majesty's reign. — This limitation was founded only upon the notion that our Princes might like their native dominions too well; and endeavour to make them, by new acquisitions, the seat of their future grandeur, as well as the touchstone of their politicks, and drain away the money of this country.

By the 4th article it was ordained, that all things properly cognizable in the privy council, by the laws and customs of this realm, shall be transacted there, and all resolutions taken there shall be signed by those who advised and consented to them. — This article is likewise repealed, and a cabinet council substituted in its stead, upon all great affairs; which is, no doubt, an alteration very much to our advantage, since a cabinet council is ex-
seem'd, in all our neighbouring na-
tions, of much more dignity than a privy council. Bishop Burnet, [vol. 2. p. 434.] indeed, tells us; that it was repealed, because it was impracticable; since it was visible that no man would be a Privy-counsellor, on such terms. — Great advantages would certainly have arisen from such a practice, and we should have known who advised and consented to many of our past measures, especially the late convention, but it would indeed be very inconvenient to a minister, who will take no body's advice but his own. All Privy-coun-
sellors may now say that they did not advise any measure, and even blame it afterwards; but the danger of signing their advice and consent might be sometime impracticable with their tenure of the minister's favour; whilst he had the farce in his own hands.

By the 5th article of the same act it was decreed, that foreigners should have no employments, &c. — This was a very right one too, and therefore justly previy'd; for why should foreigners take the bread out of our mouths?

By the 6th article, no person who hath an office, or place of profit under the King, or receives a pension from the crown, shall be capable of serving, as a member of the house of Commons. — If this had been preferred to us, the other parts, perhaps, had never been repealed. To prevent the corrupt in-
fluence of the crown had long been con-
tended for by the lovers of their country. But here they obtained too much; for they could not expect that the law would be kept, whilst there were even triennial parliaments; since a subsequent parliament full enough of place-men, though probably not half so many as have since had seats there, were to be
incapacitated, when the new Jacobinian took place. Thus all united in the same interest. It was, to be sure, right policy, not to make so many friends of the Jacobinian losers by its taking place. There was not, in any parliament, before, a struggle equal to this; nor where the influence of the crown was more applied. The journals of parliament are some proof of it to this day. I could enter into particulars, but am loth to disturb the ashes of the dead. I shall therefore only observe, that, in order to obtain the repeal of this article, they were forc'd to get an expedient clause, as it was always called, and soon to take effect, that the first of every number, who accepted of a place, should be vacated, but might be capable of being re-elected [4. Ann. c. 8.].—This act enumerated several places, more than were mentioned in the former laws, which a member of parliament was not capable of holding. No office was to have a greater number of Commissioners than before the first day of the meeting of that parliament. The Clerks of office, in those days, were so low as not to be thought of as representative, and therefore no provision was made against them in the act.

The receiving a pension from the crown, during pleasure, and the having any new office, or place of profit, created since the 25th of October 1705, made every man incapable of being a member. Were this to be strictly examined, there might possibly be found some members, who have sat in parliament, and made laws for us, under such incapacity. The spirit and intention of this law was, to reduce the number of place-men even at that time in the house. If Commissioners are not to be added, it is trifling with the nation to supply their number with Clerks. If no new places are intituled to seats there, it is imposing upon the common sense and understanding of mankind to say, that the house ought to be filled with the officers of the army and navy, besides mean, low, and obscure men, because their places happen to be some what elder. At this rate, the band of Pensions and Befalleners are more honourable, and have a better right to sit in parliament.

By the 7th article of this limitation, the commissions of the Judges are made to continue, quoads se bona gesta, and removable only upon the address of parliament. Every body understood that this was intended to make the Judges for life; but upon his present Majesty's accession to the throne, (I know not whether by law or prerogative) one Judge was turn'd out. All were in the same condition; and the other eleven were certainly glad to hold their commissions again.

The 8th article declares, that no pardon under the Great Seal shall be pleadable to an impeachment. But this seems to be growing obsolete, and will probably be of no use; since bills are now so well authorized, and are much finer method of proceeding with success against great offenders.

To conclude, I cannot help observing that the repeal of the articles above mentioned was procured by the Whigs, when they were in power, and that no body can think it was done from the influence of their party-principle. It cannot be denied that some ministers, who have acted under the denomination and sanction of that party, without following the principles of it, have done more real and lasting mischief to their country than the Tories were ever capable of doing, in their fullest plenitude of power. The absurdity of their party-principle, carried to the height, fills their actions with contradictions. The Whig-principle being more for the interest and rights of the people, hath made it much more easy to betray us. This sufficiently shews the errors on both sides, and the necessity of uniting in one national party against any ministerial party, by what name soever called; which, with its places, pensions, army, navy, laws, and the mercenary part of the church, besides all the other means of influencing, thinks itself more than a match for the whole people. I am, &c.
Weekly ESSAYS in MAY 1739.

Common Sense, May 26.

Dissent of the City of London.

I don't know anything that does more honour to the city of London, than the resolution passed in the court of Common Council on April the 17th.

A discovery being made of a combination relating to work to be done for the city, in which there were reasons to suspect that a member of the said Common Council was concerned, after passing some resolutions against those engaged in the combination, a bill was ordered to be brought in, by which that court excludes their own members from doing work for the city.

Such a self-denying bill must give the world a most advantageous idea of the public spirit of the Common Council; and, considering the great trust reposed in them by their fellow-citizens, if they did not establish in the minds of men a confidence of their integrity, the city would be filled with murmurs and discontentments. — They are a little Parliament; they are elected by a great body of people, their equals. Such a body being too numerous to manage their own affairs, they have intrusted and empowered those few to act for the whole.

By this act they have shut their doors against corruption; they have not only forbidden its entrance there, but they have taken care to clear that court from the very suspicion of being corrupt. — Such a reputation, once established, must produce all the effects which naturally flow from good government; and I look upon it to be the same thing as if the house of Commons should pass a law to exclude themselves from holding places of profit.

The reasons for the last are much stronger than for the others; but yet the Common Council have so much in their power, that this resolution cannot fail of giving universal satisfaction. They have the making of by-laws for the government of the city: The application and disposal of the city's money belongs to them; They are to take care that the fund designed for improving their estate, repairing and adorning their publick buildings, should not be embezzeled and sunk into private pockets: In fine, they are to be a check upon all its ministers and servants.

If corruption should once creep in amongst them, the court of Common Council would be like Pandora's box, from whence continual plagues would issue upon the city. You would see nothing but combinations and projects to squander away the publick stock: Expenses would be contriv'd, without the least appearance of publick use, merely for the sake of giving a good job to such and such members; The city would be run in debt: It would be devour'd by procrastination and interest: Its publick stock would be divided by the veriest squablers in the city: All its officers would get estates, and the city itself be reduced to a state of bankruptcy.

If a point of universal concern should be brought before them, the private interest of two or three members of that court would carry it before that of the whole society without doors.

The city Chamberlain, for the great merit of being intrusted with the publick money, or being their Treasurers, might find means of erecting himself into the master, or rather the tyrant, of the city: By venal cabals, and mercenary associations, a faction might be form'd in the Common Council, of which he might easily make himself the head, that might be strong enough to out-vote those who were attached to the true interest of the city: Truth and reason would be borne down, and be obliged to give way to the strength of numbers, and he that kept the money would direct and control the resolutions of that court as absolutely as if they were his hired servants.

If this or that member should be found out in some corrupt practices, and should be accused; would his brethren condemn him, or so much as censure him, when a majority of themselves had been guilty of the like; when some of them, as well as their Treasurers,
furer, had perhaps shared the booty with this very person? — In a neigh-
bouring kingdom, a man of quality was lately condemned by his Peers for
murder, (I mention it to their honour;) but does any body suppose, that if
twelve, of the twenty three, that found
him guilty, had committed murder
themselves, that they would not have
acquitted him? Most certainly they
would. — When those that are to pu-
nish others, are themselves the greatest
criminals, there is nothing dangerous
in such a city except virtue and ho-
nour:

Thieves have authority for their
robberies.

When judges steal themselves.

What must become of that city
which is to receive laws from a faction
determined against truth and demon-
stration? what can it expect, but to
see the good of the whole sacrificed to
the private interest of a few? — Methinks I see their impudent leader gi-
ving them laws with a nod; presenting
dark and unintelligible accounts, which
are passed without examination; while
the abused citizens without are told,
with a sneer, it is not fit they should
know what is done with the publik
money, it being for secret service; for
under that article might they continu-
ously rob the city.

The Chamberlain would be running
the city into unnecessary and expensive
law suits; then, not knowing how to
manage or conduct them, make them
up again by scandalous and more ex-
pensive compositions; the Common
Council, all this while, giving him the
thanks of that court for every blunder.
— Thus would the faction behave ev-
every day; and when they retired to their
private clubs and cabals, at night, they
would applaud their own impudence,
and laugh at the tameness of the citi-
zens for suffering them to go on.

The Chamberlain would ingross all
the beneficial offices and employments
in the city to his own family, let them
be never such worthles animals, as if
the city was made for them alone. You
would see them loaded with its spoils
and its wealth, while no body could
get any thing but through them; you
would see him, perhaps, build a pa-
lace for himself, while the city wanted
a house for its Lord Mayor.

As such measures must occasion uni-
versal discontent, and raise a spirit a-
gainst him, he might probably bid his
enemies defiance, and tell them that,
let them threaten as much as they plea-
sed without doors, he feared nothing,
for he was sure of his numbers within.

The members of this honest faction
would tell those that complained of the
ruin which this man's conduct had
brought upon the affairs of the city,
that they were a fidgetous rabble; that
they were obliged to submit to what-
ever the majority of the Common
Council should enact; that their elec-
tors had no right to call them to an
account; that, though what was al-
leged against the Chamberlain was
true, they were obliged to support him,
and would support him; that if they
did not quietly submit, they would be
given to understand that the Chamber-
lain had the city militia of his side,
and would make them submit.

You would see regular schemes car-
ried on to introduce luxury and corrupt
the morals of the citizens.

You would see an Alderman, that
pretended to great credit in paying his
bills, not ashamed at Guild-hall to plead
for a corrupt dependency of the Com-
mon Council upon the Chamberlain;
insisting upon it, that corruption there
was absolutely necessary for the peace
of the city.

You would see this shameless faction
crowding to make him a levee in a
morning, and hanging about his office
for their wages when the Common
Council was over. — I don't doubt but
he would have the impudence to sum-
mon them every now and then in a
publik manner, and give them orders
what new laws should be made to in-
crease his power, and what new jobs
set on foot to increase his estate.

There would be an extreme harmo-
and agreement between the members of such a hopeful faction, whenever the city was to be oppressed or robbed:—  

a job, indeed, might prove a bone of contention, and they might wrangle who should have the largest share; nothing else could occasion the least difference of opinion.

If ever the city of London should be reduced to such a deplorable situation, what could the honest part of the Common Council, or the few honest Aldermen do, when they could no longer be of use to the city, but, in justification of their own characters, separate themselves from such an abandoned crew, and shun Guild-hall as if the plague was there? This method of proceeding would open the eyes of the citizens, and perhaps raise such a spirit against the next election as might occasion the excluding such a gang of thieves.

If once, I say, corruption should creep into the Common Council, a Chamberlain might bring all this to pass without the least abilities. An inferior cunning would instruct him to give his troops their pay; and when he had greatly robbed, and greatly blundered, self-preservation would inform him that Freedom must not be left in that place, where it would certainly destroy him, if it was suffered to subsist; and so might the city of London be reduced to a state of petty slavery.

But we see a quite contrary spirit govern there. Their Chamberlain, tho' he is intrusted with the publick money, is still their servant; he keeps within his own province, and is honestly content with his own salary; he is not charged, or so much as suspected of jobs, nor is his family yet astride upon the city, with reins in their hands, to ride with whip and spur; and of consequence their funds are neither anticipated, nor their estate mortgaged.

As private interest does not govern the resolutions of that court, their opinions and debates are free;— no man there waits for the wink or nod of a corrupt leader before he knows which side of a question he is to take; and their differing so frequently upon points that come before them, is a proof that they are under no influence but that of conscience and reason:— their hands are strangers to the touch of the bribe; their way of maintaining their families is by methods that adds to the publick support; they are unacquainted with those kind of jobs which draw the wealth of cities into private pockets:—

They have no notion of letting up some one corrupt fellow as an idol, and imitating the stupidity of the Laplanders, who frequently carve an ill-favoured figure out of the rotten stump of some old tree, and when they have done, kneel down and worship the work of their own hands.

Yet this is the city, and this the Common Council, that hath been lately abused and insulted by a false and scandalous lift, printed and dispersed all over three kingdoms, representing them as a mean contemptible body of men: these are the people that are called Ragdyers; a trade never heard of except in that lift.

I will venture to promise that man who, for many years past, hath been the avowed enemy of this city and of this Common Council, that the Ragdyers will not change colour; they have declared they will have this man down, and the Ragdyers are men of their words.

CRAFTSMAN, May 26.

THE following letter fell accidentally into my hands: and though it contains a most formidable design against myself and Common Sense, as well as the national party, in which we are both engaged; yet, for the sake of impartiality, and the interest of the poor Gentleman who wrote it, I hope our friends will excuse the publication of it.

CAMBRIDGE, May 10. 1739.

To NICHOLAS P—N Esq; Master-ma

ster General of all the ministerial forces.

May it please your Honour,

B eing entirely devoted to the true ministerial interest, and hearing that your Honour hath the sole nomination and
and direction of the Scribes in that service, I must humbly beg leave to make the following application to you.

I am a poor fellow of a college in this university, and in holy orders; but not being able to get any spiritual preferment, I shall be glad to serve my King and country (that is the ad—on) in a political capacity: which cannot be thought unbecoming our function, since many persons of the highest stations in the Church have not been ashamed to lift themselves in the same cause, to the great emolument of the nation.

I may say, without vanity, that I am reputed to be a man of some learning; and observe, with great grief of heart, that no one man of letters hath been yet engaged by you, in so glorious a cause, except a certain hackney Parson. Of what religion or university he is, I know not; but I am sure his performances are beneath those of a little country school-master, or even a school-boy.—Then as to Sir A. B. C. the hautond organist, the mean barister, Mr. Algermon Sidney, and the rest of the Gazetteer-writers, I will undertake to set out all their audacions, not excepting even Capt. Piflul; who, as we are informed, hath lately engaged himself in your Honour’s service, though he will, no doubt, be of great credit to our party, both on his own, and his worthy father’s account.

I will be very ingenuous with your Honour; and therefore freely confess, that I have been heretofore esteemed a Tory, or Jacobite: but I hope that will be made no objection to my future services; since it is well known, in this part of the country, that the most considerable Papists did our noble patron very eminent service at the last election, though I am sorry to say without any effect.

In short, Sir, I shall be always ready to obey your Honour’s whistle, upon any occasion, like your other stipendiaries; and will therefore give you a little cast of my art, in hopes of your favour.

We hear that the city and liberty of Westminster hath been lately infested with a most terrible apparition, or ghost, which continually haunts the neighbourhood, and puts them under dreadful apprehensions. — It often frequents Westminster-Hall, crying Justice, Justice! and hath sometimes the presumption to advance higher, crying Money, Money, Money. — It often talks, in a confused and unintelligible manner, of Treaties, Preliminaries, Conventions, Standing Armies, Civil Lift, Secret Service, and Votes of Credit, to the great astonishment of the inhabitants; who, not being the wisest men in the kingdom, are apt to be frightened with any bug-bear.

— At other times he speaks very freely of Kings, Ministers, Ambassadors, and Politicians of all sorts.

Various are the conjectures about this apparition. — Some people suppose it to be the spirit of a departed statesman, by calling so loudly and earnestly for money; but by talking so freely of Kings, Ministers, Ambassadors, and Politicians, it take it to be the ghost of some distressed patriot, who still haunts the place, where he once resided, and continues to disturb it with his pestiferous complaints.

I am credibly inform’d, that application hath been made to several Right Reverend Prelates to lay this spirit in the Red Sea; but they all despair to be excused from taking so long and expensive a journey, lest something might happen to their disadvantage, during their absence, by the death of their brethren. — They likewise represented, that their attendance in town was so absolutely necessary, for the public service, that they had not even leisure to take proper care of their own discharge, which had occasioned great reflections upon them by the malcontents.

Since therefore those Venerable Gentlemen are so much engaged, I will undertake to lay this troublesome spirit, by the dint of my quill, so as never to molest us any more, if your Honour should be pleas’d to retain me in your service — I am

Your Honour’s most dutiful and most obedient servant,

CANTAR.
A Letter relating to Trade in Scotland.

To the author of the Scots Magazine.

SIR,

It has been with much pleasure, and all who are well to Scotland, have read several accounts of Schemes, Projects, &c. for the enriching your country by a general increase and improvement in Agriculture, Planting, and every other part of Husbandry; and, which is almost necessarily consequent thereon, a large extension of your Trade and Manufactures, in the various branches capable of being rendered beneficial to the poor artificers, and advantageous to the whole land: — But, it happened, from what cause you may more probably know than I, that most, if not all your beneficial plans have terminated in speculation only, without producing so much as an attempt to put into practice what has evidently been calculated for the good of your country. — The reason of this may be swell worth enquiring into; for some very formidable caule there must be, which can have frustrated the endeavours of so many persons of ingenuity and wisdom, of penetration and candour, from taking effect in instances where no private views could bias, no self-interest could influence, and only a love for Scotland could animate.

Your Fishery is owned, by all men skill'd in that kind of business, to be capable of almost incredible improvement, and sufficient to spread a new face of prosperity over the whole kingdom: but with what slow advances is that bed of gold mines cultivated among yourselves, while foreigners, at more than double the expense you need to be at the same occasion, visit your seas, pay your very coasts, to carry from you those treasures which nature had made your own? — What Scots man who deserves the name, can see these ravages without concern? who, possessed of a generous love of his own country, without vexation? — If the men among you who have fortunes capable of improving the Fish Trade with the vigour necessary to supply the foreign markets yourselves, are principally Gentlemen, it is from Gentlemen only, men of liberal education, and the open, generous sentiments resulting from thence, that the perfecting such publick undertakings can alone be expected; since, surely, none will urge, that a capacity of serving one's country, is a reason for not doing it: — for where Trade is essential to the wealth and prosperity of a nation, Kings themselves disdain not the name nor business of Merchants. And how far preferable is the name of Patriot to that of a man whose estate serves only to feed his own family, while, with additional advantage to himself, it might be made to support thousands in his own age, and to provide bread for succeeding generations! — One argument for this, which will not be easily confuted, is the extensive Trade and opulence of the city of London, where some of the largest fortunes in the whole British dominions are employed in Trade, by Gentlemen, who glory in the benefits they are thereby enabled to bring to their fellow-subjects; who, before an empty title, are wise enough to prefer real worth; and who, in the country and at court, in their own houses, and over half the globe, are esteemed the greatest friends to their country, while their own private fortunes are daily increasing; by the increase of the nation's wealth. — Without such men, how could our Trade be carried on? how could our Manufacturers be always employed, and always paid for their labour? Did our Knights think themselves above Trade, how would London suffer by the bestowing of a title? If a hundred thousand pounds raised every man above Traffic, what fatal decrease would be found in our most advantageous branches of Commerce? — But, so far are we here from defying a Gentleman for applying himself to Trade, that where a Peer and a Merchant happen to be in coaches following each other, watch the eyes of all they pass, and whatever figuring may be at the coronet on the coach-door of the one, the other is viewed with more solid regard, more real esteem, by all who happen to know
Poetical ESSAYS in MAY 1739.

To Mr. BROOKE, on his tragedy of GUSTAVUS VASA.

While Athens glory'd in her free State,
And Science flourished around her fair white Walls;
The Muses, uncheck'd, tried the Grecian stage
Free were her passions, unconfin'd was her rage.
Bald and bare, in aim'd the painted choir,
And pour'd the precept poignant to the heart.
 Till their dominion stretch'd her lawful sway.
And Athens' sons were destin'd to obey.

Then first the flag a licens'd bondage knew
And tyrants quaff'd the scene they fear'd to view.

Fair freedom's voice no more was heard in charm,
Or liberty the Attick ardor warm.

Thus find the Muses indignant from all shore,
Nor daiz'd to dwell where freedom wears a snare:

Vain then, alas! 'tis fought Britannia's right;
Charms'd with her voice, and cheer'd as well her fame.

If Gallic love her gen'rous flight-off extracts,
And binds her captive with the ignoble chain,
Bold and unlicensed, in Eliza's yoke.
Free stand'd her number, flourish'd fair her bay:
On Britain's flag, majesty, renown'd,
Shatter'd her patriot limbs to mankind.
For mighty heroes vain shech'd every age,
And beam'd them glorious in her SHAKESPEARE'S page.

Shakespeare no more — left was of poet's name,
Till thou, my friend, my genius; shame, fame.

Lur'd by his haurie! never-flushing flame,
You boldly snatch'd the trophy from his hand,
Toughest the declining Muses again to soar,
And Britannia gave one foot more.

What'd in thy key we see — GUSTAVUS live!

But, oh! GUSTAVUS, if thou can't, forget
Britons more savage than the green Danes
Rebuke yoke, your sheen things chain;

Despise Britons, by thy word dissemble
Procure thy glory, and prefer thy head.

P. WHITWATER.
Upon seeing M— at V— it's Picture.

When God's hies appear, on God's will bow; When Venus tempted an almighty Jove, No wonder then, if sacharilla's charms Could tempt a mighty monarch to her arms. What if we're taught to curb undue wills? Forbidden fruit bids us unite, if wise. Who, when superior beauty charms the sight, And moves in all the majesty of light, Can look unconquer'd? or can say, I'm free From Love's soft, plying, powerful tyranny? Love, if it be true, is natural to all; And all obey its most weal call: Where then's the crime, if Kings have felt its pow'r?

(Foe King, no doubt, have their unguarded hour.) Known, ye, whose rashly dare condemn the man, A God's his pattern, Nature is his plan.

EPIGRAM on Turpin. By a YORKSHIRE Gentleman.

Full oft the South has facet'd our Northern clime, And turf-seating went call'd a country crime: But now no longer run with bare such jokes; This rogue is there's, and we the benefic; Gode's works and feelings we don't say we know nei ther, But know; and feel ere foolish stuck together; Our poor Northern air's too severe by half; A Yorkshire tyke's his this Baltic calf; This shall-dread rogue that was found is in his self; A thief out of stole element is left.

ANSWER'D: by an Essex Gentleman.

When Turpin cru'd near home, splendid he roll'd In cash, and rings, and watches cast with gold; Less Yorkshire, *chang'd* the scene, his trade fail'd there. In main these roads he try'd above a year, Till poverty reduc'd him to small* beer,*

What could be do, in that dire starving cafe, But take the trade peculiar to the place? Turn Yorkshire tyke, and steal a horse or two; So hang at Tyburn, 'midst the jockey crew; For bald'd or pine, if with hunger ring, Will feed on carbon, mix'd with poison dang.

* Turpin fled from London to Yorkshire to screen himself, but was bit by a tyke, and died of the country-disease.

The ROSE-BUD: FOR LAVINIA, at Fifteen.

Within th'embrowning ring founds, This forest retreat for lovers made; Amidst the glis'ring pearls of snow, That ever leaf and spray adorn, How sweetly thorns this sparkling vest, How fresh its purple blverse; But, soft cloths round its beauties play, How fragrant in the cool of day!

Oh! blest with youth, and form'd for love, Lavinia, regent of the grove: Of sens're polite, and innate taste, With rural innocency grace'd; That ungaftfed state of mind, Which few from books or breeding find, Above from awkward, silence free, And loud, inquisitive, gay; Who's conduct always fo approves, That all-ownt every, or must love! Alb. faster than the drowning rose, Whose cheeks a lover blush disdains; When soon, drawn forth to open day, You finds unlift the young and gay; Where flat'st the thorn her piled heart, Vice stalks beneath each mildest art; May no unthorn, excellence To fully fort-your rigorous gaze; No easily airs, with honour's face; Refine to guilt our virgin grace: No taste from Italy or France Debauch your nation elegance. May you, secure from the extremes Of scandal'd blasts, or flat'try's beams, Reformer for generous Stephon's arms, Your beauty's bloom, and virtue's charms.

SONG.

Not Celina that I'm more sincere, Or am left not to row, Do I a heart to faithful bear, So confident is her love.-------

I faith; my Celina, like the rest, From fair to fair I'd range; But that it's more my interest, Still to be lovers' than change.
The Orders of his Excellency R — N
Esq; Governor General of the Diversi
at Bath.

Some come here for pleasure, and others;

Some come here to see and to be seen,

To taste all our subtleties, here wontly meeting.

We Governor N — do find out our greatest

Whereas it is now been fully made known

Some queer folks profess to have willy of th

own,

And think, if they come to such places as this

They've unlimited licence to do as they please;

Whereas frequent disorders do daily arise;

To prevent such abuses, what so' er in us lies,

We publish these rules, consider'd at leisure,

And expect due observance; for such is pleasure.

When you first come to Bath in whatever condition

Whether sick or in health, you must have a Phy

sician;

As they'll equally take inordinate fees,

You've as your own liberty; choose whom you please

The Doctor will find there is absolute need,

That friend Mr. Jerry Pierce must be fast for to bleed

Next some drops or some pills prepar'd with due care,

To prevent all infection from water or air.

Then drink at the pump, or bathe without fear.

When you first see there are different calls;

At Hayes's, or Lovelace's, money for balls;

As nothing in this world is done without brink;
Leake, Simont, or Morgan, expect you'll subscribe

When this part is over, then live at your ease;

Game, drink, or fornicate, just as you please:

When your money is spent, march off without trouble,

Secure, who comes next will be just the same

bubble.

The False Morning.

The morning's bright, as any blooming shrub

Fly'd'd with enjoyment, from her lover's face

So warm, (for winter) and so like the spring,

I thought to hear the foolish cobin sing!

But see how soon the blessing turn'd a curse,

The weather and the ways grew worse and worse

The clouds look dark in the fastidiou skies,

And winds, like jealousy, in honeyed rife.

Sometimes a flatt ring minute seem'd to smite,

But lasted but a very little while!

Such is the morning of a married life,

And such the dirty journey with a wife!
Poetical ESSAIS in MAY 1739.

To the author of the Scots Magazine.

SIR,

Notwithstanding the many objections which are made against the prodigious power of the Muses, and the danger of listening too attentively to their prevailing influence, I can by no means agree with some Gentlemen, who have lately gone so far, in contemning the power of verse, as to question, whether it has done most good or ill to mankind?—The effect I feel in my own breast on reading a well written poem, moves me to conclude the same must be experienced by others on the like occasion: And as no poem can be, in a true sense of the words, well written, where the subject is not metal as well as entertaining, the pleasure arising from the reading of such pieces, must be rational in itself, and of a general good tendency: for it will be denied by very few, but that the impression left upon the mind by the most refined prose, is much inferior to that made by the same thoughts when embellished and enforced by the additional strength of elegant verse. —And to the friends of the Muses it must yield much pleasure, to observe, that, among our modern bards, those who have been most distinguished by the smiles of the tuneful Nine, have most distinguished themselves by the happy choice of their subjects: for though there was once a time when the best Poets among our countrymen were detested by the virtuous for their disregard of religion and morality, of modesty, and even of decency itself; at present scarce a poetical essay appears that is worth reading, wherein the doctrine is not as useful as the verse is entertaining. —I was thrown upon these reflections by reading a poem intitled The Northern Star, written by Aaron Hill, Esq; several years ago, and lately republished, with large improvements throughout. It first appeared in the lifetime of the late Czar Peter the Great; and, several years after it was published, the author received a present from the Czarina, his comfort and faviour, in acknowledgment of her approbation. —I found so much pleasure in the perusal of it myself, that I could not withstand the temptation of feeding you the following extract from it; which I think well deserves to be recommended to all lovers of verse, for the prodigious strength of imagination, the swelling fulness of sentences, the harmony and variety of the numbers, the fearless virtue and unconfined generosity of sentiment, which shine conspicuous through the whole. —I make no apology for the liberty of transmitting it again to the press without the author's leave; since a Gentleman who has written so much for the improvement and entertainment of mankind, without taking those profits from his writings which are frequently the motives of other authors writing at all, will be glad of feeling that contribute to the public improvement, which is too finished a piece to be produced by any private views.

May 1.

Lyricus.

The Northern Star:

Born in an age, when Virtue rails her face,
And bold Corruption turns the blaze on Grace;
Where reptile genius winds, at pow'rs control,
And Fortune's wheeling tide engulf the soul;
Where sense by flattery, shame by want, is weigh'd;
And servile Poets make their art a trade:
Rise, generous Muse! out-shar the venal view:
For, praise is insuflic, where 'tis giv'n undue.
Theo pension'd Fame can stawn, till fools are taught
To boast th'imputed wit, their bribry bought:
Yet, man, to man's respect is rais'd,—not born;
And dulness, dignify'd, but doubles scorn.
Ah, narrow hearts! that know not wisdom's weight;
But, immodestly, call the proud, the great!
Spread the broad wings of truth, impartial Muse!

Dare a newtheme—nor, now, let Fancy chafe.

Serious and sad, the faults of custom mend;
To friendless genius Fame's due succour lend.—If, in some dusky corner, thou shalt find
A ragged fortune hide a noble mind,
Disperse the cloud; and be the labour thine,
To teach the flame facetious Virtue bow to join.

L.
Poetical ESSAYS in MAY 1739.

Shall Britain's boast o'erhead my lab'ring lines?

No—with known force domestic glory flows.

Flatt'ry were base: and needless the design

To say, (to angels) — Here's is all divin

Northward, departing Muses, extend th' flight —

There, a New Sun inflames the land of night.

There, arts and arms the world's fifth empire raise:

There, datest times shall hail my Prophet praise.

Thy line, Great CZAR! shall stretch the letter'd name,

To more than CZAR's power, and all its fame.

Taught by thy plans, to reign, victorious still

And length'ning down, through time, its deathless skill;

Legions of Kings, shall wait their doomful will.

As lofts, from Moses, watch'd th' inspiring God!

Perish the pride, in poor distinction found

That makes man blind to blessings not his own;

Briton and Russian differ but in name:

In nature's frame, all nations are the same:

One world, divided, distant brothers stand;

And man is reason's subject — every-where

So does dark Nile's mysterious torrent stray,

And o'er wealth, in annual flood, cowards —

Memphian's rich plains imbibe th'impragnated flow,

And please'd Egyptians for proud baroques grow.

Yet, while on Egypt partial baroques smile

Egypt's glad sons enrobs not all their Nile

Egypt, and all the world, the river claims

Egypt, in influence; and the world, in fame.

So, Russia, feels her CZAR's int'lectual beat

But, the warm'd world, his distant brighten'd greet.

Aces, obscurely left to flighted fame,

Rob'd the dim empire of its buried name!

One city's bounds usurp'd her Monarch's rights

And shrunk his thousand states, to Musco vites!

Unmeasur'd realms lay hid, in majestic reign

And Russia cover'd half the world — in vain!

Till rip'ning time this giant-genius sent;

Divinely fed — to suit his crown's extent.

He breathe'd prolific soul! inspir'd the land,

And call'd forth order, with direction firm.

Then
Then, pow'r's whole energy, at once, spread, wide,
And old obstroction sunk, beneath its tide:
Then, bowing all, the dread dominion rose;
Which, late, no hope,—and now, no danger, knew!

Did not, O Prince! thy love of art's soft charms
Amend the keener influence of thy arms?
Most wondrous, most mild, in thy stream of day!
But, 'tis thy generous taste, to steer thy reign
Twixt the two wide extremes,—of mean, and vast;

Teach fierce conquerors all, that arts below,
A bold back arm, to justice names the foe.
Not so, o'fole,—when, stern in borrid arms,
In needy North pow'r's forth her Gothic swarms!

Doubly, they warr'd, on arts they cou'd not taste;
And, blindly, laid the traits of learning waist.
Thou, Heav'n remember'd, and, with kind command,
Call'd for atonement from the barb'rous land.
The Prince, disdainful of his country's crime,
Gird'd, springs forward,—to un-curse the clime:
And, nobly just, hast taught the nations more,
Than the world's empire ruin'd,—left, before.

How vast the engine! and the force so great!
What could so swiftly move such ponderous weight?

If just Athenians, by a Theseus led,
Their scatter'd country's strength-uniting head.
To lasting praife consign'd his cheser'd fame,
And, conscious of his bounty, bless'd his name;
If hard Lycorgus, now, immortal grown,
Shed's deathless glory round a realuds's throne;
If, Romulus! thy memory, still for teaching Rome to rob, with faster skies;
For reining rapine in from private farms,
To mightier mischief, in confed rate arms:
What prafie, prodigious Czar! shall dare to tread.

In awful circles, near thy sacred head;
To suborn, not one small portion singly kneels,
In thanks for separate benefits, it feels;
But, nations, numberless as Libyan lands,
Share the long bounties of thy reaching hands?

Thy hands! — to suborn, delighted with thy prafie,
God gave not thrones, to reign on—but, toraise!
Thy catching b'fire fires the North's wide soul,
And thawes the icy influence of the pole.
The Fragg'y Samoid, shaking off his snow,
Warms his cold breast, with now desire, to know;
The rugged Tartar, from whose swarthy bands
A gloom of horror us'd to shade thy land;
L[a Cha[m'd
Charm'd by thy gen'rous daring, checks his own,
Assumes new nature,—and adorns thy throne.
Beams of young learning, arise at the wind,
Radiant, flame out, and light up half mankind:
Stern superstition's misty cloud, dispell'd,
Quits her chief throne; thro' long, dark, ages, held:
And Russian arms a glistening terror cast,
O'er realms, where scarce the Russian name bad past!

Edinburgh, May 1.

A Fit Companion. From Anacreon.

Who o'er his bumper speaks of blood and drifts,
Only foment the galling cares of life:
Give me the man, who will our mirth improve;
Who sings, laments, dances, and tells tales of love.

Sylvio to Maya.

F
Air lovely Maid, accept my humble lays,
The tribute which a captive bores pays.
Won by thy charms, long I've endured Love's smart,
And fed the cruel torrent in my heart.
You was the object of my infant cares;
From you were all my tender hopes and fears.
These lovely eyes did first my breast inspire,
Which now rest all the Northern clime on fire.
Love's infant graces bow'd a loving gale,
Which spread full Pluton ere the day began.
Your smiles and glances then were Cupid's darts,
And promis'd torture to a thousand hearts.
Would I watch the motions of your eye,
Smile when you frown'd, and with you fig'd, fig'd.
What'er I spoke or thought was all of you,
O fatal prelude to my future woe!
Yet this could ne'er that blunted bofed move,
Too cruel Maid, to frown on so much love.
The vital flame, which was so soon begun,
Now spread and blaze, like the mid-day sun;
By time increas'd, with warmer vigour glows,
And with your years and your enchantments grows.
At length, dear Charm'er, pity Sylvio's fate,
That beauteous was ne'er design'd at the seat of hate:

To a young Gentleman after an interview with his Mistress. By the same hand.

T
Hence happy Damon! how you complain,
The lovely virgin feels an equal flame,
Or it is all enchantment, all a dream.
I saw the nymph in every charm excel,
I need not tell them, since you know so well!
I saw her glance in your wonder'd eye,
And dancing transports tell me inspired.
I saw her glance and smile, you blush'd and kiss'd.
'Twas death to be a witness of your bliss.

Good Damon, say, why lies the heart so strange?
Can such endearing sweetness pass unsung?
Such smiles, such words, such kisses might inspire
A Waller's softness, and a Dryden's fire.

'Twas thus, of late, divine Clarinda charm'd;
Such flowing sweets my panting bosom warm'd:
Such were the looks my melting heart overcame,
And just like Damon's was Amyntor's flame.
With passion for'd, the infant Mars effg'd
To paint the fair, the kind, the lovely maid:
In spite of innate dulness, numbers, chime,
I spoke in raptures, and I fig'd in rhymes.

Ah could'ry Myrrilla kindle up a lay,
When in the steady cope she run away?
Could all that! ugly claim the Poet's song,
Deny'd to all that's charming, fair and young?
Cease to adorn an undervowing name;
Nature never form'd her for the Poet's theme.
Let all those charms some hungry beast bewitch,
Who says she's fair, because her father's rich.
To Annabella tune your tender lays:
Who would not, could not Annabella praise!
Blest nymph! for thee the Muse professes bring,
And teach a thousand various tongues to sing!
DOMEESTICK HISTORY.

While wit can move, while beauty has a charm,
And female graces youthful shepherds warm;
While words, or smiles, or glances can invite,
And repose'd beatus beat with fond delight;
While lovers' pains are in jest fights exprest,
Thy name, thy merit, and thy fame shall last.

AMYNTOR.

EDINBURGH, May 1739.

THE 10th of this month the General Assembly of this national Church met. The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Hyndford represented his Majesty, and was all along attended by the Nobility and other persons of distinction in the place. The Rev. Mr. James Bannatine, one of the Ministers of this city, was elected Moderator. His Grace presented his Majesty's most gracious letter, which was respectfully read, and is as follows:

GEORGE R.

Right Reverend and Wellbeloved, We greet you well. The many instances which you have given in your former Assemblies, of your loyalty and affection to our person and government, as well as of your zeal for the advancement of true religion and pitty, have engaged us most willingly to countenancce your present meeting with our royal authority and approbation, and to renew to you, upon this occasion, the assurances of our constant resolution to support and maintain the Church of Scotland, established by law, in the full enjoyment of all its just rights and privileges.

As we make no doubt but you come together at this time with the same good dispositions and intentions, you may depend upon our protection and assistance in whatsoever may promote the prosperity of the Church of which you are members, and tend to the preventing the growth of Popery, and to the suppressing vice and immorality. And as you must be sensible of the importance of a perfect agreement and union among yourselves, to the success of your councils and resolutions, we are fully persuaded your debates will be conducted with that prudence, wisdom and moderation as are becoming so venerable an Assembly, and which must above all things conduct to the attaining the good and desirable ends for which you are convened, wherein you may be assured of our concurrence and support.

We have made choice of our Right Trusty and entirely Beloved Cousin John Earl of Hyndford to represent our Royal Person in this Assembly, whose abilities and zeal for our service, and affectionate concern for the prosperity of the Church of Scotland, will, we doubt not, make him very acceptable to you, and engage you to give him your best assistance in bringing this your meeting to a happy conclusion. And so we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our court at St. James's the 24th day of April 1739, in the twelfth year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command,

HOLIES NEWCASTLE.

To which the Assembly made the following answer.

May it please your Majesty,

Our gracious Letter to this Assembly was received with all the honour and respect that becomes loyal subjects greatly sensible of the happiness they enjoy under your good and wise government.

The notice your Majesty is pleased to take of the loyalty and good affection of our former Assemblies to your person and government, and their zeal for the advancement of true religion and pitty, gives us the highest satisfaction, and cannot but animate us to persevere in our inviolable loyalty to your Majesty, and our most strenuous endeavours to promote the great interests you so warmly recommend to our care; to which we are encouraged by the countenance your Majesty is pleased to give to our present meeting with your royal authority and approbation, and the assurances of your constant resolution to support and maintain the
Church of Scotland, established by law, in the full enjoyment of all its just rights and privileges.

We should be unworthy of the confidence your Majesty is pleased to express of our coming together at this time with the same good dispositions and intentions, were we not firmly resolved to use our utmost endeavours for promoting the prosperity of this Church, for preventing the growth of Popery, and for suppressing vice and immorality, especially when we are so strongly encouraged by your royal assurances to depend upon your protection and assistance in whatever may tend to these valuable ends.

As we are sensible of the importance of a perfect agreement and union among ourselves, we are resolved, that through the good hand of our God upon us, our debates shall be conducted with the prudence, wisdom, and moderation becoming such an assembly, and necessary to the attaining the good and desirable ends of our meeting: and it is the greatest satisfaction to us, to be assured of your royal concurrence and support.

The choice your Majesty has been pleased to make of the Earl of Hyndford to represent your Royal Person in this Assembly, is highly acceptable to us. His abilities and zeal for your Majesty's service, and his affectionate concern for our prosperity, and the great and good services done this Church by his pious ancestors, cannot but endear your Majesty's choice of him to us, and lay us under the highest obligations to give him all the assistance in our power in bringing this our meeting to a happy conclusion.

Your Majesty's donation, this year, for the reformation of the Highlands and Islands, we accept with all thankfulness, as a new instance of your Majesty's pious intention to propagate the knowledge of Jesus Christ in those parts. It shall be our great care so to dispose of this charitable fund, as shall best answer the purposes for which it is designed.

We beg leave to take this first opportunity, humbly to congratulate your Majesty upon the late increase of your Royal family; by which the divine providence has given these nations an additional security of having the blessings of your Majesty's reign, and every thing dear to us as Men and Protestants, transmitted to posterity.

That God may eminently bless your Majesty with all spiritual blessings in Christ Jesus, and long preserve you to make us a happy people, and to be a defence to all the reformed Churches; that he may abundantly bless the Prince and Princess of Wales, and all the branches of your Royal family; and after a long and happy reign on earth, that you may inherit an immortal crown of glory in heaven, are the fervent prayers of,

May it please your Majesty,
Your Majesty's most faithful, most obedient, and most loyal subjects,
The Ministers and Elders met in the National Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

Signed in our name, in our presence, and at our appointment, by

James Bannatyne Moderator.

A motion being made, to read the minutes of the last commiss, and to take the libel [March Mag. p. 135] against the Seceders into consideration, a great many imagined it highly inexpedient at this juncture to insist on that charge; while others were as forward in persuading the Assembly, that they were now reduced to a necessity of exerting their authority, and of doing what was proper to preserve them from an universal contempt, which, they said, would be the consequence.

That our readers may have a summary view of this affair, we shall give a short abstract of the reasonings on both sides, in a committee of the whole house, which met twice on the affair.

The Gentlemen who thought forbearance necessary, opened the debate with several observations on the frequent mischiefs which violent measures had occasioned. An inflexibility of temper is the character which becomes no court. The Seceders, in some measure may be said to be useful; they edify many pious Christians; express a sincere regard for Presbyterian Church-government; and are men of a good
and moral conduct. 'Tis true, they are unhappy in differing from the judicature established by law, yet charity will teach us to impute that to an erroneous confidence, which can never be a ground of severe cenure against men in other respects good and useful members of society. Severity can produce no good consequences; persecution never yet diminished a fault; it increases the flame, and gives the party an opportunity to triumph. Besides, is it not plain the schism is decreasing? The Secessers pursue such methods as must soon reduce them to universal contempt. Can the Church have ought to fear? Is she to be shaken or overturned by a set of men who have neither power nor interest to do her any considerable prejudice? Every society should propose some good end in their publick actions; but if any imagined that could be obtained by severity, it was a fatal mistake: It would only inflame the minds of the multitude, and tempt them to fly out into yet greater extravagancies. The Assembly ought to imitate the lenity of the State, which, far from punishing its avow'd calumniators, daily permitted the most scandalous pamphlets and libels to go without notice. It is hard to tell what turn the affairs of the nation may take; and, should it happen that we come to be involved in a foreign war, is it a time to create enemies at home? This would be an unkind return to a good and mild government, which always favoured us so much, &c.

On the other side it was said: It can't be refuted, that when both divine and human laws vest a power in any society, it is obliged to exert it when the strongest necessity requires; which is undeniable the present case: for the matter now rests upon the principle of self-defence. The Church is mangled and rent by a perfidious set who had sworn to defend her: Why then do men call justice, severity, or so necessary a step, a hardship? If men allow such an association of ideas, reason, justice, and all order, will soon vanish. Let not therefore justice be branded with the vile name of persecution, or acting agreeable to received laws, and all the known forms of discipline, be thought a hardship. What has been gained by a seven years forbearance? Have not these unhappy men been encouraged to continue the schism? Have not gentle measures been used? and with what success we all can tell. Slackness in punishing offenders like them had effected the ruin of the Church in the days of Cromwell, when inconsiderable faults, through a neglect at first, became powerful enough to overturn the whole establishment. But the practice of the Church shews her mind: In the case of Macmillan, Hepburn and Tailor, who were full as popular as the present Secessers, an Assembly, without fear of the numbers which followed them, proceeded to a sentence; which had such happy effects, that at this day we scarce see the remains of that schism. One of them bitterly lamented his conduct, and died full of a sincere repentance for being the instrument of division. Why should the Secessers character be thus magnified? Wherein did their goodnes and morality consist? If, to delude a mob, to inspire them with pride, envy, hatred, and all the four and ill-natur'd passions, was moral or good, then they had a pretence to it. Nor could men who affected powers inconsistent with the very being of Presbytery, be well said to have a sincere regard to Presbyterian principles.

After these debates, a narrow majority carried the question, of fitting the Secessers at their bar, and proceeding upon the libel: On which they were called, and the whole of them appeared. The Moderator, in the Assembly's name, exhorted them to consider of their disorderly courses, and submit to that Church to which they had vowed obedience. He told them, That though they were come there to answer a libel, the Assembly was now ready, upon their submission, to receive them with open arms; and beseech'd them to be no longer deaf to the calls of Reason and Scripture. But Mr. Mair, Moderator of
of the Associate Presbytery, presented a paper, which, after hearing the libel, he read before the Assembly, intituled, Act of the Associate Presbytery, finding and declaring, That the present judicatures of this national Church are not lawful nor right constitute courts of Christ; and declaring all authority, power and jurisdiction that the said judicatures may claim to themselves over the said Presbytery, or any of the members thereof, or over any that are under their infection; and particularly declining the authority of a General Assembly now met at Edinburgh the 10th day of May 1739. In the preamble, after enumerating the good uses of provincial and national Synods, as well as classical Presbyteries, when duly constitute, they affirm, That there have been provincial and national Synods, so corrupt in their constitution, and so irregular in their procedure, that the keys of government and discipline have been perverted contrary to their original design; insomuch that error has been countenance and encouraged, a lax and corrupt ministry have been supported, and such as endeavoured to be faithful have been born down and censured:—And therefore, in a consistency with the principles of the reformed and covenant Church of Scotland, with their duty to Christ, the souls committed to their charge, and the Lord's heritage through the land; and, in a consistency with the engagements they gave severally under when ordained to the ministry, they testify and declare, That the present judicatures of this national Church are not lawful nor right constitute courts of Christ; and consequently, that they cannot warrantably claim to themselves any power or authority over the members of this Presbytery, or their adherents.

This act is divided into three heads. The first affirms, That such Ministers as are impose by mere church-authority, by presentations, or otherwise, upon dissenting and reclaiming congregations, have no warrant from Christ, and consequently, have no right to sit in his courts; and that the Christian people may justly decline their jurisdiction. That these courts are constitute of many such members as not only impose Ministers upon dissenting congregations, but even where the Presbytery of the bounds have like wise dissent; of such are not only files in the publick cause of God, but dissenters of publick sins;—of such as scatter and drive away the flock of Christ, ruling them with force and cruelty, and who depart from the traditions of the Apostles; yet are not ashamed, but justify these practices;—of such as have been active in making the act of Assembly 1732 anent the election of Ministers to vacant congregations, the acts of Assembly 1733 against the protesting Ministers, and the Ministers of the Presbytery of Dunfermline; and of such as not only refuse to purge out, but continue to support intruders.

In the second head they assert, That the present judicatures of this national Church are tolerating the erroneous, and supporting and countenancing error; as appears by their conduct in the cases of Mess. Simson, Campbell, and Wilhart.

In the third head they assert, That the present judicatures of this Church have subordinate themselves unto the civil powers in their ecclesiastical meetings, functions, and administrations;—that the crown-rights of the Redeemer have never been asserted, in opposition to the sinful encroachments made upon his spiritual kingdom by parliamentary acts, unlawful oaths, bonds, and tests, during the late times of tyranny and persecution;—that, as a just punishment of this their sin, the act anent Capt. Porteous, appointed to be read from the pulpits the first Sunday of every month for a year, is become a sad snare to Ministers and Judicatures;—and though all the judicatures of this Church, supreme and subordinate, have met since the passing and reading of the said act, yet the readers of it are not censured.

Upon the whole, they protested,
That whatever sentence should be past by the Assembly, their pastoral relation should fill subsist; and that whoever should exercise any part of the ministerial function in their congregations, should be held as intruders, &c.—And beseeching, in the bowels of Christ, their reverend, worthy and dear brethren and Elders, who regard our covénanted testimony for the Church of Scotland, to come out from the present judicatures, and from all ministerial communion with her, as they would not to be partakers of their sins; to make use of the keys of government and discipline, and put to their hand to lift up the standard of a judicial testimony for the born-down tribes of God, for our reformation principles, and purging the house of God, after the example of our worthy progenitors.

After long reasoning, the Assembly divided on this question, Proceed to a final sentence, or Not? and it carried Not by a very few voices. This made the house agree to an output, which they passed into an act; by which they find the libel proven against them, and proclaim, That the said defenders, for the offences so found relevant and proven, do justly merit the highest censures of this Church, and particularly that of deposition;—but forbear the same yet another year, in order to give them a further time to return to their duty, and to render them shall not be excusable if they should persist in their unwarrantable separation;—and this Assembly do earnestly recommend it to the next General Assembly to insist the cause of deposition, without further delay, upon such of the said defenders as shall not, betwixt and that time, either in presence of the Commission, or of the ensuing General Assembly, warrant the said pretended act and declination, and return to their duty and submission to this Church;—and the General Assembly resolve, that their Commission do cite Mr. James Thomson Minister at Burntisland, and Mr. Andrew McGibbon, to answer to the next Assembly for the matters contained in the said libel given in by him and the other defendants;—and ordain presbytery and synods, if they cannot quickly reclaim such Ministers as may hereafter secede, to proceed against them, by way of libel, to the sentence of deposition; and to apply to the Commission for advice, as they shall see cause.

Upon a representation of the Synod of Angus and Mearns, of the tenor of some former applications of other Synods, the General Assembly did take off a sentence of deposition passed by the Commission, 12th March 1736, against Mr. John Glass, then Minister at Tealine, for Independent principles, and did restore him to the character and exercise of a Minister of the Gospel of Christ; but declaring, notwithstanding, that he is not to be esteemed as a Minister of the established Church of Scotland, or capable to be called and settled therein, until he shall renounce the principles embraced and avowed by him, that are inconsistent with the constitution of this Church.

As a Gentleman at Hawick, who has a tennage there, was removing his tan-holes, in which he had nine labourers employed, thinking the men were crowded in working, ordered six of them out of the house to work hard by; they had scarce retired, when by undermining the wall, the whole house came down upon the three labourers; and though the town's people came instantly to their relief, one of them was killed dead, another so crushed that he cannot recover, and the third much hurt.

LONDON.

Noted cause was tried in the court of King's Bench, wherein his Majesty and the Parliament were plaintiffs, and Richard Whitehead, Esq., heir at law to Col. Richard Norton deceased, (who had left an estate of above L. 6000 per annum, and L. 70,000 in money, &c. to the Parliament) defendant. It was tried on two issues; first, Whether the will of the said Richard Norton, Esq., was duly executed? and, Whether he was in his right when the

M
the said will was made? After a hearing, which lasted till four o’clock on Sunday morning, the jury, being a special one of Gentlemen of the county of Hants, brought in for the defendant, being of opinion Mr. Norton was a lunatick at the time of making his will.

The Commons have order’d £5000 to be paid to Solomon Merritt for the ship Santa Isabella, taken by the Spaniards in 1718.

The Lords, in the cause betwixt Geddes and the creditors of Roeberry, affirmed the decree in favour of the creditors.

The Lord Santry was lately tried at Dublin for the murder of Laughlin Murphy, one of his domesticks. The whole trial was carried on with a great deal of state. The Peers unanimously found him guilty; and he received sentence to be executed on the 23d June. Since that time great interest has been made at court in his behalf; and a reprieve is granted till the 18th day of August next.

The 31st instant ended the General Court Martial at Whitehall, on Lieut. Col. Cochran, and Capt. Mackay, both of General Oglethorpe’s regiment in Georgia. And General Oglethorpe, we hear, is ordered home.

According to a list taken in the years 1732 and 1733, there were in Ireland at that time 105,404 Protestant families, and 281,423 Popish families.

Advises from Jamaica give account of a smart engagement that lately happen’d between the Negroes and a party of soldiers commanded by Capt. Guthridge and Lieut. Sadler, in which several were killed and wounded; but the English overpowered them at last, and having pursued them to their town situated in the mountains, soon brought them to capitulate. They offered to clear the woods of deserted negroes, if they themselves might have the liberty of that town, and planting about it.

An extraordinary instance of conjugal affection lately happened in London. A boat on the Thames, in which were six passengers, being overloaded with goods, sunk down; when a man suddenly took his wife, and a child about three years old, laid them cross his belly, and swam’d on his back to shore.

A duel was lately fought at Sligo in Ireland, between Quarter-Master Graham, and Quarter-Master Douglas, in which the latter was killed.

On the 23d inst. happen’d at Braytree in Essex, the greatest storm of rain and hail, attended with a high wind, thunder and lightning, that has been known in the memory of man. It has done a great deal of damage to the hops, beans, pease, and fruit, which are cut off as if cut by a knife. The water rose so high in the town, which stands upon an acclivity, that a boat might swim in the middle of the town.

The 10th inst. There was the most surprising storm of thunder, lightning, rain, and hail, at Bath, that can be remembered in this age.

The 24th inst. the new-born son of Count Stanburgh, Chief Minister for the affairs of Hanover, was baptiz’d by the name of George: Augustus Schutz, Esq; Privy-purse to his Majesty, stood Godfather, as Proxy for the King.

**Maritime Affairs.**

Capt. Otter, bound from Hull to Riga, was lost on the coast of Norway. The Succes, Capt. Main, bound from Bourdeaux to Dublin, is lost near Wexford, and six of the passengers and sailors were drowned.

The Providence, Spencer, bound for Holland from Cape de Verd Islands was lost.

The Trial, Capt. Dolin, bound from Jamaica to Boston, was lost near Jamaica.

The K. George, Capt. Kelley, bound from Lisbon to the Western Islands, was lately lost near one of the said islands.

The East-India company’s ship, the Angelsea, Capt. Studholm, bound for Bombay, was beat to pieces on the coast of Malabar, but the captain and crew were all saved, and the company’s sil-
ver, which was afterwards taken from them by the Indians; and 'tis feared they at last fell into the hands of Angria the pyrate.

The Rio de Janeiro fleet is arrived at Lisbon with 19,000,000 crudefaces, besides diamonds, and other effects.

A Russian frigate is arrived in the river Thames, having on board several hales of rich china, tapestry hangings, &c. a present from the Czarina to his Majesty.

A Spanish frigate lately took several Moors from a vessel belonging to Gibraltar; but Admiral Haddock having writ to the Spanish Admiral at Cartagena, and sent Lord Augustus Fitzroy to demand satisfaction, the Moors, with all their effects, were immediately deliver'd up.

The crew of the ship from Norway, [Mag. p. 187.] came to Frazerburgh. The people there received them with the greatest kindness, and, besides the charity of private persons, they had a very generous publick collection in the church.

Preferments Civil.

The Earl of Morton,—one of the sixteen Peers for Scotland.
The Earl of Hyndford,—Lord Lieutenant of the shire of Lanerk.
John Watson, Esq.—one of the Commissioners of the Excheque in Scotland.
Simon Patrick,—Solicitor of his Majesty's Customs in Scotland.

The Earl of Effex,—his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the King of the Two Sicilies.
The Earl of Halifax,—Warden and Chief Ranger of Salcey forest, and Chief Ranger of Bulby park.
Lord Walpole,—Auditor of the Exchequer.
Edward Walpole,—Clerk of the Pells in the Exchequer.
Mr. Colton,—Professor of the Mathematicks in Cambridge.
Dr. Peters,—Physician General to the army.
James Mill, of Millfield,—Collector of the cefs for Perthshire.

Mr. Philipson,—one of the Commissioners of the navy.

Military.
George Boden,—Captain in the Coldstream regiment of foot-guards.

Marriages.
William Moleworth, Esq.—to Mrs. Dalrymple, widow of Capt. Dalrymple, niece of the Earl of Stair.
Mr. John Walcot,—to Miss Anne Thompson.
Mr. Groves,—to Miss Adams, daughter to Mr. Adams, one of the directors of the East-India company.

Births.
The Lady of Col. Murray, brother to the Earl of Dummore,—of a son, at his house in Cavendish square.
The Lady of Baron Stambourg, chief Secretary of State for the affairs of Hanover,—of a son.
The Lady of the Vicount of Andover,—of a son.
The Countess of Drogheda,—of a daughter.

Deaths.
John Middleton, Esq; Member of Parliament for Aberdeen, &c. Brigadier-General of his Majesty's forces, and Colonel of a regiment of foot.
Jean Countes of Moray, at Donibristle.
Sir Alexander Cockburn of Langton, Barl.
The Lady Frances Douglas, eldest daughter of James Earl of Morton, aged about six.
The Earl of Halifax, Auditor of the Exchequer, and Chief Ranger of Bulby park, aged 58.
John Hay of Balbithan.
Hugh Somervile of Inmertel, Esq; Writer to the Signet.
Mrs. Jean Murray, widow of Col. Craifton, who was killed at the battle of Ramillies.
The Lord Ramsay, son to the Earl of Dalhousie.
Mr. Wm. Baillie, Minister at Inverness.
—Morce, Esq; an eminent banker, and partner to Sir Francis Child.

M an 2 George
Domestic History.

George Mackenzie, Esq; brother to the Laird of Gairloch.  
Maitre John Gower, son to the Lord Gower, about nine months old.  
Lady Anne Pierpont, sister to the Duke of Kingston.  
Sir Cecil Wyche, Bart. his Majesty's Minister to the court of Lower Saxony.  
John Hollings, one of his Majesty's Physicians, and very eminent for the cure of a fistula.  
The only son of the Lord Dillon.  
Sir Roger Martin, Bart.  
Lady Anne Langdale, widow of Sir William Langdale, Bart.  
Major de Ladle, who had been in that station 60 years.  
Jeremiah Dummer, brother to William Dummer, Esq; late Governor of New-England.  
Mr. Thomson, an eminent Lisbon merchant, at Hackney.  
John Newenton, in Sussex, said to be the greatest grazier in England, or perhaps in the world.  
Provost John Campbell, aged 75. He was thrice Lord Provost of this city, and represented it in three successive parliaments.  

On Monday, May 28. died at his house in Essex-court in the Strand, London, the reverend and learned James Anderson, D. D. a member of the Church of Scotland, and native of this kingdom, author of the Royal Genealogies, and several other works; a Gentleman of uncommon abilities, and most facetious conversation: But, notwithstanding his great talents, and the useful application he made of them, being, by the prodigious expense attending the above mentioned work, reduced to slender circumstances, he has, for some years, been exposed to misfortunes, above which the encouragement due to his merit would have easily raised him. — But the remembrance of his qualifications, and the many hardships under which he was publicly known to labour, will serve to shew succeeding generations, There was a time when Italian fingers, by English contributions, were favoured with 5 or 6000 l. per annum, and a Gentleman who, by more than twenty years' study, gave the world a book of inconceivable labour, and universal use, was suffered to fall a victim to his attempts to favour mankind.  

Died within the walls of the city of Edinburgh, and buried in the Gray-friars church-yard, May 1789.  

Men 19, women 19, children 55. In all, 93. Decreased this month, 15.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Disease</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old age</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Consumption</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fever</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Small-pox</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teething</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Chin-cough</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suddenly</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Convulsion</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apoplexy</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Strangury</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gravel</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Child-bed</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Still-born</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Foreign History.

Wether the seasons are to be observed in our time than in the days of our ancestors, in martial, as well as in affairs of another kind, seems at present from the general face of affairs in Europe, to admit of serious enquiry: for though from history it appears February and March were, for ages, esteemed the proper months for taking the field: yet now July and August serve for the same purposes, with this very considerable advantage, That if our modern armies should not much approve of hostilities, the near approach of winter will furnish a very natural necessity for being obliged to march home without risquing the uncertain fate of a battle: And as among the ancients themselves caution was reckoned as valuable...
as courage, it is to be presumed this
age will reach posterity clear of the
smallest imputation of rashness in mi-
litary exploits, unless on account of the
hell expedition of the French into
Italy in 1733; which yet ought to be
excused in consideration of their making
full as much haste back again.

The deposition of the late Grand
Vizier, Mehemed Jagia Basha, is
confirmed from all parts; and it is certain
he is succeeded in that high office by the
Seraffier of Widdin; a man thor-
roughly acquainted with the interests of
Europe, a good officer, and one who
in all respects enjoys an amiable cha-

acter. His elevation has given great
joy to the Janissaries, who were much
offended at the violence and vain-glory
of his predecessor; who was certain-
lly one of the most enterprising min-
iters the Porte has had for many years.
By this change the Basha Count de
Bonveval will be re-inflated in full
favour and reputation, he being a fa-
vourite of the new Grand Vizier, and
always united to his interests.

Letters from Constantinople say,
That Achmet Bashow, who was sent
to Nassia to take upon him the com-
mand of the Grand Seignior's troops in
that province, is returned to that city,
after having dispersed the rebels, and
forced their commander, Sare-Bey-
Oglo, to abandon the castle to which
he had retired; and that the Grand
Seignior, in reward for this service,
had restored Achmet Bashow to the
post of Kiamakan, or Governor of
Constantinople, of which he had been
detained by the intrigues of the late
Grand Vizier.

Accounts very much vary as to the
Ottoman armies taking the field; tho'
ject seems most generally apprehended
their main force will be assembled on
the Niedzor, from Choczin to Bender,
from their marching great bodies on
that side; and it is expected the new
Grand Vizier will command them in
person. Notwithstanding which, it is
reported, with some circumstances of
probability, that a peace is on the car-
pet, and near a conclusion, between the
Porte and his Imperial Majesty, by
the influence of the mediating hand of
France; as a proof of which, it is said,
the Emperor has sent the Marquis de
Villeneuve, the French Ambassador at
Constantinople, a present of a very fine
diamond, valued at 1000 Lewis-òrs.

Some advices say the Russian army
begins to assemble along the Nieper;
but the expectation of a fleet in the
Baltick may be supposed in a great
measure to retard the motions of the
Russian army on the side of Turkey;
its being improbable, notwithstanding
the boasted politeness of the French na-
tion, that they would carry twenty or
thirty ships of war into the Baltick,
merely to pay her Czarian Majesty a
visit. However, it is said that the in-
habitants of Livonia, and of the other
provinces conquered from Sweden, dis-
cover, on every occasion, their desire
of remaining under the Russian go-

vernment, being now in the full enjoy-
ment of their ancient rights and privi-

leges.

Whatever may be the intention of
the French, her Czarian Majesty, who
is no less remarkable for her politeness
and complaisance, than for her nume-
rous other qualifications, is making all
necessary preparations for giving the
French a suitable and very gallant re-
ception; in order for which she is fit-
ting out no less than one hundred
strong galleys, seven large men of war,
and providing 50,000 men in the neigh-
bourhood of Peterburg to assist in the
ceremony.

The conclusion of a peace between
his Imperial Majesty, and the King
of France, calls the attention of seve-
ral of the European courts, and gives
new spirit to the last advice of Vienna,
and may be supposed to widen
the growing coldness and indifference
visible between the Emperor and the
Czarina; which will, in all probabili-
ry, greatly facilitate a peace between
the Porte and the court of Vienna, ex-
clusive of any regard to Russia; for
which the court of France has long la-
boured, by insinuating that while the Em-
peror
perior would agree upon no peace in which Russia was not included, none could be expected.

Count Wallis has, since his arrival in the neighbourhood of Belgrade, visited all the adjacent fortifications, and done every thing necessary to put that part of the country in a state of defence; to which his Imperial master has likewise contributed a little, by obliging some officers, who were so tenderly attach’d to his person as to appear in his court when he supposed them in the rough camp, upon pain of being cashier’d, to repair to their posts.

The military preparations in Sweden are continued with the utmost vigour since the arrival of Captain Sinclair at Stockholm from Constantinople, whither he had been dispatch’d on affairs of importance. The general diet of the kingdom is now dissolved, in which, though some warm disputes had occurred, every thing was at length concluded with a general approbation of all parties.

It is said the ministers of Sweden use their utmost endeavours to bring the King of Prussia into their interest, since his Danish Majesty, on whom the relied, has failed her. It is affirmed from Stockholm, that Mr. Finch, the British Ambassador there, in a conference with some of the Senators, had given them to understand, that his Britannick Majesty, being very well informed that France had resolved to send a squadron into the Baltic, would not fail to have a sufficient fleet in readiness to preserve the trade and tranquillity of the North:—and that Mr. Finch and the Russian minister are frequently together; and the Imperial Envoy often with the French minister.

While the French have any thing to do with the island of Corsica, there is no probability of our being able to rely on one word of advice we receive from thence:—At present, tho’ from several places confirmed accounts are received of the convoy lately sent to the Marquis de Mallebois being parted by a storm, and half the ships lost, yet the Paris A-la-main, with an air of inconsiderate peculiar to that nation, assures us that every plank of them arrived safe; which had enabled the Marquis to mend the road to Casine, &c. and to cut down all the Olive and other trees, upon the produce of which the nation is known principally to depend: A strong mark of affection for the island! In spite of which the rebels, as the French modestly term them, have the assurance openly to convene in their own country, and prohibit communication with their enemies (tho’ they came from France) on the severest penalties, and even death itself, having, in consequence thereof, posted three detachments to secure their papers. And, as an example of the unexpected successes of the French arms, the same A-la-main affords, that advices have been received from Calvi, That a party of Royal Corsicans, i.e. who had deserted the cause of their country to be vassals to France, had made an incursion towards Monte Maggiore; where, with very inconsiderable loss, they left dead upon the plain two men who were watching some cows, and brought off the cattle!

It is allowed on all hands, that the Baron de Droft, nephew to Baron Newhoff, is arrived in Corsica, and by the natives appointed Generalissimo of their forces till the arrival of his uncle, who is daily expected with powerful succours. But in the mean time the French court has secured the three Corsican hostages who had been some time at Toulon, in the castle of St. Nicholas, it being said at Paris that the conduct of the Corsicans has not at all answered his Christian Majesty’s expectations!

The Genoese have so exhausted their publick treasure in the war with Corsica, that they are obliged to load the people with fresh taxes; at which the people loudly murmur, and labels have been fixed up in the most publick places in Genoa, with these words: Our fathers have starved, and we bear their iniquities! revenge thy people, O Lord! — Letters from Corsica acquaint the republic,
publick, that several French officers and soldiers have been affaininated by the inhabitants of Corfica, and even in the town of Batia; on which occasion some are apt to wish they had avoided so melancholy an end, by remaining in their own friendly clime.

Letters from Madrid make no mention of the conferences, in consequence of the late convention, being yet opened; but that it was thought the arrival of the galleons, which are richly laden this year, will enable the Spanish court to speak more plainly as to her present designs. Acquisitions of wealth, and the possession of treasure, belonging to a nation they have not lately taken much trouble to oblige, will not probably increase their disposition to an accommodation, however necessary any other power may find it. — The continuance of the British squadron in the Mediterranean, is said to give the court of Madrid some uneasiness.

His Catholic Majesty has lately published an order to discharge all his great officers, &c. from holding more than one place at a time! A severe regulation, though certainly a rational one: for though pluralities, and plural pluralities, are wink’d at in the churches of several nations; a temporal Prince who expects any thing done for the salaries he allows, will find but few examples of any of his courtiers discovering such a turn for industry as to discharge, properly, the business of three, four, five, or six.

Cardinal Fleury continues in health at Paris, and applies with surprizing indefatigability to the publick affairs of France.

A tumult lately happened at Liege, on account of the oxorbitant price of corn; but by hanging up four of the ring-leaders, matters are mightily reconciled, and the inhabitants of that city in a fair way of knowing what to expect if they do not dutifully submit to their superiors. And

At Bourdeaux a riot was occasioned by the insolence of some of the scholars of that town refusing to let some custom-house officers, or excisemen,
A Register of BOOKS for MAY 1739.

from the 44th of Henry III. to this time. pr. 6 d.

An account of the life and writings of Edmund Dickenson, M. D. (Physician to Charles II.) By W. Homberg, M. A. pr. 3 s. 6 d.

Marmor Norfolciense. pr. 1 s.

Two lectures delivered at Plaisterer's hall. By P. Anet. pr. 6 d.

An epistle to Sir R. Walpole. pr. 1 s.

Rufrinetti of ancient history. By E. Batten. pr. 3 s.

A catechism for the use of the Deists. pr. 4 d.

A treatise concerning original sin. Translated from the Latin of the celebrated Dr. Whitby. By H. Heywood. pr. 4 s.

A canto of the fairy Queen. Written by Spenser. Never before published. pr. 1 s.

The history of the life of Peter the Great. By J. Motley, Esq.—Being written and printed for the benefit of the author, it is sold for 1 l. 1 s. three vol. 8vo.

An attempt to explain the economy of the human frame. pr. 5 s.

The Jewish Spy. pr. 3 s.

A method to prevent the running of wood. pr. 6 d.

The Church-yard. pr. 1 s.

Three odes in the 2d book of Horace imitated. pr. 6 d.

A course of lectures in Natural philosophy. By the late R. Helmsham, M. D. pr. 5 s. 6 d.

Edward and Eleonora; a tragedy. By Mr. Thomson. pr. 1 s. 6 d.

An appendix to Mr. Whiston's new discovery of the longitude. pr. 6 d.

An examination of the enquiry into the meaning of Demonicaks. By S. Pegge, M. A.

An hymn to the supreme Being. By Mr. Bridges. pr. 1 s.

Plain reasons for being a Protestant: In imitation of Deus S—s Plain reasons for being a Christian. pr. 6 d.

Three letters to Sir R. Walpole and Lord Chancellor King. By Mr. Whatley.

The Methodists; a burlesque poem. pr. 6 d.

The beginning and foundation of Mayory. pr. 6 d.

A complete vindication of the centers of the stage. pr. 1 s.

The Man of Pleasure reform'd. A Gentleman. pr. 1 s. 6 d.

The sixteenth Epistle of Horatius. pr. 6 d.

A letter to the author of the Miffellians, in relation to Abraham's probation. pr. 1 s. 6 d.

A letter from a Spaniard in Madrid. to his friend at Madrid. pr. 6 d.

The Unfortunate Dutchman. An answer to an objection to an Essay on religion. pr. 6 d.

Some important duties of religion proved from the Bible. By H. L'Estrange, Esq.; Philemon to Rydges.

The principles of liberality stated and defended. marphicheldon. pr. 6 d.

A protest taken in the name of every body, against several things in the Church of England. pr. 6 d.

Plain-dealing; or, the history of the Seceding formation of others. pr. 3 d.

A defence of the principles of the Church of England. pr. 6 d.


A summary view of the state of the Church of England.

The partial enquiry into the supposition of the claims to; as a racteristics of the State and of those bodies rally most abu:
CONTENTS.

Objections to Magazines, with answers p. 243

WEEKLY ESSAYS.

Hopes of the nation on the Hanover succession 246
Defect of the laws against penury 247
Secret service money increased annually ib.
Deficiency in the civil list not to be accounted for 249
Bad consequences of a bribing ministry ib.
The Quack's proposal for an alliance with Mr. Wb—s—d 250
Definition of a party, and of a faction 253
An arbitrary minister uneasy to his own creatures ib.
Sir John Eliot's speech against the Duke of Buckingham 254
Uniting in one national party the only means of saving our liberty 255
Late measures inconsistent with Whig-gism 256
Danger of confounding our enemies with our friends 257
Pride a bane to civility 260
Character of Embakus, &c. ib.
Eudocia's letter ib. 261
Story of Sir Richard Steele ib.
Proposal for a faculty of politics at Oxford 262

An answer to the Queries sent to Mr. Whitefield p. 264
Forbearance of the government to its inveterate enemies 265
Difference between the British and arbitrary government 266
Pangyrick on his Majesty's Speech 267
Stephens's care for the stone 268
A care for the gout 270
The King's speech ib.

POETRY.

Remainder of the Northern Star 271
Ad D. N.—m M—d ode 273
Albertus the second 275
A wife for a young lady going to the country ib.

DOMESTICK HISTORY.

L-d V-f—t G-go's speech 276
The Speaker's speech to his Majesty 281

Foreign History 283
Claims to Juilier and Bergues 287
Register of Books 288

On the 24th of July p.m. there will be an eclipse of the sun, the beginning, duration, and end, as follows, calculated for the latitude of Edinburgh, from Sir Isaac Newton's Theory, by John Chapman.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Apparent Time.</th>
<th>Mean Time.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H. m. s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beginning</td>
<td>2 52 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visible Conjunction</td>
<td>4 07 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ending</td>
<td>5 16 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duration</td>
<td>2 23 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digits eclipsed</td>
<td>8° 18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we shall, pursuant to our promise, begin the Debates next month, we have deferred the List of Votes for and against the Convention, that it may be inserted in a proper place.

A letter was left for L—— B—— some time ago at the place desired.
The Scots Magazine.

JUNE, 1739.

We hope the ingenious Author of the following Letter will not disapprove the method we have taken of replying to his Objections distinctly; for, by our Answers immediately succeeding the Objections to which they are made, both will be more easily conceived and attended to, than if the whole of his Letter was read, before we began our Defence.

To the Author of the Scots Magazine.


"Hovou in general I approve well enough of your design, there appear to me some Objections against such works, be they ever so well executed, and I must also be free to say, a few exceptions may be made to the particular execution of your Plan. — I am sensible of the reluctance with which most men receive correction of this kind; but be assured that, notwithstanding the pitiful practice at present, of Public Writing, Editors, Collectors, Abridgers, &c. stifling every attempt to confute them, and foolishly publishing only such as extol themselves or their labours, if you are really possessed of the candour necessary in a servant of the publick, you will think it as much your duty to answer objections, as to receive applause.

First then, By the publick papers, and especially by the Craftsmen and Common Sense, the English Magazines have been spoken of as Pyrates, or Invaders of the properties of others, who have supposed themselves the sole proprietors of what they first publish, and entitled to all profit which can arise from such Essays, under any shape whatever."

Answer. It must be owned that the English Magazines have by some Newspapers, and more frequently by the two above named, been treated as Invaders of their properties: But, surely, very unjustly by them or any other weekly papers, who subsist for all their intelligence, foreign and domestic, upon the news, &c. purchased at a very dear rate by the papers which appear daily, who buy all, and can borrow none; and even whole toasts, through hurry or wrong information, are every week copied verbatim, without so much as the necessary alterations which time, place, &c. require. — This alone is sufficient to silence the weekly collectors from offering to blame those who every week take the same freedom with them which they take with others every day! And as to the charge of injury to any, when traced to its first and most rational rise, it will be found to have no manner of foundation according to the necessary practice of mankind, and the nature and fitness of things. Every chronicle, may, every history of the times, will include whatever is remarkable against which, an account of a memorable accident or occurrence being first printed in such a paper would be but a
OBJECTIONS and ANSWERS.

An. Partiality is certainly inexcusable in such designs; but if writings tending to explain and enforce the nature of our constitution and privileges, the interest of our government, and the dangers which threaten it, are written well enough to deserve the publick attention on their first appearance, they are also deserving of a place in a collection calculated as well for perspicuity as for the present time; since writings founded upon principles in themselves true, will ever have the same weight of their use and excellence; and, while fraudulent eulogies, can never be read out of fashion. — As to the bad impression political writings may make, by prevailing prejudices, &c. it is certainly the duty of every collector never to offer any personal Calumny, Private reproach, or the evident effects of malice on either side, without the defense of the persons attacked; whereby the reader will be able to use his own judgment, and to approve or disapprove as he thinks convenient.

Where this is not done, the fault is not in the nature of such a design, but in the execution of it.

"Obj. III. The Magazines have been complained of, I think with great reason, for encreasing new Books and Pamphlets, and too often publishing pieces of old tracts upon their readers in the garb of new ones."

An. Extracts from new and curious books are a very useful part of a Magazine, when executed upon the plan of literary intelligence only, and not by inferring the whole by piece-meal, too often practised. Accounts of good or remarkable books are of great service both to the readers of such articles, and the proprietors of such books; but to infer a whole truth without the request of the author, is no way warrantable, where there is a possibility of injuring his interest thereby. And as to the palming of old ones upon the world for new ones, that can only be done by such as are unfit to be concerned in any work of the nature of that in dispute, every reader of which ought..."
to be supposed capable of detecting such an imposition.

"Obj. IV. Your brethren of England are greatly blamed for engraving so much of the publick attention upon their own paltry disputes relating to property of what every one knows belongs to both alike; and as adds greatly to the force, is, their charging each other with the guilt of borrowing from each other’s collection, while bid live by borrowing only—as if their taking whatever they pleased from others, were an ample security from any daring to take from them!"

Ans. This is so true, that we blush to infer is, and cannot offer to vindicate a practice so notoriously absurd; there being no such thing in nature as rubbing a Magazine.

"Obj. V. With respect to your own Magazine, it is thought, by several Gentlemen, to be prostituted with a good deal of spirit; which, no doubt, is in great measure owing to the chearful reception you have met with: but yet they think you deserve some blame on account of omitting two or three papers which were taken notice of by many as smart pieces."

Ans. It would be impossible to infer, verbatim, (the method we have hitherto almost constantly observed, and shall continue to pursue) every paper that comes out: though we flatter ourselves we have not yet omitted one remarkable for any one excellence, unless it related to some other tedious paper, without which it would have been unintelligible, and with which it would engross more room than was proportionable to the entertainment it could yield our readers; to which a strict regard is always necessary, preferably to any other consideration: and there is, especially in political essays, such bastard in pleasing of readers, and such a certainty of displeasing authors we ought not to disoblige, that we chuse to infer entire whatever we borrow from them; which not only prevents any just cause of complaint on account of their being curtailed, &c. but, if they really write for the publick information, and the benefit of mankind, we aid their intention and merit their regard, by transmitting their labours to thousands who would otherwise never see, and consequently have no benefit from them.

"Obj. VI. I heard it suggested, on reading Mr. Toupée’s letter in March, that you favoured the Cou—t. And many serious people think his letters in general of little use."

Ans. Nothing can be more certain than that Mr. Toupée is, both in mind and fortune, above any mean attachment whatever. If the behaviour of the author of a play refused representation appeared to him ridiculous, we are very sure the fear of being thought to side with the Cou—t, would be as far from concealing his sentiments, as a desire of being thought to oppose it, would be unable to move his pen. This we know to be true, he being remarkable for his freedom from engagements with any party, and his impartiality to all.

—This much we think our duty to declare of a Gentleman who, we presume, deserves so much the esteem of the unbiassed, and to whom we are greatly obliged.—As to the use of his letters, they were only calculated for entertainment, and that chiefly of such as are so often in London as to partake frequently of the polite diversions of that place. To these they will yield an agreeable amusement, and to the gay part of our readers, in general, they will be always acceptable.—To the serious they will be sure to appear useless, as they will scarcely be intelligible: But our steady attention to subjects of a more weighty kind, we hope, makes ample recompence for the small space devoted to diversion.

"Obj. VII. Among your poetry, you have inserted several pieces possessed of no swelling excellence, and some that are little more than passable."

Ans. In our poetical articles we thought we had rather erred in being too curious, by giving much more attention to what we have inserted than
is commonly bestowed upon collections of that kind: for, the perfect pieces are worthy our first regard; the greatest use we hope to be of with respect to the Muses, is being a means of transmitting little essays to the world which are not wholly destitute of merit, without the authors being oblig’d to suffer by the reception they meet with, be what it will; whereby a young writer will have an opportunity of hearing his beauties and blemishes remarked with a freedom he would scarcely ever meet with from any who knew him the author, and be thereby enabled to judge of his genius this way, and to correct whatever in his manner of writing stands in most need of amendment.—On this consideration, we hope any composition possessed of any one excellence, whether of thought or diction, will be allowed a full claim to a place among pieces submitted to the public judgment and entertainment, and not to our own.—We have hitherto been very happy in our correspondents, and shall do our utmost to merit the continuance of their favour, by inferring, with all possible expedition, whatever is fit for the public view; intertreating, on behalf of our younger poets, that our readers will remember, when any thing appears rough and unfinished, That the greatest Bards must have a beginning.

"Obj. VIII. From the date of your publication some are ready to conclude you are afflicted by the Magazines of England in several particulars. This, perhaps, you cannot avoid; but the least cause you give for suppositions of this kind, it will be the better for your interest and credit.—I have no ungenerous motive for the freedom I have here taken; but being a well-wisher to every thing that can prevent our being oblig’d to our neighbours, I was willing to acquaint you with these few objections that have occurred in my notice, in order either for your answering them, or avoiding the occasions for them for the future. I am,

SIR,
Your humble servant,
PROBUS."
and navy were to be managed with the utmost economy, and the charges of them considerably reduced. — It was supposed, and made an argument by Mr. Addison, in the freeholder, that the revenues of Hanover would be an ease and strength to us, instead of a burthen. — Indeed, the beginning of the late reign, and the transactions of one year, corresponded pretty well with these promises, and gave us the most pleasing prospect of having our just expectations fulfilled. The ministry even proposed a bill, [1 Geo. cap. 56. f. 1.] which passed, for enforcing the law last mentioned against pensioners during pleasure sitting in the house of Commons. They carried it farther, and extended it against pensions for any number of years, inflicting a penalty of 20 l. a-day, to be paid to the prosecutor.

By both these acts it appears, at least, to be the design of the legislature, that our laws ought not to be made, nor the measures of the ministry to be servilely approved of, by such creatures.

I have already observed how the crown, or more properly the minister, (whenever we are cursed with a base and corrupted one) often turns those very laws, which are made for the preservation of the whole people, to their disadvantage and imminent destruction. — The defect of this law against pensioners hath since been very visible; for, such high corruption being always of a secret nature, who can prosecute and convict, but he who gives the pension? The person, who receives it, without acquainting the house, sells himself for ever to his corruptor. There is no purgation on the receiver, nor any penalty on the buyer.

Lord Halifax did likewise reduce the expense of the civil-list, [see the case of the sinking fund, p. 75, 76, 77.] as low as the exigencies of the publick; at that time, would admit, and the honest service of the nation require; upon which account some Gentlemen then served for honour, and parted with their increased salaries. — He was therefore soon worm'd out of power by one, who was much more liberal of the publick money; by whom an addition of 100,000 l. a-year was obtained for the crown; who always pleaded for avowed corruption; who purchased favour by giving to all alike, and of consequence made the round of corruption constant and necessary for him.

That less than 700,000 l. a-year would have been sufficient for the civil-list, appears very plainly, not only from what it cost before so great a sum was given; (all the money issued the first year for the civil-list, being no more than 361,161 l.) but from what might be expected, when this additional grant passed, and to what purposes it would be applied; since a motion was made for an address to his Majesty, [Pol. state, vol. 9. p. 397.] "That he would be pleased to retrench all unnecessary pensions, and grant no more any such for the future. — Hereupon Mr. R———— W——le, with his usual eloquence, showed he ought not to limit the King's beneficence, nor deprive his Majesty from the exercise of the most glorious branch of his royal prerogative, which is, to bestow his favours on such as distinguish themselves in his service."

Here was a glorious plan of power laid down; which hath been too successfully pursued, for some particular ends; how beneficial to the nation, I need not say; but as this most glorious branch of the royal prerogative was to be without stint, it cannot be said that it hath been restrained ever since.

The reason therefore for giving so much constantly begets a reason for giving more, as well as the power of obtaining it; if it should ever happen that those, who grant it, are to share it, and nothing should be necessary but to gratify their demands.

This will appear more plainly, by observing that, during the first year of his late Majesty's reign, there was issued for secret services (a service that allows of no credit) but 7250 l. The next year, under a more distributing minister, 32,766 l. — For the privy purse the first year, nothing. The second year, 25,000 l. — The pensions, to the
amount of about 25,000 l. which occasioned such complaints the first year, were doubled in the second year.—To run through every article, as well as every year, would be too long for a correspondance of this nature. It is sufficient to observe, that this influence continued to increase. Corruption begets corruption, and multiplies itself under a minister, whose only skill confines in a lavish profusion of the publick treasure; giving money to every one who would take it, and looking upon every body that refused it, as an enemy to his and the royal family: for both men and women would, by such a minister, be thought marketable, like beasts. No virtue, or abilities would be recommendations to his favour. Corruption would be the only principle and foundation of his politics. The humour of the nation, its trade and revenues, must be sacrificed to it; left, the money should be diverted into other channels, and not enough left to maintain himself in power, and enable him to purchase the highest as well as the lowest tools. — May this nation never be punished with such a minister; or may he speedily meet with his just reward! — I hope we never shall: but are there no reasons to apprehend it, from what we have seen already, considering how small the sums before mentioned are, in comparison to what was issued for the same pious use, from Lady-day 1721 to Lady-day 1725, for the privy purse, secret service, pensions, bounties, and monies without account, which amounted to prodigious a sum as 2,728,759 l. which, upon an average for the four years, is 682,189 l. a-year?

There is likewise reason to suspect that some other advantages have been formerly taken of the people, by anticipating the money at the office, and never accounting for it; since, notwithstanding his present Majesty's immense civil-lift, the sum of 115,000 l. was demanded, as a pretended deficiency for the very first year: and though the ministers themselves made a motion to call for the accounts of that year's revenue; yet they would not even trust the proper officers to make it up accordingly, but gave them private orders, under their hands, to do it in a quite different manner. It was then discovered by the opposition to that question, that the anticipations were not brought to account; by which means the publick was to pay double for them. However, the money must be had, at any rate; and therefore, when the pretence of a deficiency was discovered to be groundless, it was asked and granted as an arrear, with just as much reason, to be repaid upon his Majesty's demise. But as the civil-lift is now three quarters in arrear, and may possibly be so again, upon that melancholy occasion, we have but very little hopes of being ever reimbursed.

It hath been already allowed by a very great and honourable provision, that 700,000 l. a-year, without account, is better than a revenue of 800,000 l. a-year, which is annually accounted for to parliament.—We see that the 800,000 l. a-year, which was then deemed fully sufficient to answer all the ends of the civil-lift, is not thought enough at present; though it is estimated, by some persons, at about 950,000 l. a-year: since, though it was designed to make an honourable provision for all the royal family, it is drain'd so low, that, instead of 100,000 l. a-year, it can afford but 50,000 l. a-year to the Prince of Wales; instead of paying the Prince of Orange's fortune out of it, the nation hath given 80,000 l. with a pension of 5000 l. a-year during her life: and though it is now increased, by the demise of her late Majesty, 50,000 l. a-year, and 40,000 l. was saved last year in the expences of the boyhood; this additional 90,000 l. a-year is so far from being sufficient to increase the Prince of Wales's allowance, though he hath already three children born, or to lay up any thing as a provision for the rest of the royal family, that 30,000 l. is this year granted in pensions for life, to the Duke and the young Princes, without any accounts delivered in, or any examination whether the revenues were sufficient.
sent for that purpose.— Nay, the civil
is not able to purchase even Mrs. Ste-
man's receipt for curing the stone; but
the nation must be at the charge of it,
though the crown used formerly to pay
for those kinds of things, as his late Ma-
jefty did: but it cannot now afford a
fitting sting towards any publick use, or ex-
 pense.

When the Gin and passed, which was
but a few years ago, we were told, that
his Majesty's prudent economy was a wor-
thy example to all his subjects; and so
no doubt it is. He then paid punctu-
ally, and was therefore served cheaper
than any of his predecessors. — To
what cause therefore can this great de-
ficiency be owing? The pensioners, per-
haps, may pretend that it is not their
fault, and impute it to the expenses of
a late journey: but I am far from be-
ing of their opinion; for the purchase
of the post-office at Hanover, valued at
4000 l. a-year, and the bayliwick of
Steinburg, together with the bishopric of
Osnaburg, and something else, will
make a tolerable provision for a young
Prince.

They may likewise pretend that this
arrear is occasioned by the necessities of
the m——r, without his master's know-
ledge; and that they are supported only
by a certain, stated, annual sum out of
the civil lift, the disposition of all places,
and some other private advantages, by
the modern method of accounting.

But as none but pensioners can reason
in this manner, it proves my argument
unanswerable, of the great burthen they
are upon the subject, and the utes for
which they are paid; since they will
not leave enough to support his Majesty,
and the royal family, with the common
necessaries of life, without running into
debt, which the nation is no longer able
to bear.

I shall conclude this paper with a
few general remarks upon what hath
been said.

Can it be supposed that any minister,
who may hereafter raise and maintain
himself in power, by the sole expediency
before mentioned, will ever grow more
parsimonious for the publick, or less ne-
cessitous to support his ravenous crew?
What approbations must constantly fol-
low such a boundless distribution of
publick money? — Can a minister, in
this condition, think of any thing else
but the annual rotations of it? — Tho'
s he should find the nation in flourishing
circumstances at home, and peace with
all powers abroad, he would be inca-
pable of preserving us in it. The gree-
dines of his mercenary dependents, and
the possible views of the crown, would
drive him into every scheme of ex-
pense, for his own protection. The
bullying of all nations, and even our
best friends, at a vast and most ridicu-
losous charge, would operate two ways;
by making his court, and employing
a multitude of importunate solicitors,
who would be always hanging upon
him. He could never think of cor-
recting the first false step, but must go
blundering on from year to year; till
by the dint of absurd negotiations, he
destroy the balance of Europe, and not
only leaves his country without an Ally
in the world, but makes every state ei-
ther their open or secret enemies.

They may have military rare-bows
and other publick diversions, as long as
they please to pay for them; but peace,
during his Time, would be the in-
viable rule of his politicks. Rumours
of wars would be his harvest, by giving
him a pretence for raising money, and
getting provender for his faction. He
would sooner destroy the nation, and all
Europe, than hazard one year of his
reign; which would certainly be his
care, in a war, notwithstanding the
common maxim, That times of war are
the most safe to an administration. He
would therefore be eternally ringing
the changes upon the common school-
boy's theme, That peace is better than
war, as a full proof of the best mea-

ures. It would be impossible for any
nation to maintain a war, however ne-
cessary it might be, under such a mini-
ister: for every power in Europe would
soon find out the stretch of his genius,
and the depth of all his politicks, which
at most could arrive only at purchasing

a
a little intelligence; and, perhaps, when it is too late to make any solid use of it. A war, manag’d by such an hand, would certainly be ridiculous; and, without a miracle, unsuccessful; especially if the nation, who carries it on, should become a laughing-stock, and a word of reproach amongst all their neighbours.

War would certainly be the ruin of a minister, who should ever employ all the fines of it in a corrupt warfare against the liberties and constitution of his country.—The first and most visible fund, for carrying it on, with success, would be, the saving of what should be appropriated to the justification of his measures, and the pay of his faction, as well as a reduction upon all the heads of services and management; which might produce a vast annual sum. —But then what would become of the government? by which both the minister and the people would plainly perceive that he meant himself. — Why truly the Prince and the nation must be content to have men serve them, who have abilities to consider and pursue the interests of both; and who must be satisfied with the credit that would result only from the fidelity of their measures. —Those, who are masters of no arts but that of corrupting, cannot stand upon such ground. It is therefore destruction to such men; and they would ruin a whole nation rather than themselves. Whenever the measure of their iniquity is full, the people would not bear it any longer. All things have naturally their determined periods. Surely corruption cannot be the only exception. —A mercenary, indeed, might flatter himself that the contention is only who should be his pay-master; of such utility he takes himself to be, that he does not see when the candle is almost burnt out, though it should burn the fingers of him who holds it. But every pensioner ought to consider that he may give a minister so much power as to render himself useless, and so become a felo de se.

I am, &c.

Universal Spectator, June 2:

The celebrated Dr. R——x, to the more celebrated Apostle Wh——t——d.

Reverend greeting brother,

As treaties are the mode of the times; and, to speak in the language of the vulgar, no one tub now cares to stand on its own bottom, even I, though so deservedly famous for the numberless and nameless cures that I have performed, though posted up at the corner of every street, lane and alley in this vast metropolis, and for so many years on record in every newspaper, that has appeared on either side of the grand question, I even descend at last to propose an alliance between me and my laudable brethren, the Quacks, on one side, and you and your regenerated co-adjuvants, the collectors of Kennington-common, on the other. —But, before we proceed any farther, as a hint to the politicians, let it be observed, that we are led to this motion by our natural interest; that our views of reciprocal advantage are apparent, and that we literally couple like to like; whereas they often prove themselves such blunderers, as to league with their enemies, and quarrel with their friends; nor are sensible of their folly, till they feel it in their misfortunes.

Si populus voluisset deperiri: I don’t know whether that is good Latin or no; but if not, I have learned of you, that human wisdom is no accomplishment, and of course, ignorance no reproach. However, as I take it, the meaning is, that one fool makes many; and I must needs say, that craft on our side is not sufficient, unless folly is on that of our auditory. —Let this then be the basis of our future confederacy: to disappoint our knowledge, and cry up implicit faith in the Doctor; to effect which, I have observed, nothing is so invariable as mystery. When men talk

* The place where W——t——d used to preach, and collect.
talk to be understood, the very vulgar themselves can examine their principles, can unravel their arguments, and plead their own reason to dissent from their conclusions: but when we wrap ourselves round with obscurity, talk, like what St. Paul heard when snatched up into the third heaven, things that no conception can attain to, who can expose? who can reprove? Beside, the herd love to wonder, and the superstitious, both on the stage and in the pulpit, never fail'd of succeeding beyond the most sanguine expectations.

I was overjoy'd to read your incomprehensible journals, and hear your more incomprehensible orations. To experience warnings and inspirations; hear, see, taste and touch, as one may say, the breathings of divine love!—these were things that I foresew could not fail of seducing our very good friends the mob: And then your journeys by land and water! your preachings in the synagogues! your exercises in the fields! but, above all, this notable expedient of collecting charities, won my very heart!—I was then convinced you was one of us: I felt an irresistible sympathy attracting my affections towards you, and could hardly rest till I had made you an offer of my friendship and services.

Beside, I found there was the exactest similitude both in our callings, and in our measures to render those callings profitable. If you set up for a copy of St. Paul, as 'tis observed you do, even to the mimicking Raphael's picture of him at Hampton-court) I do the fame by the old stager, Hypocrize, I think they call him; if you undertake to cleanse and purify the soul, I do the like by the body; if you are an enemy to the regular drones of your profession, I am as much to those of ours, if you profest to serve the publick for the sake of the publick, so do I: Do you pocket the fee when 'tis offered? I do the fame: are the mob your customers? they are mine likewise: are you called a Quack in doctrinals? I bear the same reproach in practice: are you the scorn and jeft of men of sense? I want but very little of being as much their jest and scorn as you: In a word, if 'tis said that you turn the brains of your patients, 'tis affirmed, with equal truth, that I destroy the constitutions of mine.

From this parallel, Sir, of our character and conduct, which all the world must allow to be impartial, 'tis obvious that nothing can be more reasonable than the alliance above propofed, and, of course, that it should be embraced with open arms on both sides. —But, perhaps, you will affect to be ashamed of such an union, and may intinuate it will endanger your sanguine reputation. —In answer to which, Sir, give me leave to say, that I have scruples on that head as well as you; such as, perhaps, are much better grounded than your's, and consequently are much more difficult to remove. —No body, I thank God, can upbraid me with devouring widows houses, leading captive silly women, ruining the peace, and confounding the substance of families; preaching up Grief, and playing the devil; blindly recommending charity, and at the same time guilty of the worst oppression, by squeezing out the last mite out of the pockets of the poor, robbing both them and the community of their time, and exulting the wholesome spirit of industry, to make room for that fiend Enthusiasm; blind, undistinguishing Ruthusiasm! a fiend, that, from the experience of all past ages, never was let lose among the multitude but to do mischief; mischief that knew no bound or end! wild and furious as the sea, as treacherous and as destructive. —I say, Sir, no body can upbraid me with being the cause of so extensive a calamity. —And yet, Sir, these, and a thousand things of the like nature, are irreverently said of a certain person that shall be nameless, every hour of the day, I believe in every part of the kingdom. —Neither are they contented with gravely accusing this truly reverend personage of being a publick pest, an incendiary of the worst kind, and a deceiver of the peo-
ple; but those that have wit and humour, make him the constant butt of both: when they hear of the prodigious quantities of brass he receives, they say he is paid in his own coin; when they are told that he apes the character of St. Paul, they say, if he was under the lash of the beadle, there might be some resemblance; when 'tis said he prophesies against the great city, like Jemab, and is as angry that God will not trust him with the issuing his judgments, they recommend him to be first thrown overboard to appease the storm of his own raising; when they hear of the crowds that follow him, they immediately take the hint, and calculate from thence the number of fools in Britain, and that as minutely and exactly as the Jews from a flat-lottery. — To this they add a thousand humourous tales, of the knavery of hypocrisy, the extravagance of credulity, and the madness of superstitition; all pointed and severe, all exposing the craft, and tending to ridicule both the fax that preaches, and the giff that make up his audience.

The proverb says, A word to the wise is enough; consequently, I have no need to apply what has been said: you see plainly now your reputation will run no hazard by uniting your interests with mine; but, on the contrary, if there's any danger of character on either side the question, 'tis on mine. I really have some conscience remaining; and, though, God knows, a very grievous finner, can't help thinking myself more innocent than a modern saint: but what have we to do with innocence? — Gain, I take it, is your godliness, as it is my publick spirit; for gain I practise, and you preach: let gain then, mutual gain, be the cement of our alliance! let us fairly divide the mob between us, as prize-fighters do the house; the fleece is large enough for both; neither need we in the least interfere in each other's trade. At the theatre, musick and a prologue introduce every new play, and keep the audience in good humour 'till the curtain is drawn up: this part of the enterainment is all I desire for my Andrew and myself; and when you are ready to mount, we'll instantly resign; unless you inflict on the aforesaid fictitious Gentleman's setting the psalm, or one of the Rev. Mr. W——'s or Dencon S——'s hymns in its stead. I can assure you, Sir, Andrew has an admirable talent that way; can twang it through the nose like a Scots organ, and put on a face that Hugh Peters himself would have been charm'd with. By this means one atage may do for both, and our miracles keep pace with each other. To which let me add, by way of hint as to private practice, that when I perceive my patients departing, I'll send them to you for spiritual consolation: convert are easily made in the last moments, and a will may be drawn as methodical as you please. On the other hand, as one good turn deserves another, when you find the spirit too strong for the flesh; or, in other words, zeal becomes madness, and your lunatics as fast as you make them to me; I can bleed, purge, shave and diet as well as M——, and you shall have a share of the profits into the bargain.

But perhaps, in answer to all this, you'll say, you are returning to the brethren in America, to enjoy the fruits of all your labours in the Lord. It may be so; but will not a new Eliza arielle, with a double portion of your spirit, to collec& in your room? I don't question but there will.— The itch of avarice and popularity works as strongly as inspiration itself; and as you have met with so plenteous a harvest, 'tis not to be questioned but others will be found who will be glad of the gleanings.— To them then let me have the honour to be join'd, if not to you: for, as I hinted above, our way lies through the same road, and the same set of patients serves for both. I am, with the most cordial affection,

Reverend brother,

Your fellow-labourer,
The words PARTY and FACTION, by being often used as synonymous terms, the ideas properly annexed to each of them have been confounded; it becomes necessary to explain them.

By PARTY, as I understand the sense of the word, and I think I could prove it from the English history, was always meant; A national division of opinions, concerning the form and method of government; for the benefit of the whole community, according to the different judgments of men; that their conformity to those principles, as the motive of their respective actions, distinguished the Party; and that by his fruit one might know the tree: That from the moment this contention for the real service of their country was given up by men invested with power, and a corrupt influence, upon which only they united; they became a Faction: for I conceive a Faction to be a set of men armed with power, and acting upon no one principle of party, or any notion of public good, but to preserve and share the spoils amongst themselves, as their only cement; that they may be able to do every thing contrary to the interest of the nation, and the benefit of the whole people. — This is properly a faction; and though some persons may take it ill to be called by that name; yet it is doing them too much honour to give them even such a rank of distinction, which arises only from the politeness of the present age, in order to magnify each other's virtues; and lessen each other's crimes; by a different denomination. — Faction is founded upon a share of power, as well as plunder. Many persons may partake of the latter; but if one man alone should ever engross the whole power and distribution of all places, honours, and other court favours; in order to create an absolute dependence upon himself, without suffering even his Prince to participate any power with him in that respect; what would his fellow-subjects be, however dignified by birth, titles, employments; or abilities, but the abject tools and partizans of that man, and his illusrious house?

Whenever a nation is reduced to such a wretched state, every man would see it, and feel it; the corruptions, as well as the sin-corruptions. — Taxes, oppression, poverty, and still conduct in every branch of government, would open the eyes of the latter; and the former must not only know it, but bear their testimony of it: for if ever one man should, for many years together, have the sole disposition of every thing in the army, the navy, the law, the church; and the revenue, without suffering any persons to share with him, even in their proper departments; it would not occasion murmurs and complaints from his own creatures; though he should have adjured to himself an arbitrary power, for a long course of years; — would not they, who bear the names of the greatest parts of honour and truth; when they are used only as ornaments of advice, and names of power, sometimes lament their own condition, and the state of the nation? — would they not complain that one man alone engrosses the whole management to himself; that one must alone advise, and no body else dares speak his genuine thoughts in a certain place, though it was never so necessary for the preservation of his country? — This is unavoidable: for give men the pay of great places, and their pride will be always reproaching them with the contempt, which their want of power creates; since they are even robbed of the airs of dignificancy, and reduced to the necessity of infaming only that they either advise, or oppose any measure, being obliged to speak or vote for it in publick, and privately ask whether they came off tolerably well. — Would not the whole well paid and disciplined party be daily giving evidences of it? They would like the pay, but not the measures. They would willingly receive the money, and part with nothing for it. Reduction of taxes, liberty, and every thing else that is dear to mankind; would be very agreeable to them, provided they could keep
keep their purchase-money. They would still feel, and have something worth feeling; the dangers of which they would often burst forth, and explain their private opinions directly contrary to their publick ones. — The spirit of liberty would force its way through all opposition, and give the soul a breathing, by the hopes of a better change. — The penance they do, and the sacrifices they make to the Judges of their country would be evidences against them. — But whenever they feel themselves actuated by national motives, they would be told in an insolent manner, that they had not so much given them to feel themselves the very dangers to which they would be exposed, and the fear of being of no longer use: for corruption in practice, can be carried only to a certain height, before it must be lost in reformation of abuse, or arbitrary power. — The more expensive a minister is, the more he destroys the means of corruption. — If the more pay created the more honour, how many are more honourable than a smuggler, and a smuggler more than a common soldier, who is obliged to fight for his country, at six pence a day? yet we see that the left, from the effect of good discipline and pay, is ready to march upon the most desperate enterprises, at the word of command. But if he happens to escape, he will complain to all the world of the rash and ill conduct of his General. This is exactly the case of every mercenary band: for though they are obliged to obey their commander, for the sake of their pay; yet when he puts them upon unnecessary and dangerous services, they will endeavour to justify themselves, by expounding his mismanagement, and can never love him afterwards.

What hath been already said is sufficient to point out the distinction between Party and Faction; but more especially between a National Party, and being the servile followers of one man, who can therefore be intituled, at most, to the denomination of the Ministerial Party. — Some things are best proved and illustrated, by putting them into opposite lights, and comparing small things with great. — As such may be consider'd the administration and impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham in the time of K. Charles I. From thence we may learn, that places, when once given, were looked upon as granted quaedam fe bens jeffinis; which is at length obtain'd for the Judges. The nature of the thing alone implies it for, what is the intention of creating places, but to do the business of the publick, as long as they act according to justice and equity? Indeed, long before these times, the Judges had been made more useful to the crown, and detrimental to the people, by commissions during pleasure. But we find that all other places were look'd upon in another light at that time, from the very articles of this impeachment, by selling, and even buying places for himself. The article for selling the Lord Treasurer's place to the Earl of Middlesex, for 20,000 l. in the reign of K. James I. may seem very odd at present. The King can do no wrong; and therefore it was laid upon the Minister: but history informs us that the King had the money, and sold the place. This is probably the first precedent of a King's selling his Treasurer's place. — I leave the reader to judge whether this hath not been finely improv'd since, to the great emolument of the crown, and ease of the subject. This Treasurer being fallen into disgrace, could not then be removed but by an accusation in parliament. — It may be thought too great a digression to pursue this point any farther; and therefore, to shorten the whole, which would afford many observations, I will quote only that part of Sir John Eliot's speech, in which he sums up the impeachment against the Duke.

"I observe a wonder in policy and in nature, how this man, so notorious in evil, so dangerous to the state in his immense greatness, is able to subvert himself and keep a being. — To this I answer, that the Duke hath us'd the help of art to prop him up. It is apparent that, by his skill, he hath raised a party in the court, a party in the country, and a main party in the chief places of go-
hath been laid upon that subject already. But it is impossible that the nation should preserve its liberties, or even its very being, whilst their laws and their wealth are given up for the subsistence of a ministerial party only. Nothing can make a stand against them, unless the whole people unite, when they feel the effects of it, in one national party for a party founded upon corruption, which always extends prerogative, as we have seen in Buckingham's case, was the cause of the future miseries of the people, and the misfortune of the Prince. The necessary expenses afterwards, in order to free ourselves from that load of prerogative, hath placed in the crown, or minister, another power of governing, which I need not mention. The desires of all people, as a body, should therefore be to preserve the nation free and flourishing, so as neither to be enslaved by Tory prerogative, or Whig corruption.

It is in vain to think that this nation can ever preserve itself from the excess of either of these means, especially of both united, as long as they continue a divided people, by idle names and absurd distinctions. The practices of their leaders have too often shown, that the contention is only about different means of obtaining absolute power for themselves and their master. The good of the whole hath been often entirely neglected by the ministers of both denominations, and all their court made by increasing the power and riches of the crown. This ought at last to convince the whole nation, that our unhappy distinctions are the different means, as power prevails, by which a minister does whatever he pleases, and the cloak that disguises it to his own party. But nothing can possibly save our liberties at present, nor secure them for the future, but uniting in one national party, which must be for the publick benefit. In such a case, bad measures could never meet with approbation; nor would a party-name sanctify every action. Men, who keep the flames alive, as means of rising into power, and supporting themselves in it,
would certainly meet with present, or future disappointment; since numbers would no longer follow them in blind approbations of every thing they did, only because they did it. All those helps, which arise to bad men, from the party-animosities amongst the people, must be lost. Have we not sufficiently experienced and felt the misfortunes of our unhappy divisions? Can any thing else, but a national unanimity protect us from such a deluge of corruption? Have not all, who are not immersed in it, given the strongest proofs of their endeavours to prevent it, and the best assurances that men can possibly give for their future actions? They have quitted the scene, where ambition and avarice are supposed to be gratified. It is in vain for them to oppose any longer. Nothing can stem the torrent, but an utter abolition of all former party distinctions, and the whole people uniting for their own preservation. In such a case, a reformation must soon follow; and we should become one people, too powerful for any ministerial party whatsoever.

As there are still some honest, well-meaning men, amongst the Whigs, who cannot forfake their former notions, with relation to publick affairs; who think that because they were once called Whigs, they must always be Whigs, and that they now govern, because one actually governs, who was formerly esteemed so; I shall endeavour to undeceive them in that point, which will farther prove what I have advanced.

To distinguish the principle, which governs, ought to be stated and clear. Is it the principle of Whigism that hath the ascendency? If it is, let it be shewn; and that any late measures are founded on, or consistent with that principle. But does not the man, who governs, confess, avow, and boast that he governs by corruption, for the sake of his party? Hath he not told us, by the mouth of one of his hirelings, "That if the profit of serving the publick in places be computed at any sum, and this be raised equally upon the people, that party which is admitted into trust, will have more than a constitution to maintain the balance; so that in a certain period of time, the lying party must quite sink under something, and the prevailing party, by continuing in employments of profit, must become able to purchase all the ranks in the kingdom?" Case of the opposition stated, p. 13.

As to foreign affairs, have they been conducted according to the principles of Whigism, in any of our late transactions, by exciting France, and seducing the house of Austria; by keeping up a dangerous standing army at home, want of credit, extending and multiplying excise laws? Are these, I say, the principles of Whigism? What is the idea of liberty do they convey to us, when we see a dirty excise officer, in the title of an absolute monarch, permitting us to let the common conveniences of life enter within our doors? How generous, how bountiful, and what a command have they over all the dealers under their inspection? For what have all these things been done? Not to influence parliaments, to be sure, or to prevent the voice of the nation being heard. Does any one Whig retain those principles of his younger days, and ever give one vote, according to what was the fundamental principle of the party, and the touch-stone of Whigism, but the loss of his employment immediately follows, and the person is said to be a Whig?

Where is Whigism now, but in the head and pockets of one man? What became of Whigism, for three years together, under the present royal family, when this man opposed every thing? Was it irretrievably lost, if it had not revived in bises? Does any body suffer, or lose his place, let his actions or character be ever so bad, if he sticks by him, by keeping in countenance his publick and private irregularities? But is any man forgiven who once votes according to his conscience?

To do him justice, he makes no secret of the principles and rule of his government.
Weekly ESSAYS in JUNE 1739.

Daily Gazetteer, June 7.

Danger of confounding the Enemies with the Friends of the Constitution.

The mean arts and miserable evasions of the drudges of the opposition have been so often exposed and confused, in mere compassion to their less discerning readers, that, notwithstanding their undaunted courage and amazing effrontery, one can scarce avoid being surprized at the allowance with which they labour to have their dirty invectives against constitution and government, Prince and People, accepted as the result of an affection for our Sovereign, and a tender regard for the liberties and privileges of their fellow-subjects. With this view, they have endeavoured, with incredible application, to lose the name of the party they are employed by, and, with design of removing all distinctions which must bring upon them the certain disregard and contempt of all honest men, they would gladly mix themselves among the old and invariable friends of liberty. — Thus, with their usual modesty, they acquaint their readers, that the caulis of the old division into Whig and Tory have been long removed, and every wise man has agreed to lay aside the names of Party, since they have no longer any meaning. By which we are to understand (if the words have any meaning at all) that, in order to be wise, we must esteem all those friends to the interests of Great Britain, whose private views make them earnest to be thought so; and, that no objection may arise from their being known enemies to this land, — why, truly, we are to lay aside the name of Party, and confound the true and unshaken advocates of the Protestant religion and government, with men who have exerted their utmost talents to distress these realms, by fowling division among the people, and striving to render odious all who merit the gratitude of their country, and the esteem of the real friends of those realms.

It is certain, and with pleasure it must be acknowledged, by all who rejoice in the prosperity of Great Britain, that the cause
cause of the old division into Whig and Tory is happily removed: but reason declares, and experience confirms it, that there is, nevertheless, great cause to guard against the publick enemies under every other distinction whatever; and, however desirable a coalition of parties may be, it will never, by the thinking part of mankind, be supposed to include men whose avowed principles tend to the subversion of our happy constitution, and whose conduct, from their first entrance into the world, has been one continued series of outrages upon whatever has tended to the establishment of a Protestant Succession.—No; though it is our interest to be reconciled, it is our duty to guard against the injuries that must threaten us from the pretences of men with whom to expect an union to any good purpose, would be highly ridiculous, as it would suppose those the friends of their country, who have long piqued themselves upon preferring the interests of any neighbouring power before our own, and whose treachery has been too often detected, their perfidy too frequently exposed, to leave room to suppose them sincere in any alteration of sentiment the constant disappointment they meet with in their natural colours may have obliged them to seek refuge in.—Whig and Tory may be forgotten with safety, but friend and enemy will never be confounded, where a necessary regard is had to the tranquility and prosperity of a people; it having been the misfortune of too many governments to fall sacrifices to their own suspected security: for when the enemies of a state can so far prevail as to have the supposition of danger removed, and themselves consider’d as the zealous friends of the people they seek to delire, their designs are in a great measure facilitated by those they are calculated to destroy; which sufficiently vindicates the caution taken by the present administration to distinguish the friends of a Protestant government from the tools of a faction, which, under the specious covering of being Protestants themselves, labour incessantly to promote the interests of Popery; it being a truth long ago purchased by fatal experience, That the name of Protestant, where the heart is otherwise, has done more injury to the Protestant cause, than could have been accomplished by men deft of that disguise.

Wherefore, as the name of party is disagreeable to the malecontents, I know no way for them to avoid the odium cast upon the old Tories, but by proving themselves unbiased friends to the Protestant interest; by pointing out the real way they discovered when the constitution was in the most imminent danger, their opposition to such measures as tended to favour the designs of France and Rome, the instances of their joy on the happy establishment of the house of Hanover, the assistance they lent to free the nation from the bad consequences which threatened our liberties after the late unnatural rebellion; and, in fine, the pains they have taken to render the weight of government easy to his present Majesty, and his royal father, and to screen the measures of the administration from the knowledge of foreign powers.

When the Gentlemen who make the principal figure, and compose the greatest number in the opposition, shall make these things appear, they will have a very rational claim to be lightened of the stigmatized name of Venerus Tories; with which, in all probability, they must dispense, till such proof is produced; for, spite of all endeavours to forget themselves, they must know that their conduct has been irreconcileable with any one fundamental principle of the Whigs, who have always been consistent with themselves, and have never, in any one instance, stayed to the influence of the enemies of a Protestant establishment, have never sought refuge among Papists, nor ever assented a Protestant political body could be in perfect health with a Papist at its head.

The calculation of Protestants and Papists in Ireland, lately published in the news-papers, though more favourable than any made before, serves strongly to enforce the necessity of union among Protestants throughout the British dominions, and the danger of confounding from...
From a generous inclination to reconcile mankind, to countenance alike all religious differences, without distinction: for, tho' most sects among Protestants may claim the publick protection, on account of their exact conformity to our political establishments, the members of the church of Rome ought to be viewed in a very different light: for, while the former rejoice in the enjoyment of their civil and religious liberties, the latter receive the indulgence they meet with only as the return of part of their own ancient rights; whereby the very favours extended to them lose the nature of obligations, and, instead of disposing them to gratitude, and a dutiful inclination to support the government under which they enjoy privileges beyond what are granted to Protestants in any Popish country whatever, they esteem themselves as a people kept out of the possession of a country to which they ground a claim on its being once unhappily over-run by the errors they still profess, and from thence an air of resentment is visible in men of that community on occasions that would produce a contrary behaviour in any beside themselves.

As the Romish Priests think themselves, as they certainly are, the greatest sufferers by the Reformation, it is not strange to find them use every little art to regain an influence so beneficial to their community. — Hence they have, for some years, been known, with the greatest application imaginable, to try, since the errors of their doctrines are so generally understood, and easily exploded, to spread a favourable opinion of their tenets, by insinuating the small difference, with regard to essentials, between the churches of Rome and England, and the great hardship of Papists being subject to any inconveniences any other subjects are exempt from; which, with some well-disposed, unwary people, have so far prevailed, as to make them become the echo of these designing incendiaries; and, by being known to be wholly disinterested, have innocently brought more people into approbation of the Romish doctrines, than any could have done who were openly members of that church. And this dangerous practice has gathered much countenance from the scandalous behaviour of some Gentlemen, who, after being many years nominal Whigs, on some trifling disappointments have openly joined with the avowed enemies of the Protestant constitution, the known friends of Popery, and abbettors of every attempt to introduce arbitrary government into this island. — And those steps have been properly and very naturally supported by the writers employed to affit them; one of whom was remarkable for his fervency and zeal for the principles of the Whigs, and the other a notorious Popish incendiary; both of whom, by way of letter to their readers, every week carefully enlarge upon the joint-labour and union of interests concluded between them; to prove, that, now they are reconciled, no difference whatever can be an objection to a reconciliation between others. — The effect of this is obvious: If they could succeed, every bar to the hopes of Rome would be removed; and Popery, and all her ghastly attendants, may be safely imported into this land on a Protestant bottom; and the friends of the reformation, in return for their civility, might, possibly, be allowed the liberty of leaving their country with the possession of their lives; — their properties would be wanted for other purposes.

Universal Spectator, June 16.

Difficulty of behaving well on an Advance of Fortune.

Ut tu fortunam, sic not celsa seremus.

To possess the general esteem of mankind, is an ambition which most people are sensible of; yet from some odd turn in their temper, many, while they would gain a universal respect, are so unhappy as to excite only disapprobation and contempt. To court popularity with peculiar industry, is as strong a proof of an abject temper, as entirely to despise it is a demonstration of an imperious one; but there is a mediocrity of behaviour which gains us the good-will of all, which is, to be equally
Weekly ESSAYS in JUNE 1739:

equally complaisant to all, according to their different ranks in life. But the chief hindrance to such conduct is a foolish pride, which makes people look on their inferiors with a kind of contempt, and even entertain a very mean opinion of those who are on an equality with them. Persons of this cast of temper will always appear to the sensible part of mankind ridiculously affected, and are themselves as much the objects of contempt to others, as others may seem to be to them. Persons who are but a little touched with this humour, may have prudence enough in a great measure to conceal it, unless they are particularly affected with any accident which has a strong influence on their passions, and makes them fling off all restraint of their natural temper. It happens therefore frequently, that they who in one state of life appeared civil, courteous, humane and well-bred, will, on any acquisition of fortune, or preeminence in the business of the world, shew that they had before deceived mankind, and that they in reality can neither feel humanity, nor practise good manners.

What can be a stronger proof of this than the conduct of Eubulus; who, while he was a student at the Temple, of a moderate fortune, and little or no expectations of advancing it, but by his study of the law, and the figure he might make at the bar, posseted the sincere esteem of all who personally knew him; and had the reputation of a courteous good-natur'd Gentleman, among those who only were acquainted with his character by report? But how soon was this amiable opinion of him forfeited, when, by the almost sudden deaths of four or five relations, he came into the unexpected possession of two thousand pounds a-year? Eubulus with his fortune changed his manners; instead of that courteous affability, which is the characteristic of a man of sense and distinction, he behaved with a more rigid kind of reserved pride, which is the indication of a brutal temper or weak understanding: his former acquaintance he treated in such a ceremo-

nious manner, and with such marks of ridiculous complaisance, that they looked with pity on the men, who, on a little elevation in life, should forget what was common sense and contain complaisance. But with this new kind of pride he betrayed a servility, which before seemed averse to his nature; he immediately became an attendant on the loves of men in power, and looked on a fear and reverence with a tenacity of bigotry. In short, when his chance of fortune made him absolutely independent, he became a slave; and left the character of a Gentleman, when he had an opportunity of supporting it in the most exalted degree.

There is a pride in the heart of men which betrays itself on so many occasions, that we may observe that Eubulus is not of a disposition peculiar to himself. Harry Mody is the most intimately acquainted with you: He dines with you, drinks with you, darts with you; you are both of the same part of pleasure, of the same party in politics, of the same set of acquaintances; are almost inseparable: He means you to-day accidentally in the park; miss to you, careless you, joins your conversation, makes remarks, laughs aloud; and makes every body take notice that you must be particular friends: To-morrow you see him in the Mail, he passes you without the least observation, he purposely averts his eyes for fear you should by a bow he knows not to be of his acquaintance. — What can be the occasion of this change? What can produce this sudden pride? — it is easily discerned: He is now defied in his last'd cloaths, and is walking with Sir Timothy Tarboy, Lady Emily Peri, and my Lord Foppington. — Harry as he is a beau, and therefore not of the most solid understanding, ought to have indulgence allowed him: But how can we defend the grave and reverend Dr. Hovdly; who, while he is within the south of the city, knows his chief relation talks with them, laughs with them, dines with them, and receives their money: See him in London, and
timber appear of an elevation in our rank of life would not have any
effect on the conduct of my readers, but I earnestly recommend it to them, that
on any real acquisition of fortune, they
would behave with a prudential equa-
tity of mind as may make their fortune
become them. — I cannot here forbear
inserting a letter I some time ago re-
ceived, and will subjoin my advice in a
story, which, I hope, will be accept-
able to all my readers:

SIR,

I am a particular acquaintance of a
lady whose husband has lately set up
an equipage; though she is a woman of
good fortune in every other respect, she has
the weakness to be always introducing the
mention of her chariot or her landau.
Your revenge, I believe, would entirely
cure this folly, and oblige
Your constant reader,

EDINBURGH.

The story I mentioned was this: An
intimate acquaintance of the late Sir
Richard Steele din'd with him one day
after he had been lately married, and
just then set up a chariot. His lady two
or three times at dinner asked him if
he used the chariot that afternoon: to
which he only answered, Ofters. When
the table-cloth was taken away, she
said, Well, my dear, I'll take the cha-
riot. To which he again reply'd, Of-
ters, my dear. — She dropped a courtesy,
and confessed she was in an error, and
stood reproved. — On her retiring, Sir
Richard's friend thus addressed him:
"Sir, as absurd as your answer might
seem to others, I know your manner so
well, that I am assured there is some mo-
tal instruction in your word ofters: as it
must be some gentle, humorous reproof;
do me the favour to let me into the se-
cret of it." You know, says Sir Ri-
charcd, we have just set up a chariot; and
being apprehensive it might have such
an effect on my wife's heart, and that
she might inconsiderately talk of it too
much, thereby betraying a weakness of
mind I would have gladly prevented.
I told her a story of a young fellow who
had
Weekly Essays in June 1739.

Common Sense, June 16.

A proposal for the establishment of the Faculty of Politicks at Oxford.

S I R,


Our Parody from Makears [sic]. 

[Note: p. 20.] has given general satisfaction, and your ears cannot have been deaf to the applauses with which this representation has been received. We begin now to feel the wisdom of our governors in checking the liberty of the theatre, which did not appear at first to common understanding, or seem reconcilable with the principles of our boasted liberty, but to be one of those arcana imperii which the profane vulgar should contentedly admire. Behold! we now begin to discern the depth and importance of the law.

Cowen's Garden, or Drury-lane, was too narrow a scene of action to display any notable representation in order to effect any general reformation, and to spread wide enough any servile and ridiculous for the correction of folly and stupidity.

We of this place, who have few or no opportunities of seeing such instructive lessons, are particularly pleased with this wise restriction. For now the world will become the stage, and we shall see plays, 'tis to be hoped, in our own way, that of reading, which will thereby make not only a general, but laffing impression. Pantask might have lived and died within the bills of mortality, had not this prohibition forced him upon the publick stage of the world. Thanks, therefore, to Mr. President, and the rest of the Doctors, for their sagacious provision.

I have been thinking, Sir, how this hint of your's may be made servicable to the good of this place, as well as the honour of the nation, and a School of Politicks improv'd into an Academy for the fame great purposes. And I'm encouraged to hope for the more success in such a project from the general turn of thought this way, which may be observed amongst certain professors and students of this place, who seem quite weary of the antiquated methods of learn-
Weekly ESSAYS in JUNE 1739: 263

learning, and the knowledge so long cultivated, with great pains and little profit, by our predecessors and some few modern students.

I would propose, therefore, that a fourth faculty, that of Politics, be added to our other three, whose quick growth and splendor would, I am persuaded, in few years, eclipse and supersede the present useless professions, and recommend us to the esteem of our superiors at the helm, which we at present so unhappy to be depriv'd of, and the admiration of all abroad. And in this case, I would allow a full liberty for all Doctors, for a time limited, to commute degrees. So that any Doctor of Divinity, Law, or Physick, may exchange those honors for a Doctor's degree in Politics. Otherwise it would be hard upon the rising generation, who seem rightly disposed to proceed on the Politick line, to be postpon'd in the eye and notice of their superiors, by having proceeded unfortunately in professions, which they never had any real liking to; or knowledge of, but have been oblig'd for, form, or precedence, or preferment's sake, to take degrees in them. And this scheme may be the more easily accomplisht, insomuch as no new endowment is requireth.

The Professors of Modern Languages would be the proper Professors and President upon this occasion, and might read Political lectures to all upon the Politick line, which, I hope, would be better attended than any lectures in this place. - Musick and Poetry not excepted.

Every projector is naturally fond of his own scheme, and big with the imaginary consequences which, he thinks, will certainly attend and follow the execution of it. This, probably, may be my case. For methinks I see already the figure we shall make in the world soon after this institution has taken place. Our Nobility, who now travel for education, will then come to us for instruction; and the university thereby recover its ancient splendor and esteem.

I can't help picturing to myself al-ready the pomp of a publick act, the President in the chair, the Doctors Assistant around him, the Inceptors ready for creation, and Pantahon anwering, according to the plan of modern politicks, amidst the applause of a crowded theatre.

The eyes of all Europe will be upon us, and we shall soon become a wise and polite people. You will easily discover many more advantages which will accrue to the publick, and this place in particular, from this institution, which escape my penetration. But I must caution you, Sir, against making this project too publick, left our rival litterer, who is at present the greater favorite, and I fear the better skill'd in modern Politicks, may be beforehand with us in obtaining a charter for this purpose.

If you approve of this design, be pleased to favour us with your advice in making a proper statute concerning the time and exercises requisite for the degrees of a Batchelor and Doctor in Politicks, and likewise what habit the venerable ages ought to be distinguish'd by.

An encouragement just now granted to the sons of Scots and Irish Peers to come and study amongst us, may greatly contribute to the promotion of this scheme, and the advancement of this only useful learning. For, if modern politicks consist chiefly in the art of plundering and blundering, (as it seems to do, by your form of creation) the talents of these our neighbours in these different capacities and excellencies, being join'd and mix'd with our own, cannot fail of producing a perfect Modern Politician or Doctor in Politicks.

Let me only add, as a further recommendation of this scheme, that some such provision is absolutely necessary, not only to the well-being, but the very being of this place. For there seems to be such a general disregard of the present learned professions, as they are called, on account of the unserviceableness of them to the use and end of human life, and so general a contempt amongst persons in whose gifts all pre-
festments are placed, of such as mis-
spend their time about them, that un-
less some such institution as is here re-
commended be erected upon the ruins
and declining state of ancient learning,
our name and bands may be taken from
us as a generation of triflers no way
serviceable to ourselves or the publick.

Your constant reader,

POLITICO-ACADEMUS.

P. S. If it be necessary to distin-
guish the faculty by any arms, these
learned worthies may justly claim the
Athenan Bird.

General Evening Post, June 9.

An Answer to the Queries sent to the
Rev. Mr. Whitfield, from the
Rev. Mr. T—ck—t, Minister of
All-Saints, Bristol, in a letter to the
Querist. [See May Mag. p. 201, 202.]

S I R,

HAD not the Bristol queries been
said to be written by the Rev.
Mr. T—ck—t, I should have imagined,
they had come from one who had no
manner of notion of Divine Reve-
lation; but, as you are a Respectful
Minister, I must suppose you to be a Chri-
tian, though you have given great
room to think, that you believe no-
thing of the operations of the Holy
Spirit, by owning, that you do not
perceive them in yourself, and are bidden
to unacquainted with any extraordinary and
supernatural light. You will not allow
the Holy Spirit necessary, either to en-
lighten our minds, that we may know
our duty, or to give us an assurance to
perform it; and you seem to imagine,
pretty strongly, that the operation of
the Spirit, is inconsistent with the natu-
rally powers of the understanding, and free-
agency. The most earnest Deists could
not have gone lower in his notions in
this particular than you have, to the
great dishonour of your ministerial cha-

Though you do not argue expressly,
against feeling the operations of the
Spirit; yet, by putting that word in
Judges, you, no doubt, intended a sense
at Mr. W. who, you say, pretends to
feel them experimentally. I remem-
ber the weak Remark on Mr. W.'s
Journal pretended to triumph much in
his arguments against this feeling the
Spirit, &c. and it is generally, I sup-
pose, thought a mark of Euphonio-
ism, if any one say, he has a feeling, or an
inward sensation or perception of the
effect of the Spirit's operations in his
soul. But some are so unhappy in their
reasonings, as to attack the Scriptures
themselves, in the very books they write,
on purpose to defend them. When St.
Paul said, The God of peace fill you with
all joy in believing, surely he imagined,
that by this they would feel the power
of their faith, when by the grace of the
Spirit of God it was productive of
all joy in them. How many texts
might be produced to the same pur-
pose?

But let us come to your Queries; the
first of which is, 1. "What are those
principles, doctrines, articles of faith, &c.
which this extraordinary light reveals;
after what manner they come into the
mind; and by what mark, or character
you distinguish them from the delusions
of fancy, or worse temptations?"

Asf. Those principles, doctrines, ar-
ticles of faith, &c. we will suppose
to be such as are contained in the Scrip-
ture, and such as are effectual to convey
to much divine knowledge as is neces-
sary to salvation. If you should object,
That if these things are in the Scrip-
ture, what need is there of an extra-
ordinary light to reveal them? I shall
desire you to consider, that a man can-
ot have a right faith in any one do-
ctrine of Christianity, but he must be
beholden for it to the Spirit of God;
No man can say that Jesus is the Lord,
but by the Holy Ghost, 1 Cor. xii. 3. This
extraordinary and supernatural light,
which the Holy Spirit pours into our
minds, appears to be absolutely neces-
sary for us, from many other places of
Scripture.

As to the manner these principles,
doctrines, &c. come into the mind, you
might have better said, the manner in

Weekly ESSAYS in JUNE 1739.

which we are enabled to discern, believe, and embrace them.) I answer, I know not: but will it follow, because we cannot explain the manner of any thing being done, that therefore it is not done? When you tell me after what manner a thought comes into the mind, I will undertake to tell you how these principles, &c. come into it. I recommend to your consideration John iii. 8.

If the mark or character, by which these principles, &c. are distinguished from the delusions of fancy, or worse temptations, is the Word of God, or their being contained in the Word of God, I hope you will have more prudence than to deny this to be a satisfactory and certain criterion.—Your next query, which is a very dark one, is,

"What are those particular duties you are enabled to perform, which all others must leave undone, till they obtain the same means of performing them, viz. an extraordinary intercourse with the Deity?"

Anf. The duties, I suppose, are not particular; they are general; the duties of every true regenerate Christian. A man may be an extraordinary part of many duties, but still the right Christian principles upon which they are to be done, may be wanting in him; and consequently, in that respect, they may be left undone by him. The attainment of those principles supposes a spiritual intercourse with the Deity. I will suppose the word extraordinary to be of no signification to the intercourse you are speaking of; since, if there is an intercourse with the Deity, such as a Christian ought to have, we have no occasion to call it extraordinary. If you deny an intercourse with the Deity to be a thing necessary to the Christian life; I must pity that man's condition which has nothing to do with God, and in which God, in the way of salvation, has nothing to do with him. Is there not an intercourse, on man's part, with God, when man prays to him fervently, and exercises himself in humble devout acts of faith, hope and love towards him? and is there not an intercourse on God's part with man, when God affixes us in these holy exercises, when he draws our hearts to him, and confirms our faith and confidence in him? — I proceed to your last query, which is,

"If I am mistaken in my conjectures, That if it doth exist, it must exist for such ends and purposes, be so kind as to mention, in a particular or determinate manner, for what other uses it is given; to what purposes you apply it, or it applies you; and for what special ends desirable, which ends could not be attained without it."

Anf. Here again you express yourself very oddly: but it is no wonder, for as you seem not to have a very clear head, much perspicuity cannot be expected from your diction. However, as this query is grounded on a supposition of your being mistaken in the two first, there seems no necessity, considering what has been said already to them, to make any reply to it.

If I have mistaken you, please to let me know it, and tell me both what you mean by the expressions, in which you oppose Mr. W.'s notions of supernatural light and affiance, and what your own notions are of these things.

I am, &c.

DAILY GAZETTEER, June 22.

The generous forbearance of the present administration, and the advantages arising from the British constitution, above what are known in nations the Writers in the opposition prefer to our own.

It has greatly contributed to the tranquillity of these realms, that the rash attempts of our domestic enemies, instead of involving themselves and others in the punishment due to the malignity of their designs, have only given fresh occasion for warning the people against the mischiefs that threaten their concurrence in measures tending only to their destruction, and of listening to men who use the pretense of regard for the publick, only to facilitate their own particular views: — and
It cannot be without pleasure the people of Britain must observe, that while in other, even the most polite among the European nations, the publication of a free thought is punished with banishment, the Bafih, &c. such is the confidence our government repose in the open good tendency of the measures pursued in public affairs, and such their reliance upon the calm impartiality of mankind, that against the base infinuations of men vainly ambitious, and the calamity suggested by the most distracted failies of disappointed malice, (where the people are not likely to be injured) no other punishment is inflicted than the contempt which, from every generous breast, is certain to attend men who can, from motives evidently private, labour to engage the public in their interest; and, with no other intention than gratifying their ambition, satiating their spleen, strive to embroil a whole people, rather than see the nation in possession of tranquility they can neither boast of procuring, nor afft to preserve.

This is evident, beyond a possibility of contradiction; and, however the prejudices of some men may have perverted their reason, the generous forbearance of the government to its most inveterate, most notorious, and most unjustifiable enemies cannot be denied by any, not even by the most deluded in the opposition, or their most implicit adherents: and we have lately received such an instance of condescension and tenderness from the throne, as must convince every man, not wilfully blind, of the regard had to the happiness of this nation, prior to all other considerations, and demonstrate to every friend of the Protestant establishment the happy judgment of that immortal Prince, and those who concurred with him in settling the succession in the illustrious house that now, with such advantage to these kingdoms, fills the British throne: and it may, without the smallest imputation of flattery, be said, that so far are the groundless jealousies of the enemies of our peace from, bringing the dire effects for which they are calcula-
ted, that they serve only to produce fresh instances of the absurdity of their clamour, and repeated examples of the clemency and forgiveness of a Prince, who, while the whole tenor of his actions proclaim his steady attention to the welfare of his people, and the present and future interest of his dominions, makes no other use of the folly and rashness of some turbulent and misled subjects of his government, than to convince all who are not wilfully bent upon confusion, and设计edly blind to their own happiness, and the peace and interest of their country, of the ingratitude and madness, the weakness and error, of those who, from an absurd pursuit of liberty, while in the full possession of every defensible instance of freedom, despite the real blessings they enjoy, by seeking a change, which, were it in their power to accomplish, would sufficiently correct their mistaken judgment, and punish in themselves, and in too many more, their neglect of solid benefits, for the airy hope of obtaining more honour to themselves at the expense of the publick welfare.

I have more than once mentioned the absurdity of some Gentlemen, who assume to themselves the name of Advocates for Liberty, taking every occasion, or rather framing occasions, to excite the government of other nations, and to depreciate everything relating to our own establishment; and pointing out, as a pattern for Britain, the management of public affairs in nations where liberty is unknown, and no other freedom is visible but that of obeying the arbitrary decrees of their monarch; where the people, in every publick, as well as every private act of the government, are considered only as instruments of the grandeur of their sovereign; whose will is the only source of their laws, and, consequently, whose separate interest is ever preferred to the mutual advantage of Prince and people: and I know not a better opportunity of making such writers ashamed, if it be possible, of such manifest impertinences upon the publick, than by defying them.
to compare part of his Majesty's last speech to his parliament, with the state and behaviour of any neighbouring Prince. — The passage I mean is the following:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I am persuaded, it is unnecessary for me to recommend to your serious consideration, the fatal consequences that may threaten a nation divided within itself, inflamed, and milled by all the wicket arts and inventions, that malice and falsehood can suggest. It is too obvious, what advantages our common enemies wait to take, from the heats and animosities, that, under groundless pretences, are industriously fomented, and spread throughout the kingdom. Let all, who profess themselves zealous afferers of the rights and privileges, laws and liberties of their country, and of the Protestant religion, under the present establishment, unite in the defence of these ineflammable blemishes. Let the honour, prosperity, and safety of the kingdom become one common cause, and reconcile all civil discord and divisions; that, by your unanimity, you may disappoint the only hopes, and vain expectations of our enemies."

What Britain can read this without the most dutiful sentiments of gratitude; and who that has in any degree given occasion for such an instance of his Majesty's paternal affection for his people, without the utmost shame and confusion! To see a Prince whose conduct has so far sealed the lips of envy, as to drive his enemies to the necessity of pointing their malice against his immediate servants only, (left truth should shine too conspicuous through their guilty attempts) condiscend to recommend no other union among his people than what the preservation of their own rights and privileges, laws and liberties, require; and desire no other support for himself than is consistent with the preservation of the Protestant religion, and the present establishment, must yield a most sensible pleasure to all who consider the very different state of some former reigns. — And, surely, not a man sincerely attached to the prosperity of Britain can, without a generous warmth, hear his sovereign intreat that the honour, prosperity, and safety of the kingdom only, may become one common cause, and the single motion of reconciling all civil discord and divisions; nor can any who with well to the nation refuse a compliance so necessary to the well-being of the whole land, so conducive to the honour of the crown, and of such power in rendering us formidable to foreign enemies, and raising us above the reach of domestic foes. — If, as has been often urged lately, with great truth, to divide be the readiest method to defend, to unite must necessarily be allowed the best means to preserve; and where the prosperity and safety of the kingdom is the common cause, (which can only be in a land where freedom spreads her most extensive wings, and royalty is seated in the interest and welfare of the people,) those who refuse their aid, however inconsiderable, whatever pretence they make to an affection for their country, it is notoriously no more than pretence, and can be used by none but those whose designs are too dark to be seen without false colourings; it being obvious to all, that the true undisguised cause of the country can be no other than the cause of the people, and that where the court is deeply interested in, and its honour and even its support, interwoven with the good of the nation, there is no possibility of serving the one without the other.

May the above cited caution and advice have its intended, proper effect; may a general sense of our duty and interest prevail over considerations of every inferior kind. And, as an opportunity is now offered for the Gentlemen who have been most active in condemning the measures of the present administration, to shew their loyalty to his Majesty, and their affection for their country, by exerting the utmost of their power to reconcile the people, and thereby give assistance to such measures as may be found necessary to protect the com-
J. Stephens's Cure for the Stone.

From the London Gazette.

Whitehall, June 19. The following paper is published by order of the trustees named in an act of parliament, intitled, An Act for providing a reward to Joanna Stephens, upon a proper discovery to be made by her, for the use of the publick, of the medicines prepared by her for the cure of the Stone.

A full discovery of the medicines given by Joanna Stephens, for the cure of the Stone and Gravel; and a particular account of my method of preparing and giving the same.

My medicines are a powder, a decoction, and pills.

The powder consists of egg-shells and snails, both calcined.

The decoction is made by boiling some herbs (together with a ball which consists of soap, swine's-cresses burnt to a blackness, and honey) in water.

The pills consist of snails calcined, wild carrot seeds, burdock seeds, after keys, hips and hawes, all burnt to a blackness, soap and honey.

The Powder is thus prepar'd:

Take hens egg-shells well drained from the whites, dry and clean; crush them small with the hands, and fill a crucible of the twelfth size (which contains nearly three pints) with them lightly; place it in the fire, and cover it with a tile; then heap coals over it, that it may be in the midst of a very strong clear fire till the egg-shells be calcined to a grayish white, and acquire an acrid salt taste: This will take up eight hours at least. After they are thus calcined, put them into a dry clean earthen pan, which must not be above three parts full, that there may be room for the swelling of the egg-shells in flaking. Let the pan stand uncover'd in a dry room for two months, and no longer. In this time the egg-shells will become of a milder taste, and that part which is sufficiently calcined, will fall into a powder of such a fineness as to pass through a common hair sieve, which is to be done accordingly.
In like manner, take garden-snails with their shells, cleaned from the dirt; fill a crucible of the same size with them whole; cover it, and place it in a fire, as before, till the snails have done smoking, which will be in about an hour; taking care that they do not continue in the fire after that. They are then to be taken out of the crucible, and immediately rubbed in a mortar to a fine powder, which ought to be of a very dark gray colour.

Note. If pit-coal be made use of, it will be proper, in order that the fire may the sooner burn clear on the top, that large cinders, and not fresh coals, be placed upon the tiles which cover the crucibles.

These powders being thus prepared, take the egg-shell powder of six crucibles, and the snail powder of one, mix them together, rub them in a mortar, and pass them through a cypress sieve. This mixture is immediately to be put up into bottles, which must be close stopped and kept in a dry place for use. I have generally added a small quantity of wormwood burnt to blackness, and rubbed fine; but this was only with a view to disguise it.

The egg-shells may be prepared at any time of the year, but it is best to do them in summer. The snails ought only to be prepared in May, June, July, and August; and I esteem those best which are done in the first of these months.

The Decoction is thus prepared:

Take four ounces and a half of the best Alicante soap, beat it in a mortar with a large spoonful of wormwood burnt to blackness, and as much honey as will make the whole of the confidence of paste. Let this be formed into a ball.

Take this ball, and green chamomile or chamomile-flowers, sweet fennel, parsley and burdock leaves, of each one ounce. When there are not greens, take the same quantities of roots. Cut the herbs or roots, slice the ball, and boil them in two quarts of soft water half an hour, then strain it off, and sweeten it with honey.

The Pills are thus prepared:

Take equal quantities by measure, of snails calcined as before, of wild carrot seeds, burdock seeds, alder keys, hips and hawes; all burnt to a blackness, or which is the same thing, till they have done smoking; mix them together, rub them in a mortar, and pass them through a cypress sieve. Then take a large spoonful of this mixture, and four ounces of the best Alicante soap; and beat them in a mortar with as much honey as will make the whole of a proper confidence for pills. Sixty of which are to be made out of every ounce of the composition.

The method of giving these medicines is as follows:

When there is a stone in the bladder or kidneys, the powder is to be taken three times a day, viz. In the morning after breakfast, in the afternoon about five or six, and at going to bed. The dose is a dram (overdose), or fifty-six grains, which is to be mixed in a large tea-cup full of white-wine, cider, or small punch; and half a pint of the decoction is to be drank, either cold or milk-warm, after every dose.

These medicines do frequently cause much pain at first; in which case it is proper to give an opiate, and repeat it as often as there is occasion.

If the person be colicive during the use of them, let him take as much saline electuary, or other laxative medicine as may be sufficient to remove that complaint, but not more; for it must be a principal care at all times to prevent a loosening of the medicines; and if this does happen, it will be proper to increase the quantity of the powder, which is astringent, or lessen that of the decoction, which is laxative, or take some other suitable means by the advice of physicians.

During the use of these medicines, the person ought to abstain from salt meats, red wines, and milk; drink few liquids, and use little exercise; that so the urine may be the more strongly impregnated with the medicines, and the longer retained in the bladder.
If the stomach will not bear the decoction, a sixth part of the ball made into pills must be taken after every dose of the powder.

Where the person is aged, of a weak constitution, or much reduced by loss of appetite, or pain, the powder must have a greater proportion of the calcined snails than according to the foregoing direction; and this proportion may be increased suitably to the nature of the case, till there be equal parts of the two ingredients. The quantity also of both powder and decoction may be lessened for the same reasons. But as soon as the person can bear it, he should take them in the above mentioned proportions and quantities.

Instead of the herbs and roots before mentioned, I have sometimes used others, as mallows, marsh-mallows, yarrow red and white, dandelion, water-cress, and horse radish root, but do not know of any material difference.

This is my manner of giving the powder and decoction. As to the pills, their chief use is in fits of the gravel, attended with pain in the back and vomiting, and in suppressions of urine from a stoppage in the ureters. In these cases, the person is to take five pills every hour, day and night, when awake, till the complaints be removed. They will also prevent the formation of gravel and gravel-stones in constitutions subject to breed them, if ten or fifteen be taken every day.


A CURE for the GOUT.
By Thomas Sandford and Edward Gent, both of the city of Kilkenny.

Half an ounce of hieracium, and eight grains of cochineal, both in fine powder. Put both into a pint of the best red port; let it stand at least 24 hours; shake the bottle well and often during that time, but shake not the bottle for three or four hours before you draw off any of the tincture for use. Take of this half a quartern, to near a quartern, according as you find yourself strong or weak. You must continue taking of this every second, third, or fourth day, till you take the whole pint; and, if the gout returns, take another pint as before, and so do to every fit. This tincture, if taken in a fit of the gout, in a few hours dissolves all the particles in the blood which causes the pain; and, if pursued as before directed, will in time work them all out of the blood. It likewise carries off all new swellings soon, and all old swellings in time. You may use posset-drink with this as with other physic; yet, if you take nothing after it, it will work very well. The properest time of taking it is in the morning fasting, or at night, if you do not eat or drink for four or five hours before. Continue in bed from the time of taking it, till it purges you downwards by stool, which will be in about 12 hours time; but if you have not a stool in that time, take a large spoonful more.

If you have the rheumatism, or sciatica, take the tincture as before, but in a larger quantity.

We caution all people who take this, to have special care that they do not take cold; for it will cause many to sweat greatly for a time, and if they take cold, will be apt to be gripped; which, if they are, a little mulled port wine, or a spoonful of the tincture, immediately eases them.

N. B. The hieracium must be made according to Dr. Quincy's Dispensatory.

His Majesty's Speech, June 14.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The dispatch you have given to the publick business that has been under your consideration, makes it proper to put an end to this session of parliament, and to give you that recess, which the season of the year requires.

You have so fully declared your sentiments, as well with regard to the past conduct of Spain, as to the measures that might become necessary to be pursued, in consequence of any part which that court might afterwards take, and enabled me to act, in all events, as the honour and interest of my crown and kingdoms shall require, that no inconvenience can arise
The King's Speech to the Parliament.

The request of many of our Readers, and the general approbation with which the former part was received, [p. 225.] determined us to insert the

Remainder of The Northern STAR.

B

Leve, ye bought hard of our degen'rate days,
Whom pension prostitutes to high-way praise;
Who fear it frights, for a Mouse to roam;
Thence, poorly, pin your sensual hearts at home!
The world's your country: born, no matter wheres—
Man is a devisor—of earth and air:
Native to truth, 'tis his all worth to show,
And love the holiest virtues of a foe.

Ab! bow too weak, my willing verse perfuse,
And flags beneath new heights of op'ning views!
Touch my charm'd heart, thro'! God! that didst in
His force!—and let me feel thy impulsive fire
(Spire Sunk, amid fees, in fortune's flaguate track,
And, curs'd, myself, with want of pow'r to act,
Let me, at least, describe, with conscious blaze
And, from another's triumph, force some praise.
Of great, eternal Pow'r, that bounds our minds,
What circling darkness human forefathers blinds?
Where are the lost effects of statesmen dreams?
Whose erring sway from such cobweb schemes!
Long—each vain terror beat one devious road
And fig'd, at growing France, with false forebode:
While, unobserv'd, thy exulting Northern Bear
Grin'd over general empire rising, there.

Henceforth, let none the strength of states compares
Nor what they may be, judge from what they are.
Let low the Lord's genius, all his realms the same:
The King's bread'wise, feasts his throne to
Then, pow'r's offspring, distant equals find, [same.
That man's whole: boundless, diff'rent dwell in
MIND.

This truth—dread dark'ner of each rival throne!
Well hast thy life: long track of wonders shown.
What sudden fleets have shadow'd distant seas,
With flags, that start to pow'r, and form degrees!
Glowing at pleasure, o'ry hostile fires,
Far-trembling nations: bear new thunder roar.
'Tb intrepid Swede does fortune's change upbraid,
And sees tb' assailed enemy invade!
The Dane finds gratitude too weak for fear:
And hates his helper's strength, display'd too near.
The sarrow'd Baltic a new Lord obey;
And to strange heeds reluctant homage pays.
The virgin Caspian be, bold lover! 

Now wildly, for her swain's favour suits:
Graft'd to his wife, she has her love confess'd—
And grant his heart to wander o'er her breast.

R r a

Perlia's
Poetical E S S A Y S in J U N E 1739.

Or, East's and West's embracing confused
frown,
Join twixt morning and evening worlds—and both th'morn;
Stop,—beadlong Mole! —— abt! whether
would'st thou go?
Look down, with caution, on the depth below;
Prospects too vast the ruff presum're fright;
And, drenching, wound an uncollected film;
Congratulate, a while, our Church's gains;
And, mingling joy, relax thy wonder's strain.
Shall then, at last, beneath propitious stars,
The crost, triumphant, o'er the crecent rise,
Shall we behold earth's long softain'd by grace
Reveh'd, in arms, on Olim's ban by race
Shall Christian Greece shake off an captive
frame?
And look, unabasing, at her Pagan sons?
'Twill be.—Prophetick Delphon claims his own;

Hails her new Caesars—on the Russian throne
Athens shall teach once more! once may aspire!
And Spartan breasts re-glow with martial fire?
Still, still Byzantium's bright'ning dome
shall shine,
And rear the ruin'd name of Constantine?
Transcending Prince!—how happy art thou be!
What canst thou look upon, ye bliss'd by that
What inward peace must that calm befal
know,
Whence conscious virtue does so strongly flow!
Each fame of ages, pass in ruin lies:
How timely therefore does thy greatness rise!
To fire forgetful thrones with thirst of praise,
And build example for these feeble days!
Such are the Kings who make God's image shine,
Nor blush to dare asser't their right divine:
No earth-born bards waiprs their climbing will;
No pride their power,—no avrice whets their skill.
They poise each hope which bids the wise obey,
And feed broad blessings from their wid'ring sway:
To raise the afflicted, stretch the healing hand;
Drive cruel'd oppression from each reft'd land:
Bald in alternate right, or feats or draw;
The sword of conquest—or the sword of law.

Pefia's bea'd wealth shall her huge portion be,
And India's Sovereigns give her Lord the knee.
From nameless outlets, endless naval hosts,
Black'nig, still more, obt stable Eurine's coasts,
Shall teach the Porte's imperial walls to fold,
And the fell Sultan's iron sceptre break.
Grecia's left soul shall be restored thy sees,
Great sav'er!—setting empire's genius free!
Then Hellespont, whose stream indignant glides,
And a subject'd world's two bounds divides,
Shall feel, while, reaching both, thy thunder roars,
Europe and Asia trembling to her shores!
Then, may thy floating empire's conquering crew
New-great with Russia, round th' Atlantic deep.
So spring the seeds of pow'r, when wisely sown!
So pregnant genius plants the future throne!
Mean while, great founder! gathering strength from blows,
They spread thy glory, who thy arms oppose.
The self-priz'd Lords of China's boastful land
Feel their pride shrink, beneath thy bord'ring hand!
The trackless wilds, which both vast states disjoin,
Are, even when arm'd with frowning winter, thine.
O'er realms of snow thy furious squadrons fly,
And bring, at ease, the dreadful distance nigh!
In vain app'd, the enormous wall they see;
Proclaim'd defiance can but quicken thee!
Zemla's white cliffs,—eternal boards of frost;
Where proud discovery has, so oft, been lost!
Thro' every period of the world till now,
Have check'd all keels, that would those oceans plow:
Nature's last barrier! they, all search with flood:
And bound ambition up,—in freezing blood:
Refur'd by Heaven—and for thy reign design'd,
By piercing eye shall that dark passage find;
There are—whose bumble glory waits thy fall.
When thou, great son of royalty! shall set,
And pay the debt nature's left, and forebear debt;
Then earth's low Lords may boast their poor designs,
And e'er the twinkler think—be thine!
Then, when more no more thy wonders wake mankind,
And dying every leaves delight behind
Here, while thy steps admiring ages trace,
Where shall amusement—first, eternity place!
Arduous decisions! and methinks—thou winst therown
Thy actions—or the speed with which they're done!
When Rome, that glit'ring, that immortal name!
After'd to rule, and pant'st after fame.
As coming age, from lengths of patient wait,
And she'd the of-breaking thread, with lab'ring skill:
Nor, till seven hundred bard pres'd years were
The late-propitious fortune snit'd, at length
Past, the subdue mine, O Prince, thy Russia tears.
Thou drayg'n't not glory from such depth of years.
At once rejo'nd, at once the columns rise.
Which little thy dread'ful fabric to the skies!
Form, and degrees, let bounded spirits need:
Thy soul, eccentric, moves with in-bred speed.
Nature makes shriek and rages, in a day,
What, with less ease, in ages shall decay!
So, when young Time its first great birth-day
And bidded Nature, yet, in chaos slept;
When eternal Word, to fet distraction free,
But shriek the almighty Fiat,—let there be:
Millions of ways the starting atoms flow
Like chung to like,—and sudden Order grew:
Struggling in clouds, a while, confusion lay—
Then dy'd at once, and left itself in day.
Poetical ESSAYS in JUNE 1739.

Incubat annus, ut lat aeris
Et festum ne quid subeat perici;
Elsuant curis minores, sanaque
Pallat ad uniram.

Alterum rapat populares auro;
Alterum aularam spes purpur inanius;
Alterum laudis crucias libido
Ambit e & avium superfans coriscis
Gloria peninis.

Vita tum semum vocitanda vita est
Tum licet gratus focis habere
Sororh, & sanctas Triasen venerandum
Concelebrantes.

NOTES, by the Author.

Vers. 2. The juga tor bena are the hils of the isle of Shy, which were in my view at the time of writing this ode.

Vers. 6. Bara I compare to the ultima Thule, because it is the most Western isle in Scotland.

Vers. 14. Mr. M——d's church is dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

Vers. 37 & seqq. The Clergy may quarrel these soft sentiments. To such squeamish Gentlemen I would return the answer of Mr. Dryden to a like objection:

If love be folly, the severest divine
Has felt that folly, 'twere he confesses mine.
Ails what I write, and propagates in grace.
The holy offspring of a princely race.

Vers. 69 & seqq. I have had Cicero in his dialogue de Amicitia all the way in my eye.

COMMON SENSE, June 30.

SIR,

As I take you to be a true lover and honest asserter of British liberty, consistent with our laws and constitution, I therefore apply for your assistance in exposing a certain wretched wretch, who, being in the commission of the peace in a country town, imposes his despotick will on the humble simple people for law; of which the following is a late instance. Under the pretence of making inquisition for murder, he became a scandalous trespasser against the laws of the land, the common liberty of the subject, and all decency and modesty. For which heinous offence, since the innocent abused objects of his infortune have not yet punished him by law, I have, in their behalf, laid the petty tyrant; which, by your conveyance to the publick, he may hear both in town and country. I am, 

ALBERTUS

J. LIsle.
A WISH for a young Lady going to the country. Tune, Pindy-boy.

A village there is, with a river, whose streams
Near Hampton, but opposite, mix with the Thames;
Where lately a float of poor infants was found,
New-born, and suppos'd by its mother was drown'd.
Derry, &c.

Ye gypsy tribes, that sing
Along the blooming sprays!
Make every grove with musick ring;
And charm her with your lays.

Let babbling Echo-nymphs, that dwell
The hollow caves among,
Their notes and measures an hour ring tell,
And lengthen out the song.

When Phæbus climbs a clearer sky,
And blushes o'er the pole,
Drinking the crystal currents dry
Among the meats that roll;

Ye watchful Pow'r's! (I pass your
When fœs to thumber goes, [names]
Becalm her soul with pleasing dreams,
And soothe her repose.

As length, after all this great potter was o'er,
He could not a maid from a mother explore;
To find out the way of a man with a maid.

Barbare stops the Muse, left his Worship should take
The fancy likewise in her secrets to rate;
And perhaps he might find, should she say any more,
Who d'ar'd this, her offspring, to lay at his door.

* Servus amor docuit natorum sanguine matrem
Conmaculare manus; crudelis tu quoque, mater:
Crudelis mater magis, an puer improbus ille?
Improbus ille puer, crudelis tu quoque, mater.

† Una de multis face nuptiali digna, &c. Hor.

Bl. Drum.-d. A. B.
L-d V.-sc.-nt G.-ge's Speech against the Convention with Spain.

SIR,

Ass incapable as I am of entering into a debate of this nature, I cannot with that duty I think I owe to my country, and those I have the honour to represent, sit still and only give a negative to the question before us: for I look on this address, that is propos'd to be made his Majesty, to be no more than a vote of approbation of the measures taken by the administration, and of thanks for the blessings the nation has obtained by this convention with Spain; of which I once said before, had a messenger with proper instructions been sent over in a ship-boat, he would have brought us back a better, than that we have got.

As to any compliments that are to be paid his Majesty, no one is more ready to join in them than myself; but as by the laws of this land, the King can do no wrong, so I look on this convention as the work of the minister, and as such I shall speak of it: and that it is so, is clear; for every body, let him be ever so dim-fighted (that has not had dust thrown into his eyes,) must see, that this glorious convention, that has cost the nation not above half a million of money, is more a ministerial expedient to get over this feccion of parliament, than a thing calculated either for the dignity of the crown, the satisfaction of the merchants, or reparation for the repeated insults on the honour of the nation.

When I first read the convention, I was surprized to find, that our indisputable right to free navigation, and no search at any distance from land, was to be referred to Plenipotentaries at a future congress: the referring an indisputable right, is in a manner weakening the title; not that I apprehend, that any minister at home or abroad will ever dare give up this right of ours.

But why is this to be discussed in a future treaty? why, after the resolutions the parliament last year came into, was not this the first article in the convention, sine qua non, as to any treaty with Spain? Can there be any one weak enough to imagine, that Plenipotentaries, sitting at a round table, with pen, ink and paper before them, can procure for this nation, what our fleet could not have done last year, with cannon, powder and sail?

Besides, by having deferred doing ourselves justice, England may have lost a very lucky juncture: France and Spain was not then on so good terms, as I am afraid they are at present. Had the Spaniards been attack'd last year in New-Spain, we should have found them unprovided, their garrisons without men, and their fortifications out of repair. But this they have taken care to remedy for the future, by the great number of troops they have since lent thither, and by working day and night at their fortifications.

But, as on the one hand they are grown stronger, so on the other are grown weaker and poorer: we, Sir, last year threw away a vast sum of money to no purpose, but to be laugh'd at by all nations; and they, by our leave, are bringing home, in their galleons, vast sums of money to be employ'd against us.

What have we been doing for these last twenty years, but negotiating to no purpose? what is there in this treaty more than in all former ones? did not Spain by the treaty of Madrid, in the year 1721, which treaty was confirmed by another in the same year, called the triple alliance, stipulate that all former treaties should be confirmed, and expressly promised that all goods, merchandizes, money, ships, and other effects, which have been seiz'd as well in Spain as the Indies, should be speedily restored in the same kind, or according to the just and true value of them, at the time they were seiz'd? Has there been a tithe of this performed? have our merchants ever had any satisfaction made them for their ships, their effects and money, they were plunder'd of? Why, no.

But yet every man, that at that time did not believe they should, was look'd upon as a Jacobite, a man disaffected to his Majesty, or at least to his minister, which was as bad, if not worse. So far
Were the Spaniards from performing one article of this treaty, that they used us worse than ever, and so continued doing till the merchants came with fresh complaints, which they laid again before the house of Commons, where I can't say they were very civilly used by some; however, they made out very clear the allegations of the petition, and proved their losses beyond contradiction.

Upon this, vigorous resolutions were again enter'd into by the house of Commons, to obtain justice and satisfaction for the merchants; and in order to obtain it, our then and present ministers, finding that they had not succeeded in any one treaty they had yet made, entered into another; called the treaty of Amiens, sign'd in the year 1729.

By the first article of this treaty, all former treaties of peace, friendship and commerce, are again renewed and confirmed: and Spain expressly promised not to do any thing, nor suffer any thing to be done, that might be contrary thereto, directly or indirectly.

In the 4th article of this treaty it is particularly agreed, that the commerce of the English nation in America, should be exercised as heretofore: and that orders should be dispatched without any delay to the Indies for that purpose.

By the 6th article of it, Commissaries were to be named, who were to settle the limits, and pretensions of the merchants; and Spain promised to execute punctually and exactly, within six months, what should be decided by the said Commissaries, who were to make their report in 3 years; but there being nothing done in the first 3 years, the term was renewed for 3 years more, in order to do nothing — which succeeded accordingly.

And I remember very well, that an Hon. Gentleman on the floor * opposite to me, did-at the time of making this treaty often say, that he was sure, if the government would give the merchants the money that was to be allowed the Commissaries, they would get more by that, than from the treaty; which, I think, has proved but too true; for those Gentlemen for themselves, have not received less than 20,000 l. whereas the merchants have not received 20 d.

But yet at that time, this Hon. Gentleman, as well as myself, and all those who thought as we did, were look'd upon as a set of disaffected people, as they are now, who don't like this convention, and expect no more good from it, than from all the former treaties.

And, as for my part, I own, I expect no good from it, but apprehend much hurt; our right to free navigation, and no search, not being inferred in it, but left to Commisaries.

I find also, by what I call the preliminary article, the King of Spain's protest, that the S. S. company's Affiento contract will be annulled, by the company's having refused (a few days ago, in a full court) to pay the 68,000 l. the King of Spain demands of them by that protest delivered to Mr. Keene. (See p. 80.) What authority Mr. Keene could have, to make this bargain for the S. S. company, and give up a property they are entitled to, by virtue of treaties and acts of parliament, I can't apprehend. And tho' their loss may be no national point; yet, so great a body of Englishmen, whose property is concerned, deserves at least the protection of parliament.

The next thing, that I have good reason to believe will be given up, or at least taken from us, is Georgia, though hitherto supported by great sums of money given by parliament, and granted by a royal charter to the present trustees: for you'll find by the 3d article of this convention, that the poor people, who, under the protection of this government, have transported themselves thither, are to be left naked and defenceless, exposed to the mercy of the Spaniards, whenever they please to attack them, by being restrained from the means of self-preservation. For, by that article it is agreed, that neither the Spaniards, nor they, should raise any fortifications.

Now, Sir, I can see but one reason, why this was stipulated in the manner I have mentioned, for it regards only...
us (we demanding no part of the King of Spain’s territories) and that is this; Our ministers finding that Spain did not much like our settlement at Georgia, and they not daring, by a solemn treaty to yield it up, they might whisper the Spanish ministers, and tell them, We are sorry we don’t dare give it you up, but we will agree it shall be left defenceless, and then you may easily take it, and we not called to an account for it. This is not at all improbable, when we consider how industrious our ministers have been to find out expedients to be well with Spain, for the good of their country.

Now I have been shewing you, what I apprehend we shall lose; let us see a little, what it is we have a prospect of getting. That of no search, free navigation, and satisfaction to our merchants, I am sure it won’t be, for the reasons I have mention’d before, as well as from what fell from the Hon. Gentleman that spake last: For it is not to be supposed, but what, as far as fair means would go, every method has been already try’d; and he just now as good as told us, we could proceed by no other, for that we had neither money to go to war with, nor friend, nor ally in the world to support us; and he must know, who has been our grand negotiator for these last twenty years: A pretty account, I must own, he has given us, of the success of his negotiations, as well as prudence declaration from one in his poft.

But by this treaty he tells us, there is to be ample satisfaction given to our merchants. How far they are satisfied with the convention, the house may judge, from what they have heard them declare at the bar. He says, they are to receive 155,000l. which will be in full satisfaction of their losses; though by the by, their demands on Spain were for 340,000l. but our Commercially, by a stroke of his pen, reduced them to 200,000l. being, as he thought, full enough for our merchants; and then, to induce Spain to prompt payment, 45,000l. more was struck off, which brings it to the sum the Hon.

Gentleman has mention’d, Spain is certainly to pay us: and upon this point, I find, he chiefly seems to extol the goodnes of the convention, and the ability of the ministers, in bringing Spain to this condescension; for that Spain paying the money was owning her fault, and declaring the illegality of her proceedings. In answer to this, in the first place, I don’t believe Spain will ever pay us a farthing of the money; and, in the next place, suppose the money mentioned should be paid the merchants, let us see how much Spain is to pay us of it.

Why, in the first place, towards making up the 155,000l. for the satisfaction of the merchants, Spain insists on England allowing her 60,000l. as the remaining part of a debt due to her for having destroyed her fleet in the year 1718. Very gracious indeed, that they did not carry her demands as far back as Queen Elizabeth’s reign, for the fleet then destroyed!

But as strange as this demand of Spain may seem from her, it is much more so in those who have agreed to it; for it has been already once satisfied, as appears by the papers on your table, which are copies of the instructions sent to our ministers in Spain at the treaty of Seville, wherein is mentioned as follows: “In case Spain shall make any further demands of you for the loss of their fleet, destroyed by Sir George Byng, afterwards Lord Torrington, you are to tell the Spanish ministers, that Spain has been already amply satisfied, and you are not to enter into any further discussion with them on that head.”

Another time Spain paid themselves this demand by seizing the S. S. company’s effects, Spain at that time declaring, that they were seized and kept on that account: but what does it signify, if, for the sake of obtaining this most advantageous convention, we should pay it her a third time? and then it reduces what Spain is to pay us, to 95,000l.

In the next place, towards paying the 95,000l. the King of Spain insists on his
This protest, as I mentioned before, that the S.S. company shall immediately pay him 68,000 l. being a debt due to him from the company, on one head of accounts; though at the same time, on other heads of accounts, his Majesty is indebted to the company a million over and above, as appears on your table, for which they are to stay his time.

Now these two sums make 128,000 l. that I think England is to pay our merchants instead of Spain, (if ever paid) to there remains but 27,000 l. for Spain to pay, of which 27,000 l. she has taken care to be excused from paying one farthing, as appears by the stipulations by way of draw-back, inserted in the fourth article of the convention, and the second separate article.

For by those articles, Spain is to deduct out of the money she is to pay, whatever she may have already given in satisfaction for any of our ships that have been taken. And England is also to allow Spain the value of the St. Theresa, a ship of theirs that had been seized in the port of Dublin in the year 1735. Also this is to be settled by our Plenipotentiaries, and I think we shall come off well, if on the balance of accounts, instead of receiving the 27,000 l. we than't be obliged to pay an overplus to Spain. Here ends, Sir, a short narrative of the ample satisfaction England is to receive from Spain for the 340,000 l. due to her merchants. A most glorious convention I must own, and such a master-piece in politics, that I dare say none of the Machiavilians of the age, but our own at the head of affairs, could have thought of!

But yet, after all this, we shall be told, I dare say, that this thorough dislike to the convention, and flame the nation is in, is raised only by a parcel of merchants, and discontented people, who only want to turn out the ministers.

No, Sir, this is not the case; for it is not the ministers, but their measures, that has kindled this flame: facts will always speak for themselves, and merchants will always know their own interest.

But when the continued depredations on our merchants, the repeated insults on the honour of the nation, the cruelties and barbarities exercised on our sailors, our countrymen thrown into dungeons, and chained like slaves; I say, when this is considered, and no more prospect of redress from this convention, than a piece of wastepaper, no wonder, that the heart of every Englishman should be inflamed.

I beg pardon, Sir, for having taken up so much of your time, but shall be against this address to his Majesty, because I look on this convention as disadvantageous to the merchants, dishonorable to the King, and ignominious to the nation.

Edinburgh, June 1739.

The High Court of Justiciary, in the trial of James Ratcliffe, who was indicted for house-breaking, and found guilty, have sentenced him to be hanged in the Grassmarket on the first day of August next.

P. S. July 6. The court of Seffion, in a complaint by George and Margaret Cochran against John Bar Mason, and William Spence late Deputy Town-clerk of Rutherglen, find it proven, That the minutes of the Magistrates of Rutherglen upon a criminal complaint at the instance of the Procurator Fiscal, against the said John Bar, in the year 1730, were falsified, by counterfeiting the name of David Pinkerton then Bailie there, and part of the surname of Andrew Leitch, then Provost there, to defend the said John Bar in another criminal prosecution before the Sheriff-court of Lanarkshire, anno 1738; and that the minute was made use of before the Sheriff-court in judgment, and sworn to by the said William as a true and authentic minute; and that the said John Bar and William Spence are guilty art and part of these facts; and that, in order to prevent a legal trial into the said forgery, &c. the said John Bar and William Spence, in December last.
Dometic History.

last end your'd to seduce James Hamilton Writer in Hamilton, to deliver up to them the said falsified minute, and other writings, then made part of the record of the said court of Lanark; and that, not succeeding in that wicked attempt, they did violently seize and take the said minute from James Hamilton, and burnt the same; as also, that John Barr and William Spence have been guilty of gross falsehood and prevarication, in presence of the Lords, by obstinately denying all the above facts: And therefore they find the said John Bar and William Spence liable, conjunctly and severally, to the complainers, in damages and expenses, which the Lords modify to the sum of 80 l. Sterl. and decern thereon. And further they ordain the said John Bar and William Spence to be carried to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, to remain there to the sixth day of October next, and thereafter till the said sum is paid, in case it be not paid against that time. And ordain the Magistrates of Edinburgh, so soon thereafter as it shall be proved to them that the said sum is paid, to dismiss the said John Bar and William Spence out of prison. And further, the Lords do banish the said John Bar and William Spence out of Scotland, from and after the space of ten days from the day they shall be dismissed out of prison, during all the days of their life; and do order them, to depart out of Scotland, on or before as aforesaid, never again to return into it; and, in case of their return, they order and require all officers of the law within whose jurisdiction they shall be found, to apprehend and incarcerate them, or either of them, in the prison of the county where they shall be so apprehended; and ordain such Sheriff, and those interjacent, to transmit them, or either of them, to the tolbooth of Edinburgh; from thence to be carried, on the first market-day thereafter, and to be whipt through the town by the hands of the common hangman, and then to be returned to the said prison, to remain there till an opportunity offer of transporting them to his Majesty's plantations in America. And the Lords ordain and impower the Magistrates of Edinburgh and the said Shire and the Lord Provost, to give life and secur for each of them, to land them as aforesaid, in case of their return again, ordain them to be imprisoned in the tolbooth of Edinburgh during life. And further, the Lords do declare the said John Bar and William Spence infamous in all time coming, incapable of bearing any publick trust, or of being witnesses in any cause or action, or passing upon any affair. And ordain the sentence to be recorded for the terror of others in time coming.

July 9. The Magistrates of the city have regulated the price of bread.

The six-penny loaf of the finest kind, 4 lb. 3 oz. 3 dr. of the wheat, 6 lb. 5 oz. 4 dr. of the household, 8 lb. 7 oz. averdupoise weight, and so in proportion for greater or lesser loaves. The bread to be marked thus: 1. The initial letters of the baker's name, as F, W, or H. 2. The quality, as the No 1, II, &c. 3. The price of the bread.

A riot happened, July 18, at Lialisgow, as General Barrell's regiment was marching through that place. One of the corporals got drunk, and wounded several persons. He was committed to jail; but in the night-time some of the soldiers let fire to the prison-door, and cut the iron hasp that bolted it, by which he made his escape. The Royal Burrows have made a representation of the matter to Brigadier Gifford, who promises to use his utmost endeavours to discover the criminals, and deliver them up to justice. — One of the persons, thus thought, is mortally wounded, and two of the soldiers have deserted.

The regiments of Col. Delcarny, Col. Guise, and Col. Charles Howard, are landed in the West from Ireland.

LONDON, June 1739.

On the arrival of some dispatches from Madrid, the beginning of this month, with an account that the
DOMESTICK HISTORY.

conferences in pursuance of the convention were likely to be unsuccessful; and because the Spaniards had cheated the payment of the L. 95,000 stipulated for the merchants, the government seem'd determin'd to do the nation justice by force. Accordingly 14 men of war and 3 bomb-vessels were put in commission, for the speedy manning of which there was a vigorous press, and an embargo laid on all vessels in the kingdom; a proclamation was publish'd permitting six months pay certain to those who should voluntarily enter themselves aboard, and another recalling our seamen from foreign service; new levies also were begun for the land-forces, and several regiments ordered hither from Ireland; the S. S. Company were advised by a Secretary of State how to act in the present conjuncture, and the merchants sent to their correspondents in Spain on the same head: In short, a war was generally thought unavoidable, but we hear yet of no hostilities; and the stocks, which were fallen very low, are again upon the rise.

The King went to the house of Peers; and the Commons being sent for up, and attending, his Majesty gave the royal assent to, An act for granting to his Majesty the sum of 500,000 l. out of the sinking fund, for the service of the year 1739, and for enabling his Majesty to raise the further sum of 500,000l. out of the growing produce of the said fund; and for further appropriating the supplies granted in this session of parliament; and for giving time for the payment of duties omitted to be paid for the indentes and contracts of clerks and apprentices.—An act to enable his Majesty to settle an annuity of 15,000l. on the Duke of Cumberland; and the heirs of his body; and also one other annuity of 24,000l. on the four Princesses. — An act for taking off the duties upon woollen and bay yarn imported from Ireland to England, and to prevent the exportation of wool. — An act for granting liberty to carry sugars from any of his Majesty's plantations directly to foreign parts.—An act against deceitful gaming.—An act to prevent frauds in gold and silver ware.—An act prohibiting the importation of books reprinted abroad.—To the curriers and shoe-makers bill.—An act to regulate the price and sufferance of bread. — An act for providing a reward (5000l.) for Joanna Stephens, for the discovery of her medicine for dissolving the stone.—To Westminsterbridge bill.—To Bath-hospital bill, &c.

The Speaker of the house of Commons made the following speech to the King, upon presenting the bills for the royal assent; viz. "Your faithful Commons have passed the bill to enable your Majesty to take such measures as the necessity of affairs may require. The repeated insinuations your subjects have so long born from the Spaniards, loudly call for satisfaction; and are now grown to such a pitch, that it is become the unanimous sentiment of your people, that words will no longer prevail; no! some other expedient must be found out. And should your Majesty be oblig'd to take such measures, God grant your Majesty's arms that success which the justice of your cause deserves."

No less than 700,000 yards of linen were imported in one week this month from Ireland.

Great quantities of stores are shipped off for Gibraltar, Portmahon, Jamaica, and Georgia.

Capt. Boscawen is sailed in the Shoreham for the Mediterranean and the West Indies, with orders to the several British Governors in those seas.

And the Tartar war of war has received orders to be in readiness to fail at a moment's warning, to carry fresh instructions to the Governors in America.

Orders are sent by his Majesty to the Commissioners of the Customs, not to enter any goods for Spain.

The Lord-Mayor hath granted 300 warrants for impressing seamen within the bounds of the city.

All the officers of the garrisons, both at home and abroad, are ordered to their respective posts.
The foot-guards are ordered to hold themselves in readiness to appear at the rendezvous of alarm at an hour's warning.

A court of lieutenancy lately held at Guildhall, have resolved to oblige all house-keepers to keep a good musket, a cartouch-box, and a broad cutting sword.

**Maritime Affairs.**

The Drake sloop has carried into Jamaica a French sloop which was condemned, and a tartane with Spaniards, who were sentenced as pirates, and hanged in chains.

The Margaret, Capt. Mitchel, bound from St. Cruz in Barbary with Moors and Moorish effects to Algiers, is taken by a Spanish cruiser, and carried into Ivisa.

The Fanny, Capt. Mohun, bound from Liverpool to Barbadoes, was lost near that island.

The John and Sarah, Capt. Williams, bound from London for the Baltic, was lost on the coast of Jutland.

A boat over-set near Falerghburgh, going to the wreck of the Felton, belonging to Ipswich, lately lost on that coast, and six people were drowned.

**Preferments, &c.**

The Lord Viscount Shannon, and the Marquis of Montandre,—Field Marshals.

General Evans, and General Wade,—Generals of the horse.

The Major-Generals are promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Generals, the Brigadiers to be Major-Generals, and most of the old Colonels are made Brigadiers.

The Lieutenant-Generals Whetham, Sabine and Wills, are made Generals of the foot.

William Ducket, Esq;—Colonel of the regiment late Col. Lanoc's.

Brigadeer Elliot,—Lieutenant-Colonel of the second troop of horse grenadier guards.


Major Haley,—Lieutenant-Colonel of Lord James Cavendish's regiment of foot.

Col. Jeffers,—Governor of Cork.

George-William Harvey, son to John Lord Harvey,—Ensign in the Duke of Marlborough's regiment of foot.

William Cuningham, Esq;—Cornet of the royal regiment of horse in Ireland.

William Bower, Esq;—Lieutenant in the royal regiment of English fusiliers.

Mr. Congreve,—Cornet of Col. Legnieri's regiment of horse.

**Naval.**

Sir Tancred Robertson, Bart. late Lord Mayor of York,—Rear-Admiral of the Blue.

Mr. Whitney and Mr. Falkland,—Captains of the Namure.

Capt. Smith,—Commander of the Lyon.

Capt. Dennison,—of the Russell.

Capt. Lingen,—of the Argyle.

Capt. Wyndham,—of the Greenwich.

Capt. Stanley,—of the Tyger.

Capt. Norris,—of the Adventure.

Capt. Davis,—of the Prs. of Orange.

Capt. Hildersley,—of the Lyon.

Capt. Trefusis,—of the Weymouth.


Capt. Wynnel,—of the Jersey.

Capt. Williams,—of the Affluence.
MARRIAGES.
The Marquis of Beaumont, son to his Grace the Duke of Roxburg, to Miss Eliza Moyton.
The Earl of Uxbridge, to Mrs. Baget.
The Lord Bruce, eldest son to the Earl of Aylesbury, to Miss Campbell, daughter to Col. Campbell, a near relation to the Duke of Argyile.
Mr. Winchetter, to Miss Grant, daughter to Mr. Grant a Common-council man in London.

DEATHS.
Robert Letice Hooper, Esq; Lord Chief Justice of the province of New-York.
Arthur Betefworth, Bookseller.
Capt. Thomas Phillips, of the royal regiment of dragoons.
Dr. Hutchison, Bishop of Down and Connor.
George Blake, a West India Merchant.
Dr. Samuel Dale, F. R. S. author of many curious treatises.
Mrs. Helen Gibbon, spouse to John Davidson of Whitehouse, Esq.
Mr. Mackenzie of Rofend.
Robert Robertson, Provost of Perth.
The Lady Dowager Glenegles.
The Lady of David Drummond of Pittkennedy, Esq.
In St. Margaret's work-house, Westminister, in the 138th year of her age, Margaret Paton, born near Paisly.
Mr. Jo. Spark, Minister at Currie, unfortunately perished in the water of Leith.

Died within the walls of the city of Edinburgh, and buried in the Grey-friars church-yard, June 1739.

Men 21, women 21, children 44. In all, 86. Decreased this month, 7.

AGE. N°. DISEASES. N°.
2 & 5 14 Consumption 28
5 & 10 4 Fever — 14
10 & 20 4 Old age — 3
20 & 30 9 Small-pox 5
30 & 40 8 Suddenly — 4
40 & 50 7 Teething — 9
50 & 60 4 Palpy — 1
60 & 70 6 Dropy — 1
70 & 80 2 Still-born — 5
80 & 90 2

FOREIGN HISTORY.
Extra of a letter from Isphahan.

August 30. 1738.

Hamash Kouli Kan is thought to be aiming at the conquest of Indoostan; for, after the victories he gained over the Turks, and making peace with them, he returned to Isphahan, the capital of Persia, where, after a short stay to settle the kingdom to his mind, he set out with a very numerous army for Candahar, a frontier town belonging to the Mogul, which by these people was thought impregnable, (‘tis the place where Merriweys, that plundered Isphahan about twelve years ago, carried the riches of Persia) but the Schach Nadir took it at one assault, razed all the fortifications, and built a new wall round it, and strong forts, and calls it Nadirabad. He has since taken Cabull, another very strong place, and the only one that can hinder his march to Delhi, where the Mogul keeps his court. He has not yet taken the castle of Cabull; but we expect to hear the news of its surrender daily, for he is making preparations for the march of his army to the province of Multan, which is the road to Delhi. Notwithstanding these great successes, the Mogul does not seem inclined to meet him himself, nor lead any of his Generals with an army to oppose him, though he certainly can raise a multitude of people, Moors and Tartars only, besides the forces of the Gentoo Rajahs, who are tributary to him, and four or five of them capable of sending him 200,000 men each. But such is the case, the kingdom for several years past has been in a distracted state, occasioned first by the Omrah’s jealousies of each other’s greatness, which led them to indulge the Mogul with women, and every thing that tended to luxury, to give them an opportunity the better to pursue their separate interests; which management of the courtes
tiers in a short time encouraged the Greatee Princes to play their game in turn, and sometimes one, sometimes another disputed paying their tributes, which has given a deal of trouble to the Mogul to keep them in tolerable order; and 'tis believed, if they take it in their heads to oppose Thamos Kouli Khan, by the time they could all agree to unite their forces, he would reach Delki; and if so, his judgment in war so far exceeds the rest of the Mogul's Generals, and his men being so much superior in courage and strength to any in those parts, 'tis more than probable he'd shortly have it in his option to fit on the throne of Indoostan or Persia."

The face of affairs at Constantinople is much altered since the elevation of the present Grand Vizier, whose affability and politeness seems at present to be far more acceptable to the subjects of the Porte, than the jealous and imperious conduct of his predecessor.

The sudden death of the Persian Ambassador on the road to Constantinople, has given occasion to a report of his being poisoned; but however that be, it is generally agreed that his dispatches, instructions, &c. have been seized by order of court; and that, to the great surprise of the Porte, among them was found an order to declare war against the Grand Seignior.

The last advices from Turkey contain melancholy accounts of the effects of scarcity of provisions throughout the whole Ottoman empire; and 130,000 persons are said to have died of the plague in Constantinople in five months.

The Czarina has lately given such attention to the designs of France, and the warlike preparations of Sweden, that the armies intended to act against the Turks have proceeded with utmost deliberation; and in case of an attack on the side of Finland, it is said Veldt Marshal Count Munich will be called from the Ukraine to command there; and that upon the first news of hostilities being begun by the Swedes, Veldt Marshal Layci will embark, with 20,000 men, on board some galleys, and attempt a descent upon Sweden. So that, probably, little will be done on the side of Turkey this year, unless by the Russian Tartar allies: Of whom, Donuc Ombo, in the beginning of the spring, sent one of his Generals, with a great body of troops, against the Czecchass of Trevogue, who live beyond the river Cuben; he immediately destroy'd their habitations, and hearing the Cuban Tartars were posted in great numbers on the river of Changoule, he hasten'd his march, surpriz'd them, and put them to flight, after killing a large number, and many more were drowned in passing the river in their retreat, and took several thousand of oxen and beeves, 100,000 sheep, and 3000 prisoners.

The British Resident at Peterburg, being lately in frequent conferences with Count Osterman, prime minister to the Czarin; and that Nobleman's brother-in-law, the Prince Tickerbatow, being appointed her Imperial Majesty's Plenipotentiary to the court of Great Britain, gives room to believe the two crowns are carrying on designs of importance to the affairs of Europe.

On the 7th of this month died, at Ralf-hagen, the feast of his Great Cumberlinsin, in the 40th year of his age, his Royal Highness Charles Frederick Ulrick, Duke of Holstein Gottorp, son of Hediviga Sophia, sister of Charles XII, late King of Sweden. He succeeded his father in 1702, and took the government of his dominions upon him in 1717. In 1721 he went to the court of Peterburg, where he was in high favour during the reign of the late Czarina, whose daughter, by the Czar Peter the Great, (the Princess Anne Petrovnna) he married in 1725, by whom he had one son, Charles Peter Ulrick, born the 21st of February 1728, the Prince's dying on the 15th of May the same year. In 1723, the deceased Duke had the title of Royal Highness conferred upon him, and in 1734 an annual subsidy of about 5000 l. was given him by the states of Sweden; to which kingdom, in case their Swedish Majesties had died without issue, he was pre-
FOREIGN HISTORY.

Captive Us. — Christian I. King of Sweden and Norway, was the Prince that got Holstein invested into a duchy; and from Frederick I. who re-established the Anglese Confession in his dominions in 1523, the present branch of Holstein Goltorp, and the Royal Family of Denmark, are descended. The late Duke by will, has intrusted the guardianship of his son and successor to the Duke of Holstein Eatin, Bishop of Lebeck, who immediately repaired to Kiel, a town of good traffic on the Baltic, and assumed the government, by the title of Duke-administrator.

Advises from Vienna are filled with nothing but the mention of treaties of one kind or other: Much time, and many courier, have been employed about the admiring K. Stanislaus as the high and principal contriver in the present definitive treaty of peace, (a new term in the art of negotiation.) — A treaty between the Porte and his Imperial Majesty is still talked of, being one day in the point of conclusion, and the next expected to be from day to day. And the difficulty made by her Czarian Majesty to furnish the troops she is by treaty obliged to lend the Emperor, gives opportunity for the Emperor to express some disinclination to continue a war, begun principally upon the instigation of Russia. One post brings preparations made for, and frigates, Admiraux, &c. hastening to the siege of Widdin; the next, proposals for a suspension of arms. However, it is certain that General Wallis is arrived at Belgrade, and that the grand army of his Imperial Majesty is forming in that neighbourhood; which, it is said, will consist of 150,000 men; and, according to the disposition now talked of, will have Belgrade in front, with its right wing extending to the Save, and its left towards Salahnemien on the Danube, where there is a bridge to communicate with the body under General de Neuperg in the Banalate of Tamisewas. So that if the Grand Visier should march towards Servia and the Save, General Neuperg's body will join the grand army near the bridge of Salahnemien; and if, on the other hand, the Turks should cross the Danube, to enter the Banalate of Tamisewas, General Wallis will likewise pass that river, and the Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen will, in that case, command a separate body for the secession of Schavonesia. — If the new regulations for payment of the Imperial forces be put in execution, by having 800,000 florins remitted to the army every month, should they enter upon action, more may be expected from them, than when the want of proper support turned their heads more upon marauding than conquest.

Nothing remarkable has lately happened to Russia, except his Prussian Majesty's Ambassador to the States-General's having cut his throat from ear to ear; of which, 'tis thought, he will recover. His intimacy with the minister of France at the Hague, is thought to have driven him upon these desperate means, to end a life he found not to have been of that service to his master which his faction required. — Probably this was occasioned by nothing more than a secret negotiation; the effect of which, some people do not scruple to say, has been no less than the French visit to the Baltic.

The attention of the court of Madrid has lately been much taken up with the regulation of the affairs depending between the crowns and subjects of Spain and Great Britain. The conferences stipulated by the late Convention have been begun indeed; but, from what has yet appeared, to very little effect: the 68,000 l. said to be due to the King of Spain from the English South-sea company, having been refused to be accepted as part of the 95,000 l. agreed to be due from Spain to Great Britain, the conferences were discontinued for some days. It is said, that the King of Spain's right of offering foreign ships, and his pretensions to Georgia and Carolina, have been upon the carpet. — But the last accounts we received from Madrid inform us, that upon his Catholic Majesty's declaration to Mr. Keane, that if the South-
The Spaniards of St. Augustine, near Georgia, have issued a proclamation, giving freedom to all white servants and Negro or Indian slaves belonging to Carolina, Puritburgh, or Georgia, that will go over to them, and have allotted them land near St. Augustine, where above 700 have been received, to the great injury of the planters, who are subjects to his Britannick Majesty.

The Affair of Corsica seems near a crisis; the King of Spain having, in the treaty with France and the Empire, assumed the title of King of Corsica, and a considerable number of troops are said to be ready to embark at Alicante for that island. Notwithstanding which, the French papers give us repeated accounts of the exploits of their brave Marquis de Mallebois, who has, with surprizing dexterity, disarmed the inhabitants of Bastia, by the admirable invention of erecting gibbets in every street, and hanging up all who dared to resist; the most effectual method, certainly, that could have been taken to convince these lovers of their country of the strength of his Most Christian Majesty's affections for their interests, and the confidence the Marquis reposes in his labours to set them free! It is said the campaign in that island will soon be opened in the province of Bavagna; but some thinkers will be inclined to Don Philip, Infant of Spain, in consequence of his marriage with the elegant Madame of France. — In such cases it is very probable the joint power of France and Spain will be able to reduce that valiant people under the yoke of which these crowns they pleased. — Where is the interest of_Genoa all this time! — Baron de Dréf, nephew to Baron de Neuhoff, has been made Generalísimo of the island, and continues to make all possible preparations for preserving and defending the natives from the attacks of their enemies.

The naval and military preparations of Sweden do not appear to formidable as was at first apprehended; the Danish Majesty has on that occasion augmented his troops, and put several ships of war into commission.

The treaty concluded between the Emperor and the Empire, the King of France, his Catholic Majesty, &c. has been published at Paris in 150 pages, in 4to, Latin and French. — The treaty is strictly only between the Empire, the Emperor, and France, the acts of the King of Spain, &c. being subjoined to the several articles. — The first article establishes a perpetual and universal peace, a true friendship, and a firm union, between the Empire, the Emperor, and the King of France, their kingdoms, dominions, vassals and subjects. — The second relates to the oblation of hostilities, and the redemption of prisoners on both sides, without ransom. — The third establishes the treaties of Westphalia, Nimiguen, Ryvick, and the Quadruple Alliance; as the basis of the present treaty. — The fourth, the ratification of a Convention in 1755 at Vienna. — In the fifth, the Emperor renounces the duky of Calas and the county of Ronciglione. — The sixth admits the Carinna and Augustus III. as the chief contrivance for the affairs of Poland. — In the eighth, the Emperor renounces Novarre, the Toronse, &c. — In the ninth, the Duke of Lorain yields up his dominions. — The eleventh relates to the discharge of imposts and contributions, the demolition of forts built during the war, &c. —
The separate article relates to the titles which are not recognized on either side.

In the present critical situation of affairs, with regard to most of the European powers, the States-General have hitherto preserved such an exact neutrality, as gives great room to believe, that should any other trading nation be involved in war, the Dutch would be at leisure to improve each opportunity to supplant them in every branch of commerce their martial engagements might render them incapable of attending to.

To the author of the Scots Magazine.

Sir,

The affair of the duchies of Juliers and Bergues having lately made a great noise in Europe, and 'tis much fear'd may be the occasion of a bloody war in Germany, upon the death of the present Elector-Palatine, I have made a short sketch from a German history, which may be an agreeable anecdote to some of your curious readers.

John-William, Duke of Cleves, Juliers and Bergues, about the year 1640, deceased without issue, although he had married two wives; the first, a Princess of the house of Baden; and the second, a Princess of the house of Vendomont, a branch of the house of Savoy. He had four sisters,

Mary-Eleanor, the eldest sister, was married to Albert-Frederick Duke of Prussia; who died without issue-male, but left four daughters:

1. Anne, the eldest, married to John-Sigismund Duke of Brandenburg, Elector, and ancestor of the present King of Prussia;

2. —— married to the Old Elector; [Who is meant by that, I can't tell, except it is that Elector who was deposed, and degraded by the Emperor Ferdinand III. and the elector given to his younger brother, ancestor of the present King of Poland.]

N. B. From that Prince, so degraded upon account of his being a Protestant, and joining with Gustavus Adolphus King of Sweden, are descended the present House of Saxe-Gotha, to whom we owe her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

3. —— married to the Duke of Courland;

4. —— married to John-George, Brother to the Elector of Saxony.

Anne, the second sister of John-William, was married in the year 1574 to Philip-Lewis Duke of Newburg, and had Wolfgang-William, who kept court at Dusseldorp, and died in April 1653. He was ancestor of the present Elector-Palatine.

Magdalen, the third sister of John-William, was married to the Duke of Deux-Ponts; from whence came Charles X. King of Sweden, upon the resignation of his cousin Queen Christina, daughter of Gustavus Adolphus.

Sibill, the fourth sister of John-William, was married to Charles Archduke of Austria, but died without children.

Therefore, upon the death of John-William, John-Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, claimed by virtue of his marriage with Anne the eldest daughter of Mary-Eleanor, the eldest sister of John-William. In this he was opposed by Wolfgang-William Duke of Newburg, the son of Anne second sister of John-William, the being alive at the death of her brother. The Elector of Saxony, the Dukes of Nevers and Deux-Ponts, and several others, put in their pretensions.

Upon which the Emperor Rodolpheus, as lord of the sief, summoned all parties to Prague in Bohemia, to make out their titles; and in the mean while endeavour'd to sequester the dutches, and to that end dispatch'd the Archduke Leopold Bishop of Strafsburg, who made himself master of Juliers.

The two first contending parties, viz. the Elector of Brandenburg, and the Duke of Newburg, not caring to have their rights contested before the Emperor, made an agreement between themselves. That the Elector of Brandenburg should have the duchy of Cleves, and the Duke of Newburg the dutches of Juliers and Bergues; but upon this express condition, that when an heirmale of either house should fail, the whole...
which should revert to the other house: and of this they made the King of France guarantee, which gives the French a handle to meddle in this affair.—N.B. The Prince of Salsbach, presumptuous heir to the Elector-Palatine, is in great despair by his father only. Ten's, &c.

REGISTER OF BOOKS.

The sovereignty of the British seas. By Sir John Boroughs, Knt. Reprinted from an old copy, published in Queen Elizabeth's time. pr. 1 s.

The dreadful degeneracy of the clergy. pr. 1 s.

Letters concerning postical transgressions. pr. 1 s.

The absolute and proper eternity of hell-sentence, proved from scripture, from reason, and from the natural attributes of God. pr. 1 s.

College-wit sharpen'd. pr. 6 d.

An apology for the Ministers of Jesus Christ. By J. Horler, A. B. pr. 2 s. 6 d.

The benefit of Predestination. pr. 6 d.

A Charge to the Clergy of Wilts. By Dr. Sibbald. pr. 6 d.

The matrimonial maladies. By Mr. Cooke. A tragedy. pr. 1 s. 6 d.

The modern question affirmed. By M. Maurice. pr. 1 s.

A century of the colloquies of Condercin, in a new manner. By J. Stirling. pr. 1 s. 6 d.

The sentiments of Archbishops Tillotson and Sharp upon regeneration. pr. 1 s. 6 d.

Guatthens and Griselda. By Mr. Ogilv. pr. 3 s.

A critical discourse upon the principal authors who have written for and against Christianity. pr. 4 s.

The nature, folly, sin and danger of being righteous oversmuch. By J. Trapp, D. D. pr. 1 s. being the substance of four sermons preached against Mr. Whitefield; one of which, in his journal, part 9, p. 89, he mentions to have heard.

The ancient history of the Egyptians. By Mr. Bottin. Also 3d and 4th vol. pr. 6 s.

A letter to the Bishop of Oxford concerning the doctrine of the Trinity. pr. 6 d.

The adventures of John Le Brun, a vol. pr. 5 s.

Dr. Trapp vindicated from the imputation of being a Christian. pr. 6 d.

The true character of Mr. Whitefield. pr. 6 d.

Whitefield's continuation of his journal in England. pr. 1 s.

A narrative of the life of Mr. Whitefield. pr. 3 d.

A letter to the Bishops in relation to Mr. Whitefield. pr. 6 d.

An answer to Dr. Trapp's four sermons. By R. Seagrave. This has been replied to in the Weekly Miscellany.

A dialogue between Mr. Whitefield and Mr. Garnier. pr. 4 d.

The mock Preacher. pr. 6 d.—A serious answer. By J. Burrowes explained. pr. 6 d.

A sermon on regeneration. By R. Skerrett, D. D. pr. 6 d.

A counterpart to Mr. Pope's essay on man, epistle 2. By Mr. Ayre. pr. 6 d.

A brief account of prayer and the sacrament. By Dr. Sibbald. pr. 3 s. 6 d.

Sermo pedestris. pr. 1 s.

The sun's standing still, rationally accounted for. pr. 6 d.

The history of a worst country wife. pr. 6 d.

Physick is a jest, a whim, a state fashion, &c. pr. 1 s.

The national dispute about the convention. pr. 3 s. 6 d.

Sermons on several subjects by John Warren, D. D. 2 vols. pr. 10 s. 6 d.

A speech in parliament, by a person of honour. pr. 6 d.

The necessity of revelations, by Dr. Arch. Campbell. pr. 4 s. 3 d. in three.

The defence of the further enquiry, by L. Wayman. pr. 1 s.

An answer to an objection to a late essay on religion. pr. 6 d.

A letter to Philadelphia, part 2. pr. 6 d.

A caution against religious delusions. pr. 3 d.

The flaw of Rome under Neros and Domitian. A farrago. pr. 6 s.

And several tracts on political subjects.
THE
SCOTS MAGAZINE.

NEMO ME IMPUNE LACESSET

JULY, 1739.

To be continued every Month. Price Sixpence each.

CONTAINING,


List of the members of the house of Commons who voted for and against the Convention; Sum of the Pro's, Contra's, and Absents; and of the Members, Placemen, Lucrative Employments, and yearly Salaries, Scots and English; Queries.

Weekly Essays. Danger of Placemen sitting in Parliament; Panegyric on the Administration; A quotation from Ben Johnson.

An Evening at Vaux-Hall. Humorous description of the voyage thither, &c.

Portical Essays. The prospect of War; The Arbour; On the Duke of Argyle; On a young Gentleman oft disappointed in love; To Sylvia, &c.

Domestic History. Sentence against James Edie and his wife; The order of the privy-council relating to letters of marque; Preferments, Deaths, Mortality-bill, Price of stocks, &c.

A Cure for the Dropsey.

Foreign History.

Register of Books.

EDINBURGH: Printed by W. Sands, A. Brymer, A. Murray and J. Cochran. Sold by the Booksellers in Town and Country, and at the Printing-house in Burns's Close. MDCCXXXIX.

Of whom may be had the Magazines for the preceding months.
The beginning of the eclipse, July 24, answered within half a minute to Mr Chapman’s computation given in our former. The digits eclipsed, and the end, could not be observed because of the clouds.

Curious Relations; or, The Entertaining Correspondent, 2 vols. 8°.

The Laboratory; or, The School of Arts, 8°.

A Collection of Novels, by Mrs Penelope Aubin, 3 vols. 12°.

Rollin’s Ancient History, vol. 12. and 13. 8°, which complete the book, and may be had separately to make up sets.

[There is also an edition of this much approved book in 12°, whereof four volumes are only come to hand; but it will go on to be published by two volumes at a time, till the whole is finished.]

Bradley’s Philosophical account of the works of Nature, 8°.


[The fourth volume of the same book, translated by Mr Hampden, 8°, may be had separately, to complete sets.]

Trowell’s new treatise of Husbandry, Gardening, and other curious matters relating to country affairs.
Introduction.

To alter where there is a probability of excelling, is without dispute commendable; but to change where there is no view of amendment, betrays such a fondness for a writer's own manner as often provokes contempt than procures esteem. 'Tis true, indeed, the love of novelty, so prevalent among the generality of readers, hath driven many authors upon altering the method observed by others, in instances where a humble imitation would have been far preferable on every account. This we have considered: The charms of variety are not to be overlook'd; but where an alteration would seem rather the effect of a desire to vary, than of a hope to improve, in such cases 'tis prudence to follow the methods which are most approv'd. Therefore, as we are now to enter on the Political Debates, we shall conform to the plan of the London Magazine, which hath given universal satisfaction, and from the best authorities, such speeches as are made upon affairs of moment, with all the expedition that the nature of a monthly publication will permit, and do all in our power to preserve every argument free from the interruption of another subject till the first be finished, endeavouring at the same time to omit no speech worthy of the publick attention.

We must here beg leave to inform such of our readers as may be unacquainted with the plan we propose to follow, that for several years the principal speeches made in Parliament were regularly published. But this, it seems, gave offence, which made it unsafe to publish them any longer. However, the want of parliamentary debates is efficiently supplied by a Political Club at London, whose Secretary transmits regularly to the publisher of the London Magazine extracts from their journal, which over since their first appearance, have been received with general approbation. — The Secretary, in his first letter, says, That the Club consists of young Noblemen, Gentlemen, Clergymen, and eminent Merchants, who meet at fixed times, and at every meeting appoint some question in Politics, Religion, Law, Trade, or Philosophy, to be fully debated in the next; that as every one of them hath it in his view to be some time or other a member of the legislature, therefore it was agreed to speak and argue as much as possible in the side and manner of Parliament; that every great question which should come before either house, should be fairly debated in their Club; and that as they had provided themselves with compleat sets of the journals of both houses, they would spare no cost in obtaining likewise copies of all climates, accounts, and other material papers. Instead of the real names of the speakers, which for some secret reason he choses to conceal, he makes use of those of the ancient Greeks and Romans; but at the same time cautions the reader not to imagine that there is any affinity between the character of the person who speaks, and that of the Grecian or Roman whose name he makes him assume, for by appropriating of such names he hath no intention to give characters, but only to distinguish the several speakers. — In these debates our readers will find the old saying verified. That great men often fall into the same thoughts; for some Gentlemen that have heard questions debated in Parliament, have observed, upon reading the journal of this learned Club, that not only the arguments, but even the words also happened to be very near the same.

We shall begin with those Debates that

hap-
Proceedings of the Political Club.

happened in the beginning of the present year, which are thus introduced by the Secretary in a letter to the publisher of the London Magazine.

SIR,

A. one of our meetings in February last, it was resolved, that we should suppose our Club to be the Higher House of Parliament; and that, as such, we should consider, what sort of address it would be proper for us to make, upon his Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne. [see p. 32.] Upon this occasion L. Porcius proposed that the address should be in the following terms, viz.

1. That we should return his Majesty our humble thanks for his most gracious speech from the throne.

2. That we should declare, that amongst the many convincing proofs, which his Majesty has given of his paternal and unwearied care of the rights of his people, nothing can fill their hearts with more grateful sentiments, than that sincere and affectionate concern, which he has so often declared, for the many hardships and injuries sustained by his trading subjects in America. That the honour of his Majesty's crown, and the true interest of his people are, and ever will be inseparable; and that as his Majesty has, on all occasions, demonstrated to the world, that he has both equally at heart, it was impossible for us, not to have the firmest dependence on his zeal and vigilance, for their real security and preservation.

3. To declare, that the gracious regard which his Majesty was pleased to express for the resolutions and advice of his parliament, was a great instance of his royal goodness: And that though his Majesty's constant desire, out of tenderness to his people, to avoid involving these kingdoms in the manifold inconveniences of war, must have inclined him to approve the beginning with more moderate measures; yet we never entertained the least doubt, but that the true greatness and fortitude, which inspired his royal breast, would have induced him to exert his utmost power, in vindicating and protecting our undoubted privileges of navigation and commerce, and in doing justice to himself and his subjects, if the conduct of the court of Spain had made such measures necessary.

4. To beg leave, on this occasion, to offer to his Majesty our unfeigned thanks for his great goodness and condescension, in acquainting us from the throne, that a convention was concluded and ratified, between his Majesty and the K. of Spain, whereby reparation was agreed to be made to his subjects for their losses, by a certain stipulated payment; that Plenipotentiaries were appointed for regulating, within a limited time, all those grievances and abuses which had hitherto interrupted our commerce and navigation in the American seas; and that his Majesty would be pleased to order the convention and separate articles to be laid before us.

5. To declare, that we should fall short of those warm impressions of gratitude, which we felt in ourselves, as well as be wanting in our duty, if we did not return his Majesty our most thankful acknowledgments for his royal care, in making use of the confidence reposed in him, with no other view, but the general and lasting benefit of his kingdoms. That reparation for past injuries and losses, and effectual security for the future, founded in justice, and warranted by treaties, had been the great views of his Majesty, and his parliament, in that national and important affair; and if those purposes could be attained, without plunging the nation into a war, it must give the truest satisfaction to all his faithful subjects, who could not but be as desirous to preserve the peace, as they were able and ready to defend and vindicate their rights, against the encroachments of all aggressors.

6. And lastly, to declare, that we were deeply sensible, how unbecoming and pernicious it would be, at any time, to suffer either prejudices or animosities to mix themselves with parliamentary deliberations; and that his Majesty's gracious recommendation to us, particularly to avoid them at this important conjunction, could not fail to awaken in us
more than ordinary caution on that head. That G. Britain hath but one common interest, conflicting in the security of his Majesty's person and government, and the welfare and happiness of his people; and that when his Majesty was pleased to exhort us to unanimity, it was only calling upon us to unite for our own preservation: therefore, to beseech his Majesty, to accept the strongest and most affectionate assurances, that we will zealously and cheerfully concur in all such measures, as shall be most condu-
vive to those great and desirable ends.

As soon as this proposition was read to the club, M. Gigasius Maserinus stood up, and proposed an amendment; which was, To take only the first and last paragraphs of the address proposed, and consequently, to leave out the four intermediate paragraphs; whereupon a question was started and debated in the club, Whether or not this amendment ought to be approved of?

The argument in favour of the amendment was as follows thus.

My Lords,

In ancient times, and I may even say, till of late years, the addresses of this house, by way of return to the King's speech from the throne, consisted but of a few sentences. They contained only our thanks to his Majesty for his most gracious speech from the throne, and a general acknowledgment of our affection and duty; but that method has been entirely altered since the revolution, and we have now fallen into a way of echoing back the speech from the throne, paragraph by paragraph, I may almost say, word for word. This modern method I have always thought inconsistent with the dignity of this house. In my opinion, it looks more like the fullest address of the states of a province in France, to their absolute and arbitrary monarch, than like the address of either house of a free and independent British parliament. And, for this reason, I cannot but wish, that your Lordships would return to your ancient method, which I am sure is more consistent with your dignity, and which can neither up on the present occasion, nor upon any future, be attended with the least bad consequence.

The modern method has, 'tis true, my Lorde, been practised for several years: The speech from the throne has for too many sessions, been punctually echoed back from the house in every particular circumstance; and great compliments have generally of late years been made to the King, upon the measures pursued by the administration: but if this be a bad custom, it can from no time derive a right to our future approbation. And that it is so, must, I think, appear at first view, to every one that considers it in its proper light: for from the nature of our government, it is impossible for the majority of this house, to have, at the very beginning of a session, any proper knowledge of what has been lately transacted; we can have no such knowledge, till it has been communicated to us by the crown, and deliberately examined by every Lord that is present, which cannot possibly be done the very first day of the session; therefore, when in our address of thanks for his Majesty's speech from the throne, we say any thing that may look like an encouragement upon what has been lately transacted, our compliments cannot be much as be supposed to signify any thing: Nay, it is always allowed, even by those that propose them, that they are not meant to signify any thing; which, in my opinion, is a tacit acknowledgment that no such compliments ought to be made; for in private life, to make such compliments, is no argument either of the sincerity of him that makes them, or of his respect for the person to whom they are made: and if we should afterwards, upon an enquiry, censure those measures we had before in our address approved, or but seemed to approve, I am sure it would be no argument for shewing the consistency of our proceedings. Therefore, if we have a due regard to the dignity of this house, we ought to avoid entering into any particulars, or making use of any expressions in our address, that may seem to approve of measures, which we may.
perhaps in the same feccion, find good reason to cenfure.

This caution, my Lords, is, I think, necessary at all times; but upon the present occasion, I think it is more necessary than it ever was upon any former; for we have had nothing yet laid before us, that can give us the least glimpse of light into the measures which the address now proposed seems to approve of. We cannot pretend to have the least parliamentary knowledge of our late transactions; and, I believe, there are but few, very few of your Lordships, that can in any capacity pretend to a thorough knowledge of them. We must therefore now judge by appearances only; and if we judge from what is publicly known, I cannot think we have from thence any great reason to run out in encomiums upon our late management. It is publicly known, not only in this kingdom, but through all Europe, which I am sorry to say, that the nation has for some years been insulted, our negotiators trifled with, and our fellow-subjects not only plundered, but barbarously used; and can any of your Lordships pretend to say, from any thing that has been laid before you, or from what has been communicated by our publick gazettes, that proper measures have been taken for vindicating the honour, repairing the losses, or securing the trade of the nation? These great ends may, for what I know, be all fully answered by the convention, which, as his Majesty has told us, has been lately concluded between him and the crown of Spain: I hope they will appear so, when that treaty, or rather preliminary, comes to be laid before us. I hope proper care has been taken by that convention, to have condign punishment inflicted upon such of the subjects of Spain, as have plundered or abused the subjects of this nation, contrary to the faith of former treaties; for without such punishment, I will be bold to say, that no reparation can be made for our injured honour, nor any security given for our future safety. I hope the stipulated payment, as it is called, will appear to be sufficient for answer ing fully the losses of our plundered merchants and seamen; and, I hope, there is a feasible plan laid down for having all our rights acknowledged by a definitive treaty, or at least such of them as have been lately contested. These things, I say, my Lords, I hope, are all fully provided for by the only convention, which we are soon to have the pleasure of having laid before us; but as I yet know nothing of that convention, and I believe most of your Lordships know as little of it as I do, I cannot, even in the most general terms, approve of our having tamely submitted to so many injuries, for the sake of obtaining a thing called a convention, before I know what it is.

As speeches from the throne, my Lords, are always considered in this house as speeches from the minister, so I cannot but look upon the address made in return to those speeches, as addresses, in some measure, made to the minister; and, when such an address contains an approbation of what has been done, tho' couched in the most general terms, I shall always look upon it as an approbation of the conduct of the administration. In this light, I must consider the address now proposed, and therefore, I shall treat it with the more freedom; because, in this light, his Majesty can be no way concerned, nor can his sacred character be in the least affected, by any thing I can say against our late publick transactions.

Suppose then, my Lords, that the word minister, or ministers, were properly inserted in all those parts of the address, which seem to contain an approbation of our late conduct; suppose we were to say, That amongst the many convincing proofs, which your Majesty's ministers have given of their unwarranted care of the rights of your people: would any of your Lordships agree to make such a compliment, till some of those convincing proofs had been laid before you? Or can we say, that we have the firmest dependence on their zeal and vigilance, for the security and preservation of those rights, which have been of late so often invaded by Spain, before
we have seen what care they have taken of them, by this last convention? When we consider what insults the nation has of late met with, and how long, how patiently, those insults have been submitted to; can we make any compliments to our ministers upon their fortitude, till it appears from their negotiations, and from the issue of those negotiations, that their courage has been restrained by their prudence and foresight? For, I am sure, if full satisfaction is not stipulated by the convention they have accepted, we may applaud their fortitude in patiently suffering insults and indignities, but we can say nothing of their fortitude in vindicating and protecting our undoubted privileges of navigation and commerce. Reparation for past injuries and losses, and effectual security for the future, are what this nation ought, what we must insist on: But, can we say, that these have been the great views of our ministers, before we know a word of the convention, by which that reparation and security ought to have been stipulated? I hope, my Lords, when the convention comes to be laid before us, it will from thence appear, that they well deserve all these compliments; but, till we have seen and examined the convention, I must think it a little premature to make any such.

If I were entirely ignorant, my Lords, not only of our late negotiations, but of all our negotiations and treaties for these 17 or 18 years past, I might, perhaps, put a little confidence in what our ministers and their friends have been pleased to tell us privately of this last convention; I might, perhaps, believe, that we have obtained all we can wish or desire, as has been confidently reported by some persons without doors: but tho' I am ignorant of our late negotiations, and of the terms of the treaty or convention in which they have terminated; yet, I am not entirely ignorant of our preceding negotiations and treaties, nor of the success with which they have been attended; and, the knowledge I have of them is so far from furnishing me with any argument for blindly ap-

proving of what has been lately done, that it renders me suspicious both of the convention, and of the measures that were taken for bringing it to a conclusion. I can hardly believe that the conduct of those who have been so long amused with negotiations, and so often bamboozled with treaties, will appear to be without a flaw in this last step, which they are pleased to represent as the master-piece of their politics.

Let us, therefore, my Lords, take a view of the many negotiations we have carried on, and the many treaties we have concluded, within these last 20 years; and, from them, I believe, we shall find but little encouragement to expect any great matters from what has been lately done. In the year 1721, we put an end to our war with Spain, by a treaty of peace, in which we added a most generous part: We gave up to them all the advantages we had made by the war; I mean, the few ships we had taken from them; and that without being obliged to do, by any sort of bad success in the war: And tho' Spain had, upon the war's breaking out, seized British ships and effects in her dominions, to a great value, contrary to the faith of former treaties, by which the subjects of both kingdoms respectively were, in case of a war, to have had six months to retire with their effects; yet we contented ourselves with stipulating only a simple restitution. These were terms extremely favourable to Spain; and yet, it is well known, they never made: good the restitution they had promised, nor did they observe the former treaties, which, by that treaty, were confirmed and ratified; but continued, under various pretences, to inflict our trade in the bay of Campeachy, and other parts of the American seas, as they had done for some time before: and tho' we had it always in our power, to enforce the performance as well as observance of treaties, yet we trusted entirely to negotiation; and negotiated at the court of Spain for a free enjoyment of our rights in America, and for full satisfaction to our S. S. company, and other injured merchants, for four years, with-
out any success; for, as we had a minister there, I must suppose he had instructions to take some care of our merchants, and of our trade and navigation: and our bad success in those negotiations was the more inexcusable, because, if we had accepted of the sole mediation of all the differences then subsisting between the Emperor and Spain, which was offered us during that interval, we might have easily accommodated all our differences with the court of Spain, and might have established the affair of Europe upon such a footing, as would have greatly contributed to the security of the balance of power in Europe, and to the interest and glory of this nation.

About four years afterwards, my Lords, our ministers got by chance an account of a treaty concluded at Vienna between the Emperor and Spain; and th'o' a conjunction and firm friendship between these two powers, is what this nation ought to desire and cultivate as much as possible, yet I do not know by what information, or rather by what fatality, our ministers took it into their heads that this treaty was designed against us; which induced them to enter into that most extraordinary treaty or alliance concluded at Hanover in the year 1725: and th'o' that treaty appears to be only a defensive alliance, yet we immediately took from thence an occasion to stir up powerful squadrons, and to send them in a hostile manner, th'o', as has since appeared, with peaceful instructions, to the coasts of Spain, both in Europe and America, before they had made the least attempt against us, or any of our allies. As Spain was still owing great sums to our S. S. company and other merchants, by virtue of the treaty I have mentioned in 1721, and as they had been for several years complaining of our most valuable rights and privileges in America, one might have expected that these squadrons, since we had fitted them out, would have been made use of for compelling the court of Spain to make full satisfaction to our merchants, and to acknowledge our rights in America: but these, it seems, our ministers thought were trifles not worth contending for; and as they thought, that our sending such squadrons to the coasts of Spain, was no infringement of the peace subsisting between us and that nation, they gave no orders to these squadrons, either to begin hostilities, or to attempt to compel the Spaniards to do any thing, for fear of breeding a rupture between the two nations. But Spain looked upon our sending them such unwelcome guests in a very different light: They considered it as an open rupture; therefore they immediately seized all our merchants' ships and effects, both in Spain and America, and began hostilities against us both by sea and land. This, one would have thought, afforded us an excellent opportunity for beginning hostilities in our turn, by which, if they had been carried on in a vigorous manner, we might soon have forced Spain, then without any one ally that could hurt us, to make full atonement both for the breach of treaty they had then committed in seizing our merchants' effects, and for the non-performance, as well as non-obsequy of the treaty in 1721. But, th'o' we had put ourselves to great expense in procuring the accession of several Princes and States to the treaty of Hanover, and in augmenting our forces both by sea and land; yet, instead of beginning to fight, we began to negotiate: and, by our dexterity in that way, some preliminary articles were, in about two years, settled and agreed upon between the Emperor and the allies of Hanover; which begot a new negotiation, in order to obtain the accession of Spain; and that negotiation, in about a year more, brought forth the convention between Spain and us, signed at the Paço, in March 1728: This again begot a new negotiation, which, in about a year and a half, ended in the famous treaty of Seville, by which we not only re-united the crowns of France and Spain in a close friendship, but joined with them in a sort of alliance against the Emperor; and all this without having asked the least reimbursement for the charges we had put on...
Proceedings of the Political Club.

relies to, and without obtaining any satisfaction for our merchants, or any explicit acknowledgment of such of our rights or privileges in America as had been contested by Spain.

'Tis true, my Lords, by this famous treaty of Seville, all former treaties were renew'd and confirm'd; by which, I remember, it was at the time of that treaty pretended, that all our rights and privileges were acknowledg'd: but from the example of the treaty in 1721, we might have seen how precarious such general acknowledgment would prove: and our experience, since that time, has confirmed what we had then good reason to suspect; for, since the conclusion of the treaty of Seville, the Spaniards have been more daring in their insults, and more frequent in their depredations, than ever they were before that time; which was, indeed, foreseen by almost every man in the kingdom, except the friends of those who negotiated that wise treaty: and I may prophesy that, if ever we make a new treaty, without having the privileges of our navigation and commerce expressly and particularly declared and acknowledged, our possession of them will become more precarious than ever it was heretofore; nay, I do not know but the Spanish encroachments and depredations may be multiplied in America, and at last extended to Europe.

I shall likewise grant, my Lords, that by this treaty, the effects of the S. S. company, and of our other merchants, which had been seized by the Spaniards in their dominions, when they thought fit to begin hostilities against us, were stipulated to be restor'd; and Commissaries were to be appointed for examining and deciding all pretensions upon either side: but the treaty in 1721 ought, likewise in this case, to have been a warning to us not to trust much to the performance of such stipulations; and experience has since shewn, that we ought to have taken that treaty as a warning: for, tho' the Spaniards themselves admit, that there is about 300,000 l. due by them to the S. S. company, and upon a fair account, I have some reason to believe, the company could make it appear to be treble that sum; yet the court of Spain is now, after nine years forbearance, so far from offering to pay any part of that sum, that, as we are told, they insist upon the company's paying a sum of 68,000 l. as a debt which they pretend to be due from the company to them. Now, if this be the case of our S. S. company, we may easily imagine, how far short our other merchants have come of having those effects restor'd to them which were unjustly seiz'd by the Spaniards upon their beginning hostilities against us in the year 1726, or upon our beginning hostilities against them in the year 1718. And as to such of our merchants as had been plundered by their guards costs in America, before the treaty of Seville, few or none of them can be supposed to have met with any restitution: since the Spaniards took care that the Commissaries should never come to any settlement or decision with regard to any of the pretensions that were referred to them.

And now, my Lords, I have mentioned Commissaries, I must observe, that from that very article in the treaty of Seville which regulates the appointing of Commissaries, it appears to me, that those who drew up that article, either designed that the Commissaries should never be able to decide any thing, or otherwise that our Commissaries should give up a point which, indeed, seems to be given up by that article; but it is such a one as, I hope, no British subject will ever dare to give up in express terms. In that article it is said, That the Commissaries shall likewise examine and decide, according to the treaties, the respective pretensions which relate to the abuses that are supposed to have been committed in commerce, as well in the Indies as in Europe, and all the other respective pretensions in America, founded on treaties, (after which follows this remarkable sentence) whether with respect to the limits, or otherwise. Now, my Lords, I do not remember that, ever since the year 1670, till within these five or six years, there has been the least dispute between the Spaniards and us about limits
mits at land in America: and if there was then no dispute between us about limits at land, I am surprized how our negotiators came to allow such a word to be foisted into any treaty: because the Spaniards may from thence pretend, that we have acknowledged the being of such a thing at sea, which I hope no British subject will ever admit of; and yet, if there was at that time no dispute between us about limits at land, I do not know how we could get over this acknowledgment any other way than by saying, that this sentence was foisted into this treaty by the artfulness of the negotiators for Spain, and the ignorance or carelessness of those that were employ'd on the part of England.

Thus, my Lords, I have gone thro' several of those negotiations and treaties we have lately been engaged in or concluded; and, from the few remarks I have cursorily made, I believe it will appear, that we have no great reason to approve blindly of any treaty that has been, or can be made by those who had the chief concern in negotiating or concluding any of the treaties I have mentioned. By the treaty in 1721 we made some concessions, which, I think, we ought not to have made; and trusted to promises which ought to have been stipulated by preliminaries, and which we ought to have seen performed before we concluded a definitive treaty: but, as we had then little or no experience of the conduct of the court of Spain, the confidence we put in their promises was a little excusable; and our concessions might likewise have been excused, if we could have thereby restored a perfect harmony between Spain and the Emperor, as well as between Spain and ourselves. But I cannot say so much for our future conduct: During the congress at Cambrai, we let slip, in my opinion, an excellent opportunity for restoring the ancient amity between the Empire and Spain, and for rekindling that animosity and jealousy which so long subsisted between Spain and France; by our treaty of Hanover, and the measures we took in consequence of that treaty, we in a manner declared war, as I still think, without the least caufe, against the two powers of Europe whose friendship we ought most to cultivate; and by the treaty of Séville without obtaining the least advantage for this nation, we restored a close friendship between France and Spain, as thereby laid the foundation of that war which they afterwards, jointly with Sardinia, carried on against the Emperor.

I shall say nothing, my Lords, of our behaviour during that war, or of the obligations we lay under by the treaty we concluded at Vienna in the year 1731, but this I will say, that as we had by our former measures united France and Spain, while that union subsisted it was in some measure necessary for us to keep up a close alliance and friendship with the court of Vienna: and if by our inactivity in that war, we shall now call making treaties, or augmenting our forces by sea and land, activity; I say, if by our inactivity in that war, we lost the friendship and confidence of our ancient ally the Emperor, we thereby gave the French and the Spaniards an opportunity of triumphing first over him, that they might afterwards have an opportunity of triumphing over us in our turn: so that if France and Spain are now united against this nation, and we delitute of every ally, or of such an alliance as may make the balance equal, which I hope is not the case, it may be alleged, that our unlucky situation is chiefly owing to our late treaties and negotiations.

If this be our case, can we from hence suppose, my Lords, that an implicit faith ought to be plac'd in the conduct of those who have treated and negotiated with us in such circumstances? If we can neither with honour continue in peace, nor with any prospect of success engage in a war, can we suppose that any treaty we make, can be an honourable or an advantageous treaty? I hope, my Lords, we are not as yet reduced to such a dilemma: but if we are not, I am convinced it is more owing to the good opinion some of our neighbours have of our natural strength, than to the wisdom of our own conduct: and therefore, I cannot agree to pass any
impliments upon our late conduct, or on the convention now concluded with Spain, till I am fully convinced, perusal and enquiry, that it is an honorable, safe, and advantageous treaty. And even suppose it were so; suppose, Your Lords, that from some private information I knew it to be so; yet I should against our making use of any exceptions in our address that might look on an approbation of it, not only because of the bad precedent, but because the misfortunes to labour under a bad character without doors. We have had some pretended articles of it published in our newspapers: I hope my are far from being truly the articles; but whether true or false, the odd has from thence conceived a most plausible opinion of the treaty; and therefore, tho' from some private information I was convinced that there was a ground for such an opinion, yet I could be against approving it till the world could have an opportunity of being undeceived, by its being printed and published at full length: For I shall never be for our doing any thing that may hurt the character of this house in the opinion of the generality of people without doors. At present, most people think that the payment stipulated by this convention is not near sufficient for making good the losses of our merchants; and that even the small sum that is stipulated, is stipulated in such a way, that it must be all paid by ourselves. We must pay, they say, with one hand, and receive with the other; and this, they say, is all that is stipulated; for every thing else, they say, is referred to Pleni potentiaries, whose negotiations, every one supposes, will end in nothing, as those of our Commissaries formerly did. From hence, most men take the liberty to say, that this convention, this treaty of peace, which has cost the nation so much money, is nothing but a scrap of paper, a paper peace, that will be of no significance, nor put any stop to those hostilities which Spain has been carrying on against us for so many years.

This, my Lords, is at present the general opinion among the people, of the convention lately concluded, and therefore, out of regard to the dignity of this house, and to the character we ought carefully to preserve among those without doors, we ought to say nothing in praise of the convention, or of the conduct of those who have brought it about, till the people can be undeceived by a perusal. For this reason, I shall beg leave to propose, by way of amendment, to take only the first and last paragraphs of the address moved for by the Noble Duke, and to leave out the four intermediate paragraphs.

Even the last paragraph, my Lords, I cannot say, I entirely approve of; because I think that paragraph in his Majesty's speech, to which it relates, might have been as well left out. When I say so, my Lords, I consider the speech, as such speeches are always considered in this house. I consider it as the speech of the minifter; and I do not think it right in any minister to recommend to this house, or to either house of parliament, not to suffer any prejudices or animosities to have a share in their deliberations; because it may be thought without doors, to bear an ugly insinuation. Some people may from thence conclude, that there is some danger of our allowing prejudices or animosities to have a share in our deliberations; which is a conclusion, that no person without doors ought to be by any means induced or encouraged to make. It is, indeed, a conclusion that a wicked minister may be fond of having made; because he will always endeavour to make people believe, that the opposition that is, or may be made to any of his measures, can proceed from nothing, but prejudices or animosities: but this is an opinion that is, I am sure, as much against the true interest of the King to encourage, as it is injurious to either house of parliament to entertain. For this reason, I do not know but there has been a time when the answer to such a paragraph in the speech, would have been an address from both houses of parliament, to know who advised it. However, I shall at present take no further notice of it, nor oppose, making
making such an answer to it as has been moved for.

To this it was answered in substance as follows, viz.

My Lords,

Whatever was the method of addressing in ancient times, or whether it was more general, or more succinct than that now practised, I do not think the dignity of this house any way concerned in the question. As long as the address of this house, is supposed to mean no more than a compliment to the King upon his speech from the throne, and a testimony of our affection, duty, and esteem for him, it is but a matter of mere complaisance; and the form or method of shewing our complaisance, alters both in publick and private life, like the fashion of our cloaths, with times, seasons, and countries. In all such cases, a man of a genteel education, who has no whimsical turn, will express himself in that manner, which is most fashionable among those of the better sort. If he exaggerates very much in his compliments, and greatly exceeds the usual method in which men express themselves upon such occasions, I shall grant, it is no argument, either of his sincerity, or of his respect for the person he compliments in such a manner; on the contrary, it may be a token of his contempt; for panegyrick, when carried too high, is supposed to be meant in an ironical way, and then it becomes satyr. But on the other hand, if a man speaks more bluntly than is usual in the times, or in the country, in which he lives, I hope it will be granted, that it is an argument, either of the speaker's want of breeding, or of his want of respect for the person he addresses himself to.

In this light, my Lords, let us consider the present question; and if the fashion has altered within these 20 or 30 years, if the form or method of shewing our complaisance to our Sovereign has altered from what it was in ancient times, do not let us shew either our want of good manners, or want of respect for him, by addressing ourselves to him upon this solemn occasion, in a manner more blunt than has been usual for many years. I shall grant, that his Majesty's speech from the throne, is always in this house considered as the speech of his ministers; but I cannot admit that the address of this house, in return to that speech, ought ever to be look'd on as an address to the ministers. If, indeed, it contained an express approbation of all the publick measures transacted during the preceding recess of parliament, it might be supposed to be an address drawn up by the ministers, and it would be inconsistent with the dignity of this house to agree to it, both because of the persons that might be supposed to have drawn it up, and because of the approbation it contained. But the Noble Duke has, in my opinion, been extremely careful in drawing up what he has been pleased to offer upon this occasion. He has, I think, taken particular care not to insert, in what he has proposed, any words or expressions that can by any sort of interpretation, be taken as an approbation of any of the measures lately pursued by the administration: It contains only general compliments to his Majesty, upon what he has been pleased to communicate to us by his speech; and upon some of those good qualities, which every Lord in this house must allow his Majesty to be endued with in an eminent degree. Therefore, my Lords, as his Majesty has made a most gracious speech from the throne; as he has been pleased to acquaint us, that a convention has been concluded between him and Spain, and to impart to us the substance of that convention; and as he has been pleased to tell us, that he will order the convention itself, and the separate articles, to be laid before us; I think we can do no less than return him such an answer, by way of address, as the Noble Duke has been pleased to propose.

But, my Lords, that your Lordships may the more clearly see, that there is nothing in the address proposed, which can be understood to mean an approbation of any late publick measures, I shall beg leave to go through and exam
As to the first, I need say nothing to it; and as to the second, I do not see how it can be supposed to relate to our ministers, or to any part of their conduct. It is, as it ought to be, wholly addressed to his Majesty; and, whatever his ministers may have done, it is certain, that he has given many convincing proofs of his paternal and unwavering care of the rights of his people; and, I am confident, no man in the kingdom has a more sincere and affectionate concern for the hardships and injuries our traders have suffered in America; no man would or could venture further for redressing or preventing them. His Majesty has given so many indubitable testimonies of his having equally at heart the honour of his crown, and the interest of his people, as is well known to all those who have the honour to be near his person, that no man can doubt of his seal, and his zeal must make him vigilant, for the real security and preservation both of the one, and of the other. This is all, my Lords, that is in the second paragraph. They are proper no compliments; they are declarations of what I believe, must be the real sentiments of every Lord that hears me: but, supposing they were, they are directed to his Majesty only, and cannot be presumed to be directed or meant to all or any one of his ministers.

Then, my Lords, as to the third paragraph, his Majesty has in his speech said, he has a due regard to the advice of his parliament; and here, by way of return, we allow this expression to be a great instance of his royal goodness. Has his ministers anything to do with this? Can it relate to any part of their conduct? We do not say, that even his Majesty has had a regard to the resolutions and advice of his parliament; we only say, that his expressing such a regard, is an instance of his goodness. Can any thing be more generally or more cautiously expressed? The other part of this paragraph, as it is worded, can be supposed to relate only to his Majesty's inclinations; it cannot be supposed to relate to any thing that has been done, or that has been left undone. His Majesty's tenderness for his people is well known: it is that only which has preserved this nation in peace for so many years; for, if his Majesty had allowed himself to be directed by his natural courage and fortune, it is certain, he would have immediately resented, in the highest manner, the very first inhuman act upon us: and, we only say, that we never entertained the least doubt, but that his Majesty will allow himself to be directed by these qualities, as soon as he finds that the interests of his people can be no other way preserved.

As to the fourth paragraph, my Lords, it only repeats what his Majesty has been pleased to communicate from the throne, and returns our thanks for what he has been pleased to communicate. This, I think, is the least we can say, by way of return; and, as there is not the least word or expression, that can be supposed to signify our approbation of any thing his Majesty has communicated, I can see no reason why we should not agree to it.

Then, as to the fifth, my Lords, his Majesty has told us, in his speech, that it hath been his principal care, to make use of the confidence reposed in him by parliament, with no other view, but the general and lasting benefit of his kingdoms; and, for this, we here return him our thankful acknowledgments. We do not say; nor so much as intimate, that his ministers have had another view. If they have had any sinister views, we are at full liberty, upon an enquiry, to confute them; notwithstanding any thing proposed to be said in this paragraph. But, as to his Majesty, I believe, no man will or can suppose, that he could have any other view, than what he has been pleased to declare in his speech from the throne; and, if he had, or if it were possible to suppose such a thing, it will not be pretended, I am sure, by any Lord in this house, that we have a power to enquire into, or confute the views of our Sovereign.

And, as to the last paragraph of the address proposed, as the Noble Lord who...
proposed the amendment, was pleased to admit that the last paragraph should stand part of our address, I have no occasion to say much about it; but, as to the criticism that has been made upon it, I must say, that I can see no foundation for such criticism. I hope no prejudices or animosities will ever mix themselves with parliamentary deliberations. I believe they seldom or never do; but, it cannot be said, that the thing is impossible; and therefore, his Majesty can be thought only to shew his regard for the publick good, by recommending to us, not to suffer any such to have a share in our deliberations, at this important conjuncture. It is not because there is now greater danger than at other times, of our allowing prejudices and animosities to have a share in our deliberations, that his Majesty thought this recommendation necessary; but, because the present conjuncture is of greater importance than most others. When the nation is upon the brink, perhaps, of a heavy war; when it is in danger of being engaged in war against one at least, if not two powerful neighbours, unanimity amongst ourselves is more necessary, domestic prejudices and animosities are more dangerous to the publick, than they can be upon other occasions: and therefore, it is to be hoped, no perfidy without doors will draw any wrong conclusions from the prudent and necessary advice his Majesty has thought fit to give us.

Thus, my Lords, I have shewn, that from what is proposed in the address, we have no occasion to form any judgment at all of the convention just concluded with Spain, or of any of our late measures; because we are now neither to approve nor condemn all or either of them. We have, at present, no business to trouble our heads about the conduct of our publick affairs for these 17 or 18 years past, or for any longer or shorter term. We are now only to address his Majesty, as has always been customary, by way of return to his most gracious speech from the throne: and, if the address proposed, had been more particular than it is; if it had contained even some sort of approbation of those measures which his Majesty has mentioned in his speech, our addressing in such a manner might have been justified; for, we are to suppose everything to be as mentioned in his Majesty's speech, till the contrary appears upon enquiry. By such a supposition, we are no way precluded from enquiring into the facts afterwards, or from censuring what shall then appear to be amiss; because nothing that is said in the address, can be made use of against the opinion of any Lord, or against any resolution we can come to, upon an enquiry. Nay, my Lords, if the proposition had gone farther, if it had been proposed to congratulate his Majesty upon the conclusion of this convention, it would not have been without precedent; for, if I rightly remember, we congratulated his Majesty upon the conclusion of the treaty of Seville, before the treaty, or any thing relating to it was laid before the house, except what his Majesty had said of it in his speech at the opening of the session. But as no such approbation or congratulation is intended, or can be drawn from any words in the address now proposed; as it contains nothing, in my opinion, but what ought in common decency to be said, by way of return to his Majesty's speech from the throne, I can see no reason for our disagreeing to any one of the paragraphs proposed.

I should not, I believe, my Lords, have troubled you farther upon the present question, if so much had not been said against the management of our publick affairs, for almost these 20 years past; but as it has been found so much fault with, I hope your Lordships will indulge me with the liberty of saying a few words in its vindication. To answer every particular objection, that has been made to the several negotiations and treaties, we have been engaged in for these 17 or 18 years past, would take up too much of your Lordships time; much more than I think necessary at present, especially as I have already shewn, that no part of our past conduct can any way relate to the question now before.
before us; but as to all of them in general, so far as I have had any share in them, I can for my own part say, that whatever art may have been wanting in the method of conducting them, they were all undertaken and carried on with a sincere heart, and a strong desire of doing service to my native country; and as to all the other persons concerned, I have the charity to think, that, if any faults were committed, they were not owing to design or carelessness, but to such mistakes and overights, as the wiser of men may sometimes be guilty of. With a treaty or negotiation, it is the same as with a fine poem; it is easy, for a willing or spleenick mind to criticize, and find fault with the best that was ever made or carried on. No nation can in every treaty get all they can desire: they must get as much as they can, and leave the rest to the next favourable opportunity; therefore, every treaty may be said to be a good treaty, when upon an impartial examination, it appears to be the best that the then conjuncture of affairs would admit of. But the misfortune is, that those who want to find fault, generally misrepresented the then situation of affairs, and at the same time they endeavour to extenuate the advantages that were obtained, and to exalt the value of those which were not; even though they themselves were; perhaps, the cause, that some of those advantages could not be obtained.

If in this light, my Lords, we examine the treaties now complained of, and the objections made to them, we shall, I believe, find, that most of the objections are either groundless or frivolous; and all the treaties have this argument in their favour, they were every one approved of by both houses of parliament; which shews, that they were all thought to be good treaties at the time they were made, whatever objections may have since arisen against them, from alterations in the affairs of Europe, which either could not be foreseen, or could not be guarded against. As for the treaty in 1721, I need not say much in its favour; because the Noble Lord who found fault with it, has himself answered the two objections he made against it. But, I must add, that it was owing to this very treaty, that Spain made us the offer of being sole mediator at the treaty of Cambray, of all differences between her and the Emperor; so that, if any honour or advantage could have been got by our accepting of that offer, it must have been entirely ascribed to our treaty with Spain, in the year 1721. However, as our accepting of that offer might have involved us in a bloody and expensive war, in which we could not otherwise have had any concern, and from which we could propose to reap no advantage; therefore I am still of opinion, that it was more prudent in us, to refuse the offer at that time made us by Spain.

Then, my Lords, with regard to the treaty of Hanover, I know it has been strongly insinuated on, that no secret articles were agreed on by the treaty of Vienna, in the year 1725, between the Emperor and Spain, which were any way prejudicial to this kingdom; but we have his late Majesty's express declaration, that there were some such articles in that treaty, which, I think, is a better authority for believing, than any authority we have for disbelieving, that there were such articles. But supposing there were no such articles, the very treaty itself shews, that it was designed for supporting the East India company; and as both the Dutch and we were resolved to destroy that company, it was evident that the Vienna treaty would have produced a war, if we had not prevented it by the treaty of Hanover, and the measures we took in pursuance of that treaty, for preventing the court of Spain's being in a condition to begin a war, or to affright the Emperor, in case he should. By the squadrons we sent out to the coasts of Spain, in Europe and America, we prevented the return of their plate-fleets from America, which rendered all the projects of the courts of Vienna and Madrid abortive, and soon after induced the Emperor to give up his favourite East India company. But as those squadrons were designed only to prevent a war, therefore it would have been ridiculous to
have given them any orders to begin a war, by attacking Spain; and after the conclusion of the preliminary articles with the Emperor, we could send no such orders, because we were every day in expectation of coming to a final settlement of all differences with Spain as well as the Emperor, and thereby establishing the tranquility of Europe upon a solid and lasting foundation.

But, my Lords, as this settlement, so much to be wished for, was like to be much retarded, if not entirely disappointed, by some new differences that arose between Spain and the Emperor; and as the peace between us and Spain then stood upon an uncertain and precarious foundation, which could not but be a great prejudice to our trade; therefore we found it necessary to conclude a particular treaty with Spain, at Seville, in the year 1720. Which leads me to consider the objections that have been made against that treaty. It has been said, that after the experience we had learned by the treaty with Spain in the year 1721, we ought not in that new treaty to have trusted to a general renewal of former treaties, or to any promises Spain could make: We ought to have had all our rights and privileges in America, at least such of them as had been contested, particularly acknowledged; and we ought to have had all promises performed, before we had agreed to a definitive treaty. My Lords; at this rate no two nations in the world, after being once at war, could ever agree upon a peace, till one of them had entirely vanquished the other. We know how much savor princes are to the making of any particular acknowledgments: Generally, nothing but the utmost distress can bring them to it; and therefore, in all treaties of peace, it has been found necessary to put an end to most disputes, by general words, or by a general renewal of former treaties; and where the words of former treaties are clear, this general renewal will always be found as effectual, as the most particular acknowledgments. A Prince that breaks through or evades a general article, will do the same by the most particular article that can be fra-

med, as soon as he finds an opportunity; and a Prince that will not perform a promise made by a definitive treaty, will much less perform a promise made by a preliminary. In either case, there is no remedy but a new rupture; and this must at last be the consequence, if Spain cannot be brought to a more strict observance and performance of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns; but both as a Christian and a trading nation, we are obliged to try first all peaceable means, and if such means should be found altogether ineffectual, we must then, and we ought not till then, to have recourse to the ultima ratio regum.

As to our having united Spain and France, or created a breach between Spain and the Emperor, by the treaty of Seville, I cannot, my Lords, bow that treaty can be charged with any such thing. There were no differences then subsisting between France and Spain which were reconciled, nor any just cause of offence given to the Emperor, by that treaty. My Lords, the union between France and Spain, and the enmity or difference between Spain and the Emperor, proceed from no treaties or negotiations of ours: They proceed from the natural course of things: When Spain has any differences with France, she must unite with the Emperor; and when she has any differences with the Emperor, she must unite with France. The views she has upon Italy, while they continue, must always create differences between her and the Emperor, and while she entertains such views, she must necessarily unite with France; but as such views are inconsistent with the true interest of Spain, as they proceed from a foreign temporary cause; a few Years may, in all probability, put an end to them.

In the mean time, my Lords, I shall readily admit, that it is our interest to keep up a close correspondence with the Emperor; I shall even admit, that we ought, in the mean time, to cultivate this correspondence by all possible means; but we must not for this end become the slaves and servants of the court of Vienna. We are not, for
Proceedings of the Political Club.

War of an alliance between France and Spain against us, to support the court of Vienna in all the claims, and in every war, which their particular interests may persuade, or their unbounded ambition suggest. In this case we may properly be said to be between Scylla and Charybdis, there is no safety but in a middle course; and that, I think, we have hitherto seantly steered. If we had not, if our ministers had appeared negligent or unskilful, and had steered too near, either the one side or the other, I make no doubt, but that this house would have taken notice of it, and would have turned that pilot from the helm, who had shewn that he was not fit for guiding our ship in the time of such danger. As no such attempt was ever made, as this house has approved of every step of our past conduct, it is with me a strong argument, that the conduct of our ministers, even for these last 17 or 18 years, has been blameless. Nay, I have such a regard for, and such a high opinion of the wisdom of this house, that I shall always be extremely indifferent of my own opinion, when I find it differs from that which appears to be the opinion of this house.

Therefore, my Lords, if we have a due regard to what appears to have been the opinion of parliament, we ought to judge favourably of what is passed; and this may furnish us, I think, with a good reason for supposing that the convention, which is to be, and, I believe, in a very few days will be laid before us, is the best that the present conjuncture of affairs could admit of; for, in every negotiation we carry on, and every treaty we make, we must have a regard both to the situation of our own affairs, and to the situation of affairs amongst our neighbours. When both these situations happen to be lucky for us, we may then infilt upon high terms; we may refuse to accept of any but such as may be thought in the highest degree satisfactory; but when the contrary happens to be the case, it is not surely a proper time for us to infilt upon points of honour, or upon peremptory and express acknowledgments; we ought in prudence to accept of equal terms rather than plunge ourselves into an unequal war.

With this view, my Lords, let us examine the present state of affairs both at home and abroad. At home we still labour under a heavy load of debt, and our people groan under a multitude of taxes, which are absolutely necessary, even in time of peace, for the discharge of that debt, and the support of our civil government. This renders our people uneasy; and there are many amongst ourselves, who are too apt to take advantage of that uneasiness, for increasing those animosities and divisions, which must always subsist in this country, because they naturally arise from those liberties and privileges our people have still the happiness to enjoy. Can we then say, that our domestic affairs are at present in a happy situation? Then, with regard to the affairs of Europe, do not we know that the Emperor is now engaged in a heavy and expensive war against the Turks? By the misfortunes of the two last campaigns, and the plague's raging in that country where he is obliged to keep his armies, he has lost many of his veteran troops. Therefore we cannot expect that he would join us in any war we can at present engage in; and if he did, we could expect from him but a feeble assistance, for he could send us few or none of those troops that contributed towards our gaining so many laurels during the last war. Our neighbours, the Dutch, are exactly in our own situation: They are loaded with debts, contracted as ours were, in defence of the liberties of Europe. Their people are more heavily loaded with taxes than the people of this kingdom; and all those taxes hardly sufficient to support their government in time of peace, and to pay the interest of their publick funds. Their naval force, which was once able to cope even with that of England, and which gave us so great assistance in the last war, is now almost reduced to nothing; and their land-army is now so much reduced, that they have scarcely troops sufficient for the many garrisons their large frontier obliges them to keep.
To this let me add, that they are at present far from being united amongst themselves. As they are likewise a free people, they are always subject to intestine feuds and divisions, as much as we are in this kingdom; and these feuds and divisions have of late years seem’d to keep equal pace in both countries.

These, my Lords, are the two powers of Europe who are our most natural allies; these are the two, from whom, in case of need, we could expect the most effectual assistance, and from neither of them could we at present expect any assistance at all. On the other hand, let us consider the present condition of France, our great, our most dangerous rival in trade, as well as power. By the arbitrariness of their government they have got rid of all those debts which they were obliged, during the late war, to contract. They maintain, in time of peace, a much greater land-army than any other power in Europe, than most are able to maintain in time of war; they have always a formidable fleet ready to put to sea: and yet their publick revenue is more than sufficient for answering their publick expence, and might be greatly increas’d in case of a war. If they should join with Spain in a war against us, it is hardly to be expected that, in our present circumstances, we would be able, by ourselves alone, to support a war against these two powerful kingdoms. But in case of a war between Spain and us, suppose the French should remain neutral, which it is to be hoped they would, and the utmost we could expect; yet we ought to consider how much they have encroached upon several branches of our trade within these few years past; how clofely they are watching all opportunities for making farther encroachments. For this purpose, a war between Spain and us, while they are in profound peace, would afford one of the best opportunities they could desire. The Mediterranean, the bay of Bilcay, the African and American seas, perhaps our own coasts, would swarm with Spanish privateers, or at least with privateers under Spanish colours, by which our trade would be greatly interrupted, our merchants would be exposed to many dangers, to long delays, and vast charges, which the French merchant would be entirely free from. This would give them such an advantage at all foreign markets, that they would undersell us in almost every commodity we could carry thither; and if trade should once leave the British, and begin to run in the French channel, we would probably soon see a return of peace; we would be obliged to sue for it upon any terms; but I question if we should ever see a return of trade.

The present therefore, my Lords, must be allow’d to be a conjunction that will not admit of our inflicting upon it high terms, or so ample a satisfaction, as we may have good reason to insist on: and if it were, we should, even at the most favourable conjunction, take care to persuade the world, that we ask nothing but what is just and reasonable; for if by inflicting upon terms too high, or engaging too rashly in war, our neighbours should begin to imagine, that we were resolv’d to make use of our power for imposing laws upon any one of them, they would all take the alarm; every one would be afraid left his own turn might be the next; and this might produce a confederacy against us as dangerous as that which was produced by the ambition of France against that kingdom towards the close of the last century.

I shall grant, my Lords, that we have of late years met with several insulphad indignities from the Spanish guard costas in America, and that, under the pretence of guarding against what they call illicit trade, they have too frequently made unjust seizures, and committed great deprivations upon our merchants and seamen, trading in that part of the world; but we are not the only people that have suffered by such pieces of injustice. We have, it is true, suffered more than any other nation, because we have a greater trade, and more trading ships in the American seas than any other; but both the Dutch and French have likewise had their share.
We have heard both of Dutch and French vessels seized or plundered; and if newspapers and news-mongers were as numerous in France or Holland, as they are in Britain, or if they had the same liberty in those countries they have in this, we should probably have heard of a great many more. One French vessel we heard of lately, which appeared to have been seized and confiscated, as unjustly as ever any British ship was; and tho' it be now two or three years since the seizure, the ship and cargo are so far from having been restored, that I do not know if they have been reclaimed. Yet neither the Dutch nor the French have thought of declaring war against Spain, on account of such seizures; nor ought we, as long as there are any hopes left of obtaining redress by peaceable means: for the crimes of particular men ought not to be retaliated upon a whole nation, till the nation has made the guilt its own, by an obstinate denial of justice. And this we cannot pretend to say, if any satisfaction has been made for past injuries by the late convention, and a tolerable foundation laid for securing us against future, by a definitive treaty.

But, my Lords, as the convention is not yet laid before us, as it cannot, from any thing now proposed, be properly brought into our present debate, I shall say nothing in its justification. From what I have said, in vindication of our past transactions, I hope it will appear, that we have no reason to condemn, or even to suspect what has lately happened, before we know what it is. When the convention comes to be laid before us, we may then judge reasonably and certainly of it: Till then, we ought to suspend our censures as well as applause; the time will not be long. Perhaps the only reason why it was not this day laid before us, was, left a pretence should be thence taken for drawing it in to this day's debate: This was a prudent, and appears now to have been a necessary consideration; and as nothing is now proposed, that may in the least tend to justify the convention, or any of the measures that were taken for bringing it to a conclusion, I shall therefore be for agreeing to the proposition without any amendment.

L. Piso spoke in substance as follows.

My Lords, E. of Chesham

The esteem and affection I have for his Majesty, and the regard I have for every thing that may any way contribute towards establishing him in the hearts of his subjects, are so well known, that I need not trouble your Lordships with any professions on that head; and if there were nothing in the address now proposed, but expressions of duty towards him, and zeal for his service, I should be far from desiring or agreeing to any amendment; but the duty I owe to my King, the regard I have for the honour of this house, and the resentment every man ought to shew for the injuries his country has received, forbid my agreeing to the proposition as it now stands.

I shall agree, my Lords, that those expressions, which may be thought to relate to any part of our late conduct, are very general, more than ordinary care has been taken to make them so, but even this is an argument for the amendment proposed. So great caution is a sort of proof that matters are not all right; it shews a consciousness of some misbehaviour, which ought to give us suspicion; and that suspicion ought to make us avoid inferring any thing, tho' in the most general terms, that may relate to our late conduct. In the proposition, as it now stands, there are many paragraphs that, notwithstanding their being addressed to the King, must relate to the conduct of our ministers; for whatever is done, we must in this house suppose to be done by the ministers; and therefore, if we make use of any expressions that may look like compliments upon our late conduct, tho' they be addressed to the King only, they will without doors be looked on as an approbation of what has been done by the minister. They will be represented as such in a place, where, from this house, nothing should come that may in the least misguide.
The paragraphs that relate to our late transactions, are indeed so general, and the turn of expression so artfully and cautiously chosen, that upon any ordinary occasion, I should not perhaps have made an objection. But, my Lords, the present emergency is the most extraordinary, the most important, that has ever happened since I have had the honour to sit in this house. Our trade, our very being, is deeply concerned in every resolution we can come to during this session of parliament. The only profitable branch of our trade, I am afraid, the branch upon which all the other, and consequently the being of this nation, depends, is now at stake. It has been in danger for many years; but it is now upon the brink of perdition, and can be recovered from the precipice upon which it stands, only by the integrity, the wisdom, and the steadiness of this house.

I shall not pretend, my Lords, to know anything of the convention we have barely, it seems, accepted of. Nay, my Lords, I shall not pretend to know anything more of it, than what his Majesty has been pleased to impart to us, by his speech from the throne; but from what he has told us of it, I must think it ought, I hope it will be censured. By his Majesty's speech he has told us positively, what is done; and negatively, what is not done. He has told us, we have got the promiss of a stipulated sum; for he does not say that this sum is either paid, or secured to be paid: But he has likewise told us, that we have got nothing else; all the rest of our disputes with Spain are referred to Commissaries, who are now to be called Plenipotentiaries. They are to have a higher title than they had formerly; consequently, I suppose, they must have higher salaries; and this will of course make them draw their negotiations out to a greater length.

This, my Lords, makes the case very different from what it was with relation to the treaty of Seville. His Majesty, in his speech from the throne, after the conclusion of that treaty, told us nothing we could have the least pretence to find fault with. He then told us, we had got everything we could wish for; and he certainly thought so: but we soon found that he had been misinformed, and that we had been too rash. Now he is so far from having told us, we have got every thing we could wish for, that he expressly tells us, we have got what, I think, may properly be called nothing; what I am convinced will appear to be so. There is therefore no precedent for what is now proposed; and if there were, there are but few late precedents that can be much insisted on as good rules for our future conduct.

Reparation for the losses our merchants have sustained is, 'tis true, my Lords, an article which we ought to have insisted on; but it is the article of the least consequence, and the only article which could admit of a discussion before Commissaries or Plenipotentiaries, call them which you will. The other articles in dispute between us and Spain, are all of much greater consequence; and they are of such a nature, as cannot admit of a discussion; because they must be expressly granted, or peremptorily denied. Yet this article about reparation, his Majesty has told us, is the only article that is settled by this convention: so that what cannot admit of a reference, we have referred; and what could not in its own nature admit of a just and immediate determination, we have determined. But how, my Lords, is it determined? Not at all to the honour or advantage of G. Britain, if I am rightly informed. We have, it seems, made a lumping bargain of it. Our merchants claimed 430,000l. they had really been robbed of by the Spaniards; without reckoning the loss they sustained by the interruption of their trade, by the high premiums they paid upon insurance, and many other losses that have been occasioned by these deprivations. They claimed this sum as the value only of those things, that had been actually sent out by them, and seized or plundered by the Spaniards: They claimed nothing for the ships they might, and would have sent out, if it had not been for the interruption they met with in their trade; nor did they claim any thing for the high insurance, and other extraordinary
any charges they were put to upon those ships that had the good luck to escape. A computation of this kind would have made their claim amount to double the sum; yet this great claim, it seems, we have lump'd with the Spaniards, and by this convention have accepted £55,000 l. in full for the whole; and even this sum, notwithstanding this most extraordinary abatement, is not to be paid to our merchants by the Spaniards, but by ourselves. Is this, my Lords, to be called a reparation? and yet this reparation, such as it is, has cost us at least 4 or 500,000 l. extraordinary charges since last session of parliament. If this be a reparation, I hope we shall have no more such; two or three such reparations would undo us.

From hence your Lordships will see, we have no great reason to approve of what his Majesty has told us we have got. And now, with regard to what his Majesty has told us we have not got, are Plenipotentiaries to regulate the searching of our ships upon the high seas? I hope no British Plenipotentiary will dare to regulate, what this nation must never, nor in any shape admit. No search, my Lords, is the word with every man of common sense in the kingdom. It was the sense of both houses, last session of parliament; and in the resolution your Lordships then came to upon this very head, you have declared, that the searching of our ships, on the open seas, is a violation of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns. No search was therefore the chief article we ought to have insisted on in any new treaty, between the two crowns. Without this we can have no security, we can have no reparation for the insults and dishonour the British flag has met with. They have lately set up a pretence to search our ships upon the open seas: the very setting up of such a pretence, is an affront put upon us by them; but to conclude any treaty or convention with them afterwards, without an express disavowal of all pretences of that kind, is putting a new and a much greater affront upon ourselves. This we have done: his Majesty has told us we have done it. Is it possible that such a step can escape the censure of parliament?

This, my Lords, is the case now before us. We are not to judge of, or condemn the convention, before we know what it is. His Majesty has in his speech told us what it is. He has told us that something is done, which ought not to be done. He has told us, that a point of the utmost consequence to our trade and navigation is referred to the regulation of Commissaries, which, in its own nature, can admit of no regulation. This is what every unprejudiced man in the nation must condemn. It is what your Lordships have already condemned by the resolutions you came to last session of parliament: And when from his Majesty's speech it appears, that something has been done, which you must, which you ought to condemn, as soon as you come to inquire into it; can you make use of any expressions in your address, which may look like an approbation of what has been done? can you mention such a measure without testifying your dislike? I shall always, my Lords, be for shewing as much respect and esteem for his Majesty as we can express; I shall even be for shewing, upon all occasions, as much complaisance as is consistent with the dignity of this house. When I do so, I speak from the sincerity of my heart; but that very sincerity will always prevent my shewing such a complaisance as may mislead. When we approve, or but seem to approve of measures which ought to be censured, which almost every man without doors does censure, it is shewing no complaisance to our Sovereign; 'tis behaving with insincerity, I may say with insidelity, towards him, for the sake of shewing a mean complaisance to his minister. This is a behaviour, which no precedent, no custom can warrant. It is a behaviour which every man must in his conscience condemn. But what is this custom, which is now pleaded for such a fawning, such a sycophant, such a false sort of behaviour? Why, my Lords, it is not much above 20 years standing. It is not much above that time since we first began to echo back,
back, paragraph by paragraph, in our address, the King’s speech from the throne: It was a bad precedent at first, and therefore ought never to have been followed. But even this custom, bad as it is, neither ought, nor can be made a precedent upon the present occasion. Upon no former occasion can it be said, that even from the King’s speech, something appeared to have been done, which ought not to have been done, and which this house could not but perceive, from what his Majesty told them of it in his speech, that they would be obliged to censure. This, my Lords, is the case at present: His Majesty in his speech has told us, that the searching of our ships upon the high seas is referred to be regulated by Consularies. Can your Lordships approve of this? Can you sustain it without a censure? Therefore the greatest regard, the greatest complaisance you can, upon the present occasion, shew to his Majesty; say the greatest complaisance you can in honour shew to his minister, is not to mention it at all. For which reason, I hope your Lordships will, at least upon this occasion, resume the ancient method of addressing; and for that purpose agree to the amendment proposed.

The substance of C. Helvius’s speech, against the amendment, was given in the general answer; however, I shall now add what follows.

My Lords, L. Harley

As the proposition now made to you contains no direct approbation, neither of the convention, nor of any thing that has been lately transacted; as the expressions are so general that, in my opinion, they do not so much as intimate, that you do approve, or that you will approve of any part of our late conduct, I cannot think that your agreeing to what is proposed will meet with any censure without doors: I am sure it can meet with no just censure.

My Lords, the worst, the most necessary resolutions we can come to, may be misunderstood or misrepresented by some tedious or ill-desiring men with-
distinguished in his Majesty's speech. There is nothing in his Majesty's speech that can make us judge amiss of the convention, or of any of the measures made use of for bringing it to a conclusion. The seizing of our ships upon the high seas, is not referred to our Plenipotentiaries, nor is to be regulated by them, or by any other minister whatever. I do not know that the Spaniards ever directly pretended to any such right. They pretended, and they have a right to pretend, that none of our ships ought to carry on an illicit trade with their plantations. We pretend the same with regard to our plantations; and we have a mutual right to prevent this illicit trade, by all those means that are allowed by the law of nations; but the Spaniards have lately made use of such means, as are not allowed by the law of nations, such as are inconsistent with the freedom of our trade and navigation.

This, my Lords, is what we complain of; this is what we justly complain of; this is the present chief dispute between us and Spain; and this is not only a point that admits of a discussion, but a point that cannot be settled without a discussion. We must concert together what means they may make use of, what means we may allow them to make use of, for preventing an illicit trade between the subjects of the two nations. This is not to be settled at once, nor is the question to be answered by a Yes or a No. They must, on their part, take care; that back-door is left open for carrying on a contraband or illicit trade, under the pretence of a free and uninterrupted navigation; and we, on our part, must take great care that no pretense shall be given to the Spanish guards ostias for interrupting our lawful trade in the American seas, by any measure they may think necessary for guarding their coasts against a contraband and unlawful trade. Your Lordships must see that this is a point which requires great deliberation; and this only is what is, by the present convention, referred to be regulated within a limited time by Plenipotentiaries.

In this, my Lords, there is nothing dishonourable, there is nothing disadvantageous to the nation. If the Spaniards should insist upon making use of such methods, for preventing an illicit trade on their coasts, as are contrary to the law of nations, and inconsistent with the freedom or safety of our navigators in the American seas; our Plenipotentiaries may, and certainly will refuse to agree to them: and, if they propose no methods but what we may safely admit of, without exposing our navigation or commerce to any danger; surely your Lordships will all be of opinion, that we ought to agree to their making use of such methods rather than go to war; and those methods must be settled and regulated by a treaty between the two nations. If this should appear to be the case, we would have no pretense for declining war against them: such a war would certainly be unjust upon our part; because it would be; and by all Europe would be considered as a war for supporting the smuggling trade, that may be carried on by our subjects in the Spanish West-Indies. It would be the same thing as if Holland or France should say to us, You shall not take the proper and necessary methods for preventing the running of wool out of the islands of G. Britain or Ireland; if you do, we shall declare war against you.

There is nothing therefore, my Lords; in his Majesty's speech, that can induce us to think, that we must censure the convention lately concluded; and therefore, nothing that can prevent our agreeing to the proposition now made to us. It was last Session the opinion of Parliament, it is the opinion of every man of sense in the kingdom, that all peaceable methods ought to be tried for obtaining satisfaction and security, before we have recourse to force of arms. This cannot be done but by way of negotiation; and in this negotiation, the King of Spain has shewn that he is seriously inclined to do us justice, by his having already, by way of preliminary, agreed to give us satisfaction for what is past. We could not defray a more substantial proof of his being inclined...
to give us security against future injuries, as soon as such a security can be contrived as may be consistent with the security of his own dominions in America.

This security, my Lords, is to be granted, and all the other disputes between us settled, within a limited time; so that the negotiation can be of no long continuance. A few months will determine, whether we are to have peace or war; and if we should at last be obliged to go to war, we shall be able to justify it to the whole world. People may call the convention a paper peace, or by what other name they please; but if ever we make peace, we must trust to paper, or we can trust to nothing. Negotiations may be supported or enforced by military preparations, but they must be carried on in paper; and if we should go to war, 'tis to be hoped we should not always continue in that dangerous and troublesome state. The end of war is peace; and that peace must be preceded by a negotiation, and confirmed by a treaty; both which must be in paper. I have often heard of a paper war, and there are some amongst ourselves who seem to be fond of it; therefore I am surprized to hear them contend paper negotiations, or a paper peace. With respect to war, the term may be just; but, since paper was invented, I never heard of a peace that was concluded without paper; and therefore every treaty, and every convention, may be called a paper peace, as well as the present. There can be no other sort of peace; and that which is now begun between Spain and us, I hope, will not only be soon concluded, but that it will be a safe, honourable, and lasting one.

However, my Lords, as neither the convention, nor any thing relating to it, can now come properly under your consideration, I need say nothing more of it at present. I hope I have shewn, there is nothing in his Majesty's speech can make us suspect that the convention is either dishonourable, or disadvantageous for this nation. When it is laid before us, we may judge of it with some certainty; and as there is nothing in the proposition now made to you, that can preclude any of your Lordships from giving your sentiments freely about the convention, when you see it, I think your Lordships are, in duty to his Majesty, bound to agree to what is proposed without any amendment.

L. Æmilius Paullus spoke last in this debate, in substance as follows.

My Lords, I of Boyle

In this debate I have heard many things which I highly approve of, particularly some things that have been mentioned by the two noble Lords sitting over against me. As for that treaty, that thing they call a convention, I know it is a little irregular to say any thing of it, till it is laid before us; but I know so much of it already, that I can now say, I shall not approve of one article of it.

However, my Lords, as there is nothing in the address proposed that can, in my opinion, be look'd on as an approbation of that treaty; as it contains nothing but a compliment to his Majesty, and even that compliment most carefully express'd, than has of late been usual upon such occasions; and as I think it necessary upon the present occasion, and in our present circumstances, to shew the greatest unanimity amongst ourselves, and the utmost regard and affection for the person of our sovereign, therefore I shall be for agreeing to what is proposed without any amendment.

[This Journal to be continued.]

In the Daily Gazetteer, the 10th query subjoined to the following, is answered by putting another, (which we shall fill up this page with) viz. Whether this unparalleled and unprecedented method of withdrawing from debate, at this critical juncture, was not evidently done with this single view, To appease the animosities of G. Britain that our dragoons were carried to a greater height than ever was known before; and, by this base and wicked artifice, to bring the nation into contempt, and prevent Spain from coming to any agreement with us.]
The under-written List shews how large a sum of money is visible paid yearly to Members of the House of Commons, besides what secret favours may be conferred on them, their relations, and friends; which, in a less virtuous House of Commons than this, would endanger the Constitution, and give an ambitious Minister an opportunity of gaining to himself a faction therein, which, contrary to common sense, and their own self-conviction, would support him and his pernicious measures, to the ruin of their country: And must render the attendance of those Members that with well to it, useless.

Teller for the Convention,

Salaries, per annum.

Thomas Winnington, Esq; Dresw-ich, Lord of the Treasury 1600

Berctromby, Jn. Banff, Capt. of F: King’s Painter in Scotland, and

Dep. Gov. of Stirling castle 600

A Court, Piers, Huyetbury, two brothers in the guards

Alston, Sir Rowland, Bedfordsh.

Archer, Tho. Warswich, 7 Trustees for

Archer, Hen. Warswich, § Georgia

Ardkine, Char. Dumfries, Ld Advocate for Scotland: 1000

Armodell, Hon. Richard, Knareborough, Master-worker of the mint 1500

Abe, Jof. Windham, Downton

Ashburnham, Sir Will. Haftings, Commissioner of the Alienation-office and Chamberlain of the Tally-court 800

Baker, Hercules, Habe, Treasurer of

Greenwich hospital 500

Balle, Thomas, Exeter

Beaghen, Edm. Hungate, Winchelsea

Beauclerk, Ld Vere, Windor, Lord of the Admiralty 1000

Beauclerk, Ld Sidney, Windor, brother to

Ld Vere and D. of St Alban’s, obtain’d a reversionary grant of crowlands after a short term

Bertie, Hon. Albemarle, Boston

Bevan, Arthur, Caarmarthen

Biffe, Steph. Romney, Commissioner for

victualling the navy, Clerk of the crown 1000

Bladen, Martin, Malton, Commissioner of Trade, and Commissary for settling the trade in the Netherlands 2500

Bladen, Thomas, Ashburton

Bockland, Maurice, Lymington, Col. of the Foot-guards 500

Bond, John, Corfe-castle, his brother Letter-carrier to Hampton-court

Bowles, Brig. Phineas, Bredley, Col. of a regiment of dragoons in Ireland, and

Brig. on the Irish establishment 2000

Boyne, Ld Vifc. Newport, Commissioner of the Revenue in Ireland 1000

Boyton, S. Fr. Heydon, his son in the army

Bradhaigh, Sir Roger, Wigan, his sons in the army and at court

Bradshaw, Ekerer, Beverley

Braffay, Nathaniel, Hartford

Breston, Tho. Liverpool, Commis. of the Victualling-office, his son in the Lottery-office 500

Bridge, Geo. Winchester

Bristow, John, Berewton, Dep. Gov. of the S. S. company

Bristow, Robert, Winchelsea

Brodie, Alex. Briggs. Lyea King at

Arms, &c. 800

Brodie, Alex. Nairn, his brother a company in New-York


ant of the county of Cambridge

Brown, Sir Robert, Lewesfor

Brudenell, Hon. James, Chichester, Com- mis. of Trade, Groom of the bed-chamber, and Gentleman of the horse to his Majesty 2000

Burchet, Josiah, Sandwich, Secretary of the Admiralty 1200

Burrell, Peter, Hasslemere, Sub-Gov. of the S. S. company

Butler, James, Sussex

Byng, Rob. Plymouth, Commis. of the Navy, & since Gov. of Barbadoes 500

Campbell, Brig. James, Dirks, Col. of the reg. of Grey dragoons, Groom of the bed-chamber, and Gov. of Edinburgh castle 3800

Campbell, Col. John, Dumbarton-shire, Groom of the bed-chamber, and Col. of a reg. of F. and his daughter Kep.

er of Somerset-house 1400

Camp,
LIST of Voters

Campbell, John, dendrewath, Lt. of the the Admiralty, with lodging, fire, and candle 1300

Garmichael, H. James, Lanark, Gr. brother to the R. of Hyndford, Lt. of the Police, and Comt to the G. Assembly

Casey, Walter, Dartmouth, Clerk of the Green Cloth, and of the Council: 1500

Chawill, Sir Geo. Lenningter

Cavendish, Philip, Fortnight, Admiral of the Blue, and Porter of St. James's palace 600

Chiswine, Sir George, Mylbank, R. B. Echmmondsey, Hon. James, Campfield, Lieut. Gov. of Chester Castle, and Lieut. Col. of the Horse-guards 1000


Groom of the bed-chamber to his Majesty, Col. of a reg. of D. and Gov. of Plymouth; &c. and his son a place in the customs-house, in all 4800

Cobbe, Anthony, Kemmuth in Kent

Clavering, John, Surgeon, Groom of the bed-chamber to his Majesty 500

Clynn, Sir Wm. Bleibridge, Seventeen of his relations in place

Clayton, Kenrick, Bleibridge, son to Sir William

Clutton, Tho. Plympton, Lord of the Admiralty 1000

Cottynde, Wm. Alstonor in Suffield

Cope, Brig. Gen. John, Oxford, Col. of a reg. of D. in Ireland 1500

Cope, Sir John, Lymingston, his son a place at court, &c.

Copleston, Tho. Bulington, Clerk of the Quit Rents and Forfeitures-office in Ireland 600

Cousin, Wm. Montgomery, his father a Comt of the customs

Corbet, Tho. Salisbury, under Secr. to the Admr. and Sec. to Grecian's hosp. and to the widows charity 800

Cornwallis, James, Widdly, Capt. of a man of war 400

Cornwallis, Hon. Steph. Eyre, Col. of a reg. of F. in England 1200

Cornwallis, Hon. John, Eyre

Crowle, Geo. King's son upon Hall, Commissary of the Navy 500

Cuylen, Btw. Cockermouth

Dawson, Joseph, Tames

Darcy, Sir Conyers, Richmond, Comptroller of the Household 1000

for the Convention:

Dostill Gov. Agincourt, Comptroller of the lottery 500

Dodington, Geo. Bridgewater, Lt. of the Treasury, and Clerk of the Rolls in Ireland 3100

Dodington, George, Wymouth

Douglas, Hon. Rob. Orkney and Zeland, Capt. of a compn. of F. 250

Dowling, Sir Geo. Darwich, K. B.

Druynnond, John, Dunkel, Gr. Commissary for settling the trade in the Netherlands, and his nephew Secretary to the order of the Thistle 1500

Duckett, Col. William, CaYer, Lt. Col. in the Horse-guards 500

Drummer, Tho. Southernham, his father and self places in the Great Wardrobe 1000

Duncombe, Anthony, Devonsea

Earle, Giles, Malbone, Lord of the Treasury 1600

Earle, William Rawlinson, Malbone, Clerk of deliveries in the Ordnance office 600

Edgecombe, Rich. Lofamith, Joint Treasurer of Ireland 400

Eaton, Earl, Cornwly, son to the Lord Chamberlain

Eyre, Rich. Queenborough, Capt. of D. & Dep. Gov. of Shearmes, &c. 600

Eversfield, Charles, Hornfam

Eyles, Sir Joseph, Devonsea, brother to the Post-master, General, and Register for the crown 1500

Eyles, Capt. Francis, Devonsea, Capt. for vicuallising the navy 500

Falconer, John, Kincardmam

Fall, James, Fasburgh, Esq. a lease in Holy Island

Fane, Fr. Tawton, King's Council, and Council to the board of Trade 800

Finch, Hon. Geo. Morden, Receiver General and Collector of the reversion in Minorca 500

Fitzroy, Charles, Thelfor, Maker, of his Majesty's Tennis-courts, and Comptroller of the Horse 400

Fox, Stephen, Shafford, since made Joint Secretary of the Treasury

Fox, Hon. Hen. Hindon, Surveyor-General of his Majesty's works 1000

Frankland, Sir Tho. Thos., Lord of the Admiralty, with lodging, fire and candle 1300

Frank-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title/Role</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Herbert, Hon. Wm.</td>
<td>Warden, Col. in the F. Guards</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbert, Hon. Arthur</td>
<td>Latham, Lieut. of the county of Salop</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bracken, Patrick, Kettleshire</td>
<td>his son &amp; company in Georgia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hervey, Hon. The. St. Edmundsbury</td>
<td>Surveyor of his Majesty's Gardens and Water-works</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinxman, Jof. Christchurch, Woodward, and Keeper of New Parks, Esq.</td>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holy, Sir Tho. Great-Markow</td>
<td>Hoghton, Sir Hen. Proctor, Judge All vacate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holden, Sam. Egerton, Dir. of the Bank</td>
<td>Howard, Mon. Cha. Carlisle, Col. of the reg. of F. in Ireland, and Capt. Gov. of Carlisle castle</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How, John, Wighihere</td>
<td>Howarth, Sir Hopton, Rushbury</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hucks, Wm. Wellingford, The King's Brother</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humas, Rob. Abingdon, his son &amp; Trustee for Georgia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huxley, George, Newport in Haiti</td>
<td>Commissary of the Masters</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenkinson, Ralph, Northumberland, Master of the Buck Hounds</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewkes, John, Sherborne in Northbode</td>
<td>Ingrang, Hon. Cha. Sherborne, Col. of the F. Boarders</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kent, Jno. Leigh, Distiller to the court</td>
<td>Kingson, Wm. Shrewbury, his brother Solicitor of the customs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knight, Rob. Grimsby, son to the late Caithner of the S. S. company</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lazenby, Hen. Durham</td>
<td>Lauroit, Jno. Basset, Trustee for Georgia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laroche, Jno. Bacon, Trustee for Georgia</td>
<td>Lawrie, Sir Robert, Dunbar, Esq. in law to the La Adv. for Scotland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawrie, Sir Robert, Dunbar, Esq. in law to the La Adv. for Scotland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter, Jno., Newcastle under Lyme</td>
<td>Leathes, Carteret, Harwich</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levedupp, Jno., Kettleton, brother in law to Hr. Walspol, and sent formerly Minister to Germany, and his brothers and relations provided for</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liddell, Sir Hen. Murgat</td>
<td>Liddell, George, Borrow, Director for Greenwich hospital of Lord Derwentwater's estate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay, Pat. Edinburgh, his brother in law Receiver-General in Scotland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbert, Hon. Rob. Walspol, Commissioner of Trade</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Position/Role</td>
<td>City/Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lloyd, Richard</td>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lloyd, Walter</td>
<td>Cardigans, Attorney-General in Wales</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecky, Charles</td>
<td>Fochabier</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longueville, Charles</td>
<td>Eastlew, Auditor to the late Queen, besides his own employment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loveley, Sir William</td>
<td>Pentrefras, his brother a place in the customs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyttleton, Sir Tho.</td>
<td>Carmilford, Lord of the Admiralty, with lodging, fire and candle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maister, Henry</td>
<td>King for upon Hull</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin, Mat. Colchester</td>
<td>Director of the East-India company</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mask, Wm.</td>
<td>Farper, Capt. of F. and his brother Reg. of safes in Scotl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madicott, Tho.</td>
<td>Milborn-Pert</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middlesex, Bart.</td>
<td>East-Grinsteal, son to the Lord Steward</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midleton, Sir Wm.</td>
<td>Northumberland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milford, Brig. Jo. Montrose</td>
<td>Col. of a reg. of F. Gov. of Holy-Island, and Purveyor of coal and candle for the guard-room in Canongate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mill, Sir Richard</td>
<td>Pemryn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molson, Chas. Lincoln</td>
<td>Deputy Paymaster of the army</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montagu, Ld Rob.</td>
<td>Huntingdon, Vice-chamberlain to her late Majesty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mordaunt, Jo.</td>
<td>Nottinghan, husband to a Lady of the bed-chamber to the late Queen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mordaunt, John</td>
<td>Whitechurch, Col. in the F. G. and Equerry to the King 800</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morden, William</td>
<td>Durwiche</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morgan, Tho. Monmouth</td>
<td>Lieutenant of the county of Monmouth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munro, Sir Robert</td>
<td>Dingwall, &amp;c. his brother an independent company</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray, Ld John</td>
<td>Perthsh. Col. in the F. Guards</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nafsmith, Sir J. A.</td>
<td>Peebles, his brother Clerk to the admission of Notaries in Scotland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norris, Sir John R.</td>
<td>Vice-Admiral of Engl. Admiral of the Red</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norton, Tho. St. Edmundsbury</td>
<td>Lieut. Gov. of Chelsea-college</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ollins, John</td>
<td>Weymouth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onslow, Ric. Guildford</td>
<td>Col. of a reg. of F. and Adjutant-General</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osbaldeston, William</td>
<td>Scarborough</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owen, Wm.</td>
<td>Pembroke, his two brothers Captains of dragoons, and his third brother Lient. in the guards</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owen, Jo. Weymouth</td>
<td>Wm. Owen, Capt. of a company of dragoons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palmerston, Lord Vis.</td>
<td>Belfray, Chief Remembrancer in the court of Exchequer in Ireland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papilin, David</td>
<td>Dower, his son a place</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parsons, Henry</td>
<td>Makins, Purveyor of Chelsea-college, and Comr. for viewing the navy, &amp;c. &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peare, Tho. Weymouth</td>
<td>Commissioners of the navy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peirse, Henry</td>
<td>Northampton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pelham, Rt Hon. Henry</td>
<td>Saffier, Paymaster of the forces, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pelham, J. Neward</td>
<td>Secretary to the Ld Chamberlain, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pelham, Tho. Haering</td>
<td>Serris to the embassy at the court of France</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persington, Sir J.</td>
<td>Saffier, Commissioner of Cumberland, his son (by his surrender) Comptroller of the excise-caf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pexton, Henry</td>
<td>Troopyn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phillipson, Jo. Sernabeh</td>
<td>Chief Clerk in the navy-office, since made Comr. of the navy, and re-chosen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piers, Wm.</td>
<td>Wellis, his son in the army</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pigot, Robert</td>
<td>Huntingdon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumer, Rich. St Manx</td>
<td>Commissioner of trade</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumtree, John</td>
<td>Nottinghan, Treasurer to the ordinance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polhill, David</td>
<td>Rochester, Keeper of the records in the Tower</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pollen, John, Andrew</td>
<td>Panels, Hon. Paringes, Baffey, brother to a Lord of the bed-chamber to his Majesty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powlett, Lord Harry</td>
<td>Hampsferry, Lord of the Admiralty, and his son an Esquire in the guards</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purvis, Geo. Alberough</td>
<td>Comptroller of the navy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read, Sir Tho. Crichton</td>
<td>Clerk of the board of Green Cloth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revell, Thomas</td>
<td>Dower, Commiss. for viewing the navy, and Comptroller for Gibraltar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rich,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST of Voters for the Convention:

Rich, Sir Rob. St Jux, Groom of the bed-chamber, and Col. of a reg. of D. and his son a Cornet of D. 2800

Robinson, Nich. Watton-Baffet, Capt. of a fleet to prevent smuggling 500

Rofe, Hugh, Rofe's his uncle Lieut. Col. of dragoons

Ryder, Dudley, Trueman, Attorney-General 1500

Sackville, Ld John, Tamworth, son to the Ld Steward, Capt. of foot 250

St Clair, James, Sutherland. Col. of a reg. of F. of two battalions 2000

St John, Pawlett, Winchester

Scrope, Hon. John, Lyme-Regis, Secretary to the Treasury 3000

Selwyn, John, gen. Glcestor, late Receiver-General of the Customs, and surrender'd it to his brother, Treasurer to the late Queen 4600

Selwyn, Jo. jun. Whitechurch, Treasurer to the Duke & Princesses, & the reversion of two places in the W. Indies 800

Shelley, Sr John, Arundell, brother-in-law to the D. of Newcastle, his brother a Commiss. of the Stamp-duty

Sloper, William, Great Bedwin, Dep. Cofferer 1000

Smelt, Leonard, Northalton, Clerk of the Ordnance 700

Sturt, Arthur, Plymouth, Commissary for settling the merchants loss by the Spaniards ever since the 1728 1000

Stuart, Hon. James, Wigton, &c. Col. in the Guards 500


Strange, Jo. Welflow, Solicitt.-Gen. 1000

Sndon, Lord, Westminster, Lord of the Treasury 1600

Talbot, Hon. John, Brecon

Thompson, Edward, York, Commissary of the Revenue in Ireland 1000

Thompson, Will. Scarborough, Commissary for victualling the navy 500

Tower, Tho. Wallingford, Trustee for Georgia

Townshend, Hon. Tho. Cambridge U; Tia: Sirf. Teller of the Exchequer 2000

Tracy, Robert, Towcester, Trustee for Georgia

Treby, Geo. Dartmouth, Master of the Household 1009

Trefuss, Tho. Grampond, Capt. of a man of war 400

Tranchard, George, Pool

Trevor, John Morley, Lewis

Tucker, John, Weymouth, his father a grant of the quarries in Portland

Turner, Sir Charles, Lynn, many of his relations in places

Turner, Cholmsley, York

Turner, Wm, Hortimonden, Maidstone

Tyrconnel, Ld Vicr. Grantham, Trustee for Georgia


Urquhart, Duncan, Forsyth, &c. Lieut. in the Foot-guards, his father Receiver of the Bishops rents 200

Vere, Thomas, Norwich

Wade, Geo. Bath, General of the forces in Scotland, Col. of a reg. of H. and Gov. of Fort William 4000

Wager, Sir Charles, Westminster, First Lord of the Admiralty, and Admiral of the White, &c. 3600

Walker, Tho. Pymont, Surveyor-General of the crown-lands, &c. 1500

Wallingford, Lord Vicr. Banbury, Major in the Horse-guards 500

Walpole, Sir Rob. Lynn, Chanceller and Under-Treas. of the Exchequer, Commiss. of the Treasury, &c. &c. &c. 8000

Walpole, Hor. Norwich, Ambass. Extr. and Plenipo. to the States-General, Coifferer to the K. and Auditor-General to the Plantations, &c. &c. 11000

Walpole, Edw. Great-Yarmouth, Sec'y to the Treasury of England, and Sec'y to the Ld Lieut. of Ireland 4000

Wardour, William, Fowey, his brother Lieut. Col. in the Horse-guards

White, Jo. Radford, Trustee for Georgia

Whitworth, Fran. Minstall, Surveyor-General of his Majesty's forests 1000

Williams, S. Nic. Caermarthen's, Lieut. of the county of Caermarthens, and Keeper of the court-leets 500

Wills, Sir Cha. Towcester, Col. of the first reg. of Foot-guards, and Lieut. Gen. of Foot and Ordnance, 4000

Witmer, William, Northampton

Wilkinson, Andrew, Alberough Yorks

Wollaston, Wll. Fowke, Tr. for Georgia

Wynne, Tho. Droop, Trustee for Georgia

Wynne,
against the Convention.

Browne, Robert, Durham
Backworth, Sir John, Wobly
Bouquet, Sir Robert, Devonshire
Butler, Dr Edward, Oxford University
Carce, Charles, Devonshire
Campbell, Brig. Peter, Norfolk. List
Gov. of Portmouth 100
Campbell, Capt. of F. 28
Campbell, Will. Kenflow, Sir Regency to the Duke, and Court at H. 100
Carew, Sir William, Carmarvon
Carew, Thomas, Minister
Carmarvon, Marquis, Staying, Gent of the bed-chamber to the Prince 60
Carterright, Thomas, Northampton
Chaplin, George, Dorset
Chamberlayne, George, Buckingham
Cliffor, Thomas, Gloucesters
Chetwynd, Lt Visct. Stafford
Chetwynd, william, Stafford
Child, Sir Francis, Middlesex
Chichester, Sir John, Berwick
Chelmsford, Charles, Gloucesters
Cliffor, Sir Robert, K. B. Rearad
Coddington, John, Barb
Common, Hon. George, Northampton
Cornbury, Lt Visct. Oxford University
Cornewall, Velters, Hereford
Cotter, Thomas, Bristol
Cotter, Dr Charles, Tavcarden
Cotton, Sir John, Hunsdon
Courtney, Sir William, Hunsdon
Courtney, Kelsoed, Truro
Crawley, John, Marborough
Crew, John, Chester
Cunningham, Alexander, Devonshire
Curzon, Sir Nathaniel, Derby
Dalrymple, Hon. Wm. Wigs
Davies, Sir Jermyn, Suffolk
Dawkins, James, Windber
Delane, Peter, Luggershall
Dering, Sir Edward, Kent
Devereux, Hon. Price, Montgomery
Digby, Hon. Edward, Warwick
Trowlei for Georgia
Drax, Henry, Warwick
Duncombe, Thomas, Ripon
Bl. Eaton, Richard, Lichard, Receiver Gen. to the Prince
Evans, Sir Abraham, Bristol
Eskine, Hon. James, Clerkman, Sec'y to the Prince for Scots affairs
Evans, Hon. George, Wigs
Evans, Hon. George, Wigs
LIST of Voters against the Convention.

Irby, Sir William, Lauceston, Chamberlain to the Prince 500


Kay, Sir John Lister, York

Kynaston, Corbet, Salop

Nympton, Edward, Bishop's-castle

Knight, Thomas, Canterbury

Lechemere, Edmund, Worcestersh.

Lee, Sir Thomas, Bucks

Lee, Dr George, Brackley

Lissell, Hon. Tho. Dyson, &c. a Lieut. of dragoons, half-pay 50

Levins, William, Nottinghamsh.

Limerick, Lt Vic. Windsor, Trustee for Georgia

Life, Edward, Hambsh.

Lifter, Thomas, Guildford

Lockwood, Richard, Worcestersh.

Long, Sir Robert, Watton-haftet

Long, Richard, Chippenham

Lowther, Hon. Anthony, Wexford

Lytton, George, Chatham, Secretary to the Prince 866: 13: 4

Mackworth, Herbert, Cardiff

Manners, Lt William, Newark

Marshall, Henry, Aungierstown

Master, Thomas, Chresent

Master, Legh, Newton

Meadows, Sidney, Towcester

Methuen, Sir Paul, Brackly

Molesworth, Sir John, Newport

Mopoux, Sir Humphry, Stowbridge

Mountag, Edward, Huntingdon

Mordaunt, Sir Charles, Warwicks.

Morgan, Sir John, Hereford

Morrice, Sir William, Lauceston

Molfyn, Sir Thomas, Flintsh.

Murray, John, Suffolk

Myddleton, John, Denbigh

Nedham, Robert, Old Sarum

Newton, Sir Michael, Grantham

Newland, George, Gatten

Noel, Hon. James, Rutlandsh.

Nicol, Thomas, Rutlandsh.

Noel, Wm. Stamford, King's Council

Ongley, Samuel, Bedford

Ott, Robert, St Michael's

Oxenden, Sir George, Sandwich

Packer, Winchcombe, Berks

Packington, Sir Herbert, Worcestersh.

Parker, Armsted, Peterborough

Parfous, Humphrey, London

Peache, Sir John, Midnap.

Perry, Micajah, Lt Mayor, London

Pit,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pitt, John</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Wareham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitt, Thomas</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Oathampton, Paymaster for the coinage of tin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitt, William</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Old Sarum, Groom of the bed-chamber to the Prince</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playell, Edm. Morton</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Dorchester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polwarth, Lord</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Berwick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popham, Edward</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Great Bedwyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portman, Henry William</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Taunton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powel, Sir Christopher</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Kent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powys, Richard</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Oxford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praed, Wm Mackworth</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>St Ives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price, Richard</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Sudbury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proby, John</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Stamford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulteney, William</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Middlesex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramsden, Sir John</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Apulby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rashleigh, Jonathan</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Powys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rowney, Thomas</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Oxford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruthgford, John</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Raxburgh,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Aubin, Sir John</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Cornwall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sam Brooke, Sir Jeremy</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Bedforf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandys, Samuel</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Worcester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saunderson, Sir Thom.</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Lincoln, Treasurer to the Prince</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scaun, Thomas</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Surrey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seymour, Francis</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Marlborough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shafto, John</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Durham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shephard, Samuel</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Cambridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shippen, William</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Newton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shuttleworth, Richard</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Lancaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibthorp, Coningsby</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slingby, Sir Henry</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Knaresborough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Edward</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Leicester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somerlet, Lord Noel</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Monmouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spencer, Hon. John</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Woodstock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanhope, Hon. Sir Wm.</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Bucks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanhope, Hon. John</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Derby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanhope, Charles</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Harwich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stapleton, Sir William</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Oxford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stapynton, Sir Miles</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Yorks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephenfon, Edward</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Sudbury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stewart, Admiral Charles</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Portsmouth, Vice-Admiral of the White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talbot, John</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Ivory, Wilsford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taylor, William</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Exeter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Townshend, Hon. Roger</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Great Tyrconnel, Capt. of Horle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trefusis, Robert</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Truro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vane, Hon. Henry</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>St Marys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaughan, William</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Merioneth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vernon, Sir Charles</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Chipping-cum Ambury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vernon, Geo. Venables</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Lichfield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vyner, Robert</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waller, Edmund</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Great-Marlow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weller, Harry</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Chipping-cum Ambury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren, Boulace</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Nottington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitmore, Thomas</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Bridgwater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wigley, James</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Leicester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willmott, Robert</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wodehouse, Armine</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Norfolk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wortley, James</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Neuston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wortley, Edward</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Peterborough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrighte, George</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Leicester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyndham, Sir William</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Somerset</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyndham, Charles</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Bridgewater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wynn, Watkin Williams</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Denby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yates, Thomas</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Chichester</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the votes for the Excise

| Against it | 10 |
| Absent at the Excise | 11 |

A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africott, Arthur</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Truro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ail, Edw.</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Haylebury, Com of Tras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anluthru, Brig. Philip</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Pettenham, &amp;c. a Col. of a reg. of F. and Lint.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gov. of Minorca</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auten, Sir Robert,</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Ramsey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bennett, Philip</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Shawbury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowles, William</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Bridport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulkeley, Lt Visc.</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Beammaris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunbury, Sir Charles</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Chester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbell, Sir James,</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Stirling, Master-mater Gen. in Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cavendish, Lt Charles</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Derby, brother to the Duke of Devonshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cavendish, Lt James</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Derby, uncle to the Duke of Devonshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarke, Sir Thomas</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Hertford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocks, James</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Rogate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cokburne, John</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Haddington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conyers, Edward</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>East-Gristead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corbett, Sir Richard</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Shrewbury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crofts, Sir John</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Lefworthi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curzon, William</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Clitheroe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Docminique, Charles</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Gatten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drake, Sir Francis</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Bexfield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fane, Hon. Cha.</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Towstich, (absent with Mr-Manse) Envoy to the court of Florence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finch, Hon. Edw.</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>Cambridge Union</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1800
LIST of Absent Members, &c. with Queries. 317

sly, Envoy and Plenipotentiary in Sweden 2300
Pitzroy, Lord Augustus, Thetford, Capt. of a man of war 400
Firebrace, Sir Cordell, Suffolk
Foley, Thomas, Hertford
Forester, William, Wenhlock
Forester, Brook, Wenhlock, his son
Glanville, Wm., Hythe, Com' of the revenue in Ireland, lock'd out 1000
Gore, William, Cricklade
Haddock, Nic. Rochester, Admiral and Commander of a fleet 2000
Hamilton, Alex. Linlithg.ougb. Herbert, Richard, Ludlow
Loare, Henry, New-Sarum
Pillif, Sir William, Peterfield
Lowther, Sir Thomas, Lancaster
Lowther, Sir James, Cumberland
Lumley, Hon. John, Arundell, Groom of the bed-chamber to the Prince, and Col. in the Guards 900
Manel, Hon. Bury, Glamorgan. (absent with Mr. Fan) Montagu, Ch. St Germans, Auditor to the Prince & county of Cornwall 500
More, Robert, Bishops-castle
Neale, John, Coventry, his wife dresser to the late Queen 300
Northcote, Sir Henry, Exeter
Oglethorpe, Ja. Halletter, General and Commander of his Majesty's forces in Georgia, and Col. of a reg. 1200
Onslow, Hon. Rich. Guilford, Son to Ld Onslow Teller of the Exchequer
Pelham, Char. Beverley, (absent with Edward Ash)
Pelham, Tho. Lewis, Commissioner of trade 1000
Perrot, Henry, Oxford
Philips, Sir Erafus, Haverfordwest
Plumer, William, Hertford
Plumer, Walter, Apulby
Pottinger, Richard, Reading, Welch Judge 500
Rolle, Henry, Devon
Speke, George, Wells
Stuart, Col. James, Air, &c. a Col. in the F. Guards, Gent. Uther and Daily Waiter, &c. 650
Sutton, Sir Robert, Grinsby
Tower, Chief, Aylesbury, Trustee for Georgia
Tuckfield, Roger, Abberton
Watts, Thomas, St Michael
Wentworth, Sir Wm., Malton, his brother a Col. of a reg. of F.
Wilson, Daniel, Wensmoreland

The Pro's, Contra's, and Absents, with the number of Members, Placemen, lucrative Employments, and yearly Salaries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCOT'S</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26 15 24 15850</td>
<td>236 118 156 167600</td>
<td>262 133 180 183450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 4 5 940</td>
<td>222 14 15 9866 13 4</td>
<td>235 13 20 10806 13 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 4 7 4850</td>
<td>55 12 15 12900</td>
<td>61 16 22 17750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 23 36 21640</td>
<td>513 144 186 190366 13 4</td>
<td>558 167 222 212006 13 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Quæra. Whether to this visible influence many secret ones may not be added?

Q. Why the civil lift, amounting to upwards of 900,000 l. per ann. is at present in debt?

Q. Whether any placeman, civil or military, voting against the dictates of the ministry, is not turned out?

Q. Whether the reality, as well as the form of our constitution, does not consist in three separate independent states?

Q. Whether the corrupt influencing either, or both houses of parliament, is not subverting those parts of the legislature, and destroying our constitution?

Q. Whether frequent attempts have not been made to prevent this growing evil, and to no purpose; since, notwithstanding these attempts, there never were so many placemen in parliament at one time as there are now?

Q. Whether the application of this influence may not at any time defeat the endeavours of those out of employment, to vindicate the honour, and protect the trade of the nation?

Q. Whether, in case this influence should be applied to any question; it would not be imposing on mankind to debate it?

3 A

Q. Whether...
2. Whether those who saw it in this light would not have been criminal if they had omitted to inform the nation of their apprehensions on so important a point?

2. Whether they could by any other method than withdrawing from debate have apprised their constituents of their despair of serving them by farther attendance?

2. Whether it is not the duty of every elector in Great Britain, in order to preserve his own rights and those of his posterity, to require the concurrence of his respective representatives effectually to promote a proper place-bill in parliament?

2. Whether, if this be refused now, it is not easy and necessary to stipulate for it at the next election of a parliament?

**Common Sense, July 28.**

**Danger of Placemen sitting in Parliament.**

I believe there is no man in this kingdom, except a placeman or a penitentiary, who will allow, that the liberties of this country must soon be at an end, whenever the ministry have the means and power put into their hands by a pecuniary influence to corrupt the representative body of the people. — It may be answered, indeed, that a virtuous and a wise minister will not make use of it, or will have no occasion to make use of it, though he had the means.Allowing this to be true, we are no longer safe than while the minister is wise and virtuous: this is so precarious a security, that none but men out of their senses would trust to. — It is therefore an honest part to warn the people of their danger, that they may instruct their representatives to make such laws as may render the nation safe from these dreadful apprehensions. — Those who would oppose such laws, may as well say, that a man who lives near some rapid flood, ought not to raise banks to secure himself against an inundation; — that we ought not to take precautions against the spreading of fire, or give ourselves the least trouble to prevent the plague.

But it would be very hard, indeed, if a man could not, with safety, so much as speak or write against a corrupt attachment of representatives of a free people to a minister, while others may not only have a free liberty, but may be employed, hired, and rewarded, to publish the most vilifying arguments in favour of every thing base, corrupt and villaneous, that can enter into the exercise of government.

While the liberty of the press remains, it cannot be better employed than in bountering this one point; and if every man should by the strong hand of power be awed, and intimidated from meddling with it, there must be then something written in the state of Denmark. — We have already taken the liberty to represent the flavius condition the nation must be reduced to, if every thing should come to be venal in parliament: it is a subject that must not be dropped; if we should suffer for it, we cannot suffer in a better cause.

A small security will make the nation easy in this point. It is true, a kind of terror hath seized the people, because the great number of placemen which at present fill a certain assembly, but it must be evident to all the world, that a particular interest which brings me under the influence of the minister, is inconsistent with the trust of a representative, who ought to be a free agent, so doubt but for their own honour our representatives will enact a law to remove all fears on that account.

The parliament is the guardian of the people's liberties: Against whom are they to guard them? Most certainly, against the designs of bad ministers; whose ambition, whose avarice, or whose crimes may be so enormous that they cannot be safe, without destroying them. — Are men who are link'd to the minister by engagements of interest fit for such a post? It is nonsense to say they are; especially if we should live to see the day, that a man in power should publicly allow corruption; and, with a front that knows no shame, declare, That he should think him a pitiful fellow, who would
They tell us, That if the employments corrupt and influence some men, the want of those employments corrupt and influence others. So that, according to their arguments, there is every reason in the world for the people to insist upon a law against placemen sitting in that house; for if both sides are corrupted by the places, it is a demonstration that the nation is undone if its liberties depend upon those who are struggling for places.

If there are hundreds of employments of no use but to increase the power of the minister, let them be supprest; and it will be followed by two very good effects; the salaries will be saved to the publick, and the corruption occasioned by preferring them on one side, and by being disappointed of them on the other, will be at an end.

If there was such a self-denying bill, I mean an act to oblige all members of parliament to resign their employments, I should expect in a little time after, that half a million a-year might be saved to the publick in useless employments. — How strange a thing must it appear to foreigners, to say, that a nation that is fifty million in debt shall have employments of 5000, 6000, and 7000 l. a-year salary; that a deputy shall be paid another great salary for doing the very little business which belongs to the office, that the principal may have no other fatigue but that of spending so many thousand pounds every year of publick money? — They would think, I suppose, that such a nation was in a fair way of being ruined.

I hope we are not so far gone in misfortunes or corruption as to think that the nation and the people were made for the use of the persons at the helm. If so, Dr. More [Physician of Bedlam] is the only minister that can help us. — Let us leave ignorant men to be confounded by their own tricks and expedients; and let us not, for fear of disconcerting a great man, neglect the main chance. The generality of the people expect no employments; they neither struggle nor push for them, nor so much as aim at

Thos who are hired to write upon the mercenary side, have produced an argument against such a law, which proves that liberty cannot be safe without it. — It is the misfortune of these ignorant devils to ruin their own cause, by every thing they urge to defend it.
them: but they think they ought not to be undone by those that possess them. — The placemen become a dangerous and formidable militia: if they are to be supported at all events, I am afraid it will look as if the whole nation was divided into wolves and sheep; and I need not tell the reader that a thousand sheep may be destroyed to feed every wolf.

Craftsman, July 21.

Pangyric on the management of our Publick Affairs for the last twenty years.

The prosperity or adversity, the happiness or misery of nations, have, in all ages, very much depended upon the predominant inclinations or passions, as well as upon the prudent conduct of the people; but more especially of the leading men or rulers among them. Whoever is at all acquainted with history will be satisfied of the truth of this assertion.

When an ambitious spirit, and a desire of making unjust conquests, have possessed a Prince or people, then violent measures and cruel wars, which have often proved pernicious to the conquerors, as well as destructive to the conquered, have been entred into. — When a fordid spirit of avarice, or when profusion and voluptuousness have prevailed, then integrity hath generally been at a very low ebb, feeble councils have been pursued, and a most scandalous disregard to what concerned the publick has been the consequence. — But when men have esteemed no pleasure equal to that of serving their country; no rewards comparable to the publick praise attending such services, except the satisfaction in their own minds of doing their duty, and benefiting mankind; then the councils of such a people have generally been wise and steady, the execution of them vigorous, and the common-wealth hath made a glorious figure, and enjoyed the highest pitch of human felicity.

It may be expected, on this occasion, that I should give some instances, from former times, of people, (perhaps Greeks or Romans) who being actuated by so amiable a temper, have reaped such great benefits from it. — There are, I confess, some instances to be met with both in the Greek and Roman history, which might illustrate and evince what I have advanced; but I am much better pleased with a proof from our own history, which will one day, I doubt not, as much eclipse the splendor of my transactions among the Greeks or Romans as our heroes outline their. I mean the history of our nation for the last twenty years, and a true character of the great men who have been the principal actors in the glorious scene. If the contemporaries of these persons, whose desert has been so eminent, should fail of bestowing on them such rewards as their services have richly merited, (which it is great pity they should,) yet posterity will undoubtedly do ample justice to their memories.

When there is so large a field for pancyric, it is, I confess, somewhat difficult to know where to begin; but a disinterestedness in those who have the management of a nation's concerns, is a most excellent virtue, absolutely necessary to complete a publick character, and highly beneficial to a kingdom, this seems to claim the first rank. The few persons, or lucrative places, enjoyed by those, who have so eminently served their country; the few they have bestowed on their friends, dependents or relations, sufficiently set forth their title to this virtue, and evidently demonstrate that they esteem the satisfaction attending the doing so much good to the publick, preferable to all other rewards. As the example of great men always influences those of a lower degree, one cannot, without the greatest satisfaction, observe how this spirit of disinterestedness has been of late, and is at present, diffused through the nation. Corruptions has indeed been branded with such odious marks, and is become so unfashionable, that we may justly presume that none, worth corrupting, will now take a bribe. In short, we may truly say, that this pernicious and odious vice is now
Our wisdom then has been wonderfully displayed, first, in our negotiations, treaties, alliances and conventions. These have been so wisely contrived, that they have (as was formerly said of some other most excellent treaties) generally executed themselves.

Secondly, in our employing persons of the greatest abilities in all eminent stations; especially as Ambassadors and publick ministers. This was the more necessary, not only as the honour of a nation is greatly concerned in the behaviour and management of those in such stations, but the welfare of the publick frequently depends very much on their prudent conduct. Indeed, the choice of such excellent personages to manage publick affairs is not only a proof of our wisdom, but also of our integrity; for weak or dishonest ministers are always apprehensive of employing wife and good men, lest they should supplant their superiors, or detect their vile practices.

Thirdly, Our national wisdom has appeared in foreseeing events, in a most surprizing manner, and preparing so judiciously for them, that we have very rarely been put to any difficulties ourselves, or been disconcerted in any of our designs upon others.

Fourthly, In knowing perfectly the interests of the several states of Europe, properly applying to them, and maintaining a just balance of power.

Fifthly, In supporting the reputation of our country to such a pitch, as it has seldom arrived at. In this particular, we may justly challenge history to shew any period of time, in which this nation has made so extraordinary a figure as at present, and during the last twenty years.

Sixthly, In encouraging all the most useful branches of commerce, and taking especial care that trade is neither unnecessarily burdened, nor obstructed.

Seventhly, In maintaining the navy in most excellent order, and using such proper and effectual methods to man it, as cause as little hindrance to our navigation as inhumanity to our seamen.

Eighthly, As the militia of a nation
is its natural strength, and must be even our dernier resort if any considerable number of enemies should ever land here; our wisdom in managing it, in the manner we do, can never be sufficiently admired; for, without this defense, we must have kept on foot such a standing army as would have been extremely burdensome and dangerous to this island. Though it may probably contain two millions of men able to bear arms, yet it may undoubtedly be conquer'd by thirty thousand men, or even by a much smaller number, landed in Great Britain.

Ninthly, and lastly, Our consummate prudence is in nothing more apparent than in securing the affections of the people to the government. This has been effected partly by demanding no money of them but what was absolutely necessary for the real service of the public; shewing plainly, that the nation's treasure was only expended for the nation's benefit, asserting and defending the people's rights; and demonstrating to them, that there are no designs, either by force or fraud, by armies or corruption, to deprive them of their liberties.

It would have been very easy greatly to increase the number of items on this head of wisdom, as well as on the others of disinterestedness, integrity and concern for the publick welfare; but the readiness of our conduct at this time, as well as for the last twenty years, and the present happy circumstances we feel ourselves in, are much more effectual proofs of all these than any words that can be used. The only doubt that can remain is, whether our disinterestedness and integrity, our generous concern for the publick welfare, or our great and consummate wisdom in the direction of our national affairs, are most to be admired. And if it should be found necessary to enter into a war, I doubt not but these, and our other publick virtues will shine out in their full lustre; that all the world will then see our management in war will be as remarkable as our behaviour in peace, and that we shall even outdo our usual out-doings.

To the author of the Scots Magazine.

An Evening at Vaux-Hall.

SIR,


We find so much difficulty, at present, to render this season of the year tolerable, in point of pleasure and entertainment, that there is some difficulty in accounting for that cheerfulness which we met with in the writings of our forefathers on the approach of spring, and the coming breezes of June and July: for, so far are the beams made from prizing the charms which nature has to long dis closed, without any variation, that the simple woods and groves, the meadows and pasturing streams, have lost the power to please: And the additions made to these, to render them more capable of yielding delight, are such, as for many centuries were judged ridiculous in themselves, and irreconcileable with our genius and climate; but thanks to the assistance of some kind visitors from other nations, we have surmounted the difficulties nature and custom laid in our way, and Italian rides have been seen amongst us, spite of the incelemency of evening damps or British refrig.

The annual improvements in Vaux-Hall gardens, and the great resort of personnages of the first rank, have, for the five last years, drawn a multitude of people together every fine evening during the entertainment of those honoured walks; and the practice of having tickets for the season, to admit two persons every night, does not a little add to the number of the company, by putting it in a Gentleman's power, for so small a charge, to oblige his friends with so generally approved an amusement. The price of admittance, without a ticket, is one shilling for each person; from which last article alone it is computed, that, one night with another, not less than one thousand shillings are received each evening of performance during the season.

Your distance from a kind of entertainment so new amongst us, and so much approved, especially by the Ladies, may make...
make an account of it acceptable to
fuch of your readers as have a taste for
polite amufements: — Wherefore, in or-
der to give a more perfect idea of the
time spent in this fashionable diversion,
the moft natural method I can think
37, will be to divide the three hours, u-
nually conferred on a visit to this melo-
dious grove, into separate articles, and
under each to give the trueft descrip-
tion I can of the manner in which it is
employed.— It will not be amifs to ap-
prise you of its lying on the other fide
of the river from London and Wefmin-
fer, about a mile from the first men-
Pioned city.— The three hours are tho.
from seven till ten.

The First Hour.

About Wefminftcr and Whiteball
fairs, barges with fix or four oars each,
attend (hired, most of them, at ten
thillings for the barge, and a crown each
car for the evening) till the Ladies have
done tea: by the help of coaches, chairs,
&c. about seven they arrive at the wa-
ter-fide; and with many expressions, and
some apprehension of danger, they are,
by the aid of the Gentlemen who ac-
company them, and the watermen af-
fidence, got on board; and Tom, who
generally can blow the French horn, is
placed exactly with his back againft his
Lady's shoulders. The putting off the
barge from shore occasions femail Obfel
and gives opportunity for any kind fair-
one to diftinguifh her favourite by a
clofe cling to his fide, and a pinch in
the arm.— After repeated cautions to
the watermen to take care, the vefsel
leaves the shore; and the air proves
sharp enough to oblige the Ladies to
vail their necks by the envious cloud of
a handkerchief, tied with fuch a de-
gigned chance, as gives even a grace
to that iperfistent fcreen of beauty.—
Tom plays an air from the heat new O-
pera; and the company regale them-
selves with a glafs of citron or plauge-
water, or ratasie; and Miss Kitty, by
mamma's command, fings the laft fong
her matter, Sig. C,—i taught her,
with the applause of all present; her pa-
pa being engaged elsewhere for the e-
vening.— Several boats with young
Gentlemen only, approach within ear-
length, and ogle the Ladies; who, with
a pleaf'd dildain, correct their freedom,
and both agreeably part. In hope of a
second interview in the gardens.

At Somerset (the place to take water
from Covent-Garden) and the Temple
stairs, a number of young fellows are
hurrying into boats; who, though they
set out by themselves, feldom return
without female companions.

At all the stairs from the Temple down
to the Bridge the watermen are busily
employed in taking their company on
board; which consists of various de-
grees. Sir John, from Fenchurcb-freet,
with his Lady and whole family of chil-
dren, is attended by a footman, with a
hand-bafket well cram'd with provi-
sions for the voyage. The boat falls a
little at setting off; but the Knight
laughs at the fear of his fpoife and the
young Ladies his daughters, declaring,
the danger that scares them to be no-
ting, compared with what he came
through in his laft voyage from Qfport.
Miffes give an entertaining account of
dress and choice of partners at the laft
city-ball; which, tho' mamma smiles
at, Sir John corrects, with doubting
whether they give equal attention to
the fermoms they hear; which his
youngest daughter answers prettily e-
nough, by affuring him, for her fitters
and felf, that they do not take more
notice of people in any place, whatever
than at church.— My Lady grows fick;
a glafs of wine and drops (no water
being in the boat) is instantly given her;
and on her recovery, eldelf Miff cuts
the cake, and distributes it among the
company, and a glafs of wine is drank
round.

At the next stairs, Mr. William, an
apprentice in Cheapside, by the contriv-
ance of her confident, who accompa-
nies them, is taking water with Miff
Sachey, his matter's daughter, who is
fpupofed to be gone next door to drink
tea, and he to meet an uncle coming
out of the country. The thought of ha-
ving deceived the old people makes
them
An Evening at Vaux-Hall.

pany crowd from every part of the gardens toward the orchestra and organ; which gives a fair opportunity of meeting one's acquaintance, and remarking what beaux, belles, and beauties are present; a part of the diversion as agreeable as any to,

Sir, your humble servant,

S. TOUPPE.

COMMON SENSE, July 14.

There is a quarrelling scene in one of Ben Johnson's comedies, that is work'd up with a great deal of humour, and puts a coward in fo ridiculous a light, that I fancy it will be no disagreeable entertainment to our readers, and therefore we shall give it to them.

The persons of this scene are Despoin, Truewit, Sir John Daw, and Sir Amorous la Peel; it must be observed, that the two first foment the quarrel, only to make themselves mediators.

Truewit. Sir Amorous.

Sir A. Matter Truewit.

Tru. Whither were you going?

Sir A. Down into the court.

Tru. You must not, as you value your life.

Sir A. Why, what is the matter?

Tru. Do, ask questions till your throat be cut,—do, play the fool till this enraged devil finds you.

Sir A. Who? what?

Tru. Sir John Daw. Turn back, as you value your life.

Sir A. I, I, I will turn;—but what's the matter?

Daw. Nay, if he had been cool enough to have told us that, there might have been some hopes to have pacified him;—but he is so implacably enraged, there is no speaking to him.

Sir A. Well, let him rage,—I can hide myself.

Daw. Do, good Sir Amorous;—but what have you done to him that has enraged him to this degree?—You have broke, some jest upon him.

Sir A. Not I; upon my honour, Gentlemen, I never broke a jest upon any man in my life:—The bride was praising
prattling Dauphin, and he went away in
muff:—I never broke a jest upon any
man;—may be, he took offence at me
in his drink.

Tru. That may be,—you have cer-
tainly hit it:—he walks up and down
through every room in the house, with
a towel in his hand, crying out, Where
is this la Fool?—who saw la Fool?
And when Dauphin and I demanded the
cause, we could draw no answer from
him, but, O revenge, how sweet art thou!
I will strangle him with this towel.

Sir A. Well, I'll stay here till his an-
swer be blown over.

Dan. A good becoming resolution,
if you can but put it in execution im-
immediately.

Sir A. Or else I'll steal into the coun-
try presently.

Tru. How can you get out?—he
knows you are in the house; he'll watch
this week for you, or he'll have you;
he'll out-wait a Bailiff for you.

Sir A. Then I must hide in the house.

Tru. But think how to virtual your-
self for a week or two.

Sir A. Sweet Mr. Truewit, intreat
my cousin Otter to send me a cold ve-
nison paty, and a few bottles of wine.

Tru. Is that all?

Sir A. And a pallet to ly upon.

Tru. I would not advise you to sleep
by any means.

Sir A. Would you not?—why then
I won't.

Tru. But there is another fear.

Sir A. What is it, dear Mr. Truewit?

Tru. Hold, I hope he cannot break
open this door with his foot.

Sir A. I'll let my back against it,—
I have a strong back.

Tru. But if he should batter it?

Sir A. If he should, I'll have an ac-
ction of battery against him.

Tru. He has lent for gun-powder,—
what he intends to do with it I can't
tell, perhaps blow up the corner of the
house where you are,—Hark, he's com-
ing;—hide, Sir Amorous. [Sir Amo-
rous hides, and Truewit talks as if Sir
John Dow was present.] I protest, Sir
Job, he is not here; you may take my
word for it. [Speaks to Sir Amorous, who is hid.] Sir Amorous, there's no
holding out; he has made a petard of
an old brass pan to force the door:—
think on some terms to satisfy him.

Sir A. I'll give him any terms, any
terms.

Tru. Will you leave it to Dauphin
and to me?

Sir A. Yes, yes; tell him I dare give
him any satisfaction, except fighting.

Tru. You appoint us your mediators,
and will stand to the conditions?

Sir A. Any conditions except war.

[The mediators withdraw, and
after some time, return again.]

Sir A. Well, what news, what good
news, Gentlemen?

Tru. We have labour'd hard for you;—
we told him, as you were a true Knight,
and a man of valour, you knew that
fortitude confided magis patiendo quam
faciendo, magis ferendo quam feriendo.

Sir A. Very well, Gentlemen; these
are my own thoughts.

Tru. All this we told him; yet, in
my opinion, he demanded at first too
much.

Sir A. What was it, Gentlemen?

Tru. Your ears, and six of your fore-
teeth.

Sir A. It is unreasonable.

Dan. So we told him; so after a great
deal of arguing we brought him down
to your ears, and your two broad teeth;
and these he will have.

Sir A. Did you so? why then he
must have them.

Dan. But he shall not, Sir, by your
leave; we have taken more care of you
than that:—So, because all animosities
are to be forgot; and you are to be very
good friends hereafter, he is to come and
give you five kicks; and, because he
shall not brag of it, he is to do it in dif-
guise. He is likewise to take your sword
from you, and to lock you up during
pleasure.—It shall not be long; leave
it to us to get you released.

Sir A. You are the best friends I e-
ever met with in my life:—five kicks,
you say,—why he shall have six rather
than differ;—tell him so.

Tru. He shall not have one more than
five;—you shall not yield too much.

Sir
Weekly ESSAYS in JULY 1739.

Sir A. I say, Sir, rather than not be friends.

Tru. He shall be friends, and upon five kicks too, or he shall have us for his enemies.

Sir A. Why, fix kicks; it is nothing at all to one that has read Seneca.

Tru. I say, he shall not take one more than five.

Sir A. No more than five kicks; it is nothing at all: — I say again, I have taken an hundred in my time. [Dauphin comes forth and kicks him.]

Tru. One, two, three, four, five; hold, Sir.

Dau. I must give him another.

Tru. Not one more, as I am a mediator. — Retire, Sir John. [Dauphin retires.] Here, Sir, he has left you your sword.

Sir A. I'll receive no sword; I have nothing to do with a sword.

Tru. It is his will that you suffer it to a wall, and break your head in some places against the hilt.

Sir A. I will not; — tell him roundly, I cannot bear to see my own blood.

Tru. How, Sir, will you not?

Sir A. No: I'll beat my head against a flat wall, and bruise it a little, if that will satisfy him; but I do not love to see my own blood.

Tru. Have a care, Sir, you must not start back from the terms, when another treats for you. — I have offered him another condition, which you must stand to.

Sir A. What is that?

Tru. That you will consent to be beaten in private.

Sir A. I consent.

Tru. Then you must submit to be blinded, and to be led by him to a proper place, where you will receive some strokes of a cudgel, and tweaks by the nose, sans nombre.

Sir A. I consent; but why must I be blinded?

Tru. Oh, it is all for your good,— because if he should grow infatuated upon it, and boast how he has treated you, you may swear and protest he never beat you to your knowledge.

Sir A. Excellent contrivance! you are the best friends I ever met with in my life: — Well, I consent to all. [Here he is led blindfold, expected to the whole company, and laugh'd at as a poltroon and a fool.]

Here a quartet is begun, and artfully fomented betwixt two silly fellows, by some who propose to make their own advantage by putting them together by the ears: which has often been the case betwixt nations. — One of them submits to the mediation of the very person who is playing upon him: this has also happened in great affairs. — He is led by the nose, blindfold, by his very mediators: just so it has happened to a nation. — He is kick'd by his mediator: so has a nation been. — He loses his cane and his false-teeth: a kingdom may sometimes be said to have lost its can and its teeth. — He beats his head against the handle of his own sword: Here, indeed, the similitude does not seem to run upon all-fours, unless the keeping up a standing army during a long peace, that never was employed against an enemy, may, by a proper figure, be called bruising its head against its own sword.

The Prospect of WAR, 1739.

A Wake, Britannia's guardian; Power, Each rising danger wisely cow; Britons thy设计 aid implore, And wholly seek support from you.

When threatening dangers must appear,
How oft are former treaties broke!
When no restraints are to fear,
To keep th'ese treaties — 'tis a job.

But cease, and view the nations-well,
Thafs floating bauble-works on the main;
Then fear, thou aspiring Gaul,
Thy dread, thou hast by coward Spain.

No more upbraid the matchless Pow'r's,
Nor design to drop one single tear!
She still presides, this happy scene,
Nor hate she, Britons, ought to see.

'Tis true, a sensible she seems to fling;
W'ence barb'rous foes must betime know,
That still Britannia rules the sea,
Nor fears-emboldened force her foe.
The Aasour. An Ode.

Ever grateful conscience groans,
The fear of innocence and love,
Where tender symphonies refer,
And all the graces sport,
Says, what becoming rural lay
Shall I for all the service pay?

In thee, what low-sick sounds have been!
When soft endeavours best them seem!
How many many words
Were forg'd before my boughts!
What corner's in thy bosom sound,
Where lovers have not prest'd the ground?

On the green seat beneath thy shade,
How many charming days I've had!
Sweet did my minutes pass
By Daphne on the grass.
Oh! shall I ever think of this,
And not thy bounteous courts bless!

When blossoms on thy sprig appear,
Through all the changes of the year,
Let weither summer's seat,
Nor winter's fair threat,
Thy blooming verdant charms decease,
Nor rob thee of thy solemn grace.

May birds of musing and of love,
Among the branches ever move;
And shrub their tender threats
Express melodies most
Such as become the sacred dome, [come,
Where close-fish symphonies and floriponds
Around let breathing Zephyrs fly,
Resembling lovers as they fly;
And, while they sweep the meads,
The parks and verdant beds,
From lilies, rhymes, and honeysweet flow'rs,
Bringing sweet premonitions thy bow'rs.

May Cupid ever reign to dwell
With youth and mirth within thy cell,
There spread his golden darts,
And play with tender hearts;
Teach symphonies to mild with bravery grace,
And live the Genius of the place.

[Edinburgh.]

Amyntor.

To the author of the Scots Magazine.

Sir,

The fine Latin ode in your April Magazine, which, at the same time it celebrates the most illustrious character, has such beauties as make it universally admired, induced me to offer you the following imitation of it. Yours, &c.

On the Duke of Argyll.

Herick Musi! so want to sound the alarms
Of martial campaigns, and the deeds of arms.
Now sing the hope, the boast of Britain's isle.
In strains exalted as the hero's tail,
Campbell! victorious in his country's right;
In council wise, and godlike in the fight.

What glorious warmth the hero's bosom fill'd!
When he be the bulwark of Gaul behold,
With warning enigmas in dread order join'd,
Presaging death, or chains, to half mankind;
Tremendous bands who, fixed with martial pride,
That arm, by which they were to fall, defy'd.

Fir'd with a flame above the love of life,
Thus the great leader urg'd the noble sire:
"Britons! at last the happy day appears
'T avenge mankind, and crown Britannia's crown;
The day which peace and freedom shall restore,
And dreadful Lewis shews the world no more;
Be bold in martial files; the bulwark Gaul;
Attack, and rife immortal by his fall."

This said, thro' woody wilds, a pathless way,
Where thousand dangers in dark ambly lay,
Where the loud common all her vengeance pour'd,
And mischief deaths in flaming volleys pour'd,
Dauntless thro' flames and storms of death to go,
He bears his squadrons on the guarded foe.
In vain the thunders of dire engines rage,
And martial Gauls the mortal battle urge;
In vain high forts and triple ramparts rise;
Both forts and ramparts Britain's Chief defies; O'er prostrate foes, red slaughter spreading round,
He mounts his standard on the bulwark mound;
Gallia's bold seas, the flower of Lewis' boast,
The dread of nations and their country's boast,
New to defeat, to victory inured,
Now fall confounded by his conquering sword.

The horrors of the day what must e'er tell? -
What numbers perish'd, or what boasts fell? -
But Campbell brave! — see bow'rs be darts along;
And pour'st not vengeance on the bulwark throng.
True Scottish valor now at length appears,
While armies tremble, and evens their fears.
But, arm'd with resolution and despair,
Th' undaunted Gaul pronounces his bann'd war;
His-fusing powers with fiery fires supplies,
And on the side of death for death retorts;
On every side be spread the first alarm,
Belgic and German fall beneath his arm.
The Britons now (so late his terror) yield
To mortal force, and daughter bends the field.
Poetical ESSAYS in JULY 1739.

Till godlike Campbell! kindled at the fight,
Review'd his troops, and resolv'd to the fight:
"Turn, warriors, turn; yourValor advance!
Fall on, and cut a passage thro' your foes."

And now the boat of battle frod around
Invades the seas, the martial trumpets sound:
The waterlike tide flutters all the trembling wood,
And all prepare for battle, death and blood:
Now Justice, pregnant with the tyrant's fall,
Aims all her thunder at the perjur'd Gaul;
While Liberty the gen'rous Briton warms,
To paint for glory, and to rush to arms.

Thro' formless ball, thro' rolling sheets of smoke,
Firm and unshaken, like the sea-beat rock,
Britannia's Chief, of steel'd fury, fear or guilt
Unequivocal, battles to the dire assault.
Freedom innate in his beating bosom fired,
Fury, or death by glorious wounds acquire'd.
Where'er he turns, the painted battle glows;
And darts its vengeance on a thousand foes:
Dire slaughter rages o'er the guilty plain,
Froth streams the blood, and mountains rise of slain:
He presses thro' the wide extended files,
Urges the battle, and removes the toil.
Till, foil'd the foe, their bands and squadrions broke,
By force superior in the buried shoe;
Daunted to face the terror of the fight,
The baff'd Gauls their safety seek in flight.
Villars, brave Villars! drunk'd in his own blood,
No longer now the dire encounter found;
Nor finally strives unequal war to wage,
But flits for shelter from the wister's rage:
The conqu'ring hero, dread in arms, pursues;
To death and chains the flying foe subdues:
With penal rage still lifts the mortal stroke,
The scourge of flighted faith and promising brok'd,
Dread in revenge! till Lewis, midst his state,
Depends, and trembles for his Paris fate.

On a young Gentleman oft disappointed in love.

Bob oft complains, that he in vain
Try'd many fair ones love to gain;
Yet prov'd his heart with more, and drest gay,
Was still deny'd, be knows not why;
And now, grown peevish, often says,
That be with Swift agree'd always,
"That women, like unto the wind,
As oft it turns, do change their mind."
Craze, Bob, to call the Fair a riddle,
Nor with such jewels dare to meddle;
But look into your glass, you'll find
The reason why the Fair's unkind;
Which needle here were to recite it;
No more advance but where invited.

To SYLVIA.

Woe, Sylvia, all this need'st I say
To be thought more than in vain.
Indeed, fair maid, 'tis all in vain;
In spite of all, 'tis very plain,
You are a very woman.
Whoever bears your sweet-breath'd sighs,
Or sees your bosom pant;
Who marks the languish of your eye,
Or the warm blushes as they rise,
Must see what 'tis you want.

Then, prithee, add a natural part:
No longer spoil your charm;
Throw off this thin disguise of art;
Freshly in smiles confide your heart,
And take me to your arm.

SONG. Tune, Critical musing.

A s once, reclining on the bank,
The gentle Thetis found;
He fetch'd her a sigh, and thus address'd
The Deity of the Flood:

The briny surge tempests may
With giddy bow'r roll;
And, urg'd by Boreas' furious rage,
Rear on from pole to pole.

With philosophick concern,
Try threatenning billows I
Can view, when most they rage,
The fury of the sky.

In some flight'd ship, then let us prove
The dangers of the main:
The merc'less seas on me leave can never
Than Chloe's cold disdain.

Oft tost'd in Love's tempestuous tide,
With various fortunes, I
The amorous storms have tossed and bower'd me,
Yet now for Chloe sigh.

In vain I languish, pant, and bow,
My tender suit I now;
Can no fond fervor, fiercely break,
Make Chloe melt to bow?

'Tis all in vain!—What, no relief?
But from the raging deep
The milder ocean I灰y,
And found the glistening deep.

Then plunging in the flood, he cries,
If on my Chloe's breast
No blast I feel, perhaps I may
In Thetis' bosom rest.
DOMESTICK HISTORY.

EDINBURGH, July 1739.

James Aodie having purged Mary Ruffell (his brother-in-law's widow) for payment of a 6000 merks bond, said to have been granted by her deceased husband to his sister Marion Schaw, wife of said Aodie, an improbation was raised, and a complaint of forgery exhibited against Aodie and his wife. From the proof there appeared a continued tract of villanies; inter alia, That Aodie had writ several letters in his brother-in-law John Schaw's name, and thereupon got credit from a merchant in Glasgow; in which having been detected, he acknowledged the crime; — That having been refused a scroll of a bond from one Hamilton, (who suspected his bad intentions) notwithstanding that he offered him an exorbitant reward, he afterwards imposed upon another writer, by assuming the name of John Schaw, to draw the bond in question and another paper. It likewise appeared he had endeavoured to falsify witnesses, particularly, that he offered a poor man 1000 merks to swear he saw the bond delivered to him, and, as a salvo to the perjury, proposed to let him see one, whole name was really John Schaw, deliver him the bond. He was unsuccessful with the poor man; but a conscientious woman, that could neither read nor write, deponed, that having seen the bond in a chest, she knew it to be stamped paper by the grift, and prevailed upon Aodie to read it to her. However, it appearing that the evidence of most of the defendants witnesses carried along with it manifest marks of perjury and subornation, the Lords found Aodie and his wife guilty art and part of forging the bond, and of knowingly using the same in judgment; ordained the bond to be cancelled in their presence; decreed the defendants in 100 l. Sterl. to the complainant; declared them infamous; adjudged them to be tied to a cart, upon the first Wednesday of September next, and Aodie to be whipt through the streets of Edinburgh, and to be whipt in like manner through the streets of Glasgow upon the third Wednesday of said month; and afterwards to be transported to one of his Majesty's plantations, never to return to Scotland, under the penalty of their being ten years imprisoned, and whipt once every quarter. And it is provided, that the not payment of the 100 l. Sterl. shall be no stop to their transportation.

In the trial of Robert Thomson, Smith in Aberlady, for the murder of George Forester land-labourer, in Haddington, the pannel pleaded non compos mentis. The Lords found the libel relevant to infer the pains of law; but allowed the pannel to prove his defence; referring to the Court to determine on the import of such proof after the return of the jury's verdict. The jury found the libel proven as to the murder, and no furioity proven previous to the murder. When the court met in order to pronounce sentence, it was pled for the pannel, That as his trial began on the 11th June, and was not finished before the 21st of July, he ought to be sollicited by the act appointing all criminal trials to be finished within 40 days. To which it was answered, That there were exceptions in the act, viz. if any delay made was at the suit of the pannel, or for his behoof; and That the 40 days must be free days. Parties are appointed to inform betwixt and the second Monday of November.

James Ratcliffe, who was sentenced to be executed the first of August, was found means, with the assistance of one Clarkson, another rogue confin'd in a separate room, to saw off his fetters, and the bolts off the room-door. They both placed themselves at the back of the outer-door till it was open'd to let a Gentlewoman pass home, and then rush'd out and got clear off. The Magistrates made a strict search in the city, and sent express to several parts of the country; and an advertisement is published, whereby the Magistrates promise 50 l. Sterl. and the Keeper of the prison 20 l. to any person who shall apprehend Ratcliffe within three months.

The prospect of a war with Spain gives general satisfaction in this city and kingdom, and great numbers have
DOMESTICK HISTORY.

voluntarily enlisted both for sea and land service.

The Marquis of Graham, attended only by a single servant, who happened to be at some distance behind, was attacked near Bagshot in Surrey by two highwaymen; one of whom his Lordship shot dead on the spot, and the other with difficulty made his escape.

LONDON.

The beginning of this month the preparations for war were carried on with great vigour. The embargo was continued, and all the coafters who got protections entered into a bond for 2000 l. not to put into any port but that they were confign'd to; great numbers of feamen were impressed for the navy; and the following order of the privy-council was published in the London gazette.

Whereas many and repeated deprivations have been committed, and many unjust seizures have been made in the West Indies and elsewhere, by Spanish Guards Cofaas, and ships acting under the commission of the King of Spain or his Govenors, contrary to the laws of nations, and in violation of the treaties subsisting between the crown of Great Britain and Spain, whereby his Majesty's trading subjects have not only sustained great losses, but have also suffered in their persons by the cruelties and barbarities which have been exercised by the said Spanish Guards Cofaas; And whereas his Majesty has caused repeated instances and representations to be made from time to time at the court of Spain, in order to obtain redress and satisfaction for such injurious treatment and unjust practices, and to prevent the like violations for the future; And whereas a convention for making separation to his Majesty's subjects for their losses by the said deprivations and seizures, was concluded between his Majesty and the King of Spain on the fourteenth day of January last N.S. by which convention it was stipulated, that a certain sum of money should be paid at London within a term in the said convention specified, as a balance, admitted to be due on the part of Spain to the crown and subjects of Great Britain, which term did expire on the 25th day of May last, and the payment of the said stipulated sum, as agreed by the course mentioned convention, has not been made; by which means the said convention has been violated and broken on the part of the crown of Spain, and his Majesty's subjects remain without any redress or satisfaction for their great and grievous losses; His Majesty hath therefore taken this injurious proceeding of the crown of Spain into his serious consideration; and his Majesty having determined to take such measures as are necessary for vindicating the honour of his crown, and for procuring redress and satisfaction to his injured subjects, is pleased, by and with the advice of his privy-council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of the King of Spain, so that as well his Majesty's fleet and ships, as all other ships and vessels that shall be emblazoned by letters of marque or general reprisals, or otherwise, by his Majesty's Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of G. Britain, shall and may lawfully seize all ships, vessels and goods belonging to the King of Spain or his subjects, or others inhabiting within any territories of the King of Spain, and bring the same to judgement in any of the courts of Admiralty within his Majesty's dominions; and in that and his Majesty's Advocates-General, with the Advocates of the Admiralty, are forthwith to prepare the draught of a commission, and present the same to his Majesty at this board, authorizing the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral, to forth and grant letters of marque and reprisal to any of his Majesty's subjects or others wherein the said Commissioners shall deem fitly qualified in that behalf, for the apprehending, seizing, and taking the ships, vessels and goods belonging to Spain, and the subjects and subjects of the King of Spain, or any inhabiting within his countries, territories or dominions; and that such powers and clauses be inserted in the said commission as here been usual, and are according to former precedents; And his Majesty's said Advocates-General, with
Domestic History.

The Commissioners of the Admiralty, are also authorized to prepare the draught of a commission, and present the same to His Majesty at this board, authorizing the said commissioners for executing the office of High Admiral, to will and require the High Court of Admiralty of G. Brine, and the Lictenant and Judge of the said court, as also the several courts of Admiralty within his Majesty’s dominions, to the cognizance of, and judicially proceed in all and manner of captures, seizures, prizes, and reprisals of all ships and goods that are or shall be taken, and to hear and determine the same, and, according to the course of Admiralty, and the usages of nations, to adjudge and condemn such ships, vessels, and goods as shall belong to Spain, or the waifs and subjects of the King of Spain, or to any others inhabiting within any of his countries, territories and dominions; and that such ships and cargoes be impounded in the said commission as have been usual, and are acting for former precedents: And they are hereby to prepare and lay before His Majesty at this board, a draught of such instructions as may be proper to be sent to the courts of Admiralty in his Majesty’s foreign governments and plantations, for their guidance; and also another draught of instructions for such ships as shall be commissioned for the purposes aforesaid.

From the Council-Chamber at Whitehall; the tenth day of July, 1739.

Cant. Holles Newcastle.


Wilkinson, P. Terrington.

Redolphq, C. P. S. Ar. Gislow.

Sorlet.

Accordingly, the Commissioners of the Admiralty having given notice that, in pursuance of his Majesty’s commission, letters of marque were ready to be issued, several merchants of London, &c. have applied, and obtained letters of marque, to take, burn, sink or destroy all ships belonging to Spain. Orders have been sent to all British ships in the ports of Spain to leave that kingdom directly, and to stop all ships they meet with bound for Spain; and to the merchant to secure their effects. Several young Nobleman and Gentlemen on their travels are writ for home. They are busy at the Tower in delivering ammunition for the fleet and army. The 106 ships of war are in commission; several others are ordered to be rebuilt; and the time allowed strangers to embark voluntarily, in order to their being entitled to the benefit of the late proclamation, is prolonged to the 24th of August. But the embargo is now taken off, and the seamen are ordered to be discharged.

Preferences Civil.

A. Llan Whiteford, Esq—Receiver-General in Scotland for the Prince of Wales.


Henry Hamilton, Esq.—Surveyor-General of the Exche in Dublin.

Military.


Brigadiers General. John Folliot, A—
DOMESTICK HISTORY.

John Hemmington,—of the Boyes.
James Cornwall,—of the St Alban.
Alexander Mitchell,—Lieutenant in
the Namur.

ECCLESIASTICAL.
Mr Tho. Tulizzad, Professor of Divinity
in St Andrews,—Principal of St
Leonard's college there.
Mr Andrew Schaw, Minister at St Ma-
dois,—Professor of Divinity in the
Univercity of St Andrews.
Mr Robert Rolton, Dean of Carlisle,—
Bishop of Down and Connor.
Dr Thomas Temifion,—Dean of Bath
and Wells.
Dr Zachary Pearce,—Dean of Win-
chester.

DEATHS.
James Cunningham, Esq; brother to
the Earl of Glencain.
George Hay, Capt. of a company in
George Home of Whitefield, Esq;
Ld Alton, nephew to the Duke of Nor-
folk, at Paris.
George Monton, Esq; brother to the
Lord Monfon.
Lady Jean Compton, eldest daughter
of the Earl of Northampton.
Col. Oliver Brooke in the Guards.
John Pemberton Bookseller, London.
Alderman John Porter, of Dublin.
Mrs Christiana Davis, who for several
years served as a dragoon, and be-
haved with great resolution in many
engagements.

Died within the walls of the city of
Edinburgh, and buried in the Grey-fri-
ars church-yard, July 1739.

Men 15, women 13, children 34. In
all, 62. Decreased this month, 24.

NAVAL.
Edward Vernon, Esq;—Vice-Admiral
of the Blue.
Sir Chaloner Ogle,—Rear-Admiral of
the Blue.
Sir Tancred Robinson,—Rear-Admiral
of the White.
Ld Geo. Graham, 2d son of the D. of
Montrose,—Capt. of the Mercury.
Sir Ro. Henley,—of the Eleanor.
Mr Moyn,—of the Duke.
Mr Watton,—of the Strafford.
Mr Symonds,—of the Colchester.

Ages. N. DISEASES. N.

\[ \begin{array}{lll}
\text{Under} & 2 & 25 \\
\text{5} & 5 & 10 \\
\text{10} & 20 & 1 \\
\text{20} & 30 & 3 \\
\text{30} & 40 & 8 \\
\text{40} & 50 & 3 \\
\text{50} & 60 & 6 \\
\text{60} & 70 & 5 \\
\text{70} & 80 & 1 \\
\end{array} \]

\text{Chin-cough 5} \\
\text{Fever 9} \\
\text{Old age 1} \\
\text{Sudden 8} \\
\text{Teething 15} \\
\text{Palsy 1} \\
\text{Child-bed 8} \\
\text{Still-born 1}
The Stocks, a Cure for the Dropsy, &c.

P. S. London, August 4.

'Tis well assured the Aligues ships are arrived at Cadiz, and have on board for the King's account 897,797 pesos, and 56,579 quintals of copper; for private persons, in coin'd silver, 3,932,339 pesos, in coin'd gold, 5,604 pesos, in wrought silver 6187 mark, 2657 serons of cochineal, 297,700 bannilles, 4272 tubers of indigo, 683 serons of cochineal silexfría, 3827 prepared hides, 78 chests with presents, 118 chests of drugs, and 10 chests of Jesuits bark.

Yesterday 600 iron ordnance, and silver warlike stores, were shipped hence for Dunkirk.

S. S. trading stock, 92, 1 4th, without the dividend. Ditto Old annuities, 108.
Mine adventure odds, 5 l. English copper, 3 l. 5 s. Welsh ditto, 15 s.
African, 13, 1 half. Seven per cent. Emperor's loan, 105. Five per cent.
ditto, 89. Bank circulation, 3 l. 5 s. prem. Three per cent. S. S. bonds, 16 s.
prem. India ditto, 2 l. 9s. prem. Three 1 half per cent. Exchequer orders, 1 discount. Three per cent. ditto, 5, 1 4th discount. Salt tallies, 1 half a 1 1 1 half prem. Lottery tickets, 5 l. 3 s. 6d. a 4s.

A Cure for the Dropsy.

Take sixteen large nutmegs, eleven spoonfuls of broom-ashes, dried and burnt in an oven, an ounce and half of mustard seed bruised, an handful of horsetail scraped; all to be put in a gallon of strong mountain wine, and stand three or four days: then a gill or half a pint to be drank fasting every morning, and to fast an hour or two after it.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

The following is an authentick translation from the Persian of Thomas Kouli-Kan, now called the Schach Nadir, his manifesto or declaration against the Great Mogul:

"My will tends to remain in peace; but the divine will allots a war in these parts; by which I see myself engaged in great confusion and alarms.

In the wide sea of this perishable world, I seem, as it were, mounted on the back of an alligator, from which I am not without fear of being over-set, and going down to the bottom."

This, by the Indians, is called a destroying humility.

The following is the best account yet come to hand of the proceedings of the Schach Nadir, since publication of the said manifesto:

Schach Nadir, having subdued two great cities, one called Cabull, and the other Jullabad, and since passed the river Catat, has approached the city Pishawr, and there pitched his camp; where he had an encounter with a very powerful army from the G. Mogul, which he defeated; whereupon he, and his great men at Delly, are much alarmed; and he has since ordered, that Nafi Moll, his Vizier, do summon in the Nobility, with 300,000 horse, to meet Schach Nadir; and advice since received Gay, that before this army can reach Schach Nadir, he may take another city, called Lahore: and other letters say he is already at Delly.

The Porte has at last seen the entire reduction of Sare-Bey-Oglou, by the good conduct of the Bahawf sent against him, who harraffed and starved his adherents that followed him to the mountains of the territory of Ephesus, till two thirds of them deserted him, and himself and the few that could escape with him, fled to Degai, the place of his birth; where being unable to rally his troops, he was obliged to fly farther; whither, according to advice from several places, he was pursued, taken, and his head sent to Constantinople. — A speedy end to the fortunes of a man whose success, within these few months, seemed to threaten the Grand Seignior himself!

We are informed, that the Seraskier Gentzi Alli Bahawf had passed the Nefter the 28th of June, with a great number of troops, and was going to be join-
ed by some hordes of Tartars; and that as Count Munich was resolved to attack Choccus, and this Seraskier had instructions to give him battle, there was from every day to expect an account of some important action from that side of the country.

The armies of her Czarian Majesty, as in some measure appears from what is said of Count Munich above, have taken the field with a seeming resolution of performing some enterprise of moment; and the march of the Russian troops through the Polish territories, against the remonstrance of the Sejm, raised a general expectation of something of moment being intended; but the sudden advance of the Turkish forces to meet them, may, perhaps, have frustrated their schemes. Notwithstanding the apprehensions that the Turks would attempt something on the side of Asia, we have not yet heard of any thing being attempted upon that quarter.

On the 3d of July, the Princess Anna of Mecklenburg was married at Petersburg, with all possible splendor, to Prince Anthony Ulrick of Brunswick-Lunsenburg Wolfeamboutte.

The apprehensions of the Swedes attempting something on the side of Finland, seem daily to disavoy, notwithstanding the arrival of the French squadron at Stockholm; the whole number of troops assembled on the side of Finland being too small to effect any thing to the prejudice of her Czarian Majesty's dominions.

Advices from the Imperial army under the command of Marshal Wallis say, That on the 17th of July the army marched to a new camp at Winiwa, all but nine battalions, which remained in the camp of Merova. The same day General Neiperg, with the forces he commands, was to encamp at Jaboka, and the said nine battalions left in the camp were ordered to join him. On the 18th we received advice, that the whole Turkish army was arrived at Rawna, and designed to pass the Merowa; upon which Marshal Wallis came immediately to a resolution, to order the body under the command of Gen. Neiperg, to join the main army. The sight we learn'd that the Turks had a considerable body encamped at Semerdria, and a strong detachment at Kruska, which they were continually reinforcing; whereupon it was resolved in a council of war, at which the Generals Neiperg and Sahr, the Prince of Hildburghhausen and Gen. Steynant assisted, not to wait for the body, commanded by C. Neiperg, but to attack the enemy before they had fortified themselves at Kruska, which is a very advantageous post. Pursuant thereto, Marshal Wallis marched the same evening, without beat of drum, or sound of trumpet, with 14 regiments of horse, and 18 companies of Grenadiers, being himself at their head, accompanied by Gen. Sahr; leaving orders for Prince Hildburghausen to follow him with all the infantry, Gen. Neiperg promising to lead his troops to Winiwa. The 22d at daybreak Marshal Wallis arrived at Kruska with his detachment; and immediately, pull'd the enemy on all sides, notwithstanding the approaches to Kruska were very difficult, because there was no coming at the enemy but through files. The regiment of Hohenzollen, which had behaved extremely well, having advanced too far, was attack'd afresh, and forced to abandon all the advantages it had gained; which unfortunately prevented the Marshal's design, and obliged him to retreat to the mountains, at the very time that Prince Hildburghausen arrived with the infantry. The Prince immediately made himself master of a post at the right, on the maintaing which post the retreat entirely depended; there the enemy attack'd him several times, but were always repulsed. The Turks have never been seen to make so continual and obstinate a stand as they did during the whole day, and part of the night. Prince Charles de Lorraine and Prince Waldeck maintained their posts several hours against them. In the night we retired into our old camp, but cannot remain long there for want of forage. Among the killed was General Larissa, Count Caraffa, the young
young Prince of Waldeck, and (as is supposed) the Prince of Hesse Rheinfels; amongst the wounded are the Prince of Waldeck and Count Daun.

Notwithstanding the many reports that the affairs of the great Count Secundorff would be speedily adjusted to his honour, there is now little probability of his surviving his confinement; his distempers increasing upon him daily; and his mind is now so far removed from a hope of seeing himself at liberty, that he has written farewell letters to most of his acquaintance, resigning himself wholly to the hardships that have overtaken him, and confiding in his innocence for support under whatever he may farther have to suffer during the short time he expects to live.

The Emperor has allowed him a Prussian dragoon to attend him. — A favour indeed!

From Rome, we have accounts of the Chevalier de St George being at present engaged in more business than usual, and various are the conjectures of the politicos on this occasion.

The affairs of Corsica promise more success to the designs of the French than was at first expected: which is said to be owing, in a great measure, to the extraordinary abilities of the Marquis de Malibois, who has favoured the natives with the sight of a new torture among them, viz. that of the wheel; aengagement that has been broken alive on that cruel instrument, and left for a spectacle to his fellow-citizens, for the purpose of killing a French officer he surprised in some extraordinary civilities with his wife: An excellent lesson for content among all other Corsicans in the same circumstances! — The advice from thence are swelled with accounts of the cheapness with which the natives resign their arms to the French General; and with such rapidity do the French possess themselves of the island, that they have not yet so much as leisure to name the Genoese, who, by the help of these kind strangers, are freed from the trouble of reducing to obedience a people who were too stubborn to the principles of liberty; ever lately to submit to the yoke of a state so far inferior to themselves in strength and native riches. — It must, at the same time, be still remembered, that the advice we receive come chiefly by the way of France.

The designs of Sweden remain yet secret, though the French squadron has anchored in the road of Stockholm, and strict orders have been published to seize the sailors with all possible civility and complaisance. — It is very probable that the (perhaps unexpected) situation of affairs elsewhere may have, in a great measure, retarded the schemes concerted between the two crowns.

The present state of affairs in Spain — we must defer till next month; as we are unwilling to amuse our readers with reports, which with every mail vary too much to bear repeating.

France is engaged so much by the situation of her allies, her own views, and the mediating temper which has prevailed in her councils of late, that there is at present no certain judgment to be formed of what part the will act in case of a rupture between G. Britain and Spain; though the former has little room to rely upon her, whatever conduct she may find convenient.

The parliament of Paris, and the other inferior courts of France, have, on every opportunity, fretted insinuates of the disregard had to their authority by his Most Christian Majesty, who executes every act of power to which their concurrence used to be esteemed necessary, without offering to consult them: and their remonstrance draws no more than a declaration that the same will be done for the future. — So that the last traces of the Gallick liberty seem now to have lost even their form, as they had long ago done their power.

The States General have acted with the utmost caution in the present crisis of the affairs of Europe, and by their doubtful conduct drew a declaration from the French King. That provided they took any step disagreeable to the court of France, he would immediately march 60,000 men to the gates of Breda; whereupon it has been said.
Register of Books.

The care of schisms. pr. 3 s.
A collection of texts of Scripture about Christian discipline. By Mr. Whiffen. pr. 1 s. 6 d.
The world to come. By Dr. Watts. pr. 4 s.
A treatise on dissolutions of the states. By Dr. Leib. pr. 4 s.
The ode, &c. of Horace translated into English prose; with notes. Book 1. pr. 1 s.
Dr. Trapp tried and cast. pr. 6 d.
A display of French politics. By a true Briton. pr. 1 s.
French counsels destructive to Great Britain. pr. 1 s.
The marvle companion, or universal tongue. pr. 2 s.
The present state of matrimony. pr. 1 s.
Modern book-keeping. By R. Hays. pr. 1 s. 6 d.
Dr. Hammond's and Bishop Hopkins's explications of two texts of Scripture. [In favour of the Methodists.] pr. 1 s.
Mr. Bellamy's miscellanies, vol. 1. pr. 2 s. 6 d.
A summary of the controversy about the moral philosopher. pr. 1 s. 6 d.
Remarks on the review of the Democales controversy. pr. 1 s.
A treatise of common recoveries. By N. Pigott, Esq. pr. 6 s.
Lawes relating to the poor. By R. Foley, Esq. pr. 4 s. 6 d.
A summary of defects in set simples. pr. 6 d.
A treatise on the stone. By Ommelio Pitcairne, M. D. pr. 6 d.
The pious youth. Addressed to Mr. Whitefield. pr. 1 s.
Laugh and be drown'd; a sure remedy for the gout. pr. 1 s.
The success of Mrs. Stephens's medicines in Ireland. pr. 1 s.

The flag-choise in Windsor forst. pr. 1 s.
Don Quixote; or the student's paradox. pr. 6 d.
The natural history of the Rhinoceros. pr. 6 d.
A philosophical dissertation upon the inlets to human knowledge. pr. 1 s.
Marriage; or good advice to the ladies to keep single. pr. 1 s.
An historical account of several sea-fights with the Spaniards. pr. 1 s. 6 d.
A new abridgment of the statutes. By John Cay, Esq. pr. 2 l. 5 s.
The true interest of the Princes of Europe. pr. 1 s.
Mr. Slope's answer to remarks on his three sermons. pr. 1 s.
A dialogue between the Knight and humble John. pr. 1 s.
A description of some curious and uncommon creatures. pr. 2 s.
An address to the Protestants of Great Britain. pr. 6 d.
The merchant's letter to the Prince. pr. 6 d.
Rules and directions concerning the militia. pr. 6 d.
Twenty-six sermons. By Adam Batty. pr. 10 s.
Seventeen sermons. By George Whitefield, of Pembroke-ball. pr. 3 s.
Observations de aere & morbis epidemicis, Pliumthi fædæ. A Job. Hemans, M. D. pr. 4 s. 6 d.
A view of the political transactions of Great Britain, since the convention was approved by parliament. pr. 1 s.
Beaumaris's treatise of the materia medica, &c. pr. 2 s. 6 d.
An imitation of Horace's sixteenth epistle. pr. 6 d.
Persian tales, vol. 3. pr. 3 s.
An historical view of the court of Exchequer. pr. 3 s. 6 d.
The Methodists. By T. H. pr. 6 d.
A summary of the crown-law. By Serj. Hawkins. pr. 10 s.
The conduct of Mr. Whitefield vindicated. pr. 6 d.
A letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. pr. 6 d.
A compleat account of the conduct of Mr. Whitefield. pr. 6 d.
THE SCOTS MAGAZINE.

L. Porcius, Duke of Portland.
M. Giganus Macerinus, Lord Gower.
Cn. Domitius Calvins, Duke of Newcastle.
L. Pilo, Earl of Chesterfield.
C. Helvis, Lord Harvey.
L. Janius Brutus, Samuel Sandys, Esq.
M. Cato, William Pulteney, Esq.
M. Valerius Corunus, Sir John Barnard.

To be continued every week.

CONTAINING,

POLITICAL Debates. Speeches of L. Janius Brutus, M. Tulius Cicero, and M. Cato, upon a question relating to instructions, memorials, &c. proposed to be addressed for; The Speech of M. Valerius Corunus, upon the question, Whether the petitioners against the convention should be allowed to be heard by their counsel? And the Speech of J-n H-we, Esq; in answer to Ld Visc. Gage's speech against the convention.

POETICAL Essays. The Earl of C-l-le's advice to his son; An epistle to Mrs Masters, and her answer; The Fanatrick Preacher; On lying in the R. of Rochester's bed.

Horace, book 4. ode 7. imitated; To Celia; Songs, &c.
A letter relating to the improvement of our Fishery, &c.
An evening at Vaux-hall; the second hour.

WEEKLY Essays. The fate of Zunesin Emperor of China; Remarks upon Tacitus; Prudentia's letter to the Spectator.
A cure for the Murmam in cattle.
DOMESTICK History. Deaths, Preferments, &c.

FOREIGN History. The march of the Russian army; The battle of Cronka, &c.

Register of Books.

EDINBURGH: Printed by W. Sands, A. Brymer, A. Murray and J. Cochran. Sold by the Booksellers in Town and Country, and at the Printing-house in Burnet's Close. MDCCXXXIX.

Of whom may be had the Magazines for the preceding months.
Proceedings of the Political Club.

A Motion for two addresses, that copies (1.) of all instructious sent to the British Governors in America, &c. and (2.) of all representations made to the King of Spain, be laid before parliament p. 339

L. J. Bruus's reasons for the 1st ib. 341

His reasons for the 2d 341

M. Cicer's speech against the address 342

Dangers to reveal secrets of state, especially when relating to a transaction not concluded 343

Privy, as well as publick instructions 344

The addresses might raise a contest between the royal wisdom and goodness 345

M. Cato's speech for the addresses 346

The word minister ought to be used instead of Majesty ib.

Objection of revealing secrets of state unanswered 347

Reasons for the addresses 349

Harmony between the King and parliament sometimes a misfortune 351

The merchants petition against the conversation 352

M. V. Corvus's speech for allowing them to be heard by counsell 353

The petitioners and the ministers ought to be considered as parties ib.

Lawyers necessary for explaining ambiguous terms 355

And for examining witnesses 356

POETRY.

The E. of C.-l-le's advice to his son Epistle to Mrs Master, and answer 356

To Celia. To a young Lady 358


The fanatick Preacher. To Miss J—ny. A hint. On lying in the E. of Rochester's bed. 360

Thoughts on our shipwry, &c. 361

The Dublin society recommended to be considered 362

The second hour at Vaux-hall 363

WEEKLY ESSAYS.

Bad ministers fatal to their masters 364

Illustrated by the fate of Zouch's Emperor of China 365

His advice to the usurper 366

Cafe of Prudentia 366

Tragical history of Teraea Patris 367

The tribunial power the guard of the Roman liberties 369

But at last reduced to a mere form ib.

In a corrupted government a man of virtue should not meddle at all 370

J—n H—e's speech in the house of Commons ib.

A cure for the Murrain in Cattle 373

DOMESTICK HISTORY.

Deaths, &c. 376

FOREIGN HISTORY.

The Grand Seignior's Equerry's letter to the Cenfils, relating to the overthrow of Sara-Bey-Qlig 376

Empress of Russia's declaration relating to the murder of the Baron St Clair ib.

The march of the Russian army 377

The Tartars devastations in Poland 377

Full account of the battle at Kruka 378

—— of the action on the Danube 380

Advances of the Turks in the siege of Belgrade 381

Affairs of Spain 385

Letter from the Hague ib.

Register of Books 384

On the 17th day of October next, the usual Colleges on all the branches of PHYSICK begin at Edinburgh.

Gentlemen in town may have the Magazines sent to their lodgings, or those in the country, to their carriers quarters, as soon as they are published.
Soon after the beginning of last session of parliament, the Gentlemen of our club foresaw, that some question relating to the convention, which had just before been concluded with Spain, would probably come before parliament, and consequently would become the subject of a debate at some of our future meetings; our conversation therefore turned, at a meeting we had, the 6th of February last, upon, what papers were necessary to be seen, in order to give Gentlemen a thorough light into that grand affair: upon which occasion, several things were proposed, which were unanimously approved of; but L. Junius Brutus said, that if he were a member, he would move for the two following resolutions, viz. That an humble address should be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give directions for laying before parliament, copies of all letters written, and instructions given by the Secretaries of State, or Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of G. Britain, to any of the Governors of the British plantations in America, or any Commander in chief, or Captain of his Majesty's ships of war, or his Majesty's minister at the court of Spain, or any of his Majesty's Consuls in Europe, since the treaty of Seville, relating to any losses sustained by his Majesty's subjects, by means of deprivations committed by the subjects of the King of Spain, in Europe or America, which had not before been laid before parliament. And,

That an humble address should be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give directions for laying before parliament, copies of such memorials or representations, as had been made either to the King of Spain or his ministers, since the treaty of Seville, relating to losses sustained by his Majesty's subjects, by means of deprivations committed by the subjects of the King of Spain, in Europe or America, which had not before been laid before parliament.

As several Gentlemen thought that these two questions might admit of some debate, it was resolved to make this the question of the day; whereupon L. Junius Brutus stood up, and spoke in favour of the resolutions he had proposed, to the effect as follows, viz.

Mr. President, Samuel Jandys Esq.

As his Majesty, in his speech from the throne, acquainted us, that the treaty or convention lately concluded with Spain, would be laid before us in this session of parliament, and as we must presume, that when it is laid before us and taken into consideration, some sort of proposition or motion will be made, either for approving or disapproving of that treaty, we ought therefore to have every thing laid before us that may any way relate to it, or to the long negotiation that was carried on for bringing it about. When I say so, Sir, I do not mean that we are either to approve or disapprove of any thing that has been done by his Majesty: In all such cases we are to look upon what has been done, as done by his Majesty's ministers; and their doings we may censure, we may condemn, we have often too good reason to condemn. What may be the fate of this convention, or what fate it may deserve to meet with in this house, I shall not now pretend to determine.
mine; but that we may neither justify nor condemn, applaud nor cen- sure, without a good reason, I think it is abso-
lutely necessary for us to know, how matters stand at present, between us and
Spain; what are the chief causes of the
disputes that have so long subsisted be-
tween the two nations; and what mea-
sures have been taken for clearing up or
putting an end to those disputes.

For this purpose, Sir, it is certainly
as necessary for us to see the letters and
instructions sent to the Governors of our
plantations, or to any Commander in
chief, or Captains of his Majesty's ships
of war, especially such of them as have
been stationed in the West-Indies, re-
lating to the Spanish depredations, as it is
for us to see the letters received from
them: and as you have already resol-
ed to address for the latter, if you act
confidently, you must resolve to address
for the former likewise; for it will be
impossible to understand or comprehend
fully the meaning of those letters that
have been received from them, with-
out having at the same time before you,
the letters and instructions sent to them,
relating to the depredations committed
by the Spaniards. Nay, it must be al-
lowed, that it is more necessary for us
to see the letters and instructions that
have been sent, than to see the letters
that have been received; for it is not
the conduct of our Governors or Com-
manders, it is the conduct of our Mi-
isters that must, upon the present oc-
casion, be the subject of our enquiry;
and their conduct can appear only from
the letters and instructions they have sent.

As the Spaniards, Sir, have of late
years set up several unjust claims against
us; as they have under colour of those
claims, for several years, without inter-
mission, committed great depredations
upon our merchants; and as our mini-
sters could not but foresee, that in their
way of negotiating, it would be a long
time before the disputes between the
two nations could be adjusted by treaty:
it was incumbent upon them to send,
in the mean time, such instructions to
our Governors and Commanders in the
West-Indies, as were most proper for
preventing any new depredation; be-
cause every new depredation that was
committed, was not only a new insult
put upon the crown of G. Britain, and
a new loss to our merchants, but it was
also a new difficulty thrown in the way
of their negotiation; for surely they
were not so short-sighted as not to for-
see, that the higher our demands are,
the more difficult they would find it to
obtain redress by peaceable method.

It was therefore their duty to send such
instructions to the Governors of our
plantations, and to the chief Comman-
ders or Captains of his Majesty's ships
of war, stationed in those parts, as might
prevent any of our merchant-ships fall-
ing into the hands of the Spanish gar-
ricks; but whether they have perform-
ed, or failed in their duty, in this re-
spect, can be known only by seeing the
letters or instructions they have sent: we
can get no proper insight into it, from
any of the letters they have received.

Then, Sir, as to the letters and in-
structions given to his Majesty's min-
ister at the court of Spain, and Consuls
in Europe, relating to any losses sustain-
ed by his Majesty's subjects, by depre-
dations committed by the Spaniards in
Europe or America, we have already
resolved to address for the letters re-
ceived from them upon that subject; which
shews that we think it necessary for us
to see those letters upon this occasion;
buts I should be glad to know, what use
we can make of the letters received
from them, unless we have at the same
time before us, the letters and instruc-
tions sent to them: the former must
necessarily relate to the latter, and there-
fore it is impossible to understand, or
make any thing of the former, without
seeing the latter. For my own part, I
shall not be at the pains to peruse, or
so much as look into any of the letters
we have resolved to address for, unless I
have at the same time an opportunity
of seeing the letters and instructions now
proposed to be addressed for; and I must
suspect that those who are against the
resolutions now proposed, are conscious
that some false step, or wrong measure
will appear from a full view of this
correspondence, and that therefore they have a mind to baffle the effect of the resolutions we have come to, by getting a negative put upon those resolutions, which 'tis now proposed we should come to.

As our ministers abroad, Sir, act only by the orders and instructions they receive from hence, their conduct cannot come properly under our consideration, till we have examined into the conduct of those that gave them their orders or instructions, unless it should be laid that they had exceeded their instructions, or not fulfilled, or disobeyed, the orders they received. Our first business must therefore be, to examine into the conduct of those, who gave them their orders or instructions; and this we cannot do without seeing those orders and instructions. Even if it should be said, that they had exceeded or acted contrary to their instructions, it is what we cannot enquire into, nor form any judgment of, without seeing those instructions; and therefore, I must think, that in either case, it is more necessary for us, upon the present occasion, to have laid before us the letters and instructions sent to his Majesty's minister in Spain, and Consuls in Europe, than to have laid before us the letters that have been received from them: for which reason, I cannot but be surprized, that any Gentleman who agreed to our addressing for the latter, should oppose our addressing for the former.

Sir, the indignities that have been put upon the crown and flag of Great Britain, the insults that have been put upon the nation, and the injuries that have been done to our merchants and seamen, have been so great, so frequent, and so long continued, that I am amazed how the affair could continue so long in the shape of a negotiation. Considering the treatment some of his Majesty's subjects had met with, and the dangers our trade lay exposed to, it became absolutely necessary for us to make remonstrances to the court of Spain in the strongest terms, and to insist upon a speedy and categorical answer. If we had done so, it is hardly possible the affair could have remained so long in the shape of a negotiation; it must, long before now, have come to an open rupture, or a real, and not a sham definitive treaty: and therefore, I am apt to suspect, that the letters and instructions sent to our ministers abroad, have not been such as they ought to have been. This, with some Gentlemen, may be a good reason for not having those letters and instructions made public; but with me, it is a strong, an unanswerable reason, for having all those letters and instructions laid before this house.

These, Sir, are my reasons for the first resolution I have taken the liberty to propose; and as for the other, it is of such a nature, that I am surprized how any Gentleman can think, that we can know any thing of the convention that is to be laid before us, or of the negotiation that has been carried on for bringing it about, without seeing the memorials and representations that have been made to the King of Spain or his ministers, relating to the Spanish depredations. I hope, that, upon our part at least, there are no secrets between our ministers and the court of Spain, but what may be divulged to this house, or even to the whole nation: I hope the memorials and representations drawn up and sent to Spain by our ministers, contain nothing but a plain representation of our rights, and of the injuries we have suffered, and an honest, tho' peremptory demand of satisfaction, reparation, and security. If this be the case, the laying them before this house, can be attended with no bad consequence: it can no way interrupt the course of our negotiations, nor can it bring a censure upon any man that was concerned in drawing them up. If I had moved for the memorials, representations, or answers, that had been delivered to his Majesty, or any of his ministers, in the name, and by order of the King of Spain, it might perhaps have been laid, that the laying of such papers before this house, would interrupt the course, and might prevent the effect of our peaceful negotiations; because the court of Spain might from thence draw a pre-
tence, for refusing to correspond or treat any longer with them, who could conceal nothing that was wrote or said to them. Tho' I do not think there is much in this argument, and tho' I am of opinion, that we ought, upon this occasion, to see even the memorials, representations, or answers, delivered by the court of Spain; yet I purposely avoided including them in my motion, that there might be no pretence for making an objection against it: for I am sure, the court of Spain can have no pretence for taking it amiss, that a British parliament should be allowed to see those memorials and representations that have been drawn up by British ministers.

It is not so much as pretended, Sir, that the treaty or convention to be laid before us is a definitive treaty. His Majesty, in his speech from the throne, has told us, that it is not a definitive treaty: he has told us, that those grievances and abuses, which have hitherto interrupted our commerce and navigation in the American seas, and all other disputes between the two nations, except that of reparation to our fellow-subjects for their losses, remain yet to be regulated and settled by Plenipotentiaries. I wish the only article that is settled, may not appear to have been settled to our disadvantage. But this is not the only thing we are to enquire into, when we come to examine this convention. If the court of Spain appeared to be in an humour to give us full satisfaction, with respect to all the other matters which they have been allowed of late years to dispute with us, our agreeing to such a preliminary convention, and even our yielding a little with respect to the article that is settled, may perhaps be justified: but if, on the contrary, the court of Spain appeared to be in no humour to give us a proper satisfaction, with respect to any one of the matters now in dispute between us; considering the danger our trade and navigation lies exposed to, by the unjust and hitherto unheard of claim they have set up, of searching our ships in the open seas, it was ridiculous in us to agree to any preliminaries, without having that point first settled to our satisfaction, and still more ridiculous to accept of any partial reparation for the losses our merchants and seamen have already sustained by their depredations. Therefore, when we come to examine into this convention, the chief point that will come under our consideration must be, to know what humour the court of Spain seems to be in, and what we may expect by the delay which this preliminary convention must occasion: and I should be glad to know, how we can form any judgment as to this point, without seeing at least those memorials and representations which our ministers have thought fit to make to the King of Spain and his ministers: for, from what his Majesty has told us of the convention, I am sure we can form no judgment, as to this point, from any article in the convention itself.

I do not know, Sir, what some Gentlemen may think his Majesty means by ordering the convention to be laid before us. Perhaps they may think, that we ought only to read it over, and thereupon present a polite address in the modern way, applauding the wisdom of his Majesty's measures; that is to say, the wisdom of those who advised him to take such measures. But, I must think, his Majesty does not mean any such thing. He means, I am sure, that we should not only read it, but examine it thoroughly; and that, after we have examined the whole affair to the bottom, we should give him our honest and sincere opinion. This, I am convinced, is what his Majesty means by ordering the convention to be laid before us; and this we cannot comply with, till at least all the papers now moved for be laid before us: therefore in duty to his Majesty, as well as out of regard to our own honour, we ought to agree to the two resolutions I have taken the liberty to propose. Sir, I spoke next upon this occasion to the following effect: viz.

Mr. President,

Believe no Gentleman who has the honour to be a member of this house supposes, that we are not to examine into the
the nature of the convention lately concluded with Spain, or that his Majesty intends we should not. I am sure I do not suppose any such thing: on the contrary, I hope, that when it is laid before us, we shall not only examine thoroughly every article of it, but also that we shall examine into the present circumstances of affairs both at home and abroad; which we must do before we can form a right judgment of the convention his Majesty has agreed to. When the several articles are particularly examined, and all circumstances duly considered, we ought then to give our most sincere opinion and advice to his Majesty: and, from the view I have of our present circumstances, and what I have heard or know of that convention, I believe the opinion of this house will be, that the concluding and ratifying the convention was one of the wisest measures his Majesty could take; and our advice, I doubt not, will be, that his Majesty should proceed upon the foundation laid by that convention, and endeavour by peaceable methods to put an end, by a definitive treaty, to all the disputes now subsisting between the two nations.

I shall grant, Sir, that in order to examine thoroughly into the nature of the convention, and into the circumstances of our affairs both at home and abroad, it will be necessary for us to have a great many papers laid before us. But in calling or addressing for papers of any kind, we ought at all times to be extremely cautious, especially in calling for papers relating to any transaction which is not then finally concluded; for no man will pretend to say, that it is consistent with good politics to lay secrets of state, or papers that contain any such secrets, before such a numerous assembly. If there were none present but such as have a right to be here, perhaps the danger might not be so great. A secret of great importance might, perhaps, remain a secret, notwithstanding its being communicated to this house; because, I am persuaded, there is no Gentleman who has the honour of having a seat in this house, that would reveal any thing he thought might tend to the prejudice of his country: But as there is always a great number of persons present that have no right to be here, some of them, perhaps, unknown to any member of this house, we cannot suppose, that any of our proceedings, or any thing that has been once laid before us, can be kept secret from foreign courts, especially from those whose business it is to discover every thing that passes amongst us.

Let us therefore consider, Sir, that by addressing for papers relating to an affair then under negotiation between us and a foreign court, we may lay his Majesty under a very great difficulty: We may either lay him under the necessity of refusing his parliament what they ask for, which I am sure he would be loth to do, which he has never yet done; or we may lay him under the necessity of divulging secrets, which must necessarily disturb the negotiation he is carrying on, if not entirely prevent its effect. For this reason, when we find ourselves obliged to take an affair into our consideration, before it is brought to a final conclusion, I do not think it would be a bad politick in this house, to lay it down as an established maxim, never to address for any papers upon such occasions, but to leave it entirely to his Majesty, to order such papers to be laid before us, as he might think necessary for giving us a proper light into the affair, and such as he knew might be safely communicated.

To apply what I have said to the case now before us: It must be allow'd, Sir, that the convention lately concluded with Spain relates to an affair not yet finally ended. It relates to an affair now under negotiation between the two courts; for I shall readily agree, that the articles of the convention can at best be called but a sort of preliminary articles, which are to be further explained and perfected by a definitive treaty: and if a satisfactory treaty may be obtained by peaceable means, and in consequence of these preliminary articles, which no man can say is impossible, it would be wrong in us to do any thing, or to call for any paper, which, by being made
publick, might disappoint so good an effect. Now, as this convention was, as every preliminary agreement must be, preceded by a negotiation, some things may have passed during that negotiation, which the court of Spain would not desire to be made publick, which they would even look on as a high affront, in case they should be made publick. We know how jealous Princes are even of what is called the punctilio of honour; we know how jealous they must always be in this respect; and therefore we must know, that it is always dangerous to publish the transactions of a negotiation till some time after it has been concluded. While such transactions remain secret, many things may be said and done by both parties without much notice, which either party would think himself in honour obliged to reftent in the highest manner, in case they should be made publick. Therefore, with regard to those memorials and representations that have been sent to the court of Spain, and must consequently be already known to that court, it would not perhaps, at present, be very prudent to publish them; because it might alter the present good humour which that court seems to be in, and might render it impossible for us to obtain either satisfaction, reparation, or security, any other way but by force of arms.

This, I say, Sir, might be the effect of publishing some of those papers which the court of Spain has already seen; but with respect to those papers they have not, nor can be supposed to have seen, such as the instructions and letters sent to our minister in Spain, and Consuls in Europe, or any Commander in chief, or Captains of his Majesty's ships of war, it would certainly be extremely imprudent to publish them at present. As the disputes between Spain and us, were come very near to an open rupture, before their agreeing to this convention, we do not know but that there were instructions or letters sent to the Commanders in chief, or Captains of his Majesty's ships of war, relating to some design against some one part or other of the Spanish dominions, that was to have been executed, in case they had not agreed to the terms proposed; and if there were any such letters or instructions sent, the communicating them to this house, and consequently making them known to the court of Spain, might not only be the cause of their breaking off all further conferences with us, but at the same time it would put them on their guard, and instruct them how to provide against any such design in the future.

Then, Sir, with regard to the instructions or letters sent to our minister in Spain, or Consuls in Europe, if we be sleet upon what is usual in all cases of negotiation, we cannot do so much as defire his Majesty to lay all such letters and instructions before us: for every one knows, that in all negotiations there are private, as well as public letters and instructions, sent to those who are employed in carrying on the negotiation. There are letters or instructions sent them, which they are to communicate to those with whom they are negotiating; and by these, they are generally ordered to make high demands, and few concessions: But these letters and instructions are generally qualified by others of a private nature, which they are to conceal from those with whom they negotiate; and by these they are instructed to pass from some demands, or make some concessions, according to the humour they find the court in which they are sent, and according to the propositions that may be made by that court. In short, these private letters and instructions generally contain the utmost their court or Prince will do for the sake of peace; and to make such letters or instructions publick, before the negotiation's being broke off, or concluded by a definitive treaty, would be doing the greatest injury to that court and nation from which such letters or instructions had been sent.

This, I say, Sir, we know to be the case with regard to almost every negotiation that has ever happen'd, or that can ever happen; therefore we must presume, that it is the case with regard
to those instructions or letters that have been lately sent to our ministers or Consuls in Spain: and as the negotiation between us and the court of Spain is far from being concluded; as I hope, and every Gentleman as well as I, must with that it may not be broke off till it is brought to a happy conclusion; we cannot desire his Majesty to order all the letters and instructions that have been lately sent to our ministers or Consuls in Spain, to be laid before this house.

I shall grant, Sir, that in order to know how matters stand at present between us and Spain, the causes of our present disputes, and the measures his Majesty has taken to put an end to them, it would be proper for us to see all the papers that have been mentioned, and a great many more than have been now moved for. We cannot propose to acquire a full and perfect knowledge of these matters, and of the circumstances of affairs at home and abroad, without having a compleat knowledge of all the negotiations that have been lately carried on, or are now carrying on, not only between us and Spain, but between us and every other Power in Europe; but this is a knowledge, which every one must admit, his Majesty neither can nor ought to communicate to parliament. I have shewn, that the communicating all those papers that are now mov’d for, might be of the most dangerous consequence; and even the Hon. Gent. himself mov’d for those papers, allows, that we ought not to desire all the memorial, representations, and answers, received from the court of Spain, to be laid before us; because our rendering the contents of some of them publick, might put a stop to our negotiations, and make the court of Spain refuse to treat any longer with us. Are not we, Sir, to apprehend the same consequence, from our rendring publick the memorial and representations that have been made to the King of Spain or his ministers? For the memorial and representations that have been made by us, must relate to, and may probably recite a great part, if not the whole substance of those we have received.

What are we then to do in such a case, Sir? We cannot desire a full and perfect knowledge of all such affairs. We must content ourselves with such knowledge as may be safely communicated to us, without injuring the publick affairs of the nation: and we must leave it to his Majesty to judge, what may be safely communicated. We may depend upon his goodness, and the regard he has for his parliament, that he will, upon this occasion, communicate to us every paper, and every transaction, relating to the Spanish depredations, that can be safely communicated: but his wisdom, and the regard he has for the honour and interest of his kingdoms, must prevent his communicating to us any thing that ought not, that cannot be safely made publick; and we ought not, by an unreasonable address, to raise a contest in his royal breast, between his goodness and wisdom, or between the regard he has for his parliament, and the regard he has for the honour and interest of his kingdoms.

The resolutions we have already come to, I did not, 'tis true, oppose; but it was not, Sir, because I entirely approved of them. It was, because I did not see any thing in them, but what his Majesty, I thought, might comply with: I did not apprehend that by any of them, there were papers called for that might not be safely made publick. But with regard to the two last resolutions, the Hon. Gent. has been pleased to propose, the case is very different. At first view I see, that by each of them there are papers called for, which it may not be safe to make publick: Some of those papers, I think, may probably be such, as would disfellow the secrets of our government, or interrupt, if not put a full stop to the course of our negotiations: Therefore I must look upon the addresses proposed by those resolutions, to be of such a nature, that there is the highest probability of his Majesty's not being able to comply with them; and whilst I have the honour to have a seat in this house, I shall always be ready to give my testimony against our resolving to desire any thing of his Majesty by an address, which
I think he cannot, consistently with the honour of his crown, or the interest of his kingdom, fully comply with.

From what I have said, Sir, I hope every Gentleman will see, that there is a great difference between the addresses we have agreed to, and the two addresses now proposed. By the former, we desire nothing of his Majesty, at least so far as we can comprehend, but what he may comply with, without promulgating the secrets of his government, or running the risk of defeating those negotiations he is carrying on, for securing the trade and navigation of his kingdoms. By the latter we are to desire of his Majesty, what I think I have shown he cannot, in all probability, safely comply with. This is the proper distinction between the addresses we have agreed to, and the addresses now proposed; and every Gentleman that makes this distinction, may easily see a good reason for his giving a negative to the latter, notwithstanding his having given his assent to the former; for all those who think there is anything desired by the addresses now proposed, which his Majesty cannot safely comply with, must, I think, in duty to their Sovereign, give their negative to the question.

I shall conclude with observing, Sir, that it would be highly impudent in us at present, to present any address that his Majesty could not fully comply with. For if foreign courts, and particularly the court of Spain, should be informed, that the parliament had begun to present addresses which the King could not comply with; if they should hear that his Majesty had, in the least article, refused to comply with the request of his parliament: they would immediately begin to presume, that a breach was to ensue between King and parliament. They would then begin to believe, that there is some truth in what they have so often been told, by the libels spread about in this kingdom; that the people of this kingdom are a divided people; that they are dissatisfied to their Sovereign; and that the parliament have now begun to do, what they have often done, what I hope they will always do, when there is a just occasion, which I am sure is far from being the case at present; I mean, that the parliament had begun to enforce the cause of the people, against the King and his ministers. This presumption, Sir, would make not only the court of Spain, but every court we have any difference with, less pliable, or more unreasonable than they are at present; and at the same time, it would give the other courts of Europe such a contemptible opinion of us, as would of course prevent their joining in any alliance with us; by which means, we would render it not only impracticable to obtain satisfaction from the court of Spain by fair means, but impossible to obtain it by force of arms: and as this would be one of the most unfortunate situations this nation could be reduced to, I am sure every Gentleman that has a regard for his native country, and views the question now before us in this light, will join with me in putting the negative upon it.

The only other speech I shall give you upon this subject, is that of M. Caio, who spoke in substance thus.

Mr. President, I am punctually

With his Majesty's name were not so much made use of in this house, as it usually is. Some Gentlemen seem to affect talking in his Majesty's name, of every publick measure that happens to be mentioned in this house, tho' they know that when we enquire into any publick measure, or into the management of any publick transact, we enquire into it, and we pass our judgment upon it, as a thing done, not by his Majesty, but by his ministers. Therefore, I wish they would alter a little their manner of talking, and instead of the word Majesty, make use of the word minifter; or, if they please, minifter. If they should say now, for example, in the present case, that we ought never to desire any thing of the minister, which we think he cannot safely comply with; it would be a more proper manner of expressing themselves, and more conformable to the rules of proceeding in parliament, than to say, that we ought never to desire any thing of his Majesty, which we think.
think he cannot safely comply with: and I must leave it to Gentlemen to consider, what sort of a parliamentary maxim it would be, to resolve, that when we find ourselves obliged, when the unfortunate state the nation is in makes it necessary for us, to take an affair into consideration before it is finally concluded, we ought never to call for any papers upon such an occasion, but to leave it entirely to the minister, to lay, or order such papers to be laid before us, as he knew he might safely communicate to those whose business it is to enquire into his conduct. This, I confess, would be a maxim extremely convenient for ministers, and therefore I am not at all surprised to hear it come from the corner from whence it does.

But, Sir, to be serious upon the subject now before us; for, considering the unfortunate situation the affairs not only of this nation, but of Europe, are in at present, it is a subject of as serious a nature, as ever came before a British parliament: I must observe, that when this house resolves to take any particular and extraordinary affair into consideration, it is impossible for his Majesty to know what papers, or other things may be necessary for giving us a proper light into the affair. His ministers may perhaps know; but in former ages, ministers have been known to conceal industriously from their Sovereign, many things they knew, and such as they ought in duty to have acquainted him with; and therefore our parliaments never trusted to the King's ministers for giving him information in this particular. They considered themselves, the affair which was to come before them; they considered what papers, or other things, would be necessary for giving them a proper light into the affair; and if those papers were such as must be communicated by the crown, they addressed his Majesty, that he would be pleased to give directions for laying such or such papers before them. It is therefore from the addressees of this house only, that his Majesty can know what papers may be necessary to be laid before us upon any such occasion; and, when his Majesty sees what we address for, he may then judge, whether the papers called for, or any of them, be such as ought not to be made publick.

I say, Sir, his Majesty may, upon seeing our addresses, judge whether any of the papers we call for be such as ought not to be made publick; but, suppose his Majesty judges that some of them are of such a nature, this is no reason for not laying them before parliament, if they be such as either house thinks necessary for giving them a proper light into the affair under their consideration. Upon such occasions, his Majesty may order such papers as contain no secrets, to be laid before the house; and he may at the same time acquaint them, that there are others which ought not to be made publick: in which case, the house may, if it pleases, appoint a secret committee, and desire that those papers that ought not to be made publick, may be laid before their committee; which committee extracts from those papers such things only as are necessary for the information of the house, with relation to the affair then under consideration, without mentioning or divulging any of those things that ought to be kept secret. By this means, Sir, the house may have full information with respect to any affair they are to pass judgment upon, or give their opinion of, without the least danger of exposing the secrets of the government; for no strangers are ever allowed to be present in any secret committee, not even members of the house unless they are of the committee: and, I hope it will not be said, that there may not be found at all times in this house, a set of Gentlemen that are as capable of keeping a secret, and as incapable of betraying the secrets of their country, as any of his Majesty's ministers; nor do I think it would be any reproach to our present ministers, if I should say, that every Gentleman in this house has as great a regard for his native country, and as great a concern for its prosperity, as they have.

If the Hon. Gent.'s maxim were to be admitted as an established maxim for our conduct in this house, we could never
ver address for papers relating to any pubick affair that had been transacted within the same century; for there is no pubick affair but what may have, but what may probably have some papers belonging to it that ought not to be made pubick. Even suppose the affair we are to enquire into, were an affair finally concluded; yet there may be papers belonging to that affair, if it be such a one as has lately happened, which relate to some affaires then upon the anvil, and which therefore ought not then to be made pubick. At this rate, Sir, we must always leave it entirely to his Majesty, that is to say, to his Majesty’s ministers, to lay no papers before us but such as they think may be safely communicated to parliament: in which case, every one must fee, that we could never enquire into the conduct of any minister, while he continues a favourer of the crown; for no minister will ever think it safe to lay any paper before parliament, that may lay a foundation for, or may any way support an accusation against himself; and, upon this maxim, he would always have an excuse for not laying such papers before parliament, by saying, that they contain secrets relating to some affair in agitation, which must not be discovered till that affair is brought to a conclusion.

This shews, Sir, how ridiculous it would be to establish such a maxim, and therefore, I hope we shall continue to follow the ancient maxim of this house, which has always been, to call for all such papers as we thought might contribute towards giving us a full and perfect knowledge of the affair we were to enquire into, without regarding whether or no the papers we thought necessary for this purpose were such as might probably contain some secrets of state. If any of them are of such a nature, we may appoint a secret committee for examining into them, and reporting such parts of them as are necessary for our information; but, till his Majesty has acquainted us that some of them are of such a nature, we have no occasion for appointing such a committee. This therefore can be no objection against our addressing for all or any of the papers now proposed to be addressed for: but, for my own part, I cannot so much as imagine, that there are any important secrets, I mean such as the honour or interest of the nation is concerned in keeping secret; I say, I cannot imagine, that there are any such in our late negotiations with Spain, or in any of our late transactions relating to the Spanish depredations. I have not they have made no secret of the claims they have lately set up against us, nor of the insults they have put upon us: on the contrary, they seem to be fond of publishing them, that the world may know how contemptuously they have used us. I do not know but that there may be some secrets ought to be discovered, secrets, in the discovering of which, both the honour and interest of the nation may be deeply concerned; but this surely can be no argument against our calling for papers by which such a discovery may be made: and, if any of the papers now called for can be supposed to contain secrets of such a nature, it is a strong argument for agreeing to the motion; for, without such an address, we can hardly expect to have them laid before us.

If a presumption, that the papers to be called for were such as ought not to be made publick, should be allowed to be an objection of any weight against the resolutions now proposed, it must be allowed, Sir, that it was an objection of equal weight against every resolution we have agreed to. If the Governor of our plantations, or any Commander in chief, or Captains of his Majesty’s ships of war, had any instructions about a design that was to have been executed against the Spaniards, in case they had not agreed to this convention; may not we as reasonably suppose, that in some of the letters received from them, those instructions are referred to, or recited, as we can suppose that the memorial, representations, or answers of the court of Spain, are referred to, or recited, in those which we sent to that court? And, if those letters bear any such reference or recital, will not the laying them before
For this house discover our designs to
the Spanish court, as much as if the in-
structions themselves were laid before
us? If our negotiators at the court of
Spain had private as well as publick in-
structions, must not the letters received
from them relate to their private as
well as publick instructions? and will
not the laying those letters before us, as
much discover their private instructions,
as if those private instructions themselves
were laid before us? Therefore, if we
were never to address for any papers,
but such as, were uncertain, may be safely
made publick, we ought not to have
addressed for those papers we have al-
ready resolved to address for; but this
can be no reason against our addressing
for papers of any kind: there can be
no reason against our addressing for all
papers that are necessary for discovering
to the bottom any affair we have re-
solved to enquire into, except that of
the risk some people may run by a sin-
terse and thorough enquiry.

As the late convention with Spain,
Sir, was intended, or ought to have been
intended, for obtaining a proper sati-
faction for the insulps we have met with,
full reparation for the losses our injured
merchants and seamen have suffered, and
effectual security for our trade and na-
vigation in time to come, it is impos-
sible for us to form any right or mature
judgment of that convention, without
seeing all papers that any way relate to
the Spanish depredations. Can we de-
termine what may be thought a proper
satisfaction for the insulps we have met
with, without knowing what those ins-
ulps are? can we determine what may
be thought a full reparation for the lo-
ses our merchants and seamen have suf-
fected, without knowing what those
losses are? or can we determine what
may be thought an effectual security for
our trade and navigation in time to
come, without knowing all the preten-
ses the Spaniards have let up for distur-
bing them, and what foundation they
have for all or any of these pretences?
and, can we come at a sufficient kno-
ledge in either of these respects, with-
out perusing and examining all the pa-
pers upon the subject? Therefore, if
we have a mind to go to the bottom of
this affair, which it is highly necessary
we should; if we have a mind to do a-
ny thing more than read over, and
blindly approve of this convention, we
must have laid before us all the papers
we have already resolved to address for,
together with those now proposed to be
addressed for; and, when we have seen
them, we may from thence find it ne-
cessary to address for some others; but,
in order to judge of the convention, it
cannot be necessary for us to enquire in-
to all the negotiations we have lately
had with every other power in Europe.

Indeed, if upon enquiry it should ap-
pear, that this convention is both dis-
honourable and disadvantageous for this
nation; if it should appear, that we have
thereby got no satisfaction, nor so much
as the promise of satisfaction for any
one insult that has been put upon us;
if it should appear, that we have not
got a full reparation, nor so much as
the promise of a full reparation, for the
losses our merchants and seamen have
sustained; if it should appear, that we
have got no security, nor so much as the
promise of any security, for our trade
and navigation in time to come: it
would then, Sir, be incumbent upon us,
to appoint a day for resolving into a
committee to take the state of the na-
tion into our consideration; and, in that
case, I shall grant, that it would be ne-
cessary for us to address his Majesty,
that he would be pleased to give direc-
tions for laying before a secret com-
mittee to be appointed for that pur-
pose, a full and exact account of all our
late negotiations; in order that we
might have a full view of the circum-
fstances the nation is in, not only with
respect to its domestick affairs, but al-
so with respect to foreign affairs. With-
out such a view, it would be impossible
for this house to come to any proper re-
solutions, or to give his Majesty any
proper advice. If the nation has been
brought into such distress, as to be obli-
ged to accept of such a dishonourable
and disadvantageous treaty, rather than
attempt to vindicate our honour and
our rights by force of arms, we cannot expect that those who brought us into such distress will ever be able to relieve us. If any relief be possible, it must come from parliament; and it is not the first time the parliament has relieved this nation from the utmost distress. But, in such cases, we must have a full view of our affairs; we must not shew such a complaisance for our ministers, as to deny ourselves any necessary information, for fear of bringing them into difficulties.

From what I have said, Sir, I hope it will appear, that there is nothing in either of the addresses now proposed, but what his Majesty may comply with, but what he certainly will comply with. If there be any of the papers now proposed to be called for, of such a nature as ought to be kept extremely secret, his Majesty may tell us so, and we may then appoint a secret committee for inspecting them, and reporting such parts of them as may be safely communicated. This may perhaps be the case, with regard to some of the papers we have already resolved to address for: There is so great a probability, that this may be the case with regard to some of them, as there is of its being the case with regard to some of the papers now proposed to be addressed for; but if there were not, it would be no reason for our not calling for a sight of papers that are absolutely necessary for our information, in a case that is to come before us, a case in which both the honour and interest, I may say the very being of this nation, make it necessary for us to be fully informed.

In all parliamentary enquiries, Sir, the Sovereign of those kingdoms can never be led, by motives founded upon the honour of his crown, or the interest of his kingdoms, to refuse his parliament any thing they think necessary for their information, with respect to the affair they have resolved to enquire into: He may be led so to do, by the advice of bad ministers, who never give him such advice, but for the sake of screening themselves from that national vengeance that is ready to fall upon them. But his present Majesty has too much wisdom and goodness to follow any such pernicious advice: He knows, that the following of such advice, has sometimes proved fatal even to the crown itself; and has never as yet, thank God! long preferred the guilty criminal. His Majesty's goodness will in all cases induce him to give the utmost satisfaction to his people; and from his wisdom we must presume he knows, that in giving satisfaction to his people, confines the security of his crown, and the happiness of his kingdoms.

Therefore, Sir, what his Majesty may, or may not comply with, is a question that cannot enter into the present debate. The only question that can enter into the present debate is, What papers may, or may not be necessary for our information, with regard to the affair that is soon to come before us? for whatever papers we may think necessary for that purpose, his Majesty will, upon our request, signified to him in the usual manner, certainly order to be laid before us.

For this reason, Sir, the only question now under our consideration is, Whether the papers now proposed to be addressed for, are such as are necessary for giving us such a light into the present circumstances of our affairs, with regard to Spain, as may enable us to form a right judgment of the convention that is, I hope, soon to be laid before us? And with respect to this question, Sir, the Hon. Gent. who spoke first in this debate, has fully shewn, that the papers now proposed to be addressed for, are not only necessary, but more necessary upon the present occasion, than the papers we have already resolved to address for. Nay, it is a question that seems not to be disputed, even by those who have spoke against the resolutions now proposed: for they have grounded the whole of their reasoning upon a supposition, that some of the papers now proposed to be addressed for, may be such as ought not to be made public; and as I have shewn that this can be no argument against our addressing for them, I am persuaded every Gentle-
They may, then, indeed, become generally dissatisfied, as well as dissatisfied and this, perhaps, is what some foreign courts are striving at; but it is to be hoped they will, by the wisdom and integrity of this house, be disappointed in their aim. If they are not, the most perfect harmony between King and parliament, would add but little weight to our negotiations at any foreign court; for it is upon the affections of the people, that the weight and credit of our government must always depend.

From hence we may fee, Sir, that we may happen to be in such circumstances, that a harmony between King and parliament would be a misfortune; instead of being a blessing to the nation; for, if our people should ever become generally dissatisfied with an administration, the happiest thing that could befal this nation, would be the parliament’s expounding the cause of the people, not against the King, but for the King, and against his ministers: for, the cause of the King and people must always be the same; but that cause and the cause of a minister may often be different, may sometimes be in direct opposition. Therefore, if this nation should ever happen to be so unfortunate as to be under an administration generally disliked by the people, the wisest thing the parliament could do, would be to advise, or even render it necessary for the King, to make a thorough change, as to the persons employed in the administration. Such a breach as this would be, upon such an occasion, the only means that could effectually restore the influence and character of the nation at all foreign courts; because they would then expect to see, in this nation, a new set of ministers, and new measures. They would expect to see a ministry chosen, and measures concerted, by the advice of a free and independent parliament, and with the approbation of a brave and a free people; and from such a ministry, and such measures, this nation has always reaped great honour, and great advantage.

I shall conclude, Sir, with supposing the worst that can be supposed from our
agreeing to these resolutions; suppose that his Majesty should be induced by bad counsel to refuse so reasonable a request in his parliament. This, indeed, is hardly to be supposed; but, if it should unfortunately happen to be the case, it would be a full proof that there are some bad counsellors about his Majesty: and this discovery would be a great advantage to the nation; for it would then become our business and our duty to find out those bad counsellors, and to remove them from his Majesty's councils. Could the removing of bad counsellors from about the person of our King, any way derogate from the weight or influence of his negotiations at foreign courts? No, Sir, it would give great satisfaction to his whole people, and new vigour to all his councils, and consequently would greatly add to the weight of his negotiations at every court in Europe. So that in the worst light in which we can put the question now before us, we must allow, that our agreeing to it is not only necessary, but that it will be attended with great advantages to his Majesty in particular, and to the nation in general; and, as this plainly appears to be the case, I therefore hope it will be unanimously agreed to.

The next debate I shall give you an account of, related likewise to the late famous convention with Spain; and was occasion'd by our having seen the several petitions that were presented to parliament against that convention: for upon seeing them, a question was started and debated in our club, whether the petitioners ought to be admitted to be heard by their counsel against that convention? But as your readers may be curious to see the petitions that were presented against this convention, I shall refer them to your February Magazine, p. 91, 92. for that presented by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Common-council of the city of London; and give you the substance of another, presented by the merchants, planters, and others trading to, interested in the British plantations in America, in behalf of themselves and many others, as follows, viz.

That the petitioners had left jeffon made their humble application to parliament, setting forth the continued depredations committed by the Spaniards on the high seas of America, upon the British shipping and property; their barbarous and inhuman treatment of the British sailors on the taking of their ships, and their carrying them afterwards into slavery in old Spain, (the Spaniards making it their constant practice to attack and board all British merchant-ships they met with in the American seas, under pretence of searching for gold, which they deemed contraband, according to their arbitrary will and pleasure, contrary to the laws of nations, and in main self-violation of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns,) and that by these unjust and violent proceedings of the Spaniards, the trade and navigation to and from America was rendered very unsafe and precarious, in such manner that the injuries had greatly risen on these accounts; and that the petitioners having been heard by their counsel, did, as they apprehend, fully make out their proof, every one of the allegations of their said petition, in the entire and unanimous satisfaction of parliament; upon which application the following resolutions were agreed on, viz.

[Here the petitioners recited the resolutions of the preceding session, for declaring the natural right of British subjects to a free navigation, &c. and for addressing his Majesty to use his endeavours for the preservation of this right, and then they went on as follows, viz.]

That a convention had since been entered into between the crowns of G. Britain and Spain, whither his Majesty has been most graciously pleased to order to be laid before parliament; and that the same having been published by authority, the petitioners object with the utmost concern, that the Spaniards are so far from giving up their groundless and unjustifiable practice of unjustifying and searching British ships sailing to and from the British plantations, that they appear to have claimed the power of doing it as a right, by having insisted that the differences which have arisen concerning it shall be referred to Plenipotentiaries.
Mr. President, Sir—John Barnard

From the number of petitions that are now ready, or preparing to be presented to us, against our late convention with Spain; from the rank and character of the several petitioners; and from the allegations set forth in the petition that is now before us, we have great reason, I think, to conclude, that our convention is far from being such a one as it ought to be. From the great and considerable bodies of merchants that have petition’d, or are preparing to petition against it, and from our seeing not so much as one petition in its favour, we must conclude, that the whole body of our merchants think it a most dishonourable, disadvantageous, and dangerous treaty. On the other hand, Sir, we ought in charity to believe, that our ministers who negotiated this convention, and our ministers who advised his Majesty to ratify it, thought it either a good one, or at least, the best that our present circumstances would permit us to insist on. Therefore, when this convention comes to be examined in this house, we ought to consider ourselves as judges in an affair in which the whole body of our merchants, planters, and sailors, are plaintiffs; and our ministers and negotiators, defendants; and, in an affair of such importance, an affair in which the parties concerned are of so great consequence, surely it will be allowed,
Proved, that it behoves us not only to have the best information, both as to matters of right and matters of fact, but also to have all the proofs and arguments that can be brought upon either side of the question, stated and laid before us in the most methodical, the fullest, and the clearest light.

For this reason, Sir, it is, I think, absolutely necessary for us, not only to refer this petition to the committee who are to consider of the convention, which I am confident no Gentleman will oppose; but I likewise think it absolutely necessary, to allow the petitioners to be heard before that committee, either by themselves or counsel, with regard to this convention, which they so heavily, and, I am afraid, so reasonably complain of: and, if our ministers and negotiators have a mind to justify their proceedings, they may move, or get one to move for them, that counsel may at the same time be heard in favour of this child of theirs, which, like other monstrous births, is in some danger of being smothered upon its first appearance in the world. As I have no intimate correspondence with them, nor with any one of them, I cannot pretend to guess at what they may, in this case, resolve on; but, as I have always had a good correspondence with our merchants and planters, I may venture to say, that such of them as are now suppliants at our bar, will be glad of being admitted to be heard by their counsel upon this occasion; and will be far from grudging any expense, that may be necessary for giving us a full and clear view of the important affair that is soon to come before us: therefore, I shall conclude what I am to say upon the present occasion with a motion to this effect, That the petition now preferred to us be referred to the consideration of the committee of the whole house, who are to consider of the convention between Great Britain and Spain, concluded at the Pardo, Jan. 14. 1739: N. S. and the separate articles belonging thereunto, with the several ratifications thereof; and, that the petitioners, if they think fit, be heard upon their petition, either by themselves or counsel, before the said committee.

This, Sir, I take to be so reasonable a proposition, that I hope no Gentleman will oppose it: however, before I make my motion, I shall beg leave to observe, that in all trials at law, even in criminal trials, where by the common method of proceeding, counsel are not admitted to be heard, wherever a point of right or law comes to be disputed, counsel are always admitted to speak, as to such points, for the better information of the judges; and yet, I hope, I may be allowed to presume, that our judges, especially of late years, are as much masters of the laws of their country, as the several members of this house can be supposed to be of the law of nations, and of the several rights and privileges which are founded upon that law, or upon the particular treaties now subsisting between us and Spain. Therefore, when any such right or privilege comes to be disputed before us, there is at least as great a necessity for admitting counsel to be heard upon such points for our information, as there can be for admitting counsel to be heard upon any point of law for the information of our judges.

If we attend, Sir, to the petition now upon our table, we shall from thence see, that, when the convention comes to be taken into consideration, there are several matters of right that must be enquired into, and some of them may, perhaps, be disputed even by some Gentlemen in this house. We know that the Spaniards have lately pretended to a right to visit and search British ships, failing to and from the British plantations: this is a right which, I believe, no Gentleman in this house will pretend to justify; however, as the Spaniards do pretend to justify it, or at least have exercised it, it is a point of right, which ought to be fully enquired into, before we can judge of the convention. But there is another point of right or law that will, I believe, be disputed even in this house; and that is, Whether this right of visiting and searching our ships in the open seas, which the Spaniards lay claim to, is not...
In some degree admitted by us, by our agreeing to refer this pretension of theirs to the future regulation of Plenipotentaries? for if there is the least ground, even for the Spaniards to allege, that we have, by such reference, in any degree admitted of this pretension, surely every Gentleman who has a regard for the honour and happiness of his country, will condemn a treaty which gives the Spaniards any ground to say so. And whether they may not from this treaty have, or pretend to have, some ground for saying so, is a point of right, which the petitioners seem to apprehend, and which several Gentlemen in this house, as well as I, think we have reason to apprehend, tho' our apprehensions will certainly be said to be groundless, by all those who are favourers of the convention. But as this is a point which will, and must be judged of by foreigners as well as by us, we ought to have it fully argued, before we pass any judgement upon it.

As this point in particular, Sir, depends upon the law of nations, and upon the construction that is usually put upon preliminary articles or conventions, we cannot suppose that the petitioners are capable of giving us any light into this affair; and therefore, if it were but for the sake of this point only, we ought to allow them to be heard by their counsel upon this occasion. There may be other points of right, which ought to be enquired into: I believe there are several others, which we ought to insist on, as the undoubted rights and privileges of this nation; and yet the general reference contained in this convention, may hereafter give Spain a pretence to say, that even we ourselves admitted them to be such as were disputable. For this reason, Sir, before we pass any judgment in an affair of so great conquence to the honour, trade, and navigation of this kingdom, we ought strictly to examine into the import and meaning of those words in the first article, by which it is agreed, "That the Plenipotentaries respectively named by their Brittannick and Catholick Majesties, shall confer, and finally regulate the respective pretensions of the two crowns, as well with relation to the trade and navigation in America and Europe, and to the limits of Florida and of Carolina, as concerning other points, which remain likewise to be adjusted." I say, Sir, we ought strictly to examine into the import and meaning of this unlimited reference, before we pass any judgment; and as the import and meaning of these words must entirely depend upon the law of nations, and the nature of preliminary conventions, we cannot expect full satisfaction, as to this point, from the petitioners; we can no way expect full satisfaction, but by hearing learned Gentlemen argue upon it, who have made such points their particular study.

I believe, Sir, it will be admitted by every Gentleman, both within doors and without, that a definitive treaty, containing a full and express acknowledgment of all our rights and privileges, would have been much better than this preliminary convention: considering the vigorous resolutions of both houses of parliament last session, considering the spirit which at present prevails among all ranks and degrees of men in this kingdom, and considering the great expence the nation was put to last summer, I believe it was what most men expected: yet notwithstanding, if none of our undoubted rights or privileges are rendered doubtful, or any way invalidated, by this preparatory way of treating, we may excuse our negotiators for agreeing to such preliminaries for the sake of peace, provided it appears, they had good reason to hope that those preliminaries would be soon followed by a sincere and satisfactory treaty; but I hope, Sir, this nation is not yet brought so low, nor are we so fond of peace, as to give up any of our rights, or agree to any thing, for present ease, that may lay a foundation for contesting some of our most valuable rights in time to come. Such an unlucky situation, I hope, I am convinced, the nation is not yet reduced to, whatever some Gentlemen may be, who perhaps consider their own immediate ease, more than they consider either the honour, or the interest of their country.
Proceedings of the Political Club.

But suppose, Sir, there were no matters of law or right to be explained to us, suppose it were no way necessary to have the law of nations, or the nature of preliminary conventions explained to us; yet the facts that are to be laid before us upon the present occasion, are so numerous, and of such various kinds, that it is not possible to have them methodically and regularly summed up, without the assistance of counsel. We must see that it will be necessary for us to examine a great many witnesses, with regard to those depredations that have been committed by the Spaniards, both before and since the treaty of Seville; with regard to the importance of our trade to and from our plantations in America; with regard to the dangers that trade may be exposed to, if a search of British ships, failing to and from the British plantations, should be tolerated upon any pretext, or under any restrictions; and with regard to several other points I could mention: Every one of these witnesses may be able to give us an account of some of the facts he knows; but from daily experience we may suppose, that even those accounts will be but lamely and indistinctly given, unless we have counsel at our bar, who know how to put the proper questions to them. And when all the witnesses have been examined, we cannot suppose that any of the petitioners will be able to sum up the evidence, to digest all their testimonies under their proper heads, and to make such remarks upon each point of evidence, as may be necessary for putting it in the clearest and strongest light; for when a subject is very copious, and a great many facts of divers kinds to be related, it is not possible for any Gentleman, not exercised in the art of speaking, or not accustomed to speak before a numerous assembly, to let his qualifications otherwise be never so great, to give a regular, distinct, and full account of the whole.

From what I have said, Sir, I think it must appear, that it will be extremely proper for us, to have the assistance of counsel upon this important occasion. Nay, it is what, I think, those Gentlemen must be fond of, who are the greatest friends to the convention; for it is any way deserves those high estimations that have been made upon it, by some Gentlemen without doors, the more clearly, the more distinctly, and the more fully, this whole affair is hit before the house, the more we shall be sensible of the great honour and advantage the nation may reap by this preliminary treaty; the more easy will it be for them to answer any objection that may be made against it: For this reason, I cannot suppose, that the motion I am to make will meet with any opposition; and therefore I shall add at more, but conclude with moving, That the petitioners may be heard by themselves or counsel, as I have before mentioned.

[This Journal to be continued.]

The late Earl of C—l—h’s advice to his son, the present B. of C—l—h. Written a few hours before his death.

To my son the Lord M—p.

If in these Eavens a man’s soul can find delight,
Then takest thou the same;
Let him who did perform the same;
Who peace of mind profess’d to frame;
Stand zeal to thy rights.
To the long labour, to the care
And thoughts of those who are his heir;
Some thanks perchance are due;
If then his wife thou wouldst fulfill,
If thou wouldst execute his will,
The like design pursue.
His care for thee in this be free,
He recommends the life he chose,
Where health and peace abound.
He did from long experience find
That true content, a quiet mind,
Seldom in courts are found.
Fly then from thence, the city leave;
Thee every friends will thee receive;
Virtue does there offend;
In this retreat safe shalt thou be,
From all those certain mischief’s first
That do on courts attend.

* Alluding to a famous fact in the county of York.
Poetical ESSAYS in AUGUST 1739.

An Epistle to Mrs MASTERS.

By a friend, on the death of his father.

S

Truck with the cares which lift is doomed to know,
To changes prime, and nothing sure but—was;
With mien disconsolate I lonely rove,
I haunt the field and melancholy grove
To find composure; but 'tis all in vain,
Each field and grove a doleful shade contain.
There blackest images their horrors spread,
And every object speaks a father dead:
Still in each place his present form appears,
And every dying groan assaults my ears:
I feel the shock! the leaf, the fatal blow,
For which my neuron-creasing tears shall flow.
Oh faithful virgin! Oh thou tender maid!
Thou soul of friendship, now afford thy aid;
Now call the sweet-natured Nine, which oft attend
Thy solemn page, and help thy mourning friend.
O summons quickly every calming thought,
With sympathy and truest reafon fraught.
Instruct an orphan how he may retrieve
The doleful loss, or tell him how to live,
Diveset of counsel pertinent and good,
From him who counsel wisely understands.
In human knowledge, or in things divine,
His solid judgment did distinguo'd shine.
O join with me a parent's loss to mourn,
For he is gone, ab! never to return!
You who his counsel happily enjoy'd,
Confess how much of counsel you are void.
Ye jarring friends, who found the hapless breach
Repair'd and heal'd by his pacific speech;
Think what high pleasure in his bosom rife,
When with kind pains he did your strife compose.
Ten thousand virtues yet untold remain,
Which I attempt, but fail—attempt in vain:
Help me, dear maid, with thy pathetic tongue,
Black desperation disappoints my song;
Heart-rending sighs declare my pond'rous woes,
And filial tears my dark'ning eyes overflow.

Her. A N S W E R.

Thou! whose strains a father's death bewail,
And bidst my muse assist the tragic tale,
Thy moving sorrows are not ill addressing.
Since fatherly pity melts the female breast,
With just regard I read thy mournful strain,
And, sympathizing, feel the mourner's pains;
My secret soul approves thy pious sighs,
And loves the tear that flows from filial eyes:
'Tis sacred grief, 'tis beautiful despair;
Ist think, my friend; there's error in excess.
When death at first, in all his dread array,
Divides the panting soul from life's last clay;
When a loved parent feels the parting blow,
*Tis height of anguish, and the rage of woe.
Not all the arts of language unconfine
Can then appease the deep afflicted mind:
But this is nature's triumph for a day,
The interval when Reason quits her sway.
She, mild returning, wisely does impart
Serenity to the tortured heart;
And kindly would afford a calm relief,
Did we not fear it, and care for our grief.
This then best done, devoted to despair,
Forsook society, and sought thy care;
Wandered alone, and sought the gloomy grove,
Refuge of misery, and retreat of love;
Where sighs may breathe, and tears may freely flow,
For solitude's the truest nurse of woe:
In silent shades sad melancholy reigns,
But too indulgent to the mourner's pains.
Reflection there brings direful scenes in view,
And keeps the fatal vision ever new.
Fly those love haunts, to cheerful domes repair,
And social conourse shall divert thy care:
But if this moving image of distress,
A father's lost, thy rising soul depriest,
Renew the virtues which he once possessed,
And think those virtues now have made him blest.
But chiefly let my friendly care persude,
Which bids thee call religion to thy aid:
In that alone you'll walk comfort find,
The soft compofure of the tortured mind;
Her dictates shall thy every thought repair,
The friendly counsel, and paternal care;
For soft-united in the pious breast,
Wisdom shall dwell, and sweet contentment rest.

To the author of the Scots Magazine.

S I R,

Coldstream.

THE following lines were writ by a Gentleman of 15, a school-boy here; of whom I have some translations from Horace, which I may send you afterwards, being a well-wisher and encourager, as far as I can, to any of the performances of our countrymen.

Your's, etc.

J. K.

To Celia.

When the bright day's effulgent light
Shews my fair Celia to my sight,
Hot scorching flames invade my heart,
And point'd pains strike every part;
A burning o'er my limbs does fly,
I rage, I burn, I faint, I dy;
I wish for fable night again,
To slumber my wounds, to ease my pains;
But when the lovely silent night
Sheds o'er the earth its pleasing light,
Snatching away the brighter blaze
Of the fair sun's pure golden rays
Than all his golden rays more bright,
More glorious,9 snatches from my eye;
The charming Celia, more than day;
Again I wish the night away;
The fable night, which binders me;
My joy my soul's delight to see:
I curse, I de.m, mad with my pain,
And wish, my fair and warm again.
Such is the woe, such is the smart
That Cupid's beast breed in my heart;
Or to my arms my Celia give,
To Gods! 1 or let me cease to live.

ODE. To a Young Lady.

Fair maid, accept a bleeding heart,
And to the dying life impart:
It is the present Cupid given;
But take it, and the owner lives.

The fire that rages in my breast
Has been in every look express'd; (soon)
When words have wanted power in
My eyes declared how much I love.

So much by thee I am engrossed,
All reason's in the balance lost:
My thoughts no other theme surpass;
My tongue must cease, or speak of you.

All day I greedily survey
Thy charms, and on each beauty stay;
Thy lovely looks enchant my eyes,
Till secret love my soul surpris'd.

But yet, alas! while thus I gaze,
I but augment my own disaise;
Like mists, who look on their store,
And, looking, still defile the more.

At night I on thy image dwell,
And thus my growing passion swell;
I please myself to think you sigh,
And on your deceiver,beg no die.

But when soft sleep begins to sway,
And weary nature must give way,
I close my heavy eyes with pain,
And gladly would the thought retain.

The sweet tormenting thought! but then
It straight returns to its place again.
And what is still my waking theme,
Also becomes my sleeping dream.
O did those shades of night which blind
My eyes, but likewise screen my mind,
Then might I get a short repose,
And for a while forget my woes.

AMYNTOR.

SONG. Occasion'd by a young Lady's illness. Tune, Cowden Knows.

Neither woo the sacred Nine,
Nor court a poet's praise:
Let love confine the dear design,
And she approve my lays.

Can I but strive when Celia lies,
Depriv'd of peace and ease?
The sun may then forget to rise,
And beauty cease to please.

If state shall cut life's slender twine,
And call my charmer hence;
More fit to grace the choirs divine,
Than live in scenes of woe:

Like mourning widow turtle I
Will seek the lonely shades,
And soothe away the joyles day,
In praises of the dead.

The passing winds, the purling stream,
And poets of the grove,
In chorus join'd, shall sing the name,
And sing the nymph I love.

Grant her, ye Pow'r's! a kind reprieve!
Or call me to the sky:
If Celia lives, I'll gladly live;
If Celia dies, I die.

El-Drum.

A. B.

S I R,

Fife, June 14.

In the following lines you have a faint description of four rural beauties, whose merit is sufficient to recommend them to a place in your Magazine, though you should deny the favour of inserting them to

Your constant reader, ARISTUS.

BELINDA's modest virtues scorn
The foreign Helps of Art;
And FLAVIA seems a virgin born
To fire a Monarch's heart.
Affluents Eucharis the fair
Shall shine in after days;
And Philomel's melodious air
Inspire postick lays.

Imitation of the 7th ode of the 4th book of Horace. To CLITANDER.

The hoary snows are gone, the verdant fields Are cover'd o'er with smiling green;
The spreading trees unfold their tender leaves,
And form the nuyse-inspiring shade;
How chang'd the lands! while, in their banks com-
The peaceful gliding rivers flow.

The graceful Shepherd's fiercely bears
Her snows before the gale,
Nor fears to lead the moon-light dance, and press
With ivy feet, the velvet turf.
Set bow the periods of the fleeting year,
And every flying hour of time,
Contrasting still the narrow span of life,
Proclaim that man's of mortal race.
Just now theernal zephyrs breath disspels
To distant climes the piercing colds;
The scorching beams of summer then succeed,
With sultry heat the balmy spring.
Till autumn, loaded with his golden stores,
His riches pours with bounteous hand;
And then again, with hyperborean frosts,
In storm and tempest, winter comes.
Thus the revolving course of time restores
The seasons, and their grateful change.
But if that shadow of a bubble, man,
Once to th' infernal cafs disdains,
Where eu'n the pious, wealthy, and the great,
Together undistingueng'd go,
There's no return; and here the anxious bours
We spend in an uncertain fate,
If heaven propitious will our days prolong,
Or if this moment be our last.
Haste then, Clitander! haste to live; be quick
The rapid minute to enjoy;
Away with every narrow, boarding thought,
Bid every stream of bounty flow:
Shall virtue fair, in indigence complain,
And sorrow droop th' afflicted head,
While with Clitander there remains the bliss,
The heavenly bliss of doing good,
Of comforting th' afflictions of distress,
And making poverty rejoice?
When once death's leaden bands has clos'd your eyes,
And the last awful sentence past,
Not all the glories of thy splendid race,
Nor eloquence with all its power,
Nor sanctity of manners can restore
Again, the fleeting tide of life:
But god-like deeds, as these, shall never die,
Or perish with your mouldering dust.
These shall immortalize your sacred name
To heavens exalted, on the wings of deathless fame.
Poetical ESSAYS in AUGUST 1739.

The Fanaticke Preacher.

Translated from Mr Bourn's Latin.

The reformed grove he mounts, and scorrs his throat,
His pipes to clear, and thrill a louder note.
Down go the glasses, and upwards to the skies
His lifted bands ascend, and rubic of eyes.
His holy eye-like soul'd, his bearing broad.
Grows deep, and murmurs below from his chest.
One breaks—a word—and then another flies,
With decent pause between, and mingled sighs.
Now recollected he improves his rage,
To last emotable a guilty age.

He starts, be bounds, on tip-toe mounts, to feel
What strength of lungs will bear and ribs of steel.
Of feasts a deluge trickles from his parts,
When loud as Saturnus, or as Mars, he roars.
The pale-fac'd audience faint with threaten'd doom,
And a fanatical tempest shakes the room.

So Boreas first essays a gentle breeze,
And softly subjers thro' the rustling trees:
Rude; and more rude, forgetting accent mock,
He puff's a stronger blast from either cheek:
A louder tumult thro' the groves he spreads,
And tumbled forefits how their ancient beads:
Frantic at left his hirsous roars refund,
Ruins, and rooted trees, destroy the ground.

Verses inscrib'd to Miss J—ny—

Air lovely maid, when absent from thy sight,
I hate the day, and hate its unpleasant light;
The longest night, in fairest mantle dress'd,
In darkest swamp's no more welcome guest;
For when my eyes with dreamy sleep agree,
My cares are drown'd in pleasant dreams of thee.
Left nightless thought I wander'd thro' a grove,
Fresh as thy beauties, springing as my love,
Where, stretched at ease, beneath a grateful shade,
On mossy turf, I lay'd thee, lovely maid;
The purling streams did a soft murmur keep,
And gently bade you to a quiet sleep:
Numbers of little birds fill'd every tree,
And warbled forth their songs of liberty.
Your arms, your neck, and breast were almost bare,
Loose were your garments, careless was your hair;
Around your face the graces unconfin'd,
Charm'd without art, and pleas'd the undisguised;
In rapture lost, I gazed your beauties o'er;
The more I gazed, your charms increased the more.
But when I awak'd, and cast my eyes around,
No grove, no shade, no lovely maid I found:
My mind was seiz'd with its old tyrant Care,
I fram'd this ardent prayer:

"Almighty Heaven! since life's the gift you give,
Grant me at least that I may wish to live,
A healthful body, and an equal mind,
My fortune moderate, and my heart kind,
The friend I trust in, liberty and peace,
By day unborn's needful, and at night just sleeps."

A HINT. [Edn.]

Few girls can claim the joint pretence
To beauty, goodness, wit, and sense;
These charms but rarest meet:
Yet are they in Liberia join'd;
Adorn her person, and her mind,
In harmony complete.

But, let Liberia have a care;
For lust, like wine, by too much air
To vinegar may turn;
And, in the fain, who fear too high,
Toro's breaths volatility,
May chance their uses to lose.
Perhaps it may not be amiss,
She think a little upon this,
Though thinking gran btrouble;
For pity's sewer, show'd, after all
Bob Venus and Minerva fall
To Mercury, a bubble.

On lying in the Earl of Rochester's bed at ATHERBURY.

With no postick under, so'd,
I press the bed where Wiltzot lay'd;
That here be liv'd, or here expir'd;
Bregts no numbers grave or gay.
But meat thy roof, Argyle, are but
Such thoughts, as prompt the brave to lie,
Stretch'd forth in honour's nobler bed,
Beneath a nobler roof, the fly.
Such flames, as high in patriots burn.
Yet hope to bless a child or wife:
And such as wicked Kings may mount.
When freedom is more dear than life.

* Atterbury house formerly belong'd
to the witty E. of Rochester, but is now
a country-seat belonging to the D. of Argyle.
A Letter relating to Trade in Scotland.

To the author of the Scots Magazine.

SIR, Westminster, July 9.

You countrymen cannot be too frequently reminded of the importance of an increase in their attention to Trade, and especially those branches for which your climate and situation are more peculiarly fitted; in which respect the improvement of your Fisheries in general, which I just mentioned in my last [p. 221], delivers the consideration of every man who would rejoice at the increase of the wealth and prosperity of Scotland. If the soil in some parts of your country be not so fertile as what your neighbours enjoy, nature has, for the most part, supplied the defect, by an opportunity of making that wealth a bound near the most barren cliffs, which more inland countries can never hope for; and the most neglected shore in the west part of your country is fitter for the purposes of curing and drying fish, net-making, &c. than any the Dutch have to boast of; who yet, by the help of indefatigable industry, supply every deficiency of their country, and upon ice, and in boats contrived for that purpose, execute the greatest part of their business in preparations, &c. for their Fisheries; and in their vessels are glad, under numerous difficulties, to cure most, and even dry some of their fish; while your shores would answer all those ends, and many more; and one boy might, with great ease, turn and attend more fish upon the side of a sea-bank, than by the help of six men could be done in the same time on board a ship. — Salt, so essential an article in this business, you have an opportunity of making in several parts of your coast, at the smallest expence; and labour is so cheap in the places fittest for carrying on an extensive fishery, as to render reasonable a prospect of pursuing that beneficial branch of commerce, at a more moderate expence than has yet been any where practised, or, indeed, than can be done in any other country. Particular instructions for the execution of this useful work, this easy, plain road to riches, I shall not, at present, offer you; in hope that some of the Gentlemen who are most nearly interested in the success of such undertakings, will assist the publick with the necessary computations, and whatever else relates to so general a benefit: for in a cafe of so publick a nature, where all must reap a proportion of the advantage, all ought to consider themselves equally interested in so desirable an improvement; so that to withhold any assistance from such a design, would be denying your country that endeavour to serve her which every man owes the place of his birth. — And as an affair of such moment will bear, and in some measure requires repetition; you may, I believe, without danger of disobliging your readers, insert whatever you receive upon a subject in which they must see themselves so nearly concerned.

The increase, and improvement (upon which the former is probably consequent) lately made in the Linen manufacture of Scotland, has afforded the most solid satisfaction to every friend of the interest of Great Britain. And the quantities of fine cloth that have been sent hither of late, hath very much altered the judgment of people here; who, from the large parcels of fine goods you have hitherto sent us, were apt to conclude you incapable of furnishing linen of any considerable fineness; but from what we have now seen, there is room to conceive hopes of seeing you match the productions of your rivals of Ireland; and, by your joint endeavours, enable us to keep the large sums at home that annually creep out of these kingdoms, to supply us with half the cloth used among us, to the great advantage of our neighbours, and shame of ourselues. This can only be hoped for from an earnest and vigilant application to this branch of your manufacture, in which there is now great probability of your meeting with succcsses; and the generous proceedings of the Dublin Society, established without any view beside that of serving their country, by instructing and assisting the natives in the improvement of the different parts of their country to the purposes most capable of rewarding their industry, have set your countrymen an example well worthy
A Letter relating to Trade in Scotland.

their imitation; it being obvious that a society of Gentlemen, turning their thoughts wholly to the cultivation of land, the fitting each part of manufacture to the place nature has best adapted to bring it to perfection, and the instruction of countrymen in the knowledge of agriculture, &c., may be of the most extraordinary service to others, at a very small expense to themselves; and where such generous instructions are given for the general good of a nation, and the more particular benefit of all immediately concerned, the man who by indolence, or a want of due attention to his own interest and that of his posterity, neglects to embrace an opportunity with so much disinterested zeal for his advantage put into his hands, must not merit the name of a friend to himself or the commonwealth, nor deserve the enjoyment of privileges that are the proper right only of those who to their power are useful members of the publick community. — I will not offer to dictate to the Gentlemen who are sincere friends to Scotland, what would be steps most expedient to the prosperity of that kingdom; but would recommend to them to consider, after an attentive perusal of the design and institution of the Dublin Society, and of the very useful papers published by them, whether an association upon the same principles in Edinburgh would not, probably, be attended with much advantage to Scotland; since the ingenious would thereby not only be put upon enquiries tending to the publick good, but, by having a channel open for communicating to them all whom they may directly affect, the pleasure that would arise to a beneficent breast, on seeing his labours applied to the benefit of his countrymen, would yield an agreeable reward for the pains he had taken, and inspire new desires of searching after farther discoveries for the publick use. And you must allow me to say, from what I have been able to judge of the present state of Scotland, it appears to stand in much need of every assistance her sons can lend her, to balance the many inconveniences the labours under, by lying so remote from the seat of the British empire, and the annual absence of those from whom he would otherwise receive her principal support. — Yet it is confessed on all hands, that the country throughout is capable of considerable improvements, even enough to change the face of the land much to the advantage of the inhabitants; and as this is the only expedient left to retrieve your estate at home, and your character among your neighbours; to neglect the only means of your recovery at a time it is so much in your power, would be suffering yourselves to sink, without laying hold of a certain help to save you from drowning. — Your prosperity is plainly in your own power: embrace it then, and amidst the many disadvantages you are known to labour under, let not your own indolence be included; but, by a diligent application of your faculties to every possible method of enriching your country, convince mankind that only your situation prevents you from equaling, in every respect, the most flourishing of your neighbours; and that Scotland wanted only an opportunity of growing a flourishing, opulent country, to make her so. I am,

Sir, A hearty well-wisher to Scotland, and your most humble servant,

An Englishman.

P. S. I need not, I presume, hint, that if any set of Gentlemen should form themselves into a Society for discovery and communication of what may tend to the interest of Scotland, the nature of the office you have assumed, and your duty to the nation you have undertaken to serve, will demand a place for whatever they may judge proper for communicating, provided your Magazine should be pitched upon for the conveyance of such essays: for you will not, I hope, forget, that however men in their publick undertakings may be biased by views of private interest, the publick have a just claim to a regard prior to all other considerations; which is one cause of the freedom used by every man who intends the publick improvement, to which more entertainment or speculation ought always to give place.
An Evening at Vaux-Hall.

[Continued from p. 324.]

The Second Hour.


A fter the piece of musick is finish'd, a silence ensues, of a length sufficient to allow the company time to take a circuit of the gardens before another begins; which is the same before each piece; and those intervals are chiefly employed in visiting the walks, remarking the company, and viewing the paintings, which have been put up the last spring to protect the Ladies, while sitting in the arbours, from catching cold in their necks by the inclemency of the evening-breezes. These paintings forming something like three parts of a square, the Prince's pavilion (so called in honour of his Royal Highness, who always honours that place with his presence when he visits these gardens) and the house belonging to the manager, form the fourth. In the middle of this square, which takes up about a fourth part of the gardens, stands a beautiful orchestra for the band of musick, which consists of the best hands upon every instrument in modern use: and from that a little bridge of four or five yards reaches to an elegant edifice, wherein is placed an excellent organ; which has lately been fitted by several new pieces of entertainment, particularly a symphony of singing-birds, which never fails to meet with the loud applauses of all present. Many little novelties are contrived to yield a greater variety to the audience on the other instruments; and a set of small bells have been introduced in a tune which meets with a very favourable reception. The walks leading close by the front of the arbours, (each of which is large enough to entertain ten or twelve persons to supper) the paintings at the back of every arbour afford a very entertaining view; especially when the Ladies, as ought ever to be contrived, fit with their heads against them. And what adds not a little to the pleasure of these pictures, they give an unexcepti-

 onsable opportunity of gazing on any pleasing fair-one, without any other pretence than the credit of a fine taste for the piece behind her. To preserve these pieces from the weather, they are fixed so as to be in cafes, contrived on purpose, from the close of the entertainment every night, to the last of the evening following; after which, in an infant, they all fall down; and, from an open rural view, the eye is relieved by the agreeable surprize of some of the most favourite fancies of our poets in the most remarkable scenes of our comedies, some of the celebrated dancers, &c. in their most remarkable attitudes, several of the childish diversions, and other whims that are well enough liked by most people at a time they are disposed to smile, and every thing of a light kind, and tending to unbind the thoughts, has an effect desired before it is felt.

By the time the next piece is begun, the gardens being pretty full, the company crowd round the musick; and, by being forced to stand close, have an opportunity of taking a strict observation of every face near, and, as it frequently happens, of picking out companions for the remaining part of the evening. Sir John Trat points out to his Lady, who has not before crossed the water for twenty years, the motion of the Gentleman who beats time, the manly strokes of the Kettle-drummer, and the wonderful strength of lungs with which Mr S—- founds the trumpet. The Petit Maitre, at the beginning of a solo on the last mention'd instrument, fixing their toes in a proper position, pull out their snuff-boxes; and, after an emphatical nod at setting off, take a pinch in exact time; till the martial notes raising, by slow degrees, their untried courage, they discharge the whole force of their valour upon the eyes of the Ladies who stand next them; who, generally, receive their fire with great resolution, and make a defence often fatal to the assailants. Mrs Flimsy finds in the, after musick something so like the ravishing softness of the Italian opera's, that, in an extasy of pleasure at the be-

witching
An Evening at Vaux-Hall.

Witching notes, she is upon the point of falling, when the young Lord Shal-
bro, with a complaisance hereditary in his family, interposing his kind hand, flar-
tes her with an agreeable surprize, and occasions as many apologies: for the
freedom on one hand, and acknowledg-
ments for the obligation on the other, as,
by a mutual display of the most enga-
ging rhetoric, lay the foundation of
an acquaintance that lasts, perhaps, for
some hours.—Gentlemen who come a-
lone are open to the overtures of any
amiable companion, and Ladies who
venture without a masculine guide, are
not, generally speaking, averse to the
company of a polite protector.—The
music again ceasing, and dusk ap-
proaching, the green walks are filled;
at the termination of which stands a
man in the posture of a Constable, to
protect the Ladies from any insult, &c.
and at the bottom of the grand walks,
by the help of a ha-ha wall, the top of
which, standing in a trench, is on a le-
vel with the ground, the prospect is open
to the country, and a hideous figure of
Aurora on a pedestal interrupts, I cannot
say terminates the view. Soft whispers
begin now to murmur thro' the trees;
and, the shade of evening favouring the
Ladies with a convenience of blushing
without being perceived, or of avoiding
any hard thought for omitting that
pleasing mark of innocence on occasions
when it may happen to be expected,
the lofty trees, which form a grove that
must be called delightful, and every fan-
ning breeze, by waving the garments of
the sylvan Deities (the only ones we
know) yield a double delight, and re-
semble, as much as we can guess at this
distance of time, the most delightful
scenes of old Arcadia: And when the mu-
cick plays at a distance, so as to be heard
thro' the leaves in one connected sound,
without any distinction of one instru-
ment from another, the enchanting har-
mony produces a pleasure scarce to be
equalled by nature, not easy to be con-
ceived in imagination;—and I cannot
help confessing that, according to what
I can judge from my own experience,
the breath must be a stranger to the foot
passion that feels not a tender bias to
love, and a powerful one indeed if any
object of affection chance to be near; for
every return of the artful symphony
thro' any chance vacancy of the grove,
sire fans the glowing flame, and irre-
 sistibly increases the influence of the
fair-one, who yet has more charms ad-
ded by every melting effect the melody
has on her mind and gesture. In this
situation, if soft ideas prevail more than
elsewhere, those only will wonder at
it whose minds are proof against Cupid's
painful delight, and whose ears are deaf
to the power of harmony, and arm'd
against all the accidental motives to
love that are apt to prevail upon a mind
bent on pleasure. — A few turns round
the shades make the Ladies glad to think
of sitting down to rest themselves; and
the Gentlemen affluently seek the most
agreeable arbours to regale them with a
repast suitable in elegance to the eleva-
tion of their ideas; which usually hap-
pening about nine o'clock, the descrip-
tion thereof will naturally fall into the
next letter you receive from,

Sir, Your humble servant,
S. TOUPEE.

COMMON SENSE, August 4.
The fate of Zunchin, Emperor of China.

E very man that hath been con-

servant in courts, must have
seen that all the little cunning
which they are masters of, is employed
to conceal the state of affairs from the
master, and to palliate and difguise the
rogueries of the servants. He is like a
man curfed with a bad wife; he who is
principally concerned in the infamous
of her course of life, is the only person
that is not acquainted with it. In the mean
time, you shall see these people carry it
with a high hand; when the nation calls
loud for justice against them, they treat
the whole nation as a faction, and call
their very blunders and robberies his
Majesty's measures. Thus it sometimes
goes on till the people can bear no more,
till at last, perhaps, the Prince himself
suffers.
suffers for the crimes of his perfidious servants.

Among the many fatal examples of this kind, there is one which is very affecting: it is of that unfortunate Emperor of China, whose race is now extinct, and who loft both his life and dominions, I may say, by the villany of his own servants. I shall present the reader with the short account of it from the history of China.

"Zunbin, the last Emperor of China, though in himself the best, was the most unfortunate Prince that ever governed that vast empire. He had all the proprieties to incline him to govern mildly; yet we cannot call him a wise man, who was so injudicious in the choice of his ministers and officers. These creatures made use of his authority to gratify their own passions, and extend their ambition; the consequence was, that the people were made uneasy. But their grievances and complaints never reached the ears of their Emperor: the ministers had filled the court with their tools and creatures, and stopped all passages of complaint to the Prince. Thus they went on to abuse his good dispositions, and may be said to have hold both the empire and their master.

What avails the good inclinations of the Prince, if those who are in employment under him, if those who ought to set him right, and advise him faithfully, are the conspirators themselves, and ruin him with his people? Discontents encourage rebellions; and where the ability and fidelity of the ministers, which should give awe and terror, are in contempt, rebels will rise that will become a terror to the Prince.

A rebellion was begun by Ly and Chun, who had both been Generals in his army, and had been ill used by the ministers; probably for no other reason but because they would not be slaves to their power; these people therefore thought of rewarding themselves, and of revenging themselves of their enemies; being resolved to let the courtiers know, that men of service are of more consequence to a state, than those groans about a court, whose only employment there is to whisper villanous falsehoods in the ears of the Prince.

There never will be a rebellion but where there is some occasion given for it; but where universal discontents are occasioned, the government is no longer safe than while there is no man of figure or consequence that has spirit enough to begin, and put things in motion.

What did the rebels do? They knew they should not be opposed by the common people, who would not fight to keep scoundrels in the administration of the government and make them more inoffent. As to those who had the guard of the Emperor's person, and the government of the state, Ly the rebel was sure he could gain them over, at any time; and, accordingly, when the officers and magistrates put in by these bad ministers saw the rebellion look a little formidable, they entered into a conspiracy for securing themselves. Ly sent some of his people, disguised as traders, to treat with those fellows; and traders they were. — When the city was delivered up, and the unhappy Emperor retired within his palace, he first with his own hand put to death his only daughter, then he and his Empress hang'd themselves. — Before he dispatched himself he writ with his own blood what follows; which, no doubt, he designed to be read by the usurper.

The Mandarins are traitors, they have perfidiously betrayed their Prince, and all of them deserve to be hang'd. It will be laudable to execute this piece of justice upon them. It is fit they should all suffer death, that those who succed them may be instructed, by their example, to acquire themselves with fidelity of their trust. — As for the people, they are not criminal, and deserve not to be punished; and therefore, to use them ill will be injustice. — I have left that great empire, which descended to me by inheritance from my ancestors, by the treachery of the Mandarins. In me is finished the royal line, which so many Kings, my progenitors, continued down to me, with all the grandeur and fame suitable to their dignity; I will therefore
AUGUST 1739

Universal Spectator, Aug. 18.

I have often heard it aver'd, that it is as necessary, on any application for advice, to give a plain, true, and impartial state of the mind; as, when we send for a physician, to reveal the true state of the body: therefore, without any artful preamble, I shall tell you my case; and desire your instructions on it.

I am a young woman of a very good family; by a good family I mean, I am the daughter of parents, genteel in their rank of life, and virtuous in the conduct of it: but, notwithstanding such a descent, I have the unhappiness, tho' family-misfortunes, to have little or no prospect of living much longer according to my birth and education; for the handsome figure which I at present make in life, depends chiefly on the income of two places, which an innumerable, consumptive father holds under the government: In short, I am young, with a tolerable share of beauty, and little or no fortune.

Now, Mr Spectator, beauty without a fortune is but of small service to a woman who has a true sense of honour and virtue. I am sure I find it so; for tho' I have lovers and admirers now, none of them are honourable enough to marry me for the sake of my person only: as soon as they are inform'd that I have no fortune, my honourable lovers immediately become gallants, and make overtures, that with joy they could accept me as a maîtresse, tho' their circumstances prevented them to make me their wife. All such hints I have rejected with the contempt and detestation they deferred; and I begin now to think that I must never flatter myself of meeting with a young gentleman of fortune, of my own age, and to whom my own choice, if indulged, might incline me, who will make me happy by
by marriage: I am therefore determined to follow my mother's advice, if you should give me any encouragement to pursue it. My mother strongly persuades me to deny the access of any young Gentleman, but to be as reserved as possible, and by putting on very grave looks, and having none but very grave acquaintance, to try whether I could not engage the heart of a certain rich, old Gentleman. This old Gentleman I have often seen at visits; he is an old batchelor, very insinm, very peevish, but very rich. My mother says, with a little female art and management the thing would be practicable, and that she would answer for the success if I would give my approbation of the project. After due consideration, I find I have so much philosophy in my heart, that I could make him a kind and virtuous wife, and in return for his advancing my fortune, I would study to make him happy. What I desire of you, is, to inform me whether I may not deceive myself, and think I shall behave in a manner which I shall not after I am married: in short, is there a possibility for a young woman to like an old man? I would not, by endeavouring to make my life agreeable, make it wretched. If you think such a match can possibly be in the least agreeable, let me know as soon as possible; and at the same time give me a few hints how I shall behave in our courtship, and what kind of conduct will be necessary to conduct to our mutual felicity. By this, Sir, you will infinitely oblige

Your anxious correspondent

PRUDENTIA.

Common Sense, August 18.

Anecdotes from Tacitus.

W henever I meet with a fine passage in history, concerning those who have acted successfully, or suffered bravely, for liberty, I take a pleasure in recommending their example to my countrymen. — I would have this paper, and that of my fellow-labourer the Craftsman, be a complete collection of all can be found, or suggested, to animate a free people in defence of their rights, or to give them just abhorrence of corruption, and of arbitrary power: — let them see how patriots have behaved themselves in the best, and worst of times; when Rome was disinterested and free, and when she was venal and inflamed. To this purpose Tacitus will be as useful as Livy: he will teach us how to act under a Tigellinus, if so corrupt, and shameless a minister, should ever lord it over the senate of England. I shall need no farther preface for a short translation of part of the 15th annual of that instructive historian, which struck me very much in reading it, and will deserve my readers' attention.

"After murdering so many illustrious men (says my author) Nero desired at last to cut off virtue itself by putting to death Tibreus Patus." — The chief crime objected to him was, "That he, who had ever been so affidious, and unwearied in his attendance; he who, even in the ordinary business of the senate, had been used to distinguish himself on one side or the other, now, for three years, had not come into the house. — That this was a secession, a party formed against the government, and, if numbers should dare to engage in it, would be open rebellion. — That, in the provinces, and armies, the journals of the Roman people were read more eagerly than ever, only to know, what those proceedings were in which Tibreus would not take any part."

To this charge were added some other proofs of the malignity of his spirit; as, "That he did not believe in the divinity of Poppaea, the deceased Empress, whom the Senate had deified."

The conclusion was, "That he and his followers pretended a zeal for liberty that they might overturn the government; and when they had gained that point, their next attack would be upon liberty itself."

The Emperor himself made a speech by the mouth of his Quaestor, in which he accused the Senators of deserting their functions; and he added, "it was no wonder if those from remote provinces failed to attend, when many who had borne
borne the highest offices in the state withdrew from the senate, and went to divert themselves in their gardens."

Marcellus, one of the hired orators for the court, declaim'd with great vehemence, "That the whole safety of the state was concern'd.—By the contumacy of subjects the lenity of the government was abused and wearied out.—The senate had been too mild in suffering so long the revolt of Afrasia from his obedience; that of his son-in-law Helvidius, who was his accomplice in rebellion; that of Paccius Agrippinus, who had a hereditary hatred to the present government, and Curtius Montanus, the detestable author of libellous poems, to escape with impunity.—He requir'd the presence of Afrasia in the senate, unless he had renounced the constitution, and the forms established by their ancestors, and openly declared himself a traitor and avow'd enemy to the state. Let him come, (cried the orator) he who was wont to be so active a senator, and so forward in defending those who had libelled the Emperor; let him resume his place, and offer his sentiments what he would have corrected, or changed. It would be much more easy to endure his railing at particular meaurses, than by his silence condemning the whole administration at once. —What is it offends him? Is it the general peace? and our triumphs gain'd without the loss of a man? No.—Let us by no means suffer one who grieves at the publick felicities; one who looks upon our publick assemblies as defarts not fit for him to inhabit; one who is continually threatening us with a voluntary exile, to attain the ends of his malignant ambition. To him our decrees are null, our offices void; we are not senators, we are not magistrates; this city is no longer Rome. Let him therefore cut himself off entirely from that common-wealth, which he has long since ceas'd to love, and now cannot bear even to see."

Thus was the retreat of this great and good man misrepresented by the profitorious tools of court-defamation:—thus was he cenfur'd, because he would not fit in a senate where such as they had a certain majority; because he disliked to mingle with the slaves of Tigellinus, who, in the name of Nero, gov'ren'd there with absolute sway. And for his offence they condemn'd him to death, being ready to execute any villany their master commanded.

Thus all the iniquities, all the tyranny of those times had the authority of the senate, and the sanction of law. Thus, as bad as Nero was, the Roman people suffer'd still more by the fury of their republick being kept up when the spirit was lost, than they would have done had the government been purely monarchical. For Tigellinus and the Emperor durst not have acted so tyrannically alone, as they ventured to do with the concurrence, and under the name of the senate.—Afrasia scrupled to give that concurrence, and to lend that name to impose on his country: He therefore retired; and, in his retreat from the senate, was much more than those who continued there, a true Roman senator.

What indeed could he go thither for, except to offer himself to fate?—But such a traffick was beneath his spirit and character.

I shall conclude this paper with his dying words.—When his veins were open'd, he called the Queflor up to him, and sprinkling the ground with his blood, "Let us (said he) make this libation to Jupiter the Deliverer. Behold, young man; and may the Gods avert the omen from you: But you are born to times in which it may be fit for you to fortify your mind with examples of constancy."

Common Sense, Aug 1739.

Continuation of the Remarks upon Tacitus.

The manly freedom with which Mr Gordon has written Remarks upon Tacitus, and the eminent protection he has been honoured with from a present great minister, encouraged me in my last paper to comment a little, tho' with a spirit and style much inferior, on that excellent author; and I shall continue to do so in this, as far as I am able.
table, in emulation of him,— but I declare, without any expectations of either subscription, pension, place, or any other favour from the Knight, than his approbation and countenance; which he can’t in justice refuse me after giving it Mr Gordon; for I do not intend to declaim with half so much pomp against bad ministers, nor to speak half so irreverently of corruption, as he does in his notes upon Tacitus. I shall only translate a small part more of the story of Thrasea, which made the subject of my last week’s Journal, and throw out a few plain observations, which will naturally arise from it, to the consideration of my countrymen.

While Thrasea Pater was expecting his condemnation from the senate, and his friends were consulting with him what it was fit for him to do, “there afflu’d in the consultation Rutilus Arulenus, a young man of great fire, who, from a desire of glory, offered to oppose the decrees of the senate; which, being Tribunal of the people, he had authority to do. But Thrasea check’d his spirit, and would not let him attempt a vain opposition, useless to him in his danger, and which would certainly prove destructive to the Tribune himself.”

It is impossible, from this passage, for the reader not to observe, how very useful it is to the good of a state, that names and forms should be kept up, when realities are gone. The tribunitial power was the great guard of the Roman liberties. — Did the Consuls, did the Senate exceed their bounds, and encroach upon freedom? They were stopped by the opposition of the Tribunes, and the rights of the people were saved. After the usurpation of the Cæsar, the same office remained, the same power was lodged in it, the same duty annexed to it, and the same outward veneration paid to the person who bore it. How happen’d this? — The reader may ask. How was this compatible with absolute power? — My brother Gordon will tell you in his 7th discourse upon Tacitus, when he gives the reason why the Senate of Rome, and the ancient magistrates submitted under the tyranny of the Emperors: “They found (says he) their account sufficiently in breaking the power, and spirit of the Senate, in reducing it to a skeleton, a name, and in exercising under that name all their own violentences and exorbitancies.”

Thus it was with the tribunitial power: Had any good been proposed by the Senate against the liking of the Emperor, he would have ordered the Tribune to interpose with his negative; and if the Senate had complained of it, they would have been told, it was the ancient constitution; it was the right of the people; it was sacred, and they who opposed it subverted the laws. But when the same power was to be exercised for the good of the public, then the mask was pull’d off, and Cæsar declared the laws were bis, and he would bear no control.

This would have happened in the case of Arulenus. Nero was willing that the Senate should condemn Thrasea Pater, and cloke his murder under the form of law, rather than destroy him by an act of his own absolute power: But had the Tribune of the people interposed against that decree, he would have had recourse to his absolute power, and murder’d them both. He did not regard the senatorial, more than the tribunitial authority; but he allowed both to be exercised as far as served to his purposes, and neither so far as to thwart them for the sake of justice, law, or the publick.

It was therefore an act of humanity in Thrasea not to suffer his friend to expose himself to certain destruction by a useless attempt: and yet what Arulenus offered was no more than his duty, no more than a just, honest man was bound to, in the office he held. For can there be any thing more shameful, than to have a legal authority to stope injustice, and not use that authority? Is it not breaking the trust repos’d by the state in those magistrates who were originally design’d to be checks upon absolute power? Arulenus then had good reason to say, “I am Tribune of the people; I am therefore obliged to hinder the Senate from destroying an innocent man.”
But what availed it that it was his right, and his duty, since the power of acting agreeably to that right and duty was lost? The result of all this is, That, in so corrupted a government, a man of virtue should not meddle at all.

They who consider the magistracies, and the legislature itself, of their country, not as trusts from the publick, but only as steps to power, and wealth, may be fond of attaining them under any conditions; nay, they may like them the better when they are most defiled with corruption, as the dirtiest soil is the safest, and yields most to the owner:—

But honest men should resolve not to come into publick employments, nor accept any trusts from the commonwealth at a time when it is become impracticable to execute them to the ends for which they were given: much less should they accept them when the uses of them are so strangely perverted, as that, instead of being the checks, which they were intended to be, they are made the instruments and screens of male-administration.

In such a circumstance it is not sufficient to say, “What would you have me do? I can only ruin myself, I cannot serve my country by doing what my duty requires.” If you cannot serve your country, do not serve yourself at her cost: If you cannot serve your country, at least do not impose upon her. Do not call yourself a Judge, or a Senator, when you are reduced to be nothing but the tool of a court: Do not make the people fancy they have a protector in you, when you know you cannot protect them; when you know your office itself is only kept up to oppress them under a fairer appearance. For it is this out-side of liberty which secures and perpetuates tyranny. If the hope after part of those who are capable of publick employments, would agree to refuse them till they are brought back to their due independency, and till they may be executed as they ought; it would go a great way towards the reforming and restoring of the most corrupted state in the world: For it would oblige those who govern either to break through all forms, throw off all appearance, and change the whole frame of the government, which is a difficulty next to impossible, as all history sheweth; or the people, seeing the abuses, would ender them no longer, and the spirit of the constitution would by that means be revived. If no man of character would ever come into the senate, till the voice there were free, and the house purged of corruption, either it would be procured, or that expedient of governing by the form of a free senate must be wholly thrown off. And it would have very much embarrassed Julius Cæsar himself, if he had been obliged to govern the late free people of Rome with as little a déspotic power as the King of Persia did the slaves of the East. But with the specious names of a Senate, Consuls, Tribunes, &c. not only bu, as Augustus, and Tiberius, who were of ability; but such idios as Claudius and such mad-men as Caligula, Lucullus, and such Jacobins as Poppea, were able to rule, insult, and plunder a nation proud of its liberties.

Reply to the speech of Lord Vis. Gage. [see p. 279.] by J—n H—we, Esq.

S I R,

I ask the Noble Lord's pardon who spoke last, for not having taken my share in the agreeable entertainment he has given the house: but indeed I am so struck with concern, at finding, that the point in question, is, Whether we shall immediately rush into a war, or endeavour, consistently with the preservation of our rights, to continue in peace? that I am utterly incapable of any degree of mirth. I imagine what Gentlemen proposed to themselves by examining the convention, was to observe, indeed, and point out any mistakes that might be in it; but with this intention only, that they might thereby assist and enable (as is our duty) those who have the conduct of affairs, to bring them to the happy issue, of establishing by peaceful means, all our several rights and
and more particularly that of a free navigation, subject to no search: In which it is highly incumbent on every Englishman, not only to wish them success, but to contribute all they can to their success; determined at the same time, if amicable means fail, to defend our rights by the strongest methods. But it seems I am mistaken, for the intent of some Gentlemen proves to be, to lay aside all endeavours for peace, and to enter immediately upon war; but I must be excused from joining with them in that, and shall continue my view of preferring and securing, by amicable means, all our rights, agreeable to the advice we ourselves gave his Majesty.—I do not think, Sir, the consideration of the convention itself, to be of so extensive a nature, as it may at first appear: I will therefore confine myself very closely to it, that I may not trespass too long upon the indulgence of the House, which I have so often experienced, and of which I shall always retain a most grateful sense; and as it is a point entirely national, I will exclude all considerations, but what are national: neither friendship, nor, what is yet more powerful, its contrary, nor any of the narrow views of party, shall find the least admittance. The opinion I shall deliver you, will be that of a plain country Gentleman, who lives upon his rents, and, being satisfied his rents depend on the trade of the nation, will be careful no way to injure that trade, upon which his own revenue depends: and as that is to be the case of all landed men, we ought to be very cautious in our proceedings, to avoid every thing that may any way obstruct that good success in this negotiation, which it is so particularly our duty to further and advance, and to which any rash or unadvised step may prove very detrimental; for all foreign courts give great attention to our parliamentary proceedings, especially those who are at variance with us, and perhaps much more to the proceedings of the lesser, than of the greater number. But upon this head, and that of treaties in general, I shall only repeat the words of Sir Wm Temple, a person well versed in negotiation, who, writing of a circumstance of time, much resembling ours, says, "It will be always labour in vain, to make treaties and carry on negotiations abroad, unless there is at home an union to support them."

Sir, I last year gave my poor consent to this measure for peace, to which the House advised his Majesty: But if I had not, yet as it is, by the advice of parliament, and, by the crown's pursuing that advice, become the measure of my country, I should now have thought it indispensably my duty to contribute to my country's success in it. Such was the maxim of that people, who shew'd the most publick spirit, and who kept their liberty the longest. They, after the warmest disputes in the Senate, always concluded, unanimously, with that candid and generous expression, *Quod bene vixit republce;* and as all nations agree in that maxim, I hope we shall now put it in execution.

But, Sir, not to waste more of your time, I will proceed to the convention itself, but will take it up no higher than the last session of parliament, which gave birth to it, and will avoid bewildering myself, either in the labyrinth of treaties, or accounts.

In the last session of parliament, the moving relations which the merchants gave you of their losses, the compassionate sense you expressed of them, and the just indignation that arose in every man's breast, induced this house to address his Majesty, That he would endeavour, by amicable means, to procure reparations of their losses, and security for their future trade; and that, if those measures should fail, we would support him in such as he shou'd then find necessary. Here, Sir, give me leave to observe, that we assured him of our support in the former measure, as well as in the latter; and not only so, but in the former, preferably to the latter; which assurance I hope we shall make good.

In consequence of this our advice, negotiations were entered into, and a convention or agreement signed, by which a certain sum was stipulated for reparation of our losses, and a certain time limited (a circumstance not to be overlook'd) in which all other matters in dispute are to
be discussed, and settled according to the treaties now in being, and all power of treating to determine at that time. This I think to be the state of the convention, and do think the convention to be agreeable to our advice: what is positive in it, is unquestionably right; what is undetermin'd, and left to be discussed by the Plenipotentiaries, to one can speak of with certainty. All therefore that I shall say on that subject, is, that I most heartily wish the event may be the procuring us security for all our rights, and particularly for that of an uninterrupted navigation, free from all search; but as the event is in the breac of time, which no one can fathom, and as I ought to hope the best, I can by no means give myself leave to think of making so rash, so desperate a step, as at once to break through all measures for peace, taken by our own advice: Nor can any thing be more unwarrantable, than to refuse to let those measures, so advised by ourselves, be tried to the end of the no long time to which they are confined; and, instead of that, to plunge immediately into a war, which is the tendency of all the arguments on the other side of the question. And now, Sir, that I have mention'd war, I cannot but beg Gentlemen to reflect, that if our rights can be preserved without war (and no one can take on himself to say that is impossible) what a load of blood will be drawn on our own head who shall engage his country in an unnecessary war! Now, the convention standing thus, it agrees perfectly with the advice we gave the crown, and does fully warrant the address we are moved to make: and in which I could not but imagine we should all have united; since by it our right of free navigation, without search, which some were jealous was to be given up, is so fully asserted and secured.

Here I would willingly conclude; but then, Sir, I should seem not to give due attention to the arguments and objections of Gentlemen of the contrary opinion: I must therefore beg your patience, whilst I acquaint you, why I cannot surrender myself to their reasons.

The first and greatest objection made to the convention, is, That the ministers have not begun with the proper article, nor in a proper manner: I think, Sir, that that method must be undoubtedly the best, which leads most readily and safely to the desired end; and to me it does plainly appear, that the method which some Gentlemen think ought to have been taken, would have easily disappointed and defeated it. The Gentlemen on the other side are pleased to say, that the negotiations ought to have begun with the point of peace; and with declaring to Spain, that if she would not, at once, instantly give up that point to us, the is the principal one in dispute between us; we would not treat at all with them. Surely, Sir, such an abrupt and arbitrary proceeding could have had no other effect, but that of putting an end, at once, to all thoughts of peaceable measures; such a method as that, no one, even in private life, would have submitted to: this, Sir, would have been acting the Spaniards indeed, and too much in their file; nor could any thing but confusion have attended it. But now what disadvantage can come to us by permitting our right to be debated? which is the objection. Why, it is said, that by suffering it to be debated, it is weaken'd, and brought in doubt. Surely, no, Sir; but, on the contrary, it is thereby strengthened, and freed from all doubt: a good title always receives advantage from examination; none but a bad one flies the light; and had we refused to let ours be examined, would not that have thrown a doubt of it, even in ourselves? But further, as to subjecting our right to examination, do not the Spaniards, by subjecting likewise their pretensions, equally weaken them? They certainly do. What advantage do they then get by it? None at all. But we do get a manifest advantage by it; for whoever considers the clause in the address proposed, relating to freedom from search, must agree, that our Plenipotentiaries cannot now give that up: we have then this advantage by permitting our title to be examined, that our right cannot
cannot suffer any diminution, but may receive a confirmation by it. Thus, Sir, it appears plainly, that the method some Gentlemen think ought to have been taken, would have been succefsless; and undeniably plain it is likewise, that the method pursued has been attended, not only with the success of procuring refolution for our losses, but at the fame time, and thro' that, with the further advantage of drawing from the Spaniards, at least an imply'd admission of our right; and they who deny that, and treat it with the utmost flight, cannot however dispute, but that it furnishes us with a new argument, and does open and make plain the way to a more formal recognition: it therefore appears to me to have been evidently the more preferable method.

The next objection, which has any show of weight in it, is, That a great sum of money in-firing out a fleet, and a great deal of time have been wasted, and had no effect. As to the one, the effect of the fleet, I define the Gentlemen to consider, how little Spain is (according to their own account) disposed to do us the least justice, and then I leave it to them to determine, what influence our fleet must have had. And as to the time supposed to have been wasted, I must observe that less time will serve indeed to do a wrong, than to do a right thing; the ministers had time enough to plunge us into an unnecessary war; but as to what time is required to adjust and settle the numerous and jarring interests of two great nations, who have possessions in all parts of the world, they who are least masters of such affairs, will be most apt to think it an easy task, and to require but little time. But further, as to the time, I must observe, that, besides the refolution of our losses, and the, at least imply'd admission of our right to be freed from all search, more has been done in the time, than does at first appear; for in considering of the several things, in order to make this convention, most of the points in dispute must necessarily have received such a degree of discussion, as will prepare them for a more easy determination. I cannot therefore think, that either the time or the money has been so mispent. In the light therefore that I see the convention, and the objections made to it, I cannot but think the address proposed (which is the point in debate) to be a very proper one. It gives me, Sir, infinite pleasure, as, I conceive, it will the kingdom great satisfaction, by the declaration in it against all search. The people have been blown up into an imagination, that their right of navigation free from all search, was to be given up and sacrificed; and a very great ferment has been raised in the nation by it; which I hope will subside, when they see, by our address, how little foundation such a report had; and that they will now rest assured, that if we cannot succeed in our well intention'd endeavours, of saving them from that increase of taxes which a war must unavoidably lay upon them, and that a war shall prove unavoidable, their rights will, in case of a war, be defended with that resolution which always attends sedateness of counsel, and is never found to accompany rash measures. Indeed, Sir, I think that, in the present circumstance of things, no other resolution can reasonably be taken by the house but that contain'd in the address. I can have no interest to injure my country; and did I not think this address tended to advance the good of my country, my own, as well as the publick interest, would dissuine me to it: But as I do most sincerely think it for the good of my country, it must have my approbation.

An approval of receipt for the cure or prevention of the Murraim in cattle.

Ake of Sallad oil, one quart; anniseed or angelica water, one quart; London treacle, one pound; common treacle, one pint; fenngreek, eight ounces; bole armoniac, six ounces; turmeric, four ounces; madder, four ounces; saffron, a quarter of an ounce; aloes, six or seven ounces. The six last articles must be finely powdered; then mix all together with four gallons and a half, or five, of strong ale, which will be sufficient for forty beasts, giving to each at least a pint.
London, August 1739.

The apprehension of an immediate war with Spain is now stronger than ever. We have the most considerable fleet at sea which was perhaps ever known, and the impress for seamen is again revived. Several ships are failed with letters of marque to make reprisals on Spain. The Commissioners of the Admiralty have directed all the Lieutenants of the navy in half-pay to send immediate notice of their respective places of abode; and an order of the like nature is issued for those in half-pay belonging to the army. The Commissioners of the navy have contracted with ship-builders for building 10 galleys, with the utmost expedition, to carry 20 guns each, to be employed in his Majesty’s service against the Spanish privateers. All the officers belonging to the regiments at Gibraltar and Port-mahon are ordered to their respective posts, under pain of being cashier’d; and orders are given to add 10 men to each troop of the four regiments of horse and eight of dragoons in G. Britain, but no additional officers.

P. S. London, Sept. 4. There is certain account from Lisbon, that Meff. Keene and Caftres are arrived there in their way to England, having set out from Madrid the 20th past. And Sir Thomas Geraldino, having receiv’d his Master’s orders of revocation, and passports from this court, is preparing to set out for Madrid.

We see just publish’d here, his Catholic Majesty’s Manifesto, dated at St Ildefonso, August 20; and The reasons by which he justifyes his not paying the 95,000 l. stipulatd in the convention; the whole consisting of 53 pages, French and English. In the Manifesto he gives some instances of condescension on the part of Spain towards G. Britain, and affirms, that Spain fulfilled her engagements stipulatd in the convention; but that G. Britain did not fulfill her’s by recalling Adm. Haddock’s squadron, &c. on the contrary, that the published letters of reprisal, and proceeded to the execution of them in divers parts, which had been made appear by the depo-

itions of those who experienced them: And that his Catholic Majesty’s forbearance being thus provok’d, he had determin’d that the like reprisals should be used by his subjects against those of G. Britain. — The Reyser confedert on seven breaches of the convention made by G. Britain: 1. In revoking the order given to Adm. Haddock to return to England. 2. In not having dispatched the necessary orders specified in the convention to Georgia and Carolina. 3. In the S. S. company’s not paying the 68,000 l. mentioned in M. de la Quadra’s previous declaration. 4. In the British Plenipotentiaries desiring to have it declared, that the King of Spain has not power to suspend the Assiento contract. 5. In demanding the restitution of an English ship taken since the ratification of the convention. 6. In retracting the opening of the conferences. 7. In demanding a free navigation as the undoubted right of the British nation, notwithstanding the first article of the convention says, that the respective pretensions thereunto should be regulated in the future conferences, according to the treaties subsisting between the two crowns. This last article is infall’d on at great length.

The Marquis de St Gilles, the Spanish Ambassador at the Hague, has distributed copies of the above mentioned Manifexo, &c. to the members of the government there.

S. S. trading-stock, 92, 5 8th. Ditto Old annuities, 108. Ditto New, 106. Bank stock, 137, 1 half. India ditto, 152, 1 4th. Three per cent. annuities, 99, 1 half. Million bank, 114, 1 half. Royal assurance, 89. London assurance, 11, 1 8th. Mine adventure shares, 5 l. English copper, 3 l. 8s. Welch ditto, 15 s. African, 13, 1 half. Seven per cent. Emperour’s loan, 105. Five per cent. ditto, 85, 7 4ths. Bank circulation, 3 l. 12 s. 6 d. prem. Three per cent. S. S. bonds, 18 s. prem. India ditto, 2 l. 5 s. prem. Three per cent. ditto, 5 discont. Salt tallow, 1 half a 1 1 half. prem. Lottery tickets, 5 l. 9 s.

Deaths.
DOMESTICK HISTORY.

DEATHS.

Francis de Rochefcaulx, Marquis de Montandre, a Field-Marshall, Master of the ordnance in Ireland, Governor of Guernsey, &c.

Lt Gen. Gore, Colonel of the King's royal regiment of dragoons, and Governor of Kinsale in Ireland.

Col. Cremer, Major in the 3rd regiment of guards.

Lt Col. Gilbert Primrose, on the Irish establishment.

Col. Manly, formerly Lieut. Col. of horse, red.

Cornel Marcelli, of Moleworth's dragoons.

Lieu. Gervase Parker, of the British fusileers, Fort-Major of Kinsale.

Col. Guthrie, in Jamaica.

William Mills, Esq: Chief Justice in one of the courts in that island.

Capt. Bonfoy, of an independent company in Jamaica.

Capt. Soleguard, Capt. of the Berwick man of war.

William Lord Craven.

Id Charles Fitzroy, 3d son to the D. of Grafton, at Milan.

Id Higham; son to the E. of Malton.

Mr Bradshaw, Door-keeper of the house of Lords.

Dr Henchman, Chancellor of the dioceses of London and Westminster, fam'd for his eloquent pleadings in defence of Dr Sacheverel.

William Shirley, Captain of a marching regiment.

Matthew Buckinger, in Ireland, aged 65, born without legs or arms, whose performances are well known in the world.

Mr Bull, Linen-draper, London.

My Lady Seafort, in her way home to Brahan castle in Ross-shire, from France.

The Lady of Robert Colvill of Chilparr, Esq.

Miss Campbell, eldest daughter of Lord Monzie.

My Lady Elliot (dowager) of Stobs.

Mr John Lefly, Rector of the school of Dalkeith.

Mr John Schaw, one of the Ministers of South Leith.

PREFERMENTS MILITARY.


Major Gen. Cope, — Governor of Londonderry.


Col. Ondow, — Colonel of the regiment late Lecoe's.

Col. Dalgay, — Colonel of Col. Ondow's regiment.


Capt. Waite in the Welsh fusileers, — Major in the said regiment.

William Wentworth, Esq; — Capt. in Gen. Gore's dragoons.

Capt. Robert Rich, in the foot-guards, — Aid-de-camp to Gen. Wills.

Archibald Douglas, Surgeon in Rich's dragoons, — Cornet in said regiment.

NAVAL.


Capt. Bing of the Portland, — of the Sunderland.

Capt. Hooke, — of the Portland.

Capt. Tho. Fox, — of the Newcastle.

Capt. Ruffell of the Kinsale, — of the Ruby.


Capt. Forbes, — of the Severn.

Capt. Townshend, — of the Berwick.

Sir Roger Butler, — of the Plymouth.

Capt. Cooper, — of the Chester.

Lt Dandy Kidd, — of the Trial floor.

Lt Elliot Smith, — of the Fly floor.

Sir Fr. Holbourne — of the Swift floor.

Capt. John Hemmington, — of the Princess Amelia.


Capt. Tho. Graves, — of the Norfolk.

Capt John Trevor, — of the Defiance.


Capt. John Galcoigne, — of the York.

Capt. Rob. Long, — of the Tilbury.

Capt. John Towry, — of the Litchfield.

Capt. Wm Chambers, — of the Bristol.

Capt. Cor. Mitchel, — of the Rochester.

Capt. John Crawford, — of the Ludlow castle.
Capt. Lathington, — of the Solebay.  
Mr Swift, — First Lieutenant of the Dunkirk.

MARRIAGES.  
Capt. Arthur Forbes of Pittencrief, —  
to Miss Katharine Couper, daughter  
to David Couper of Couper-Grange.  
Alex. Hepburn, brother to —— Hepburn of Keith, Eqq; — to Mrs ——  
Drummond, Widow of Lt Home.

Died within the walls of the city of Edin-  
burgh, and buried in the Gray-friars  
church-yard, August 1739.

Men 12, women 15, children 32. In all, 59. Decreased this month, 3.

AGE.  N. | DISEASES. N.
--- | ---
Under 2 17 | Confusion 19
2 & 5 13 | Chin-cough 5
5 & 10 2 | Fever — 11
10 & 20 3 | Old age — 2
20 & 30 2 | Suddenly — 4
30 & 40 2 | Teething — 10
40 & 50 5 | Still-born — 1
50 & 60 4 | Small-pox — 5
60 & 70 8 | Typhany — 1
70 & 80 2 | Rheumatism 1
80 & 90 1

FOREIGN HISTORY.

This lately been reported from several places, that the famous Kouli-  
kan, who has by his various successe  
struck the Eastern world with terror, was lately slain by the hands of the  
Great Mogul, when each of those Monarchs was heading his forces, in a general  
engagement between the two armies. But it will be necessary to refer  
the confirmation of so remarkable an event to subsequent advices.

The overthrow of Sare-Bey-Oglou is confirmed; his head having been sent  
to Constantinople, and fix'd on a pole before the great seraglio, where  
prodigious numbers of people flock'd to see it. The following translation of a  
letter written upon that occasion to the Consuls of foreign nations, by the Grand  
Seignior's Equerry, will probably be agreeable to many of our readers.

To our most esteemed and most honourable friends,  
The Procurators and Consuls.

After our hearty greeting, as in duty bound, we sincerely acquaint  
you by this letter, that on the 10th of the month Seffer in this year, [which as-  
fers to our 27th of May] the infidel chief the wicked and cursed Sare-Bey-Oglou,  
who in all things behaved very wickedly both to the Mussulmen and their  
towns, was by God's assistance, and by the prosperity of our glorious master the  
Grand Seignior, totally destroyed with his cursed company and his accomplices,  
in which number Cara Oglou was killed, and the cursed Secher Oglou taken alive,  
then chain'd, and carried prisoner to the cafell of Guissilifar, in order there to  
be punished, as well as all the rest, for examples to all the world. As there- 
fore the unfortunate Sare-Bey-Oglou was beheaded, 'tis positively given out  
here, that his cursed head is carried to our glorious and excellent Vixier Bash,  
and that all the world is thereby delivered from the ill designs of this rebel,  
for which the Lord be praised. This good news will be matter of joy to every one,  
particularly to you who are friends of the sublime and happy Porte,  
and who ought to rejoice at it, and to set your hearts at rest. Knowing moreover,  
that you desired to be deliver'd from the uneasiness which that villain  
gave you, I could not fail giving you the satisfaction of this present letter,  
which, if it please God, may be productive of the good news to me, that you  
have not banished me from your remembrance.

Her Czarain Majesty very warmly refents the report of Baron St Clair, who  
was carrying dispatches from Constantinople to Stockholm, being murder'd  
by two officers in Russian pay; and the following is the

Extra of an order from the Czarina,  
dated July 3. O. S. and sent to her ministers at foreign courts.

We are very much surpris'd to hear  
of the rumour at Berlin, concerning the murder of one St Clair, a  
Swe-
Swedish officer, as if it had been committed by two of our officers.

We have thought fit to order all our ministers at foreign courts to declare in our name, That, so far from having any hand or any sort of concern in so base an action, if it was really committed in the manner as tis reported, we have an abhorrence for a crime so detestable.

And as it must have been committed on the limits of Silesia and Lusatia, we have thought it necessary to request the Emperor and the King of Poland, that they would please to order diligent search to be made after those malefactors, in order to punish them.

Though we cannot imagine that any of our subjects have so far forgot themselves as to commit such an enormous crime; yet we declare, that we will use all endeavours imaginable to discover those criminals, and to give them exemplary punishment, in order to discover to the whole world how much we abhor such actions, equally base and abominable: it being our firm intention carefully to cultivate good harmony and friendship with Sweden.

The following is the best account yet publish’d of the march of the Russians.

**Warsaw, Aug. 4.** The army under the Velt-Marshal C. Munich passed the Niester on the 19th and 20th of July, O. S. near Grodeck, Sienkow, and Coladruhla, while Lt Gen. Baron Lowendahl stay’d behind to cover his passage; as did also several thousand Cossacks, in order to disturb the Tartars, who were encamp’d near Camineick. By means of these dispositions the Russian army has happily passed the Niester, without the least obstruction from the enemy; for the Tartars knew nothing of it till some days after, when a Cossack officer, that was taken prisoner, and carried before the Sultan of Bialagrod, told him, that the army was on the 20th got over the Niester, and that Gen. Munich had left only some thousand Cossacks behind, the better to conceal his design. This news put the Tartars into such a rage, that they went sword in hand to their Sultan, and upbraided him for his negligence in missing the opportunity of attacking the Russians, and expressing their uneasy apprehensions, that their wives, children, and effects on the other side of the river were in danger of falling a prey to the enemy. These Tartars were so exasperated, that some of them left the Sultan without hearing what he had to say. We are since inform’d, that he has passed the Niester with his Tartars, and that the Turks have done the same, in order to pursue Gen. Munich’s army. The 12,000 men commanded by Lt Gen. Lowendahl, and which remain’d on the other side of the river, are likewise passed over, as are also the Cossacks; so that the whole Russian army is now in Moldavia. The detachments of Tartars that are likewise in Podolia have passed the Niester near Zwanitz, Bialowka and Uflciez, and since that there has not been one of them seen in that palatinate, where their absence is look’d upon as a great happiness, though the Tartars and Turks together have by their long stay there scarce left them any other comfort in the world. The march of the Russians into Moldavia spreads a consternation throughout that province and Walachia, where the inhabitants are flying from all parts towards the Niester, which river they are continually passing day and night, in order to take refuge in the Polish territory. ‘Tis believ’d, that the Bashiow of Bender and two other Bashaws, who are assembling the Turkish troops on the other side of the Niester, have a design to cut off the Russian army in its march towards Hungary.

**Poland** has severely suffer’d for this, as appears by the following account from Camineick, Aug. 2. “The damage done by the Tartars during the 10 or 12 days that they stayed upon the Polish territory, is computed at several millions of florins. There is no corn nor fruit in the country, no houses nor churches left standing in the villages. They have carried away all the horses and cattle that they could find; and what furniture and other effects they could not take with them, they have destroyed. The sacrileges committed in churches, their outrages upon persons of all ages and both sexes; in short, the cruelties and barbarities..."
Vienna, July 18. O.S. Yesterday six exprs came to court from the army in Hungary, with the following particulars of an engagement which has happened betwixt that army and the Turks.

"On the 7th inst. word was brought to the Imperial camp at Wifiniza, that the enemy's army was advanced as far as the fort of Rawna, and making the necessary preparations to pass the Morave; whereupon the Velt-Marshal de Walis resolvd immediately to march against the Turks, and sent for the Count de Neuperg to come and join him with the body under his command.

On the 9th, the army quitted Wifiniza, and went and encamp'd at Schikan. The Major Gen. de Bermdas was detached with some thousand mens, among whom were several hundreds of volunteers, to go and take a view of the enemy's situation. He found, that the greatest part of their forces had already passed the Morave. The Turks attack'd his detachment no less than three times successively, and oblig'd it to give way; when the General retreated in as good order as possible to the camp, and made his report to the Count de Walis. In this skirmish there were but 12 men killed, and 20 wounded on the part of the Imperialists. As the enemy's flotilla was gone up the Danube as far as Krozkca, the Admiral Pallavicini, who commanded the Emperor's flotilla, received orders to attack it; in doing which he immediately funk three of their faick's, and cannonaded the camp which the Turks had just formed near Krozkca: but the ships of the latter returning in a greater number, surrounded the Imperial flotilla on all sides; and how it got off, we are not yet inform'd.

On the 10th, we were inform'd that the enemy's body, which was advance'd to Krozkca, had received a considerable reinforcement, and was likewise assembling in a great number at Semendria. The body under the Count de Neuperg being not yet come up, a resolution was taken not to wait for it, but to go and attack the Turks before they had time to entrench themselves.

The next night the Velt-Marshal de Wallis..."
Wallis and the Baron de Serher march'd with 14 regiments of horse and 18 companies of grenadiers, the former having order'd the Prince of Saxe Hildburghausen to follow him next morning at day-break with the rest of the foot, and not doubting but the General de Neuperg would join him without delay. M. Wallis, in order to come at the Turks, was forced to clear his way through de-siles, bramble-bushes, and vineyard-plots, which however he accomplished with very great order; but the regiment of Hohenzollern, which formed the vanguard, advancing too forward, was hemmed in by the Turks, and cut to pieces. The Turks, improving this advantage, fell upon the rest of the forces with incredible fury; which, though they made a very brave defence, were put into confusion, and oblig'd to retire; and just as they had recover'd the hill, the Prince of Saxe Hildburghausen arrived with the infantry, and favour'd his retreat. To do this the better, the Prince post'd himself on the right, where the Turks fired briskly upon him, but were not able to break his ranks. But after all, there was some disorder in his retreat, which extended even to the baggage; and it would have been still greater, had not the Count de Neuperg come up speedily with his body consisting of 13,000 men; for whose greater dispatch he left his baggage behind, and made the men leave their coats. The Marshal de Wallis, upon the arrival of this reinforcement, renew'd the engagement with the enemy, which was continued on both sides with very great obstinacy and firing, that lasted without interruption till night, so that it proved a bloody action both to the Imperialists and the Turks. The Marshal de Wallis return'd afterwards with his army to his camp at Wisisna, under the cannon of Belgrade.

The Turks fought upon this occasion like desperadoes; and, far from being discouraged at the loss of their men, which must certainly be very considerable, they returned to the charge with the more obstinacy, and most hideous utterances. The names of the chief officers who were killed or wounded, are, the Lieutenant-Field-Marshah Baron Wittorf; the Majors-General the Prince of Hesse-Rhinsels, Count Caraffa, and M. Lerhner; the Colonels Count Berthold, Minquitzburg, the Prince of Waldeck; the Lieutenant-Colonels Plida, and the Marquis Litta; the Majors Count Lanthier, and M. Palude, killed. The Lieutenant-Field-Marshah the Pr. of Waldeck; the Majors-General the Prince of Birkenfeld, Count Daun, Count Geiruch, and M. Grune; the Colonels Durngern, Dernthal, Wetzel, Villanova; the Lieutenant-Colonels Count Wurmbrand, Sonnau, the Prince of Baden-Durlach, Radicati, the Count de Collovrat; the Majors Uhlfeld, Levrier, Kleinholtz, and Sebottendorf, wounded. The Earl of Crawford, a volunteer, wounded.

The Turks, since the above mentioned action, being posted along the rivulet of Kroza, which is but two or three leagues from Belgrade, we long impatiently for the next advices from Hungary, to know what is Count Wallis's resolution.

We learn, by a particular letter from the camp, that the detachment under Gen. Bernclau was in great danger of being entirely cut to pieces, if he had not made use of the following stratagem, which succeeded very happily: He ordered all his trumpeters to retire and take post behind a hill in a wood near the enemy, where they founded a march; which made the Turks believe that fresh troops were coming up to support our men, and so alarmed the enemy, that they retired with the utmost precipitation towards Kroza; so that Gen. Bernclau had time to rejoin the army with his detachment and some horses that he had taken from the Turks.

From on board the Imperial galleys on the Danube, July 25. N.S.

"The Marquis Pallavicini, General of the Imperial ships and vessels on the Danube, having received advice, that 40 of the enemy's saiks in the form of galleys, were to come up to Kroza at the same time that the vanguard of their army..."
army was to arrive there, he fell down the river on board the Commodore-ship the Triton, which has two decks, and was built at Vienna in 1737, and four prames or large gallys built at Vienna also, this present year, and arrived at Krozka half an hour before the said Turkish vanguard, consisting of 4,000 horse, which drew up on the side of a hill towards the river. He caused his vessels to move near to the shore, and fired 30 cannon-shot at the enemy, which did such execution upon them, as obliged them to retire precipitately over that hill, to avoid being exposed to the artillery of our flotilla. The General finding he could do them no more damage, proceeded down the river the same day to meet the faicks, having intelligence that they were advancing; and, forming a line with his vessels before an island at a little distance from Krozka, he proposed by that situation to hinder the enemy from passing, and to cover the said island. Half an hour after appeared the 40 Turkish faicks making towards that island; but seeing how our vessels were ranged, they retired to Semendria, where was the enemy's camp. Of all this the General gave information to Velt-Marshall Wallis, and sent to him the Bailiff of Krozka, who assured him that the enemy's whole army was on their march thither. On the 21st at day-break, the Turkish gallys or faicks advanced as though they would attack our flotilla; but before they came within cannon-shot they stopped at which time the van of the Turkish army came in view, and was followed orderly by all the rest, with their baggage and artillery, and posted themselves at Krozka; of which Gen. Pallavicini sent advice to Velt-Marshall Wallis. The 22d in the morning Gen. Pallavicini defied two batteries, which the enemy had made in the night on the bank of the river in a place that was covered with large trees, and he ordered his vessels to fire at those batteries; but seeing he could do them no considerable damage, he retired to a point of the island, which covered his vessels. From that point he had a view of the Turkish land-army, formed into two lines, and marching towards the top of the hills; from the foot of which the Imperial troops were to advance against them: and soon after he saw, with regret, an attack made; and the enemy's fire carried forwards; from which he observed that they fought with advantage, and that our troops could not beat them back and possest themselves of Krozka, according to the resolution which had been taken, and which had been communicated to him by Velt-Marshall Wallis. Then Gen. Pallavicini resolved to retire, without giving the enemy time to make other batteries, which they were actually beginning in 3 different places, and which might have rendered his return the more difficult. When he had taken this resolution, and was in motion to pass up the river, the Turkish gallys advanced: one of them, which exposed itself the most, in hope to pass between the Triton and the river-side, was presently sunk by the cannon of that Commodore-ship; and four others, which followed that gally, were scoured by the guns of the other Imperial vessels, that their rowers fled to land, leaving them to float with the stream. The rest of the enemy's gallys kept out of the reach of our cannon, and took the opportunity of the darkness of the night to get to a place of security. The 23d, at day-break, Gen. Pallavicini with his vessels was before Krozka, where he saw the Turkish gallys lying under the protection of the enemy's camp. The Triton in passing up the river having lost three hours by one of the prames running foul of her prow, was obliged to abide the fire of five batteries, which fired from heavy cannon iron bullets of 36 pound, and from haubittes stone balls of 50 pound weight, besides the shot from lighter cannon. By the flounets making way up the river, our flotilla lay exposed for nine hours to that fire: and of 443 cannon-shot, almost all of them were aimed at the Triton, aboard of which Gen. Pallavicini had always his station: above 40 shot struck the ship; but not one of them endangered her or did her any considerable damage: nor were more than three officers on board.
board her wounded; among them Lt Col. Count Lilliers dangerously in the thigh, by a piece of a stone bullet that broke in the ship; and but 3 men were killed and 12 wounded, tho' we passed in sight of the whole Turkish army; which by the extent of ground on which they encamped appeared to be very numerous. At noon sprung up a favourable gate of wind, which enabled our vessels to use their sails; and in the evening we came up over against the Imperial army, and kept coaling by them till they entered the lines of Belgrade. In our passage we fired continually at the Turkish army, where we judged our guns would bear upon them, putting as close to the shore as we could. Our vessels fired in all about 500 cannon-shot, of which the Triton alone fired 171. Gen. Pallavicini was honourably received by Velt-Marsh Ballis, who publicly declared, that he was satisfied with his conduct."

Belgrade, July 14. O.S. The Marquis de Pallavicini's engagement with the enemy's flotilla, has justified the notion we had entertain'd of that Admiral's capacity; who, tho' surrounded by near 100 sails, from whence the Turks made a terrible fire with their cannon and small arms, has however brought off the Imperial flotilla safe to this city. "Tis natural to suppose that he must have suffer'd some loss; but what the enemy has suffer'd must be vastly greater; for he sunk 30 of their sails, killed many of their men, and so well secured his retreat, that they could not hinder it. We are affin'd that the Grand Vizier, who is arrived at Semendria, with the chief Bafhaws of the Ottoman army, has the Count de Bonneval with him; and that the Count is the man who has regulated all the operations of the Turks.

From the Imperial camp near Taboka, in the bannier of Temeswater, 3 leagues from Belgrade, July 18. O.S.

"On the 14th in the evening our heavy baggage was sent to the other side of the Save, and as soon as it was night the army began to file off, one part throu' the town of Belgrade, and the other part by two bridges which we had laid over the Danube. By day-break the whole army was passed over that river; only some of the baggage-waggons remained behind, which not having been able to pass before the troops had filed off, were obliged to stay before the gate of Belgrade. The Turks perceiving our retreat, attempted to fall upon those waggons; but were prevented by the cannon of the place, and of the men of war, and by some troops that were posted in the country-houses, which made a continual fire upon the enemy, till all the baggage was got safe into the town.

On the 15th our army went and encamped near the village of Ponza, on the other side of the Danube, a league from Belgrade, and after we had set up our tents, we saw the enemy enter into the camp which we had quitte'd. Their right wing extends to the Danube, and their left stretches towards the Save; so that by the space of ground they take up, 'tis reckoned their army is very numerous. Immediately after their arrival they began to fire in good earnest, from several pieces of cannon, upon the men of war, and one of the bridges which we had upon the Danube, and which we were therefore obliged to remove higher up the river.

The next day the Turks erected a battery against the town, which they cannonaded with great fury, and threw several bombs into it, but without any effect. There are 15 battalions in garrison, and we have such a free communication with Belgrade, that we can throw succours into it whenever they are wanted.

On the 16th, towards the evening, while we were at the camp near Ponza, an account was brought, that 20,000 Turks were come to take post near Panczoa; whereupon Count Ballis resolved to decamp, and march in quest of them. Accordingly, that same night the army passed the marines over bridges, and arrived the 17th, at day-break, near the Temes. Two bridges being laid with all speed over that river, the army happily passed it; whereupon
4000 Spaniards, or Turkish horse, that were on the other side, retired at the approach of our husars, who for a while pursued them. It was the afternoon before the whole army had passed, and the infantry being much fatigued, it was not thought proper to proceed any farther."

On the 19th of July was a smart skirmish at Panczoa, in which, though the accounts greatly vary, it appears the Germans had the advantage.

M. Wallis, before he passed the Danube, reinforced Belgrade with 12 regiments: which place the Turks continued to cannonade from several batteries, and the army engaged in that siege is said to consist of 100,000 men.

Vienna, Aug. 12. N.S. The last letters from Pr. Lobkowitz advise, that this General having marched out of Transylvania into the banat of Temesvær, the Turks took advantage of his absence, and made an attack, with 8000 men and five pieces of cannon, upon the castle of Pericken, which is the only post that the Imperialists yet hold in Walachia. They made several unsuccessful assaults.

The garrison being aided by the militia of the country, behaved with so much bravery, that the Turks were obliged to retire with the loss of their artillery and baggage, and many of their people. The preservation of this post was owing to the good conduct of Count Piccolomini and the Baron de Hagenbach, who command there.

Belgrade, Aug. 5. This is the 11th day of the siege of this place; and tho' the enemy have never ceased firing upon it from their batteries of cannon and mortars, they have done no other mischief than damaged some streets. The Governor does every thing to put himself in a condition of making a long and vigorous defence. He has ordered three pairs of gallows to be erected in different parts of the city, and at the same time caused it to be published, That whoever shall have the cowardice to dare to talk of a capitulation, or of surrendering the place, shall be hanged without another form of process. Count Wallis has quitted the camp of Jaboka, and is marched with the army up the Temes, in order to encamp near Temesvær. The young Count Khevenhüller this day went to give orders upon the works of the place, had his head shot off.

Belgrade, Aug. 12. About 15,000 Turks presenting themselves, the 8th in the evening, before the fort of Satîbatich, work'd all night erecting batteries, and began the next day very fiercely to batter the place; but the fire of the garrison upon the enemy was so sharp, that yesterday they thought it fit to raise this fort of siege, and rejoin their grand army. Tho' the Grand Vizier continues the siege of this place, he had not opened the trenches yet. Some few report, that they are at work upon mines, in order to blow up some of our works, and at the same time to give a general assault in two or three several places. It is said, that one side the want of provisions and forage, and on the other, the strong insinuates of the Janissaries to be led on to an assault, has fixed the Grand Vizier in this resolution.---The day before yesterday advice was received, that three of our gallies, which were at anchor in the mouth of the Temes, having been suddenly attack'd by more than sixty Turkishicks, the Knight of Malta who commanded the gallies, having defended himself several hours with great bravery, and despairing to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, caused them to be blown up, having first put their crews on board some sloops, which are since safely arrived here.---Every thing is happily disposed to give the Turks a warm reception; for our garrison consists of 12,000 men; we have 13,000 quintals of gun-powder, 500 brass cannon, 150 mortars, 8000 bombs, with bullets in proportion to the powder; and we think we have nothing at all to fear as long as we can keep the communication free with Semlin.

General Sucooe, who commands in Belgrade, being indifposed, Count Wallis requested his Imperial Majesty to send the Baron de Schmettau to command in his room; to which the Emperor readily agreeing, the Baron set out.
Augst 17. from Vienna for Belgrade.

Count Bonneval has been at Constan-
tinople to give the Grand Seignior an
account of the affairs in Hungary, and
is returned to the Ottoman army. The
great improvement in the Turks man-
er of fighting is chiefly attributed to
that rendezade, and the great number of
French engineers, &c. who serve un-
der the Grand Vizier.

Madrid, Aug. 5. O. S. Great enco-
miums are given to the conduct of Ad-
miral Pizarro, who brought the Assogue
ships safe into the port of St Andero on
the coast of Galicia. Since advice came
either of the King of G. Britain’s order
to his subjects to use reprisals against the
Spaniards, several councils have been
held at the castle of St Ildefonso, where,
after a careful examination of the said
order, it appeared, that the terms of it
are very strong, and that the permissions
granted to English ships are very exten-
sive; and thereupon it was resolved to
dispatch the like letters of reprisal to the
subjects of this monarchy. The camp
formed by the King’s forces near Ferrol
is lately augmented to 20,000 men.
They write from the Groyne, that they
are hard at work in placing the chain
which is designed to bar the entrance of that port to foreign vessels. Admiral
Haddock having about three weeks a-
go sent his compliments to the Conde
de Clavijo Commodore of the Spanis-
sh squadron, by the Captain of a French
ship, whom he charged to tell the Com-
modore, that he was impatient to see
him; the Commodore, being resolved
to convince the Admiral that he under-
stood good-manners as well as he, has
likewise sent his compliments to the Ad-
miral by the Captain of an English Ship
that lately came to Cadiz to desire pro-
visions. He bid him tell the Admiral
at the same time, that he was sorry he
could not yet satisfy his impatience;
that he hoped he should soon have an
opportunity for it; and that in the
mean while the English ships had best
not come too near to the bay of Cadiz.

Gibraltar, July 26. Admiral Had-
dock having sent a ship to Cadiz some
days ago to desire leave to purchase
some provisions there, the Commandant
of the fort of Matagorda returned an-
swer, That he thought it a very odd
request; that it was not usual to furnish
ships with provisions that came on the
footing of enemies; and that if any such
vessel came within the bay, he would
sink it. 'Tis certain the Spaniards are
drawing down a great many troops to-
wards this place; and the inhabitants
are still securing their effects.

Paris, Aug. 17. O. S. On the 12th
the Marquis de la Mina, the Ambassa-
dor of Spain, made his publick entry at
Versailles, and had audience of the King
and Queen; wherein he demanded the
Princes in marriage for the Infante.
After which he went to the Dauphin’s
apartment, and to the Princes’s, to
whom he made his compliment in the
Spanish tongue, and assured her at the
same time, that he had received letters
of the 6th O. S. from Madrid, which
say, that the Infanta Donna Maria The-
reia was much better. On the 13th the
King received the compliments of the
whole court on the demand made by the
Marquis. On the 14th was perform’d
the ceremony of betrothing: and on the
15th, the Duke of Orleans married her
by proxy for Don Philip the Infante of
Spain. The 20th or 21st instant she is
to set out for Spain.

Extract of a letter from the Hague.

Some of the members of the gov-
ernment have openly declared, that
the present system of the States Gen-
eral, and the situation which the re-
publick is actually in, did not permit them
to take part in the approaching war be-
tween G. Britain and Spain, alluding,
that the subject thereof did not parti-
cularly interest them, nor, to judge of
it from its present appearances, would
it greatly influence the affairs of Eu-
rope in general: wherefore, so long as
the court of Spain, in case of a war with
G. Britain, should prosecute it alone,
and without the assistance of any of her
allies, the States General could be no
other than spectators and mediators, in
an affair which only related to the peo-
ple of England, and for the support
of whose right the forces of the King of G.
Britain
Britain is sufficiently able to make head against those of his Catholick Majesty, and to do them justice for the wrongs they pretend to have suffered; but it, contrary to all expectation, it should happen that any enterprise should be attempted, which might in any degree tend to subvert the present establishment in G. Britain, the States General would then not only furnish the King of G. Britain with the forces reciprocally stipulated by treaties subsisting between the two nations, but would, moreover, grant him all the succours that his Britannick Majesty might expect from good and faithful allies. Their High Mightinesses are well satisfied that the British nation has nothing to apprehend from Spain singly, drawing this conclusion from the present tame behaviour of the Spaniards; who, tho' they some time ago boastingly gave out, that the number of their men of war ready to put to sea was greatly superior to that of the British squadron, yet have for more than a month past suffered this latter, without shewing any resentment, to cruise before their ports, and to visit every ship that goes in or comes out from thence. People naturally, upon this occasion, ask the following question: How could the crown of Spain be so vain as to pretend to visit all ships in an open sea, which is not in a condition of hindering ships from being visited even upon its own coast?"

**Register of Books.**

Letter from an Italian merchant to his correspondent abroad. pr. 6 d.

An enquiry into the nature and virtues of the medicinal waters at Bristol. By P. Keir, M. D. 2 s. 6 d.

A due examination of Mrs Stephen’s medicine. 6 d.

Men and measurers character'd. 6 d.

The young mathematician’s companion. By G. Leadbetter. 2 s. 6 d.

An address to the electors of Great Britain. 1 s.

Memoirs of the Duke de Riperda. 4 s. 6 d.

A complete guide to persons concerned in trade in London. 1 s. 6 d.

The history of King Attius. 2 s.

Logarithmologia. By Benj. Martin. 5 s.

Observations in Surgery. From the French of Henry Francis Le Drais. 3 s. 6 d.

The new art of war. 2 s. 6 d.

The life of David Neyes, Esq. 1 s.

The Bishop of London’s pastoral letter on laboriousness and embasement. [face printed on smaller letter for Mr Whitefield’s answer to the latter. 6 d.

An earnest appeal to the public caufm of Mr Whitefield’s answer to the pastoral letter of the Lord Bishop. 6 d.

Remarks on the pastoral letter. 6 d.

Seagrave’s. 6 d.

Observations on Mr Seagrave’s duties and writings. 6 d.

The second book of the acts of H translated into English prose. 1 s.


An excurary view of the profan men and things. 1 s.

The accomplished Mathematic. Hist Mr. Josephi patriarche. A. R. Gray. S. T. P. in Latin and a brev. 3 s. 6 d.

Sacred hymns and psalms. 1 s.

John and Charles Wobly. 2 s. 6 d.

The analogy of reason. 6 d.

Discourse on divine and moral obligations. 6 d.

New precedents in correspondence. By the most eminent hands. 1 s. 7 d.

Twenty six sermons on various subjects. By Adam Batty. A. M. 2 coll. 10 s. 6 d.

Seventeen sermons on several occasions. By Mr Whitefield. 3 s.

Twenty six practical sermons on various subjects. By the late Rev. Mr Westhall. 5 s.

The world in course. By Dr Watte. 4 d.

A caution against religious disputes. By Dr Stabbing. 3 d.

The Decreta of Ovid’s Metamorphoses; with Mr Clark’s English translation, and mythological and geographical notes. 1 s. 4 d.

The first book of Virgil’s Ennius, translated into English prose. 6 d.
L. Porcius, Duke of Portland.
M. Gigantus Macerinus, Lord Gower.
Cn. Domitianus Caesarius, Duke of Newcastle.
L. Plutus, Earl of Chesterfield.
C. Helius, Lord Harvey.
L. Emilius Paullus, Duke of Argyle.
L. Iunius Brutus, Samuel Sandys, Esq.
M. Cato, William Pulteney, Esq.
M. Valerius Corvus, Sir John Barnard, Servius Priscus, Henry Pelham, Esq.
M. Furius Camillus, Sir William Wyndham.
L. Quinius Capitolinus, John Talbot, Esq.
L. Valerius Flaccus, Sir William Yonge.
L. Quinius Cincinnatus, William Shippen, Esq.
Mecenas, George Lyttleton, Esq.

LACESSET

R, 1739.

Price Sixpence each.

THE SCOTS MAGAZINE.

Servilius Priscus, 3rd. 72—16.

Lus, and T. Qvinius Capitolinus, upon
.on the question, Whether the peti-
tioners against the convention should
be heard by counsel? And the Speech-
es of L. Valerius Flaccus, L. Qvin-
tius Cincinnatus, and Mecenas, upon
.a question relating to the redu-
tion of the army.

Weekly Essays. Mal-practices of
some sea-officers; Observations oc-
casioned by the Spanish Manifesto;
A dialogue between Charon, Mer-
cury, and the ghosts of a Lawyer,
Courtier, Prude, Methodist, and
Gentleman.

Domestick History. Deaths, Pref-
erments, &c.

Foreign History. Account of the
Russian armies under the Marshals
Munich and Lacy; Account of the
siege of Belgrade, of the peace be-
tween the Emperor and the Porte,
and the Emperor's declaration upon
the publication thereof, &c.

Register of Books.

EDINBURGH: Printed by W. SANDS, A. BRYMER, A. MURRAY and
J. COCHRAN. Sold by the Booksellers in Town and Country, and at the
Printing-house in Burnet's Clove. MDCXXXIX.

Of whom may be had the Magazines for the preceding months.
CONTENTS.

Proceedings of the Political Club.

Speech of S. Priscus against allowing the merchants to be heard by council
Because not a question concerning private right 389
Speech of F. Camillus for allowing council
Because equally necessary in a question of a private as of a publick nature 391
The merchants property concerned in the present question 395
Speech of Q. Cincinnatus against allowing council 397
Because necessary only when points of law occur 398
Speech of L. Flaccus on the number of land forces for this year 399
Reasons for the same number as last year 400
Speech of Q. Cincinnatus for reducing the army 402
Reasons for it 403
Speech of Marcus 405
Defence of the liberty of the press 406
The reason for keeping up so great a land army anposed 407
Mal-practices of sea-officers 408
An evening at Vaux-hall concluded 409
Dialogue between Charon, Mercury and a Lawyer's ghost 411
—— a Courtier's ghost 411
—— a Prude's ghost 412

—— a Methodist's ghost P. 435
—— a Gentleman's ghost 415
A Manifesto commonly the forerunner of a declaration of war
Causis of the present bad state of our affairs 416
The convention not understood by the contrasting parties ib.
The manifesto ill translated 418

POETICAL ESSAYS:

Verres under a print of his Majesty 418
To Mrs Elizabeth Townsends 419
The discontented ape ib.
The third chapter of Job 420
On a calm sea. To Sylvia 421

DOMESTICK HISTORY.

Births, Deaths, and Preferments 423
Mortality Bill 424

FOREIGN HISTORY.

Kowli Kan's progress against the G. Mogul 424
Account of the Russian armies under the Marshals Munich and Lary ib.
Account of the Imperial army, and of the siege of Belgrade 426
Articles of the peace between the Emperor and the Porte 428
The Emperor's declaration on publication of the peace 429
Register of Books 432

The following, with a good variety of other Books in PHYSICK, are sold by W. MONRO and W. DRUMMOND, in the Parliament-chief, Edinburgh.

F

Reind opera omnia, fol. &c 4°
Winstrow's Anatomy, 4°
Jackson's Pathologica, 4°
Piso de cruentis morbis, 2 vols. 4°
Agricola de morbis humanis, 4°
Barrow's translation of ditto, 2 vols. 8°
Allen's Synopses, Lat. and Eng. editions
Armstrong's Synopses
Blackmore on the Gout, &c on Consumptions
Blancard's Lexicon
Bolton, Le Clerc, Dionis, Le Dran, and Wifeman's treatises of Surgery
Cheyne's Eng. Malady
Cheyne on Health and Long Life
Cope's Hippocrates
Physical Essays
Quincy's Lexicon, and Dispensatory
Rall Synopsis
Anatomie de Palsies, 2 vols.
Medical Essays, 4 vols.
Morris's Osteology
All Dr Beerhaue's pieces in the original Latin, and translations of such of them as are done into English
Verbeyen Anatomia, 2 vols.
Garengest Chirurgie &c. &c. &c.

Gentlemen in town may have the Magazines sent to their lodgings, or those in the country, to their carriers quarters, as soon as they are published.
Servilius Priscus's speech, in the debate begun in our last, was to this effect:

Mr. President, &c.

Altho' I am as fond as any Gentleman in this house can be, of receiving all possible information relating to the convention we have lately concluded with Spain, tho' I shall be glad to have that information laid before us in the most full and methodical manner; yet I cannot altogether approve of what the Hon. Gent, has been pleased to propose. And, indeed, it is because I am for having all proper information relating to that affair, and for having that information laid before us in the most natural, clear, and succinct manner, that I shall be against agreeing to some part of his proposition. I shall willingly concur with him, in ordering the petition now presented to us, to be referred to the committee who are to confider of the convention: I shall likewise concur with him, in allowing the petitioners to be heard by themselves before that committee; but, I cannot concur with him, in giving them leave to be heard by themselves or counsel; because, in the case now before us, I do not think it proper to admit either those who have already petitioned, or any of those who may hereafter petition, to be heard by counsel; and, my reasons for being of this opinion, I must beg leave to lay before you.

I have a great respect, Sir, for the learned Gentlemen of the law, and shall always be glad to hear them hold forth at our bar upon every proper occasion; but I hope they will excuse me if I say, that I do not think their manner of filating a cafe, or relating facts, the most natural: I hope they will pardon me, even if I should say, that it may sometimes serve to confound, instead of instructing their hearers. Nay, as it is the custom among them to be ready to take a fee upon either side of any question, that may occur either in this house or any other court of judicature, they must make it their business to learn how to dress up a bad cause in such fine trappings, as to make it pass for a good one. Therefore, in cases where no matter of private right or property is to be disputed, I shall always be against exposing myself, or any other Gentleman in this house, to the danger of being confounded or imposed on by flowers of oratory, or by an artful manner of filating the cafe, either on the one side or the other; because, I can say, for my own part at least, that I am afraid, left I should, by such means, be persuaded to think that a good cause which is really a bad one, or that a bad cause which is really a good one; and my fears in this respect, always increase in proportion to the importance of the cafe in which I am to give my judgment.

After having thus shewn, Sir, the danger of admitting counsel to be heard before us, in any cafe where it is not absolutely necessary, I must observe, that with regard to facts, we can, in no cafe, suppose that counsel can give us any information, but such as they are instructed to give by those that employ them. In the present cafe, it is the petitioners that must instruct them what facts they are to insist on, what witnesses they are to call for proving those facts, and what may be the proper questions to be put to each witness; and, if we suppose the petitioners capable of in-
frustrating their counsel in all these particulars, we must suppose them capable, by themselves, of infringing this house, and of giving us all the information, as to facts, that we could expect from their counsel. I say, we must not only suppose them capable of doing it, but I am convinced they will do it, in a more natural and succinct manner, than the learned barristers usually do. Facts, Sir, are plain things; they may be disputed, but they cannot be cleared up by eloquence: therefore, in all cases where nothing but facts are to be enquired into, the more numerous the assembly is that is to judge of them, the more danger there is in allowing them to be stated or summed up by those whose profession it is to be eloquent; and, for this reason, I think we ought, in the present case, to have all those facts, that may be necessary to be laid before us, stated in the most plain and natural darts, which we may expect from the petitioners themselves, but cannot from their counsel.

Then, Sir, as to points of right or law, I do not think it possible that any such can arise with regard to the convention. As to those the Hon. Gent. has been pleased to mention, I do not think that any one of them will be disputed in this house. Surely, no Gentleman in this house will say, that the Spaniards have a right to search any British ship upon the high seas: Nor do I believe that any Gentleman in this house will deny the importance of our plantation trade, or that it will be exposed to great dangers and inconveniences, in case the Spaniards should be allowed to search our ships sailing on the high seas, upon any pretext, or under any restrictions. And, as to the point, Whether we can be supposed to have admitted, in any degree, of such a search, by referring all matters in dispute between the two nations to be regulated by Pleni potentiaries? It is a point, in which, I think, there can be no question: I am sure no Gentleman in this house will say, that from such a reference any such thing can be supposed. If a man should claim rool. of me, may not I submit to hear his reasons, and examine his vouchers, tho' I know I owe him nothing? Does this submission have any acknowledgment in me, that such a sum, or any other sum, is really due? So far, on the other side, that I should think myself bound in charity to confess, in the subject, to the end that I might have an opportunity to convince him of the unreasonable breach of his demand, or falseness of his vouchers, and thereby prevent his being induced to ruin himself by commencing an unjust law-suit against me. This, I say, I should think myself bound in charity to do, especially if that neighbour and I were in such circumstances as made it our mutual interest to cultivate a mutual friendship; and that this is the case between Spain and us, I believe no Gentleman will deny. This, Sir, is all we have done, with regard to the present disputes between Spain and us: we have agreed, to hear what they have to say, for no other and but to convince them that there is not the least foundation for the claims they have lately set up; and this we have done out of charity to them, as well as out of regard to our own interest, in order to prevent an open rupture between two nations, whose mutual interest it is to live in mutual friendship. By the reference we have agreed to, we cannot be supposed to have given up, or in the least invalidated, any of our rights or privileges. We cannot be supposed to have admitted, in any degree, of any of their claims; at least no such supposition can be made by any, but those who have a mind to suppose so, only for the sake of finding faults with the convention.

This nation, thank God! Sir, is far from being in any unfortunate situation. I hope it never will be reduced to the fatal necessity of giving up any of its valuable rights or privileges, for the sake of peace. I hope no man has any influence in his Majesty's councils, that for any selfish consideration would advise him to do so. I am sure his Majesty would reject such advice with the utmost disdain; and therefore, no man, if he were wicked enough, will be bold enough, to give it. But there are some persons in the nation, tho' none in this house, who are enemies to his Majesty and his family; and as such
In such cases, Sir, in all cases where the private right or property of any man in the kingdom is to be affected, by any thing that is to pass in this house, I know it is usual to admit the petitioners to be heard by their counsel; but I know no instance where counsel have been admitted, in any case, where national rights or privileges only could be said to be affected. I am far from thinking that any national right or privilege can be in the least affected by our late convention with Spain; but, if this were the case, I think it would be a bad precedent to admit counsel to be heard upon such an occasion. I know the subject has a right to petition, even upon such occasions: I shall always be, not only for preserving that right, but for encouraging the practice. But, in all cases, we have a right to hear them or not, as we see cause; and, in matters of a public concern, we seldom hear them even by themselves. In money bills we never do: in such bills it is almost a general rule, not so much as to receive petitions against such bills; and it would be extremely inconvenient to introduce the practice of hearing counsel, in cases of a publick nature. If such a practice should become frequent, our sessions of parliament would become not only annual, but continual. We would be obliged to sit from one year's end to the other; in which case, it would become necessary to revive the ancient custom of paying wages to our parliament men; and, as money is now of much less value than it was when that custom prevailed, it would likewise become necessary to increase those wages, which would be a new and heavy charge upon all the counties, cities, and boroughs in the kingdom.

Whoever therefore may be the parties, plaintiff and defendant, when we come to take this convention into our consideration, it must, I think, Sir, appear to be a precedent of a very dangerous nature, to admit the petitioners against it, to be heard by their counsel. For my own part, I am far from thinking...
Proceedings of the Political Club.

...ing, that the whole body of our merchants, planters, and seamen, will appear as plaintiffs against it. What means may have been used for spirituing up petitions against it, I shall not pretend to determine; but, I believe, if any means had been made use of for spirituing up petitions in its favour, we should have had as many petitions of the one side as of the other; for, I cannot but think, that the greatest part of our merchants, planters, and seamen, will always be for preferring peace, if possible. And as to those who were concerned in negotiating this treaty, I believe they think it stands in no need of counsel for its justification: I believe, they think it will speak sufficiently for itself; therefore, I believe, they will not desire to have it recommended by the arts of eloquence.

And, as I think the admitting of council to be heard against it, is not only unnecessary, but in several respects dangerous; as I think it would be taking up a great deal of our time to very little purpose: I shall therefore conclude, with moving for an amendment to the Hon. Gent.'s motion; which is, That the word either, and the words or counsel, may be left out of the question.

Sir William Windham's speech of M. Furris Camillus was in substance thus:

Mr President,

I am glad to find that the Hon. Gent. who spoke last is for shewing some sort of regard to the petition now before us. I confess, I had some apprehensions that this petition would have been treated as the petition of the city of London against the late famous excise scheme was treated, that you would only have ordered it to lie upon the table; because, I am convinced the petitioners, if they are allowed to be heard, either by themselves or counsel, will be able to make out all they have alleged, and more than they have alleged in their petition. For this reason, I say, I was afraid that some Gentlemen would have been as much against any person's being heard against this scheme of a peace, as they were against any person's being heard against their scheme of an excise; and, as this would have been shewing such a disregard to the merchants and trade of our country, as would, in my opinion, have been inconsistent with the honour of this house; therefore, for the sake of the honour and character of this parliament, I am glad to find, we are like to shew a greater regard to the petition of our merchants against the scheme now before us, than was shewed by the last parliament to the petition of the city of London against the scheme I have mentioned: and, for the same reason, since the Hon. Gent. is willing to shew some regard to the petitioners upon this occasion, I hope he will, at last, agree, that we should shew them all possible regard by allowing them to be heard either by themselves or counsel.

But, for my own part, Sir, I must say, that I am quite indifferent whether you admit them to be heard by their counsel or no. I should be extremely easy, even if you should refuse to hear them either by themselves or counsel; for, with respect to this scheme of peace, this convention which is now before us, I do not think I stand in need of any information the petitioners can give, for assisting me to form a right opinion of it. As treaty-making could never be said to be the talent of this nation, we have made many treaties that have afterwards been found to be disadvantageous; but, upon the very face of this convention, and at first view, it appears to me to be not only the most disadvantageous, but the most dishonourable treaty we ever made. Nothing, I think, can in the least excuse our agreeing to it, but our being in the most unfortunate, the most contemptible situation an independent nation was ever in; and this, I am sure, the petitioners cannot shew. If we are in such a situation, which God forbid, it is those only who made this treaty that can shew it; but, if they should tell us that this was their reason for advising his Majesty to ratify such a treaty, it is far from being an argument for approving it. Unlucky circumstances, either at home or abroad, may be a reason for suspending our consent; but...
Proceedings of the Political Club.

It can never be a sufficient reason for our agreeing to a dishonourable treaty: and, if we are in such circumstances, it is the duty of this house to enquire into the conduct of those who have brought us into such circumstances, and to punish them for their wickedness or folly; for this nation can never be brought into such circumstances, but by the extreme wickedness or folly of those who have been intrusted with the administration of our publick affairs.

This, I say, Sir, is the opinion I have already form'd: it cannot be made worse by any thing the petitioners or their counsel can say against, and I do not believe it will be made better by any thing that can be said in favour of this convention. But as some Gentlemen may not yet look upon this new treaty, or rather preliminary to a treaty, in the same light I do, and as I think it necessary we should be as unanimous as possible in an affair of so great importance, I shall be for giving as much fair play as possible both to our merchants, and to those whom I must, upon this occasion, look on as their antagonists, I mean our negotiators, and others who were concerned in cooking up this whetting morrel, which they seem to have contrived on purpose for sharpening our appetites, in order to make us digest any treaty Spain, in all her haughtiness, shall please to vouchsafe. I say, Sir, I shall be for giving both these parties as much fair play as they can desire, and therefore, I shall be for allowing the petitioners to be heard by themselves or counsel. When we have given them this liberty, they may then chuse which they think best, and as they know their own abilities, and the several matters they have to lay before us, much better than we can pretend to, they are certainly better judges than this house can be, whether it will be necessary for them to have counsel; for unless they think it absolutely necessary for them to employ counsel, we may depend on't they'll save themselves the expense.

I am sorry to find, Sir, that those who are against this question, should think it necessary, upon this occasion, to throw out any thing that may look like a reflection upon the learned Gentlemen at the bar. As they are not to let themselves up as judges in any case they are employed in, it is their business, it is even their duty, where no palpable fraud appears, to state their client's case in the fairest light they can; and if, upon one side of the question the case be design'd edly put in a confused, or in a false or deceitful light, or if any sophistical arguments be made use of, it is the business of those who are employed on the other side to state the case in a clear light, to expose the fallacy or deceit, and to shew the sophistry of the arguments made use of by their antagonists. This renders it almost impossible for the judges, or indeed for any hearer, to be deceived or imposed on by the art of the speaker, upon either side of the questions because the speakers upon both are supposed to be, and generally are, pretty equally masters of their business: and therefore, the admitting of counsel to be heard in any case, either of a publick or private nature, can never be of the least dangerous consequence; but on the contrary, must always be of great use for giving the judges a clear and distinct notion of the case in which they are to give judgment, and of the arguments that may be made use of on both sides of the question.

Sir, if the argument the Hon. Gentleman has been pleased to make use of against hearing counsel upon this occasion, were of any weight, it would be an argument against hearing counsel upon any occasion whatsoever, or in any case, either of a publick or private nature; for we ought certainly to be as cautious of allowing ourselves to be imposed on or artfully misled in the latter as in the former. Even the judges of our courts of law and equity ought to be afraid of hearing counsel in any case that comes before them. In short, we ought to treat barristers at law as we do conjurers: We ought to make it penal for any man to study or profess that art, which we call the art of elocution. In this case what would be the consequence? Every man must necessarily plead his own
own cause: and if none but parties were to be heard, they would be often unequally matched; for as one man may be naturally more eloquent than another, and more accustomed to speak before a publick assembly, not only this house, but every court in the kingdom, would be more liable to be imposed on, by hearing parties by themselves only, than by hearing them by their counsellors: because there might be a great deal of natural eloquence, and perhaps assurance, of one side, and nothing but confusion and bafalmedness on the other. Therefore, in every case of importance, whether of a publick or private nature, it seems to be absolutely necessary to adjoin parties to be heard, rather by their counsellors than by themselves.

As the Gentlemen at the bar, Sir, are never, in any case which they plead, to give their judgment or their vote, they may therefore lawfully, honestly, and honourably take a fee for pleading any cause they undertake; but where a man is to give his judgment or his vote, I am sure every Gentleman in this house will agree with me, that it is neither honourable, honest, nor lawful to take a fee, or any other reward, either for speaking or voting. He ought not so much as to accept of a favour, or a present, from either of the parties concerned in the case in which he is to give his vote or judgment. Nay, in such cases, if a man has any particular attachment to one side more than the other, he ought not to look upon himself as an impartial judge in that affair; for which reason, he ought to avoid giving his opinion. In all cases therefore, where there are two parties concerned, Gentlemen ought to examine themselves strictly before they venture to give their judgment or their vote upon either side of the question: for tho' the heart cannot perhaps be corrupted, the judgment may be misled, by favours received, or by personal attachments.

Having thus shewn, Sir, that the Gentlemen, called Baristers at law, are neither useless nor dangerous, and that they may be admitted to be heard in every case that comes before us, without our running the least risk of being imposed on by their eloquence; I must now take some notice of the other arguments made use of against admitting them to be heard, in the case now before us. As to facts, Sir, I shall allow them are plain things; more plain perhaps than some people desire. They are so plain, that I do not find they can be disguised by all the mercenary eloquence in the kingdom. But, as plain as they are, it requires some art, some practice, to state them in their proper light, especially where they are numerous and of various kinds. With respect to facts, we know that true eloquence consists in relating what are necessary, and no more than what are necessary; therefore, for saving time, we ought to admit the petitioners to be heard rather by their counsellors than by themselves: for as none of them are practised in the art of speaking, they may forget, or omit, to give us an account of some of the most material facts, and dwell upon others that are nothing to the purpose; so that a great deal of our time may be taken up in hearing a prolix account of facts that are of no great signification, and yet at the end we may have but a very hasty account of those facts which are the most material. Counsellors, in truth, must have instructions from those that employ them: they must, from their clients, have an account of the facts that may be proved, and of the witnesses that can prove them; but in the course of the examination some material facts may be hinted at, which the petitioners did not before know of. If counsel were present at the bar, they would immediately lay hold of such hints, and by putting proper questions might have them fully explained: whereas, otherwise, such hints may probably pass unheeded, and by that means some of the most material facts may remain in obscurity. From whence we may see, that it is not always from the client that the counsel are to learn what may be the proper questions to be put to each witness. The client may in general say, that such a witness is to be examined as to such a point; but it is the counsel that must think.
think of the proper questions to be put to him, in order to make him give an account of all he knows relating to that point; and those questions cannot so much as be thought of, but in the course of the examination; which no man can be supposed to capable of, as those who are daily conversing in such affairs.

Thus, Sir, it appears that, with regard to facts, if we adjudge the petitioners to be heard by themselves only, we may perhaps have a great deal more of our time taken up than if we were to admit them to be heard by their counsel; and that we cannot expect to full and distinct an account of all the materials facts, as we ought to have in an affair of so great importance. As we shall probably have a great many petitions besides this now before us; as every one of those petitions may consist of some particular point that affects them only, the examination of witnesses must last for several days, and must relate to points of a very different nature. In such a case, can we suppose that any Gentleman, who has never made it his business, will be able to sum up the evidence? Let every Gentleman at this house apply the case to himself: let him lay his hand upon his heart and declare, whether he thinks he would be able to sum up the evidence, notwithstanding his being acquainted with, and perhaps accustomed to speak in this assembly. What then can we expect from any Gentleman that never was of this house, nor ever before perhaps spoke before any public assembly?

Now, Sir, as to matters of right or property, the Hon. Gent. endeavored first to shew, that no such matter could come to be disputed before us. Sir, I believe the rights of this nation, that have been lately disputed by Spain, will not be in the least controverted before us. No man will dare to stand up in this assembly, and deny any one of those rights, that Spain has been lately allowed to dispute with us. It was inconsistent with the honour of the nation to allow them to be disputed in any negotiation. That of a free navigation upon the open seas, is a right so plain and ev-
most justly pretend, to a free navigation in the open seas. Formerly we pretended to a dominion over the seas, but now we are reduced to pretend only to what every independent state has a right to by the law of nations; and even this right we have, by this treaty, referred to be regulated by Spanish Plenipotentiaries. Is not this the greatest indignity that ever an independent nation submitted to? Shall we allow Spain to prescribe rules to the freedom of our navigation in the open seas? If we should now say we cannot admit of any fish thing, Spain may justly reply, You have already admitted it by your preliminary articles; the only thing the Plenipotentiaries have to do, is, to settle and agree upon those rules which we are to prescribe.

If any man should claim of me, Sir, 1000 l. which I knew he had not the least pretense for, I should, perhaps, out of charity, vouchsafe to hear what he could say in justification of his claim; but I should think myself a madman, if, to avoid a law-suit, I should submit such a claim to arbitration. We have heard the reasons alleged by Spain, for every one of the unjust claims they have lately set up against us. We have had the patience to hear them over and over again, during the long course of our negotiations. We ought, I am sure we could, and I hope we have shewn them, that there is no weight in any of the reasons they have alleged, nor the least foundation for any one of the claims they have set up. This we might have done for once, without doing ourselves any notable injury; but we negotiated too long, and now at last, by this treaty, we have submitted all the unjust claims they have set up against us to arbitration. They must have been convinced long before now, that they had no reasonable pretense for refusing to do us justice; but, if they were not, can we hope that they will be more tractable, or less obstinate, in conferring, than we have already found them in negotiating? Can we expect that the arguments of Mr Keene the Plenipotentiary, will have greater weight than the same arguments had when urged by Mr Keene the Envoy? Sir, they will not now admit him to say, You have no right to search our ships upon the open seas, under any pretense whatever: They will tell him, You have already, by the preliminary convention, admitted our right; your only business now is, to propose to our Plenipotentiaries such regulations as may make our right of searching as little hurtful to your trade as possible. This is what I am convinced the Spaniards will say; and whether or no they may have a right, from the words of this treaty, to say so, is a question of rights which we ought to hear argued by counsel, before we pass judgment upon this convention. If there be the least pretense for their saying so, they have already got a great advantage over us, by his Majesty's ratification; but they will get a much greater, by the parliament's approbation of that treaty, which satisfied them with such a pretense.

I am glad to hear, Sir, from the Hon. Gent. that the nation is far from being in any unfortunate situation; because he ought to know, and I am convinced he never speaks contrary to what he thinks: but, whatever we may think, or say within doors, I'm afraid a very different opinion generally prevails without doors. The people do not judge from what they hear, but from what they see and feel. They have felt themselves insulted, plundered, and even cruelly used, by the Spaniards: They have, as yet, felt no reparation, nor do they know of any vengeance that has been taken. On the contrary, it is well known, both abroad and at home, that we have tamely submitted to repeated insults and depredations for many years. We have submitted so long, that the Spaniards seem to think they have acquired a right by prescription, to plunder our merchants, and abuse our seamen, as often as they have a mind. From our suffering such injuries and indignities to pass unpunished, not only our own people, but every foreigner that hears of it, may have some reason to conclude, that the nation is in
barristers or advocates are obliged to make this study their particular profession; and as our other barristers may happen to be employed in appeals from that court, most of them are obliged to make themselves thorough masters of the law of nature and nations, especially with regard to maritime affairs. Therefore, when an important question of any such nature is like to come before us, it must always be of great use to hear counsel before we give our opinion upon the question.

In any such case, Sir, our admitting counsel to be heard, can never be a dangerous precedent. If it were established as a general rule, it could be attended with no bad consequence; because such cases but rarely occur. But, if they were much more frequent, it would be no argument against our doing our duty, which is, in all cases, to endeavour to be thoroughly informed, before we give our opinion. If this should prolong our sittings of parliament, and if the length of our sittings should make it necessary to revive the ancient custom of paying wages to our parliament men, I cannot think that either would be a loss to the nation, or an innovation of our constitution. The last would certainly be an advantage, because it would make our little boroughs do as many of them have formerly done: it would make them petition for being freed from the burdens of sending burgesses to parliament; and if no little borough in the kingdom sent a member to this house, it would, in my opinion, be an advantage to the nation, and an improvement of our constitution; because the people would be much more equally represented.

But now, Sir, suppose it were allowed to be an established rule in our proceedings, never to admit counsel to be heard in any case, where no private right or property is concerned; yet this could be no argument against our admitting counsel to be heard with regard to this convention: for, if we are ever to admit counsel to be heard in any case, that may relate to matters of private right or property, they ought to be admitted to be heard in this; because it

In the case now before us, Sir, we ought to consider rather what the people without doors may think, or what foreign nations may think, than what any particular Gentleman of this house may think of our present situation. From our past conduct, I am afraid, foreign nations have already begun to form a very unfavourable opinion of our circumstances; but, if they should see a treaty approved of by parliament, containing any words that can be interpreted as an admission of a right, which an independent nation ever submitted to, they must form a most contemptible opinion of us, and certainly will treat us accordingly. Therefore, I think, it is absolutely necessary for us to hear counsel, upon what may be thought to be the import of that general reference, which seems to be the chief article of this treaty.

I do not question, Sir, but that there are several Gentlemen in this house, who are pretty well acquainted with the law of nations, and the nature of treaties: I have one in my eye, who must be allowed to be a great master in this way; for tho' he never made it his profession, he is well known to have had great practice; and, I make no doubt of our having his assistance, when this treaty comes to be explained. But no Gentleman, who never made this study his profession, can be supposed to be so well acquainted with it, as those that do. In one of our courts of justice, I mean our court of admiralty, we know that the
must be granted, that the private property of great numbers of his Majesty's subjects is deeply concerned. The claims of our merchants, the property they have been robbed of, amounts to above 400,000 l. The very petitioners now before us have a great share in this property; and shall we say, their private property is no way concerned, when that whole claim is to be given up for 95,000 l.? Can a man's private property be said to be no way concerned, when he finds himself in danger of being obliged, by authority of parliament, to accept of less than 5 s. in the pound, from a debtor who does not so much as pretend to be a bankrupt or insolvent?

The people of Georgia and Carolina, Sir, have a property in the lands they possess, founded upon what ought to be held one of the most sacred rights in the world, the King's grant, and their own industry; and can their property be said to be no way concerned, when limits are to be settled, by which some of them must, and, for what they or we know, all of them may be strait of their possessions? I say, Sir, some of them must, and all of them may; for if we happen to be infected with the same complaintful humour, when we conclude the definitive treaty, with which we seem to have been infected when we concluded the preliminary articles, I do not know but the whole, or a great part of South Carolina may be made a present of, for keeping the Spaniards in good humour. At least, some of the southern parts of Georgia must be given up; for it would have been ridiculous in us to refer the limits between the Spaniards and us in Florida to be settled by Plenipotentiaries, if at the same time we had been resolved not to part with an inch of what we then pretended to.

The S. S. company, Sir, have a right and property in the Affiento contract; a property that would have been of great value to them, as well as to the nation, if we had taken care to resent, in a proper manner, every invasion that was made upon it. Can it then be said, that the private property of the S. S. company is no way concerned in a treaty, when, by the fundamental article of that treaty, I mean the King of Spain's declaration, agreed upon with reciprocal accord, we have, in some measure, acknowledged his right to suspend the Affiento contract, unless that company subjects herself to pay, within a short term, a large sum of money, which she has no good right to demand, and which, tho' she had, she ought to allow in just payment of a much greater sum at his by him to them?

Sir, the private property of the S. S. company must be so deeply concerned in any question that can come before us relating to this convention, and has, in my opinion, been so greatly injured by receiving or agreeing to this declaration that I am surprised they were not the first to petition against the convention. I know of no means that have been made use of, either publick or private, for spiritting up petitions against it, except that of its being printed and published; I believe there was no occasion for making use of any other means. But, if the S. S. company do not petition against it, I shall be convinced that some understandments have been made use of for preventing such petitions; and from thence I fear we may be apt to suppose, that if it had been possible to procure any one petition in its favour, no proper means would have been wanting.

But, Sir, whatever means may have been made use of for spiritting up petitions, either for or against the convention, I think I have made it appear, that the private property of a great many of his Majesty's subjects must be concerned in any question that can come before us relating to it: I think it is evident, that the private property of those, whose petition we have now before us, must be deeply concerned, and therefore, if council is ever to be heard in any case, where private property is concerned, they ought to be heard when we come to take this convention into our consideration. For which reason I shall be for agreeing to the motion without any amendment.
The next speech was that of T. Quintain.
Capitalius, to the effect as follows.

Mr President, C. Talbot

Too I am far from thinking it dangerous to hear counsel upon any case whatever; yet I cannot think it is always necessary; and in parliamentary affairs, when it is not absolutely necessary, I must think it ought not to be allowed; because, by so doing, we take up a great deal of our time, and lay those who have business before us under a temptation, at least, of putting themselves to expense to no purpose. This, Sir, is far from being a new opinion, or a new way of thinking; for, however necessary we may now think it, to hear counsel in every case that comes before parliament, or before our courts of justice, it was not thought so of old: so far otherwise, that by the common law of England, neither the plaintiff nor defendant, in any of our courts of justice, could appear by his attorney, without the King's special licence signified to the court, by his writ or letters patent: every man of old was obliged both to prosecute and defend his suit in his own person; and, on this custom, the learned Coke observes, that it made law-suits less frequent, which I believe was no loss to the kingdom in general, whatever inconvenience it might be to particular persons.

However, Sir, whether the modern practice of admitting every man that pleases to appear by his attorney, and hearing counsel almost upon every case that occurs, be more for the benefit of the nation, I shall not now take upon me to determine. Only, so far, I think, I may say upon the present occasion, that it would be very unadvisable to introduce the custom of permitting every man to be heard by his counsel, that might think himself aggrieved by any regulation proposed in parliament for the public good. In some cases of an extraordinary nature, this perhaps has been allowed; but it cannot yet be said to be an established custom; and I hope it never will. In cases where the rights and properties of private men appear to be concerned, it may sometimes be necessa-

ry to hear counsel; but even with regard to such cases, the Hon. Gent. who have spoke upon the other side of the question, seem to be in a mistake. They seem to think, that in all such cases we ought to allow parties to be heard by themselves or counsel, which is far from being a rule, nor ought it ever to be admitted as a rule in our proceedings. Even in such cases, we ought to distinguish between those in which some nice point of law may probably arise, and those in which no such point of law can come to be canvased before us. In those cases, where not only the property of private men appears to be concerned, but where some nice point of law relating to that property may come to be disputed, it becomes necessary for us to have that point argued by counsel learned in the laws of the kingdom; and for that reason we ought, in such cases, to admit the parties, or petitioners, to be heard by themselves or counsel: but in cases where no such point can be expected to arise, notwithstanding their being such as may affect the property of some private men, it is no way necessary, nor ought we to take up our time with hearing counsel as to facts, or clear points of law, which every Gentleman in the house may comprehend as readily, and as fully, as the most learned lawyer that can be brought to plead before us.

This, I believe, Sir, will be allowed to be the case, with regard to the convention, which we are soon to have under our consideration, and against which the petitioners, now before us, have been pleased to bring their complaint. The right or property of some private men may perhaps be affected, by any resolution we can come to upon that occasion; but no one, I think, can expect, that any difficult point of law, relating to that right or property, can come to be disputed: at least, for my own part, I expect no such thing; and therefore I must think it quite unnecessary to take up our time with hearing counsel, either for or against the convention. But if I should find myself mistaken, if in the course of our examination some point of law should arise, which may be thought proper to have explained.
Proceedings of the Political Club.

plained by counsel, we may then order, that the petitioners shall be heard by themselves or counsel, as to that point only.

In this way, Sir, we may save ourselves a great deal of time and trouble, and may prevent the petitioners putting themselves to a needless expense: and if this method were established as a general rule in all our proceedings, even in cases where the right or property of private men may be affected, no man could say it would be any way inconsistent with our constitution; for in criminal cases of the highest nature, in cases of felony, the prisoner is not admitted to be heard by counsel, unless upon the trial some point of law arises, and then he is to be heard by counsel as to that point only; and even in cases of high treason our constitution was the same, till it was altered by a late statute: for where the law is plain, there is certainly no occasion for counsel in any case, either before parliament or any inferior court of judicature. And as to facts, they ought to be related and explained so as to make the truth appear, by the depositions of honest and sincere witnesses, and not by the glosses that may be put upon them by ingenious and artful pleaders.

Therefore, Sir, by the ancient form of our constitution, and by what I think, for the sake of dispatch, ought to be observed as a rule in our proceedings, we have no present occasion to order the petitioners to be heard by their counsel. Nay, they themselves seem to be conscious that it ought not to be done; for they have not petitioned to be heard by themselves or counsel, they have petitioned only in general to be heard. As I have said, if in the examination any difficult point of law should arise, we may then give them leave to be heard by counsel, as to that point: but I am convinced no such point will arise: I believe no difficult point of law can arise, relating to any private right or property, that can be affected by this convention; and if any question should arise relating to matters of public right, or the meaning of words in this or any other treaty, we have the good fortune to have several Gentlemen amongst us, that can speak as it is to fully, and at leisurely, as well counsel the petitioners can employ; and, as an addition to our good fortune in this respect, I believe, those Gentlemen will not be all of one side: I even hope they will be of different opinions, in order that we may hear the point as fully argued in that case, as we usually do in other cases of the same nature. Then, as to managing or summing up the evidence, we have the same good fortune. We have Gentlemen amongst us, that are capable of putting proper questions to the witnesses, during the examination, and summing up the evidence after the examination is finished, as any lawyer that ever appeared at our bar; and as few of these Gentlemen may probably be of the same opinion with the petitioners, and some of a contrary opinion, we may expect to have the examination well managed, and the evidence fully summed up on both sides.

I am surprised, Sir, any Gentleman can imagine, that left of our time will be taken up in hearing the petitioners both by themselves and their counsel, that in hearing them by themselves only; for this is really the case. If you order them to be heard by themselves or counsel, 'tis certain, I think, they will chuse to have counsel, not because it is necessary, but because, after the counsel have oped the subject-matter of their complaint, such of them as can say any thing upon the subject, will be called as witnesses, and may, in that case, say as much, and take up as much of your time, as if they were to be heard by themselves only. By this means, they will have the advantage of having that case twice laid before you, and in a twofold manner, first by their counsel, and then by themselves; and therefore, I think, it is certain, they will chuse to be heard by their counsel, in case you give them leave.

But there is another reason, Sir, why I think, they will chuse to be heard by their counsel, which, in my opinion, ought to be a strong reason with you not to hear them by counsel. 'Tis certain we have not obtained so much by this convention as some imagine people
I hope I have now shown, Sir, that it does not yet appear to us, that it will be any way necessary for us to hear counsell upon any thing relating to the convention; and that our hearing the petitioners by themselves and counsel, which, I have shown, will be the case, if we order them to be heard by themselves or counsel, must necessarily take up a great deal more of our time, than if we hear them by themselves only; therefore, I hope I shall be excused if I give my vote for the amendment proposed.

Soon after this, we had two long debates in our Club upon the convention, which I shall give you a full account of, after having first given you some of the speeches made Feb. 14. with regard to the number of land forces that ought to be kept up.

L. Valerius, Plautus

Mr President, Sir, I am young.

A.

S it is the business of this commission, not only to provide for the army, but to determine the number of forces that is to be kept up for the service of the ensuing year, I think it my duty to propose to you the number which I think necessary for that purpose.

It is at present, Sir, so evident, that we are in a precarious situation with regard to our affairs abroad, and that there is still to our misfortune, subsisting amongst us, a restless and disaffected faction at home, that I should not think it necessary to say anything in favour of the motion I am to make, if great pains had not of late been taken to persuade people, that there is no difference between a numerous standing army, kept up within the kingdom in time of peace, without consent of parliament, which can never be kept up in such a manner, but with a view to destroy our liberties; and a proper number of regular forces kept up, from year to year, by authority of parliament, for so other purpose but to preserve the tranquillity of the nation, protect us against our foreign or domestick enemies, and assist the
the civil magistrate in the due execution of the laws of the kingdom.

As to the present circumstances of our affairs abroad, Sir, particularly with regard to Spain, it may be properly said, we are as yet in a state of war. The number of land forces we have kept up, and the powerful squadrons we have from time to time fitted out, have, 'tis true, prevented that nation from coming to an open rupture with us; and have, at last, compelled them to agree to a reasonable convention, for settling all differences between the two nations in an amicable manner. But that convention can be said to be no more, than a preliminary towards a future definitive treaty of peace: The principal differences between the two nations remain, as yet, to be adjusted by a future treaty; and if we keep ourselves in a proper posture of defence, I do not doubt but that they will be adjusted to our satisfaction: but it was never yet heard, that either of the parties engaged in war, began to disband their armies, as soon as the preliminary articles for a treaty of peace were agreed on. In such a case, both parties rather increase than diminish their forces, in order to convince the other, that they are ready to continue or to recommence the war, in case the preliminaries should not, in due time, be carried into execution, by an equal and solid treaty of peace. Therefore, if we duly consider the present circumstances of our affairs abroad, we must resolve to keep up the same number of land forces we had last year.

Then, as to our affairs at home, Sir, can any one say that the number of the disaffected and seditious is less than it was last year? Can any one say that they are more quiet, or less apt to take the first opportunity for raising civil wars and commotions in their native country? Sir, the many virulent, false and sedicious libels, that are daily published against his Majesty and his government, are sufficient testimonies, that the disaffected are neither less numerous, nor more inclined to remain quiet, and submit to that government, which protects them in the free enjoyment of what they possess, or can earn by their industry than they were last year. It is amazing to think, what an infinite number of infamous libels are daily, weekly, monthly, and occasionally, printed and dispersed through the whole kingdom, highly reflecting upon his Majesty, and upon every man he is pleased to employ in conducting the publick affair of the nation. When we reflect upon it, we cannot but admire the levity of his Majesty's government, and the patience and good nature of almost every man that has any influence upon his council.

With regard to printing and publishing, no man can say, that the disaffected and seditious amongst us, have of late year kept themselves within the bounds of decency; but if it were not for the number of land forces we keep up, we could not expect that they would keep themselves within the bounds of law. They would openly, and in defiance of the civil magistrate, transgress, in the most flagrant manner, the known laws of the kingdom; because it would be impossible for any civil magistrate to put the laws in execution against them; the consequence of which would certainly be anarchy and confusion; and this would as certainly end in a dissolution of our constitution, and an establishment of arbitrary power. Of this we have a recent example but in the last century, which ought to be a warning to us, not to leave our government destitute of those means, which are necessary for supporting it against the disaffected and seditious, as well as against those who are fond of changes, and of new-modeling our constitution. Therefore, whilst there is such a faction amongst us, we ought, to keep up such a number of land forces, from year to year, by authority of parliament, as may be sufficient for keeping that faction, if not within the rules of decency, at least within the bounds of law; and as that faction cannot be said to be now less numerous, or less turbulent, than they were last year, we must resolve to keep up the same number of land forces for the year ensuing.

To this I must add, Sir, that as a record.
The benefits of our Army would increase the hopes of the disaffected and seditions, and consequently make them more apt to raise publick disturbances, or to join with any foreign power for that purpose; it would of course derogate from the authority, and diminish the weight of our negotiations at foreign courts, and would make such of them, as had any disputes with us, more nautical in their behaviour towards us, and more distant in their demands; for we could expect no regard or esteem from our foreign enemies, if our government were in a weak condition, as not to be able to keep its domestic in awe. They should insist upon high demands, and would make no compliances, because they would expect that our government would grant them anything, rather than come to an open rupture; and because they would suppose that, if contrary to their expectations, we should come to an open rupture, they would be able to prevent us from doing them any mischief, by giving our government enough to do to defend itself against the disaffected party at home, encouraged by the weakness of our government to rebel, and supported by the supplies, which our foreign enemies might send from time to time to their assistance.

From hence, Sir, we may see the disadvantage we would be under, by not keeping up a sufficient body of regular troops, with regard to our enemies, or such foreign states as we may have any disputes with. And with regard to allies, we could not expect to have any; or as all alliances are established upon the mutual advantage or security of the two contracting parties, and can be no longer preferred, than while that advantage or security continues mutual; what advantage or security could any state in Europe expect from this nation, if our government, so far from having any regular troops, to send to their assistance, had not a sufficient number to protect itself against domestic enemies? In such a case, 'tis certain, no foreign nation could expect any advantage or security from an alliance with this nation, and consequently would neither stipulate to give us any assistance, nor perform any of the stipulations they have already made for that purpose; which would be an additional encouragement for those that are now our enemies, or that may hereafter become our enemies, to insult us in every part of the world.

Thus, I think, Sir, it is plain, that we must necessarily keep up a sufficient number of land forces, at least for this ensuing year; and as our circumstances are now, in every respect, the same they were last year, no less number can be supposed to be sufficient for the ensuing year, than what was deemed necessary by last session of parliament, for the service of the year now near expired. The we have made a step, and I hope it will be a successful one, towards establishing a solid and lasting peace, yet it must be acknowledged, that our affairs abroad are as yet in a very uncertain situation; and as to our affairs at home, we find the libels published against the government as numerous and as virulent, and mobs and riots among the people as frequent, as they were about the beginning of last session of parliament, or, indeed, as ever they were in this or any other nation, where there was a certain form of government regularly established.

But, Sir, whatever number of land forces you may think sufficient for the ensuing year, as long as they are kept up by authority of parliament, and from year to year only, they must be widely different from a standing army, kept up without any such authority. For, as the keeping up of a standing army in time of peace, but for one day, without the consent of parliament, is of itself an invasion upon our constitution; such an army can be kept up for no other purpose but to destroy our constitution, in order to secure those who have, by so doing, made an invasion upon it, against that punishment which is due to them for transgressing the most fundamental laws of their country; whereas a sufficient number of regular troops, kept up by authority of parliament, and from year to year only, can be kept up for no other end, but to preserve our constitution; because the parliament will nev
ver consent to the keeping up of a greater number than is sufficient for that purpose; nor will they consent to the keeping up of any number longer, than it appears absolutely necessary for preserving the constitution, and defending us against our foreign and domestic enemies.

For these reasons, Sir, I must think the least number we can propose to keep up for the ensuing year, for guards and garrisons in Great Britain, and for Guernsey and Jersey, must be (including 1359 invalids, and 555 men, which the six independent companies consist of for the service of the Highlands) 17,704 men, commission and non-commission officers included.

Mr. President,

I must say, I am not a little surprised at the motion I have now heard made up to you. When the preliminary convention between this nation and Spain was laid before us, I perused it with great attention, in order to see what advantages we had got by it; and when I could find no one advantage we had got, with regard to the disputes between the two nations, I concluded that our ministers had got some private assurances from Spain, that all would be set right in a short time, by a definitive treaty of peace, and that they had in the mean time agreed to this preliminary treaty, and a suspension of arms, with a view to save ourselves some expense by a reduction of our land forces.

Spain has, 'tis true, Sir, for many years, been in a state of war against this nation, tho' we have never been committed any real hostility against them. But after the moving application that was made last year to parliament, after the strong resolutions both houses then came to, and after the expensive preparations we made last summer, I did imagine, that we were, at last, resolved to begin hostilities in our turn; and when I heard that a treaty was on foot, I concluded that Spain had been so wise as to apply to us for a suspension of hostilities, and,

for that purpose, had proposed to make such concessions, by preliminary articles, as might serve for the basis of a fair and honourable treaty of peace.

In treaty-making, Sir, it is usual to leave such articles as require a long discussion, to be settled afterwards by our ministers; but preliminaries to a treaty between two contending nations, were concluded, at least, they are tried formally and solemnly agreed on, even when one of the parties is afraid of suffering by an open rupture, or by the continuance of the war. When this is the case, the party in danger applies for having a suspension of arms upon such preliminaries, and generally offers some pledge, as a security for their future observance of such preliminaries as shall be agreed on. Most of us suppose that the treaty of Utrecht was pressed by preliminaries, and a suspension of arms between France and us on both sides. We were in no danger by a continued war of the states, we would agree with them, sill France put Denmark into our hands, as a pledge for her punctuality of the preliminaries. Thus I say, the method of treaty-making is always the agreement of the treaty of Utrecht; and, I believe, for all ages before that time but what has been our method since that time, I cannot take upon me to say. So far, however, I may say, that when we have made any of them, we have got nothing by it; but, if we have persever'd ourselves in a sort of peace, we have made no advantage of that peace; our taxes are more numerous, and our publick debt as great, as it was at the end of the war; and, I believe, our trade is not in such a flourishing condition as it was during the war. Therefore, Sir, I cannot say that it entirely depended upon our having observed the usual method of treaty-making; but for the sake of my country, I hoped we had; and as I could not suppose that we were in danger of being sufferers by an open rupture with Spain, I concluded, that by the preliminary convention I heard passed,
they had agreed to make some general concessions with regard to the disputes between us, and to put some pledges to our hands, as a demonstration of their sincerity, which, I am sure, we have great cause to doubt of, for almost these 20 years past.

But when I saw this convention, how readily was I disappointed! Instead of Sir making concessions to us, we have not, I think, most dangerous, I shall not say dishonourable, concessions to men, and have got nothing in return, not so much as a suspension of their real hostilities. Instead of their giving a pledge, we have given one to them, of agreeing that things shall remain as Florida and Carolina in the situation they are in at present, without intending the fortifications there, or taking any new posts. In short, Sir, by its convention, Spain has not agreed ten to suspend hostilities, yet we have greed not to provide for our defence from whence it would seem as if we were to Spain for a suspension of arm on any preliminaries they might think it expedient to prescribe: and yet I cannot think the nation had any reason to be afraid of an open rupture with Spain, whatever some persons amongst us may have been, from our agreeing to such preliminaries. I must either think that there are none persons amongst us that are most truly afraid of it, and are therefore willing to yield to anything, rather than come to an open rupture with that nation; or I must think, as I have said, that our ministers had some private interests of the court of Spain's being inclined to do us justice, in a short time, by a definitive treaty, and that they accepted of these preliminaries, with a view of saving something to the nation, by a reduction of our land forces for his ensuing year.

Now, Sir, as I always judge charitably, I suppose that this was the case; and therefore, when the Hon. Gent. who made this motion, stood up, I expected an elegant panegyric upon the wisdom of our late measures, and the great care that was taken to ensure every opportunity of saving recency to the nation; for no man is more capable than he: and I expected that he would have concluded with a motion for no more than 12,000 men for the ensuing year, as an earnest of the benefits we are to reap by this new convention, and as a proof of the assurances the Hon. Gent.'s friends have of the just and good inclinations his Catholic Majesty has towards this nation. This, I say, was what I expected; but how much was I surprised, when I heard him begin to argue for the same number of land forces that were voted last year, at a time when every man, at least every man that was not in the secret, imagin'd we were upon the brink of a serious war?

If we have no dependence upon this treaty, Sir, why was it made? For 'tis impossible, since the time it was ratified, we could have had cause to alter our sentiments. If we have a dependence upon it, why not make the proper advantage of it, by lessening the publick expense? Every one knows that our land forces have no influence upon the councils of Spain: it is our naval force they are afraid of: That we have already reduced: and therefore, if it be said that Spain must be frightened into a performance, as well as they were frightened into the treaty, we have begun at the wrong end. But I cannot have such an opinion of such a wise administration: From the reduction of our naval force I must conclude, that they are afflued of Spain's being inclined to do us justice by the definitive, tho' they have done us none by the preliminary treaty; and therefore, the circumstances of our affairs abroad can be no argument for our keeping up the same number of land forces we had last year; nor can it be said, our foreign affairs are in the same situation they were the beginning of last session of parliament: We had then no preliminary treaty, nor any assurances of a satisfactory definitive treaty: Now we have both, or otherwise the Hon. Gent.'s friends have transgressed the rule he himself has laid down; for they have already begun to disband their armies, and these armies too which are the only effectual armies against Spain, I mean our
our squadrons of men of war. Let us then follow their example: The Hon. Gent. will, I hope, admit we cannot follow a better: Let us begin to reduce our land forces.

But suppose, Sir, we were still in a precarious situation with regard to our affairs abroad, can it be thought, that our influence at foreign courts depends on the number of land forces we keep in continual pay? No, Sir; our influence depends upon the riches and numbers of our people, and not upon the number of our regular regiments, or the appearance they make at a review. We have many thousands that would make as good an appearance in the day of battle, if their country were in danger, though they are not at present matters of all the punctilions proper only for a review.

We have a navy which no nation in the world can equal, far less overcome, by which we may carry the dread of this nation into every country that is visited by the ocean: And we have money, notwithstanding the bad use we have made of a long peace, to hire as many foreign troops as we can have occasion for, and to support them as long as we can have any service for them. Therefore, while we are unanimous amongst ourselves, while our government possesses the hearts and affections of the people in general, which every virtuous and wise government must necessarily do, this nation must always have great influence upon the councils of every court in Europe, nay of every court in the world, where it is necessary for us to extend our influence.

From hence we may see, Sir, that in this nation we can never have occasion for keeping up a great number, or any number, of regular troops, in order to give weight to our negotiations; and, if any power in Europe should refuse to oblige us or perform the treaties they have made with us, we ought not to seek for redress by negotiation: We may make a demand, but it is beneath the dignity of a powerful people to sue for justice. Upon the first refusal, or affected delay, we ought to compel them; not by keeping an army at home, which would be ridiculous; but by finding an irresistible fleet, with an army on board, so ravage their coasts; or by getting some of their neighbours, with our assistance, to attack them: both which will always be in the power of every government of this country, that preserves their influence abroad, by preserving the affections of the people at home; and that, without keeping up number of regular troops always in pay for whilst the spirit of liberty, which is the nursing mother of courage, is preserved amongst our people, we shall never want a great number of brave men of all degrees, amongst us, that will be ready to venture their lives in the service of their country; and such men, in a few weeks, be sufficiently disciplined for action, though they are not, perhaps, observe all the parade to exactly as a parcel of idle marine fellows, who have had nothing proper to do for seven years together but dance through their exercises.

The keeping up of a standing army in this nation, can never therefore be necessary, either for preserving our influence amongst our neighbours, or for punishing such of them as shall offend us and, with respect to our own defence, as we have no frontier but the ocean, while we preserve a superiority at sea, a popular government in this country cannot be under the least necessity of keeping up any land forces, especially if they would take care to have our militia tolerably armed and disciplined; for we nation will be mad enough to invade us while we are united amongst ourselves, with a handful of troops, who must either all die by the sword, or be made prisoners of war, because we could, by means of our navy, prevent their being able to return. And, if any of our foreign neighbours should prepare to invade us with a great fleet and a numerous army, we would not only have time to prepare for their reception, but we might lock them up in their ports, by means of our navy, or we might give them enough to do at home, by stirring up some of their neighbours upon the continent to invade them.

Thus
Thus, it appears, Sir, that no government in this island can ever have occasion for keeping up a standing army in time of peace, unless it be to subdue the liberties of the people. This, every man in the kingdom, whose judgment is not biased by his hopes or his fears, must be sensible of; and therefore, every government that does keep up a standing army in time of peace, whether with or without the consent of parliament, must forfeit the affections of the people. Then, indeed, a standing army becomes necessary for the support of that government, not against foreigners, but against their native country; but no army, even the greatest they can keep up, will give them influence at foreign courts, or an authority among their own people. Abroad they will be despised, at home they may be dreaded, but they will be hated; and, in that case, a small handful of foreign troops, thrown into any corner of the island, might be of the most dangerous consequence to the government, because they would be joined by the whole people, and perhaps, by a great part of the army.

To pretend, Sir, that there is still a great disaffected party amongst us, is, I am sure, no compliment to his Majesty, or to his illustrious family; and therefore I wonder to hear any Gentleman, that has the honour to serve the crown, insinuit upon it. There are, 'tis true, many discontented, but few or none disaffected; and the discontents that are so general amongst us, proceed from our having so long kept up a numerous standing army, and from some other measures I could mention. Change but your measures, reduce your army, put a confidence in the people, and the discontents will soon evanish, your people will put a confidence in you, and will be a better safe-guard for the government, than any army that can be kept up. Your foreign enemies will then fear you, and your friends will respect you; because the former will be afraid of that vengeance which they know you are able to pour down upon them, and the latter will depend upon that assistance which they know you are capable to give. If any of our allies should want land forces for their assistance, we can hire as many foreign troops for their service as they may stand in need of: if we could not hire such troops, we could soon raise a body of troops within our own dominions, tho' we had not a regular standing regiment in the kingdom; and we could transport them by our fleet, wherever our allies might stand most in need of them. By our alliances, I know, we sometimes engage to send a body of troops to the assistance of our allies; but I do not remember, we ever engaged, that those troops should be all subjects of G. Britain, or that they should be such as we had kept in pay for several years preceding. Therefore we may perform our engagements to our allies, and may afford them a proper support and assistance, without keeping a standing army always in pay.

I shall grant, Sir, that the keeping up of a numerous standing army in time of peace, by authority of parliament, is not contrary to law; but I will aver, that it is contrary to, and inconsistent with our constitution. If some future venal parliament should pass a law for enabling the King to impose taxes, and raise money by proclamation, the money so raised would not be raised contrary to law, but surely it would be contrary to our constitution. To tell us, that the parliament will never consent to the keeping up of a greater number of land forces, than is sufficient for preserving the constitution; or that they will never consent to keep up any number, longer than it appears necessary for defending us against foreign or domestic enemies, is to tell us what no man can answer for. Suppose there should be a majority in each house of parliament, consisting of officers of the army, and other instruments of an administration; can we suppose that such a parliament would have any regard to the preservation of the constitution, if it should appear to be inconsistent with the preservation of the minister upon whom they depended? And suppose we had the misfortune to have, at that time, a prime minister, contemptuous abroad, and
and hated by every man at home, except those who were his immediate tools; can we suppose that such a parliament would not give their consent to keep up a standing army, not for preserving the constitution, but for preserving the minister, by destroying the constitution?

Sir, a numerous standing army, kept up by authority of parliament, is more dangerous to our liberties, than such an army kept up without any such authority; because in the latter case, the people would immediately see their liberties were fruited at, and would therefore take the alarm; but in the former, they would probably, by the interposition of parliament, be lulled asleep, till their fetters were riveted. This I have long endeavoured to prevent: this, while I live, I shall always endeavour to prevent; and therefore I am now for reducing the army to 12,000 men; for even that number, I think greater than is altogether consistent with the safety of our constitution. The very resolution this house comes to yearly, with respect to the number of our land forces, shews that it is. By the words of that resolution, we ought to have no marching regiments quartered up and down the country, to the oppression of our innholders, victuallers, and other publick houses, and to the debauching of the morals of all ranks of people. We ought to have none but guards and garrisons. Our guards ought never to consist of above 4000 men; and I should be glad to know where the garrisons are in Great Britain, or in Guernsey or Jersey, that require no less a number than 8000. Therefore we ought to alter the words of our resolution, or we ought to reduce our army even below 12,000. However, as other Gentlemen seem willing to allow 12,000 for the service of this ensuing year, I shall not be against that number.

George Lyttleton Esq.

Maccenas's speech, with which I shall conclude this debate, was to this effect:

Mr. President,

I am really surprized at the silence on one side of the house.—Sure this question is of importance enough to deserve a debate. How great an evil forever a standing army may be, this way of treating such a question is worse; it is the highest contempt of the constitution imaginable.—Sir, if we go on thus, will people be silent out of doors too? I wish they may; for if they talk of our proceedings, they will talk in a language that won't be much for the honour of the house.

Sir, as a good deal has been said about the abuse of the press, by one of the very few Gentlemen who have deigned to speak in this debate, I beg to be indulged in a few words upon that article.—A free examination of all measures of government, and of the characters of ministers, so far as their characters are inseparable from their measures, is the life of a free state. It is what no good minister will ever call an abuse of the press: it is what no good minister would dare to restrain. But attacking the private character of a minister, or malignt, his private defects or frailties, in which the publick is not concerned; this indeed is libellous, and this cannot be justified. Nor can abuse thrown out upon private persons, be excused in those who are the dirty tools of calumny, or in the more dirty patrons who employ and pay such tools: this, Sir, is infamous, and this should be restrained. But how restrained? By contempt, by disregard of it, by a fair and safe appeal to the candid sense of mankind; or, in very flagrant cases, by the due course of justice and law: not by straights of authority, not by star-chamber work, not by the extraordinary exercise of dictatorial powers, from which the guilty and the innocent may suffer alike. This should be carefully avoided in a country of freedom, not for the sake of these writers, but for the sake of the constitution, for the sake of liberty, and that the law of the land may be the rule and measure of all men's security. But for God's sake, Sir, how comes the abuse of the press to be a point insisted on in the debate of to-day? What has that to do with 18,000 men? Are our dragoons to be licensers of the press? I hope they are not.

As to the uncertain situation of
fairs abroad, (that, I think, was the term used by the Hon. Gent. over the way) I will say but one word.—Why have we called home our fleets? To deprive ourselves of the only means we have of hurting our enemies, by recalling our fleets upon the presumption of a peace, and then to deprive ourselves of the fruits of a peace, by keeping up our army to the number of last year, is, I confess, a policy which I do not comprehend. Is this convention, which we have concluded, something or nothing? Sir, I think it worse than nothing: but, as there are some Gentlemen who speak very highly of it, if it deserves their encomiums, I should be glad to know for what this number is ask’d? Why, to support the peace, it seems. —To support it, Sir; against whom? Not against ourselves I hope, not against the nation. If the peace be what it ought to be, we shall have no enemies, and it will support itself; if it be bad and dishonourable, to have it supported by an army, is a sad resource indeed: It is such a support as despair only could want: It is such a support as I won’t imagine possible.

But Gentlemen say, it will give weight to our measures abroad.—What weight has it given? I appeal to experience. Is not the period of our keeping up this number of men the most inglorious period of the English history? Has not every year been marked out by some new indignity, some new dishonour, some new proof of contempt? Have we been arm’d of late to any other purpose than to make our tameness appear more ridiculous? For my own part, Sir, I must say, that were I determin’d to subject myself to be robbed without resistance, I should think it was judging very ill, to travel with arms.

Sir, with regard to disorders at home, whether what has been said by the Hon. Gent. who spoke just now, nor by another Gentleman in my eye, who enlarged much upon them, has any weight in a question, whether 18,000 men or 12,000, should be the number kept up. For, surely, 12,000 men are force enough to quell these rioters. But from what all those Gentlemen have said, I draw a further conclusion, that for disorders of this kind, an army is not, cannot be the proper remedy, since the evil increases under it, as experience proves. —The proper remedy is, giving authority to the law; and this can only be done by right measures of government. An army may give strength to a bad administration, but a good administration only can give strength to laws; and to that we must have recourse, or these disorders will continue, tho’ we should augment our troops to 50,000 men. Confirm his Majesty in the affections of his subjects, and he will want no security in his own dominions. Sir, I have seen a proof of this. —I have lately had the satisfaction to see all fort of respect from all forts of people, paid to two of the royal family, when they had no guards. They could not have been safer, they could not have been respected so much, if they had been attended, in the journey they made, with all the household troops of the King of France. Sir, I saw the people clinging to the wheels of their coach, out of affection to them, to the King, and to his family. I say, I saw them clinging to the wheels of their coach. —Had there been guards about it, they must have kept further off.

As I can see no good use that can be made of these troops, and as I won’t suppose that any bad one is intended, I must conclude they are kept up for ostentation alone. But is it for his Majesty’s honour, to put the lustré of his crown, to put his dignity upon that, in which he may be rival’d by every petty Prince of any little state in Germany? For, I believe, there are few of them now, that can’t produce at a review, an army equal to ours, both in number and show. If the greatness of a state is to be measured by the number of its troops, the Elector of Hanover is as great as the King of England.—But a very different estimation ought to be made of our greatness: The strength of England is its wealth and its trade. Take care of them, you will be always formidable: Lose them, you are nothing, you are the last of mankind. Were there no other
other reasons for reducing the army, it
should be done upon the principle of
economy alone. It is a melancholy
thought to reflect how much we have
spent, and to how little purpose, for
these sixteen years past.

Sir, could it be said. We are, indeed,
loaded with debt, but for that charge we
have increased our reputation, our com-
merce flourishes, our navigation is safe,
our flag is respected, our name honour'd
abroad; could this be said, there is a
spirit in the people of England, would
make them cheerfully bear the heaviest
beneath. — On the other side, could an
opposite language be held; could it be
said. We have, indeed, no victories, no
glory to boast of, no seat, no dignity;
we have submitted to injuries, we have
borne affronts, we have been forced to
curb the spirit of the nation; but by act-
ing thus, we have restored our affairs,
we have paid our debts, we have taken
off our taxes, we have put it into the
power of the King and parliament, to act
hereafter with more vigour and weight;
would this be said, this might be sa-
tisfactory. — But to have fail'd in both
these points at the same time, by a con-
duct equally inglorious and expensive;
to have lost the advantages both of war
and peace; to have brought disgrace and
shame upon the present times, and na-
tional beggary upon ages to come, the
consequence of which may be national
slavery: such a management, if such a
management can be supposed, must call
down national vengeance upon the guil-
ty authors of it, whosever they be; and
the longer it has been suspended, the
more heavy it will fall.

Sir, I beg pardon for having troubled
you so long now upon a question on
which I have so often given you my
poor thoughts before: the multiplicity
of matter carried me further than I de-
signed, and I have a thousand thanks to
return for the indulgence shown me.

[This Journal to be continued.]

From Common Sense, Sept. 22.
Of some mal-practices of Sea-officers.

My military friends must forgive
me when I say, that a numerous
standing army, in time of peace, is con-
trary to our constitution, and incon-
venient with the liberties of a free people.
However burdensome to the publick is
expensive (I may say useless) navy has
sometimes been, the same dangers are
not to be apprehended from it, which
may be expected from a modelled ar-
my; yet, I hope, before the supplies
for the sea-service of next year are grant-
ed, we shall know to what good ends
and purposes the immense sums expended
this year have been employed; and I
with this consideration may produce an
enquiry into the conduct of the sea-of-
cers, who were sent to Guinea, the West
Indies, the coast of Ireland, &c. nor will
I hope, the ridiculous farce called a
martial held upon the offenders, prevent
a proper enquiry elsewhere.

There is another thing loudly com-
plain'd of in the navy officers, which is
a very great hardship upon merchants
trading to Africa, in particular, viz.
A gain of war or two being sent yearly
to the coast of Guinea for the provision
of that trade, the Captains (who are ge-
erally favourites,) not only load the
King's ships with all sorts of goods for
the coast (directly contrary to their
instructions) but sometimes likewise his
another vessel for that purpose, which is
victualled and manned out of the men
of war: As these navy traders are neither
at the expense of men's wages, or provi-
sions, they are enabled to undersell all
fair traders who come upon the coast;
or can any merchant sell an ounce of
goods, unless to lost, till those Gent
men have first disposed of their cargoes.
Neither the grievance to the merchant,
or the abuse to the publick end here;
for, as the ships of war are always or-
dered from the coast of Guinea to some
of the West India islands, the Captains
constantly carry from that coast a num-
ber of slaves, who have names given
them, by which they are enter'd upon
the ship's books, in the room of those
men as may have died upon the voyage
(which are generally not a few) by which
means the Captains get both wages and
provisions for these slaves, and are equally
enabled to undersell the fair traders.
To the author of the Scots Magazine.

An Evening at Vaux-Hall.

[Continued from p. 364.]

The Last Hour.


The chief part of the company having feasted themselves in the arbours, five hundred separate suppers are served in an infant: and as a proper judgment of this entertainment cannot be fully formed without a knowledge of the expense attending it, it may be necessary to inform you, that the prices, if provisions are printed, and fixed up in several parts of the gardens, to prevent the guests from being imposed upon by the waiters; each of whom has a number painted upon a small tin plate, and fastened to his breast, on the out-side of his coat, and a certain number of tables committed to his charge, being obliged to pay at the bar for everything as he has it.—The price of a bottle of French claret is 5 s. of one cold chicken 2 s. 6 d. quart of cyder 1 s. quart of small-bear 4 d. slice of bread 2 d. of cheese 4 d. and every thing else in proportion, which raises an elegant collation to a high rate.—But that is not much thought of here; the music plays, the Ladies look pleased, and the Gentlemen forget the expense, by having their minds buffed upon thoughts more delightful.

Glafs candlesticks with wax lights are mostly used; and, with the addition of the China dishes, plates, &c. in which every thing is served up, greatly increase the beauty and elegance of the cover'd tables. —I must confess when this custom of supping before the publick first came in fashion, I was far from approving it: but powerful use has familiarized it; and we are now no more surprized to behold a young Lady dress'd as a pigeon, or swallow a plate of ham before three thousand people, than to see her take a pinch of snuff at church. Tarts, custards, cheese-cakes, &c. are supply'd the younger company in great perfection; and, with the power of a few glasses of wine, the men grow more complaisant and not less amorous, the Ladies lose some of the constraint under which their eyes before laboured, and a cheerful freedom spreads itself through the place.

The night grows cold, and towards the close of the entertainment some of the best pieces of musick are performed with the utmost skill and care, in order to leave the stronger impression upon the audience of the elegance of the entertainment. The more considerate part of the company think of getting upon the water on their return home before the crowd at the water-side is too great. When the musick ceases for the evening, the chill of the night hurries the company to the water-side, through a lane of watermen, each waiting for his passengers, who generally call by name the men who brought them thither. The throng on the edge of the water is so great, that it is with much difficulty the Ladies can be handed to their seats; the boats, by pressing all to land at a time, (the place for stepping in being scarce big enough for ten to lie conveniently, though frequently more than four hundred attend) keep one another in a continual coggling motion, and often endanger over-letting; though seldom any other mischief is done besides the breaking some watermen's heads, and the bottoms of boats, poles, oars, &c.—In this hurry and confusion some mifs of their boats, and others rush into such as are at hand without enquiry. On these occasions words often arise, and sometimes not without just cause: for you must acknowledge it highly provoking, between 10 and 11 o'clock, at such a distance from home, to see the boat one provided to return in, cram'd full of other people, who force the watermen to leave you, without a prospect of crossing the water all night, unless by chance, for most exorbitant hire, you get some boat to give you a cast to the other side, after which, many have a mile to trudge before a coach can be got to ease the fatigue of the journey.

But to return to the stairs at Vaux-ball: Most of the boats being hired, it is very common to see a polite Gentle-
man begging room for a Lady, or for himself: And some young fellows with a glass extraordinary in their heads, take a pleasure in following any Lady they affect to admire, into whatever boat she enters, and, sometimes, maintain their ground sword in hand: tho' I must confess, how gallant soever such actions may appear to the fair-sex, they are too rude to be calmly approved of; especially by Gentlemen to whom these insults are offer'd, who are under a necessity either of disputing with a stranger at the hazard of every life in the boat, or of sitting to be pester'd with his impertinence to the end of their little voyage, and thereby do a real service where a tost over-board would be more critically just.

Most of the boats have a covering over them: and the silence of the night is interrupted by nothing but the sound of a few French horns, and the tedious groanings of the oars. The Ladies now earnestly desire to reach home, and the Gentlemen find enough to do in diverting them from giving too much attention to the cold that now very sensibly seizes their tender shoulders: A fong is of some use here; though it is frequently succeeded by a yawning chorus.

The landing is attended with no danger nor trouble, unless at Whitehall or Westminster, where there is sometimes a little hurry: at the others people go on shore with great deliberation, when the nights are dark, and gladly stretch their legs, which are commonly benumm'd and crippled by the shallowness of the boats used on this river.

You see, Sir, our journey to Vauxhall is a human enjoyment; having fatigue enough attending it to heighten the entertainment. I was going to recommend an imitation of it near Edinburgh: but, perhaps your evenings are too cold, and luxury within better bounds than with us; for tho' Vauxhall certainly must please most men, yet I know not whether the money laid out upon it be of proportionable use to the publick. I am,

Sir, Your very humble servant,

S. TOUPER.
they can be to you on the other side. St y.

Law. gb. Of the utmost service: for if Judge Minn and the rest of the bench should give judgment against me, I would bring a writ of error, and stay proceedings.

Mer. Ha! ha! ha! None of your quibbles will serve you now. What may be of real use to you, carry, freely: Take your conscience, your integrity in your opinion, your regard for justice only in your pleadings, your modesty of speech, your uncorrupted hand, and your benefit heart.

Law. gb. With humble submission, these are things which I never heard of within Westminster-Hall.

Ch. Nay, then turn him in naked as he is, and let him take his chance.
—No contumacy; no dispute: fit down contented, unless you'd have a knock over the sconce with my oar.

2d Ghoft. Your servant, Mr Mercury.
—Good Mr Charon, your humble servant.

Ch. This is some courtier's ghost by his complaisance. —But what does he take Mercury aside for?

2d Gb. Shall I beg the favour of your Godship of one word in private.

Mer. No, no, we have no secret transactions here, Mr Bribewell.

2d Gb. Do you know me, then?

Mer. Know you? ay, sure: you are the famous Mr Bribewell of the — what d'ye call it office, not far from Whitehall, who have a long time been agent to — no matter mentioning names. — But, good Sir, forget your old habit of thinking nothing can succeed without corruption. You must now act on the principles of benefit and benefic: you are now in another world.

2d Gb. So it is a sign. Upon my faith, Mercury, you are the first person that I have spoke to for some years, who has absolutely refused the overtures which I have made; and I have in my time had several conferences with Dukes, Earls, Viscounts, Bishops, Barons, Knights, and Commons.

Mer. O, Sir, I know you are a notable fellow at negotiations; but all such will prove entirely in vain here; there—
fore, without any more attempts at bribery, lay down those \textit{Ex.} — \textit{bills and tullies} which you have artfully concealed under your coat. — Come, come, strip, while I go on with other business.

2d Gb. Not so neither; if I cannot succeed one way, I may another. — Honest Charms; your \textit{hand}, old boy; I hope we shall have a safe passage over.

Chs. Never fear that. — But what have you put into my hand? — gold!

2d Gb. Harkye; a word in your ear: I'll make them twenty pieces a cool hundred. — I have those bits of paper and foolish pieces of sticks to slip under the benches of your boat. — You understand me?

Chs. And would you give me this gold to corrupt my honour?

2d Gb. Your honour! No, no, no, no. Far be it from me to attempt your honour. It is only, Sir, to buy some new tackle for your boat, and to get your sail mended.

Chs. Why you whoremonger, villainous, lying rascal, do you take me for some fisherman who has a vote in a sea-port borough? D'ye think to cajole me out of my benefit, by giving me a specious pretence for parting with it? There's your guineas about your ears; and had all your countrymen a spirit worthy of their nation, by serving such corrupters in the same manner, they would never lose their ancient honour and ancient liberty.

2d Gb. Who would have thought the tatterdemalion rascal would have refused gold, and when I came up to a price which a returning officer has not deny'd?

Chs. Come, come, lay aside your papers, sticks and roguery, and step into the boat; or it will be the worse for you.

2d Gb. Since it is so, I must comply; but it is with a melancholy reflection that I must fling this bundle down. How hard is the case of those great men who are vers'd in all the arts of bribery and corruption, and who so successfully practice them in the other world, when those intrigues can be of no service to them in this!

Chs. Heyday! what have we here? \textit{Mercury} struggling with a Lady. — So ho, there! what is your Godship about?

Mr. I have got as troublesome a female as ever I met with; she will not part with that large bote-petticoat and spreading robe de chambre on any account.

3d Gb. Why, thou barbarian, how could you think a woman of my modesty and virtue could think — eigh! shocking thought! — to — to appear without the least decent apparel?

Mr. Mistress Prudence, you may now lay aside all that affected regard for modesty, virtue, honour, and all that; for however you may have deceived the world, you cannot deceive us. You are now to appear in the undistinguished state of nature; and it cannot be shocking to you, when you see the rest of your sex in the same state.

3d Gb. O Lord! I cannot endure, if hate, detest, and abominate the reflection.

Mr. Come, Madam, it signifies nothing; if you will not pull off your hoop, I must.


Mr. But you could bear it, and without all this reluctance, when Capt. C. meddled with it in a certain great dame's room, near —

3d Gb. Ah! I am discover'd, ruin'd; my virtue and honour are lost. O my character, my character!

Mr. Now your character is known, why this delay? But you deceive'd yourself in the other world: all knew the reason of that monstrous hoop and robe de chambre, and that it was to conceal the evident consequences of a scandalous marriage; though you flatter'd yourself that your formal censure on every other woman's conduct would conceal your own.

Chs. Oh! Is that the cafe? Pray, young woman don't be so very scrupulous; you will meet with several ancient and modern prudes who will keep you in countenance. There is a peculiar quarter on the other side the river allotted for them.

Mr. Where they still claim a superior excellence over the rest of their sex, and, like the living prudes, have nothing but
Weekly Essays in September 1739. 41g

but virtue and honour on their tongue, and hypocrisy and vice in their heart.

4th Gb. Nay, then I am entirely easy. I shall not there be liable to scandalous reproaches; the fear of which broke my heart, and occasion’d my untimely death.

—Pray, Chiron, lend me your hand into your boat.

Mer. Such is the difference between a hypocritical prude and a truly virtuous woman: The first fears the common reflections of the world, and, if the can secretly err, feels no compunction at the crime; the latter, conscious of no erring at all, feels no pain at the common cen[ise of the public.]

—Chiron. Holla! Mercury! here is a strange fellow, with a useful countenance, hollow eyes, and all the symptoms of melancholy, who would force himself into the boat without examination.

4thGhost. Examination! I want none! I have a sufficient passport, the authority of which none of ye dare refuse.

Mer. Pray, good positive Sir, who are you, and what is your authority?

4th Gb. I am, Sir,—I am what they call a Methodist; and my authority is from Mr Whitefield.

Mer. A Methodist!—Pray what may that be?

4th Gb. Why, a Methodist is—nay, I cannot give any definition what it is; all I know is, that we have more religion, more charity, more contempt of the world, and more divine inspiration, than any other set of people whatsoever.

Mer. A very charitable way of judging of others truly. But how are you ascertained, that you thus exceed all the rest of mankind in works of religion, and are endued with a greater flavor of divine inspiration?

4th Gb. That we exceed them in religious works, is evident to the whole world: we sing hymns and psalms day and night; we pray without ceasing; we despise all worldly affairs; we shew our devotion on commons, fields and highways; and we travel abroad over the face of the earth to give testimony of our unsought godliness of heart: and that we are divine inspired is undoubtedly prov’d.

Mer. As you are so extraordinary a people, I should be glad to hear a proof of that given.

4th Gb. O, Sir,—we are undoubtedly inspired—because—we are inspired.

Mer. A most unanswerable demonstration!

4th Gb. What other could you expect? How can we convey ideas to others of what our souls feel, when other souls have no indwelling of the Spirit? We believe in inspiration; we know it, we feel it.

Mer. Is it not madness ranges in the breast?

For one inspired, ten thousand are poss’d.

4th Gb. I know not what you may call it; but I am sure my brother George Whitefield turn’d it inspiration, and proved it was such after the same manner which I have done.

Mer. And after the manner that your countryman George Fox, and ten thousand other enthusiasts, ancient and modern, have done before you.

4th Gb. Is it possible that so heavenly a young man could err in so material a point?

Mer. As to his divinity, (which he almost affects) it is no proof here of his infallibility; nor will his assertions, the more weighty they may be received by his followers as authentick doctrine, have any weight with us, unless they are founded on truth, and can consequently be defended by reason. We have had a sufficient number of insin’d devoters arrive here, who upon a very little examination, instead of Saints and Prophets, prov’d downright fools, madmen or hypocrites.

4th Gb. What do you mean? I hope you will not charge any of those characters upon us.

Mer. Before I admit any of you into Chiron’s boat, I shall see how far they are applicable.—You, Sir, I think, was a very zealous and remarkable disciple.

4th Gb. I was so: I disposed of the greatest part of my worldly estate in acts of charity, settled the rest on my wife and children, and then forsook all the common concerns of life, as wife, children and estate, and accompanied my brother Whitefield in all his peregrinations.

Mer.
Mr. And pray what particular satisfaction might you reap from this extraordinary conduct?

4th Gb. Satisfaction unparalleled! the satisfaction of having the approbation of my dear, devout brother, Mr. Whitefield; the satisfaction of being an instrument under him of reforming mankind, and being a shining example to the laity as he is to the clergy; the satisfaction of being particularly observ'd by ten thousand people at a time, and the satisfaction of being talk'd of by ten thousand more.

Mr. Well then, having laid aside all worldly concerns some time ago, you have not the leaf about you now?

4th Gb. Not the least.

Mr. Will you then do me the favour to give me that manuscript paper book which is concealed in your bosom?

4th Gb. That paper book!—But pray for what reason?

Mr. Only that I may destroy it entirely.

4th Gb. Destroy it! Not for the universe.

Mr. Is it so valuable? Pray what may the contents of it be?

4th Gb. 'Tis the journal of my life—of when I say psalms, when I pray'd, when I was sick, when I was well, when I went, when I came, when I ate, when I drank, when I slept; what I saw, and who I saw; and when I saw; what I said, and be said, and be said, and they said, and ten million other important and instructive actions of life, worthy publication for the edification and reformation of the rest of my fellow creatures.

Mr. That notable diary you must deliver up, and also that folly and vanity which lurk in one unsanctified corner of your heart, and which are appendages to that fame journal.

4th Gb. Folly and vanity!

Mr. Yes; or why should you think such an historical recital worth publication? True piety wants not to be publicly avouched: they who are sincerely affected with religion, like those who are truly affected with grief, open their hearts in privacy, nor ever reveal the passions of their soul. Besides, will the declaring the minute circumstances of your life reform that of others? If your life is pius, why would you yourself publish it to man? It is not in man to reward it. No; it is abominable, extravagant vanity, and an uncommon proof of the pride of human nature.—Come, Sir, away with your folly, vanity, and journal together.

4th Gb. Well then, there they are.—Now I hope I may be allow'd my passage.

Mr. Stay a moment: that newspaper in your pocket you will have no manner of occasion for; that cannot be of any value.

4th Gb. O, Sir, I value it highly. There is a letter in it to a clergyman, a brother of mine, who is now in jail: It is an answer to a letter of his, and I had it printed in the publick newspapers.

Mr. For what reason?

4th Gb. To shew the world how righteous I was though a layman, and how unrighteous he was though a clergyman; for though he is my own brother, I have openly charg'd him with a shameful dishonesty, and a spirit of preconceit, the scandal of our holy clergy.

Mr. But to have appear'd candid, ought you not to have printed his letter to which this was an answer? There may have been arguments in that which you have not refuted. Ah! Sir, how will bigotry to an opinion destroy man of his reason! Nothing but madness could have induced you to print such a letter of a private nature. You must part with it now, and with that even uncharitable which attends it.—Now, Sir, you may go into the ferry-boat whenever you please.

4th Gb. Why now, Sir, I am not disfigur'd from any other ghost. I thought some regard might have been paid on my brother Whitefield's account.

Mr. I should not have been more complaisant to your brother Whitefield himself, and perhaps, on examination, might have found more worldly folly and
and vanities which I should have made him have parted with.

5th Gb. Mr Mercury, if you have done with your saint, will you give me my passport?

Mr. Pray, good Sir, step in; for I don’t perceive the least worldly care about you.—Charen, lend that Gentleman your hand.

4th Gb. Bless me! What do you mean? Do you suffer him to pass this after such examination of me?

Mr. Him! Do you know him then?

4th Gb. Yes; a man,—indeed honest enough in his character, but never remarkably religious; who lived too elegant in the other world ever to think much of this; who often spent his time in the vain diversions of life instead of acts of penitence and self-denial; who had too much mirth to be devout, and too much wealth to have the in-dwelling of the Spirit.

Mr. With the inspiration which your feet pretend to, is it given them to know the secrets of the heart? Ridiculous men, who pay such veneration to the outward signs of sanctity, as to esteem those as reprobe who appear not in publick equally severe in their manners, and zealous in their devotion! This person, whom you look’d on in the other world with an arrogant pity for not coming up to your standard of righteousness, and for giving a relaxation to the common cares of life, by being amused sometimes with the innocent diversions of it; this person had as much love of religion, and as little love of the world and the vanities of it, as the pious leader of your feet. If he was not remarkably religious in publick, he was truly so in private: He lived according to that station of life in which he was placed, decent without prodigality, and charitable without affectation; his cheerful mirth was not from his want of piety, but rather flowed from an innocent and virtuous heart: He did not indeed think by inconsiderately parting with his wealth he should purchase the in-dwelling of the Spirit, but bestowed it as an honest wife man would do, among his children and relations: In short, humbly devout, agreeably cheerful, humanely beneficent, he was a good man, a good parent, a good master, and a good friend: Far from being attached to the vanities of the world, he relinquished them all with joy; and such was his life, he fear’d not to die; such was his death, that he did not longer wish to live.

Now, Sir, you may go into the boat, and by experience learn, That man cannot enter into the heart of man; therefore, to condemn others for lukewarmness and want of piety, before death has brought them to an impartial examination, is an uncharitable pride, and an insolent affectation of Divinity itself.

The King of Spain’s Manifesto, &c. being probably in the hands of most of our readers already, we shall not insert it. In the following essay reference is had to the English translation reprinted at Edinburgh in 16 pages 8°.

CRAFTSMAN, Sept. 15.

Observations occasioned by the Spanish Manifesto.

Our affairs are at last brought to a crisis which hath long been expected; for a Manifesto is commonly the fore-runner of a Declaration of war, and we have very few instances in history of matters being accommodated between sovereign Princes, after coming to such extremities, without force of arms.

This is a melancholy consideration, in our present circumstances, laden with an heavy debt, oppressed with a multitude of grievous taxes, deprived of many valuable branches of foreign trade, and consequently declining in our manufactures at home; for notwithstanding what hath been advanced concerning the improvements of our trade, navigation, and manufactures, for twenty years past, the contrary is demonstrably true, and discovers itself by its effects every day. When was there a greater appearance of poverty in all parts of the kingdom? When were rents worse paid, or more farms thrown up? When were there so many bankruptcies, insolvencies, or distresses in private
vast families?—The imputing all this to a spirit of luxury is downright begging the question; for the luxury prevails too much in most of our cities and great towns, it hath not yet infected the generality of our farmers, manufacturers, artificers, and mechanics, upon whom the staple commodities of this kingdom depend. It cannot be said that the poverty of these industrious men is brought upon them by their luxury, but by the severe preface of such numberless taxes on the necessaries and common conveniences of life.

But the worst circumstance of all is, that the balance of power in Europe is, in a manner, totally destroyed, and hath rendered it almost impossible for us to recover that alliance, which not only enabled us to carry on the last war with so much glorious success, but even contributed very much to the accession of the present royal family to the throne, and will be the best support of it; for whilst there is an equal division of power amongst the Princes of Europe, there will be no occasion for a numerous standing army, which is always burthenome, and too commonly breeds disaffection. — How much things are altered since that happy period, and to what causes that fatal alteration is owing, is so well known that it may seem impertinent to say any thing upon it. I will therefore be very short.

I wish we may not have reason to repent of our close conjunction with France, for several years, which aggrandized that powerful neighbour to a degree beyond what was ever known in any past period of time, and reduced the Emperor so low, that it obliged him to accept of a very disadvantageous peace, both to himself and all Europe. When we farther consider his present despicable circumstances, we cannot expect any assistance from him, however disposed he might be to forget all that is past. I likewise wish that we may not soon feel the effects of conniving at the reparation of the port and harbour of Dunkirk, which was so reasonably complained of, on one side, and so industriously stifled on the other; for if France should take part with Spain in our present disputes, as we have too much reason to apprehend, may it not prove as pestilential a net of privateers, and thereby molest our trade as much, as it did in the last war? In this case, who will deserve the blessings, and who the curses of our suffering merchants? those, who were for putting a timely stop to the restoration of that formidable place, in pursuance of treaties; or those, who defaced their honest endeavours?

Had we made use of our fleet against Spain, nine or ten years ago, instead of employing it in her service, by convoying Spanish troops into Italy, for the settlement of Don Carlos, of which we soon found reason to repent; or had we supported the Emperor when attack'd there, it is almost impossible to suppose that we could have failed of success. But it was always foretold, and is now pretty near come to pass, that our manifest dread of a war, and continual expediency to avoid it, were the most likely means to involve us in one at last, after we had exhausted ourselves in vast and fruitless expenses to preserve an outward show of peace.

This leads me to the consideration of the late convention with Spain, and her present manifesto, which is the natural consequence of it; for as it could not be reasonably supposed that the convention would ever be executed on our part, so it was easy to foresee that Spain would not depart from a little of what she had obtained by it.

One of the ingenious and modest Geometers hath, indeed, given this affair a very pretty turn; for he observes that the convention was found to be so honourable and advantageous to G. Britain, that Spain would not put it in execution. But the court of Spain is so far from being of the same opinion, that the whole manifesto is founded upon our non-execution of it; and, having got the treaty mutually signed and executed, seems resolved to hold our note to the grandstone, and does not care to have its best quire trip up; (as the translator most elegantly phrases it, without any foundation in the original,) for the Catholic King affects in his manifesto, (p. 15.) that notwithstanding
ing the pretended contraventions on the part of England neither of the two parties can free themselves from the obligations of the convention; because as it was formed by a common consent, there must be a like consent to dissolve it. But as the court of Spain insists that the convention is annulled on our side, by the S. S. company’s refusal to pay their claim of 68,000 l.; and since it is equally vacated, on their side, by refusing to pay as the 95,000 l. stipulated for the losses of our merchants; it is to be hop’d that no British minister will ever suffer it to be mentioned again in any future negotiation; though it was to be wish’d that the convention had never been sign’d and ratified, because it may furnish the Spanishs with an handle far more chicane and prevarication.

But how could it be expected that a treaty would be of any long duration, when the most material article of it is understood in a quite different sense by the contracting parties? Our minister asserted in a publick assembly, that the declaration and protest of the Spanihs court, concerning the 68,000 l. to be paid by the S. S. company, had no more to do with the convention than with the grand alliance; whereas the court of Spain insists, and I am sorry to say with too much appearance of reason, from the words of the convention, (p. 9.) that this 68,000 l. was a settled, stated, executive debt, payable within a short time; that it was the basis and foundation of the convention; a condition not to be eluded, under the validity of which the signing was to be proceeded to, and not otherwise. However, I cannot yet be induced to believe, as it is infam’d in the manifesto, (p. 4.) and said to be publickly declared by Don Geraldino, before his departure, that the first hint of demanding 68,000 l. from the S. S. company, arose from our own minister at home; because that would be a crime of the blackest dye, with regard to England; and I think it very ungenerous in Spain to drop the least intimation about it.

The country party are fully justified in their apprehensions about our transacti-
ons with Spain, for several years past; and having been always uniform in their speeches and writings upon that subject, are at liberty to proceed with the same honour and consistency. But how can the other party answer the Spanish manifesto, without tacking about, and borrowing their arguments from those, whom they have long endeavoured to represent as enemies to their country? What can that man say, in particular, who was pleased to congratulate us upon the convention as a treaty, which had obtained more for us than could be expected at the end of a successful war; that the Spaniards were obliged to pay us costs; and that we have it now under the great seal of Spain? These were all the mighty advantages obtained, in consequence of that memorable sentence, at the conclusion of the foregoing session: How shall I be ever able to show my face again in this house, if I do not procure justice to the nation, and ample satisfaction to our injured merchants?

This Gentleman is certainly very much oblig’d to the author of a late address to the freeholders, &c. which happens to contain a full anwer to the manifesto, before it came out, and is the best vindication of him from the repeated charge of unreasonable demands, want of confidence in the Spanish court, and backing the S. S. company in their refusal to pay the 68,000 l. whereas it appears in that pamphlet, from a deduction of facts, that no minister ever made more concessions and submissions, in order to avoid a rupture: and it is lately remarkable, that even the very Affigne ships arrived safe in port, though they were met at sea by almost every body, except those, who were appointed to look out for them. The manifesto itself very plainly intimates (p. 7) that the minister was ready enough to execute every article of the convention, if he had not been compelled to alter his measures by the clamours of the people, and the party in opposition to him, who were highly enraged at it. Thus it stands in the original, though the clamours of the people are entirely left out of the transfer.
tion, for reasons to be easily guessed.

And here it will be proper to take notice that the translation of this piece is so wide from the original, in many places, and the language so abominably bad, throughout the whole, that it looks like the performance of some backney Gazetteer. The learned Mr Algernon Sidney, the facetious Mr Raymond Lulliby, or even the blundering Ralph Freeman, Esq; could not have done it worse. One would likewise be apt to think that the court of Spain had copied their reflections on our merchants, and their arguments against a free navigation in the American seas from the same worthy writers, who have furnished them with abundant matter upon this head, for several years past. Thieves, robbers, buccaneers, and pirates, are the best names they could afford them; and they have even gone so far as to assert that the English seamen have been guilty of more inhumanity towards the Spaniards, than the Spaniards have been towards us.—But to return;

If the breach of the convention was really owing to the party in opposition to the minister, the nation is very much obliged to them; for even war is certainly preferable to a peace, upon such ignominious terms.

But pray let me ask what became of another treaty, negotiated with Spain, about a year ago, which may be supposed to have been much more advantageous to us for two reasons, first, as it was said to be signed by most of the members of what is commonly called the cabinet council; and secondly, because the court of Spain refused it? What authority had Mr Keane to lay aside that treaty, and substitute another in its room, signed by himself only? How came he to give up not only a national treaty, but the rights of a company, in whose service he had long been profitably employed? What a figure do we see him make, thus yielding up a point of such consequence, as Minister-Plenipotentiary; and then, as Commissary-Plenipotentiary, desiring to have it declared that the King of Spain had not a power to suspend the Aforesaid contract, as being a national treaty? I will not upon myself to say whether Mr Keane had any powers, or not; or indeed whether any body could legally give him any powers for such a procedure: but as the affair is at present very dark and mysterious, it is hoped it will be thoroughly sifted in a proper place, and the whole transaction fully explained to the world.

In former times it was always usual, upon such important occasions, to employ men of the highest rank and substance; who, by their dignity, might add a weight to their negotiations abroad; and, by their fortunes, give a pledge to their own country for the integrity of their conduct. This was certainly a wise precaution; which ought always to be observed: for a man of mean birth, and few fortunes, may be tempted to sacrifice the publick interest to his own; or, at least, become the subservient tool of a minister, by whose indulgent hand he was raised.

Thus far I judged it necessary to explain our present situation, and then the publick to whom only it is owing: but since matters are now come to such an extremity, as appears by the Spanish manifesto; and since those who brought it into these disastrous circumstances, seem to be ashamed of their former timidity: it becomes every Briton, who hath a due regard for the honour and interest of his country, first to probe the wound to the bottom, and then unanimously join hand and heart in support of the common cause.

Written under a print of his Majesty ornamented with warlike trophies.

Humble, great George! the piffering Spaniard's pride,
Or lay these useless ornaments asid:
Remember Oudenard's fagius fell,
Where constant vigilant hovet's d'var thy shield:

Trophies like these thy early youth bravo'd;
O let not patriots say, they're now misplace'd!

Support our sinking trade, afford thy crown
And fight, to save our honour, and thy own.
Poetical ESSAYS in SEPTEMBER 1739: 419

COMMON SENSE, Sept. 22.

The Discontented Ape. A Fable.

I own, 'tis true, my fragrant board
Luxuriant plenty never stir'd:
No pow'r have I thy throne to awe,
Proud Spain, or give thy fierce laws,
Ne'er did perfusion tip my tongue
With beauteous art, to lead along
A following crowd; nor e'er my wit
For polis'd ears was nicely fit.
I murmur not: plenty annoys
Sometimes, and, sure as want, destroys
Pow'r in real, to madness; eloquence
May prove the bane of beneficence:
And wit men hate as well as fear;
Our wicked wit may cost us dear.
Our every lie's from God's own will;
'Twas always bent, and must be still,
God's prudent hand well knows to give;
Happy, could man as well receive!
Why then repine? why ask for more?
'Tis hurtful, or 'twas your's before.
Ask nothing, but what all may find
Who truly seek—an honest mind.

Five thousand acres (Phenio said)
Beheld my bending barrows spread,
My deer along wide forest scud,
Tall rou'nd oaks imbrown embrow the wood.
My side-board groans with massy plate,
Full twenty liv'ries round me wait,
Ten what, O what are these? can these?
My nicer honour safely shape,
Whil'st Austus must be brib'd to trace,
From Saxon Kings, my nameless race?
What can I do? from all your store
One blessing grant, I ask no more.
Grant me, good beaun's, a noble wife.
Thus half fair fame adorn my life,
My fon with glorious blood shall grow,
And the rich tides thro' ages flow.
Heaun tir'd the frequent fowl to hear,
Unwilling grants at last his pray'r.
The day is come, th' illusrious bride
Dreigns me aort night to grace his fade;
After ten months of mortal bate,
My lady must sit in state;
To light a many creature's brought,
A string by nine peers half beaten.
The boy poor Phenio views, and sees
His Grace's wife, his Lordship's eye;
Those lips the gentle Baron speak'd,
And the pale Viscount wam'd that chest.

3 Qs.
Poetical ESSAYS in SEPTEMBER 1739:  

He scatters to Sir James's sons,  
And damps the features not his own.  
Such are by sorrows, pride oppress'd;  
The world's own finds and lawful left;  
But all kinds feel the rage to rise;  
The gay, the grave, the mad, the wise;  
For poor each hour of every day,  
Racy's proud flowers devoutly pray.  
Of all who ask, few can obtain;  
Happy, who ne'er a wish in vain.

My fable bear. Planet in a wood,  
A country ape earn'd daily food,  
Pond of his fancy'd parts, and best;  
Hisears and nuts were thought the best,  
But soon unacquainted, weary grown.  
With the low buskiness of a clown,  
Reflects, he sate their vile employ:  
Their favourite cares, and stupid joys:  
His parts he thought too meanly far'd,  
And boundly too much revered.  
It chanced, his friends and be restored  
To view the splendors of a court;  
Plan'd with its stat, with dazzling pow'r,

Too much he dreads the wretched hour  
Which warms bim borne—"Oh save me, Jove,  
Nor bear me from the place I love;  
I hate the woods' inglorious ease;  
O let me rest in scenes like these:  
For some small place I'm surely fit,  
All own my talents and my wit."  
To plague the discontented beast,  
Jove nodded to his fond request;  
"The scanty, by grandeur's charm's end—  
In quest of pow'r severely roll'd,  
With crook'd design, with cunning sense,  
And all the art of impudence;  
In jealous hint, sufficiency fly,  
His doubtful tongue would mean a lie;  
Yet no one with a bolder grace  
Could bold out falsehood's naked face.  
Above, below, round be pleis,  
By secret workings, where to rise;  
Destruction waits each beast of worth,  
To lead his master merit forth.  
'Tis dangerous if the leopard stays;  
The generous burs is sent to grace;  
The noble tiger's thought too proud,  
The fox has art, the dog's too good;  
The faithful dog can't long lie in,  
His plainness is too wise a sin.

'Twas thus he cozen'd friends and  
And safe o'er ruin'd virtue rose.  
[See,  

Behold him seize the royal ear,  
And stalk a overweight minuter!  
The monarch's eyes decay'd are grown:  
A gentle opiate feels 'em down;  
Unaw'd, above the realm be faying,  
Oppression on its vitals press;  
By rapine fat, bent'd up by crimes  
In the mad form of broken times,  
He jouls with mighty mischief great,  
And boasts a pow'r to curb a state.  
Safe grandeur! yet bow short, how vain!  
The remouing forest feels her chains,  
She roars aloud her injuries,  
For justice to the growing cries;  
His foes are warm, each friend surrakes,  
Sharp conscience shinges, with fear he quakes;  
Like some old ill-built un-prope wall,  
Behold him totter, nod, and fall.  
An ant, in nature deeply read,  
His rise and end observing, said;  
Juft, tho' severe, is folly's fate;  
Belov'd of Jove, ourselves we hate.  

The third chapter of Ion attempted in versi:

A Court's for ever be the baleful worm  
When this abandon'd wretch myself was  
When a male infant all expect'd I lay,  
Here, my barriers broken to salve the day.  
When'er that day revolus, no spurt be found,  
But pitchy darkness wait the world around.  
Shot out from God's regard, let thickest night,  
Enwrap'd in horrors, side the gates of light.  
No sickly star to wink, to flow its beams,  
Or cheer the darkness with a transient gleam?  
But gloom enwraps in gloom the globe array,  
And damp the prospect of a moment's day.  
O'er the faint twilight blackest clouds be drawn,  
And let it wright, but never find the dawn.  
In no fair annals let that day appear,  
Nor with its guilty stain pollute the year.  
Let never gladness with its voice invade,  
And pierce the silence of the dreadful shades:  
But sad Affliction's fans with me combine,  
And mix their sorrows and their fears with mine;  
Raise up the baleful cries of loud despair,  
And with complaints round the passen air;  
Because it shut me not from human view,  
Nor o'er the doors of life its sables draw.  

When first I left the womb, expat's to none,  
Ah! why did Death with bold the friendly blow?  
Why did th' officious nurse prevent my doom,  
And feed me from the breast for ills to come?  
In Death's embraces I had found relief,  
And, lul'd within his arms, forgot my grief.
Poetical ESSAYS in SEPTEMBER 1739.

421

For the an angel in my eyes,
I take your judgment to be better,
Than all your equals to despise,
On the bare credit of a letter.

No—pite of all you stily hint,
Of poet’s art, and flights of youth:
What er for int int I may print,
In private rhymes I write the truth.

Then teach me safely to proceed:
My verse depends upon your act,
You need but do one gen’rous deed,
And I shall soon applaud the fall.

To let me live, from year to year, (ing,
Complaining, sighing, craving, kneel—
’Tis plain you strive to be severe, or
Think a lover has no feeling.

I own, you sometimes can be seen,
And grant a kis one day in ten:
But what this hanging on must mean,
Sure women know as well as men.

That ancient siege which Homer sings,
All but your heroes had forlorn:
Tentatives years for sixty kings (taken:
Was long; but Troy at last was
Compare that siege, my dear, with mine.

Ten years the sturdy Greeks could hold:
I — let me see — ’tis more than nine;
And heroes are not — as of old.
Woman or town whoever seeks, (in .
Much shorter ways they now proceed
They seldom wait so many weeks,—
Read Marlborough’s life, or Charles of Sweden!

Those few remaining months deduce,
On better terms you may surrender;
Our pleasure nothing can obstruct,
While I am young, and you are tender.

But feeble age and wrinkles seem
Shall youth and tenderness dispel:
At thirty life approaches noon, (pace.
And things go downward thence a—
Haste! now the willing parley beat,
Ere all our stores are quite exhausted;
Left on the verge of death we treat,
Berren’d, bewinter’d, and befrost’d.

Then you shall mourn the song neglected,
Which told you time was onward creasing;
And I, the mighty price expected,
Dwindled to one not worth the keeping!
DOMESTICK HISTORY, &c.

EDINBURGH, September 1739.

Since the harvest began, we have had extreme bad weather. The high winds have done considerable damage, and the frequent rains a great deal more; so that in many places vast quantities of corn are spoiled.

LONDON.

The nation still seems to be intent on an approaching war; and indeed the vast preparations which have been made leave little room to doubt but something will be attempted, unless a French mediation prevail. The Commissioners of the navy have taken care to put the fleet in good order, and contracted for the building eight more gallies for preserving our trade, and cruising on the Spaniards; and, in case of any sudden emergency, the office of ordinance have ordered 36 flat-bottom'd boats to be built, cover'd with tar. 21 foot long each, and 5 broad, for palling our armies over rivers.—The 30th of July, letters of marque were published by all the Governors of the Leeward islands. As in these parts the Spaniards are most easily hurt, and the inhabitants of a ready disposition to do themselves justice, we may expect good accounts from them.—His Majesty has caused a proclamation to be fitted, offering a reward of two guineas, with all other bounties, and six months pay certain, to all seamen from 20 to 52 years of age, who shall voluntarily enlist themselves aboard of the navy, and thirty shillings to all able-bodied land-men of the same ages, who incline to serve as marines. The parliament is to meet on the 15th of November, pursuant to another proclamation. Messrs. Keene and Caffres, our Plenipotentiaries at Madrid, are arrived at London, and waited of his Majesty, who gave them a very gracious reception.

Prince Tzherbatow, Ambassador from the Empress of Russia to the British court, is arrived here.

This year has produced a very great crop of hops.

There has been a prodigious struggle in the election of a Lord Mayor for this city. For many years past that office went by rotation always to the senior Aldermen, but the Liverymen of the city have, by their charter, a privilege of nominating and presenting two to the court of Aldermen. In consequence of this, they excluded Sir George Champion from their list, because he voted for the convention, and returned Sir John Salter and Sir Robert Godchall. Sir George's friends, on this, demanded a poll, which was granted, but the vote coming out much to his disadvantage, he sent a message, and declined putting his fellow-citizens to any further trouble: on which the books were closed, and Sir John Salter was declared duly elected.

Extrait of a letter from South Carolina.

"I have no publick intelligence to communicate, only that his Majesty has presented us with 75 pieces of cannon, and other warlike stores, just arrived under the convoy of a 20 gun ship, to the value of 6000 l. sterling, an instance of the importance of this province to the crown of Great Britain."

P. S. London, Oct. 4. Orders are issued out from the war-office, for augmenting the regiments in Minorca and Gibraltar from 50 to 70 private men in each company; and the same augmentation in all the marching regiments throughout G. Britain.

S. S. trading stock, 94. Ditto Old annuities, 109, 3 8ths for the opening. Ditto New, 107, 1 qr. Bank stock, 139, 1 half for the opening. India ditto, 155, 1 half. Three per cent. annuities, 98, 8 1 qr. Million bank, 114. Royal assurance, 90. London assurance, 11, 3 8ths. Mine adventure shares, 5 l. English copper, 3 l. 8 s. Welsh ditto, 15 s. African, 13, 1 half. Seven per cent. Emperor's loan, 101, 1 half. Five per cent. ditto, 94, 1 qr. Bank circulation, 21 prem. Three per cent. S. S. bonds, 11 prem. India ditto, 21, 19 s. 2 1 prem. Three 1 half per cent. Eschequer orders, 1 half discount. Three per cent. ditto, 5, 5 6ths discount. Salt tallies, 1 half a 1 1 half, prem. Lottery tickets, 5 l. 8 s.

BIRTHS.
BIRTHS.

The Dutchess of Bedford is delivered of a son and heir, Marquis of Tavistock. — The Dutchess of Portland, of a daughter. — The Lady of Counsellor Monk, of a son. — And the Lady of James Colquhoun, Esq; Lord Provost of Edinburgh, of a son.

DEATHS.

Sir Francis Boynton, Member for Heydon in Yorkshire. — The Cofter, Esq; Member for Bristol. — Col. George Budleigh in the 2d regiment of foot-guards. — Major Hotham, of Lt Gen. Kirk's regiment. — Capt. Hatchimion, Commander of the Nassaue East India Co. — Capt. John Schaw, of an old family. — Capt. Gibbons, eldest Captain of Chelsea hospital. — Anthony Barnet, son of Lt Trimlestown, killed at the battle of Kozroa. — Mr Parrot Apocarey to Guy's hospital, Southwark. — Charles Horneby, Esq; Chief Clerk of the Pipe-office. — At Ghent, George Bynoe of Northumberland, Esq; F. R. S. member of the Royal Academy at Berne, of the Noble Institute at Bologna, &c. — George Lillo, author of George Barnwell, &c. — John Dale, General-supervisor of Excise in Scotland. — Sir John Mitchel of Westhore, Bart. — Robert Buchanan of Leny. — Mrs Boyd, lady Craigintinie. — At London, Simon Patrick, Esq; Solicitor of the customs in Scotland. — Lord Montagu tertile, Lieutenant of the Gloucester regiment of war, being ordered by the Captain, with a number of hands into the long-boat, to board a Spanish barco in the Barbary coast, was killed, with several of the seamen, and the barco in the long-boat got clear off.

PREPERSMENTS CIVIL.

Robert Jocelyn, Esq; Attorney-General in Ireland, Lord Chancellor of that kingdom. — Robert Trevor, Esq; Envoy-extraordinary to the States General. — Mr John Norris, one of his Majesty's privy-council. — Mr Murphey, Inward keeper of the house of Commons. — Ld Duncannon of the kingdom of Ireland, Earl of that kingdom, by the title of Earl of Befbrow. — John Oliver, Esq; Surveyor of the customs in England.


MILITARY AND NAVAL.


— Ld Offulston, son of the E. of Tankerville, a Captain in Brig. Wentworth's regiment. — Capt. Henry Clements, Fort Major of Kinfa. — Ld Taylor, in the Welsh fusiliers, Capt. Lieutenant in said regiment. He is succeeded as eldest Lieutenant by Mr Rudd. — Mr Farmer,
2d son of the E. of Pomfret. Ensign in the 1st regiment of guards.—Lt Thomas Rué, Commander of the Salamander bomb-shell; Capt. Watson, of the Deptford horse-ship; Capt. Cleland, of the Sea-barge.

Died within the walls of the city of Edinburgh, and buried in the Gray-friars church-yard, September 1739.

Men 14, women 15, children 41. In all, 70. Increased this month, 11.

AGE. N. DISEASES. N.
Under 2 32
2 & 5 6
5 & 10 1
10 & 20 2
20 & 30 5
30 & 40 7
40 & 50 6
50 & 60 1
60 & 70 8
70 & 80 1
80 & 90 1

FOREIGN HISTORY.

The report of Kouli Kan's being killed in India, is contradicted from all parts: And the following is the best relation yet come to hand of his success against the Great Mogul.

"That conqueror having subdued Cabouliftan, and some other provinces of the Great Mogul, march'd towards the river Detek, and attack'd one of that Monarch's Generals, who had a great body of troops under his command, and entirely defeated him, and made him prisoner. The news of this defeat struck the court of the Mogul with an inexplicable consternation. A council was thereupon summons'd: some advised to propose conditions of peace to Kouli Kan; others, imagining that he would insist upon exorbitant terms, having already made such vast conquests, thought it would be better to once more try the success of their arms. It was resolved to follow this last advice: In conquence whereof orders were given to immediately assemble an army of 300,000 men, to join to them 1500 pieces of cannon, and 500 ele-

phants. The Great Mogul, notwithstand the number of his forces, seems to entertain great diffidence of them, having sent to the Emperor of China to propose an alliance with him against Kouli Kan."

Petersburg, Aug. 18. Some days ago this court receiv'd an account from their Conful at Rafts in Persia, that Schach Nadir had gained a great victory over the Grand Mogul, in the province of Caboul; and that afterwards the Grand Mogul was come into his camp, on certain conditions not yet known, where he delivered his crown to the Sophy, who generously returned it to him. As the Russian Minister at Isphahan has not mentioned this great event, every body doubts of the truth of it, tho' the said Russian Conful has sent, in the Persian language, a printed relation thereof.—The Russian fleet commanded by Rear-Admiral O Briou, consisting of seven men of war, is fared from Cronstadt, in order to exercise the seamen. This week Prince Dolgorucki, who was formerly named to go to England, was sent back into banishment.

They write from Petersburg, that they had received advice from the Velt-Marshals Lacy, of the Turks and Tartars having abandoned Perecop at the approach of the Russian army under his command; and that his Excellency had advanc'd afterwards into the Crim, in order to waste it with fire and sword; that the Turkish fleet had been almost destroy'd by a furious storm, by which accident the Russian Admiral was in a condition to supply the Velt-Marshals Lacy with every thing he might want during the campaign.

Petersburg, Aug. 10. O.S. An engagement happened on the 2d inf. N. S. in Moldavia, between a body of Russifs and another of Turks and Tartars, of which the Velt-Marshals Munich has sent an account to court in substance as follows, viz.

"Intelligence being brought on the 2d inf. of a great appearance of the enemy in a wood near Chocsim, about a mile from our army, the usual signal was given, and three cannon fired to call
prisoner a Murfa of Budaiack named Ali, who once serv'd at the Danube and near Widdin, and by whom we learn, that in this action there were 6000 Turks commanded by the Bashaw of Chocxim, and three other Bashaws; and that there were no less than 12 or 13,000 Tartars under the command of the Serackier Sultan Islam Girey and the Sultan Nyed Girey. A party of above 1000 men, being the Coifacks of Tanais, hussars and Calmucks, which was sent into Wallachia, is return'd to our camp with a booty of 1500 black cattle, and 400 horses.

Warsaw, Sept. 8. Besides the two actions which happened between the Turks and Russians on the 20th and 21st of the last month, there has been a third on the 27th. An account of it has been receiv'd from the Governor of Kaminieck, who writes, That the Ottoman troops commanded by the Bashaw of Chocxim, the Serackier Bashaw of Bender, and the Dzengali Bashaw, quitted their camp, and retired behind an entrenchment upon which they had been working near a month, which was defended by four batteries. On the 27th, in the morning, the Russian march'd towards the retrenchment, and posting themselves between a lake and a morass, they rais'd two batteries. Their whole army being disposed in order of battle, the fire began on both sides about nine in the morning, and lasted till two in the afternoon. The Russian army, under favour of their artillery, advanced very near the Turkish retrenchment. On the 28th they quitte'd their camp, and attack'd the left wing of the Turks with great fury, which they forced, and put the infidels to flight; who not only left their camp, but also their tents, cannon, mortars, &c. and the Russians encamp'd that night in the retrenchment made by the Turks.

'Tis said that a great number of Turks were killed in this action, and that the loss of the Russians was but small. The Serackier Sultan, with his Tartars, is retir'd towards the Pruth; the Bashaw of Bender pass'd the night a league lower; the Bashaw of Chocxim arriv'd
at day-break in the fortress of that name; but where the Dziengali Bashaw is retired, is not yet known.

W arsaw, Sept. 14. It appears by accounts sent from the frontiers, that the Turks and Tartars have carried 9660 Poles into slavery; that 600 more have been massacred; that they have carried off above 8000 oxen, 150,000 sheep, and about 6000 horses; and have burnt more than 4,000 castles and houses: By the devastations they have made in Podolia, the lands will be rendered useless for some years. The Grand General of the crown has sent this account to the Bashaw of Bender, and to the Kan of the Tartars, and has demanded the liberty of the people carried into slavery, and twelve millions of timpes for reparation of damages. The victory gained by the Russian army near Choczim has been confirmed, and it is said to have been a most complete one, the Russians having taken all the artillery, baggage, &c. of the Turks; and the consequences thereof were so happy, that the day following Choczim surrendered; and its whole garrison, as well as the greatest part of those who had escaped at the battle, were made prisoners: 200 pieces of brass cannon were found in the place, with a vast quantity of ammunition, &c. In order to draw the utmost advantage from this conquest, Prince Cantemir is gone to Jaffa to be acknowledged Hofpodar of Wallachia. This Prince is brother to Mr. Cantemir, Ambassador from Russia at the court of France. They are both sons of the Hofpodar Cantemir, who took the part of the Czar Peter I. in his war with Charles XII. King of Sweden.

W arsaw, Sept. 18. 'Tis certain the Turks will do nothing this year on the side of Aofp; the Bashaw who was to have commanded the siege of that place is dangerously ill, and the army under his command is infected with a contagious distemper, which carries off great numbers. The inhabitants of the Crimea are reduced to great misery for want of provisions. They write from Choczim, that Gen. Biron is marched with 6000 men to guard the Seraskier of that place, and other officers, now prisoners, to Kiovia. Some thousands of waggons, taken from the enemy, have been likewise sent into the Ukraine, amongst which 500 have been loaded with the treasure and effects of the Seraskier, and the other officers. M. Munich having provided for the security of the place, marched the 3d inst. with the army towards Jaffa, in order to complete the reduction of Moldavia. The Seraskier of Bender neglects nothing to put himself in a condition of defence against the Russians, which place, it is believed, will be reduced before the end of the campaign. Gen. Stockman, who was taken prisoner by the Turks at the action which happened the 20th of last month, having been conducted to Choczim, regained his liberty upon taking the place. Most of the Greeks and Christians in Moldavia have declared for Prince Cantemir.

Our last Magazine left Belgrade besieged by the Turks, and in a good condition to make an effectual defense: we shall now insert accounts of the best authority as they came to hand, and leave the reader to form what judgment he thinks most natural upon the whole.

From the Imperial camp near Orin Siberivsina in Croatia, Aug. 31.

"Count Herberstein having received intelligence from Carlstadt, that the Turks to the number of 1500 men, under the command of three Bashaws, viz. Ibrahim Bashaw of the Arnauts, Ali Bashaw of Scopia, and Mahomet Bashaw Kalinowich of Vacup, had formed a design to enter the bannat of Croatia, or to attack his camp, consisting of several thousand men, the Count thought proper to frustrate this design by a diversion. Accordingly he ordered Col. Joseph Depozi, a native of Croatia, who commanded at Lucca and at Corbavia, to advance with 1000 men towards Bihatz; and the enemy not daring to stir out of that fortress, the Colonel turned with half of his men to Vacup, whence a number of the enemy fleeing out to take a distant view of his troops, he intercepted them in their return to the place,
place, and killed ten Turks, among them an Aga of the Janizaries; he also burnt some villages of the neighbourhood, and carried off a booty of thirty black cattle and 2000 sheep. The enemy hearing of this, marched towards Corbavia, plundering and burning the country, and carrying with them the inhabitants prisoners all the way they went. Upon notice of this, Herberthsein sent to Col. Depozi to asssemble all the militia he could that were about Corbavia, to enable him to make head against the enemy, because the succours which he was sending from his camp near Orilo Slainziza might arrive too late, considering the usual agility and swiftness of the Turks; and besides, there was a Bashaw near his said camp, observing it, which hindered him from sending a large detachment. Col. Depozi drew together with all diligence 1000 militia, and, with the troops he had before, attacked the enemy the 25th of August, at four in the morning; the action continued till two in the afternoon, at which time the succours sent him happily arriving, the Turks were broken, and took their flight several ways; one party of them fled into the Venetian Albania, forcing their way into the territories of the republic; the inhabitants in vain opposing their entrance. In this action above 1000 Turks were killed in the field of battle; 100 were made prisoners, among them Ali Beg. There were taken 300 horses, the tents of three Bashaws, with all their baggage, 12 standards, a great number of arms, two small pieces of cannon, and considerable stores of ammunition and provisions; the prisoners the enemy had taken in the open country were restored to their liberty; and the enemy, whose design was to lay waste the frontiers, were dispered. On the side of the Imperialists 80 men were killed, two Captains, one Ensign, and 15 soldiers wounded, and 20 horses lost.

A letter from Peterwaradin, Aug. 17.

Since the Imperial army left the camp of Jaboka, it has been so closely followed by the Turks, that the place where it encamped one night, was made use of by them the next. Tho' they were superior in number, the army marched in such good order, that they were able to undertake nothing more to its prejudice than giving a little disturbance to the rear guard. The army re-pass'd the Danube on the 15th, and encamped at Sardock, between Peterwaradin and Semlock, by means whereof it can preserve a communication with Belgrade, and the better oppose any attempts of the Turks to pass the Save. The Grand Vizier continues to prepare for a general assault, which does not, however, hinder him from employing his thoughts about a peace, having sent several messenges upon this subject, to Marshal Wallis. It is said that the Aga of the Janizaries approaching too near the bastion of St Charles, had his head shot off. M. Wallis is a little indisposed.

Belgrade, Aug. 15. 'Twas this day month that the enemy invested this town on the side of Servia, and 'tis now just four weeks since they began to cannonade it; but they are not a jot more forward than they were upon the first day. Such of their batteries as are nearest to the fortifications are above 500 toises from it, and others much more; so that 'tis not surprizing that they have as yet done no damage to the works, except to the bastion of St Elizabeth, where they have made a small breach. But were it even more considerable, the danger would not be the greater from it, considering the intrenchment that is made in the neck of the bastion, and the other works that are made behind the intrenchment to support it. In short, there are intrenchments of the like kind in every part where the enemy seems inincliable to make the greatest push; so that it may be affirm'd for certain, that the place is, after a month's siege, much stronger than it was before: and provisions are in great plenty, and so cheap, that the officers of the body commanded by the Prince of Saxe-Hilburghausen, on the other side of the Save, have their wine and part of their other provisions from the town. All the defterers from the enemy's army affirm, that the desertion continues, and that there is such
such a mortality among the soldiers, that for some time past 2 or 300 have dy’d every day.

Extract of a letter from Belgrade, Aug. 20.

"The Turks continue to batter this place with vigour, which does not hinder the negotiations of peace being carried on. The Count de Gros went the 13th, from M. Wallis’s camp to the camp of the Gr. Vizier. The Turks, after his arrival, ceased from firing during nine hours. The Gr. Vizier received him with great politeness, and told him upon what conditions he was ready to sign the peace. As soon as C. Gros was returned to the Imperial camp, the fire of the Turks began with greater fury than before. In the evening, M. Wallis caused a fresh reinforcement of eight battalions to enter the place. The 14th, C. Gros was sent again to the Turkish camp with M. Wallis’s answer to the Gr. Vizier’s propositions, upon which the enemy suspended their fire for fix hours, which they began again after the departure of C. Gros. On the 15th, this officer was sent again to the camp of the Gr. Vizier, who discontinued to play his batteries for four hours. The Count de Neuperg went to the Turkish army the 18th, and was received by the Gr. Vizier with extraordinary honours; he still continues there, where the Marquis de Villeneuve is expected. The enemy batter the gate of Sabaca, and have dismounted the battery of the bastion of St. Elisabeth."

From the Imperial camp at Sardin, Aug. 22.

"The body of 30,000 Turks which followed the Imperial army into the bannat, has advanced as far as Borcza, near the Danube, and 3000 of them have taken possession of an island near Belgrade, at the mouth of the Themes. A courier is arrived here with letters from M. Munich, advising the Imperialists not to be too forward in concluding a peace, because he was in a condition of making a very advantageous diversion, and even of coming, in case of need, into the bannat of Temeswaer. These letters were immediately sent to C. Neuperg, who was then at the camp of the Gr. Vizier; he communicated the contents to that Prime Minister who discovered no uneasiness at the relation, but, however, thereupon held a divan, and fresh orders were sent to the Bahlaws of Orfova, Widdia, &c."

Belgrade, Aug. 23. The Turks having made great shouts of joy on the 15th after sun-set throughout their camp, all their musick playing at the same time, Gen. Schmettan ordered all the trumpets and drums in Belgrade to stop the morning of the 26th to the gate called the Imperial Gate, where they stood till nine o’clock, the enemy not firing one shot at the town; whereas three shot were fired from the town; and then the enemy threw in 124 bombs one after another: As often as these bombs were fired, Gen. Schmettan answered with drums and trumpets instead of cannon. It is rumour’d among us, that the Imperialists will make a daily to-day upon the besiegers with the eight battalions that came last into the place. It is confirmed daily, that provisions are very scarce, and extreme dear in the enemy’s camp. All the officers who have been in Belgrade agree, that if the Turks do not attack it with much more vigour than they have done hitherto, and if our forces continue on the Sav, the place cannot be taken this year: And as for the Turks making a general assault without first making breaches, as they have made none yet, ‘twas what the garrison are not only prepar’d, but with for.

Vienna, Sept. 12. Peace is at last concluded between the Emperor and the Porte, the conditions of which are as follow: It is agreed that the Emperor shall abandon Belgrade and Servia to the Gr. Scingar, as well as Orfova; That the Danube and the Sav shall for the future form the limits of the two empires: That the bannat of Temeswaer, and the town of that name, shall remain in the possession of his Imperial Majesty, with the territory thereupon dependent, comprehending here- in Meadia: That Orfova shall continue in the condition it is in at present, but that the fortifications of Belgrade shall be demolished. It is said that the cre-
of peace will be sign'd under the guarantee of France. It is agreed that the Emperor shall not only withdraw his troops from Belgrade, but likewise his artillery, ammunition, and provisions: That four days shall be granted to the inhabitants to carry off their effects: That until these things can be effected, one of the gates of the town shall be delivered to the Turks. Immediately after signing these articles, advice thereof was given to Gen. Succow, the Governor, who refused to deliver up a gate to the Turks, alleging, that he had his Imperial Majesty’s command to defend it to the last extremity, which he would punctually obey, the place being in a condition of yet holding out a long time. Before he could be prevailed upon, M. Wallis was obliged to let him know, that he might safely do what was requir’d of him, for that a peace was concluded; whereupon 400 Janifarians took possession of the gate of Wurtemberg. Before C. Neuperg quitted the Turkish camp, the Gr. Vizier presented him with a fine horse, richly caparison’d. Soon after this, M. Wallis coming to the Turkish camp, went with the Gr. Vizier into Belgrade, when 5000 men of the garrison began to demolish the fortifications thereof. C. Neuperg used his utmost endeavours to have Russia comprehended in the peace. A Russian minister arrived at the Turkish camp on the same occasion; but the Gr. Vizier declared, that he had no orders to admit that power into the peace. Since signing the above articles, a considerable detachment of the Turkish army has been made to pass the Danube at Orsова and Widdin, in order to march with all expedition into Moldavia, to oblige the Russian army to repass the Nieter. A courier has been despatch’d to the Marquis de Botta, the Emperor’s Ambassador in Russia, with orders to represent to that court the reasons that determin’d his Imperial Majesty to treat definitively with the Porte.

Belgrade, Sept. 4. Since signing the preliminary articles of peace, the Gr. Vizier came to view the condition the place was in. The Turks come daily into the city either to gratify their curiosity, or to get provisions. We also visit their camp, where we receive much friendship. There are among them of all nations, and of all trades, Italians, French, and even English: and some Turks who were here in the year 1717, when Prince Eugene took Belgrade; it appears to them as a place unknown, as well on account of the many alterations made, as the new edifices raised in it.

Here ends the Greatest Labour of the Valiant Eugene.

After an account had been publish’d, that articles of peace between the Emperor and the Grand Seignior had been agreed to by Count Neuperg and the Grand Vizier, on the 16th of September the Court of Vienna caused the following declaration to be printed and published.

““The Imperial court will soon make known to the world what has happen’d respecting the preliminary articles of peace concluded with the Ottoman Porte; in the mean time his Imperial and Catholick Majesty has already written to the Emperors of Russia, and has not only declared to the Russian Envoy at this court, in a particular audience given him for that purpose, his displeasure at what has been done without his knowledge, and contrary to his intention; but has likewise ordered all his ministers at foreign courts to declare, that C. Neuperg went to the Turkish camp without his knowledge, much less by his order; that as well in what relates to Belgrade, as in all and every one of the other articles, and particularly in the yielding to the strangely precipitate execution of them, the said Count has not only very much exceeded the limitations of the full powers entrusted to him, but even acted directly contrary to the orders therein contain’d; so that neither his said Imperial and Catholick Majesty, nor his ministry, are in any fault, having had no part therein; for they had not the least information of what was transacted in the Turkish
THE CAMP TILL AFTER THE THING WAS DONE; AND AFTER THE PRECIPITATE EXECUTION: AND CONSEQUENTLY IT BEING BECOME IMPOSSIBLE TO APPLY ANY REMEDY, HIS IMPERIAL AND CATHOLICK MAJESTY DOES ON THE ONE HAND HIGHLY DISAPPROVE THE PRELIMINARY ARTICLES SO CONCLUDED, AND WILL NOT FAIL AT A PROPER TIME TO DO WHAT JUSTICE REQUIRES; AND ON THE OTHER HAND, PURSUANT TO THE RATIFICATIONS WHICH HAVE ALREADY PASSED, HE WILL SECURELY FAIL, AND FIRMLY OBSERVE AND KEEP WHAT IS AGREED UPON WITH THE OTTOMAN PORTE.

To this declaration was subjoined in the same print:

"It is reported, that the government of the bannat of Temefwaer, which had been provisionally granted to C. Neu- perg, is by his Imperial Majesty conferred upon Baron Succow, in consideration of the brave defence he made in Belgrade."

Some advices by the way of Holland advise, that the houses of two considerable persons at Vienna have been infested on account of the late prelimi- naries, particularly the house of General Schmettan, whose windows were broken; which so frightened his lady, that she miscarried and died: That a commit- tee of the council of war is appointed to enquire into the conduct of C. Neuperg, who is returned to the camp of the Gr. Vizier to draw up in concert with the Marq. de Villeume the treaty of peace, or truce, in due form for being signed or ratified: That M. Wallis has justified his conduct as to the execution of the preliminaries, in a memorial which he has sent to court: That several Generals of the Imperial army have entered strong protests against the preliminaries relating to Belgrade: That when it was known in the Imperial camp that one of the gates was delivered up to the Turks, the soldiers cry'd out that they were ready to spill the last drop of their blood rather than it should be done, if any body would lead them out against the enemy; but their zeal was too warm for the then turn of affairs.

Belgrade, Sept. 10. On the 7th inst. 6 or 7000 Janissaries would have entered the town by force, and the Dalbaw to whom the Gr. Vizier had given the command of those Janissaries who had taken possession of the gate of Wirtem- berg and the adjoining caffernes, was obli- ged to order his men with their sabres to drive them away and draw up the bridges. The next day the Janissaries who are at the said gate attempted to enter the citadel; but the Imperial-of- ficer who commands in it having caused the cannon to be pointed against them, they were obliged to retire. The Gr. Vizier has offer'd several millions, pro- vided the fortifications be let stand in the condition they are in; but his offer was rejected.

This is the very extraordinary face this peace, or cession, bears at present: And, tho' the defeat of the Imperialists at Krozica, the sad state of the Emperor's military cheif and finances, and the vigo- rous siege of Belgrade, &c. might afford reasons for his agreeing to a peace with the Ottomans upon terms so very disadvantageous: yet, it is hardly pos- sible to view this transaction without discovering a degree of French po- litics in the whole of it.

'Twas reported, that on the 4th inst. N. S. War was declared at Cadiz a- gainst England; and three days afterwards a proclamation was publish'd, or- dering the subjects of Great Britain to depart the kingdom in eight days.

Madrid, Sept. 7. The news of the ta- king of an English ship coming from the Levant caused much joy here. Se- veral English merchants at Alicant hav- ing neglected to depart from thence in the time prescrib'd by the court for that purpose, had been arrested by order of the King, and their effects sequestr'd. It is also said, that two English ships return- ing from the coasts of Newfoundland which touch'd at Buboa, have been stop there. It is still pretended, that the King of France will lend a squadron to Cadiz, to secure the departure and return of the ships employed in the A- merican commerce. It is reported here, that many people on board the British squadron are sick. As the English which retire from Spain may possibly leave
The ministry appears ignorant of these things, and even disfavors them; notwithstanding which, some engineers and other officers from Britain, have been making their observations upon the coasts of Sussex. Several things have lately been done, at which the French ministry is nettled; and particularly at the advice that M. Courteille, Ambassador from France in Switzerland, has given, that he was thwarted by the court of London in the affair of renewing the alliance with the Helvetick body.

Extract of a letter from Amsterdam.

"Though vast preparations are making both in G. Britain and Spain, letters of reprimand on both sides granted, and ministers reciprocally recalled; tho' even if misunderstandings between the two nations are carried on to such a pitch, that there seems to be no difference between them and an open war, except the want of a declaration: yet many people here believe, that affairs will be accommodated before coming to an open rupture. It is certain, that the French Ambassador at the court of London has lately made much more favourable propositions there than could be expected from the declaration which M. Amelot made to the Earl of Walsgrave, in a conference which he had with him a while ago, wherein he said to that Ambassador, that the King, before having proposed his mediation, jointly with that of the States General, to accommodate matters between G. Britain and Spain, had founded his Catholic Majesty upon that subject; and that this prince had appeared readily disposed to accept of the good offices of his Most Christian Majesty and their H. Mightineffes; but that he had declared at the same time, that it must not be hoped that he would ever desist from the right of causing ships to be visited, because he was thoroughly assur'd that the English would never desist from carrying on a contraband commerce. M. Amelot made in this conference fresh complaints of the ships of Admiral Haddock's squadron continuing to visit the French vessels; that one of these latter was detained.
Some thoughts upon the grounds of man's expedient of a future state. 6 d.
A short preface. A letter against the men of the Moravians. 6 d.
A letter to a friend. An English letter to a Moravian in Holland, in the English Methodists. 3 d.
A Political-Chymical-Christian preface. 6 d.

Tunbridge Wells: or, The Impropriety of a letter for 1737, 1738, 1739.
A philosophical essay on Machiavelli. 1 s.
A satire in the manner of Persius. 1 s.
A dissertation on Ancient and Modern Learning. By T. Addison, Esq. 2 s.
An address to a man of science. To Stephen Dief, being an answer to his poem called the Thorough-Law. 6 d.
The Lord: A collection of about 150 of the best English and Scots songs. 1 s.
A collection of original pieces of Scripture, &c. relating to Christian duties. By W. Whiston, M. A. 1 s. 6 d.

Proceedings of the Afflicted Society, containing their declamations, answers to the libel and act of Assembly relative to the Seceding Ministers, and Mr. Erasmus's protest in Stirling parish. 1 s.
Select pieces of Thomas à Kempis. 6 d.

Mr. Kirke. 2 vol. Edit. 1739. 2 vols.
The K. of Spain's Manuscript, accompanied with an account of the events and transactions for not paying the 95,000 l. stipulated by the convention, and English Methodists. 6 d.
A letter to Sir G————— on the enioing election of a Lord Mayor. 6 d.
A letter to the Livy-tum of London on the ensuing election of a Lord Mayor. 6 d.
An address to the Livy-tum of London on the ensuing election of a Lord Mayor. 6 d.
A letter to Sir G————— on the ensuing election of a Lord Mayor. 6 d.
With about a dozen more upon the same subject.
OCTOBER, 1739.

To be continued every Month. Price Sixpence each.

CONTAINING,

Political Debates. Speeches of C. Plinius Cæcilius, M. Agrippa, C. Cicerojus, and L. Piso, upon a motion, That an address of thanks should be presented to his Majesty for the late convention with Spain.

A letter relating to the Stage, &c.

Weekly Essays. Mercury and ghosts; Observations on the late election of the Lord Mayor of London; Extracts of a pamphlet published in the time of the Rump parliament; On the art of supporting a war; Free thoughts occasion’d by the declaration of war.

Remarks on Dr Campbell’s Necessity of Revelation, &c.

Political Essays. Ode on his Majesty’s birth-day; To the memory of a Lady deceas’d; To a young Lady with the Fair Circassian; To Nezara, on her breach of promise; A translation from G. Buchanan’s Maja Calenda, &c.

Domestic History. Instructions to the representatives for London, Edinburgh, &c.; The declaration of war; Deaths, Preferments, &c.

Foreign History. C. Munich’s letter to the Duke of Courland; The British Ambassador’s memorial to the States General, and their letter to the King of Great Britain, &c.

Register of Books.

EDINBURGH: Printed by W. Sands, A. Brymer, A. Murray and J. Cochran. Sold by the Booksellers in Town and Country, and at the Printing-house in Burnet’s Close. MDCCXXXIX.

Of whom may be had the Magazines for the preceding months.
C O N T E N T S.

An Address to the House of Commons, at P. 438
The behawers of the city of London
P. 439
in the late election justified.

The Conduct of the Government, P. 440
A scheme towards supporting the ex-
duence of a war.

The Question on both sides between G. P. 441
Extracts of a pamphlet published at
Britain and Spain.
the time of the House-parlament at

Dispute about Carolina and Georgia P. 442
Q. Amen's Speech in parliament in
440
1703.

The present circumstances of affairs ib. P. 443
A short comment upon it.

The above reason answered. 442
Thoughts on the declaration of war.

To give weight to negociations by mi-
Dr Campbell's principles stated, with

itary preparations, bad politics. 443
remarks upon them.

Contraband, and prohibited goods, dif-
Ode on his Majesty's birthday. 445
ferent.

The British laws against smuggling P. 446
To the memory of a deceased Lady. Or
not detrimental to fair traders.
the death of a young Lady. To a

The case of ships bouncing on the Bri-
young Lady with the Fair Cunas.

tish, and on the American coast, P. 447
To Neera.

different.

Usual in compliment to the King on a P. 449
Mr Glover's speech.

Dr Campbells' principles stated, with
The compliment only to the ministers.

remarks upon them.

The Spanish demands examined. 451
The merchant-company's petition.

The British demands examined. 452
Instructions to the members for Edin-

What is agreed on by the convention. 453
Herburg and Airthire.

A right of free trade enjoyed. 455
Births, Deaths, Preferments.

Our right to Georgia and Carolina P. 457
Mortality-bill.

considered.

Present state of affairs considered ib. P. 458
Memorial to the States General.

A translation from Buchanan 460
Their letter to the King of Britain.

A difference between the two theatres 461
Register of books.

Dialogus betwixt Mercury and a P. 462


Just published at LONDON.

A N Essay on Regimen; together with five Discourses, Medical, Moral, and
Philosophical; serving to illustrate the Principles and Theory of Philosophical
Medicine, and point out some of its Moral Consequences. By George Chey.
M. D. C. R. Ed. S. and F. R. S. — Printed for C. Rivington in St Paul's
Church-yard, and J. Leake Bookseller in Bath; and to be sold by W. Mount &

Of whom may be had,

Essays Moral and Philosophical
Martin on Logarithms
Leadbeater's Mathematicks

Ladies Dispensatory; or, Every Woman
her own Physician

And of them and J. Traill, just published,

Miscellaneous Works of his late Excellency Matthew Prior, Esq. Con-
stituting of Poems on several occasions, never before published; and, The History of his
own Time. The whole revised and signed by himself; and copied fair for the Price
by Mr Adrian Drift, his Executor. In two Volumes Octavo.

Gentlemen in town may have the Magazine sent to their lodgings, or those
in the country, to their carriers quarters, as soon as they are published.
The Scots Magazine.

OCTOBER, 1739.

Proceedings of the Political Club, continued from p. 408.

Shall now give you the substance of some of the most remarkable speeches that were made in our club, upon the late convention with Spain; which affair, because of the importance of the subject, and because a great many members of our club had a mind to give their sentiments upon it, was twice debated, and each time fully argued, by different members.

The first day this affair was ordered to be debated, 'twas resolved, That the several members who were to speak, should suppose themselves members of the higher house of parliament; where, upon C. Cicerijsus stood up and said, If he had the honour to be a member of that house, he would move, "That an humble address should be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of that house for laying the convention between his Majesty and the King of Spain, dated the 11th Day of January last, together with the separate articles, before that house: To declare, that they thought it their indispenisible duty, on that occasion, to express their just sense of his Majesty's royal care of the true interest of his people; and to acknowledge his great prudence, in bringing the demands of his subjects for their just losses, which had been so long depending, to a final adjournment by the said convention, and procuring an express stipulation for a speedy payment; and in laying a foundation for accomplishing the great and desirable ends of obtaining future security, and preferring the peace between the two nations: To beg leave also to declare to his Majesty, their confidence and reliance on his royal wisdom and steady attention to the honour of his crown, and the welfare of his kingdoms, and that in the treaty to be concluded in pursuance of that convention, proper provisions would be made for redress of the grievances so justly complain'd of; and particularly, that the freedom of navigation in the American seas, to which his Majesty's subjects were intitled by the law of nations, and by virtue of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, would be so effectually secur'd, that they might enjoy, un molested, their undoubted right of navigating, and carrying on trade and commerce from one part of his Majesty dominions to any other part thereof, without being liable to be stopped, visited, or searched, on the open seas, or to any other violation or infracion of the said treaties; the mutual observance thereof, and a just regard to the privileges belonging to each other, being the only means of maintaining a good correspondence, and lasting friendship between the two nations: And to desire permission at the same time, in the most dutiful manner, to express their firm dependence, that in the treaty to be concluded in pursuance of the said convention, the utmost regard would be had to the rights belonging to his Majesty's crown and subjects, in adjusting and settling the limits of his Majesty's dominions in America; and to give his Majesty the strongest assurances, that in case his just expectations should not be answer'd, that house would heartily and zealously concur in all such measures as should be necessary to vindicate his Majesty's honour, and to preserve to his subjects, the full enjoyment of all those rights to which they were intitled.
titled by treaty, and the law of nations."

This proposition introduced the debate upon the convention, in which many excellent speeches were made both for and against it; but as the whole would take up a great deal of more room than you have to spare, I shall give you the substance only of some of the most remarkable.

The first I shall give you, by C. Plinius Cæcilius, was to this effect.

My Lords, the C. CHANCELLOR.

He addresses now proposed to you, is so agreeable to the resolutions you came to last session of parliament, upon the depredations that had been committed by Spain; and it is so natural a consequence of the address you presented to his Majesty upon that occasion, and of the measures his Majesty has since taken in pursuance of that address, that when I first heard it proposed, I did not expect it would have met with the least opposition. By the resolutions you came to last session of parliament, you asserted the right which the people of this nation have to a free navigation in the open seas of America; and you declared, that many unjust seizures had been made, and great depredations committed, by the Spaniards, to the great loss and damage of the subjects of Great Britain trading to America, and in direct violation of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns. This was the sum of your resolutions, and in consequence of these resolutions, you addressed his Majesty to use his endeavours with his Catholic Majesty, to obtain effectual relief for his injured subjects, and security for our navigation and commerce in time to come; and at the same time you assured his Majesty, that in case his royal and friendly instigations should not prevail, you would effectually support his Majesty in taking such measures, as honour and justice should render necessary.

From hence, my Lords, it appears to have been the opinion of this house last session of parliament, that we had then no occasion to come to an immediate rupture with Spain; but that his Majesty should first try what he could do by peaceable means, for obtaining reparation for past injuries, and security against any such for the future. Accordingly his Majesty did, in pursuance of this advice from his parliament, renew his negotiations with the court of Spain; and to give his negotiations their proper weight, he fitted out such squadrons as were sufficient for protecting the trade, and vindicating the honour of this nation by force of arms, in case that court had refused, or unreasonably delayed hearkning to those friendly instigations, that were made to them by his Majesty.

This, my Lords, we now find has had the desired effect. From the preparations that were made here at home, and the squadrons that were fitted out, Spain saw we were in earnest, that his Majesty was resolved not to be any longer trifled with, and therefore they began seriously to consider the consequences of an open rupture. These consequences they had reason to be afraid of, they were afraid of them, and by their fears they were induced, I may say compelled, to give ear to the friendly instigations that were made to them, and to acknowledge the injuries they had done, by promising to make as ample a satisfaction as we could reasonably insist on. I say, my Lords, as ample a satisfaction as we could reasonably insist on; for surely, if we expected satisfaction from them, it was but reasonable that we should allow them satisfaction for all the just claims they had upon us. According to this, which is certainly the just, and the only reasonable way of reckoning, in every case where there are mutual demands, the stipulated payment, which they have agreed to make in four months after the ratification of the treaty, is a full reparation for all the demands we had to make upon them, allowing a reasonable discount for prompt payment. For even according to the account stated by our own Commissaries, the claim of our merchants did not, at a moderate computation, amount to above 200,000 l. and the claims they had upon us were allowed to amount at least to 60,000 l. which reduced the sum due by them to
Proeceedings of the Political Club.

The prompt payment of which we have allowed them 45,000 l. which is but a reasonable allowance, considering the delays we might have met with, if we had accepted of assign-ments upon his Catholick Majesty's revenues in N. Spain: Allowing therefore of this discount, it reduces the 140,000 l. which is all we could pretend to be due, to the sum of 95,000 l. which sum they have, by this convention, expressly pro-mised to pay here at London, within four months after the ratification; and that without delaying the payment of the said sum, on account of any restitution that was been made, in consequence of his Catholick Majesty's orders, of the whole, any part of the value of the ships men- tioned in the 4th article.

Thus, my Lords, we may see, that by this convention his Majesty has obtained one of the chief things recommended to him by his parliament last session; and as this has been obtained without involving the nation in a war, we have the more reason to thank his Majesty for the tender regard he has had, not only for those of his subjects that have already suffered by the Spanish depredations, but for all his subjects; because it is certain they would all have greatly suffered, if he had rashly and unwisely involved the nation in a dangerous and expensive war. But with respect to our future se-curity, as it depends upon disputes, which it was impossible to enquire into fully, and determine absolutely, without a very mature deliberation; therefore, from the very nature of the thing, we could not expect, nor could his Majesty with any shew of reason insist upon its being explicitly provided for by a preliminary convention: however, his Majesty has taken so great care of the future security of our navigation and commerce, that he has got the Spanish court to agree, by this convention, to submit all the disputes that now subsist between the two nations, to the discussion of Plenipoten-tiaries, to be named respectively by the two crowns; and that no chicanery de-lays may be made use of on the part of Spain, it is expressly provided, that the Plenipoten-tiaries so named shall begin their conferences six weeks after the ex-change of the ratifications, and shall fi-nish them within the space of eight months.

This was, in my opinion, my Lords, all that it was possible to do by a preli-minary convention, with regard to the other disputes that now subsist between us and Spain; but tho' the final determina-tion of those disputes be deferred for a short time, tho' we have submitted them to the discussion of Plenipotentiaries, yet by such delay and submission, we are so far from having acknowledged any of our undoubted rights to be dispu-table, as has been groundlessly insinu-ated, that the Spaniards have, in some measure, given up that right which is the principal one in dispute between the two nations. They pretended to a right to search our ships in the seas of America, in order to see whether they had been concerned in an illicit trade, and to seize and confiscate ship and cargo, in case it appeared that they had been concerned in such a trade, by their having what they call contraband goods on board. They have by this convention agreed to make good to us the damages we have sustained by their exercise of such a pretended right; they have agreed to pay us costs: and is not this a direct acknowledgment that they have been in the wrong? This is at least a tacit acknowledgment, that they now think they had no just claim to the right they have so long pretended to; and this I think, is a certain sign, that by the definitive treaty, which is to be con-cluded, in pursuance of this preliminary convention, they will make no scruple to give it up in the most express terms we can desire.

But, my Lords, with regard to the present disputes between the Spaniards and us, I find people have generally fallen into a very great mistake, by not dis-tinguishing properly between a right and the enjoyment of that right. We have a right to a free navigation in the Ameri-can seas, and to carry on what commerce we think fit between our own colo-nies and G. Britain, or between any one of our own colonies and another:
This is a right which the Spaniards never pretended to dispute with us. On the other hand, they have a right to prevent the carrying on of any contraband trade with their settlements in America; which is a right we never pretended to dispute with them. The chief dispute between us is about the enjoyment of our respective rights. They do not dispute our right to a free navigation in the American seas; but the question between us is, How shall we enjoy that right, so as not to prejudice their right to prevent a contraband trade’s being carried on with their settlements in that part of the world? nor do we dispute their right to prevent such a contraband trade; but the question is, How they shall enjoy that right, so as not to prejudice our right to a free navigation? This is the chief dispute now subsisting between the two nations; this must be regulated before peace and friendship can be fully restored; and this could not be done in a short time, or by a preliminary convention. The affair must be fully examined and maturely considered, in order to contrive and mutually settle such regulations as may not be prejudicial to either. For this reason it was referred by both to be enquired into and regulated by Plenipotentiaries. But what are these Plenipotentiaries to regulate? Not the rights of either nation; but only the methods by which each nation is to enjoy its respective right for the future.

My Lords, if we would but consider our own case, I am persuaded we would look upon this as an affair not quite so easy to be settled as some people imagine. We pretend to a right, and we certainly have a right, to prevent any goods from being clandestinely run into this island, or into any of our dominions. We pretend to a right, and we certainly have a right, to prevent the exportation of our wool. On the other hand, the Dutch, the French, and all other nations, have a right to sail with their ships along our coasts, and even through the British channel. As long as they give us the honour of the flag, and abstain from all clandestine and prohibited trade, we have no right to interrupt them; yet every one knows, that our guardships and custom-house loops often stop them in their voyage, in order to examine, whether they have been concerned in any clandestine trade, such as the exporting of wool, or running any prohibited or uncustomed goods. Nay, we have gone so far as to make laws against ships that shall be found hovering within ten leagues of our coast; and particularly, by a law passed but very lately, it is enacted, That, where any vessel comes from foreign parts, and having on board 6 lb of tea, or any foreign brandy, or other spirits, in casks under 60 gallons, except 2 gallons for each seaman, shall be found at anchor, or hovering within the limits of any port of this kingdom, or within two leagues of the shore, and proceeding on her voyage with the least opportunity; all such tea, foreign brandy, and spirits, together with the package, or the value thereof, shall be forfeited, and the same may be seized.

This, my Lords, I do not mention with a design to draw any parallel between our behaviour and the behaviour of the Spaniards. We have exercised our right in such a manner, that no foreign nation has the least reason to say we have done them an injury, or to complain of the regulations we have made for the preservation and exercise of our right. On the contrary, the Spaniards have exercised the right they have to prevent a contraband trade with their settlements in America, in such a manner, that not only we, but every nation in Europe that has any trade in that part of the world, have just reason to complain of them, and to insist upon their altering the regulations they have made for the preservation of their right. Therefore, I say, I do not mention this, in order to make a comparison between their conduct and ours; but I mention it to show that, where a nation has a right of any kind, they have a power to make such regulations, even with regard to foreigners, as they think necessary for the preservation and exercise of that right, provided those regulations be not inconsistent with the law of nations, nor prejudicial to the rights or privileges of their
neighbours. This is the principal dispute at present between Spain and us. We ought in justice to allow them to make such regulations, as may be necessary for preventing the carrying on of any contraband trade with their settlements in America; and on the other hand, they ought in justice to give up, and depart from any regulations they have made, if upon examination they be found contrary to the law of nations, or if by experience they have been found prejudicial to the undoubted rights and privileges of this nation. We have a right to a free navigation in the American seas; but we ought not to insist upon that navigation's being so very free and unconfined, as to render it impossible for the Spaniards to prevent an illicit trade with their settlements in that part of the world. We would look upon it as the height of injustice, if the French or Dutch should insist upon such an unlimited navigation along our coasts, and through the British channel, as would render it impossible for us to prevent the exportation of our wool, or the running of prohibited and uncensed goods in upon us. If your Lordships consider the affair in this light, I am convinced you will be all of my opinion: you will look upon it as an affair that could not be easily settled; and will therefore think, that the most his Majesty could do, was, to have it referred to Plenipotentiaries, in order that they might settle such regulations between Spain and us, as might be effectual for the enjoyment of the right of each nation respectively, without hurting the right of the other; and at the same time you will see, that the word, regulate, was the only proper term upon this occasion, and that it does not mean an acknowledgment of any unjust right pretended to by Spain, nor a giving up of any of the undoubted rights of this nation, as some people have endeavoured to represent.

It has been proved at your bar, my Lords, and every man who considers the situation of our islands, and the Spanish islands in the West-Indies, and the nature of the winds and tides in the American seas, must see, that the ships of both nations must often and necessarily sail within two leagues of the coasts of one another. Our ships may even sometimes be obliged to hover upon their coasts; and it may, for what I know, be found absolutely necessary, to allow the Spaniards a liberty, under proper regulations, to examine such of our merchant ships, as they find hovering within a certain distance of any of their coasts in that part of the world. This liberty, I say, may, for what I know, be necessary for enabling them to prevent an illicit trade's being carried on between our subjects, and their settlements in the West-Indies. It is a liberty which we ourselves take with the ships of all nations, that are found hovering within two leagues of our coasts. Nay, it is a liberty which seems to be granted to them, and established by the treaties subsisting between the two crowns; for by the 4th article of the treaty between Spain and us, in the year 1667, it is expressly stipulated, That if any ship belonging to the subjects and merchants of the one or other nation, entering into bays, or in the open sea, shall be encountered by the ships of war belonging to the other nation; such ship of war may examine such merchant ship, and if any prohibited goods be found on board such ship, the same may be taken out and confiscated. From whence it appears, that the Spanish ships of war have already a power to examine such of our merchant ships as they encounter in the open seas, whether in America, or Europe; for the article is without limitation: and if they have of late made an unjust or wrong use of that power, we ought to insist upon its being put under such regulations, as may prevent such a bad use being made of it in time to come: but as the contriving and settling such regulations, must require a consultation with those who are well acquainted with the trade and navigation in America, we cannot suppose they could be settled by a preliminary treaty; and therefore, the only measure that could be taken, was, to refer them to be settled by Plenipotentiaries, so as that they might afterwards be made.
made part of a definitive treaty between the two nations.

I must now, my Lords, beg leave to consider a little, the dispute between Spain and us relating to Carolina and Georgia. This, likewise, my Lords, cannot properly be called a dispute about any of the undoubted rights either of this nation or of Spain. They do not dispute, at least they have not lately disputed, our right to what was formerly called Carolina, of which Georgia is a part; nor do we dispute their right to the Southern parts of Florida: The only dispute between us, is about the limits between our respective possessions in that part of the world; and this dispute it was impossible to settle by a preliminary convention. Such disputes, we know, are seldom adjusted, even by a definitive treaty; for when any such dispute subsists between two nations, they often, I may say generally, conclude even a solemn and definitive treaty, and by that treaty they agree, that the limits between their respective territories shall be afterwards adjusted and settled by Commissioners or Plenipotentiaries, to be named and appointed by the two contracting parties respectively: and therefore, my Lords, I must say, I am surprized to hear the least objection made against this part of the convention now under our consideration.

'Tis true, my Lords, we have agreed, that during the time that the discussion of this affair, relating to the limits between Carolina and Florida, shall last, things shall remain in the aforesaid territories of Florida and Carolina, in the situation they are in at present, without increasing the fortifications there, or taking any new posts. This is a sort of suspension of the free enjoyment of our right; but this is a confirmation of the right itself; because it imports an acknowledgment from Spain, that we have a right to some territories in Florida or Carolina. And for this very reason, it would have been wrong in us to have admitted of any article or words in this treaty, for obliging the Spaniards to suspend sending our ships on the open seas of America, during the discussion of that affair; because our having signified any such suspension, would have been an acknowledgment that they had some sort of right to do so; in which case, some Lords would have had much more reason than they have at present, to insist, that by this treaty we had given up, or rendered disputable, some of the most undoubted rights of this nation.

Having thus, my Lords, shewn, that no reasonable objection can be made to the treaty now before us, I must beg your Lordships to consider the present circumstances of Europe, the circumstances of this nation, and the relations we stand in to Spain. To all nations it must be granted that peace is a desirable thing. It must be allowed, that no nation ought to enter into a war against any neighbouring nation whatever, if they can obtain every thing they can justly demand by peaceable means. But with regard to this nation, we ought to be more cautious of entering into a war than most others. We are a trading nation: a great part of our people subsist by trade; and even our landed Gentlemen, who have no concern in trade, owe a great part of their yearly revenue to the commerce and manufactures we carry on; for if it were not for our trade and manufactures, our farms could not let at so high a rent as they do, nor could we have near so many houses in our towns and villages. Therefore, as war must always interrupt our trade, we ought to be extremely cautious of engaging in war: and more so with regard to Spain than most other nations in Europe; because, I believe, it will be allowed, that our trade with Spain is more profitable to the nation in general, than our trade with any other nation in Europe, except Portugal alone. But suppose we were under a sort of necessity to engage in war, yet unless that necessity were extremely urgent as well as unavoidable, we ought to put off engaging in war for some time, both on account of our own circumstances, and on account of the present circumstances of affairs in Europe. With regard to our own circumstances, it must be
be confessed, that, considering the present heavy load of debt we labour under, and the many taxes we are obliged to raise for the payment of that debt, we are at present in no very good condition for engaging in a dangerous and expensive war; and with regard to the affairs of Europe, they were never in a more unlucky situation for us, than they are at this time. If we should immediately engage in a war with Spain, it is possible, I may say, it is probable, that the Spaniards will be assisted by France, and perhaps by some other powers of Europe we little dream of at present. On the other hand, as the Emperor is engaged in a war with the Turks, and has been surprizingly unlucky in the prosecution of that war, we can expect no assistance from that quarter; and this will of course prevent any of the other powers upon the continent from giving us any assistance, because it will be impossible to form an army upon the continent, sufficient for protecting them against the united force of France and Spain, assisted, perhaps, by several of the other Princes and States in Europe.

I know, my Lords, it may be said, that as we have the good luck to be environed by the sea, and have a fleet superior to any that France and Spain, joined together, can bring against us, we may protect our own trade and dominions, and so much infest the trade and dominions of our enemies, as to make them at last glad to agree to reasonable terms: but, my Lords, if our enemies are, by their great land armies, absolute masters upon the continent, they may not only prevent our receiving assistance from any of the princes or states upon the continent; but they may induce or oblige them all to join against us; at least they may oblige them to deny us access to any of their ports or harbours, either for our men of war or merchant ships, which would at once put an entire stop to our trade, and would make it impossible or very dangerous to send our squadrons to any great distance from our own ports: for tho' they may be superior to any squadrons that can be fitted out against them, they are not equal to winds and tempests. By these they may be scattered and dispersed, some of them perhaps swallowed up, and the rest left a prey to a pugnacious foe, that might lie skulking in port, and watching for such an opportunity.

It must therefore be acknowledged, my Lords, that the present circumstances of our affairs both at home and abroad, are no way suitable for our engaging in an immediate war. I should have been far from saying so much of them if they had not been well and publicly known. And as every thing I have said is well known to every court in Europe, I think, that, instead of finding fault with the little we have obtained by this preliminary treaty, we have reason to be surprized, that His Majesty was able to obtain so much. If the treaty had been much less favourable for us, I should have been for approving it; because it would have prevented our being obliged to come to an immediate rupture. For though the circumstances of our affairs, both abroad and at home, be at present in a bad situation, they cannot long continue so.

Our own circumstances, while we remain at peace, will be every day growing better: We shall every year be able to pay off some part of our debt, and thereby either diminish our taxes, or increase our sinking fund. And as to the circumstances of affairs in Europe, they cannot long remain in the present situation. It is the peculiar happiness of this isle, that no one nation in the world can attack us; and if we do not rashly and unadvisedly attack them, if we will but have patience, we can seldom fail of meeting with a good opportunity, in every four or five years time, for making the most of the most powerful nation in Europe, heartily repent of having injur'd this nation; and that without exposing our own country to the least danger, or to any great expense. As there are a great many different interests upon the continent, as those different interests are every day creating disputes among the Princes and States thereof, and as several deaths may hap-
happen that must give the affairs of Europe a turn in our favour; it would be most imprudent in us to engage in a war at present, when the state of affairs in Europe is in a situation the most unfavourable for this nation that ever any age produced: and therefore, I must think, that the convention now before us, was one of the wisest steps that could be made, and that it highly deserves the thanks of every man who wishes well to his country.

To what I have said, my Lords, I must add, that in a few years we shall probably be more united among ourselves, than we are at present. It must be allowed, that we have at present a very numerous party amongst us, who would be ready to join any invader, against our established government; some out of a real principle, some from the hopes of making or mending their own private fortunes by the change, and some from malice and an unjust resentment against those who are employed in our administration. The numbers of those who are from principle disaffected to our government, will be decreasing every day; because, as their disaffection proceeds from a wrong education in their youth, their children have had an opportunity of learning other principles, and of discovering the ridiculousness of those principles by which their parents were governed: so that nature itself must put an end to this disaffection, since it can meet with no considerable supply from the rising generation. As for those who hope for advantage by a change, their numbers will always depend upon the probability of success; and therefore must always be greater or less, according as the juncture of affairs abroad is unlucky or favourable for this nation. And as to those who are governed by malice and resentment, time itself must blunt the edge of their passions; and common prudence will prevent their engaging with the enemies of their country, when, from the state of affairs in Europe, they can have but little probability of success.

From all which considerations, my Lords, I must be of opinion, that if the present convention had not been necessary, it would have been more prudent in His Majesty to have accepted of it, than to have engaged the nation in an immediate war; but I have shewn, that we have thereby obtained all we could reasonably desire; it must be allowed that his Majesty has closely, and with surprising success, followed the advice that was given him by his parliament last session: and therefore, I think, we can do nothing less than thank him in the terms proposed.

The next that spoke was Mr. Agrippa, whose speech was in substance:

My Lords, as I have before given you my opinion upon this question, which is not in the least altered by any thing the Noble Lord that spoke last has said, I rise up now only to take notice of some things that fell from that Noble Lord. In the first part of his discourse he endeavoured to shew, that the measures pursued since last session, and the convention that has been concluded, were agreeable to the resolutions and address of this house last session of parliament. My Lords, 'tis so far otherwise, that not one who reads the resolutions we then came to, and the address we then presented, both the measures we have pursued, and the treaty we have concluded, must appear to be directly contrary to the advice we then gave. We advised peaceable measures, 'tis true; but we did not advise that the nation should, in the midst of peace, be put to the expenses of war: We advised his Majesty, 'tis true, to endeavour to procure satisfaction and security by peaceable means; but we did not advise him to accept of a treaty which stipulates neither the one nor the other: on the contrary, we expressly recommended to his Majesty to insist not only upon no search, but upon no contraband goods; whereas, in the treaty his ministers have advised him to accept of, there is not so much as a stipulation against either the one or the other, though both have been, for several years, openly and expressly pretended to by the Spaniards, and many of our merchants.
fitter out harmless squadrons. We have by a long course of such politics, I am afraid, brought the nation into such contempt, that our neighbours now as little regard our military preparations, as they do our pacifick negotiations; and we have of late years made so many counter treaties, that, I'm afraid, every nation in Europe despises our promises, as much as they contempt our threatening.

If we consider what has been done since last session, and the great expense the nation has been put to; nay if we give credit to what has been intimated by the Noble Lords who have spoke in favour of this convention, we cannot say his Majesty has obtained this treaty, insignificant as it is, by peaceable measures, but by warlike preparations; and if the obstinacy of the Spaniards made such preparations necessary, they, and not the people of this nation, ought to have been made to pay for their obstinacy. But with regard to the treaty itself, if we will but look upon the resolutions and address of last year, we must see that it is still more contrary to the advice we then gave. We advised and recommended in the strongest terms, that his Majesty should insist upon no search, and also upon no contraband goods: In this treaty there is not a word of either; and yet every one must allow, that we recommended, and that we had great reason to recommend, that the Spaniards should be obliged, either by peaceable means, or by force of arms, to part from both these pretences in the most express terms. The Spaniards, my Lords, may, without our consent, make what regulations they please for preventing an illicit trade with their colonies in America, provided those regulations be not inconsistent with the law of nations, nor contrary to the treaties subsisting between the two crowns: but that of searching our ships on the open seas, is not only inconsistent with the law of nations, but expressly contrary to the treaties subsisting between the two crowns. The Noble Lord was pleased to repeat a part of the 14th article of the treaty 1667: I wish he had repeated the whole; for
for by that article it is expressly stipulated, That if any ship belonging to the subjects and merchants of the one or the other nation, entering into ports, or in the open sea, shall be encountered by the ships of war of the other; such ships of war, to prevent disorders, shall not come within cannon-shot, but shall send their long-boat, or pinnace, to the merchant ship, and only two or three men on board, to whom the master shall shew his passports and sea-letters, to which entire faith and credit shall be given. Nay, by the foregoing article it is provided, That if the ships belonging to the subjects of the one or other nation, be necessitated to anchor in the roads or bays of either, or even to enter into the ports of either, they shall not be molested or visited; but that it shall be sufficient for them to shew their passports or sea-letters, which being seen by the respective officers of either King, the said ships shall return freely to sea without any molestation. From hence we may see, how careful our administration was in the reign of Charles II. to guard against our merchant ships being exposed to the trouble and inconveniences of a search; and yet some people are as ready to censure every thing that was done in that reign, as they are ready to applaud every thing that has been done in the present.

This treaty of 1667, my Lords, as the Noble Lord that spoke last has observed before me, is a general and unlimited treaty: it relates to the seas of America, as well as to the seas of Europe; and as it has been renewed and confirmed by every treaty between the two crowns since that time, it plainly demonstrates, that the searching our ships in any part of the world, or under any pretence whatsoever, is contrary to treaty, as well as inconsistent with the law of nations. Therefore, as the Spaniards have lately set up a pretence to search our ships on the open seas of America, before we had submitted to treat with them about any regulations for rendering effectual the right they have to prevent an illicit trade with their settlements in that part of the world, we ought to have inquired upon their passing from this pretence, in the most explicit terms that could be made use of.

Now, my Lords, with regard to contraband or prohibited goods, for we must take care to distinguish between the two. Because contraband goods are only arms ammunition, and other utensils of war which are on board a ship bound to an enemy's port; therefore none of our ships either in the American seas, or any other seas, can have any goods on board, which the Spaniards can call contraband, unless the be bound to some of the ports of those who are at that very time in war with Spain. But suppose a Spanish ship of war should meet at sea a British ship, and that by her passports or sea-letters it should appear, that she is bound to a port then belonging to the enemies of Spain; for it can in no other way appear but by her passports or sea-letters, as is evident from the 14th article of the treaty of 1667, which I have already mentioned: yet even in that case the Spaniards are not to search the British ship at sea, nor are they to confiscate the ship and cargo for the sake of the contraband goods that appear to be on board. By the 23d article of the same treaty, it is expressly provided, That in case any contraband goods be found on board, by the above said means, they shall be taken out and confiscated; but for this reason the ship, and the other free and allowed commodities which shall be found therein, shall in no wise be either joined or confiscated. And to prevent all disputes about what may be deemed contraband the several sorts of goods to be deemed contraband are particularly enumerated in the 24th article; and by the 25th article it is expressly stipulated, That wheat, rye, barley, or other grain, or pulse, fish, wine, oil, and generally whatever belongs to the sustaining and nourishing a life, shall not be deemed contraband, being designed to be carried to the towns or places of enemies, unless such town or place be besieged, and block'd up, or surrounded: which shews, that if the Spaniards had the least regard for this nation, or for the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, they would never have pre-
prohibited to have seized a British ship in the American seas, on account of her having any contraband goods on board.

As to prohibited goods, my Lords, they are very different from those properly called contraband. Prohibited goods, which in Latin are called *merces prohibita*, without adding the words, *guise contrabandae*, are such goods as are prohibited to be imported, or such as are prohibited to be exported, by the laws of any particular country. Both in Spain and England there are goods which are prohibited to be exported, and as there is an intercourse of trade between the two nations in Europe, the subjects of England may be liable to be punished, if they should export from Spain any of the goods prohibited to be exported by the laws of that kingdom, as well as the subjects of Spain may be liable to be punished, if they should export from hence any of the goods prohibited to be exported by the laws of this kingdom. This, I say, may be the case with regard to our respective dominions in Europe; and therefore this case too was regulated by the treaty 1667: for by the 15th article of that treaty it is stipulated, That if any prohibited goods be exported from the territories of either of the said Kings, by the respective subjects of the one or the other, the prohibited goods shall be only confiscated, and not the other goods; neither shall the delinquent incur any other punishment, except he shall carry out from the dominions of the King of G. Britain, the proper coin, wool, or fuller's earth of the said kingdoms; or shall carry out of the kingdoms or dominions of the said King of Spain, any gold or silver, wrought or unwrought; in either of which cases the laws of the respective countries are to take place.

But, my Lords, as there is no intercourse of trade between the subjects of G. Britain, and the Spanish settlements in America, or between the subjects of Spain and the British settlements in that part of the world; therefore there can be no goods on board any ships of the one nation trading in those seas, that can be called prohibited by the other. The very trade itself is prohibited, and consequently every shilling's worth that any British ship can export from the Spanish settlements in America, let the goods be of whatever sort or kind, must be prohibited; and may be seized and confiscated, not because she has got prohibited or contraband goods on board, but because she has been concerned in an illicit trade.

From what I have said, my Lords, it must appear, that no British ship failing in the American seas, can have any goods on board which the Spaniards can call prohibited or contraband goods; and as they have lately set up such a pretence, and have seized and confiscated a great many of our ships upon that account, therefore we ought to have insisted upon their waving that pretence, before we had submitted to treat with them upon any other article. But suppose the Spaniards should say, they do not seize our ships in the American seas on account of their having prohibited or contraband goods on board, but on account of their having goods on board which are the proper produce of their settlements in that part of the world, because they look upon their having such goods on board as an incontestable proof of such ships having been concerned in an illicit trade with their settlements; my Lords, it would be ridiculous in us to admit of this, and still more ridiculous to admit of their searching British ships on the open seas of America upon this pretence: for they would certainly soon after pretend to search every ship they met with in the European seas, and to confiscate ship and cargo, in case they should find any Spanish gold or silver on board; because they would say, that her having Spanish gold or silver on board, was an incontestable proof of her having exported it clandestinely from some part of Spain, and consequently that the laws of their country ought to take place, according to the 15th article of the treaty 1667: Whereas by that treaty, and by the custom ever since, no British ship can be searched on the open seas by any Spanish ship of war; and consequently even those goods which are prohibited...
ted to be exported from Spain, cannot be seized or confiscated, after they are loaded on board a British ship, and that ship fairly out at sea, unless it should appear by her passports or sea-letters, that they were exported from Spain; which is a case that can never happen: for it can never appear by a ship's passports or sea-letters, that such goods were exported from Spain; because, when they are exported from thence clandestinely, as they must be, no account of them can appear in the ship's passports or sea-letters: and such goods, when exported from any other country, cannot then be called prohibited goods by the Spaniards; because they appear then by the ship's passports or sea-letters, not to have been exported from Spain, and consequently can neither be seized nor confiscated by the Spaniards.

I shall allow, my Lords, that the Spaniards have as good a right to prevent an illicit trade with their settlements in America, as we have to prevent an illicit trade with ours. Between these two cases a parallel may be drawn, in order to see which of us takes the wifhest and the juiciest methods for preserving our right. But I was surprised to hear a parallel attempted to be drawn between an illicit trade with the Spanish settlements in America, and a clandestine or unlawful trade upon the coasts of G. Britain and Ireland. In the former there is no intercourse of trade allowed to foreigners: no foreign ship can enter any of their ports, but in cases of the greatest necessity; therefore, it is easy to prevent an illicit trade, without any severe precautions: to which I must add, that as there is no convenience of land-carriage from the by-creeks and corners of their coast to any of their great towns, no illicit trade can be carried on, but at places near some of their great towns; and there it would be easy to prevent it, by proper officers and proper regulations at land: nay, even one of their own governors was of opinion, as appears by a letter of his, which was read at our bar, that it would be easy to prevent an illicit trade, by proper precautions at land, without employing one guarda costà at sea:

Whereas in Britain and Ireland there is a free intercourse of trade allowed to all foreigners, and convenient land or water carriage from every by-creek and corner of our coasts, to many populous cities and villages; and therefore, it is easy for foreigners, as well as our own subjects, to run prohibited or unallowed goods in upon us, or to steal or wool or fullers earth away from us; but it is absolutely necessary for us to take precautions, both by sea and land, against such practices.

However, my Lords, notwithstanding the difficulty we labour under in this case, let us but consider the laws we have made against the exporting of our wool and against smuggling, and we shall find that no foreign nation can have the least ground to complain of them, nor can any foreigner suffer by them, unless he is really guilty, or very much to blame. We have, 'tis true, very severe laws against the exportation of our wool, and we have guard-ships appointed on purpose, and instructed to seize all ships exporting that valuable commodity to foreign parts; but those guard-ships never pretend to search or seize any foreign vessel, unless they have a full proof, or a very great cause of suspicion, that the wool on board, which was actually exported, or carried out to her, from some part of Britain or Ireland. And as to those laws that have been made against ships hovering within two leagues of our coasts, they are so limited, that it is hardly possible any foreigner can suffer, unless he has a real design to smuggle: for even by the last act that was made against such ships, which is the most severe, I mean the late famous Smuggling act, passed but about three years since, the vessel must have tea, or foreign spirits on board, and those spirits must be in casks under 60 gallons: and further, she must not only appear to be hovering, but also it must appear, that she did not proceed upon her voyage, wind and weather permitting, and without the master being able to shew, that she was detained, or prevented from proceeding, by any necessary cause whatsoever.

But, my Lords, let some of the Spani-
advocates in this country should from these laws pretend, that we may allow the Spaniards to make free with each of our ships as they find falling within two leagues of their coasts in America. I must take notice of some very material differences between the British and the American seas. In the first place, I am sure no man that has a true Briton heart, will allow the Spaniards to usurp such a dominion over the American seas, as we have a just right to over the British. And in the next place, I must observe, that no foreign ship, not bound or any of our ports, can have the least occasion to come within two leagues of my part of our shore, and much less to hover within two leagues of our shore, unless she has some bad design; but on the contrary, as our coasts are flat, and full of sand-banks, every fair trader will endeavour to keep above two leagues from our shore: Whereas, there are none of our ships that come from Jamaica to Britain, or that are bound from thence to any of our colonies upon the continent of America, but must steer their course close in with the shore of the Spanish islands of Hispaniola or Cuba. The reason of this is, because the course from Jamaica, by the windward passage, is much safer than that by the gulfs of Florida; therefore it is chosen by all ships coming from Jamaica, if they can possibly make it: but as the trade-winds are almost directly in their teeth, they are obliged to keep close in with the Cuba shore, because there is a land-breeze comes off from that island, which greatly assists them in their course, and without which it would be impossible for them to make the windward passage. And even when they find they cannot make the windward passage; when they find they must bear away for the gulf, they must, for many leagues together, sail along the Cuba shore. And as they are obliged, after they pass Cape St. Antonio, upon the west end of the island of Cuba, to turn up against the trade-winds, they are under a necessity of keeping close in with the Cuba shore, in order to take the benefit of the land-breezes from that island; for otherwise they would be in great danger of being forced by the trade-winds and the currents, either into the gulf of Mexico, or upon the Maritiers: the danger of which has been confirmed by experience; for it was proved at our bar, that two ships were lost but last year, because, in their course, kept farther from the shore of Cuba than usual, in order to avoid the guardia costas; by which means they were both drove upon the Maritiers and lost. But this is not all; our ships must not only keep close in with the Cuba shore, but when they are endeavouring to make the windward passage, they are often obliged to hover near that shore, or the shore of Hispaniola, for two or three weeks, when the trade-winds blow hard, in order to wait for a calm, that they may thereby have an opportunity of making that passage.

This shews, my Lords, that we cannot allow the Spaniards to search our ships within any limits at sea, even tho' they should be found hovering upon their coasts; and they have made so bad an use of the power they have lately usurped, that we have, I am sure, no reason to give them a right to that power by treaty, under any limitations whatever. But further, it is a power they have no occasion for, unless it be to injure and interrupt our trade: for their coasts are not like ours in Britain and Ireland: they are not full of inhabitants, and fishing or trading villages at every creek: they have no inhabitants, but in, or near their great towns: therefore no illicit trade can be carried on but in their ports, or at some creek very near them; and there it is impossible to carry on any illicit trade, but by the connivance of the Spanish governor, which is generally purchased by illicit traders, in which case the Spanish guardia costas dare not touch them: so that these guardia costas can be of no real use, but to molest and plunder, or seize, under frivolous pretences, those foreign ships that have no design to carry on an illicit trade with the Spanish settlements, and therefore will not be at the expence of making presents to Spanish governors.

I hope, my Lords, I have now made it
it appear, that no regulations can be settled between Spain and us, for preserving the right they have to exclude foreigners from carrying on any trade in their settlements in the West-Indies. They may lay what penalties and forfeitures they will, upon their own subjects in that part of the world; they may even lay what penalties and forfeitures they will, upon those British subjects that shall come within their territories contrary to the treaty 1670: but they can lay no penalty or forfeiture on, nor can they subject to their regulations, any British ship or subject that does not come within their territories in America, which we cannot allow them to extend beyond the limits of their ports, havens, and inhabited creeks, unless we have a mind to yield up to them the sovereignty of the American seas, which I hope no British minister will dare. Therefore I cannot comprehend what our Plenipotentiaries have to regulate, with relation to our trade and navigation, unless they are to regulate and restrain (for every regulation must be a restraint) our right to a free navigation in the American seas, or our right to carry in our ships, whatever goods or merchandise we please, from one part of his Majesty's dominions to another. I very much approve of what the Noble Lord that spoke last has said in vindication of these our rights; but from his having been at the pains to say so much in their vindication, I am persuaded the Spaniards may have something to say against them, or at least that they may have some reasons to offer, why we should agree to their being laid under some regulations, in order to secure them against an illicit trade being carried on by our people in their settlements; and this convinces me, that our disputes upon this subject were of such a nature as could not be fully settled by a preliminary treaty. It must require some time to convince the Spanish court, that these our rights can admit of no regulations, especially as it is the interest of the Spanish Governors and Captains de guadacostas in America to inflict upon it that they may; and as there is nothing in the convention now before us that can in the least derogate from either of these rights, I am far from having such an opinion of some Noble Lords have been pleased to express. On the contrary, I think it
Proceedings of the Political Club.

be most we could expect in so short a
ime; and therefore I thought the least
could do, was to move for an address
in the terms I have taken the liberty to
propose.

If this were a solemn and definitive
state, my Lords, there might be some
reason for laying that it did not come
up to our resolutions and address of last
session; but as it is only a preliminary
innovation, and as by this preliminary
Majesty has obtained, by peaceable
measures, a part of what was recom-
ended to him last session, I mean re-
covery for our losses, and has, in my
opinion, laid a foundation for obtaining,
y the same means, all that was recom-
ended to him, I think he deserves
thanks from every man who delights in
peace, or wishes prosperity to the trade
and navigation of Great Britain. From
such, I say, he deserves thanks: and he
deserves it the more on account of his
having obtained those terms by peacea-
ble measures; for tho’ the fitting out of
squadrons may be called warlike prepara-
tions, they cannot be called warlike
measures; and whatever other Lords
may think, I shall always be of opinion,
that in time of peace, as well as in
time of war, the courts we negotiate
with will have the more regard to what
we propose, when they know we are
ready to back our proposals with a well-
disciplined army, and a powerful fleet
to convey that army wherever we have
a mind. We can, ’tis true, raise armies,
and fit out squadrons whenever we
please; but we can do neither in an in-
stant: and when foreign powers know
that we have none such ready, they will
of course suppose, they may have time
to prepare for their defence, before we
are in a condition to attack them;
which will render them less pliable than
they would be, if they knew that the
immediate consequence of their refusals
would be a powerful invasion from this
kingdom, upon some part of their terri-
tories.

For these reasons, my Lords, I do not
think the motion I have made stands
much in need of any amendment: but
if the Noble Lord that spoke last, or a-
ny other Lord, will please to propose an
amendment, I shall willingly agree to it,
unless it appear to be a very unreason-
able one; for all that I propose, my
Lords, is, that we should make such a
compliment upon the present occasion to
his Majesty, as has always been usual
when any treaty, convention, or nego-
tiation, has been laid before this house
by the King’s order. This, I think, is
upon all such occasions necessary; but
upon the present I must think it more
necessary than upon most others;
because his Majesty’s success, with regard
to the solemn and definitive treaty, which
is to be concluded in pursuance of this
preliminary convention, must entirely
depend upon the respect shown to his
Majesty by his parliament upon this oc-

casion.

The next that spoke was L. Pifo, whose
speech was in substance as follows, viz.

My Lords, E. C. T. T. P. I.

I very little mind the address proposed,
or any address that can be proposed
upon this occasion: nor am I under the
least concern, whether you amend it or
no; for I shall be against it, however
amended. I think this convention the
most inglorious, the most pernicious, that
this nation ever made; and therefore I
shall be against anything that may seem
to infringe the approbation of this
house. We are sworn to be faithful
counsellors to his Majesty, and I think
it would be deceiving him, it would be
a breach of our honour, a breach of our
oath, to present to his Majesty an ad-
dress that may bear the most distant
resemblance of an approbation of such a
treaty. I do not know who were the
authors of it; and therefore I cannot con-
demn the convention because of the au-
thors, but I must condemn the authors,
be who they will, because of the con-
vention. But, my Lords, though I do
not know who were the authors, I know
who were not: I know his Majesty was
not: I know he would never have ap-
proved of it, if matters had not been e-
gregiously misrepresented to him. It is
not, my Lords, to the King, we are to
shew
show our respect by an address upon this occasion: it is to his ministers; for I must always look upon addresses that seem to intimation an approbation of publick measures, as addresses made to the ministers who advised and conducted those measures. It is not therefore to the King, but to his ministers, that we are to shew our respect upon this occasion; and the only method by which we can regain from foreign nations that respect which is due to this, and that which we have forfeited by our late conduct, especially by our agreeing to this convention, would be to shew no respect to those that made it, but to censure it, and then address his Majesty, to know who had advised it. This would be shewing a due respect to our Sovereign, and a due respect to our own honour. As for our success, with regard to the solemn and definitive treaty, that is to be concluded in pursuance of this preliminary convention, I hope we shall have none; I would disappoint it if possible; for I am sure it is impossible to obtain an honourable treaty, in pursuance of such a dishonourable preliminary.

Last session of parliament, my Lords, we strengthened the hands of the crown in a most extraordinary manner: we put it in the power of the crown to obtain satisfaction, reparation, and security, by force of arms, if they could not be obtained by peaceable means; but no proper use has been made of the extraordinary powers we then granted. Great fleets have, indeed, been fitted out; the nation has been put to great expense, our seamen harried, and our trade interrupted: From these mighty preparations the nation expected great things; but the Spaniards knew better: they knew the instructions given to our formidable squadrons; or at least they judged of them from former experience. They knew our fleets were directed by the same counsels they have been for several years past, and therefore they concluded, they were furnished with the same harmless instructions. We had before sent a fleet to Carthagena, where it lay peaceably for several months, an overmatch for Spain, but an unequal match for the worms and climate. We had before sent a fleet to Gibraltar, when it was actually besieged by the Spaniards; but that fleet was not to attack or annoy them: no, it was to civil as to open to right and left, and to provisions pass through for the enemy's besieging army: Nay, it seems, they had instructions not even to protect or trade; for some of our merchant ships were taken under their very nose.

Our fleets sent out last summer, my Lords, now appear to have had the same sort of instructions. We may judge of the instructions given to that sent to the West-Indies, from an accident that happened. One blunt English Captain that was sent out upon a cruise, imagining that his country was not put to the expense of sending out fleets to do nothing happened to meet with a Spanish frigate ship, which he took and brought to Jamaica, as a lawful prize; but the Commodore knew the secret: he knew we were not to take, but in the most humble manner to sue for satisfaction and justice; and therefore he ordered the Captain not only to set his prize at liberty, but to convey her back, with great respect, to the latitude in which he took her. Our squadron sent to the Mediterranean could have no warlike instructions; because they could do no harm to Spain, unless it had been to make prize of some of their fishing-boats, or coasting barks: They had no land forces on board, nor were provided with any thing proper for annoying any Spanish town or village upon the sea-coast. None of our fleets therefore could give the least weight to our negotiations: they could serve for nothing, but to confirm the Spaniards in the contemptible opinion they have long entertained of us; and the consequence we find is agreeable. We have obtained no satisfaction for the many indignities that have been put upon us: it does not appear that we ever asked for it. We have obtained no reparation for our losses, but what was before agreed to by Spain, or what one part of our own people must make to the other. And we have obtained no security for our trade or navigation: the
we have left entirely to our Plenipotentiaries; and they are such Plenipotentiaries, as, I believe, no nation in the world would have trusted with an affair of such consequence; for I do not know that either of them has one thing's worth estate in any part of his Majesty's dominions, to answer for any malversations or breaches of faith they may be guilty of.

I am surprised any Lord should imagine, we have got as ample satisfaction as we could inflict on. My Lords, the words *satisfaction* ought not to be mentioned by any one that talks in favour of this convention: we have got none. Has Spain agreed to punish or deliver up any one of its Governors or Captains, that have so cruelly used our seamen? This alone can be called *satisfaction*; and this we were afraid to ask. We have not so much as got, by this convention, any reparation for our losses; and yet we have by this convention given the Spaniards a general release. My Lords, I shall shew that we have got no reparation, but what Spain had before agreed to give, or what one part of our own people must make to the other; and in order to do this, I must examine the just demands, which 'tis said, Spain had upon us. The only demands I ever heard of are, that which relates to the ships we took from them in the Mediterranean in 1718; and that which relates to the ship they call the *San Theresa*, which was seized at Dublin in 1735. If there are any other, I will have the Noble Lords who talk so much in favour of the convention, mention and explain them.

Now, my Lords, with regard to the ships we took from them in the 1718, I must infall upon it, that they were justly taken, and were lawful prize. But as we, by the treaty in 1721, agreed to restore them, let us examine the words of that treaty; in order to see whether we have not long since complied, as far as we were obliged, with the terms of that treaty. The words of the 5th article of that treaty are, That his Britannick Majesty shall cause to be restored to his Catholick Majesty, all the ships of the Spanish fleet which were taken by that of England, in the naval battle fought in the seas of Sicily in 1718, with the guns and other equipage, in the condition they are at present; or else the value of thofe that may have been sold, at the same price that the purchasers shall have given. These are the words of the treaty; and in pursuance of this, his Catholick Majesty sent Commisaries Port Mahon, where all these ships were, except one; for I never heard that any more of them were sold; and the ships were accordingly, by his Majesty's orders, offer'd to be delivered to these Commisaries, with their guns and other equipage, in the condition they were then in, which was all we were obliged to: but the Commisaries refused to accept of them, because they were in a decayed condition, and unfit for service. Therefore, if these ships were not restored, it was the King of Spain's own fault; for we performed all that was incumbent upon us by the treaty 1721; except as to what related to the ship that had been sold. And that ship, having been sent to Spain by those that purchased her, after they had fitted her up for service, at a very great expense, the Spaniards thought fit to seize her: by which they gave us a claim upon them, instead of their having any upon us, on account of that ship; for we were obliged to account for her only at the price at which she was sold, whereas, when they seized her, she was worth a great deal more.

From hence it appears, my Lords, that they could have no just demand upon us, on account of any obligation we laid ourselves under by the treaty, 1721. And with respect to the ship they called the *San Theresa*, it is well known, that she was one of those many British ships that have been of late most unjustly seized and confiscated by the Spaniards; and as she happened to be sent upon a voyage to Dublin by some Spanish merchants, the former owner being there at the time, immediately discovered her to be his ship; and he having applied to the government there, and fully proved his property, we could not
Proceedings of the Political Club.

not refuse to do justice to our own people in our own ports; though we have for many years neglected to obtain justice for them from the Spaniards. But if we consider the convention, we shall find, that the value of the ship is not to be included in the $60,000 demand which they make upon us; for by the 2d separate article, this ship is to be referred to the Plenipotentiaries, and if they should give it against us, the value of her is still to be accounted for, or to be allowed in whole, or in part, as a compensation for the British ship called the Success, the restitution of which is stipulated by the same article.

I hope I have now shown, that the Spaniards had no just demands upon us; and therefore, I cannot comprehend how any Lord can talk of the mutual demands that were between the two nations. My Lords, there were no mutual demands: The demands were all of our side: We had taken great care they should have no demands upon us; for, to our Christian patience and long-suffering, we added a Christian fort of revenge. We heaped coals of fire upon their heads, by returning them many good offices for many injuries received. But, whatever Christianity may teach with regard to private life, I am sure it inculcates no such doctrines with regard to the behaviour of nations or governments towards one another; and I have good reason to believe, that those who have been the chief authors of our political tameness and submission, were no way influenced by any Christian motives.

I shall now, my Lords, consider the demands we had upon Spain; and here I must observe, that the demands of our merchants for ships plundered or seized by the Spaniards, before our Commisaries return'd from Spain, which is three or four years since, amounted to above $400,000. which sum was reckoned as the value of what was taken or plundered at prime cost; for, if our merchants had valued it at what they might have sold the cargoes for at market, it would have amounted to above $500,000. besides the damages they suffer'd by the interruption of their trade, raising the premiums upon insurance, and loss of ships, two of which we had an account of from the Gentlemen that were examined at our bar, besides many others that were never heard of, some of which there is great reason to suspect, were taken by Spanish guards costas, and the ships, with every living soul on board, sent to the bottom of the sea, after those pirates had gutted them of all they thought fit for their purpose. Therefore, the amount of our real damages, and consequently of our real demands upon Spain, at the time our Commisaries left that kingdom, was at least $500,000 Sterling; and as the Spaniards have taken and plunder'd a great many of our ships since that time, our demands upon them for damages, without reckoning costs, must have amounted to a great deal above $500,000. at the time we began to negotiate this convention: for, if to this we should add our costs, I mean the extraordinary expense the nation has been put to by their obstinate refusal of justice, our demands upon them at that time, would amount, I believe, to at least a million Sterling, without one shilling's worth of a just demand upon their side; and this whole demand we have by this convention releases, for the sum of $27,000, which is less than the King of Spain himself had allowed (before this convention was thought of) to be justly due to us, as I shall presently make appear.

My Lords, the value put by our Commisaries on the demands of our merchants, is what I have not the least regard to. They seem to have been Spanish, and not English Commisaries. 'Tis true, they reduced the demands of our merchants to $200,000, but they had not the least reason for what they did. One of them that was examined at our bar, could not give the least shadow of reason for making any reduction, and much less for making such an extraordinary reduction. From what he said, we may judge how they lumped things in favour of Spain. He told us that for about 20 l., that even the
allowed to have been unjustly seized, they lumped them at 100 l. a-piece, though every one knows, that no gloop, proper for suiting on seas where tornado's, tempests, and hurricanes are frequent, can be built and fitted out for 100 l. without reckoning the seams' cleaths, provisions, and other things, that must be on board. From hence we may see, they were resolved to reduce the demands of their countrymen as low as possible. From whom they should have informations for this, I cannot imagine: I am sure it was not from His Majesty; and if they received such informations from any of his ministers, they ought not to have complied with them: it was betraying his Majesty, and sacrificing the interest of his people, to the selfish views of some of his ministers. But even this sum of 200,000 l. the court of Spain was resolved, it seems, not to make good; and as our ministers were, it seems, resolved to have a treaty at any rate, it became necessary for them to reduce this sum. For this purpose we have allowed of a demand of 60,000 l. which the Spaniards made upon us, though they had not, as I have shewn, the least pretence for making such a demand. This reduced the 200,000 l. to 140,000 l. But, well, even this sum of 140,000 l. the court of Spain refused to pay; therefore we allowed them to deduct 45,000 l. for prompt payment. Whatever other Lords may think, I must think, an allowance of near one third of the sum due, is a pretty extraordinary allowance for prompt payment; especially, when that which is called prompt payment; is only a promise to pay in four months. I have often, my Lords, heard of an allowance made for prompt payment, when money is paid before it is due by law or custom; but never heard that the creditor made an allowance for prompt payment, when he gave his debtor four months forbearance: The allowance is then generally the other side. This was the case between Spain and us. The money was due, and immediately payable both by word and custom; therefore they should have made us an allowance for forbearance, instead of our making them an allowance for prompt payment. What necessity, what obligation, could we lie under to accept of assignments upon his Catholic Majesty's revenues in New Spain? It would have been ridiculous to accept of any such; because we knew, by experience, they were good for nothing.

However, my Lords, every pretence was to be admitted, that could be made for diminishing the sum due to us from Spain: Therefore this allowance for prompt payment was admitted of, and this reduced the 140,000 l. to 95,000 l. But still this sum was too large: The court of Spain would not so much as promise to pay even this sum; therefore our negotiators allowed, for what I know, prompt to them to set up, a most unjust claim of 68,000 l. against our S. S. company: and tho' the Spaniards are, by their own acknowledgment, indebted to our S. S. company in a much larger sum; yet it was agreed, that this 68,000 l. should be immediately paid by the company to the King of Spain: and this immediate payment was made the fundamental article of the convention; for the King of Spain's protestation, or declaration, I must, and, I am convinced, the court of Spain will, consider as a condition sine qua non. And our agreeing to accept of any treaty under such a condition, is the more extraordinary, for that it was done by one who was the company's servant, and at that very time intrusted with the management of their affairs at that court.

We may now see, my Lords, what preparation the King of Spain has, by this convention, agreed to make us. He has agreed to make a stipulated payment of 95,000 l. to us in four months, provided our S. S. company make an immediate present to him of 68,000 l. so that he is to pay to us but 27,000 l. out of his own pocket: which is a less sum than he had acknowledged to be due to us, before this convention was thought of; because, before this convention was thought of, he had acknowledged, that the few ships, mentioned in the 4th article,
article, were unjustly seized, and had actually fettered orders to New Spain for their restitution; and the value of these few ships will, I am sure, amount to more than 27,000 l. Nay, if, in pursuance of these orders, they have been restored, which, indeed, I believe, we have no reason to apprehend, I do not know but we may be brought 4 or 5000 l. in debt; for by that article, the whole, or any part of them, that shall appear to have been restored, is to be repaid by us.

Let us now see, my Lords, what preparation we have obtained by this convention. Our plundered merchants are, indeed, to have 155,000 l. divided among them, the salaries, fees and perquisites of those who are to make the division, being first deducted; and this they are to have as a full satisfaction for their damages, which amount to more than 500,000 l. But how is this 155,000 l. to be raised? Why 60,000 l. of it, must be raised by a tax upon our own people, or by making a new encroachment upon our sinking fund; 68,000 l. another part of it, is to be raised by, or rather taken by violence from, our own S.S. company; and the remaining 27,000 l. is to be paid to us by the K. of Spain, which is a little sum than he had acknowledged to be due to us, before this convention was thought of. I beg pardon, my Lords, for detaining you so long upon this head; but as this treaty seems to have been artfully calculated for palming a sham reparation upon the nation, I was obliged to examine it to the bottom, in order to detect the artifices that have been made use of for covering the deceit.

Now, my Lords, with regard to our future security, we have been so negligent of it in this preliminary treaty, that we have not so much as obtained from the Spaniards a suspension of their wanted depredations. Where Spain is to be a gainer by a suspension, there it is expressly stipulated; but where we are to be gainers, it is entirely neglected. We have promised to suspend all fortifications and improvements in Georgia and Carolina; but Spain has not promised to suspend searching our ships, and confiscating them upon frivolous pretences. For this neglect a learned Lord has found out a most ingenious excuse: he has told us, that if we had stipulated any such suspension, it would have imported an acknowledgment of their right to search and confiscate. How this may be in law, I do not know; but I do not think it agreeable to common sense. I cannot think, that my engaging a promise from a man to suspend doing me an injury, is the least acknowledgment, that he has a right to do me an injury. But if a suspension could be any way understood to be an acknowledgment of their right to search and confiscate our ships, the allowing them to continue the practice, must be a mere direct, and, I am sure, a more hateful sort of acknowledgment. Therefore, I must look upon this neglect in the preliminary convention, as a bad omen, with respect to the definitive treaty. The time, it is true, in which this definitive treaty is to be settled, is but eight months: they cannot, perhaps, do us any great injury in that time: but that term may be renewed, may be often renewed, I believe it will be renewed from time to time, as long as some people have any influence in our councils; for I do not believe it will ever be in their power to make the Spaniards give up any right they pretend to; and no British minister will ever dare to grant them, by a solemn treaty, a right to search British ships on the open seas, or a right to prescribe to his Majesty's subjects, what sort of goods they shall be allowed to carry in their ships from one part of his Majesty's dominions to another. For this reason, I do not know, but that our negotiations for a definitive treaty may last as long as our negotiations for this preliminary have continued, which I must look on to be at least ten years; for these renewals or continuations may be safely agreed to, because they will not be much taken notice of, or refuted by the people; and during that whole time, the Spaniards are to continue to exercise a most unjust encroachment upon us, while we must continue to suspend the natural right
have to fortify and improve our own dominions.

As for the pretence, my Lords, that the Spaniards have given up their right of search or confiscate our ships, and have acknowledged themselves in the wrong, by agreeing to pay us damages and costs, I have already sworn that they have not agreed, by this treaty, to pay us any damages but what they had before acknowledged to be due; and I was surprised to hear a learned Lord, who certainly understands what is meant by damages and costs, so far mistake the matter, as to say, the Spaniards have agreed to pay costs. Our costs are the expences the nation was put to in warlike preparations last summer, which the Spaniards have not agreed to pay the shilling of; for whether those preparations are to be called warlike measures or not, they certainly cost us a great deal of money; and in all nations at this, they look mighty like war: Even in this, till within these 20 years, they have generally been the certain harbingers of war; and will be so again, as soon as we begin to have a regard to our character abroad, or our economy at home.

My Lords, I have this day, and upon this occasion, heard a distinction made by a learned Lord, between a right, and the enjoyment of a right. What the Noble Lord meant by his distinction, I cannot comprehend; for it is a distinction which, I confess, I do not understand. I am sure no right is good for any thing unless it be enjoy'd, nor farther than it is enjoy'd; and I must think, that whilst a man prevents my enjoying my right, he, for that time at least, takes from me the right itself. But after the Noble Lord had made this incomprehensible distinction, I was amazed to hear him say, there is no matter of right now in dispute between Spain and us. Do not they say, they have a right to search our ships on the open seas? It does not signify to us what frivolous pretence they found that right upon: They do pretend to it: They have enjoy'd it, by our tameness, for too many years. Do not they say, they have a right to seize and confiscate our ships, if they find any gold, silver, logwood, cocoa, or other goods on board, which they are pleased to call the produce of their settlements in America? It signifies nothing to us, what reason they give for setting up such a claim: They do pretend to it, and have actually exercised this right, even since this treaty was first set on foot; for they seized Capt. Vaughan's ship on the 29th of June last, and have since condemned her, for no other reason, but because of her having some goods on board, which they said was the produce of their settlements, tho' it appear'd that he had taken them in at Jamaica. These, my Lords, are matters of right, which I hope our ministers dispute with them: I hope no British minister will ever dare to yield to them in either of these respects. And, on the other hand, do not we say, we have a right to a free navigation in the American seas? Do not the Spaniards deny we have any such right? do not they expressly say, we have no right to any navigation in those seas, but such as they have granted us by treaty? and that, they say, is only to and from our own colonies, whilst our ships steer a direct course; which they, as sovereigns of the American seas, are to be the only judges of. This is the meaning they put on the 8th article of the treaty 1670, which every man must be convinced of that has read Mr de la Quadra's letter to Mr Keene of the 10th of February was a twelvemonth. His words are, after having given an abstract of that article:—"That these words plainly shew the little grounds of the proposition you have advanced, That his Britannick Majesty's subjects have a right to a free commerce and navigation in the West-Indies; the only navigation that can be claimed by them being that to their islands and plantations, whilst they steer a due course; and their ships liable to 'search and confiscation, if it be proved they have altered their route, without necessity, in order to draw near to the Spanish coasts."—This, 'tis true, my Lords, is a most false and ridiculous interpretation of that article,
but this they have been prompted to insist on by our taxmenes, and by our puzzling the case with our negotiations.

From hence we must see, my Lords, that there are rights of great importance in dispute between Spain and us. They pretend to rights which we can never admit of, as long as we possess a foot of ground, or have any trade, in the West-Indies; and they deny us a right that every free state in the world has a just title to by the laws of nature and nations: and I will venture to prophesy, that without a war they will never give up the former, nor acknowledge the latter. We may negotiate as long as we please: we may conclude shameful treaties and conventions, as temporary expedients for subserving our own people; but from our late conduct they have conceived such a contumelious opinion of us, that we must now fight them before we can expect any justice or satisfaction from them. This must at last be the case; but when this happens, it will not be those who then advise a war, but those who by their pusillanimous conduct have made it necessary, that ought to be blamed for having led the nation into a war. If we had properly resented the first insult, and had peremptorily insisted upon full satisfaction, we might have obtained it by peaceable means; but now, I'm afraid, it is become impossible: we must go to war before we can expect either satisfaction or quiet. And when we do, I hope it will be conducted with wisdom and vigour: for if we shew the same irresolute conduct in war, we have lately done in peace, if we seem afraid of hurting the enemy too much; like a fainfeather and spiritless animal fallen into a mire, the longer we struggle, the deeper we shall sink, and may at last come to be suffocated in the mud: Whereas, by a bold and vigorous push at first, we might have got through the quagmire, and thrown ourselves safe upon the opposite shore.

Having now shewn, that our right to free navigation in the American seas, is one of those rights that is disputed by Spain, we must from thence conclude, it is one of those rights, that is by this convention to be regulated by Plenipo-
tentiaries; that is to say, my Lords, it is to be given up by our Plenipoten-
tiaries: for if it be regulated, it must be destroyed: every regulation must be a restraint, and that which is put under a restraint, can in no sense be said to be free. The right Spain pretends to, of searching our ships in the open seas, and the right they pretend to, of prescribing to us what sorts of goods we may carry in our ships, from one part of the British dominions to another, are rights which, I hope, are now in dispute between Spain and us; and are therefore rights that are referred to be regulated by Pleni-
ipotentiaries. My Lords, if we agree to regulate them, we grant them; and if we grant them under any regulation, we can no longer pretend to a free navigation or commerce in the American seas: therefore, my Lords, I must look upon this article as an artful and indirect surrender (I shall not give it the name it deserves) of the most undoubted and the most valuable rights of the people of G. Britain. A learned Prelate who spoke some time ago [L. Selby, Sir], and a learned Lord who spoke last [G. Plinyus Carcilius], have, indeed, upon this subject, shewn themselves excellent advocates for Spain: I hope the Spanish Plenipotentiaries will neither have to much eloquence, nor so many arguments; for, if they have, as I have no very great opinion of the capacity or qualifications of our own, I am afraid we shall come off with the worst. But their arguments, in favour of Spain have been so fully answered by a Noble Duke [L. Remus Paulus] that spoke after the Reverend Prelate, and a Noble Lord [M. Apr.] that spoke last but one, that I need not if I could, add any thing to the answers they have made; therefore, I shall only wish that our Plenipotentiaries had been here to have heard them, in order that they might have learned, how to defend the cause of their country, against the most artful arguments that can be made use of by its enemies.

The only other right now in dispute between Spain and us, that seems to have been taken the least notice of in our last negotiations, is our right to Georgia and Caro-
Carolina. This the Noble Lord who spoke last but two, has represented as a dispute about limits only; that every one knows the Spaniards have lately begun to dispute our right to Georgia, and even to a great part of Carolina, particularly our right to the former, which they so peremptorily deny, that they would not allow the name to be so much as mentioned in this convention: and as we have lately given that country the same of Georgia, not only by charter, but by authority of parliament; our accepting of an article about the regulation of limits, without mentioning our frontier province, will, I am afraid, be confedered by the Spaniards as a surren-
der of that province. We may, if we will, give up Georgia; we may give up South-Carolina, and yet say that the only dispute between Spain and us was about limits: because the Spaniards insisted, that the river Pedee upon the bor-
der of North-Carolina, was the proper limit between Florida and Carolina; whereas we insisted, that the river Alabama was the proper limit. This, I say, might be called a dispute only about limits; but if we should give up all the country lying between these two rivers, if we do not give up a right, I will say, we give up a very valuable possession.

I have now shown, my Lords, that, by this convention, we have obtained a preparation; and that, so far from obtaining future security, we seem to have, in some measure, given up everything upon which our future security can be founded. What, then, could induce us to accept of such an unsatisfactory, such a dishonourable preliminary? Which is a question that leads me of course to consider the present circumstances of Europe in general, and of this nation in particular. This, my Lords, I confess, is a subject which I touch on with reluctance; because, I am sure, it can afford no great comfort, either to the speaker, or to the hearer. The state of our affairs, both at home and abroad, I shall grant, is dismal enough; but I am sorry to hear it made more dismal than it really is, for the sake of justifying an inglorious treaty, or a daftardly submission to the most provoking insults. The affairs of Europe are, indeed, at presents, in a situation not very favourable for this kingdom; but what is this owing to? It is owing, my Lords, to a ridiculous notion we took up about fifteen years ago, of the overgrown power of the house of Austria: a notion that could be infilled into us by nothing but French counsels; and who were the chief propagators of this pernicious notion, we may well remember. This notion pro-
duced the treaty of Hanover: a treaty calculated for dissolving an alliance, which we ought to have cultivated and strengthened with all our art; because it could be prejudicial to no state in Eu-
ropo but France alone. And this treaty of Hanover drove us into that long chain of negotiations, treaties, and expences, by which we not only re-united the two braches of the house of Bourbon, but contributed at our own expence to ag-
grandize them. Our fleets were employed to give principalities to one of the braches of that house; and now we are told, you must not vindicate your rights or your honour against one of these braches, because it may be affir-
ed by the other.

My Lords, if this argument proves anything, it proves too much. If we dare not revenge the affronts that are put upon us, nor repel the most unjust encroachments, for fear of France, we have nothing to do but lie down and die. It signifies nothing to put it off by patchwork and expences for eight months longer. But this, my Lords, has been our method for several years: like builders that build a house to last, only for the term of their lease: they build of rotten materials; and if they can by patchwork keep it up while they are in it, they do not care if it tumbles, upon, and crushes the landlord under its ruins. A minister that has no credit or character abroad, nor any authority or affiction among the people at home, must have recourse to patchwork and expences. He can have no materials, but the rotten hearts of sycophants and hirelings; and these must be kept to-gether,
together, at a great expense, by temporary expedients. He neither can, nor will think of building a solid and lasting fabric; but I hope the nation will never allow him to build for them; or if they should be so unwise as to allow him to erect a deceitful fabric, that they will pull it about his ears, before he has time to inclose them; for if they should allow him to go on, he may so inviron them with ruins, that it will hardly be possible for them to find their way out.

I cannot easily believe, my Lords, that France will affix Spain in putting a yoke upon us, that may afterwards serve as a precedent for putting the same yoke upon themselves. The court of France is seldom so short in its politics. I am rather inclined to think, that the court of France will either endeavour to prevail on us to accept of sham treaties, and a precarious security; or, in case of a war, that they will endeavour to prevent our bringing it to a speedy issue by a vigorous prosecution. I hope we shall take care not to be directed or dup'd by French counsels in either of these cases; for both will be destructive to this nation, both will serve the ends of France: a precarious peace, or a languid war, will keep up a contention between Spain and us; and such a contention will contribute greatly to establish the trade of France upon the ruins of the trade of this nation. But suppose these two nations should unite against us, and that we have negotiated ourselves out of every alliance that can give us any assistance; yet still we must do the best we can. By a wise and vigorous conduct we might make both of them repent of their undertaking. They both depend greatly upon their trade and territories in the West-Indies, where we may be masters if we will; and though they have both of late got great additions of power by our blunders, yet they must not pretend to prescribe to all the powers of Europe. Such an attempt would bring back to us those allies whom we have detach'd by our late conduct; and in that case, a confederacy might soon be formed, that would be able to prescribe laws both to France and Spain, instead of receiving laws from them. The present aspect of affairs in Europe is, 'tis true, dismal enough: but it is not yet so dismal as it was in the beginning of the year 1702; and every one knows the glorious successes of the confederacy that was then formed against France and Spain. But before we can expect any successes either in war, or in forming confederacies, we must take care to unite our people among themselves, and to establish among them a confidence in the conduct of those that govern them; which I am afraid cannot be done by those who have spread diffusion and distrust not only amongst our allies abroad, but amongst our people at home.

Our trade with Spain, my Lords, was once a profitable trade to this nation; but as France has lately got much into that trade, it is not near so profitable to us as it was. If it were not for our plantations, I believe we should be no great gainers upon the balance. We shall manage the war but ill if we do not make more by a war with Spain, than we can do by a precarious and interrupted trade. But if it were otherwise, we cannot preserve our trade with that nation, or with any nation, but by preserving their esteem and their friendship; and these we must lose, if we submit tamely to their insults. These walls, my Lords, ought to put us in mind of the methods by which our ancetors preferred the trade, and vindicated the honour of the nation. These shew it was not by negotiation, nor by lumping away the just demands of their country. I do not know, if there are any historical looms now at work, but I am afraid our Spithead and Carthagena expeditions would make as bad a figure in a piece of tapestry, as they will hereafter do in our histories.

But, I hope, my Lords, we have no such looms at work: It would be for the honour of the nation, if no memorandum could be prefixed of some of our past transactions; for we must alter our measures, before we can transmit to posterity what they can reflect on with satisfaction or emulation. If we had taken example from the conduct of a
Minister in a neighbouring country, our affairs both at home and abroad, would have been in a very different situation: by encouraging trade and manufactures, by parsimony in publick expence, by not engaging needlessly in any broils, and by vindicating the honour of his country with resolution when there was occasion, he has rendered his country happy and himself glorious. But we have followed contrary measures, and by so doing have brought ourselves into that distress, which is now made the chief argument for our agreeing to this inglorious convention.

However, my Lords, I think the state of our affairs not yet so desperate, as that it ought to be a prevailing argument upon this occasion. I hope I have shewn, that the state of affairs in Europe, is not so bad as it has been represented; and as to our domestick affairs, can they improve by submitting to daily insults, and to usurpations that must destroy our trade? In such circumstances can we pay off our debts, can we preserve our sinking fund? No, my Lords; by the decay of our trade, our people must every day become poorer and fewer numerous: This will diminish our consumption; and this again will of course diminish the annual produce of our taxes. We may, by a more rigorous collection, keep it up to its old value for some years; but it will soon begin to sink considerably every year; and this will at last annihilate our sinking fund.

We cannot therefore propose to pay off our debt, unless we preserve our trade; nor can we pay any debt, if in time of peace we must be at the expence of war, which was our case last summer, and may probably be so for many summers to come: for if great armaments and military preparations were necessary to procure a preliminary convention, surely they will be as necessary for procuring a definitive treaty; therefore we must have a numerous army at land, and formidable squadrons, I mean, in show, my Lords, at sea, till this treaty be concluded and ratified, which, I am convinced, will not be very speedily. In the mean time, as we have stipulated no suspension, our merchants will be plundered, and our seamen cruelly used by the Spanish guarda costas; which will of course render our people more and more discontented, and at last disaffected. Our people, 'tis true, may become more united; but it will be against our established government; and in that case, I hope, it will be allowed, that our domestick affairs would be in a worse condition than they are at present, and our government left able to carry on a foreign war, than our present government can be supposed to be.

Our domestick affairs may therefore, my Lords, grow worse, but they cannot grow better, by our continuing in such a warlike peace, as we have continued in for almost these twenty years; and we can expect no other sort of peace, till we retrieve our character, and establish our security, which, I think, can now be done no other way but by a vigorous and well conducted war. But suppose, my Lords, the state of affairs, both at home and abroad, were as dismal as it has been represented by those who have spoke in favour of this convention, could this be any reason for our fusing for, or agreeing to such a treaty? We were in no danger of being attack'd by Spain: we were not so much as threatened with any such attack: we wanted only satisfaction and reparation for past injuries, and security against future. Therefore we had no shadow of reason for agreeing to any treaty that did not give us either the one or the other. By this we have obtained neither: We have absolutely releas'd and given up the former; and we have rendered the latter more precarious than it was before. If we had made no treaty, no preliminary, Spain could only have continued to seize and confiscate such of our merchant ships as they could meet with, and overcome; and this they may still do, notwithstanding this treaty. What would have been the consequence? Suppose the nation at present absolutely, unable to vindicate its rights or its honour by force of arms, yet we might have waited with patience till an opportunity offered, without being exposed
ed to suffer, in the mean time, more than we are now exposed to, notwithstanding this treaty; and when an opportunity offered for vindicating our rights and our honour by force of arms, we could then have insisted upon full separation for all losses, all damage, all expense; which we cannot now do, because by this treaty we have given a general release.

I shall agree, my Lords, that this nation can never long want an opportunity for revenge against any nation in Europe. This is our happiness: but this ought to have been an argument against our granting such a generous release as we have granted by this preliminary. Besides, my Lords, it is an argument some people ought to be ashamed of mention, if they could be ashamed of anything. It is almost 20 years since Spain set up every claim against us they now pretend to: It is almost 20 years since they have been in a continued and uninterrupted course of insulting the nation, plundering our merchants, and maltreating our seamen; and 'tis strange, that in so long a time, we could find no opportunity for revenge, against a nation, which no man will say is by itself an equal match for this. My Lords, we have had many opportunities; but we have neglected them all, or have been prevail'd on by French counsels, or worse, to make use of none of them. We had about seven years since, which, it is amazing, we neglected; and the fatal consequences of that neglect now begin to appear: but, I am afraid, they do not yet all appear. If they are not prevented by a change of measures in this kingdom, they may prove fatal to Europe as well as England; and they cannot be prevented without an infinite expense to this nation, for which those who gave rise to them, ought, I hope they will be made to answer.

This shews, my Lords, that we ought not to have been so ready, I shall not say rash, in approving of treaties or negotiations, as we have been for several years past. We ought to approve of no treaty without maturely considering its terms and its consequences, as all the necessity there was for agreeing to; for as every treaty is a new national obligation, no treaty ought to be agreed to, without some necessity for so doing. And I am convinced that no man so maturely considers the treaty now before us, either in its terms, its consequences, or the necessity there was in our agreeing to it, will approve of it in any shape. An immediate war is not a necessary consequence of our refusing to approve of it, by putting a negative upon this motion. His Majesty may, nevertheless, wait for a more proper opportunity for declaring war. But if we should, in any shape, approve of this treaty, the demands which we may justly make, and fully obtain, in case of successful war, will thereby be greatly diminished: therefore the motion which the Noble Lord has been pleased in me will, I hope, be disagreed to.

[This Journal to be continued.]
A Letter relating to the Stage, &c.

SIR,

London, Octob. 16.

To the author of the Scots Magazine.

The winter has reached us, almost before our coffee-house politicians had finished the operations in Hungary, and before they had carried either of the Counts, Munich or Lacy, into winter-quarters: nay, I am mistaken if they had completely equipped our own fleet, and put our ships upon some enterprizes that were talk’d of in the spring. The Spaniards, indeed, they say, are at present before-hand with us, and will soon begin to think of laying up.—I am unaccountably led into Politics, a science in which I could never boast any skill: but such is the prevalence of this object at this time, that, if a man will not speak something upon it, he must, in most publick companies, be content to hold his tongue; and I, in mere conformity to this reigning taste, am in some danger of becoming an adept in the art of Government, and a proficient in the art of War, I only mean theoretically. —Besides, by mere dint of fitting under conversation which two years ago I could not endure, I have attain’d no small knowledge of Geography: Count Lacy’s route has taught me that Tartary is larger than the county of York: Count Munich’s march through Poland, and his successess toward Choczim, convince me that distance nor difficulty are at all formidable to some men: Belgrade’s being surrender’d does not demonstrate that the Mussulmen are nearer neighbours than I with them: The designs laid to have been lately concerted between France and Sweden, teach me that alliances are not always the effect of the natural situation nor forming interest of every country.

The Pope is said to be on the point of resigning the keys. What would you say to see the Cardinal Don Lewis of Spain succeed him in possession of the Triple Crown? What could his active mother then have to desire? —Nothing more, surely, in Italy.—But what have I to do with affairs of religion at Rome, who never was remarkably anxious about what we have in England?

It has often been observed, that as the Stage borrows all its charms from nature, and the state of mankind in general, it also affords, in several particulars, an exact likeness to the actions of mankind in the most important articles: Russia, Turkey, the Empire, Spain, &c. have not lately been engaged in com motions more dangerous to their several interests, than our two theatres: and among the former treaties of peace and cessations of hostilities have not been more suddenly clapp’d up, and more unexpectedly agreed upon, than the latter have afforded within a few months past.

—What will your admirers of our stage say, when you tell them that Mr Cibber and Mrs Clive act in different houses! and that the town is running after the former to Covent-garden!—a revolution fatal to some of the most shining scenes of our best comedies: for by the most earnest endeavours of those who succeed in the characters now cast on this occasion, I fear the alteration will be sensibly felt at Drury-lane.—What will probably add to the advantage of the manager of Covent-garden theatre is, a profession carrying on against Mr Cibber by the director of that in Drury-lane: for I have often observed, that the publick are so earnest in their diversions, and resent with such certainty whatever is intended to interrupt them, that it is never safe for any man who expects favours from the people, to punish any who can add to their entertainment. This humour I will not offer to vindicate; but I am sure it has long prevail’d among us: and the attempt to seize Cibber one night when he was going to perform the very long part of Bany in the Rehearsal (in vindication of which Mr Pl—d only pleads he was doing it in form of law) will, I believe, be of great service to the stage he now belongs to.

I know not well how to account for it, but I am convinced, from a pretty long observation, that the taste for the stage very visibly decreases; and two houses only are not now so full as four or five usually were ten years ago.—You may think this an argument of our re formation of manners. I wish it were: but, as it was some years since observed,
by a writer of great reputation. If we trace history, we shall always find, that in every empire, monarchy, and republic, the stage was in most esteem when the state was in its highest reputation. I am, &c.

S. TOUPEEE.

Universal Spectator, O8eb. 20.

Mercury: or, The Master of the Ceremonies.

Ome, Gentlemen—I must dispose of you all according to your several professions. For you must know that every one in Elysium has the same pursuits that he had in the other world. Cato is still giving his little senate laws, and prehending over a band of patriots: In short, you have all some tincture of your former vices and virtues, and still chuse to act consistent with them. Range yourselves in order.—Where are you going?—Stay Sir.

Poet's Gros. Prithee, prithee, Mercury, give yourself no airs, nor any unnecessary trouble. I am very well acquainted with this place. I know all your districts, and your Lethe, your Helicon, Parnassus, and so forth. I am going to my brother Homer, and Virgil, and Milton, and the rest of them.

Mer. Your brother Homer! Why who are you?


Mer. 'Faith I thought so. But do you think every rhyming coxcomb, who comes here, is admitted to the company of the worthy personages whom you mention’d?

P's Gb. Sir, I claim admission to Parnassus as the undoubted privilege of my profession.

Mer. But the case will be, whether the Gentlemen of Parnassus will allow you to be a Poet; for in this place they pay no deference to mere sound and name, nor regard the character a modest author may give of himself: his writings are the only proof of his merit; they therefore don’t allow every one to be a Poet who lays claim to the title.

P's Gb. Faith, Sir, I don’t know what they may allow; but this I think is universally granted, that he who writes verses is a Poet.

Mer. You are mistaken: the ancients would have a fine time on’t, if every jester, who could jingle dull prope no dullest couplets, had the privilege to be admitted among them.

P's Gb. Why there it is now. The ancients! men who are valued above the present set of authors, only because they happen’d to live two or three thousand years before them. But, I say, let me tell you, that we moderns think as well of ourselves as any ancients of them all.

Mer. Which is the reason all persons of sense think the worke of you. You cannot indeed be faid to imitate them.

P's Gb. Imitate them! No, no. They might indeed have made a tolerable figure for the times they lived; but the present age has so refin’d a taste, that we have found out rules, and profited by the new art of the drama.

Mer. What! more consonant to reason, and agreeable to nature, than them!

P's Gb. Reason and nature! Ha, ha, ha! They are more agreeable to the taste of the town; and that is the only thing an author is to study.

Mer. That is an error among you modern wits; for the author who regards nothing in his works but the taste of the generality of the people, must have but little concern for his writings. Let him always aim at perfection; and, if he attains it, the applause which his contemporaries may refuse, posterity will bestow.

P's Gb. Posterity! Very pretty doctrine. 'Faith, I thought you had known better, Mercury. Posterity cannot feed a Poet when living, though it may raise a monument for him when he is dead. No, no; posthumous applause, my dear, comes somewhat of the latest. No, no; we moderns never regard posterity.

Mer. Nor will posterity regard you. Come, Mr. Modern, I find what province I must allot you to. March down that avenue, and it leads to a numerous assembly of crambo-wits and ballad-mongers. You will find them complimenting one another on the sublimity of their parts.
Weekly ESSAYS in OCTOBER 1739.

P. Gb. Crumbo-wits and ballad-makers! Zoons!

Mer. No contest. — Here, you officers, trounce him.

2d Gb. Pray, Mercury, let me go forward; I want no conductor: why do you think one is afraid of Bugbears and Hobgoblins?

Mer. Who, and what are you?

2d Gb. A great wit, who laughs at our serious farce here, as I laugh'd at it the serious farce of the other world.

Mer. An Atheist?

2d Gb. Something very like it.

Mer. And you fear nothing?

2d Gb. Nothing.

Mer. Then you have more courage than most of your great men who arrive in these dominions; for your couriers and heroes, who have bully'd and plunder'd one half of mankind, and your religious wits, who deceived almost the other half, come hither the most timorous wretches you can imagine.

2d Gb. What can terrify them?

Mer. Conscience.

2d Gb. How the wits in London, Mercury, would laugh could they hear you, who are a reputed wit, talk of conscience!

Mer. But how I shall laugh at those zealous Gentlemen, when on their arrival here they turn mere whining babes; for your bully in religion, like our bully in courage, falls on his knees at the first approach of danger. — Come, sir, since you are so bold, turn down hat walk on the left hand.

2d Gb. Ay, ay, with all my heart.

— Tol lol lol de lol; &c.— Help, help, in Heaven's sake help! — What do I do? — Help!

Mer. Heydey! my man of courage; what's the matter? why do your eyelids roll, and your hairs stand on end, like quills upon the frighted porcupine?

2d Gb. Defend me Heaven! Such a monster assail'd me; a thousand terrors in its aspects; arm'd with a thousand corpions to destroy me; sternly it glar'd and shook my very soul! O Mercury, what could that monster be?

Mer. A phantom that you are to be diered up to; it is conscience.

2d Gb. O teach me, teach me, how I may avoid it.

Mer. 'Tis impossible.

2d Gb. O, who can dare one moment to behold it!

Mer. You shall see. — Here is a poor simple countryman, who from his honesty of heart, and unadorned sense of religion, neither with'd death nor fear'd it, will have no such terrors. — Do you see that monster there this man complains of?

3d Gb. I see a monstrous spectre; but what's that to me? It cannot hurt me; I fear 'em not: I trust to a good heart and good conscience.

Mer. Then go, my friend, down that pleasant walk, and join among the virtuous men of all ranks and all ages. — You, Sir, must be deliver'd to that phantom you so long have ridicule'd.

2d Gb. Pray Mercury.

Mer. Away with him. — Are any of the rest of you over confident of your merit?

Omnes. No.

Mer. Then I'll dispose of you according to your deserts, not according to the sentiments of merit which you may have entertain'd of yourselves in the other world; for what is called wit by your beau'esprit's of the age, is found here to be folly, and what they term reason is downright madness: Common sense is most beneficial to mankind, and the practice of virtue the most certain road to happiness.

CRAFTSMAN, OCTOB. 13.

Observations upon the late behaviour of the city of London, &c.

The city of London is so commodiously situate for trade, and hath long carried it on to so considerable an height, that it hath always been looked upon, not only as the metropolis, but the heart of the kingdom, from whence the blood circulates through all parts of the body-politic; and therefore it would be as ridiculous for the generality of the nation not to concur with the city of London, in all essential points of trade, as it was for the limbs, in the 3 Y 2 fable.
imputation recommended him to the favour of all the tools of power, he was almost unanimously rejected by the worthy Liverymen, with as much spirit and vigour as the slightest regard to order and decency would permit.

This instance of patriotism (which amounts to a demonstration that there is really such a thing still left) was immediately followed by another, equally meritorious and worthy of notice: for when this obnoxious man was effectually set aside, a motion was immediately made by an eminent merchant, and seconded by loud acclamations from the Liverymen in the hall, for returning thanks to their four worthy representatives, for their vigorous opposition to the late convention; and earnestly requiring them, according to the ancient custom of instructing their members, to use their utmost endeavours to promote a bill for reducing and limiting the number of place-men in the house of Commons, as the only method to secure the independence of parliament, and consequently the prosperity of the whole kingdom. I doubt not that they are already preparing an effectual bill for this purpose; and I wish there may be as full an house as ever was known to support them in this great and necessary work.

But this affair did not drop here; for a worthy Alderman made another motion, for instructing their present members to obtain a repeal of that part of an act, commonly called the City-act, which gives the court of Aldermen negative; and for restoring the court of Common-council to their ancient right. This motion from an Alderman, against the new power of the court of Aldermen, is an instance of uncommon impartiality; and must certainly be very acceptable to the Common-council and body of Liverymen of London; who received it with great applause, and will, no doubt, make the generous proposal a suitable return.

These instances, which the citizens of London have given, in so remarkable a manner, of their resentment against one man, whose conduct they had just reason to
reason to disapprove, a due regard to their own rights, and a very ialable testimony of their dutiful attachment to the true interests of the present Royal Family, are sufficient proofs that the ancient spirit of this great metropolis is not yet loft, notwithstanding the indefatigable endeavours of some men, and the base prostitution of others. May the same spirit for ever prevail, as it hath done for several ages past; being one of the strongest barriers of the liberties of the people against any unjust prerogatives of the crown!

This glorious and exemplary conduct of the city, in defence of their own rights and interests, is likewise the strongest justification of those Gentlemen, who thought it their duty to withdraw themselves from parliament, upon the same account.

— I beg pardon; for there may be yet a stronger; I mean, in case the placemen should be found strong enough to defeat a bill, for reducing and limiting their number, which would fully open the eyes of the people, and discover the secret springs of some late transactions.

A bill of this nature hath, indeed, sometimes miscarried in another place; but, for the honour of that august assembly, I cannot possibly think that it will be the case again; since it concerns only the house of Commons, and comes recommended to them, by the united voice of the city, as well as the nation in general.

I shall therefore conclude with a few general remarks upon the convention, which was the principal motive to the late secession, and the present proceedings in the city.

Though this treaty, or piece of a treaty, is now disdised on both sides, and we have been put to a vast expense in preparations for carrying on a vigorous war; yet the British fleet hath been yet employed to no other purpose than in playing the little part of privateering; and the season of the year is now so far advanced, that we cannot well expect any action of consequence till the spring. It may, perhaps, be the design of some persons, after all this parade, to procure another anniversary convention, or something like it under a different name; either by their own wife negotiation, or the friendly mediation of the present great arbiter of Europe. But we have lately seen so many glaring instances of the effects of French mediation, that it will hardly be relish'd, however disguised, by any true Englishman, who sincerely wishes well to his country; and since we are now sufficiently provided for any undertaking on our part, or any attack against us, either by sea or land, it seems to be generally expected that such a prodigious expense should not be entirely thrown away, without endeavouring to do ourselves justice by force of arms, against our barbarous and insolent enemies.

If we have no allies to assist us in the present undertaking, (as a certain Honourable Gentleman was lately pleased to assure us;) yet it may be some advantage to us, if we exert ourselves as we ought, that neither have we any allies to check us in the course of a war. We may pursue our designs where-ever our interest, or just resentment shall direct us. There is a part of the world, where Spain is particularly vulnerable, and we may be too hard for them, with all their allies. — But it is not the business of a poor Journalsf to offer schemes, or plans of operation, though often called upon to do it by those, who would charge me, with the highest degree of insolence, if I should accept their challenges, and presume to advise such eminent and consummate politicians as their patrons. I do not pretend to be in the secrets of cabinets; and solemnly declare, that I never look'd over either Don Benjamino, Don Horatio, or Don Roberto's shoulders, whilst they were concocting their schemes, or drawing up their dispatches. I will sum up my defence against this charge in a few words: I never was at the renown'd port of Lynn in my life, and therefore cannot be supposed to have any knowledge of the views and interests of foreign courts.

But though I am determined, for the sake of decency, to leave the operations of a war to those, whom it concerns, notwithstanding any solicitations; I will oblige these importunate Gentlemen to their wife negotiation, or the friendly mediation of the present great arbiter of Europe. But we have lately seen so many glaring instances of the effects of French mediation, that it will hardly be relish'd, however disguised, by any true Englishman, who sincerely wishes well to his country; and since we are now sufficiently provided for any undertaking on our part, or any attack against us, either by sea or land, it seems to be generally expected that such a prodigious expense should not be entirely thrown away, without endeavouring to do ourselves justice by force of arms, against our barbarous and insolent enemies.
so far, as to throw in my poor mite of
advice towards ways and means, for sup-
porting the expences of it.

The first is so obvious to every body,
in our present circumstances, that it may
seem almost impertinent to mention it;
for as the country Gentleman, Farmer,
Traders, Manufacurers, and poor La-
bours, have been grievously loaded
with taxes, during a long course of
peace, it cannot be doubted that a
large contribution will be cheerfully
granted out of the civil list, towards
the expences of a war. This was the
case of the late K. William and Q.
Anne: the former of whom had part of
his settled revenue taken away by par-
lament, when the exigencies of the na-
ton required it; and the latter volun-
tarily gave 100,000 l. a-year upon the
same occasion. It would therefore be
the greatest disrepect, and even a fort-
of disloyalty, to suppouse that his present
Majesty (whole civil list is much larger,
as his regard for his people is at least equal
to either of those Princes) will not imi-
tate the glorious example of his royal
predecessors, in this particular, when he
sees us almost overwhelmed with debt,
and groaning under a multiplicity of
burthenome taxes.

This will naturally pave the way to
another resource: for those persons, who
have grown rich by employments, whilst
others have been exhausted by taxes, will
certainly be ashamed not to follow the
royal example, of their own accord, in
eafe of their fellow-subjects; or they
may be easily compell’d to do it. If we
may give credit to some late lists, above
400,000 l. a-year is visibly distributed
amongst two kinds of place-men only; be-
sides other private gratuities. Half of
this money, at least, might be easily
fav’d, and ought to be fav’d, in times
of distress. Some of these Gentlemen have
amails’d immense estates from very low
beginnings; and therefore they cannot
decently refuse to serve their country, at
such a time, without any profit, or at
least a very moderate one. There are be-
sides a multitude of unnecesary places,
which ought to be entirely abolished,
and the salaries of others considerably re-
duc’d. M. de la Quadra is said to have
lately set a noble example of this kind
to his fellow-ministers; and I hope it
cannot be doubted that our uncourt
statesman will shew that they are not
more voracious, at such a critical con-
junction, than our infatuated enemies.

Another considerable aid, towards
the support of a war, might be raised
by the long-desired tax upon luxury;
for it is a scandal to any free government,
that whilst the poorer sort of the people are
obliged to pay heavy duties for all the
necessaries and conveniences of life, the
rich should not pay in proportion for in-
dulging themselves in pride, vanity, and
riot. This would either raise a very great
sum, or reduce that destructive vice,
which would be equally advantageous
to the nation. If any of the ministerial
writers should be ordered to call upon
me for a scheme to this purpose, I am
ready to produce it, without any other
reward than the merit of doing my ut-
most for the service of my country: a
very rare instance of disinterestedness
amongst our modern projectors!

But I must desire to have it observed,
that I propose this tax upon luxury to be
only annual, and not funded out, like
most other taxes, which might destroy
the very intent of it, by applying it to
bad purposes; or if it should be thought
proper to continue it, after the war,
let it be given in lieu of other taxes, for
the relief of the poor.

These, in my poor opinion, will be
the most effectual means to support a
vigorous war against our enemies abroad,
and to unite us at home, in the common
cause of our country; for whilst the
people in general are under the apprehen-
sions of being beggar’d, in order to sup-
port a few persons in pomp, luxury, and
grandeur, it is ridiculous to expect that
there will ever be such an union and bar-
mony, as the present circumstances of the
nation require.

COMMON SENSE, Octob. 20.

A Doctrine hath been vigorously
prested of late years, by all those
on the mercenary side, whether place-
men, pensioners, or hired scribblers, That
parliaments, once elected, are not accountable to those that chuse them for any thing they do; which, I conceive, is striking at the very fundamentals of all liberty.

This doctrine, though it slept for many years, is as old as the Rump parliament, (I am sorry to see it revived in our days;) I will shew the absurdity of it, by some extracts from a pamphlet, published in those times, intitled, England's birthright against all arbitrary usurpation, whether regal or parliamentary.

"If the King is entrapped with the militia, it is for the good and preservation of the republick, against foreign invasions and domestick rebellions; but, if he should employ it against the parliament or the commonwealth, so that there is certain appearance that they are employed to this purpose, he ought to be refus'd, and the militia should refuse obedience to him; otherwise the law is a shell without a kernel, a shadow without a substance, a body without a soul.

When an army is committed to the command of a General, though it is not expressed in his commission or orders, that he is not to turn his cannon against his own country; yet, if he doth it, he ought to be refus'd; and, the fact, the army is obliged to disobe[y] him; unless we'll suppose, that men are obliged to cut their own throats: So that, though there is no express orders given to members of parliament, that they are not to oppress or pilgrage the people; yet, if they pretend they may do it by law, they then have tyranny conferred upon them legally; so the very ends of government, which is to set limits and restraints upon power, is, by law, overthrown: which is nonsensical.

The parliament hath a power of making and repealing laws; but they themselves are bound by laws till they are repealed. It would be strange, indeed, if a King, doing wrong, may be refus'd; and a parliament, doing wrong, may not be refus'd.

If the electors of England should declare to you, [the author speaks to the parliament.] You shall not make laws for us; we will do it for ourselves: will any man say, they may not do it? Take away this, where is mean and mean, liberty and property? For if a parliament, once elected, are unlimited in power, there is an end of all. It cannot be imagined the people would give such a power to those to become their tyrants, whom they chuse for their servants: this is a power to destroy them, not to do them good."

Here the author makes a bold exhortation to the people, calling upon them to rise up, as one man, against those that have betrayed their liberties and freedoms. Which paragraph we shall pass, and come on to the next.

"Whether it is agreeable to justice, law, and equity, seeing, that by the 4th of Edward III. it is enacted, That there should be a parliament held every year, or oftener if need require; and by the 36th of Edward III. it is enacted, That for the maintenance of the laws, and the redress of grievances which daily happen, a parliament shall be held every year: that this present parliament hath sat four years, and many of the members betrayed their trysts, and those that remained ingres law-making, and also law-executing, into their own hands, contrary to reason and the true intent and meaning of the law, which faith, Delays in judgment in other courts shall be redress'd in parliament, and also false judgments and difficult cases that shall happen shall be decided in parliament? — Read the 14th of Edward III.

By the manifest abusing the laws: oppressions, mischiefs and grievances are far more increas'd than they were before this parliament began; and, many times, by the powerful interest of a faction in the parliament, to save some of their undeserving members, they do violate the known unrepealed law of the land, yea, and their own votes and declarations, as if they had never made them: I say, all these things considered, ought not all the freemen of England, who have laboured to preserve this
this parliament, and their own native freedoms and birthrights, not only to chuse new members, but to enquire after the behaviour of those they have chos'd.

If they find, since they came into the house, that they never made any motion for the publique good, nor for theirs that lent them, but do fit like so many minnies, and groles, that have no more wit in them than will reach from their noxes to their mouths, as Doctor Balfour said of them; or that they have been unfaithful, or unserviceable to the publique, those that chuse them may have liberty to chuse better, more faithful, and able men in their places; for standing water will corrupt, though it were never so pure at first."

I will now come to another part of this pamphlet, which particularly regards place-men.

"Whether it be not most agreeable to law, equity, and the nature of a parliament-man's place, that, during the time of his being a member, he should lay aside all employments of profit in the commonwealth, and attend only upon that function upon which he was chosen? If he be poor, or hath left his estate, whether he might not, at present, be content with his master's wages; that is to say, with so much as the people, who chos'd him, by the law of the land, were obliged to pay him for his daily labour? which is expressed in the 33d of Harry VIII. to be four shillings a-day to every Knight, and, to every Citizen and Burgess, two shillings a-day.

Seeing by woful experience it is found, that the possessor's employments breed nothing but faction and base cowardice, and the swelling up mens lips, that they dare not speak freely for the commonwealth; nor displeaise such and such a faction, for fear of their being thrust out of their, unit to be enjoy'd, offices: the commonwealth hath just cause to fear, they will set up an interest of their own, destructive to that common interest and freedom, whereof the poorest free-man in England ought to be possessor, and so make this present parliament an everlasting parliament; seeing parliament-

men and their officers have already fared and secured themselves with an ordinance, made the 26th of June 1645, that they shall not be called to an account by their masters, the people, for the commonwealth's money.

If an objection be made, and a question be ask'd, Would I have these parliament-men that had their places before the parliament sit, turned out? I answer, I would have Sir Harry Vees, Solicitor St J bore, and Mr Holland turned out of their places; since their enjoying them fews up their lips, and makes them they dare not speak, or do as they should. There is as much justice to turn them out, as to turn out Sir Robert Harlowe, Sir Walter Eat, the Speaker, and all the Chancery judges; for it is the most unjust thing in the world, that the law-makers should be the law-executors.

All the executors of the law ought certainly to be persons that do not belong to the parliament, that they may not be able to make factions to fave their lives and estates, when they do injustice; and I am confident these never an honest-hearted parliament-men, that means well, but is of this opinion, thro' it be never so contrary to his own particular interest."

In another place our author speaks follows:

"I would fain know if, by the parliament's so eagerly pressing the covenant, they do not press the laishing of many of their own destruction; for by the covenant, every man that takes it is bound to maintain and preserve the fundamental laws of the kingdom, to defend under foot by the members of both houses arbitrary practices, not only towards cavaliers (for which they pretend some colour, pleasing necessity) but also towards all other men, even some of their own party, that have more freely restored their lives, to preserve the laws and liberties of the kingdom, than any of themselves. For justice and right have they done to no man that is a foister to them; and, therefore, I here challenge all the members of both houses, from the first day of their sitting to this pres-
Weekly ESSAYS in

sent hour, to incite me that man in
England; that is none of themselves, nor
dependent upon themselves, that they
have done effual justice to, tho' they
have had thousands of petitions and com-
plaints for grand grievances before the
parliament, some of which have spent
themselves with prosecuting the busi-
nesses before them, and not one penny the
better; and yet they have shared above
200,000 l. of the commonwealth’s mo-
ney amongst themselves, as may be
clearly particularised by their own news-
books, licensed by one of their own
clerks. Was a parliament in England
ever called for that purpose as to rob
and poll the poor common people, and
to force those that have scarce bread to
put into their mouths to pay excise and
other taxations, or else to rob and plum-
der them of all they have, and then
share it amongst the members of both
houses, as 1000 l. to one man, 2000 to
another, and 3000 to a third, and this
mostly to those that never hazarded
their lives for the commonwealth, and
never intended any good to the gener-
osity of the people, but that they should
be as absolutely their vassals and slaves,
and much more than ever they were to
any of our Kings?

O thou righteous and powerful judge
of heaven and earth, that, of all the
base things in this world, hasten and ab-
horred dissimmers and hypocrites, § 12,
9, 10, 11, 12, to the 23. deal with
these the greatest of dissimmers thyself,
who, like so many bloody and cruel
men, have engaged this poor kingdom
in a war, pretendedly for the preserva-
tion of their laws and liberties, when, as
God knows, by a constant series of ac-
tions, they never really and truly intended
any such thing, but merely, by the
blood and treasure of the people, to
make themselves tyrannical lords and
masters over them; so that, for my part,
if I should take the covenant, I protest
before the God of heaven and earth,
without fear or dread of any man breath-
ing, I should judge it my duty, in con-
sequence, and by virtue of my oath, to
do my utmost to prosecute even to death,
with my sword in my hand, every mem-
ber of both houses that should visibly
engage in the destruction of the funda-
mental laws and liberties of England;
and prosecute them with as much zeal,
as they prosecuted the King; for ty-
anny is tyranny by whomsoever executed, yea, tho’ it be by members of par-
liament, as much as by a King. They
themselves have taught us, by their de-
clarations and practices, that tyranny is
refittable; and therefore their arguments
against the King, may well serve against
themselves, if speedily they turn not o-
ver a new leaf; for what is tyranny,
but to admit no rule to govern but their
own wills? It would be strange, that
those who had practised resistance ag-
ainst a King, under pretence that he
had abused the trust and power reposed
in him, should pretend that parliaments
are unaccountable, let them do what
they will."

I shall make no observations upon
these arguments, but leave it to the
judgment of all those that shall peruse
them, whether that can be eet in’d a
free country, where those that are e-
lected by the people, are not account-
able for their behaviour to those from
whom they deriv’d their power.

CRAFTSMAN, Octob. 27.

On the Art of Supporting a War.

S I R,

I

Think you have laid down a very
honest and practicable scheme [p. 466.] towards the expences of a war
with Spain. A parliamentary deduc-
tion, or a voluntary contribution, from the
CIVIL-LIST, is fully justified in
times of war, not only from reason and
equity, but the two examples you men-
tioned in the reigns of K. WILLIAM
and Q. ANNE.

As to the latter, it is confirmed by
her Majesty's speech to both houses of
parliament, on Monday the 30. of March
1702, at the beginning of her reign, as
follows:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am very well pleased to have given
my assent to the Act for taking the pa-
ublick accounts. Nothing is more reason-
able than to give the kingdom the sa-
4 Z

satisfaction
Weekly Essays in October 1739.

satisfaction of having those great sums accounted for, which were raised to carry on the late war; especially when it is necessary for our own safety, and the support of our allies, to continue great taxes.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons, I return you my kind and hearty thanks for continuing to me, for my life, the same revenue you had granted to the King. I will take great care it shall be managed to the best advantage; and while my subjects remain under the burden of such great taxes, I will strain myself, in my own expenses, rather than not contribute all I can to their safety and relief, with a just regard to the support of the honour and dignity of the crown.

It is probable the revenue may fall very short of what it hath formerly produced. However, I will give directions, that 100,000 £. be apply'd to the publick service in this year, out of the revenues you have so unanimously given me.

My Lords and Gentlemen, The present posture of affairs abroad, as well as the season of the year, obliges me to put you in mind of giving all possible dispatch to the publick business.

This speech breathes such a glorious spirit, and so warmly expresses the affections of the mother of her country, that it was receiv'd with great applause, at that time, and it would be injustice to her memory, at present, not to make a short comment upon it.

It is certainly true, (as her Majesty observes in the first paragraph) that nothing is more reasonable, at the commencement of a new war, which must be carried on by the continuance of great taxes, at the expense of her people, than that they should have a full and satisfactory account how the money raised for the support of any former war hath been disposed of. I cannot help adding, that such an account is certainly more reasonable, at the beginning of a war, after immense sums have been expended during a long course of peace; for that being a time, which requires no extraordinary expenses, it is the interest of a wise Prince, and the duty of an honest minister, to lay hold of such an opportunity to heal up the wounds, which a war hath occasioned, and to lay in a stock for a new one, when necessity requires it, by recruiting the publick treasury, and easing the people. Both of these may easily be done, during a long interval of war, by a little good economy and judicious management.

In the next paragraph of this speech, we find the Queen returning the thanks of Commons, in the most grateful and affectionate manner, for continuing to her, during life, the same revenue they had granted to K. William. She likewise promises to take great care that it shall be managed to the best advantage. It is proper to remark in this place, that Q. Anne was so far from desiring any increase of the civil list, that she was very thankful for the same revenue her predecessor enjoyed, though she came to the throne with a war upon her hands, which might have been made a pretence by some princes to have asked for more. But her generous heart disdained any such unreasonable demands; and as for the parliament, that whilst her subjects remain'd under the burden of such great taxes, she would strain herself in her own expenses, rather than not contribute all she could to their safety and relief.

Bishop Burnet tells us, "That many seem'd to apprehend that so great revenue might be apply'd to use, not to the publick, in a reign that was like to be frugal, and probably would not be liable to great accidents."

However, these jealousies immediately vanished upon her Majesty's speech, which did not consist of words only; for though she expresses her apprehensions in the next paragraph, that the revenue would fall very short of what it formerly produced; yet the voluntarily promised to give directions that 100,000 £. should be apply'd towards the publick expense of that year; and, during the progress of the war, she gave up a considerable part of her revenue to the same use, besides many other munificent benefactions, both of a publick and private nature.

All this was done by that disinterested frugality, which she promised the nation in her speech; for the Dutchess of
The ancient Romans had likewise a select treasure, call’d aurum vicepriorum, which was laid up in the temple of Saturn, and not to be touch’d but in cases of the last necessity.

The modern Romans have a resource of the same kind in the castrum of St. Angels, beside their great riches at Civita Vecchia, which are kept reserved against any great emergencies, or attacks upon the Holy See.

The sacred treasure of England consists, as Q. Elizabeth very wisely and honestly observ’d, in the purses of the people; for whilst they are full, the royal coffers will never be empty; and for this reason she generously refunded a large sum of money to her people, when the service, for which it was granted her by parliament, did not require it.

We have, indeed, another treasure, formerly called sacred and inviolable; I mean the sinking fund, which was constituted for the payment of our national debts; but the very person, who had once the vanity to call it his own child, hath since manifestly discovered his want of natural affection, by diverting and sacrificing it to other purposes, for temporary expences, and his own immediate interest. If this fund had been regularly and punctually applied, either to the payment of our debts, or to the reduction of our taxes, for which it was originally designed, and most solemnly appropriated, the people’s purses would have been enabled to supply very large sums toward the expences of a war. But since our affairs are very unhappily in another situation; it is to be wished, at least, that the sinking fund will not, upon any occasion, be funded out; which would be mortgaging our posterity, almost without redemption; but that whatever our necessities may require, will be raised within the year; by which it will be plainly perceiv’d whether the war is well or ill conducted, whatever may be the success of it. But I will conclude, as a late writer hath done, with this hearty prayer: God prosper the arms of Great Britain!

I am, Sir, &c.

322 Daily
Free thoughts occasioned by the declaration of War against Spain.

Nothing will redound more to the honour of his Majesty's government, than the late declaration of war against Spain: for though involving a country in disputes founded only upon the ambition of a Prince, is always attended with consequences lamented by the people, (who are sure to share in the sufferings of such a war, tho' they reap not the advantages obtained by success;) yet no publick conduct can more merit the publick applause, than the proper exertion of a military force, when all pacifick means have been tried to no effect.

The blessings attending peace are so many, and so numerous are the dangers which accompany the most successful war, that as (especially to a trading nation) nothing is so desirable as the former, nothing ought to be entered upon with more precaution than the latter. In this respect the unwearyed endeavours of his Majesty to prevent the interruption of such branches of commerce as will unavoidably be affected by a rupture with Spain, and the many expedients offered for adjusting amicably the differences that have so long subsisted between the two nations, must have sufficiently convinced the subjects of Great Britain, that our not obtaining, before now, a proper satisfaction for past injuries, and security from future insults, has not been owing to the want of a steady and tender regard for the interests of the people, nor of the greatest attention to the general prosperity of these realms.

With what joy then must every friend to Great Britain see a war declared, which is become necessary by the strictest laws of Reason and Humanity; a war which nothing but the voice of Justice has engaged us in, and which is founded only upon a claim to privileges which can never be invaded without violence; a war, which, as it is begun with a reluctance that is the sure result of an affection for the people, for their rights and privileges, their lives and fortunes will not fail to be executed with that vigour and resolution, that courage and conduct, which seldom fails to attend undertakings in themselves warlike, and entered upon after suitable deliberation! Such a war cannot fail of success, as it cannot fail of a chearful necessary support; it being the hour of the crown, the British navigation, the trade and commerce of the three kingdoms, and all the dominions dependent upon, that are now to be asserted and defended.

'Tis no vain pretence of honour, to private ambition, no wild attempt to gain useless conquests, that has now roused the martial spirit of Great Britain; it is a scheme of giving crowns to foreign princes, nor of availing English blood, that now beats to arms: 'tis the case of Britain leads to the field, the honour of England that calls for our reenforcement: the interest of every subject of the crown summons our courage, and calls for united endeavours to reseat the insolent and ungenerous, the unjustifiable and cruel treatment, which our useful and greatly injured fellow-subjects have endured; and for which they can now hope no other restitution, than what is gained by the success of our arms. In such a case, the heart that is not warm, cannot animate the breast of a Briton.

It was with the utmost pleasure I heard the chearful and universal exultations attending the publication of this declaration. In these the ancient voice of Britain speaks in its most powerful accents; and it must yield the utmost satisfaction to all lovers of their country, to see the whole people united against the common enemy, in spirit of the fruitless endeavours of a few men who have long laboured to divide us, as the most infallible means of effecting our destruction. But how impotent are the effects of their private malice, how black must appear their designs, who, while they have pleaded the service of the publick, the defence of our liberties, the preservation of our ancient rights, &c. have laboured only to expel us to the insulfs of our enemies, and to render us incapable of vindicating our national
tional rights and privileges against foreign violence, by fomenting groundless jealousies at home?

The whole people are now convic'd of the truth of what has often been repeated in vindication of the measures pursued by the present administration, viz. That as the interest of the nation, the preservation of our commerce, and the prosperity of our manufactures, were thought sufficient motives for preferring peace while it could be enjoyed with the advantages which alone made it desirable; when these reasons for avoiding a rupture should cease, the same patriot care which prefer'd peace would exert itself in obtaining, by more vigorous measures, the national advantages which milder means were found inefficient to preserve.

It must yield every friend to the Presbyterian interest, and to G. Britain, the most sensible pleasure to observe, that though a war has been long recommended by the mean tools of the malecontents, to promote their own seditious purposes, without any regard being paid their guilty clamours; yet, as soon as it was found necessary for the good of the land, it was entred upon with the same earnestness that had been exercis'd to avoid it; nothing being more evident, than that the motives of the present measures are truly publick, and founded upon such principles as cannot fail to convince all who are not deaf to conviction, that both our pacifick and hostile measures have been pursued from a steady regard to the good of G. Britain, to the trading interest of these realms, and the lives of the subjects of his Majesty's crown.

After such a conduct in the administration, a declaration of war must carry with it a demonstration, that nothing but the most notorious injustice could惹r it from a Prince who, whilst any hope remain'd of gaining retribution to his subjects, and of maintaining the honour of the crown by a continuance of the tranquillity he so sensationally preferred, never betrayed an inclination of risking the people's lives and liberties, or of putting the nation to the charge of a war, till it became necessary for the good of the people; who, as they must share in the expence, will be certain sharers in the advantages arising from the success of our arms. This being evidently the state of G. Britain at this time, there is no room to doubt but that the war which is now declared in the people's behalf, will be cheerfully supported by the whole people, as all are equally interested in its consequences; for as national sufferings have engaged us in it, nothing but national advantages can accrue from our success.

To the most thoughtful and confide-rate part of the nation, to those who are most terrified at the apprehensions of a war, and who form the most flinching ideas of the consequences of publick hostilities, where usage like what has been lately received from Spain, so loudly demands resentment, hostile measures will be view'd with serenity, when they are consider'd as the only means in our own hands to obtain the justice milder expedients have been unable to produce. The familiar old proverb of desperate diseases requiring desperate remedies, will vindicate the present conduct of the British government, to the satisfaction of the meanest subject who weighs the importance of a free navigation to the British dominions. The most timorous must own the fitness of martial expedients, now all others have failed, to obtain us the justice that is our right by the laws of nature, as well as the tenor of publick treaties.

If Justice, Honour, and a long forbearance, evidently proceeding from a desire to avoid the shedding of blood, can in any situation, or under any circumstances, hope for the blessing of heaven, there is now the strongest reason for expecting the favour of providence upon the arms of his Majesty; whose sword is now drawn to vindicate and defend his people, by correcting a nation which has rejected every honourable offer of peace, and violated the most solemn obligations, upon pretences too trifling, and too notoriously untrue, to bear mention;—a nation which, in defiance of the force of treaties, and of
the common laws of hospitality, has not only seized unjustly the effects of our trading fellow-subjects, but, with a cruelty for which they are remarkable through the annals of many ages, have used with barbarity the persons of those they have first deprived of their fortunes and liberties. That this is true, all Europe hath witnessed; and that the due punishment of these instances of cruelty and injustice may be as universally seen, is the earnest wish of ALC. SIDNEY.

The following letter well deserves a place, as an account of the importance of the subject it treats of. — Such of our readers as do not approve the sentiments it contains, will not be displeased to find it inserted; since our impartiality obliges us to pay an equal regard to either side of a question, while candour and morality are not violated: — and we shall cheerfully transmit to the publick any defence of the Gentlemen principally aimed at in the subsequent remarks.

To the author of the Scots Magazine.

SIR,

OCT. 15.

Every man who hath nothing besides the interest of religion at heart, would be glad to find mankind, in all ages, convinced of the great truths of religion, though from very different principles; in this, as in other cases, one argument appearing conclusive to one person, another argument to another person. I cannot therefore approve of the practices of our modern divines, and defenders of revelation, who would rather have men reduced to atheism itself than not to allow of the necessity of their order and method of teaching. I am sorry to find the Reverend Dr Campbell, in his late book called The Necessity of Revelation, &c., labouring the same design.

1. The Doctor endeavours to prove, "That the bulk of the ancient philosophers could not believe the immortality of the soul, because they did not infer it from right principles, viz. from its immateriality; whereas modern philosophers (he says p. 132.) do, or can conclude its natural immortality."

2. The Doctor attempts to prove, "That the said philosophers could have any knowledge of an infinite soul, and of moral or natural religion, beyond their great ignorance in natural philosophy; which (he says p. 381.) shall teach us these things when left to themselves. The Doctor is certain, p. 44, that the being of God cannot be proved a priori."

Now, Sir, having briefly stated the principles of the Doctor's elaborate piece, whence he would infer the necessity of revelation and a sacred institution of precept, the impartial will think that I do not service to the cause of religion in general, by shewing that the ancient was, at least, upon an equal footing with the modern philosophers, as to their proof of these two fundamental articles of religion, the being of God, and a future state.

Every person, but a recluse philosopher who converses more with books than men, will find that there is something in the very human frame, which leads them more directly and certainly to the practice of their duty both to God and man, than any long train of reasoning from natural philosophy and reason; all our knowledge of which is, at best, but uncertain and conjectural. And as to the bulk of mankind's belief of a God, we never find them doubt of his existence more than of the being of their neighbour. And, let the Doctor try it when he pleases, he will find it difficult to prove the existence of God, in the way of philosophick reasoning, than that of our neighbour. Nay, further, it may be said in favour of philosophers and spinners, (names which the Doctor repeats as if they included ignorance itself) that they arrive sooner at the knowledge of God from his works, than natural philosophers; who, hunting after second causes, drive the supreme and universal cause as much as possible out of the question; while the vulgar have, at first sight, just as good an idea of creation as the best of them.

As to the first article which the Doctor would have the ancients more ignorant of than the moderns, viz. the immateriality of the soul; not to fill your paper...
add, that no Heathen ever had groser notions of God than Moses, to whom you would send us to seek for right notions of religion.

May I therefore conclude, by beseeching the Doctor, and other defenders of Christianity, that, for the sake of all that is sacred, they would leave it to its own intrinsic evidences (If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God) rather than offer at such defences of it as tends to overturn it altogether, by sapping its foundation, Natural religion, upon which it is built. For it is observ'd, that the numerous Cures of Deism, daily coming out, as if every author was sensible of another's quackery, have made more Deists among those who pretend to examination, than they have made Christians. I am, &c.

ODE on his Majesty's Birth-day.

Recitativo.

T
Was on the glorious morn,
The festal date of Caesar born,
When, radiant as the rising sun,
The smiling Monarch on his people gone.

Around in gradual order plac'd,
Their eyes upon his gracious eye to feast,
Stood every virtue from his source deriv'd;
While pining envy and mistaken zeal
(For such mistaken men may feel)
Are of the blessing by themselves depriv'd.

Air.
The happy crowd remote
With rapture gaze,
And strike the vocal note
To Caesar's praise.
Affix, ye lifting throng,
To hail the day;
Affix the grateful song
To Caesar's sway.

Chorus.
The vaulted palace rings;
The joyous throng
To Albion's best of Kings
Sustain the song.
To George and Peace they sing
To Rome they rise,
Where never smil'd a King
On Liberty.

Recitativo.

Nor could, while subjects to themselves, their
A bliss like liberty crown:

Am-
OCTOBER 1739.

To sing my grief, my fainting soul did fail,
Only my sighs can speak the tender tale.
But ah! no language can her wretchedness
And guiling tears must utter all the thrice.

Sept' 14.

ARMAIO

On the death of a young Lady.

Could I but fear ah! and view thy frame,
Heav'n's highest orb, where's friend, thy holy name,
Rever'd and worship'd, by the happy man,
In Hallelujahs of sacred fire's praise.
Sure then my tears to rapture will chang'd,
To see my Love thus, thou divinely'sd,
In crowds of cherubs, tuning up thy key.
And praising God with her sail beside.
No more wou'd I those pleasing times spend,
And, languishing, count o'er the hush'd
Charm'd by her sweetness, and be hold'd
Arm'd with each grace that can adorn.
My soul would rather pant to four ah! for
Perfume those paths in which the truth'st sail;
Bid farewell to all tranitory joy.
Eternal life, and all things else but
Lament no more the rigours of my fate.
Long to join issue in that happy state.

Vivit post funera virtus.

To a young Lady, with the Fair Grecian scan, on her asking the poem.

W Reapt up in artful phrases, and un

disgrace

Of pol'd'd fidel, the am'rous pax in.
The bussious sweets of love are ber ac'd
In so'test numbers, to the gentle maid.
With sweeter-moving sounds be fath'd here
And with a fair pretence* allay'd each fas.
Thus, like the witty serpent, be decision.
For in her race exist a thousand Eyes.
Then read with caution, cautiously open
Our ears and heart too soon are charm'd by fhe
Th' insinuating tale allures like Circe's ring,
And oft betrays the innocent and yong.

* The pretext I mean is in their line.
"Hence the soft sex conveniently my soul.
What pleasures flow from love with prudent join'd?
How safe the joys that fill their circling arm.
When men of sense are tryst'd with their charms"
Poetical ESSAYS in HORACE, Epide 15.

TO NEERA, on her breach of promise.

\[
\text{The general discontent occasion'd by the late convention with Spain hath now arisen to such a height, that the most eminent cities and counties of this kingdom have expressed themselves with a great deal of warmth against it; and, being justly apprehensive, that an exorbitant number of placemen in the house of Commons is one means by which our valuable constitution may be shaken, and our liberties lost, have of late exerted themselves to promote a bill for limiting their number: Accordingly, at the meeting of the Liverymen at Guildhall for the election of the Lord Mayor, Mr Glover, an eminent Hamburg merchant, made the following motion, which he introduced with this elegant speech to the Sheriffs.}
\]

Mr Ald. Heathcote and Sir J. Lequesne,

T]


THE worthy Liverymen of this city here assembled before you have now set aside, in all probability irrevocably and perpetually set aside, one candidate from the honourable and powerful office of Lord Mayor of this great metropolis. The reasons of this proceeding must, to every impartial citizen, appear obvious and incontestable, being founded on that just indignation which it becomes every true Englishman at this time to entertain, at the many disgrace, barbarities and insults which have been suffered to fall upon his country, from a nation esteemed in all preceding times as the object of our contempt, and whose insolence we have as often bumbled as we have exerted our power. But still this proceeding, begun and pursu'd with so much spirit, conducted with so much discretion and decency, where the peace and good order of this great city have been consulted with as much caution, as the principal purpose itself has been supported with resolution and vigour; I say, this very proceeding, may still be liable to the censure of abruptness and inconsistency, of the same motives which influenced our conduct.
in the election of our Mayor, do not now create the same unanimity to pay our most grateful acknowledgments to our four worthy Representatives in parliament, for their steady and faithful adherence to all our rights, for their vigorous support of our trade in particular, and the honour of this kingdom in general, by their opposition in the house of Commons to the late convention with Spain. Our instructions should likewise accompany our thanks, that the tenor of our conduct may appear to be consistent and uniform throughout. For this purpose I have received this paper from several Gentlemen of the highest consideration and character in this city, who knew that it was at their particular and most earnest request, that I have taken upon me to make the following motion, the from the propriety of the thing itself; I hope I should otherwise stand excused: I therefore humbly move that this paper may be read; and if it obtain the approbation of this assembly, that you Gentlemen, our worthy Sheriffs, may be desired to present copies of it to our four Representatives in parliament.

To the R.H. Micah Perry, Esq; L. Mayor, Humphrey Parsons, Esq; Alderman, Sir John Barnard, Esq; Alderman, and Robert Willmot, Esq; Alderman, Representatives of the city of London in this present Parliament.

We the Liverymen of the city of London, in common-ball assembled in order to exert our undoubted right of electing two proper persons to be returned to the court of Aldermen for the mayoralty of this great city for the year ensuing, should be wanting both to you and ourselves, if, whilst we are bowing a just resentment, by setting aside one person, whose conduct we disapprove, and whom we judge unworthy of that high and honourable office, we did not take the same opportunity of returning you our sincere and hearty thanks for your general conduct in parliament, and in a more particular manner for your late endeavours to procure us from the ravages of war with Spain, and though neither your endeavours at that time, nor the interception of this city had the desired effect; yet every man in this nation must be now fully convinced of the dishonesty, as well as danger of the fatal treaty.

We are now made deeply sensible of the unhappy state of this kingdom from domestic mischief, which seems to threaten us from abroad; and it is with great grief we observe our excellent constitution breathing in some instances at home; but with the true spirit and courage of a British parliament shall exert itself, we promise ourselves that, with the divine assistance, shall be equally preferred from both those dangers.

In a free and uncorrupted assembly, our representatives consists not only to dignity, but even the character and safety of a parliament. It is of the highest importance, that those whom we send, with an unreserved power of making laws, affecting our trade, properties, liberties, and lives, should be uninfluenced by any lucrative considerations; and yet, notwithstanding several good laws have been made to secure the independency of the house of commons, how insecure must that the blessing be from the number of persons, who have already got footing, and who may be augmented hereafter by many more!

It is therefore, as we apprehend, absolutely necessary that some new and unexceptionable provision should be made to regulate and limit their number; and we require and insist that you would use your utmost endeavours to promote a bill for that salutary purpose, in conjunction with the patriots as may be willing to join with you and assist you in this great and useful work.

At the nation both, on many occasions, found the happy effects of applying to their respective representatives, and giving them proper instructions in cases of great consequence, particularly with regard to the late pernicious excise scheme, which was calculated for the destruction of the liberties of this nation, which side attempts was by these means defeated; so we are unwilling to entertain the high duty of meeting with the same success, upon the occasion: And as this is a point, on which the very being of parliament, and the prosperity of this kingdom so absolutely depends,
Domestick History, 479

We once more earnestly require you to make
a previous step to the passing of any mo-
ybill whatsoever.

These instructions were unanimously
proved of, and copies delivered by the
heirs to the four city members.

G. Britain has been long carrying on
military preparations, and has, at
resolved to do herself justice. Ac-
radantly, the following declaration of
was proclaimed, the 23d inst. in a
ly grand and solemn manner.

George R.

Whereas many unjust seizures
have been made, and depreda-
cations carried on for several years in the
Indies, by Spanish guards costas,
other ships, acting under the com-
pensation of the King of Spain, or his Go-
mors, contrary to the treaties subsist-
ing between us and the crown of Spain,
the law of nations, to the great
reduced the lawful trade and com-
merce of our subjects; and great cru-
teas and barbarities have been exercised
upon the persons of divers of our subjects,
these vessels have been so seized, and
British colours have been infiltred
the most ignominious manner: And
whereas we have caused frequent com-
plaints to be made to the King of
pain, of these violent and unjust pro-
ceedings, but no satisfaction or redrefs
has been given for the same, notwithstanding the many promises made, and
kulas issued, signed by the said King,
by his order, for that purpose: And
whereas the evils above mention'd have
ten principally occasioned by an un-
arrantable claim and pretension, set
on the part of Spain, that the guarda
itas, and other ships, authorized by
the King of Spain, may stop, detain,
and search the ships and vessels of our
objects navigating in the American seas,
contrary to the liberty of navigation, to
which our subjects have not only an eq-
ual right with those of the King of
pain, by the law of nations, but which
moreover expressly acknowledged and
related to belong to them by the most
semn treaties, and particularly by that
inclusion in the year 1670: And where-
as the said groundless claim and pretension, and the unjust practice of stopping,
detaining, and searching ships and ves-
sels navigating in the seas of America,
is not only of the most dangerous and
destructive consequence to the lawful
commerce of our subjects, but also tends
to interrupt and obstruct the free inter-
course and correspondence between our
dominions in Europe, and our colonies
and plantations in America, and by
means thereof to deprive us and our
subjects of the benefit of those colonies
and plantations; a consideration of the
highest importance to us and our king-
doms; and a practice which must affect,
in its consequence, all other princes and
states of Europe, possessed of settlements
in the West Indies, or whose subjects
carry on any trade therewith: And whereas,
besides the notorious grounds of com-
plaint above mentioned, many other
instructions have been made on the part
of Spain, of the several treaties and
conventions subsisting between us and
that crown, and particularly of that
concluded in the year 1667, as well by
the exorbitant duties and impositions
paid upon the trade and commerce of
our subjects, as by the breach of ancien-
t and established privileges, stipulated
for them by the said treaties; for the
redress of which grievances, the strongest
instances have been, from time to
time, made by our several ministers re-
siding in Spain, without any effect: And
whereas a convention for making repara-
tion to our subjects for the losses suf-
ferted by them, on account of the un-
just seizures and depredations commit-
ted by the Spaniards in America, and in
order to prevent for the future all the
grievances and causes of complaint there-
in taken notice of, and to remove abso-
lutely, and for ever, every thing which
might give occasion thereto, was con-
cluded between us, and the King of
Spain, on the 14th day of January last,
N. S. by which convention it was sti-
pulated, that a certain sum of money
should be paid at London, within a term
therein specified, as a balance admitted
to be due on the part of Spain, to the
crown and subjects of Great Britain;

A. 4
which term expired on the 25th day of May last, and the payment of the said sum was not made, according to the stipulation for that purpose; by which means the convention above mentioned was manifestly violated and broken by the King of Spain, and our subjects remained without any satisfaction or reparation for the many grievous losses sustained by them; and the methods agreed upon by the said convention, in order to the obtaining future security for the trade and navigation of our subjects, are, contrary to good faith, frustrated and defeated; in consequence of which, we found ourselves obliged, for vindicating the honour of our crown, and for procuring reparation, and satisfaction for our injured subjects, to order, that general reprisals should be granted against the said King of Spain, his vassals, and subjects, and their ships, goods and effects: And whereas the court of Spain has been induced to colour the open violation of the convention aforesaid, by reasons and pretences, which are void of all foundation; and, at the same time, has not only published an order, signed by the said King, for seizing the ships, goods, and effects, belonging to us, and our subjects, wherever they shall be met with, but has caused seizures to be actually made of the goods and effects of our subjects residing in his dominions, and has also ordered our said subjects to depart out of the Spanish dominions, within a short limited time, contrary to the express stipulations of the treaties between the two crowns, even in case of a war actually declared: We have taken into our royal and most serious consideration these injuries which have been offered to us, and our subjects, and the manifest violation of the several treaties subsisting between the two crowns, all which have been in many particulars eluded, or evaded by the unwarrantable behaviour of the court of Spain, and their officers, notwithstanding the repeated instances we have given of our desire to cultivate a good understanding with the King of Spain, and the essential proofs of our friendship and regard for him and his family, which we have demonstrated to all the world; and being fully satisfied that the honour of our crown, the interest of our subjects, and that respect which ought to be had to the most solemn treaties, calls upon us to make use of the power which God has given us, for vindicating our undoubted right, and securing to our loving subjects the privileges of navigation and commerce to which they are justly entitled; we therefore, relying on the help of Almighty God, who knows the uprightness of our intentions, have thought fit to declare, and do hereby declare war against the said King of Spain; and we will, in pursuance of such declaration, vigorously prosecute the said war, being assured of the ready concurrence and assistance of all our loving subjects in a just cause, wherein the honour of our crown, the maintenance of our solemn treaties, and the trade and navigation of our subjects (which are so essential to the welfare and prosperity of this nation, and which we are determined, at all times, with our utmost power to preserve and support) are so greatly concerned: And we do hereby will require our Generals and Commanders of our forces, our Commissioners for executing the office of High Admiral of G. Britain, our Lieutenants of our several counties, Governors of our forts and garrisons, and all other officers and soldiers under them, by sea and land, to do, and execute all acts of hostility in the prosecution of this war against the said King of Spain, his vassals, and subjects, and to oppose their attempts; and we do hereby command, as well our own subjects, as advertise all other persons, of what station soever, not to transport, or carry any soldiers, arms, powder, ammunition, or other contraband goods, to any of the territories, lands, plantations, or countries of the said King of Spain; declaring, that whatsoever ship or vessel shall be met with transporting, or carrying any soldiers, arms, powder, ammunition, or other contraband goods, to any of the territories, lands, plantations, or countries of the said King of Spain, the same being taken,
DOMESTICK HISTORY.

ken, shall be condemned as good and awful prize. Given at our court at Kennington the nineteenth day of October, 1739, in the thirteenth year of our reign. GOD save the KING.

Orders were likewise dispatched to all the different parts of the nation to seize all vessels, goods, or effects belonging to the King of Spain, or his subjects. A consequence of which, John Goodrin, Master-attendant of his Majesty's dock-yard at Deptford, seized two Spanish ships in the Pool, and delivered the two Captains, and sixteen sailors, to the care of the keeper of the Marshalsea prison. The government has been careful to furnish our garrisons and colonies abroad with ammunition and warlike stores. The fortifications of Gibraltar are in such a condition as makes it almost impregnable; and 2000 thirteen-pounder men-of-war, 1000 muskets, 1000 bayonets, 1000 cartouches, 1000 hoes, 1000 pick-axes, and 10,000 sandbags are sent to that place. Though there are 36 men of war in the West Indies, and 12,000 fire-arms already are there, yet some more men of war, bomb vessels, fire-ships, and 8000 fire-arms are ordered to be got ready for the same purpose. The 14 twenty-gun ships, which are almost finished, are each to carry eight swivel guns, and 36 men, to cruise upon the Spaniards; and 26 men of war are ordered to be at commission.

Letters from Adm. Haddock to the Duke of Newcastle, give an account, that on the 23rd of September a rich Spanish ship, called the St Joseph, bound from the Caraccas, and belonging to the Guipuzcoan company, was taken off Cadiz. She is since arrived in Portsmouth, under the convoy of the Chester, and 1000 lb. wt. of silver, taken out of her, lodged in the bank of England, and is 144,676,648 lb. of cocoa, in the Excise warehouse. Her invoice consists of 10,000 fanegas of cocoa, each 110 lb. wt. above 100,000 lb. wt. of Varinas tobacco; and 30,000 pieces of eight, registered, which is valued at 100,000 l. besides silver and other effects not mentioned in the bill of lading. She is about 800 tons, has 44 guns mounted, but has ports for 56.

Capt. Harriot, of the Vigilance, came from Gibraltar the 8th instant, when a Spanish ship of 250 tons and 14 guns, belonging likewise to the Guipuzcoan company, (bound from Maracaibo to Cadiz, but had touch'd at Porto Rico with the St Joseph) loaded with cocoa, tobacco, and some money, had been sent in there by Adm. Haddock. They write from Cadiz, that the cargoes of these two ships, registered and unregistered, were valued at 1,000,000 pieces of eight. They had fallen in, near the Western Islands, with a ship from Cork, who assured them, that all differences between the two crowns were accommodated, and that they might proceed for Cadiz with great safety. Adm. Ogle was arrived at Gibraltar, where about 14 Spanish fetties, tartanes, &c., had been sent in.

Besides the ships mentioned in our last, we have an account of the following taken by the Spaniards, viz. The Hanna and Izafra, Goddard; William and Mary, Collinder; and Edinburgh Packet, Sutherland, carried into St Sebastian's; the Hannah, Hufey, into Port St Louis; the Sarah, Barton, into Savonah; the Jane of Lockendale, Mac-Echeran, into Barcelona; the Anne pink of Bristol, into the Havanna; the James and Lewis, Malcolm, into Carthagena; the Aurora, Maxwel, into St Ube's; the William and Mary, Damon, into Alicante; the Britannia, Bon, sunk as they were carrying her into St Sebastian's; the St Anthony, Bryan: also the Lemon, Lemon, taken off Cape St Angelo by a Maltese privateer with Spanish colours. The Anne and Mary, a man of war's tender, cruizing off Scilly to imprefs seamen, came up with a Spanish ship, which, having no colours display'd, she took for a homeward bound merchant man, and was taken by the Spaniard. The Stubbington, Mauger, who had a letter of marque, was sunk by a Spanish ship, after she had fought several hours.

His Majesty's Royal Charter is paffed the Great Seal, to incorporate Charles Duke of Richmond, and several other
great officers and ministers of state, and their successors, into one body politic and corporate, by the name of Governor and Guardians of the hospital for the maintenance and education of exposed and deserted young children, with power to purchase lands, &c. in mortmain, not exceeding the yearly value of 4000 l.

The parliament of Ireland sat down the 9th infant.

P. S. London, Nov. 3. This afternoon South-Sea trading stock was 93. Ditto old annuities, 106, 3 4ths. Ditto new, 106, 7 6ths. Bank stock, 135, 1 half. India ditto, 153, 3 yrs. Three per cent. annuities, 97. Million bank, 111. Royal assurance, 88, 1 half. London assurance, 11, 1 8th. Mine adventure shares, no price. English copper, 3 l. 6 s. 6 d. Welsh ditto, 15 s. African, 13, 1 half. Seven per cent. Emperor's loan, 108 3 yrs. Five per cent. ditto, 93. Bank circulation, 1 l. 7 s. 6 d. prem: Three per cent. S. S. bonds, 15 s. prem. India ditto, 2 l. 10 s. prem. Three 1 half per cent. Exchequer orders, 1 discount. Three per cent. ditto, 6, 1 qr. discount. Salt tallies, 1 half a 1 prem. Lottery tickets, 5 l. 6 s. 6 d.

EDINBURGH, October 1739.

The example of the Livermen of London was soon followed by the merchant company, and many of the corporations of this city, who have presented their petitions to the town-council, praying, that the representative of this city may be instructed to promote a bill for restricting the number of place-men in the house of Commons. The following is a copy of

The Merchant-Company's petition.

WE the said company are most sensibly afflicted with the dangerous state of this nation. We see it involved in all the expense of a consuming war, and our trade liable to the same interruptions and discouragements as in the time of actual war, and at the same time our enemies enjoying all the advantages of a profound peace.

When we consider and enquire into the reasons and causes of this unhappy state, we cannot help ascribing it in a great measure to the late convention made with Spain, and that again to the number of placemen who have seats in parliament, and who may have a different interest that of the nation, who may find this account not by industry in their private capacities, nor by exerting themselves in parliament for the good of their country, but in the favour of a minister, whose iron and projects they may be tempted to support, however ruinous they may be to their nation. To this, in our apprehension, were the late convention, and which, as at first it appeared disfavourable and dangerous to disinterested persons, so now its fatal consequences are felt by the whole nation.

In this view we apprehend it is absolutely necessary, that some new and more effectual provision should be made in India and limit the number of placemen, while civil or military, in parliament, that our legislature may, as far as is possible, be freed from all other influence, that not the public interest, but the happiness of the nation.

And as this is the maximum of the Merchant-company, we thought it our indispensable duty to state the same to your Lordship, Magistrates and Council, that you may use the most effectual means for obtaining this remedy to our present situation, and particularly that you may instruct the representative of this city in this present parliament, that he may concur with the worthy patriots in parliament, to obtain such a law, as may, for our constitution, and by the divine blessing may remove the evils we feel, and leave us against these greater dangers that we have reason to fear, the total subversion of our liberties, which cannot subsist in constitution.

And more particularly, that you insist and require him in the most earnest manner, and as he will answer to the proposals in him by this city, that he endeavour to make the obtaining such a law, a previous step to the passing of any such bill whatsoever.

And we persuade ourselves, the giving such instructions to the representatives of the nation in parliament, will be attended with
with the same happy success, as upon former occasions, where this method did bountifully disappoint the pernicious escife-sceme, which had the same tendency with the grievance that at present is so sensibly felt by the subdue nation.

This, and the other petitions, were referred to the Council to a committee, who, after they had consulted lawyers, returned their opinion as follows:

The committee to whom the petitions presented to the council were referred, having had them under their serious consideration, are of opinion, that the subject of those petitions is of the biggest consequence, and of the most delicate consideration, upon which no just judgment can be formed, unless the nature and extent of the limitations pointed at in general by the said petitions (but not therein expressed) were fully understood. And also the freedom of elections and debate in parliament have ever been held amongst the biggest privileges of parliament, and essential parts of our present happy constitution; nevertheless the committee are of opinion the council should, on every proper occasion, show their willingness, as far as they legally and reasonably can, to concur in promoting any just measure proposed for preserving the liberty, freedom and independency of parliament from all possible encroachments: and therefore, if any bill be brought into parliament for limiting the number of members in the house of Commons, who may at the same time enjoy employments or grants from the crown, the committee are of opinion, the council should, in the most earnest manner, recommend to Patrick Lindsay, Esq; to give the utmost attention to such bills; and if the limitations therein offered shall, upon full and impartial consideration, appear to be conducive to secure the freedom of parliament and our excellent constitution, that be shall concur with and promote the same to the utmost of his power. And whereas his Majesty has now thought proper to emit a declaration of war against the crown and kingdom of Spain, for vindicating his undoubted rights, and securing to his loving subjects the privileges of navigation and commerce, to which, as well by the law of nations as by several treaties they are justly entitled; the committee judge it proper that a further instruction be given Mr Lindsay, That upon no pretence, how specious soever, he retard or oppose, but to the utmost of his power promote any measures that shall be proposed in parliament which may tend to enable his Majesty to support and defend the honour and dignity of the crown and kingdom, and to prosecute the just and necessary war in which his Majesty is engaged, with the desired success.

Which opinion the Council approv'd of, and ordered Mr Lindsay, the city member, to be instructed accordingly:

Several of the burghs and counties have met upon the same subject. The freeholders of the shire of Air, in particular, have appointed their Prefes to write to their representative, requiring him to endeavour to promote a law for making parliaments annual, or at most triennial, and every other measure which he shall think of, or shall be proposed by others for limiting the number of placemen and pensioners in the house of Commons. They give it as their opinion, that previous to the passing of any money-bill, these things should be obtained. They likewise require him to oppose all bills or votes of credit. At the same meeting they unanimously resolved, That, at the next election, they will, to the utmost of their power, promote the election of a man of worth to represent the county, and who shall not be subject to any ministerial influence, and particularly to chuse no pensioner, or placeman, civil or military, to that high trust.

The declaration of war came to this city by express the Saturday morning after its publication at London; and was proclaimed over the crofs, at the castle-gate, his Majesty's palace of Holyroodhouse, the foot of the broad-wynd in Leith, and at the end of the pier, with extraordinary solemnity, while a vast crowd of spectators expressed their approbation by many loud huzza's.

The celebrated Mifs May Drummond has prevailed on many of the society of Quakers in England to contribute very liberally towards advancing
the Royal Infirmary which is now a building here. She has already remitted £31. Sterling, and a great deal more is expected by her means. A company of glass-makers at Newcastle, in which some of that perfection are concerned, have made a present of as much fine window-glass as serves that part of the building that is already founded.

The synod of Perth and Stirling have likewise appeared very zealous in promoting this good work, having unanimously resolved to make the publick contributions in their bounds as effectual as they can, by not only recommending it in strong terms from the pulpit, but by collecting it from door to door in their respective parishes.

The following Scots commodities were exported to London from Leith this month, viz. 46,920 yards linen, 963 dozen linen handkerchiefs, 2169 lb thread, 100 dozen thread stockings, 6283 yards tartan, 12,586 dressed sheep and lamb skins, 500 lb human hair, 2671 lb snuff.

**BIRTHS.**

The Princess of Brazil, Infanta of Spain, is delivered of a Princess, at Lisbon. The Lady of the Earl of Ancram, eldest son of the Marquis of Lothian, of a daughter, at London. The Lady of the Lord Viscount Percival, of a son. The Countess of Dysart, of a son.

**DEATHS.**

The Duke of Manchester, Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Huntingdon, a Gentleman of the bed-chamber, Collector of the customs outward in London, Captain of the yeomen of the guards, and Knight of the Bath. He is succeeded in honours and estate by his brother the Hon. Robert Montague, member for Huntingdon. —The Hon. John Lumley, Esq; member for Arundel in Sussex, a Groom of the bed-chamber to the Prince of Wales, and a Colonel in the second regiment of foot-guards. — Thomas Gore, Esq; member for Amondelham in Bucks. — Sir William Thompstone, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, and Recorder of the city of London. — At New Romney in Kent, aged 102, Capt. James Hamilton, formerly in the navy. — Capt. Miller, in the second regiment of foot-guards. — Capt. John Manse, in Gen. Armstrong's regiment. — Mr. Mackee, Surveyor of Chelsea water-works, of which he was likewise projecter. — Sir William Murray of Ochteryse. — In the Isle of Man, Sir John Arekina of Alva, by a fall from his horse. — In Canongate, Col. Cornelius Kennedy. — In Wicklow county in Ireland, John Parfrey, in the 107th year of his age.

**Preferments Civil.**

The Duke of Manchester, Collector of the Customs outward in the part of London, in the room of his brother the late Duke. — Joseph Stanhope, Esq; a Gentleman of his Majesty's privy-chamber. — Mr. Matham, son to the Lord Matham, a Groom of the bed-chamber to the Prince of Wales. — Edward Weston and Andrew Stone, Esq; Collectors of treaties, memorials, &c. in the offices of the Principal Secretaries of State. — John Patterson, Esq; Solicitor to the city of London. — Mr. Harrisson, Middle Door-keeper of the House of Commons. — Daniel Falkiner, Esq; Lord Mayor of Dublin. — Lt Dunscombe, a Commissioner of the revenue in Ireland, in the room of the Earl of Bedborough, his father; Lord Abercorn, one of the Privy-council; and St George Caulfield, Esq; Solicitor-general, in the room of John Bowes, Esq; made Attorney-general. Mr. Caulfield is succeeded as Commissioner to the Commissioners of the revenue, by Warden Flood, Esq;

**Military and Naval.**

The Earl of Effex, Captain of the yeomen of the guards. — The Earl of Portland, Governor of Guernsey. — Brig. Polliot, Governor of Carlisle. — Col. Patney, Governor of Pembroke Castle, in the room of Brig. Polliot. — Francis Godolphin, Lt Gov. of Scilly, Captain of the two independent companies of foot there. — Mr. Stanhope, son of Lt Harrington, Aid-de-camp to Gen. Wade. — John Sco, Esq; a Lieutenant in Brig. St Clair's royal regiment of foot. — Lt Berkeley, Lieutenant of Greenwich Hospital. — Lt Har-
FOREIGN HISTORY.

Harrington, General of the Marines. — Capt. Pockington, Commander of the Rippon; Capt. Wareing, of the Terrible bomb-ketch, (Capt. Mitchell having resigned); Capt. Pinson, of the Louisa, in the room of Capt. Hallet, removed to the George; Capt. Hildersley, of the Grafton; Capt. Davers, of the Buckingham, (Capt. Robert Trevor, who succeeded Capt. Piercy when he resigned, being removed to another ship). — Lytton, Lieutenant of the Namur; and Sir Edgcumb, Lieutenant of the Superb.

hid within the walls of the city of Edinburg, and buried in the Gray-friars church-yard, October 1739.

men 15, women 26, children 35. In all, 77. Increased this month, 7.

AGE. N°. DISEASES. N°.
Under — 2 24
2 & 5 7
5 & 10 3
10 & 20 1
20 & 30 1 Suddenly — 4
30 & 40 2
40 & 50 12
50 & 60 9
60 & 70 12
70 & 80 3
80 & 90 2
90 & 100 1

FOREIGN HISTORY.

Advices from Peterburg inform us, that the Ambassador from Persia has communicated to that court, a relation of the advantages gained by the Schach Nadir (formerly Koulie Kan) over the Great Mogul. Amongst other things, he says, that the army of the latter, consisting of 400,000 foot, 300,000 horse, and 3,000 elephants, received a total overthrow by the troops of Persia: That afterwards, the Schach Nadir having vigorously pursued the G.Mogul, had obliged him to buy a peace at the expense of the provinces of Cabul and Lahor, and of immense treasures in silver and jewels, &c.

Other advices from Persia bring, that Hera Gul, son of Schach Nadir, had, in the absence of his father, caused Schach

Thomas, late Sophy of Persia, and his son, to be strangled; so that the ancient race of the Sophies is entirely extinct. The same advices assure, that the Schach Nadir has determined to divide his territories, and to give his son the kingdom of Persia upon certain conditions, referring to himself the kingdom of Candahar, with the new conquests.

The following is a letter from Field-Marshal Count Munich to the Duke of Courland, dated from the camp beyond the Pruth the 29th of August, O. S.

The happy successes I am going to relate, must be wholly ascribed to the blessing of Almighty God, to whom we owe infinite reason to give the humblest thanks. It must be acknowledged, that his hand has guided all the enterprises of her Majesty our most gracious Empress. The Pruth shall be no longer named by Russians with execration, but with benediction, as opening the way to a speedy and honourable peace.

To draw in one campaign, from the Don and the Donets, from the lines in the Ukraine, and from several provinces far distant from the Doniper, an army to meet together near Kiov; to pass with it the Doniper, which had overflowed in an extraordinary manner, a German mile in breadth; to march from the frontiers of Russia to those of Moldavia, cross Poland, without taking there the least thing for our carriages, or for provisions; to pass the Bug, which the enemy threatened to dispute with us; to pass even the Doniper without any obstacle, though the enemy were there with all their forces; to make our way over the mountains of Choczim, and thro' the difficult defiles near Tzorna-Ulcea; to send parties, in sight as one may say of the enemy, to drive together thousands of horses, cattle, and sheep, in Moldavia, and bring them to that side of the Pruth where we then lay; consequently, to furnish the army with whatever was wanting for our carriages, and with provisions, out of the enemy's country, without the loss of one man; to repel with visibly great loss to the enemy, all the attacks of the Turks and Tartars, to beat out of a fortified camp the Seraskier Sultan with all his boards of Tartars, as also Kolfschach Ba-
Baacken, with his Serenissimi, or adventurers, who profess neither to give nor take quarter, and with his Lieutenants, having terror, attack the Seraskier Wely Baacken, who had the command of the enemy's whole army, amounting to 90,000 men, by whom we were surrounded on all sides, and to give him a total defeat; to make a booty in his fortified camp, of all the tents and baggage, of 42 cannon of busses, and all the ammunition and provisions, and to have but 70 men on our side killed or wounded; to take the important fortress of Choenian, having for its defence 157 brass cannon, with forces answerable; to make prisoners of two a Baacken of three tails, and his garrison, without burning one match; to perhaps the army to the Pruth, to pass that river with our army, to build forts on each side of it; to fix a fort in the midst of the enemy's country, to chase the Blackader of Moldavia from one end of it to the other, and make him fly to the other side of the Danube, to levy contributions, and take provisions from the enemy; to see our army with hardly one sick person in it, in full prosperity and abundance: All this, I say, could not have happened, without being conducted and supported by the hand of Almighty God. Most of these events are of such a nature, that those who were not present at them may call many particulars in doubt, and among others this, that the Janissaries approaching fiercely to make an attack, were suddenly flight by so vigorous a fire, that they had not time to discharge their pieces, or to handle their sabres. The fright of the enemy was such, that a great number of them were found drowned three days after the action, some miles below the station our army was in, and the greatest part of them fled as far as to the Danube, without daring to cast a look behind them. On the other hand, never did army express more ardour to fight them ours. Deputations, and letters of congratulation from Poland, have come to us one after another: And with the further help of God, we cannot doubt of a very happy issue of the campaign.

Preliminaries for a treaty of peace betwixt the Gr. Seignior and the Carina are once drawn up, but no confirma-
wife upon this principle that his Majesty has sincerely concurred with your H. Mightinesses to support, by his good offices, the representations so often repeated on the part of both nations, tho' in vain, for obtaining satisfaction for the enormous injuries which the subjects of each have so long suffered in carrying on their lawful commerce in America, and which are so contrary to treaties, and the law of nations. And though the King, how much soever he may have determined to maintain peace with all his neighbours, of which desire the whole world ought to be convinced, is at last obliged to have recourse to arms, as the only means left to him to himself and his subjects justice; his Majesty is persuaded that your H. Mightinesses, who have the same subject of complaints, founded upon the violation of the same treaties; who have been ever faithful to your allies, and resolute in protecting the just rights of your people, will, as soon as the constitution of your government will permit, act in such manner as will demonstrate, that the union between his Majesty and this republic is not less useful in times critical and difficult, than in those of peace and tranquillity, and that their reciprocal friendship has been, and may still be advantageous to the common interest of the two nations.

It is with this persuasion that his Majesty has ordered me to assure your H. Mightinesses, that he will never abandon these principles of affection for, and attention to the welfare and security of this republic; sentiments which he has hitherto made the rule of his conduct towards faithful allies, which are, and ever will be, infinitely dear to him.

After the sincere and solemn assurances which I have the honour to make your H. Mightinesses in the name, and by the order of the King my master, I hope I may be permitted to assure you, on my own part, of the profound respect which I shall constantly preserve for your illustrious assembly, and of the lively sincere acknowledgment I owe for the favourable reception that I have met with, during the whole course of my ministry. I shall always remember with satisfaction, and, if I may be permitted to use the expression, with tenderness, the obliging attention and marks of confidence with which your H. Mightinesses have been pleased to honour me, in all the affairs that I have had to negotiate during my continuance here; and where-ever for the future I shall be, I will never desist from making ardent vows for the preservation and prosperity of this republic: Too happy, if by my endeavours and services I could shew you, as I passionately wish I may do, the sincerity of my sentiments; which have never varied, nor ever will vary in this respect.

Given at the Hague,  
Sign'd,  
O.F. 13. 1739.  
H. WALPOLE.

The letter from the State General to the King of Great Britain.

S I R E,

W E see by your Majesty's letter, of the 12th day of June last, that you have been pleased to recall from hence Mr. Horatio Walpole, one of your privy council, and your Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to us; who in delivering your Majesty's letter, took leave of us at the same time, and gave us fresh assurances on that occasion, of your Majesty's most valuable affection and good-will to our republic. This he did in such strong and pathetick terms, founded on such solid principles, that in this respect he hath left us nothing further to desire. We have received these repeated assurances with all the gratitude imaginable; and as he has fully convinced us of your Majesty's favourable sentiments towards our state, we flatter ourselves, that at his return he will have the same success, in representing to you the high esteem and respect with which we revere your Majesty, as well as the part which we sincerely take in the interests of your Majesty's kingdoms, and the prosperity of your government. We have so perfect a confidence in the integrity of the said Ambassador, whose person and ministry here hath been most agreeable to us, that we
we willingly refer ourselves to the report
which he shall make to your Majesty on
this head. We regret his leaving us, be-
cause we look'd upon it as an advantage
to have with us such a minister as he is,
endowed with extraordinary talents, of
a vast capacity, and a consummate pru-
dence, confirmed by long experience.
He has given proofs of them in every
thing that he has had to negotiate here,
as well as of his noble zeal for your Ma-
jesty's service, and of his laudable ear-
nestness to cultivate and cement the hap-
py union between your Majesty and our
republick, and the good understanding
between the two nations; two points
which are and ever will be the object
of our wishes and desires. He is per-
fectly acquainted with the sincerity
of our sentiments, and the good-which
he has always shewn, will not suffer
him to conceal them from your Majesty.
We beseech your Majesty to believe him
on that subject, and to continue to us
that friendship and benevolence with
which you have hitherto honoured us,
and which we look upon as a firm sup-
port of the security and preservation
of our republick. For the rest, we pray
God, Sire, to crown your Majesty's reign
with felicity, and bless your royal per-
son with health, and a very long life.

At the Hague, 13. 1739.

Your Majesty's Most humble servants

The STATES GENERAL

Of the United Provinces of the Netherlands

E. TAMMINGA.

By order of the States.

FAGEL.
APPENDIX
TO THE
SCOTS MAGAZINE

1739.

Just Published,
An Historical and Genealogical Account of the
ROYAL FAMILY of SCOTLAND,
From K. Kenneth II. who conquered the Picts;
And of the Surname of
STEWART,
From the first Founder of that Name.

Containing all the Families of that Name that are now extant, and the most considerable of those that are extinct.
To which is prefix'd, a Genealogical and Chronological TREE of the Royal Family, and the Name of Stewart; that the Reader may, at one view, have a general Prospect of the Rise and Original of each Family.
The Book gives an Account of the Lives of the Kings of Scotland from that Time, and a genealogical Account of each particular Branch of it, according to the Time in which they were propagated from the original Stem, or from one another.

By DUNCAN STEWART, M. A.
Sold by A. Brymer and other Booksellers in Edinburgh, and A. Stalker and J. Barry Booksellers in Glasgow. Pr. 6s.
N. B. Subscribers are desired to call for their Copies at the said A. Brymer's Shop in the Parliament-close.

...led from p. 460.

...hat tho' we strengthen the crown, yet at the commendable peaceable therefore the power we crown, was not to be ny hostile manner, as the hopes of obtaining micable means. This
u, this was the advice and according to this ty applied to the court what could be done by on. At the same time
fe of the powers grantment, as to fit out fe and fend them to their order to convince the that we were ready to they should refuse or lay giving us satisfacti
...have been contrary parliament, to have sent out, with instructions. Such instructions easily and speedily sent, Majesty had found thatuld prevail; but to have h instructions, before he east application for procuring justice and satisfaction in a peaceable way, would have been directly contrary to what was recommended to him by both houses, last session of parliament. The fleet that was sent to the Mediterrean, my Lords, was properly and...
sufficiently provided for answering all the ends that were intended by it, even tho' a war had broke out between the two nations; for even in that case, it would have been ridiculous in us to have expended our strength, and put ourselves to a great charge, in attacking any of the Spanish dominions in Europe, where we could do them but little prejudice, and could reap no great advantage to ourselves. That fleet, therefore, could only be designed for protecting our own possessions and trade in that part of the world, for intercepting any Spanish ships that should happen to escape our fleet in the West-Indies, and for preventing any supplies being sent from Old Spain to any of their colonies or plantations in America; and for answering all these purposes, the fleet that was sent to the coasts of Spain, was sufficiently provided with everything that was necessary.

The West-Indies, my Lords, is the part of the world, where, in case of a war, we could do the most harm to Spain, and the most good to ourselves; and there, if we can but prevent any supplies being sent from Old Spain, we shall stand in need of no land forces being sent from hence. Our own colonies, upon the continent and in the islands of America, would soon furnish us with land forces sufficient for attacking Spain by land in that quarter, if we send a squadron of men of war sufficient to protect them at sea. But suppose it should be necessary for us to send land forces from hence; it would not be proper, because of the climate, to send them thither, till we were just ready to enter upon action; which could not be our case the beginning of last summer, because his Majesty was to try what could be done by peaceable means, before commencing hostilities, either in the West-Indies or in Europe. For this reason, it was necessary to send a squadron to the West-Indies for protecting our trade in the mean time, and in order to take land forces on board, as soon as any could be raised in our colonies, in case a war had become necessary; but it would have been contrary to the plan that was prescribed by parliament, to have immediately begun hostilities; and therefore it was wrong to seize the Spanish register ship, which the Noble Lords was pleased to mention, and it was right in our Commodore to order her being restored.

My Lords, as the court of Spain could not be ignorant of the advice that was given to his Majesty by his parliament last session; and as his Majesty, to our happiness and his own honour, has always made the advice of his parliament the rule of his actions; they could not but suppose, that the squadrons we sent out were instructed not to begin hostilities, till further orders: but such orders, they knew, might soon be sent; such orders, they knew, would be sent immediately, upon their refusing to give ear to a friendly accommodation of those disputes that subsisted between the two nations. This they were sensible of, and therefore, they not only appeared willing to do us justice, but have granted all that we could expect by a successful war; for even in case of a successful war, we must at last have agreed to preliminaries, before peace could be restored, and by those preliminaries we could expect no more than a full satisfaction for our losses, and an agreement to have all other disputes adjusted by a definitive treaty.

But, my Lords, before I enter into the consideration of what we have got by peace, I must examine a little into what we could expect, or might have lost, by war; for tho' I have as great a confidence in the strength and courage of my country, as any man ought to have, yet I am not so sanguine, as to think, that we have victory chained to our chariot-wheel, or that we must be successful in every war we engage in; and, therefore, in all questions relating to war or peace, I think we ought to consider what we may lose, as well as what we may get, by a war. By a war with Spain, my Lords, we could not expect to make much by privateering, or by taking and making prize of their ships at sea. In case of a war with this nation, they would send no ships to sea, but small, light frigates, by way of privateers,
Thus it appears, my Lords, that in case of a war with Spain, we could not expect any great advantage by privateering, or by any prizes we could take at sea; and at land we could make no conquests. No man will pretend that, if it were in our power, it would be our interest to conquer any of the Spanish dominions in Europe; at least, I am sure, it would not be our interest to keep them, nor would it be our interest to give them to any other power in Europe. And as to their dominions in America, or the West-Indies, we have expressly promised, by the treaty of Utrecht, that they shall be preferred whole and entire to the present King of Spain, and his successors: so that by endeavouring to conquer any of them, we should not only commit a breach of that treaty, but likewise we should probably raise up a confederacy in Europe against us; for none of the powers of Europe would chuse to see us masters of the whole, or any part of the Spanish West-Indies.

Therefore, my Lords, the only method by which we could propose to get any advantage, by a war with Spain, would be by making inroads upon, and plundering their settlements in America; and this we should find much more difficult than it was formerly. Their sea-ports, and inland towns in that part of the world, are now better fortified, and better provided with everything necessary for making a stout defence, than ever they were heretofore; and yet, during the last war, I believe it cannot be said that the nation got much by any inroads that were made upon them. The truth is, we never attempted to make any considerable inroads, or any conquests, in that part of the world, because of the difficulty and expense of transporting a land army thither, and because we knew the climate to be very unwholesome for any land army we could send thither.

Having thus shewn, my Lords, that we cannot expect any great advantage from a war with Spain, let us next consider the dangers we would be exposed to. I shall be far from saying, upon this occasion, or upon any occasion, that we must
must not vindicate our rights, or our honour, against France or Spain, for fear of their joining together against us; but this I may venture to say, that when there is a probability of their joining together against us, at a time when the affairs of Europe are in such a situation, that we can form no confederacy against them; at a time when, if we engage in war, we must stand single and alone against these two powerful nations: I say, my Lords, at such a time it would be prudent in us to suspend our vengeance, if possible, till a more proper opportunity should offer; and this, I am afraid, is our case at present. If France should join with Spain against us, we would be exposed to many dangers, and it would be difficult to guard against them all. We are, it is true, at present, superior to both at sea; but as France has great numbers of seamen, they would soon get ships of war, if they were to be at no expense in defending themselves at land; so that they might soon rig out a powerful squadron. On the other hand, as we are liable to be attack'd in several parts of the world, we must divide our naval force: we must send squadrons to different points of the compass, and every one of these squadrons must be superior to any that France and Spain can jointly set out against us. As we have the misfortune to have a party amongst ourselves disaffected to our present establishment, a party much more considerable than some people seem willing to believe, we must keep a very powerful squadron at home, for preventing its being in the power of our enemies to invade us. As we have a great trade and valuable possessions in the Mediterranean, we must keep a powerful squadron in that sea, for protecting our trade and our possessions in that part of the world. And as our plantations, especially our sugar islands, are of great consequence to our trade, and lie much exposed to be invaded, and perhaps destroyed, we must keep a powerful squadron in the American seas for their protection. To which I must add, that, considering the alliance lately formed between France and Sweden, we might, perhaps, find ourselves under a necessity of sending a powerful squadron into the Baltic, for the defence of our allies, or for preventing an invasion from that quarter. And notwithstanding the great opinion we justly have of our naval force, and of the bravery of our seamen, I hope, I shall be excused, if I even express some diffidence of our being able to send a squadron to each of these places, sufficient for encountering the united force of France and Spain, perhaps the united force of France, Spain and Sweden.

But suppose, my Lords, that France should remain quiet, and no way interfere openly in the war between Spain and us; suppose no power in Europe should assist Spain in the war against us: yet we could not immediately reduce Spain to a necessity of complying with our just demands. The war between us might last for several years; and while it lasted, the French would have a great advantage over us in every branch of trade we are, or can be, concerned in. Though the Spaniards have not many seamen of their own, yet, in case of a war with this nation, they would be in no want of seamen for fitting out a great number of privateers against us: French, Dutch, and perhaps some of our own seamen, would engage in their service for that purpose; so that the Mediterranean, the American, the British, and, in short, all the seas where we have any trade, would be full of privateers under Spanish colours. This would raise the price of insurance upon British ships higher than upon the ships of any other nation in Europe; and our merchant ships would be often put to a great expense and delay, by being obliged to wait for a convoy; which would considerably enhance the charge upon all manufactures, or merchandise, sent by our own shipping to foreign markets. Let us consider, my Lords, that the French already underwrite us in most of the manufactures we deal in, and that the freight of Hamburg ships, and some others, is now cheaper than that of British: if we consider this, we shall easily see the consequence, if we should add a new charge to the price of our manufac-

ures
Procedures of the Political Club. 493

atures at foreign markets, and make it more unsafe, or more expensive, to employ British ships, than those of any other nation, by engaging in war, when all the other trading nations of Europe are at peace: we should export no manufactures, no merchandise, at least we should export none in our own shipping; and what would then become of our trade and navigation?

This, my Lords, would be the consequence of a long war between the two nations, with respect to ourselves; and with respect to Spain; it would probably be entirely ruined. We might, perhaps, at first, force them to do us all the justice in their power; but they would be so exhausted, with the losses and expenses of the war, that it would not be in their power to make any satisfaction for the damage they have already done us, or might do, during the war; and much less for the expenses we have been, or might be, put to. Now, my Lords, thou have, at present, good reason to be offended with Spain; thou have good reason to insist upon satisfaction and security: yet it is not our interest to weaken the power of that nation; we ought rather to support it, as a balance against the power of France: for thou the court of Spain may, perhaps, be at present too much swayed by French counsels, it will not always, it cannot long be so. The interests of France and Spain are as incompatible, as the interests of France and this kingdom; and therefore, as soon as the court of Spain begins to be swayed by true Spanish counsels, which some accidents may soon bring about, we may reasonably expect to have that nation for one of our best and firmest allies; and whenever that happens, they will gladly give us all the satisfaction and security we can desire, in order to gain our friendship, and to restore a mutual confidence between the two nations.

Both the circumstances of Europe, and the circumstances of Spain, are now, my Lords, very different from what they were either in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, or in the time of Oliver Cromwell. In Queen Elizabeth's reign, Spain was the only formidable power in Europe, and we had as much reason as any other of her neighbours, to endeavour to reduce her power. For this purpose, Queen Elizabeth took the wisest course that could be taken, by encouraging and supporting the civil war in the Netherlands; by which means she at last enabled the seven United Provinces to throw off the yoke of Spain. And the whole power of Spain being applied towards supporting their dominion over the Netherlands, they could neither spare money for fortifying their settlements in America, nor could they send any regular troops thither for defending them; so that even our private adventurers had great successes, and often got rich booties by privateering, and by incursions upon those settlements: for, as there was no good correspondence between France and Spain, and an open war between Spain and Holland, the Spaniards could not make use either of Dutch or French vessels for carrying on their trade with their settlements in America; and besides, as the French were then involved in civil wars, they durst not venture to disoblige England, by assisting Spain, either openly, or by underhand dealings.

In Oliver Cromwell's time, my Lords, we know that the Spaniards were engaged in a heavy war with France, which rendered them unable to provide for the security of their trade and possessions in America: and thou, by our taking part with France in that war, we got the island of Jamaica, which was a valuable acquisition; yet I must think, it would have been lucky for this nation, if Oliver had join'd with Spain against France, instead of joining with France against Spain: for it was his fatal union with France that laid the foundation of the excessive power of that kingdom, which has since cost this nation so much blood, and so many millions. And now, my Lords, with regard to both these wars, I must observe, that notwithstanding our great successes against Spain in Queen Elizabeth's reign, notwithstanding our great successes against Spain in Oliver's time, yet that nation was not easily or soon reduced to comply with such terms as we thought reasonable: for both Queen Elizabeth and Oliver Cromwell were in a very weak condition; whereas Queen Anne and King William both were strong enough to make a treaty, which they thought fit.
Proceedings of the Political Club.

Elizabeth and Oliver Cromwel left the war to be put an end to by their successors.

Considering therefore, my Lords, the little advantage we can reap, and the great dangers we may be exposed to by a war with Spain, I must think it would be not only unchristian, but impolitic in us to do them any real injuries, or to insist upon unreasonable terms for accommodating those differences, that must unavoidably, some times, arise between the two nations. I shall not say, that either the precepts of Christianity, or the maxims of sound politics, oblige us to heap coals of fire upon their heads, by returning good for evil; but this I will say, that we ought at all times, and especially the present, to be more ready to forgive Spain than any other nation in Europe; and, consequently, we ought to insist less upon the point of honour, and accept of a less ample satisfaction, with regard to any injuries that may be done us by the Spaniards, than with regard to the injuries we may receive from any other nation in the world. Even in private life, a man would sooner and more easily pardon an injury done him by a relation, or old friend, than an injury done him by an utter stranger, or by one with whom he never had, nor ever expected to have, any cordial friendship.

This, my Lords, leads me of course to consider, what we have got by the convention now under our consideration. And here, my Lords, I must say, I am surprized to hear it affirmed, that we have got no more by this convention, than what the King of Spain had before allowed to be due. To support this assertion we have been told, that the Spaniards had not one shilling to demand of us; and that the 95,000 l. was not to be paid by them, unless our S. S. company first paid them, or made them a present, as it was called, of 68,000 l. But both these facts must appear to have been very much misrepresented. The Spaniards certainly made a very great demand upon us: a demand that far exceeded 60,000 l. They demanded full reparation for all the damage we did them in the year 1718, which, according to their way of reckoning, would have amounted to more than ten times 60,000 l. for the six that, though his Catholick Majesty had agreed, by the treaty in 1721, to some of restitution of the ships we had actually taken from him; yet he had not by that, or any other treaty, given us in claim for the other damages we had done him; and that, if he had, he was not obliged to stand to it, because we had not complied with the refinements stipulated by that treaty. Whether the demand was just or not, is what I shall not take upon me to determine; but it was certainly made, and strongly insisted on by Spain; and if we get them to agree to reduce it to 60,000 l. I think it was prudent in us to allow them, by way of a friendly accommodation, to deduct that sum out of what was due to our merchants on account of the depredations committed by their ships in the American seas. ‘Tis true, we do not receive this sum in ready money; but, I think, it is more beneficial to us than if we did; because, by allowing it to be deducted, we get free of a demand which amounted to a great deal more, and which would have been a perpetual bone of contention between us and a people with whom we ought, if possible, to cultivate a good correspondence.

Now, my Lords, with regard to the 68,000 l. claimed by Spain from our S. S. company, I cannot comprehend how any one can imagine, that the court of Spain is resolv’d not to pay the 95,000 l. stipulated by this convention, unless this 68,000 l. be first paid to them by our company. I am sure there is no such condition in the convention. Our S. S. company have nothing to do with the convention, all accounts and differences between them and the crown of Spain being expressly excepted, in that very article by which the 95,000 l. is stipulated, and the company not so much as once mention’d in any other part of the treaty. Even his Catholick Majesty’s declaration, or protestation, does not subject the payment of the 95,000 l. to any
I hope it will now appear to your Lordships, that we are, by this convention, to receive the full sum of 95,000 l. from Spain; and that to this sum we ought to add the 60,000 l. we have allowed, for which Spain has given up the demand she had upon us of a much larger extent: therefore we must allow, that the reparation granted us by this convention for our losses before Dec. 10. 1737, amounts to the full sum of 155,000 l. which is more than 15 s. in the pound of what we really lost; and before I heard of this treaty, I should have thought him a very unreasonable merchant, and a very bad countryman, that had told me, he would not willingly accept of 15 s. in the pound in full of what he had lost, rather than see his country involved in a war against Spain, and at such a juncture. I say, my Lords, that 155,000 l. the sum we are to receive by way of reparation, amounts to more than 15 s. in the pound upon our real losses; because our own Commissaries did not value it at more than 200,000 l. and I have heard no good reason given, why we should disbelieve their report, nor do I believe, from the character I have heard of the Gentlemen, that they would have received, much less obeyed, any instructions, by which they were enjoined not to admit of those demands, which appeared to them to be reasonable and just. The Spaniards, we know, make heavy complaints against them, for having admitted of the most extravagant claims, and for refusing no claim that was laid before them; so that, like good arbitrators, they are blamed by both sides, which is seldom a sign of injustice. As for the five ships mentioned in the 4th article of this convention, they were included in the 200,000 l. at which our losses were valued by our Commissaries; and therefore, if any part of any of them has been restored, the value ought in justice to be deducted out of the 95,000 l. to be paid to us by Spain for our losses in general.

We are so far, my Lords, from having obtained no reparation, that, I think, I may now venture to say, we have obtained, by this convention, a more...
more ample reparation than was ever obtained by this nation in any former preliminary treaty. Even in Oliver Cromwell's time, by the treaty of peace, after the war we then had with the Dutch, he accepted, by way of preliminary, of an immediate payment of 10,000 l. in part of satisfaction for a great number of British ships that had been seized and detained in the dominions of the King of Denmark. This, my Lords, was all he insisted on by the treaty, tho' it was not near equal to the losses we had sustained, the rest being referred to be settled by Commissioners respectively appointed by the two republics; and yet it must be allowed, that no man ever insisted more strenuously upon the rights and privileges of his country, and that he had the good fortune to live at a time, when none of our neighbours were in any tolerable condition to engage in war, or to form a confederacy against us.

Having now shewn, my Lords, that we have got, by this convention, as ample a satisfaction for past losses as any reasonable man could expect, I shall beg leave to consider, as briefly as I can, what is stipulated, with regard to our future security. And upon this head I shall first observe, that from the nature of the dispute between Spain and us, we could not expect that it was possible to provide, properly or fully, for our future security by preliminary articles. The Spaniards do not pretend to deny our right to a free navigation upon the open seas of America; but the dispute between us is, What shall be reckoned the open seas of America? They say, that their coasts cannot be called open sea; and that therefore, if any one of our ships come upon their coasts without necessity, they have a right to search her, in order to see whether she has been concerned in any illicit trade with their settlements: They say further, that their coasts in America, as well as their coasts in Europe, are within their own dominions; that they have a power to make what regulations they please within their own dominions; and that, therefore, they have a power to regulate what shall be deemed incumbrances of a ship's having been concerned in an illicit trade, if such ship be found upon their coasts. Now, my Lords, that every nation has a right to, and a dominion over, what may properly be called their own coasts, is, what I believe, no man that understands the thing of the law of nations will deny; but the question is, How far are these coasts shall extend? And as this a question that has not yet been determined by any treaty between Spain and us, it must be very particularly enquired into, before any settlement can be made by a new treaty. There may be reasons for confining the coast with much narrower bounds in time than in others. In those seas where the common course of navigation lies near the shoar, the coast of the neighbouring country must be very much confined; and in those seas, where the common course of navigation never approaches near the shoar, the neighbouring country, or state, may be allowed to extend their coasts to a greater distance at sea.

These considerations, my Lords, show how difficult it will be to regulate what the Spaniards may be allowed to call their coasts in the American seas, what may be called a necessity for a ship's approaching their coasts, and what may be called proper testimonies, or proofs, of a ship's having been concerned in an illicit trade; and no man who considered these difficulties could expect, that they could be removed in a short time, or by a preliminary treaty. The negotiators on both sides will certainly be obliged to send to the West-Indies, in order to have proper information from thence, who are perfectly acquainted with the navigation in those seas; and both may, perhaps, be obliged to send a second time, in order to have their difficulties answered, or removed, that may be started upon the first conferences. It is not our right to a free navigation in the open seas of America; it is not our right to carry in our ships what goods we please from one part of his Majesty's dominions to the other.
Proceedings of the Political Club.

It is the right the Spaniards have to take measures, and to prescribe rules, within their own dominions, that is to say, upon their own coasts, for preventing an illicit trade with their settlements in America, that is to be regulated by the Plenipotentiaries respectively named by this convention: and in this, our Plenipotentiaries, if they were inclined, can do us no injury; because the regulations they agree to can be of no force, till they are ratified by his Majesty.

Whatever some Lords may think of the distinction between a right and the enjoyment of that right, however incomprehensible they may think it, I must look on it as a just and a proper distinction; for a man may have a right to an estate, and yet his enjoyment of that right may be regulated, or even restrained, by some right or privilege granted to another. We have a right to a free navigation in the seas of America; but we have, by the treaty in 1670, granted the Spaniards an exclusive right to the trade with their own settlements in that part of the world; and therefore we have, according to an established maxim in law, granted them every thing that is necessary for the enjoyment of that exclusive right. For this purpose they say, that they must search such foreign ships as approach their coasts without any necessity, and must make them liable to confiscation, if any thing should be found on board that is the proper produce of their settlements; because, without this, it would be impossible for them to exclude foreigners from carrying on a trade with their settlements: and if this privilege should be allowed them, as a consequence of the exclusive right we have agreed to by the treaty in 1670, it would be a sort of restraint upon our enjoyment of the right we have to a free navigation in the seas of America. I am far from granting, my Lords, that there is any foundation for this pretense. I do not think, that such a privilege is absolutely necessary for enabling them to enjoy their exclusive right; but if it were, they would have some reason for insisting upon it; and whether it be for or not, is a question that could not be enquired into in a short time, and consequently, could not be determined by a preliminary article.

These are the disputes, my Lords, upon which our future security depends; and as these disputes are of such a nature that they could not be settled in a short time, therefore we could not expect, that our future security could be provided for any other way than it is by this preliminary convention. Nor could we in this case stipulate any suspension: we could not stipulate, that they should suspend searching our ships upon the high seas; because it is what they never pretended to: such a stipulation would really have been a sort of acknowledgment, that our right to a free navigation on the open seas of America was a disputable point: And if we had desired them to suspend taking those measures, which they think absolutely necessary for preventing an illicit trade, they would have looked on it as the demand of a privilege to carry on such a trade, till the definitive treaty should be concluded; which is a demand we could not expect they would grant. Besides, we had no occasion to demand any suspension in this case; because, during the eight months in which this affair is to be finally determined, we shall have a squadron in the West-Indies, that will be sufficient to protect our trade, against any injustice that can be committed by their guarda costas.

As for the article that relates to settling limits between Florida and Carolina, I am surprized, my Lords, to hear it found fault with. We have got more by that article, than we could ever before get by any treaty between us and Spain; for by that article, we have got them to acknowledge by name, our right to Carolina: and tho' we now give the name of Georgia to the southern parts of Carolina, yet as Georgia was formerly a part of that country to which in general we gave the name of Carolina, I think this article implies an acknowledgment of our right to Georgia, and shows that the Spaniards do not dispute with
with us our right to that province, but only the limits between what we now call Georgia, and what they and we call Florida. They may, perhaps, pretend, that we have extended our settlements in Georgia too much towards the southward, and by that means have incroached upon their territories in Florida; but from this article it cannot so much as be presumed, that they intend to dispute our having a right to any part of Georgia; and if they should, our Plenipotentiaries may refuse to treat with them upon such terms, for by this article they are laid under no obligation to do so. Here, indeed, the very nature of the dispute made a suspension necessary: but I must observe, that this suspension is mutual; for the Spaniards are obliged to suspend increasing their fortifications, or taking any new posts, in Florida, as much as we are in Carolina. And as limits between frontier provinces are generally referred to be settled by Commissaries after a definitive treaty is concluded, I am sure no fault can be found with referring the limits between these two provinces to be settled by Plenipotentiaries, named and appointed by a preliminary.

I have now shewn, I hope, my Lords, that by this convention we have got all we could reasonably expect by a preliminary; from whence it must be presumed, I think, that we are in a fair way of getting all we can reasonably demand by the solemn treaty that is to be concluded in pursuance of this preliminary, within the space of eight months, which is the shortest time that could be given for settling those disputes which still subsist between us and Spain. Therefore, if the affairs of Europe were in as favourable a situation as we could wish, if our own circumstances were as happy as we could desire, it would have been imprudent in us to have begun hostilities, when we found the court of Spain so well inclined to give us all reasonable satisfaction: his Majesty would have acted contrary to the advice given him last session by his parliament, if he had refused to accept of such a preliminary convention. By commencing hostili-

ties we might, perhaps, have added to our glory, and might have given satisfaction to those, who delight in blood and contention; as well as to men desirous of our troubled fortunes, who want to fill a troubled waters: but these sorts of men are such as no wise government will endeavour to satisfy; and every one knows, that the happiness of a country is dimin ished from, and often inconsistent with glory. The late King of Sweden, by lessing his own glory in war, raised it to a very high pitch; but he ruined his people, his country: and if we follow the example of Cardinal Fleury, (for I think I may name him) which the Noble Lord that spoke last has been pleased to recommend to us, we shall never go to war without an absolute necessity; for he procured more happiness in his country, and acquired more glory to himself, than the late French monarch did by all his wars, and by all the splendour or historical glooms he let work, afflicting an infinite number of poets, panegyrics, and pieces of praise which he procured at a vast public expenditure, for celebrating the heroic actions he performed by his generals and his armies; for whatever share he might claim in the glory, I think he took never to have any share in the danger.

I say, my Lords, if the affairs of Europe, as well as our domestick affairs, had been in the best situation, it would have been imprudent in us to have engaged in war, especially against Spain, when we found ourselves in so fair a way of obtaining all we could desire by peaceable means; but as neither our own affairs, nor the affairs of Europe, can be said to be at present in a very favourable situation, it was certainly our business to avoid engaging in war, at this juncture, if possible. What this situation may be owing to, I shall not take upon me to determine; but with respect to our domestick affairs, I am sure, the situation they are in is not owing to any late mismanagement here at home. The debts and the taxes we are at present loaded with, are known to be the unhappy relics of the late heavy war we were engaged in against France and Spain.
Spain. We have never since engaged in any war, we have been put to no expense, but what has been authorised or approved by parliament, as being absolutely necessary for the current service; therefore, if we have paid off but small part of the debt we incurred during that war, it can proceed from no mismanagement, but from a tender regard to the people, which prevented our saddling them with more taxes than were absolutely necessary for paying the interest growing due to the creditors of the publick, and for defraying that expense which the parliament, from year to year, thought necessary for the publick service.

And with regard to the present situation of affairs in Europe, it may, for that I know, my Lords, be owing to the ambition of one court, and the pride and obstinacy of another; but I am sure it can be no way justly imputed to the conduct of any of those who are now, who have lately been, employed in the administration of our publick affairs. Our ministers are neither the masters nor the factors of the councils of foreign princes or states; and, therefore, cannot be made to account for their actions or behaviour. They may be made to account for their own: but with regard to their own behaviour, we ought not to judge of their measures by the event, we ought to consider them in the light they appeared in when taken. It is easy to find fault with past measures, when crosses accidents happen that could not be then foreseen, or when time clears up facts that could not be then discovered. But whatever our late measures may have been with regard to foreign affairs, hope who advised them have had the good fortune to have every step of their conduct approved of by parliament. Even the late treaty of Hanover, which some people now pretend to find fault with, was approved by parliament: And all think it deserved the approbation met with: for by the treaty between the Emperor and Spain in 1725, they ad certainly both formed projects against the trade or the possessions of this nation: the Emperor had formed a project of establish ing the trade of Flanders upon the ruins of the trade of this kingdom; and the court of Spain had formed a project for wresting from us the important fortresses of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon. Against these projects, the best, indeed the only measure we could take, was the defensive alliance we entered into with France by the treaty of Hanover: and this accordingly put an end to the ambitious projects both of the Emperor and Spain; or at least the measures we took in pursuance of that treaty, prevented their being able to carry any of them into execution. The measures we took upon the breaking out of the late war between France and the Emperor, had likewise the good fortune to be authorised or approved by parliament; and, I think, with great reason. We had then no demands either upon France or Spain, at least none that either of them had expressly refused to comply with; therefore, from our own interest, we had no call to engage in that war, unless it had been pushed so far as to endanger the balance of power in Europe: and surely we are not obliged to support the court of Vienna in all the ambitious projects they may form, nor were we obliged to assist them in a war they had brought upon themselves, by endeavouring to prescribe rules to an independent kingdom in the election of its Sovereign.

Thus, my Lords, I have stated in a proper light, those facts which, I think, have been very much mistaken by some Lords who have spoke in this debate; and I have endeavoured to do it with that plainness and simplicity which became the dignity of this house. If wit and eloquence could have any weight with your Lordships, those who have spoke upon the other side of the question could not have failed of persuading: but, I think, it is a bad compliment to your Lordships judgment, to attempt to persuade by such means: I know your Lordships caution and penetration, and therefore, if I could, I should not attempt to impose upon your judgment by wit or eloquence, especially in the present question; because the side on which I speak,
speak, stands in need of none of the arts of persuasion: if it be viewed in its true and natural light, like truth, it must be irresistible.

Q. Fabius Maximus stood up next, and spoke to the effect as follows, viz.

My Lord, I have to offer to your Lordships upon the subject now under our consideration, I shall not so much as attempt any sort of rhetorical style: I have, indeed, I think, much less occasion for it than the Noble Lord who spoke last; for facts speak themselves, and all the facts that relate to the present question, are so plainly against that side which his Lordship seemed to favour, that he must pardon me, if I think, he could have said but very little, if he had made use of any of the arts of eloquence. If it were possible to imagine that wit or eloquence could have any influence upon this house, I should have but little encouragement to think myself capable of either: for in all the important questions that have happened, almost ever since I had a seat here, the majority has generally been against that side of the question, on which I had the misfortune to speak; yet I always thought I had reason on my side: but as I now think, I have a great deal more reason than ever I had upon any former occasion, I hope to meet with a different fate. There are assemblies which are led by their passions, and that in such assemblies only the arts of eloquence can be of service, I shall readily grant; but I must observe, that as some passions are to be led by the sense of hearing, there are others which are to be led by the sense of feeling alone: and if I were not fully convinced that the members of this assembly are governed by reason, and by nothing else, I should never attempt to speak; because I know myself as little capable of touching those passions, that are to be led by feeling, as I am of touching those that are to be led by hearing.

My Lords, when we granted those extraordinary powers that were given last session to the crown, I believe none of your Lordships meant, I am sure I did not imagine, that, in consideration of that grant, the nation was to be put any extraordinary expense, as long as there were the least hopes left of accommodation. These hopes, I fear, might have been determined by a return of one courier: they ought to have been so, considering how far the state of the year was advanced, and the danger our navigation and commerce were exposed to in the mean time. It was only sending orders by a courier or minister at the court of Spain, to put two or three plain questions to that court, by way of ultimatum, and to have insisted on a speedy and categorical answer. This, I know, might have been done in three or four weeks; and therefore, when I heard of our great and preparations, I expected nothing but war: I expected that some of our nearest neighbours in the country would be relieved from the burden of querring soldiers; because I made no doubt but that a large body of our troops would be embarked on board our fleet, and sent where they might be of some service to their country. I little thought that this session of parliament would have opened with a sort of treaty or convention, that gives us neither war nor peace, nor any thing, in my opinion, but haste and confusion.

Indeed, when I heard our squadron were failed, and found, by the complaints of my neighbours, that our troops remained, I cannot say quiet, in their quarters, I began to suspect some new Carthagena expedition. I began to fear that our sham war would end in a sham peace; and now I find my fears were not without foundation. But, my Lords, if we had obtained as honourable a treaty as was ever concluded by this or any nation, I would nevertheless have ventured to have said, that the expense we put our selves to, the squadrons we sent out, had no share in obtaining it; for surely those fleets, those warlike preparations, that can do no considerable harm to an enemy in case of a war, can have no influence in obtaining a peace. Our squadron sent to the Mediterranean was
that land-force, we might have fitted
out a squadron here at home, and sent
it thither, time enough for taking those
land-forces on board, before they could
have been ready to embark. Therefore
we had as little occasion for putting
ourselves to the expense of naval
preparations, as we had for putting
ourselves to the expense of raising land-
forces, till we had got a final answer
from Spain; and without threatening to
invade some of their territories, in Eu-
rope or America, with a land-army,
our numerous squadrons could now as
little persuade them to agree to our
terms, as Hofer's squadron could for-
merly persuade them to deliver the ef-
fects of their galleons into his hands.

I am convinced, my Lords, that the
squadrons we sent out last summer, like
some others we have upon former occa-
sions fitted out, gave all Europe an oc-
casion of mirth, instead of giving the
Spaniards an occasion of fear. The
court of Spain must mistake our power,
or despise our management, otherwise
they would not have dared to have of-
fered such a preliminary treaty, as we
have loop'd to accept of. Prelimi-
 natives are sometimes agreed on by nations
engaged in war, before they can con-
clude a solemn and definitive treaty of
peace; but by such preliminaries the
most material points are always settled,
and some pledges are generally given
for performance of articles. By these
preliminaries no one material point is
settled; the only one that is settled is,
that relating to the damages we have
sustained, and that is settled by our a-
greeing to give a general release, with-
out receiving one shilling consideration.
Can this be called a treaty? To me it
seems as if our minister had presented
M. de la Quadra with a carte blanche,
A fleet of clean paper, and desired he
would write what he pleased, because it
was necessary for us to have a treaty of
some kind or other.

My Lords, I shall grant that, before
we resolve on a war, we ought to confi-
der what we may lose, as well as what
we may get; but, I hope, 'twill be al-
lowed, that before we conclude a peace,
or any treaty for preventing a war, we ought to consider the dangers we may be exposed to by submitting to an infamous peace, as well as the dangers we may be exposed to by engaging in a just and honourable war. It seems now to become a fashionable doctrine amongst us, That a trading nation ought to be cautious of engaging in war. My Lords, it is directly the contrary: No nation ought to go to war without provocation; but of all nations in the world, a nation engaged in foreign trade ought to be the most jealous of its honour and privileges, and therefore the most cautious of submitting to any thing that may look like an infamous peace. The nature of its trade obliges many of its people to travel, and some of them to live in foreign countries: they must there meet with justice and respect, otherwise they neither will travel nor live, nor can they carry on any trade. But can they expect to meet with justice, or even with common civility, if the nation to which they belong be generally despised and contemned, which it must be, if it submits to an infamous peace? This will be our case, if we should be so fond of peace as to avoid going to war when we have a just occasion. If we do not vindicate our honour, and assert the rights and privileges of our people, in all parts of the world where they may have occasion to go, we must give up our foreign trade: for no British subject will go abroad to take care of it, if he finds himself insulted and abused in every country he comes to. Our own colonies will desert us: If we will not protect them, they must seek for protection somewhere else. Therefore, if we have a mind to preserve our trade or our navigation, we must take care not to be insulted: we must reaffirm one of our ancient mottoes: *Nemo me impune lacessit,* must be the word in every mouth, and the resolution of every affable, within the British dominions.

I shall not pretend, my Lords, that we have victory chained to our chariot-wheel; yet I may say what from all our libraries will appear, that in the wars we have been engaged in, we have always come off with honour, when our affairs were under a wise administration. In a war with Spain, if we judge by our experience, we have more to hope than to fear. We may do them great damage, and gain considerable advantage to ourselves, even by privateering by seizing their ships at sea. They must submit; they cannot defray the expenses of their civil government, much less support the charge of a heavy war, without having their treasure brought home from America. If they bring it home in galleons or flotas, we may intercept it by our squadrons: if they bring it home in single ships, we shall intercept many of them by our privateers or small cruisers. They cannot bring it home either in French or Dutch ships; because, by the 6th article of the treaty of Utrecht between France and us, the King of France is expressly obliged, not to accept of any other usage of navigation to Spain, and the Spanish Isles, than what was practised then in the reign of K. Charles II. of Spain, or what shall likewise be fully given and granted at the same time to other nations and people concerned in trade. Therefore the Spaniards could not by the trade to their settlements in America open to the French, at least the French could not accept of it; and if the Dutch should, they would be opposed by France as well as us, which is an opposition they would not, I believe, chuse to struggle with. And as for the Spaniards carrying on a correspondence with the Dutch at Curasao, or the French at Hispaniola or Martinique, the course of navigation between their settlements upon the continent and their islands, is so much confined, that we might intercept every one of their ships, either by our men of war or privateers. Besides, my Lords, these expedients, or any expedient that could be contrived, would lay the whole Spanish nation under such difficulties and difficulties, that they would be glad to accept of peace upon reasonable terms.

Thus, my Lords, we might not only reap advantage by distressing them at
Proceedings of the Political Club.

is, but we might reap still greater advantages, and reduce them to greater difficulties, by attacking them at land. It would not, 'tis true, be our interest to attempt making any conquests upon the continent of Old Spain; but by having a squadron with 5 or 6000 land- and sea- forces on board, continually roving and their coasts, and making inroads upon the country, as often as they found an opportunity, we might do infinite mischief to our enemies, and often get such booties for our soldiers and seamen, as would be Bristol to their settlements. America, as we could prevent any supplies of troops or ammunition being sent thither from any part of the world, we might plunder them from one end to the other; or, if we thought it more to our purpose, we might enable them to throw off the yoke of Spain: which, even of the Spaniards that are born here, would gladly do, if they had any support on which they could depend, either of the oppression they meet with, or of the governors and other officers, who are all natives of Old Spain. We were not to judge of what may be done against Spain in the West-Indies from our management of the last war against France and Spain. It was not the difficulty of the undertaking that prevented us; but we had taken so great a share of the war in Europe upon ourselves, and were at so great an expense, that we could not spare either money or troops for such an undertaking; and as one of our allies would join with us, if, I had gone upon it by ourselves alone, it might have created a jealousy in some of them, which would have been of dangerous consequence to be grand design: but if the whole consideration had agreed to have made a vigorous push that way, immediately after the battle of Hochstadt, I believe it would have succeeded, and would have been a means of putting an end to the war much sooner than we did; for the French, as some of their ministers have declared, would not have been so able to support the expense of the war, if it had not been for the great re-

mittances they had from the Spanish West-Indies.

Now, my Lords, with regard to the dangers we may be exposed to, even suppose France should join openly with Spain against us; if we were united among ourselves, and under a popular administration, we have nothing to fear from an union of these two great powers. We may frighten ourselves with bugbears of invasions, and God knows what; but till they have a naval force superior to any we can fend against them, we have nothing to fear: and it would be our fault if we allowed them to increase their naval force during a war. We may, 'tis true, be obliged to divide our naval force; but the naval force of France and Spain could not all join in one port; we might render it almost impossible for them to do so: and if they should, we might join our squadrons together as well as they, in which case we would be more than match for them. The sea, my Lords, is our element; and it will be our defence, as long as we preserve our trade: which we must lose if we allow our merchants and seamen to be insulted and plundered. A war with Spain is, therefore, become unavoidable, if they refuse to give us satisfaction, as well as reparation and security: and if they should be joined by France, let the dangers from such an union be what they will, we must face them; for I hope no man will say, we are to look tamely on, and see France and Spain plundering our merchants, abusing our seamen, and destroying our trade, with impunity.

The present circumstances of Europe, my Lords, I shall allow to be very different from what they were in Q. Elizabeth's days; but if she had managed her foreign negotiations, as we seem to have managed ours for these twenty years past, she would have been in much worse circumstances than we are at present. She was in danger of having Spain, France, and Scotland, joined with a powerful party in her own dominions, against her. Towards the beginning of the year 1585, the Duke of Guise had got
got almost the absolute government of the King and kingdom of France, and Philip II. of Spain had just conquered Portugal, and had almost entirely reduced the malecontents in Holland and Flanders. These two were in a private league against the Protestant religion, and had very near prevailed on James VI. of Scotland, afterwards James I. of England, to join with them. In these circumstances, if Q. Elizabeth had sent weak or ridiculous Ambassadors to foreign courts, or if she had thought only of putting off the evil day by temporary, annual expedients, both she and the Protestant religion would have been undone; but she foresaw her danger, and resolved, therefore, to begin the attack, before the project of her enemies was ripe for execution. She sent one of the ablest and most expert ministers then in the world, to Scotland, by whose address and intrigues she at last secured that King in her interest. She attack’d the King of Spain in his own dominions, both in the Netherlands and the West-Indies; and she gave such aid to the Huguenots in France, as entirely disappointed the projects of the Duke of Guise, and greatly contributed towards raising Henry IV. to the throne of that kingdom. If we had had such foresight and wisdom for the twenty years past, or had employed such ministers in our foreign negotiations, we should not now have been frightening ourselves with the conjunction of France and Spain against us, nor should we have been lamenting, that we have not a friend in Europe, on whom we can depend for assistance.

Tho’ our war with Spain in Q. Elizabeth’s time continued for many years, we are not, my Lords, from thence to conclude, that the war must now continue as long, before we can bring them to a compliance. This nation is now more powerful, and Spain much weaker, than at that time. Q. Elizabeth was Queen of England and Ireland only: our plantations were in their infancy, Ireland often in a state of rebellion, and Scotland kept in friendship with us by her wisdom alone. On the other hand, the King of Spain was then master both of Spain and Portugal, and a powerful, perhaps more powerful than present, in the West-Indies; besides which, he was then master of the southern provinces of the Netherlands, and the two Sicilies and Milan in Italy. To this I must add, that in Q. Elizabeth’s time, it was not the interest of this nation to be at peace with Spain; her subjects made a great deal more by the trade with that kingdom; therefore she would never hear of restoring the same. The Spaniards would have gladly sold it for it to her, if they had hoped success, as they did to her successors, but before he was well seated on the throne. In Oliver Cromwell’s time, the war engaged in against Spain, was certainly a piece of political wisdom: he found it necessary to establish his government by making some conquest, or gaining some advantage for the nation abroad; and Spain was the only nation from whom he could take anything that would be of real advantage to him. He joined with France, 'tis true; but the power of France was not then formidable; and by his getting possession of Dunkirk, he opened a door for our defeating France against Spain, or Spain against France, according as we found afterwards more proper: and if he had lived, as he understood the interest of his country, he would probably have soon clapt up a peace with Spain, and perhaps have joined with them against France; which would probably have prevented the Pyrenian treaty of peace, the source of all the evils Europe has since been exposed to; but he died within three months after he got possession of Dunkirk, and but a little more than three years after he had begun the war with Spain: so that the continuance of that war is not to be imputed to any inability we were in of forcing Spain to accept of a peace upon reasonable terms, but to the confusions and distractions the nation was in, from Cromwell’s death to the restoration of K. Charles II. when peace between the two nations was restored, tho’ the solemn treaties for that
armpo were not concluded till the years 1667 and 1670.

Therefore, my Lords, if we judge from experience, we must conclude, that if Spain is not supported by France, the war between the two nations cannot be of any long continuance; and while it continues, if right measures are taken, our trade cannot suffer so much by their rivasers, as it has done for almost twenty years by their guarda costas. It supposes they should be supported by France, and even when united against us, have more to fear from us, than we have from them. But we should be in a destitute of friends as not to meet with assistance from any one power in Europe. Indeed, if we should ever have a misfortune to be involved in a war against France and Spain, while we are under an administration, in which neither our people at home, nor our friends abroad, can put any confidence; an administration who had shewn themselves incapable of governing in time of peace, and who, of course, we must suppose much more incapable of governing in time of war: in that case I do not know what might be the consequence. Such an administration would think of nothing but protecting themselves at home, against the resentment of our injured and discontented people, and would, therefore, neither think of, nor be able to take proper measures for distressing our enemies abroad, or for protecting our trade at sea, or our possessions at land, in any distant part of the world. Our only safeguard, our only relief, would be in our parliament; and the only measure our parliament could take, for the salvation of their country, would be, to force a change in the administration, and to recover the affections of our own people, and the confidence of our natural allies, by punishing those, who, by their conduct, had forfeited both.

Thus, my Lords, I believe it will appear, that, if we were now at liberty to consider the dangers we may be exposed to, and the advantages we may reap, by engaging in a war with Spain, we should, upon the comparison, find, that we have more to hope than to fear; but we have met with so many insults, and such disdainful treatment from that nation, for many years past, that if they refuse or delay to give us satisfaction, reparation, and security, we have no such liberty left, we must go to war let the consequence be what it will; and in such a case, I can look upon no man as a friend to his country, who endeavours to terrify the people with the dangers they are to encounter. This, my Lords, leads me of course to consider, whether we have got, by the convention now under our consideration, any satisfaction, security, or reparation; and for this purpose I shall go thro’ the several articles. But I must first observe, that with regard to satisfaction, there is not one article that relates to it: it is not so much as referred to the Plenipotentiaries to regulate what satisfaction the Spanish nation shall make us, for the many heinous indignities they have put upon us; nay we seem, by the very preamble, to have given up all title to it, by acknowledging, that the grievances have been mutual. My Lords, I defy the most eloquent advocate for Spain, to shew any one grievance we have subjected them to, or any one injury we have done them, ever since the treaty of Seville. By that treaty we did them a most singular favour, at the expense of our ancient ally the Emperor; and we have been heaping favours upon favour ever since: therefore I must think it was a sacrificing of the truth, as well as the honour of this nation, to allow it to be said in the preamble, that grievances were allledged on each side, as well in the West-Indies, as elsewhere.

Then, my Lords, with regard to our future security, I must observe, that it is of two kinds: it relates either to the freedom of our navigation and commerce, or to the free enjoyment of our possessions and privileges in that part of the world. As to the freedom of our navigation and commerce, the only article, that relates to it, is the first; and
Proceedings of the Political Club.

by that we have almost in express terms given it up: for, as a Noble Lord has observed before me, if it be regulated, it must be restrained; and that which is restrained, can no longer be said to be free. I was surprised to hear it said, that the Spaniards pretend to a right of searching our ships, only upon their own coasts. Do not we know that they search them where-ever they can meet with them in the American seas? do not several of the petitions and other papers we have before us shew, that they not only search them many leagues out at sea, but pretend to make prize of them, upon the ridiculous pretence of their having contraband goods on board? What the Spaniards may mean, or what the Noble Lord that spoke last may mean, by their own coasts, I do not know; it is a word that has no determined signification: but whatever may be meant by the word, it is certain that no right or dominion can be acquired to any part of the sea, no more than to any part of the land, but by occupancy and possession; which must be declared by overt acts: for a nation’s being in possession of the land, gives them a right to any part of the neighbouring sea; and I do not know that we have ever yet allowed the Spaniards to take possession, or to claim any right to any part of the seas of America, without the limits of their ports or havens. By the treaty in 1670, we promis’d, ’tis true, that the subjects of this kingdom should not fail to and traffic in the ports and havens that have fortifications or magazines, nor in any other place possessed by the King of Spain in the West Indies: but we did not promise, that our ships should not fail along their coasts; nor did we give them a right to search such ships, or to prescribe what sort of goods or effects they should have on board: nay, we did not so much as give them a right to search any of our ships, that should be forced into any of their ports in America, by stress of weather, or any such accident: on the contrary, we expressly stipulated, that such ships should be allowed to depart whenever they had a mind, without any let or molestation. Yet that treaty, which now seems to be the only we have with the West-Indies, wherein search ship happens to be forced in these by any sea-facts, and much less have they a right to confiscate ship and cargo, on account of her having Spanish money, or Spanish goods on board, unless they could prove that such money, or such goods, had by that ship been taken on board from some of their settlements. Nay, in Old Spain, where a free trade is allowed, they are not to search a British ship, even in their ports, till she be out: they are only to put customs-house officers, not exceeding three, on board, to see that while she is unloading, no goods shall be landed without paying the duties; as appears from the 10th article of the treaty 1667. But now, it seems, we are reduced so low, that we must grant them a right to search our ships within what they shall pleased to call their sea-coasts; that is to say, within fight of any land they shall pleased to call theirs in America; for that will be the conquence: if you fix it at one league, or two leagues from the shore, their guardia costas will say, every British ship that is within fight of land, is within one or two leagues of the shore. Nay further, we must grant them a right, it seems, not only to search, but to confiscate ship and cargo, if upon first search, they find, or can steal, on board, two or three pieces of Spanish money, or any other goods which they call the produce of their settlements in America. At this rate, my Lords, we must give up Jamaica, and all our sugar islands, for
for no ship can fail either to or from Jamaica, without coming upon what the Spaniards may call their coasts: and no ship can return from Barbadoes, or any of our other sugar islands, without coming upon the coasts of some of those islands in the West-Indies, which the Spaniards all theirs; because no ship can return from thence, without coasting along those islands, in order to get to the northward of the trade-winds, before they may bear away for any part of Europe.

Therefore, my Lords, the allowing them a right or privilege to search our ships upon any part of the seas of America, or to allow them a right to confiscate a British ship, on account of having any effects on board, which may call the produce of their settlements, even tho' such ship should be driven into any of their ports in that part of the world, is that we cannot never grant. It is what we ought not to have negotiated about; and much less ought we to have referred it to Plenipotentiaries to be regulated: for if it be regulated, it must be established; and we may judge from their past behaviour, how well they will observe any regulations it can be laid under.

From whence, my Lords, it appears, I think, most evidently, that, instead of stipulating any thing for the future security of our trade and navigation in the American seas, we have by this convention almost expressly given up the freedom both of our trade and navigation in those seas. But suppose their right of searching and confiscating British ships, that may be found falling along their coasts in America, were to be established, and put under certain regulations, by the definitive treaty that is to be concluded in pursuance of this convention: surely, my Lords, considering the bad use they have lately made of his pretended right, we ought to have stipulated a suspension of the exercice of his right, till those regulations should be settled and agreed on by a solemn treaty. We might have stipulated, that in the mean time they should abstain from searching British ships on any part of the seas of America, and from confiscating them, unless upon a full proof of their having been concerned in an illicit trade with their settlements. But we are told, the Spaniards would have look'd upon this as a stipulation for carrying on in the interim a sort of free trade with their settlements in that part of the world; and further, we are told, that we could have no occasion for such a suspension, because we shall have a squadron of men of war there, that will be sufficient to protect our trade in the mean time. This is really something extraordinary: we must not stipulate a suspension, because the Spaniards would look upon it as a stipulation for a free trade with their settlements; but we may compel it, by means of a superior squadron. My Lords, if they could have look'd upon a stipulation for a suspension in such a light, will not they look upon our making use of a squadron for such a purpose, as compelling them to allow us a sort of free trade with their settlements? and will not they look upon this as a breach of this very convention? Let us confes the truth, my Lords, without any subterfuge: they would grant us nothing that might in the least derogate from any right or privilege they had a mind to make use of; therefore they refused granting us a suspension in this case: but they granted us a suspension with regard to their fortifications and improvements in Florida, because it was a right they had no mind to make use of.

I shall grant, my Lords, that a man may have a right to an estate, and yet his enjoyment of that estate may be restrained by some right or servitude (which is a more proper word than privilege) granted to another: but can that man's right to his estate be full and absolute? can that which is under a servitude be said to be free? My Lords, every thing that limits or restrains the enjoyment of a right, must in so far diminish or destroy the right itself. We have a right to a navigation and commerce in the American seas: we have a right to a commerce with the continent and islands of America. The first is absolute and free. Upon those seas
no nation in the world can say to us, What doest thou? But with regard to our commerce with the continent and islands of America, it is restrained. By the treaty in 1670, we obliged ourselves not to carry on any commerce with those places in America which are possessed by the Spaniards; and this was the reason we at that time found so much fault with that treaty. Therefore we ought carefully to distinguish between those two rights. As to our right of navigation and commerce in the American seas, the Spaniards have no right to limit or restrain it: I hope we shall never allow them, nor any nation, to do so; tho' I am told the French have lately begun to usurp such a right. As to our commerce with the continent and islands of America, the Spaniards may restrain it: they may prevent our carrying on any commerce in those places which they are in possession of; but they can restrain it no further: they have no business, nor any right, to enquire what we do in any part of America, which they are not in actual possession of. But if we approve of this convention, and such a definitive treaty be concluded as may be expected, and dreaded, from such a preliminary, I do not know what rights they may acquire. They may acquire the right they pretend to; which is a right to prescribe to the ships of G. Britain, what course they shall steer, and what goods they shall carry, from one part of the British dominions to another.

My Lords, it was a concession in us to allow them to exclude the subjects of this kingdom from carrying on any commerce in their American dominions: it was thought too great a concession when it was first granted. But, I hope, no British subject will say, that we ought, or can allow them to make any regulations at sea for preventing such a commerce; and therefore, I was surprised to hear it said, that we had not time to settle such regulations, or to convince them of the injustice of the regulations they have made: for if they infilled upon making such regulations, or upon the justice of those they had made, the only proper answer was, a declaration of war; and this, I am convinced, what it must at last come to. But suppose it had been some difficulty in the first; have we not had time enough to understand another? have we not been negotiating about the very points we are in dispute between us, for ten or a dozen years, without interruption? could not we know in all that time what Spain would do, or how far they would dichotomize the rights they have lately usurped upon us? My Lords, I am convinced some of our negotiators do know; I am convinced they know, that Spain will not give us no security, nor disclaim any right they have lately set up, unless they are forced to it by a vigorous war: and therefore, I must look upon this convention as a mere contrivance for putting off the evil day; an expedient for this ease: and the prolongation of the term by stipulated, will, I suppose, be an expedient for the next, perhaps for two or three ensuing, during which the Spaniards will continue to plunder our merchants, and interrupt our trade as usual.

Now, my Lords, with regard to the free enjoyment of our possessions and privileges in America, the only article that relates to it, is the 2d, and that relates only to Georgia. But how does it relate to it? by what, I am sure, the Spaniards will call giving it up. If the Spaniards pretended to dispute limits with us, it was a most ridiculous thing in us to allow that dispute to be carried so far as to the southern, perhaps near the most northern bounds of North-Carolina. It was the same as if we had set down to hazard, and had faced North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, against the insignificant Spanish fort called Fort-Augustine; for that is the only fort or settlement the Spaniards have in Florida. I shall grant the stipulation stipulated in this article is mutual; but, my Lords, it is far from being equal. We suspend fortifications, improving three large countries or provinces already planted, already greatly improved, already inhabited by numbers of our own people, and which we were resolved to fortify and improve as
as possible. On the other hand, the Spaniards are to suspend fortifying and improving one single province, not so large as any one of our three, and that a country entirely waste, or inhabited only by such as are their enemies, except one little fort and a country which they had no intention either to plant, improve, or fortify. But is Georgia the only possession or privilege we have in America, which the Spaniards now pretend to dispute with us? Why is there no mention made of our ancient settlement in Campechy of our right to cut logwood in the bay of Honduras or of our right to gather salt in the island of Tortugas? Are these possessions and rights which are not worth contending for or are they to be given up, or relinquished, for the sake of an infamous peace? It would seem so by this preliminary convention; and therefore I must conclude, that, instead of stipulating any future security for the free enjoyment of our possessions and privileges in America, we have, tacitly at least, given up by this convention, every possession, every right, every privilege, which the Spaniards now pretend to dispute with us in any part of America.

In lieu of these most extraordinary concessions, one might expect, my Lords, that we had got the most ample, the most complete reparation for all the damages we have sustained, and all the extraordinary expense we were put to; but we were too modest, it seems, to ask any reimbursement of costs: and if the payment stipulated by the 3d article, which as been so much boasted of, be closely examined, and sift of that artful device in which it is dressed up, we shall find that we have given a free discharge at all past damages, without obtaining the shilling of reparation, except as to that relates to four or five ships, which the King of Spain had ordered to be restored, before this convention was bought of. But this has been put in a clear light by the Noble Lord that spoke last but one, that I need not enlarge upon it; and therefore, I shall only take notice of something that fell from the Noble Lord that spoke last. He was pleased to tell us, that the Spaniards made a demand of 5 or 600,000 l. upon us, and seemed highly to commend our dexterity at negotiation, in prevailing upon them to accept of 60,000 l. in full of such a high demand. My Lords, if there was not the least pretence for setting up any demand against us, we ought to have looked upon their setting up such a demand, as a fresh insult; and therefore, instead of allowing any part of it, we ought to have rejected it with contempt. The 95,000 l. stipulated in this article, is therefore the only sum we are to receive by way of reparation; and of this sum our own S.S. company is to pay 68,000 l. for whatever the Noble Lord may think of the King of Spain’s protestation, as he declares, that under the validity and force of that protest he signed this convention. I am convinced he looks upon the payment of that money by our S.S. company, as the condition upon which alone he stands obliged to pay the 95,000 l. stipulated by this article; and I will engage, that not one shilling of the 95,000 l. shall be paid to us by the King of Spain, unless the 68,000 l. be first paid to him by our company. Therefore all the reparation the King of Spain is to make, is the 27,000 l. which is the difference between 95 and 68,000 l. And for this 27,000 l. his Catholick Majesty, or his subjects, are to retain possession of, and convert to their own use, the five British ships which he had before ordered to be restored; for by the fourth article of this treaty, if any part of any of these ships has been, or shall be restored, it is to be deducted out of the 95,000 l.

This, my Lords, is really such a jugglere, such a farcical sort of reparation, that I cannot but imagine, that when M. de la Quadra found our negotiators willing to accept of it, he went smiling to his master, and told him, he had got the English to accept of such a sham reparation, as no Indian nation in America would have been amused with. Well, says his Catholick Majesty, what have you done with the petcoons? Their
Their merchants are to have £55,000. in all for all the depredations your subjects have committed upon them for almost twenty years past, answers the minister. What, replies the Sovereign, £55,000. how can you pay it? for I will not give them one single farthing. No, no, says the minister, £60,000. one part of it, they are to raise by a tax upon themselves; £84,000. another part of it, their S. S. company is to give me, and I am to return it to such Commissaries as they shall appoint, for distributing it among their merchants; and for the remaining 27,000. they are to allow your Majesty to keep the five ships and their cargoes, which you had given orders to restore. Now, as these ships were certainly most unjustly taken, and more unjustly confiscated, the captors must now account to your Majesty, instead of accounting to the English, for the full value; which I reckon will amount to at least £35,000. so that instead of your paying them any thing for reparation, they have, in effect, paid you at least £8000. for giving them the pretext of a reparation. My Lords, M. de la Quadra may have some private reasons for not looking upon our negotiators as downright fools; but if we approve of such a reparation, I am sure the Spanish nation will have reason to look with greater contempt upon this, than upon any nation of native Indians in America.

After having thus shewn, that we have got no reparation by this convention, we need not, I think, my Lords, much trouble our heads about the value put upon our losses by our Commissaries; but, I think it sufficient for discrediting their report, that one of them who was examined at our bar, could give no distinct reason for reducing the claim of our merchants from above £400,000. to £200,000. If they had vouchsafed to have given us any reasons for such an extraordinary reduction, I am convinced it would have been easy to have shewn, that their reasons were frivolous; and till they do assign their reasons, every man must suppose they had no reason; for the characters of our merchants, who gave in their claims, many of them, if not all, upward, are as good as the characters of our Commissaries. But suppose the reduction made by our Commissaries has been just, the value of the five ships mention'd in the 42d article of this convention, or at least of the four last, could be no part of the £200,000. at which they computed our real losses; because the four ships last mentioned were taken, since our Commissaries returned from Spain; and the first mentioned, I mean the Woolball, was taken long after the treaty of Seville, and could therefore be no part of any of those presents that were referred to Commissaries by that treaty. For this reason, if the £95,000. to be paid by the King of Spain and our S. S. company, had been laid on as a reparation for that £200,000, at last, we ought to have stipulated the entire restitution of these five ships, without allowing any deduction from the £95,000. on account of that restitution: but in this case the King of Spain must have paid us out of his own pocket £27,000. by way of reparation for £200,000 which was, it seems, what he was resolved not to do; and therefore, by this article, we have allowed him to keep these five ships which he had before agreed to restore.

This, my Lords, was, I shall allow, extremely complaisant; and since we shew'd so much complaisance to him in the point of reparation, he should, I think, in good manners, have show'd some complaisance to us in the point of future security: but his Catholic Majesty, it seems, in every point, acted the part of a stubborn, haughty Spaniard; and we, I do not know what. In former days, my Lords, we used to be as stubborn as any of our neighbours; and to shew that we were so, as the Noble Lord that spoke last was pleased to mention the treaty between Oliver Cromwell and the Dutch, I shall beg leave to examine that treaty, because the circumstances of the then disputes between us and the Dutch were something parallel to the disputes now subsisting between us and Spain. The Dutch, as such
Proceedings of the Political Club.

... did not for many years before done us my injury, nor had they any way inter-
rupted our trade; but in a former reign, 
which the only maxim of govern- 
ment was, That peace was better than 
war, as it seems to be at present, the 
Dutch had done as a very heinous in-
jury, which had never been properly 
seized; and they had begun to dif-
ote with us the honour of the flag. 
Therefore, our demands upon the Dutch 
tre, that they should give us satisfac-
tion for the insult they had many years 
fore put upon us, reparation for the 
image they had done, and security for 
future unoffended enjoyment of that 
gift, called the honour of the flag.

How did Oliver Cromwell, my Lords, 
know for these several demands, by 
... treaty he made with the Dutch?

The 27th article it was expressly 
seized, That the United Provinces 
could take care, that justice be done 
on those who were partakers or ac-
complices in the massacre of the English 
Ambassadors, provided any of them 
living. I must observe, my Lords, 
at this proviso was necessary, because 
... massacre was perpetrated in the 
acnable reign of James I. above thirty 
years before this treaty. Then, with 
egard to reparation, Oliver’s negotia-
tions did not jump it, as our present ne-
tiators have done by this convention: 
... my Lords; the quantum of that re-
... article of the me treaty, to be adjusted by Commis-
... respectively appointed; who were 
meet, not in Holland, but at London, 
... determine it in three months: 
... upon their failure, it was referred to 
the Protestant Swids cantons, who were 
give judgment within six months: 
... to determine, that the Dutch actually 
... very large sum of money upon 
... account. Lastly, with regard to 
future security, though it related 
nothing but a point of honour, Oli-
... knew well the great consequence of 
trading nation’s being jealous of its 
security; and therefore he took care not 
... refer such a point to Commis-
... by the 13th article of that treaty, 
was expressly provided, That the ships 
and vessels of the said United Provinces, 
as well those of war as others, which 
should meet any of the men of war of 
the republick of England in the British 
seas, should strike the flag to them, in 
the same manner as was ever observed 
at any time before, under any former 
government.

As to the 10,000 l. mention’d by the 
Noble Lord that spoke last, it was not 
paid on account of any damage done to 
this nation before the war commenc’d. 
It was paid, my Lords, on account of 
some English ships that had been seized 
detained in the dominions of the 
King of Denmark, after the commen-
...ment of the war; and as they were se-
ized at the insances of the Dutch, Ol-
iver insisted, that the Dutch should make 
good the loss; and accordingly, by the 
28th article of the same treaty, a stipu-
... was made for this purpote, which 
deserves our particular notice upon this 
occasion. By this stipulation, the States 
General obliged themselves, that those 
ships and goods, which were remaining 
in specie, together with the true value of 
... that had been fold, embezzled, 
or otherwise disposed of, should be re-
... within a fortnight after the ar-
... arrival of those who were to go to reclaim 
them; and also, that the losses which 
had accrued to the English by their 
being detained, should be made good, 
according to an appraisement to be made 
by Commisaries therein named: which 
Commisaries were to meet on the 27th 
of June, a little more than two months 
after the ratification of the treaty, at 
London; and after the first day of Au-
... them. The States likewise obliged themselves to 
pay 5000 l. within two days after the 
exchange of the ratifications, to the 
merchants, for the expence of their voy-
... to Denmark, to reclaim their ships; 
and 5000 l. more, within six days after 
their arrival there, for refitting and re-
paring their ships for their return. And
for the performance of these conditions, they further obliged themselves, that bond should be given by sufficient men, living here at London, for 140,000 l. The 10,000 l. mentioned by his Lordship, was therefore only a part of the reparation that was to be made for this particular damage: for we know, that the Commisaries, by their award, dated the 31st of July that year, the day before they were to have been inclosed, declared, that the whole damage amounted to 97,973 l. which was accordingly paid at London, and distributed among those concerned.

I wish, my Lords, our late negotiators had read this treaty: they might from thence have seen what was meant by satisfaction, reparation and security; for, I think, I have now clearly shewn, that, by this convention, we have obtained no satisfaction, no security, no reparation, nor so much as a promise for any one of them. On the contrary, we have, by this preliminary, either expressly or tacitly, given every one of them up. And shall a Britislish parliament approve of such a treaty? shall the British nation hug itself in the precarious enjoyment of such an infamous tranquillity? Where can a British merchant go to carry on any foreign trade? what foreign port can a British ship put into? They must expect to be insulted, abused, and plundered, by every nation they deal with; and, under such a misfortune, can we expect to improve the circumstances of our affairs either at home or abroad? My Lords, by our late conduct we have brought ourselves into a necessity of going to war, let the consequence be never so fatal. A man who submits tamely to a small affront, is sure to meet with a heinous one; and then he must fight: whereas if he had reftented the first with spirit, he might have obtained satisfaction without danger, and would have prevented his meeting with a second. If we had properly reftented the first injury we met with from Spain, if upon the first insult or incrashement we had peremptorily demanded satisfaction, we might have obtained it by peaceable means; but now it is become too weighty for reflation: we can find it only at the point of our sword; and there, I trust in God, we shall still be able to find both satisfaction and security.

After what I have said, my Lord, I think, I have no occasion to consider our circumstances, either at home or abroad; because I have, I believe, shewn that a war is become unavoidable, unless we have a mind to continue under such an infamous peace, as must render our circumstances very day worse and worse. Nor do I think, that, upon the present question, I have any occasion to enquire into the cause of the present unhappy situation of the affairs of this nation, or of Europe; but if it were necessary, I believe, I could shew, that it is entirely owing to our measures we have followed for about these twenty years. I could shew, that the same conduct, which has now made a war unavoidable, has reduced us almost incapable of carrying it on with vigour or success; but, thank God, we are not yet altogether fo: this nation has many and great resources; and if they are put under a right conduct, we may still be able to recover our friends, and revenge ourselves on our enemies; therefore, I hope, no man will so far despair, as to approve of my preliminary, that may lead us into an infamous treaty of peace.

The last that spoke in this day's debate, was L. Icilius, the purport of whose speech was as follows, viz.

My Lords, C. of St. Albans.

What ever influence wit or eloquence may have upon this assembly, however improper it may be to make use of either in this house, it must be acknowledged, that a great deal of both has been made use of on this occasion; and I must say, that in this debate, a sort of eloquence has been made use of, which may be frequent at a certain place at another end of the town, but cannot, I am sure, be said to be either proper or decent in this assembly; for a great many very bad epithets have been given to the convention
now before us, which, considering the place where we are, I think, 'twould have been better to have let alone, even tho’ the convention had been as bad as it has been represented: but 'twill be found, I believe, upon a serious examination, that they are such as it no way deserves. By endeavouring to shew this, I do not know, but that, in the humour some Lords seem to be in at present, I may be called an advocate for Spain, as well as some other Lords who have spoke before me upon the same side of the question; but whatever I may be called, either within doors or without, I am resolved, while I sit here, to speak my sentiments freely, and to declare openly, what I think, will conduce most to the service of my King, and the good of my country. This is my duty, this the duty of every member of this house; and therefore I think it as wrong to affect popularity upon any occasion, by chiming in with those prejudices which may have been accidentally taken up, or artfully raised, among the people, as it is to shew a blind or a flabby complaisance to the ministers of the crown.

Whether we have got a proper satisfaction, or a full reparation, for the injuries that have been done to us, are questions that have been so fully spoke by the Noble Lords who have already spoke in favour of this convention; them it has been so clearly demonstrated, that we could not expect, nor ought to have insisted upon greater satisfaction or reparation, from a nation bose friendship we ought to court, at it would be vain, if not arrogant to me, to attempt to set that matter in clearer light. Besides, my Lords, these articles which in all negotiations are of a little yielding or softening; and particularly in our negotiations with tin, we ought never to allow them be of any extraordinary weight. If we can get the other disputes, which subsist between Spain and us, added to our satisfaction; if we can maintain a reasonable security for the future nollefitted enjoyment of our navigation commerce in the American seas, I think it would be prudent in us to yield a little upon the head of satisfaction and reparation: at least, I must think it would be very imprudent in us to engage in a war with Spain, and at this juncture too, for the sake of having a Spanish Governor, or Captain of guardia, hanged, as many of them certainly deserve for their behaviour towards us; or for the sake of obtaining 50, or even a 100,000 l. more, for making good the damages our merchants have sustained.

The article of search or no search, is therefore that which we ought principally to regard in our present contest with Spain; and this, my Lords, I must obverse, is a mutual claim. We pretend to a right of searching the ships, even of foreigners, upon our own coasts, as well as the Spaniards do upon theirs, especially when there are grounds to suspect, that any such ship has been employed, or is going to be employed, in carrying on an unlawful trade with our subjects, or in our dominions. It is a sort of liberty we take, it is a sort of liberty every nation takes, banc petimus damusque vicissim; and neither the Spaniards nor we have given it up, by referring it to be regulated by Plenipotentiaries. Nay, even in the open seas, in the middle of the wide ocean, if one of our men of war should, upon visiting a ship they meet with, find caufe to suspect, that her passports or sea-letters were forged, or should find cause to suspect from what they saw on board, that the ship had been concerned in any piratical practices, I believe they would take the liberty to break through the rules prescribed by treaties for visiting ships at sea, and would search such a ship, in order to discover whether their suspicions were well or ill grounded. This is a liberty which the armed ships of every country take, even upon the high seas; it is a liberty which every country must indulge to another, for the sake of discovering and apprehending pirates: therefore, it is a liberty that no nation can complain of, unless when it is turned to a bad use; and then it is not the right or liberty, but the
Proceedings of the Political Club.

use made of it, that affords a just cause of complaint.

The liberty of searching the ships of foreigners upon the high seas, on suspicion of piracy, is a liberty that is established and regulated by the law of nations alone; but the liberty which every nation enjoys, of searching, on suspicion of unlawful trade, the ships of foreigners that approach near to their coasts without any necessity, is a liberty that is not only established by the law of nations, but is generally regulated by the particular laws or customs of each respective society. In this country it is established and regulated not only by immemorial custom, but by several acts of parliament; and it is impossible for us, by any precautions we can take at land, to prevent the exportation of our wool, the importation of prohibited goods, or the clandestine running of goods in upon us without paying the duties, unless we take the liberty of searching such ships, upon our own coasts, as give just cause to suspecting their being concerned in, or designed for, some such unlawful trade. This, my Lords, has been found by experience to be true; and therefore by an act of the 10th and 11th of the late K. William, it was provided, That our admiralty should appoint two fifth rate, and two sixth rate ships, and eight armed sloops, to cruise on the coasts of England and Ireland, to seize all ships and vessels exporting wool to foreign parts. Now, my Lords, if any of the men of war, or armed sloops thus employed, should see a French ship hovering, or lying at anchor, within a few leagues of our shore, and boats passing and repassing between her and the land; are we to suppose that they are only to visit such ship, according to the rules prescribed by treaty, and to give entire credit to her passports, or sea letters? If they did, they would always find her bound from some port of France to some port in Norway or the Baltic, or from some port in Norway or the Baltic to some port of France; yet, nevertheless, she might be half-loaded with our wool, and waiting at that place for the rest of her cur-

go: therefore, in such cases it is absolutely necessary to make some stop of search; and we have always done, without any nation’s having complained of our making, by such aprobe, any incroachment upon the freedom of their navigation or commerce.

The case, my Lords, is the same with regard to smuggling. It was found by experience, that all the precautions we could take at land, could not prevent that pernicious trade; and therefore we have, by several acts of parliament, enforced and regulated the right we have by the law of nations, of searching as well as visiting, such foreign ships approaching our coasts, and giving just cause to suspecting their being concerned in, or designed for, carrying on any continued trade. For this reason, we ought to be cautious of denying this liberty or privilege to any nation: For if we, every nation in Europe will say to us, *Fie what measure ye mette, it shall be answered to you again:* as you will not allow us to search your ships upon your coasts, we will not allow you to search our ships upon your coasts. And if by this means we should be debarred searching any foreign ship upon our own coasts, it would be impossible for us to prevent smuggling, or the exportation of our wool. Not only the Dutch and French, but all nations that had any use for it, would soon fall upon ways and means to steal away from us as much of our wool as they could have occasion for, to the great prejudice, if not the utter ruin, of our woollen manufacture.

This, my Lords, would be a much greater loss to us, than the exporting our gold or silver from Spain, or from the Spanish settlements in America, can be to that nation. For, in their present circumstances, it is ridiculous in them to prohibit the exportation of that commodity. If they could make their prohibition effectual, if they could absolutely prevent the exportation of gold or silver from any part of their dominions they would in their present circumstances soon come to be like Midas in the fable: many of them would have no thing to eat, drink, or clothe themselves with
us, to introduce among the nations of Europe, any political maxim, which, if we were obliged to observe it ourselves, might render it extremely difficult, if not altogether impossible, for us to prevent our wool's being stolen away from us: and that this would be the consequence, if we were to abstain from searching any foreign ship upon our own coasts, experience itself must convince us. But this, my Lords, is not the only inconvenience we should be liable to at present, if we should be obliged to give up, or pass from this right of searching ships upon our own coasts; for while our present high duties continue upon all foreign goods imported, it would be impossible for us to prevent smuggling, without the exercise of this right: and if we take such a liberty with the ships of neighbouring nations upon our coasts, we must allow them to take some such liberty with our ships upon their coasts; otherwise we may run the risk of uniting all the powers of Europe in an association against us.

For this reason, my Lords, the question, Whether we ought to allow the Spaniards a right or privilege to search, upon just grounds of suspicion, any of our ships that shall approach their coasts without necessity? seems to be a question that may admit of some sort of difficulty. They may insist upon it, as a right derived to them from the law of nations, and confirmed by our own practice in similar cases; and it is a privilege which we may allow them, without acknowledging that they have any thing like an imperium maris with regard to the seas of America. As for this imperium maris, or dominion of the seas, there may be some such thing, for what I know; I believe we have a just pretence to such a dominion with regard to the British seas: but I must observe, that a very great author has said, that it is rather to be imagined than explained.

It is a subject that has employed the pens of many learned and ingenious men; but they differ so much from one another, and sometimes from themselves, that there is no possibility of forming a certain and distinct notion of it from what
what they have wrote upon the subject. They have divided and subdivided it a great many different ways; which it would be needless, as well as tedious, to give an account of: but the most material division I have taken notice of, is that by which it has been divided into imperium proximum and imperium remoto; the former being that imperium which a nation may acquire, and every nation pretends to, upon what they call their own coasts; and the latter, that which a nation may acquire upon what we call the open seas, either by treaty, or by the tacit concession and long sufferance of its neighbours.

But here again, my Lords, a new difficulty occurs: for, what may be called the coasts, or what may be called the open seas, is a question that is not determined by the authors that have wrote upon the subject; nor has it lately been determined by treaty, so far as I know, between any two nations in Europe. The greatest authority I can think of, that can any way be made use of for determining this point, is that famous decree or resolution of the senate of Rome, by which they gave to the great Pompey the command or government of the sea, for suppressing those pirates that then infested the Mediterranean; for, as by that decree, they extended his command or imperium as far as 400 stadia, which is about thirteen or fourteen leagues, over the whole continent or land adjoining to the sea, it may be supposed, they reckoned that the sea-coast, which always includes land as well as sea, extended fourteen leagues up the country, and consequently fourteen leagues out at sea. But no modern nation will, I believe, admit that what we now call sea-coast, can be either way so far extended.

Having thus shewn what the Spaniards may say in favour of the right or privilege they pretend to have, of searching, as well as visitating our ships, upon what they call their coasts in America, when such ships, by their approaching too near, or by other tokens, give cause to suspect, that they are concerned, or designed to be concerned in some illicit trade, I shall now, my Lords, endeavour to shew what may be said on our side. With regard to any liberty or privilege we may take with the ships of foreigners falling upon the British seas, we may justly say, my Lords, that no argument can from hence be drawn in favour of any right the Spaniards may pretend to in the seas of America; because we have an imperium or dominion over the British seas, established to us by custom immemorial, and acknowledged by almost all the nations of Europe: whereas the Spaniards can pretend to no such imperium over the American seas; nor ought we to allow them to exercise any liberty or privilege that may be a foundation for their claiming such an imperium in any future time. Then with regard to what may be called the sea-coast of my country, we may say, that, by the law of nations, nothing ought to be called sea-coast that is within the common course of sailing from one country to another; and that therefore nothing but creeks or small bays ought to be reckoned within the sea-coasts of any country, or such places in the sea which are so land-locked that no ship would chuse to get within them, unless she be driven thither by stress of weather, or has some other design than that of failing along the coasts of that country. This, I say, my Lords, we may insist on as the general rule for determining what may be called the sea-coasts of any country: and this ought to be the rule in the American seas, especially within the tropicks, rather than any other; because the winds and currents in that part of the world, not only make ships chuse, but even force them to fail along, almost close in with the shore of some of the islands or continent of America; as has been extremely well explained by a Noble Lord, who spoke some time since upon the other side of the question.

To this, my Lords, we may add, that tho' an imperium or dominion may be acquired over some seas, or some particular parts of the ocean; yet that dominion, like property in lands, must be acquired by some overt acts, which declare the intention of the possessor, and the
the cession or resignation of the rest of mankind: and as no such overt acts have ever been done by the Spaniards, and peaceably submitted to for any time by other nations, in the seas of America; therefore those seas ought to be look'd on as a large common, lying between the Spanish dominions and ours, no part of which they can appropriate, nor assume any jurisdiction over it, without our consent: and I am sure we may justly say, that the late behaviour of some of their guarda costas, and the delays we have met with in obtaining justice from their court, have given us a very good reason, never to allow them to assume the least degree of jurisdiction in any part of the American seas, where our ships may be obliged, or have occasion to fail.

From what I have mentioned, my Lords, of the arguments that may be made use of upon both sides of the question, I believe it will appear, that the real dispute between Spain and us, I mean that which is of the greatest consequence, is not about our right to a free navigation and commerce in the American seas, but about their right to search ships upon what may be called their own coasts. The right to be regulated by the Plenipotentiaries, respectively appointed by this preliminary, is not our right to a free navigation and commerce in those seas, but their right to what every nation does, I mean to visit, and even to search, upon just cause of suspicion, such ships as come within what may be called their sea-coasts; and it is their late behaviour, not ours, that makes the regulating of this right necessary. They have lately extended that they call their sea-coasts so far out the ocean; and they have searched many of our ships without cause of suspicion, and confiscated so many of them without any pretence of justice, that it becomes necessary to lay them under some restraints and regulations: and these restraints and regulations shall be settled and agreed on by the Plenipotentiaries respectively appointed, that they have sea-coasts in America, what no man will deny; and that they have some sort of power or jurisdiction over those sea-coasts, is what, I think, can be as little denied. Nay, we seem to have acknowledged it by treaty: for as our S. S. company got, by the Affentours treaty or contract, the sole privilege of introducing negroes into the Spanish settlements in America, it was by the 18th article of that treaty agreed, That when the Affentours should have notice that any ship with negroes (not belonging to them) was come upon the coast, or entered into any port, they might fit out, arm, and send out immediately such vessels as they should have of their own, or any others, belonging to his Catholic Majesty or his subjects, with whom they should agree, to take, seize, and confiscate such ships and their negroes, of whatever nation or person they might be, to whom the same should belong; to which end the said Affentours, and their factors, should have liberty to take cognizance of, and search all ships and vessels that should come upon the coasts of India, or into its ports, in which they should have reason to believe, or suspect, that there were contraband negroes: Provided always, that for the making of such searches, visits, and other proceedings, before mentioned, they should first have leave from the Governors, to whom they should communicate what occurred, and define them to interpose their authority.

These, my Lords, are the words of the treaty; and if the court of Spain could delegate a power to our S. S. company to search such ships as came upon the coasts of India, in which they should suspect there were contraband negroes, as by our accepting of this article we have acknowledged they could, surely we must allow, that they have a power to search such ships as come upon the coasts of India, in which they may suspect there are any other sort of contraband goods; by which I mean, and by which they can only, with any justice or propriety, mean, such goods as are designed to be imported into, or have been exported from, their settlements in India, contrary to the exclusive privilege enjoy'd by the subjects of Spain, and
to have stipulated no search anywhere but in their ports or harbours, when our ships happen’d to be forced in by sea-distresses. But this, my Lords, was not our case when this treaty was negotiated: we were treating upon equal terms; we were negotiating to prevent a dangerous war, and not to put an end to a successful one; and in these circumstances it was impossible for us to adjust and finally settle a dispute of such a nature in so short a time. If it be finally adjusted and settled in the eight months prescribed by this preliminary, I shall think it something very extraordinary; and if, at last, all the disputes now subsisting between Spain and us are adjusted to our satisfaction, I shall then think, that we may justly apply to one person in this kingdom, what was said of the great Fabius at Rome, Cunctando res vitam rem.

I know, my Lords, it would have been more glorious, and would have look’d more like great courage and magnanimity, to have attack’d the Spaniards directly, without so much as asking, whether they were willing to give us satisfaction. If we had done so, the Spaniards could not with justice have complained of us, nor could they have said, we treated them otherwise than they deserved; but I cannot think it would have been prudent, nor do I think it would have been acting like men that had a due regard to the prosperity and happiness of their country. Wars and victories, my Lords, make a fine figure in history, or even in a newspaper. We still read with pleasure the romantick accounts of our wars and battles in France, when our Kings were wasting their substance, and spilling the blood of their subjects, in quest of that which would have ruined their country, if they had met with the will’d for success: we likewise read with pleasure, an account of our late campaigns in Flanders, Germany, and Spain, when we were running ourselves several millions in debt yearly, for the sake of conquering kingdoms and provinces for those, who have not since shewed themselves very grateful for the favours we them
then so bountifully bestow'd; and if we had now run ourselves headlong into a war with Spain, we should probably, if they had been afflicted by none of their neighbours, have had the same success we have formerly met with in our wars against that nation. The taking of some of their galleons or floata, the plundering of some of their towns upon the sea-coast in Europe, or the taking or plundering some of their settlements in America, would have furnisht our gazettes with excellent paragraphs for the entertainment of the present age, and our histories with fit matter for the improvement of future generations: but, upon balancing accounts, we should have burden, I believe, that the profit would not answer the charge; and that we had done better to have accepted at first of a reasonable satisfaction in a peaceable manner. In the mean time, our trade would have been interrupted, our people oppressed with taxes, many of our merchants ruined by captures, and multitudes of tradesmen drawn away from useful labour and industry: for it was well observed by a celebrated clergyman, who was appointed to preach at St. Paul's upon the peace of Utrecht, That those times which are the best to read of, are far from being the best to live in.

It was therefore, I think, my Lords, the wiser course, to try first what could be done by negotiation: and as there is nothing in this preliminary that is either scandalous, or inconsistent with any of the rights or privileges of this nation; as we have got all that could be expected in so short a time; and as the time stipulated for concluding a definitive treaty is but very short, I must think, it was right to accept, in the mean time, of this preliminary. If the court of Spain should refuse, or unreasonably delay giving us entire satisfaction by a definitive treaty, within the time limited by this preliminary, we must go to war. We shall then be able to excuse or justify ourselves in our own minds, let the event of that war be what it will; because of two evils, the least is certainly to be chosen. Our trade cannot suffer much in the mean time: the circumstances of affairs in Europe cannot become more unfavourable than they now are; nor can it be supposed that we shall be weaker, or Spain stronger, eight months hence, than at present. For these reasons, my Lords, I think we cannot well refuse to give our approbation of this preliminary, in those general terms the Noble Lord has proposed; and therefore I shall be for agreeing to the motion he has been pleased to make.

Thus ended the first day's debate; but, before proceeding to the second, it may not be improper to insert

The Lords Protest.

Die Jovis, 1st Martii, 1738.

The order of the day being read, for taking into further consideration the convention lately concluded between G. Britain and Spain, and the separate articles belonging thereunto,

It was moved, That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to return him the thanks of this House, for having been graciously pleased to lay before us the convention, &c. between his Majesty and the King of Spain, &c. [See p. 93.]

And after long debate thereupon, the question being put upon the said motion, it was resolved in the affirmative:

Content 71
Proxies 24

Not content 58
Proxies 16

Dissentient, Bedford.

1. Because we conceive, that this resolution, under the plausible pretence of a respectful address to the throne, carries with it an approbation of the convention concluded at the Pardo, the 14th of January last; which, as we apprehend, may be a most fatal compliment, if it should induce his Majesty to believe, that this convention is agreeable to the sense and expeditation of the nation.

2. Because this resolution hath rather weakened than enforced the address of the last year, having omitted that part of the said address, which declares, that no goods being carried from one part of his Majesty's dominions to another, are to be deemed contraband or prohibited goods: and that the searching of ships under pretence of
The Lords

Protest.

their carrying contraband or prohibited goods, is a violation and infringement of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns.

3. We think the said resolution does not sufficiently assert our right, by saying only, that we shall not be liable to be stopped, searched, or visited upon the open seas. The merchants having proved at the bar of this house, that currents and winds unavoidably drive ships out of their course, and that observations of landmarks upon the Spanish coast are absolutely necessary for their steering a safe course thro' those seas, we apprehend, that their being obliged to keep a direct course, without coming near the Spanish coast, as lately insisted upon by the Spaniards, would render them sole judges of our navigation; and the being permitted to visit or search our ships within any limits whatsoever, would render our whole American trade precarious and impracticable.

4. Because we see no reason to believe that the future negotiation of the Plenipotentiaries will, in the next eight months, obtain the admission of those rights insisted upon in our former address, which the instances and representations made to the court of Spain last year, supported by the resolution of parliament, and a powerful fleet, have not been able as yet to procure.

5. Because we apprehend the Spaniards do not think themselves bound, by this convention, to abstain from their unjust methods of proceeding; since it was proved at the bar of this house, that Capt. Vaughan, a commander of a British ship, having been unjustly taken by a Spanish man of war, his ship confiscated, and he imprisoned at Cadiz, was, at the time of signing the convention, detained in prison there, and not released in several weeks after, notwithstanding the representation of the British Plenipotentiary at the court of Spain.

6. Because we conceive that the reparation pretended to be made to our merchants by this convention, for the grievous losses they have sustained during a course of many years, is insufficient. The dark accounts of this transaction, laid before us, have not been fully explained, nor any satisfactory reasons given us, why their demands, stated in an account, signed June 14, 1738, by Mr Stert, one of the Com-

misstaries, at 343,277 l. should be greatly reduced.

7. Because, as we apprehend, we are to allow 60,000 l. to the King of Spain, chiefly on account of the ships taken near Sicily in the year 1718; though it hath appeared to the house, from the instructions given to the Commissaries after the treaty of Seville, signed by his Majesty, now lying before us, that the articles of the treaty concluded at Madrid in 1721, upon which that claim of the Spaniards is founded, had been fully executed on the part of the crown of G. Britain.

8. Because the referring the limits of Florida and Carolina to the Plenipotentiaries, seems to call in question our right to possessions which we have so long uninterruptedly enjoyed, seven eighth parts or parts of which, the nation, at a considerable expense, hath, not long since, purchased of the proprietors under the two original grants of K. Charles II. a certain district whereof, called Georgia, in Honour to his present Majesty, hath been erected into a new colony, and granted to trustees for laudable purposes; for the establishment and improvement of which, considerable sums have been granted by the publick: And moreover, it being stipulated by the present convention, that no fortification there shall be increased during the term of eight months, we apprehend that the regiment lately raised for the defence of that colony, and all the engineers and stores, which, at a considerable increase of the publick expense, have been sent thither, will not only remain useless, but if a peace should not be procured within that period, will, at the end of it, be exposed, together with the colony, to the violence and irruption of the Spaniards.

9. Because we apprehend, the British ministers acceptance of the declaration signed by Monf. de la Quadra, January 10, 1738-9, said to be agreed with reciprocal accord, hath allowed his Catholic Majesty to reserve to himself, in its full force, the right of being able to suppress the Affairs of negroes, in case the S. S. company doth not submit herself to pay, within a short time, the sum of 68,000 l. pretended to be owing on the duty of negroes, and profits of the ship Caroline, tho' that sum...
before parliament, it is a custom so long established, and a custom that has been so constantly observed, to present an address of thanks upon every such occasion, that I should have thought it quite unnecessary to say anything in favour of the motion I am to make, if more than ordinary pains had not been taken to render people dissatisfied with the treaty now under our consideration. It is this that has occasioned the presenting of so many petitions against it; and it is this that makes me think it necessary, to endeavour to remove those prejudices that have been so artfully and so industriously raised among all degrees of men, before I make that motion with which I intend to conclude.

I shall begin, Sir, with this general observation, That when differences arise between two nations, an immediate declaration of war seldom is, and never ought to be the first resolution of either. If those differences proceed from any dispute about a matter of right, justice and humanity require, that endeavours should be used to have those disputes determined in a peaceable way, by the true and infallible rules of reason, before recourse be had to the deceitful and uncertain fortune of war; and if they relate to injuries done, or violence committed, the same justice and humanity require that satisfaction should be asked, in an amicable manner, by the party offended, and peremptorily denied, or unreasonably delayed, by the party offending, before hostilities are resolved on. Even the greatest affront that can be put upon, or the greatest injury that can be done to one nation, by the subjects of another, ought to be complained of before it is revenged; because the honour of no nation can be injured but by some publick or national act in another: therefore, when any injury is done, or affront given, by the subjects of one state to those of another, the state whose subjects have been injured, ought to apply to the other for satisfaction; and ought not to look upon its honour as any way affected, till the state, whose subjects committed the violence, has made the act of its subjects its own, by
Proceedings of the Political Club.

Refusing to punish the transgressors, or to make reparation for the damage sustained.

This, Sir, is what justice and humanity require; and what is just and humane, must be honourable. Therefore when, upon application, there appears a probability that all differences may be settled and adjusted by amicable means, while that probability lasts, it would be unjust, it would be barbarous, and consequently dishonourable, to have recourse to arms. Ambition or interest may prompt some nations to make conquests, and such nations may, and do often break through this established rule of justice and true honour, by laying hold of the most frivolous pretence for engaging in war, without any previous application for an accommodation: But as it is not the interest of this nation to make conquests, and as, I hope, our ambition will never provoke us to act contrary to our interest, we can therefore have no motive for transgressing this rule, with regard to the differences that may arise between us and any nation in Europe.

Upon this maxim, Sir, and in this light, if we consider the treaty now before us, I believe it will appear to be not only a just and honourable measure, but the only just and honourable measure we could take, with regard to the differences now subsisting between us and Spain; some of which are such as proceed from disputes that have lately arisen about matters of right, and the rest are such as proceed from the violence and depredations that have been committed by some of the subjects of that kingdom against the subjects of this. As the matters of right which are in dispute, are of great consequence to us, as Spain had little or no reason to raise any dispute about them, and as their depredations have been great and frequent; if it had been our interest to endeavor to conquer any part of the Spanish dominions, or if his Majesty had been influenced by ambition, and a parfait after a glaring but false renown, he might, and probably would have laid hold of these differences, as a just pretexts for declaring war against Spain, without the least attempt to have them reconciled by amicable means: but as it is not an interest of this nation to make conquests, his Majesty considered the peace and happiness of his people as the most solid foundations of his glory; therefore he often applied, before last summer, to the court of Spain, for having the differences subsisting between the two nations accommodated in a friendly manner; which that court always found some excuse or another for delaying; but at last his Majesty, upon the application from both houses of parliament last session, made a peremptory demand, and insisted upon a speedy and categorical answer; and till that answer should arrive, his Majesty resolved, according to the maxim I have mentioned, and according to the advice of his parliament, to suspend the effects of his indignation. When the court of Spain saw that the affair could be no longer put off with safety; they appeared willing to enter immediately into a serious discussion of the rights that were in dispute; and as those rights were of such a nature that they could not be in a short time fully examined into and finally determined, to shew they were in earnest, they proposed to have the account between the two nations, for reparation of damages sustained on each side, immediately settled, and to pay, in a short time, whatever should appear to be due upon the balance. From hence his Majesty justly conceived, that there was a probability of having all our differences accommodated; and therefore he could not in justice or honour commence hostilities, or refuse to accept of a preliminary convention, by which we were to obtain satisfaction for all past injuries, and by which we were to be put into the most probable method, may the only method that could be proposed, for obtaining, in a short time, a full security against all future.

To this I must add, Sir; that his Majesty's agreeing to this preliminary convention, and resolving to suspend hostilities, till he should see what effect this preliminary might produce, was not only the
Proceedings of the Political Club.

523

of the justest and the most honourable measures he could pursue, but it was agreeable to, and in some measure a necessary consequence of, the advice given him last session by both Houses of Parliament. By the address presented last session upon occasion of our differences with Spain, his Majesty was advised to

safeguard his royal endeavours with his Catholick Majesty, to obtain effectual relief for his injured subjects; and assured, that in case his royal and friendly influence, for procuring justice, and for the future security of that navigation and commerce, which his people had an undoubted right to, by treaties and the law of nations, should not be able to procure, from the equity and friendship of the King of Spain, such satisfaction as his Majesty might reasonably expect from a good and faithful ally, the parliament would effectually support his Majesty in taking such measures, as honour and justice should make it necessary for him to pursue. From these words, the advice of parliament plainly appears to have been, that his Majesty should first try what could be done by peaceable means; and that in case he could, by such means, procure such satisfaction, that is to say, such reparation for past injuries, and such security for our navigation and commerce in time to come, as he could reasonably expect from a good and faithful ally, he should avoid engaging the nation in a war with Spain. Now, Sir, if by this convention his Majesty has got such reparation, and such security, as he could reasonably expect, it must be allowed, that his refusing to accept of it would have been acting directly against the advice given him by parliament. And that we have got as much reparation, and as much security, as any reasonable man could expect by a preliminary convention, I shall now endeavour to shew.

With regard to reparation, Sir, for past injuries, it is not only finally adjusted, but a certain sum promised to be paid within a very short time after the exchange of the ratifications. As there were mutual demands, with respect to damages sustained, it became necessary to settle and balance the account; for I am sure no reasonable man could expect, that we should receive full reparation for all the damage done to us by Spain, and allow nothing for the damage that had been done by us to that nation. Upon examining, therefore into, and stating our mutual demands, it appeared that our demands upon Spain, according to a calculation made by our own Commissaries, amounted to 200,000 l. and that the demands of Spain upon us, amounted to 60,000 l. so that there was a balance due to us of 140,000 l., which sum his Catholic Majesty proposed to pay us, by giving assignaments upon his revenues in America, being the only means he had for paying so large a sum: but as we knew the tediousness and protractiveness of that fund, it was proposed to make an allowance for prompt payment, if his Catholic Majesty would engage to pay the money in a short time here at London; and the allowance agreed on was 45,000 l. which reduced the sum due to us to 95,000 l. and this sum his Catholic Majesty has expressly promised, by this convention, to pay here at London, in four months after the exchange of the ratifications. From hence it appears, Sir, that we have not only got all the reparation any reasonable man could expect, but all the reparation we could with any pretence of justice insist on: For tho' there were perhaps some other small articles, which we might have added to the sum of our demands; yet it must be allowed, they were such trifles, such minutes, as not to be worth minding in a transaction between two powerful nations: and if we had insisted on them, it would have been easy for Spain to have balanced them with articles of the same kind, which were not at first brought in to her account.

Now, Sir, as to our future security, every man that understands what it means, must know, that it depends entirely upon those matters of right that are now in dispute between Spain and us; and that therefore it cannot be clearly and effectually provided for, till those rights are particularly examined into,
and fully explained. But could any reasonable man expect, that it was possible to do this in a few weeks, or by a preliminary convention? It is a discussion that depends not only upon several disputable points in the law of nature and nations, but likewise upon several facts and circumstances that must be enquired into; and this enquiry can be made in the West-Indies only. For this reason we could not so much as desire Spain to do more than they have done. They have agreed to refer this discussion to Pleni-Potentiaries, and that those Pleni-Potentiaries should be obliged finally to decide the affair within the short term of eight months; which is all we could expect, and all we could with any justice or reason desire. Therefore, if there had not been one word in this treaty, from whence it could be presumed that Spain had passed from, or given up any of those rights she has lately set up; yet the treaty might have been said to be a good preliminary, and such a one as his Majesty ought to have accepted of, rather than engage the nation in a war. But this is not the case: the principal right Spain pretends to, and the most destructive right for this nation to submit to, is that of searching our ships on the open seas of America, and making prize of them, in case any Spanish money or effects be found on board. This right Spain has, even by this preliminary, ineffect given up. That of searching our ships upon the open seas, they have allowed to be a cause of complaint, which, if not put a stop to and prevented, might occasion an open rupture between the two crowns. They have allowed it to be a grievance, which ought to be removed. Can the exercise of a just right be allowed to be a cause of complaint? can it be allowed to be a grievance? Whoever does so, disclaims the right: and therefore we must conclude, that Spain has, even by this preliminary, in effect disclaimed the right of searching our ships upon the open seas of America; which to me is a strong indication, that they intend to disclaim it by the definitive treaty, in the most express terms we can propose.

Sir, the court of Spain have nary acknowledged the searching our ships on the open seas, and confiscating them having Spanish money or effects on board, to be a grievance which ought to be removed; but they have in some measure directly owned it to be wrong. They have allowed it to be an injury, by giving us reparation for what our merchants have suffered by that practice. Therefore, the Pleni-Potentiaries appointed by this convention, are to determine, whether it be a grievance or not? This is a point which is referred to their discussion; it is already determined. They are only to contrive, contrive, and adjust the proper means for removing it. And in this treaty are circumstances: for the regulations they contrive and agree on for this purpose, must be according to the terms now subsisting between the two crowns; and those regulations must be contrived and fully settled within eight months after their first meeting, which is to be but six weeks after the exchange of the ratifications: so that the affair may be finally concluded before the middle of November next. Therefore the chief question now seems to be, whether we ought to go to war, rather than grant the court of Spain a delay of eight months, for giving us full satisfaction and absolute security? And I do not think that any man who considers the present circumstances of Europe, or the present circumstances of this nation, would be for involving his country in a dangerous and expensive war, rather than grant such a delay.

War, Sir, let the prospect of it be what it will, is both a dangerous and a destructive expedient to any nation, especially a trading and industrious nation: it is the bane of trade, and the parent of idleness. It gives your neighbours an opportunity to undermine you in several branches of your trade, and draws a great many of your own people away from useful labour and industry, not only during the war, but for ever; for those who have been, for but a few years, accustomed to live in idleness, by rapine and violence, can never afterwards
wards submit to get their bread by the sweat of their brow. Besides, it may prove dangerous to your liberties; for supporting and carrying on a war with vigour, great armies must be raised: when the war is ended, you may, perhaps, find it difficult to disband your armies; the Generals will be against it, and the soldiery, having lost the hopes of living by the plunder of their enemies, may resolve to live by the plunder of their country. War therefore, even with the most flattering prospect of success, ought to be avoided by a trading, free country, if possible. The event is doubtful; let the hopes of either party at the beginning be never so well founded. It was the first time we have heard of the event of a war's turning out contrary to all human appearances. We have fresh instance of this before our eyes. All Europe thought, the Emperor engaged in the present war against the Turks with great odds of his side; but we find ourselves disappointed in our expectations; the odds are already turned against him, and little hopes left of an coming off with honour, much less with advantage.

Whoever considers these things, Sir, will think, that, if the circumstances of affairs in Europe were entirely favourable for us, if our own circumstances were as happy as we could wish, we ought not wantonly to engage in a war; but then we consider that the circumstances of Europe were never in a more unhappy situation for us than at present, so that our own circumstances are far from being in a happy situation, who is: will say, a war is not by all means to be avoided? The powerful kingdom of France is now in greater vigour than ever it was since the reign of their Charles the Great; it is now governed by wise councils, and in perfect unity and concord within itself. The King of France is bound, not only by interest, but by the ties of blood, to assist the king of Spain; and as an addition to his obligation, there is now forming, what I know already concluded, a treaty of alliance between them. If we declare war against Spain, we must therefore expect that France will take part with Spain against us: and tho' I have so good an opinion of my country, as to think we are more than a match for the one, and at least an equal match for the other, yet I cannot be so vain as to think, we are an equal match for both; and, consequently, I must think, we have reason to be afraid of our sinking under the burden, unless we can get some of the other great powers of Europe to assist us.

Let us now look round Europe, Sir, and we shall find with regret, there is not at present any one of the powers thereof, on whom we could, in such a case, depend for an effectual assistance. The house of Austria is now in so weak a condition, and so much reduced by the misfortunes they have met with in their war against the Turks, that they could not, if they would, afford us any assistance: and if they could, 'tis a question if they would; for their councils seem at present to be too much directed by French influence. The Dutch are at present in a poor and helpless situation; for tho' the subjects of most of the United Provinces are rich and in affluent circumstances, their government is extremely low, and almost all their publick revenues mortgaged or anticipated: which makes them so backward to engage in war, that tho' they have met with as bad treatment from Spain as we have done, tho' as many Dutch ships, in proportion, have been unjustly seized by the Spaniards, as there have been of English; yet they have never yet attempted, nor do they seem to have the least inclination to refer these injuries in any hostile manner. The princes of Germany are now contending amongst themselves about the succession to some parts of the Palatinate; and that contention may perhaps break out into an open rupture. Of the princes of Italy, the two most potent may probably be engaged, in the alliance against us; and the King of Portugal dares not assist us, I even doubt if he would dare to admit our men of war into his ports. Then, Sir, if we look northward, of the two northern kingdoms, the most powerful
sal seems already to be united against us; and the Moscovites, if they were inclined, are at too great a distance to afford us any relief. Thus, Sir, we are at present without any one ally upon the continent, that would give us assistance; and in case of a war, the two most potent kingdoms in Europe would probably be united against us: nay, I do not know but that the greatest part of Europe would unite against us: and when the affairs of Europe are in such circumstances, would it not be the height of madness in us to engage in war, if we can by any art, or by any means, avoid or delay it?

But this, Sir, is not our only misfortune at present. Our domestick circumstances are far from being in such a condition as may encourage us to engage in war. Our people are already taxed almost as much as they can possibly bear; and most of those taxes mortgaged for paying the debts we contracted in the late war: the overplus of our publick revenues is hardly sufficient for supporting our civil government in time of peace. If we go to war, we must lay on new or additional taxes; this will increase those animosities and divisions that now prevail too much amongst us; and will cause that party to raise its head, which has not dared to look up for near twenty years past. If we go to war, our enemies will certainly endeavour to bring us into confusion at home, by embracing the cause of the Pretender; the war itself will be made the cause of the Pretender: and when our people find every year new loads of taxes laid upon them, many of them may begin to acribe all the misfortunes they labour under, to the illiberal family now upon our throne; which will make them ready to join any number of foreign troops that shall invade us, with the Pretender at their head. If France and Spain should join against us, it will be impossible for us to guard our coasts, by means of our navy, so closely, as that it may not be in their power to throw a few regular troops into some part of the island; and this might give us so much to do at home, that we should neither have leisure nor power to defend our enemies, or protect our plains abroad.

I have as just a sense as any man have, of the sufferings of our nation, and of the indignities that have been put upon the nation, by the Spanish guards and cofias; but national relations, Sir, ought not to be directed by such considerations: we may, we ought to shew a proper resentment; but our revenge ought to be governed by prudence: if it is, we must suspend our resentments, till a change in the circumstances of Europe presents us with a favourable opportunity; which, in all probability, shall not be long obliged to wait. Therefore, if this convention had been so favourable as it appears to be to his Majesty, I think, in that sentiment, we must suspend it. This is the opinion I am at fast, from the view I have of the present state of affairs, and from circumstances that are publickly known: but his Majesty may know many circumstances which we do not know, which keep us not communicating to this house; and therefore, in such cases, we ought with extremely cautious of refusing our approbation to a measure which his Majesty has thought fit to approve of. Such a caution would have been needless, even tho' this convention had appeared to have been altogether unsatisfactory; but I have shown, I think, that we have got by it all that could be reasonably expected by a preliminary treaty; lest whence we have good reason to hope, that in eight months time we shall obtain by a definitive treaty all we can desire, which is a delay, I am sure, not with our while to go to war for. Therefore, Sir, I must think, I am fully warranted in what I am to propose, which is, That the humble address, &c. (Such another as proposed by C. Calpurnius Piso) shall be made to you.

Mr President,

I stand up to second the motion which the Hon. Gentlemen near me have been pleased to make; and I second it, because, I think, the necessary conse-
ence of our not agreeing to it, would
an immediate war. Now, as I think
have got by this convention: as
such as we could expect by a prelumi-
ary article; (for, with respect to our fu-
ture security; it can be called nothing
or was it possible, in so short a
time, to make it any thing else;) and,
I think, that the court of Spain's ac-
cepting to this convention, especially
at part of it which stipulates an im-
mediate reparation, furnishes us with a
long presumption, that they are inclin-
ed to do us justice, and that we shall,
short time, obtain sufficient secu-
ity for the freedom of our trade and na-
tation in time to come: therefore, I
don't think a war quite unnecessary;
no war can be just that is not ne-
necessary, nor can any war be honourable
in is not just.

This consideration, Sir, convinces me,
we ought to approve of this con-
don; and my Hon. friend has taken
me to put some words or expressions
the address, he has been pleased to
use, which, in my opinion, will
the only material objection I
heard made to this treaty. Our
exhorts seem to think, that our rights
and possessions in America are not suf-
sciently secured to us by the terms of
primary; and therefore they
pretend, that some of them are to be
enjoyed by our Plenipotentiaries. These
prejudices, I think, there can be
only for, from any word or ex-
dition in this primary; nor can a
man entertain such a thought, if he
consider the inviolable attachment his
Majesty has always shewn for the rights
and privileges of his people, and that
Plenipotentiaries can do nothing
without his order, nor finally agree up-
anything without his approbation.
If it were possible to apprehend,
at any of our rights or possessions are
danger of being lost, or given up by
a definitive treaty, that is to be con-
sidered in pursuit of this preliminary,
that possibility must be taken away,
our declaring, in the address proposed,
reliance on his Majesty, that from
is constant attention to the honour of
his crown, and the undoubted rights of
his people; effectual care will be taken,
that the freedom of navigation in the
American seas may be fully secured and
established for the future; and that in
regulating and settling the limits of his
Majesty's dominions in America, the
greatest regard will be had to the rights
and possessions belonging to his Majes-
try's crown and subjects.

By these words, I say, Sir, the very
possibility of apprehending any danger
to our rights or possessions, must be ef-
effectually removed: for after such a full
and explicit declaration of parliament,
what minister will dare to advise his
Majesty to give any instructions, or to
ratify any treaty, for giving up, or in-
croaching in the least upon, any of our
rights or possessions in America? There-
fore, I think, no one good reason can
be assigned for our refusing to give such
an approbation to this convention, as
the Hon. Gent. has been pleased to pro-
pose; for really, in my opinion, it looks
more like a declaration of what we ex-
pect by the solemn treaty that is to be
concluded, than an approbation of the
primary that has been already con-
cluded.

P. Sempronius Tuditanus then stood up,
and spoke in substance thus.

Mr President,

THE great design, and the chief
use of parliaments, is, to present
to our Sovereign the opinions, as well
grievances of the people; and this
house in particular is design'd as a check
upon ministers, and as a sort of mirror,
in which the counsels, the actions, and
the measures of ministers, are to be truly
and faithfully represented to their
master. In absolute monarchies the
King can never know, by any legal
means, whether the measures he is ad-
vised by his ministers to pursue, be a-
greeable or disagreeable to his people:
He can never be informed of their be-
ing disagreeable, but by the insurrec-
tions or rebellions of the people; which
generally end in the destruction of a
great many subjects, and often in the
ruin of the Sovereign. This is a mis-
fortune
fortune that in this kingdom we shall always be free from, while we have par-
liaments, and such parliaments as are independent of the administration. But if ever our parliaments should come to be under the direction of the minister, for the time being, they would be useless, they would be pernicious; because they would be made use of only for imposing upon the King with the greater assurance, and for oppressing the people with the greater security. Therefore, I hope, that in this house we shall upon all occasions talk to our King, not in the language of his ministers, but in the language of truth, in the language of his people. For this reason, while I have the honour to have a seat here, I shall never join in any address to the throne, that may in the least contribute towards inducing my Sovereign to form such an opinion of any publick measure, as may be contrary to the opinion I have, upon a thorough enquiry, formed of it, and contrary to the opinion which, I know, the people in general have formed of it. The convention now before us, is, in my opinion, the most dishonourable, the most deceitful, the most ruinous treaty, this nation ever made; I will be bold to say, that 99 out of 100 of the people are of the same opinion: and shall I agree to an address, which must make the King believe, if he believes what we say, that it is an honourable, fair, and advantageous treaty?

The Hon. Gent. and his friends may, if they please, Sir, call the latter part of the address he has proposed, a declaration of what he says by the solemn treaty that is to be concluded: but the first part is a downright approbation of this convention, and is therefore inconsistent with the latter; for it would, in my opinion, be ridiculous in us to say, we expect or hope for any thing from a solemn treaty that is to be concluded in pursuance of a preliminary, by which every thing we have to expect or hope for, is previously given up, and almost expressly surrendered. Out of the regard I have, and, I hope, shall always have for his Majesty, I must, in examining the address proposed, have his name out, and substitute in its room, the name or term minister, or minis-
ter. Shall I, Sir, upon occasion of this convention, express my most grateful acknowledgments for the minister’s, or negotiator’s particular care, and take regard for the interests of the people, when I think that in negotiating and agreeing to this convention, he has them no care, no regard for, but, on the contrary, has sacrificed, I shall not be betrayed, the most valuable, the most sacred rights of his country? Shall I say, that a final adjustment of our long depending demands has been obtained by this convention, when I see, that, instead of adjusting, we have relaxed them! Shall I say, that any payment is to be made by Spain upon that account, when it appears that Spain is not to pay one single groat, when it appears that a shilling is so much as stipulated, but what is to be paid by one part of our own subjects to another? Or shall I say, I am satisfied with the foundation the minister or negotiator has laid, for preventing the like grievances and causes of complaint for the future, when I am convinced that, by this convention, a foundation is laid for increasing them, and for rendering them perpetual? God forbid, Sir, that any member of this house should behave in such a shameful manner towards the minister, or in such a deceitful manner towards his Sovereign.

I shall allow, Sir, that when differences arise between two nations, we ought not to be resolved on, till application be first made for having them removed by a friendly accommodation, but that application ought to be made in an honourable manner, and finish to the dignity of the nation that makes it. If the matters of right that are begun to be disputed, be such as are really doubtful, a negotiation may be set foot for having them explained; to dispute the most undisputed rights that are established by the nature, as well as by particular treaty, is one of the greatest insults that can be put by one nation upon another. 
therefore, the only application that can be made, is a peremptory demand for having them acknowledg'd in the most explicit terms: To negotiate, or to treat about such rights, is to betray them. Again, when violations are committed by the subjects of one nation, upon those of another, satisfaction may be demanded, nay, I shall grant that it ought to be demanded in a peaceable manner, before resorting to take satisfaction by force of arms: but this satisfaction ought to be required, not sued for; and much as sued for again and again, after many affected delays or sham excuses. To require satisfaction in a peaceable but dignified manner, is prudent, is commendable; but to sue and solicit for it, mean, abject, and dishonourable; and then a nation continues to sue for it, under frequent repetitions of the same sort of violations, it is ridiculous, it is flightive.

This, I'm afraid, Sir, is our case with regard to Spain. We have negotiated about our undoubted rights; we have sued for satisfaction, and have so long continued suing, while they continued insisting, that we have at last rendered ourselves ridiculous and contemptible. In this opinion I am confirmed by the treaty now under our consideration: a treaty which they seem to have imposed upon us as the comp de grace to that character we formerly had among the states and potentates of Europe. After disputing with us such undoubted rights, and committing so many and unheard of depredations upon our merchants, if they had not had the most contempt of our understanding as well as power, it was impossible they could have thought of imposing such a treaty upon us: a treaty by which they save, under the pretence of giving us foundation for obtaining future security, obliged us to give up those rights upon which it depends, and, instead of giving us reparation, they have obliged us to give them a general release; nay other, they have obliged us to give up them, for much less than the true alue, five British ships and their cargoes, which they had, before this treaty was thought of, obliged themselves to restore. If they had given us a flat denial, if they had absolutely refused to give us any security or reparation, it would have been shewing a contempt of our power only; but to presume to palm upon us such a sham security, and such a fallacious sort of reparation, is shewing the utmost contempt of our judgment, as well as our power. As yet the contempt can fall upon our negotiators only; but if this house should give any thing like a sanction to such a treaty, the contempt must fall upon the nation, or at least upon that which is called the wisdom of the nation.

In order, Sir, to make good what I have said, I must beg leave to consider what we ought to have had, and whether we have got, by this treaty, so much as the hopes of obtaining any one thing we ought to have had. I believe every Gentleman will allow, that we ought to have had some satisfaction for the many insults the Spaniards have put upon the crown and flag of G. Britain. To some this may appear to be merely a point of honour; but to me it appears so material, that, I think, we can have no future security without it. No treaty, no regulations you can make, will, in my opinion, signify any thing, without some exemplary satisfaction for the Spanish Governors and Captains of guardia costas in America, will shew no regard to any treaty or regulations you can make, if they find they may transgress them with impunity: whereas, as some of those Governors and Captains that have robbed our merchants, had been hanged, as they highly deserve, and their bodies hung up on chains, upon the most conspicuous capes of Cuba, Hifpaniola, and Porto-Rico, it would have shewn all such for the future, what they were to expect, if they insulted the crown, or injured the subjects of G. Britain. But the court of Spain being resolved to grant nothing that might any way contribute to our future security, resolved not to allow the word satisfaction to be so much as once mentioned in this treaty. Even the Spanish pirate that cut off
Capt. Jenkins's ear, making use at the same time of the most insulting expression towards the perfom of our King, an expression which no British subject can decently repeat, an expression which no man that has a regard for his Sovereign can ever forgive; even this fellow, I say, is to live to enjoy the fruits of his rapine, and remain a living testimony of the cowardly tameness, and mean submission of G.Britain, and of the triumphant pride, and stubborn haughtiness of Spain.

This alone, Sir, is sufficient to shew, that we can have no hopes of any future security; and yet a future security for the freedom of our trade and navigation, was what we ought principally and peremptorily to have insisted on. But our negotiating ministers have not satisfied themselves with neglecting it; they have almost expressly, by this preliminary, given it up. They have almost expressly given up the rights upon which it depends, by referring them to be regulated by Plenipotentiaries: for, if we consider the nature of those rights in dispute between Spain and us, upon which our future security depends, we must see, that if the right we pretend to, be regulated, it must be surrendered; and that if the right Spain pretends to, be regulated, it must be established. The right we pretend to, the right which, I hope, the nation will never depart from, whatever our negotiators may do, is a right to a free navigation in the open seas of America. This right the Spaniards, trusting to our feebleness, or our fondness for negotiation, have taken upon them to deny. They say, we have no right to any navigation in the American seas but what they have granted us by treaty, which is only whilst our ships steer a direct course from one part of the British dominions to another. For God's sake, Sir, what is it, in this case, our Plenipotentiaries are to regulate? Are they to regulate what shall, or shall not be called a direct course? If we agree to any such regulation, can we afterwards say, we have a right to a free navigation? Does not every Gentleman see, that if this right be regulated, it must be given up?

On the other hand, Sir, Spain pretends to a right to search our ships in the open seas of America, and to seize and confiscate them, if they be found failing out of their due course, or if any goods which they are pleased to call contraband, be found on board. Does not every Gentleman see that this right must be granted, must be established, before it can be regulated? Therefore it may be justly said, that, by this preliminary, we have surrendered the right we pretend to, and established the right the Spaniards pretend to; or at least that we have laid a foundation for expressly surrendering the one, and establishing the other, by the solemn treaty that is to be concluded in pursuance of this preliminary. This is the least we have done by this preliminary; and this is the more dishonourable, the more infamous, because the right we pretend to, is a right established by the law of nature, enjoyed by all nations, and confirmed to us by every treaty subsisting between the two crowns; whereas, the right the Spaniards pretend to, is a frivolous, which no nation ever pretended to impose upon another, nor did ever them, contemptible nation under the sun submit to it. To which I must add another misfortune, that all the regulations that can, in either of these cases, be established, are to be explained and judged of by Spanish Governors and Captains of guardia costas; and therefore, we may, from their past behaviour, conclude, that every British ship they meet with in the seas of America, will be judged to be a trespasser against some of these regulations, and consequently liable to confiscation.

Thus, Sir, it appears, we have negotiated, we have treated away all hope of future security; and now I shall make it appear, we have done the same with respect to reparation for past injuries. By a comminorial way of reckoning, our negotiators reduced the demands of their country to 200,000l. and this sum, allowing a trifle, as they say, for prompt payment, they pretend to have obtained for us. But how have they obtained it?
They allow Spain to deduct 60,000 l. on account of a most frivolous demand they set up against us; and before Spain pays any thing to us, they have allowed them to extort, in the most unjustifiable manner, from our S. S. company, 58,000 l. These two sums reduced what Spain was to pay to us, by way of reparation, to 72,000 l. and from this sum, they have allowed them to deduct 45,000, a pretty modest allowance, for prompt payment: then there remains but 27,000, and for this they have allowed them to detain, and convert to their own use, the British ships, which the King of Spain had before promised to restore; and had actually sent cedulas to the West-Indies for that purpose; which we ships, I mean those mentioned in the 4th article of this treaty, were worth 0, or 40,000 l. Does not every one see, is that, instead of our getting any reparation, by this treaty, for past injuries, we have really allowed the Spaniards to reap the value of at least 3, if not 30,000 l. of what they had before obliged themselves to restore? And this, suppose, our negotiators allowed them, by way of a reward for their allowing be shan, stipulated payment of 95,000 to be mentioned in this treaty. In consideration of which shan, stipulated sum, we have given them a general release for all demands, and all past injuries. Sir, if we had freely given them a general release, we might have had something to boast of; we might have brag'd of our generous and forgiving temper: but to be thus shou'd at of all our just demands, must make the ridicule of every foreigner that ears of it. Can such a sham reparation, such a lumping bargain as this, be an acknowledgment in the paniards, of their having been in the wrong to us? So far otherwise, that it will be supposed, they insin't upon our impeing away our demands in this manner, on purpose to avoid their being obliged to acknowledge themselves in the wrong, or to acknowledge that any of our ships had been unjustly search'd, seized, or confiscate'd, except the five ships they had before acknowledged to be so; and, provided we would allow them to keep these five ships, I suppose they were willing to agree, to allow us what they valued them at, by way of reparation.

This, Sir, is in reality, whatever we may pretend, the only reparation we are to meet with from Spain; and this reparation they had promised us before this convention was thought of. The 60,000 l. which we have allowed them for their ships, which we took and destroy'd in the year 1718, can be no reparation to us, whatever it may be to them; because they had no pretence for any such demand. The taking and destroying of those ships was what we had, from their infraction of treaties, a just title to: It was then reckon'd such a piece of publick service, that Sir George Byng was made a Peer for doing it. And if we promised to restore them by the treaty in 1721, we performed that promise, as far as was incumbent upon us: we promised only to restore them in the condition they were in; we did not promise to repair them, or to make them fit for service: and if the Spaniards would not take them, because they would not be at the expense of repairing them, it was their fault. Therefore, I must suppose our negotiators allowed of this demand, for no other reason, but in order to have a pretence to say, they had obtained some sort of reparation. And the 68,000 l. to be paid by our S. S. company, I must look on as a condensation of the same nature. The King of Spain had justly no such demand upon the company: If he had, they would have much greater demands upon him: the court of Spain itself, allows they have a just demand for above four times that sum; therefore, the most that court could insist on, was compenasion: but the truth is, I believe, they are resolved never to pay the company a shilling; and our negotiators allowed them to insist upon the immediate payment of this 68,000 l. upon a promise to pay it back to them by way of reparation. Can this be called a reparation made by Spain? can it be called a reparation made to this nation? If the company
would agree to pay it, which I believe they will not, it might be some reparation to our injured merchants: but a reparation made to them by our own S. S. company, can never be said to be a reparation made by Spain; nor can a reparation made by one part of our own people to another, be said to be a reparation made to the nation.

I have now, I hope, clearly shewn, Sir, that by this convention, we have obtained no satisfaction, no security, no reparation; but that, on the contrary, we have given up all future pretences to every one of them. Therefore, I cannot think that any Gentleman who considers himself only as a member of this house, will agree to our approaching the throne of our Sovereign, with such an address as has been proposed. Immediate war may not be the consequence of our refusing our approbation; but immediate infamy to the nation will, in my opinion, be the certain consequence of our granting it. I shall allow that war ought to be avoided. It ought to be avoided by all means, but scandalous, cowardly means. A nation that has once got the character of being cowardly, or too fearful of engaging in war, must always be in a sort of war. They will always be suffering war, but never making any. This, I'm afraid, has been too much our case for seventeen or eighteen years past: we have had our towns besieged, our ships taken, our merchants plundered, and our seamen barbarously treated, without our declaring war, or committing any hostilities, on our side. Long before the treaty of Seville, the Spaniards began their deprivations: we then bought peace at a dear rate; at the price of sacrificing the friendship and confidence of one of our best allies, while we were getting provinces for Don Carlos, which has since procured him kingdoms, the Spaniards suspended a little their deprivations; but they never granted us any reparation for what was past, nor security against future, tho' they promised both by that treaty; on the contrary, as soon as their turn was served, they renewed their deprivations, with more vigour and cruelty than ever. And shall we approve of twenty, which, instead of preventing them, will give the Spaniards what they never had before, a title to continue? for this must be the case, if, in presence of this preliminary, we agree, by a solemn treaty, to any regulation, either with regard to our right to a free navigation, or with regard to the rights they pretend to, of searching our ships upon the open seas, and seizing them, if found sailing out of their trade, or with any goods on board, which they are pleased to call contraband.

Our agreeing, Sir, to such a treaty, must necessarily involve us at least in a war, unless we have a mind to give up our plantations and West-India trade, whereas our refusing our approbation to this preliminary, will prevent any such solemn treaty’s being negotiated, and may prevent a war; for if Spain has at least dread of our resentment or protest, if this nation is not already brought to the utmost contempt, when Spain sees that they cannot amuse a British parliament, as well as a British ministry, they will agree to do us justice in a peaceable manner. But, for God’s sake, Sir, what are we afraid of? If Spain is not afraid by France, ‘tis impossible we can have anything to fear. If France should join against us; tho’ I may not perhaps think, we are an equal match for them both at land, yet, I think, we are more than a match for them both at sea; and there they must gain a superiority, before they can disperse, or greatly hurt this nation. But, suppose we were not, the Hon. Geat. who made this motion, has himself given a good reason, why we should not submit to an infamous peace: ‘The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong; ’tis God that giveth the victory: and when we have to judge, we shall have the great reason to hope for the assistance of God Almighty, which will be sufficient for us, even tho’ by means of our late negotiations and our duties, we may now literally say, We have none else to put our trust in, but him.

The circumstances of Europe, Sir, are, indeed, at present, in a dangerous, a most terrible situation; and the perf
ent circumstances of this nation, cannot, 'tis true, be said to be happy. But be Hon. Gent. who made this motion, I think, one of the last that ought to have made use of such an argument for approving of a dishonourable or destructive treaty. If we have negotiated such affairs of Europe into an unlucky situation, 'tis well known who ought to be blamed; and if the domestic affairs of this nation be now in great disorder, certain friend of his cannot be entirely innocent. If our affairs are brought to such a fatal crisis, that we must either forfeit our honour, and leave our antantions and trade exposed to continual insults and depredations, or engage in an unequal war, it may be an argument for suspending our resentment, if sensible, till a more favourable opportunity offers; but it can be no argument for our agreeing to a dishonourable and pernicious treaty: especially, when such a treaty we are to get nothing, at so much as a suspension of hostilities, and are to give a general release of all former demands, a general oblivion of all past injuries: for since we are to get nothing, I think, we ought not to lose passed from any thing by this preliminary: our demands, as well as our rights, might have been referred to be regulated by our Plenipotentiaries; and in that case, we could have inflicted or relaxed with regard to the former, according to the compliances we had found pain ready to make with regard to the latter.

I therefore hope, Sir, that no Gentleman will be frightened into an approbation of this treaty, by the terrors that have been thrown out; but that, on the contrary, every Gentleman will, upon his occasion, resume the spirit of his ancestors, and reject a treaty which so evidently blasts the honour of his country. When this is done, we may, with honour, examine into the terrors we have been threatened with; and if there be any left ground for them, I hope it will be a prevailing argument for our entering upon a strict enquiry into the conduct of those who have brought their country into such fatal circumstances: for if we be in such a woful condition, as to be unable to continue in peace with any degree of honour, or engage in war with any prospect of success, I am sure we can expect no redress from the future conduct of those, who, by their past conduct, have brought our affairs, both at home and abroad, into such distress and confusion.

I shall next give you a short sketch of what was said by L. Hortenius; whose speech was to the following purport.

Mr President, I am gratefully

If I may judge of this treaty as I do of others, I must think it as good as one as we could expect. We never obtained by any treaty all we could desire, nor all we thought we had reason to insist on. I do not know that ever any nation did, unless they made a sort of conquest; and then it is not a treaty, but a law prescribed by the conqueror to the conquered. In all other cases, nations are obliged to consider times and circumstances, and to accept of the utmost the then posture of affairs will allow them to insist on. Between contending nations, the case is the same with what it is between private men: each party thinks himself in the right, tho' it generally happens that both are in the wrong: what may seem extremely clear, and nothing but juf, to one party, or in one country, may appear to be very doubtful, or highly unreasonable, in the other. Therefore, when two nations are treating upon a par, if they have a mind to agree, neither must obstinately insist upon what they think right, but each must consider its own circumstances, and the circumstances of its adversary, at that particular time, in order from thence to judge, what concessions must be made, and what demands may be peremptorily insinuated on. In this light, I think, the treaty now before us ought to be considered; and in this light, I must say, I am surprized to find it so good as it is.

With regard to the Spanish demand on our S. S. company, and with regard to their demand on account of the ships taken and destroyed by us in the year 1718,
1718, I am far from being of the same opinion with those Gentlemen who disapprove of this treaty. I believe, Sir, the Spaniards had some reason to insist upon both, especially the last. Perhaps they may say, they had reason at that time to attack the Emperor in Sardinia, and the Duke of Savoy in Sicily, because of a negotiation then on foot, for giving Sicily to the Emperor, in exchange for Sardinia, without asking the consent of Spain, and without shewing the least regard to the right of reversion they had to Sicily by the treaty of Utrecht between Spain and Savoy, confirmed by the 14th article of the treaty made at the same place between G. Britain and Spain. And as for their demand upon the S. S. company, I must in charity believe, they thought it was just, otherwise they would not have made it; but whether it be just or not, or whether or no the S. S. company pays it to Spain, are questions that can have no relation to the present; because by this treaty the justice of the demand is not acknowledged, and the Spaniards are to pay us the 95,000 l. stipulated, whether this sum be paid to them by our S. S. company or not: therefore I am surprized to hear it said, that the S. S. company is to advance any part of that money which is to be paid us by Spain: but suppose they did, if, in consideration thereof, Spain gave up what they thought a just claim, the money would, according to their way of thinking, be paid by them, and to this nation too. From hence, I think, it appears, that the reparation we have obtained by this treaty, amounts to 155,000 l. and this I must look on as no considerable sum, considering the present circumstances of affairs, and the strong objections Spain had to make to some of our claims.

As to our future security, Sir, I shall acknowledge, it depends upon the rights in dispute; but by this treaty we have neither given up any we pretend to, nor acknowledged any the Spaniards pretend to. We have only referred them to be examined into, and discussed by Plenipotentiaries: which I cannot but approve of, because I am convinced the justice of what we pretend to, and the unreasonable blunders of what Spain pretends to, will from thence fully appear; whereas, if we had refused to have our title disputed, it would, in my opinion, have been an argument that we ourselves thought it disputable.

Therefore, Sir, without being influenced by any fears or terrors, or by any thing but the reasonable blunders of the thing itself, I cannot but approve of the treaty now under our consideration, and consequently must agree to the motion the Hon. Gent. has been pleased to make.

The next that spoke was Julius Fane, whose speech was in substance the same.

Mr President,

Here certainly has never been in parliament a matter of more high and national concern, than the convention referred to the consideration of this committee; and give me leave to say, there cannot be a more evident manner of taking the sense of the committee upon it, than by the complicated question that is now before you. I have no apprehensions that any one gentleman can be led into an approbation of the convention, under the false name of an humble address to the throne: But is this that full, deliberate examination, which we were called upon, with defiance, to give to this convention? Is this cursory, blended disquisition of matters of such variety and extent, all that we owe to ourselves and to our country? When trade is at stake, it is your last retrenchment, you must defend it or perish; and whatever is to decide of that, deserves the most distinct consideration, and the most direct undoubted sense of parliament. But how are we now proceeding? Upon an artificial, ministerial question. Here is all the confidence, here is the conscious sense of the greatest service that ever was done to this country; to be complicating questions, to be lumping Motion and approbation, like a Commisary's account, to be covering and taking sanctuary in the royal name, instead of meeting openly,
penly, and standing fairly, the direct judgment and sentence of parliament, upon the several articles of this convention.

Sir, you have been moved to vote an humble address of thanks to his Majesty, for a measure, which (I will appeal to Gentlemens conversation in the world) is odious throughout the kingdom. Such thanks are only due to the fatal influence that framed it, as are due for that low, unallied condition abroad, which is now made a plea for his convention. To what are Gentlemen reduced in support of it? First try a little to defend it upon its own merits: if that is not tenable, throw at general terror; the house of Bourbon is united; who knows the conference of a war? Sir, Spain knows the inconvenience of a war in America; whoever gains, it must prove fatal to her. She knows it, and must therefore avoid it; but she knows England does not dare to make it. And what is a delay, which is all this magnified convention sometimes called, to produce? Can it produce such conjuratures as those you lost, while you were giving kingdoms to Spain, and all to bring her back again to that great branch of the house of Bourbon, which is now thrown out to you with so much terror? If this union be formidable, are we to delay only till it becomes more formidable, by being carried further into execution, and more strongly cemented? But be what it will, is this any longer a nation, or what is an English parliament, with more ships in your harbours than in all the navies of Europe, with above two millions of people in your American colonies, you will bear to hear of the expediency of receiving from Spain an insecure, unsatisfactory, dishonourable convention? Sir, I call it no more than it has been proved in this debate; it carries fallacy or downright subjection in almost every line: it has been laid open and exposed in so many strong and glaring lights, that I can pretend to add nothing to the conviction and indignation it has rais’d.

Sir, after so much has been said, and very ably, by Gentlemen that have gone before me, I can expect to be heard but with little attention. I am sorry it is so easy to speak on our side of the question: I wish the subject were less copious: I think it a very melancholy advantage, and I will trouble you as little as I can upon a matter that furnishes such unhappy abundance.

Sir, as to the great national objection, the searching your ships, that favourite word, as it was called, is not omitted, indeed, in the preamble to the convention; but it stands there as the reproach of the whole, as the strongest evidence of the fatal submission that follows: On the part of Spain, an usurpation, an inhumane tyranny claimed and exercised over the American seas; on the part of England, an undoubted right by treaties, and from God and Nature, declared and asserted in the resolutions of parliament, are referred to the discussion of Plenipotentiaries, upon one and the same equal foot. -Sir, I say, this undoubted right is to be discussed and to be regulated. And if to regulate be to prescribe rules (as in all construction it is) this right is, by the express words of this convention, to be given up and sacrificed; for it must cease to be any thing, from the moment it is submitted to limits.

The court of Spain has plainly told you (as appears by papers upon the table) you shall steer a due course, you shall navigate by a line to and from your plantations in America; if you draw near to her coasts, (though, from the circumstances of that navigation, you are under an unavoidable necessity of doing it) you shall be seized and confiscated: if then upon these terms only she has consented to refer, what becomes at once of all the security we are flatter’d with in consequence of this reference? Plenipotentiaries are to regulate finally the respective pretensions of the two crowns, with regard to trade and navigation in America; but does a man in Spain reason that these pretensions must be regulated to the satisfaction and honour of England? No, Sir; they conclude, and with reason, from the
the high spirit of their administration, from the superiority with which they have so long treated you, that this reference must end, as it has begun, to their honour and advantage.

But Gentlemen say, the treaties subsisting are to be the measure of this regulation. Sir, as to treaties, I will take part of the words of Sir William Temple, quoted by the Hon. Gent. near me, it is vain to negotiate and make treaties, if there is not dignity and vigour to enforce the observance of them; for under the misconstruction and misinterpretation of these very treaties subsisting, this intolerable grievance has arisen. It has been growing upon you treaty after treaty, thro’ twenty years of negotiation, and even under the discussion of Commissaries to whom it was referred. You have heard from Capt. Vaughan at your bar, at what time these injuries and indignities were continued, as a kind of explanatory comment upon the convention Spain has thought fit to grant you, as another insolent proof, under the validity and force of which she has suffered this convention to be proceeded on. We will treat with you, but we will search and take your ships; we will sign a convention, but we will keep your subjects prisoners, prisoners in Old Spain; the West-Indies are remote, Europe shall be witnesses how we use you.

Sir, as to the inference of an admission of our right not to be searched, drawn from a reparation made for ships unduly seiz’d and confiscated, I think that argument is very inconclusive. The right claimed by Spain to search our ships, is one thing, and the excesses admitted to have been committed in consequence of this pretended right, is another; but surely, Sir, reasoning from inferences and implications only, is such a minutie as has been laid by the Hon. Gentleman that made this motion, to be below the dignity of your proceedings, upon a right of this vast importance. What this reparation is, what sort of composition for your losses, forced upon you by Spain in an instance that has come to light, where your own Commissaries could not in any case decide against your claim, has fully appeared upon examination; and for the payment of the sum stipulated, but 27,000 l. and that too subject to a drawback, it is, evidently, a falsus, nominal payment only. I will not attempt to enter into the details of a deal, confused, and scarcely intelligible account; I will only beg leave to conclude with one word upon it, in the light of a submission, as well as inadequate reparation. Spain stipulates to pay the crown of England 51,000 l. by a preliminary protest of the King of Spain, the S.S. company is at once to pay 68,000 l. of it: if they will, Spain, I admit, is still to pay the 77,000 l. but how does it stand then? the contract is to be suspended; shall we be to purchase this sum at the present an exclusive trade, purporting a national treaty, and of an immense debt, of God knows how many hundred thousand pounds, due from Spain to the S.S. company. Here, Sir, is the submission of Spain by the payment of a stipulated sum; a tax laid upon subjects of England, under the severest penalties, with the reciprocal accord of an English minister, as a preliminary to the convention may be signed; a condition imposed by Spain in the most absolute impious manner, and received by the ministers of England in the most abject and abject. Can any verbal distinction, any evasions whatever, possibly explain this publick infamy? To whom would we disguise it? to ourselves and to nation? I wish we could hide it from the eyes of every court in Europe. To see Spain has talk’d to you like a master; they see this arbitrary feudal condition, and it must stand in distinction, with a pre-eminence of shame, as a part even of this convention.

This convention, Sir, I think in my soul, is nothing but a stipulation national ignominy; an illusory expedient to baffie the resentment of the nation; a truce without a suspension of hostilities on the part of Spain; on the part of England, a suspension, as Georgia, of the first law of nature, the preservation of a country's honour and character.
preservation, and self-defence; a surrender of the rights and trade of England to the mercy of Plenipotentiaries, and in this infinitely highest and sacred point, future security, not only inadequate, but directly repugnant to the resolutions of parliament, and the graces promised from the throne. The complaints of your despairing merchants, the vice of England has condemned it: the guilt of it upon the head of the dresser; God forbid that this committee should share the guilt, by approving it! George Helton.

The next speech I shall give you was that made by Mecenas, who spoke thus:

"Mr President,

From some words that fell from an Hon. Member who spoke in this debate, I shall begin, with wilting in the most solemn manner, by making it my most ardent prayer, that the mercantile interest may be the only basis of our deliberations to-day; and that neither be interest of a party, nor much less that of any single man, may prevail over this, which is the national concern. For then shall do our duty in this matter, and our decision of it will do honour to parliament. But before I enter further into this debate, I beg to take notice of some words that were taken from an Hon. Gent. who spoke on this question, and which were heard with the deepest concern.

After he had used many arguments to persuade us to peace, to any peace, or bad, by painting out the dangers of a war, (dangers by no means how to be what he represents them) a crown'd all those terrors with the name of the Pretender. It would be the curse of the Pretender; the Pretender would come! Is the Hon. Gent. feasible what this language imports? The people of England complain of the greatest wrongs and indignities; they complain of the interruption, the destruction of their trade; they think this peace us left them in a worse condition than before: And, in answer to all these complaints, what are they told? Why, that their constituting to suffer all this, is the price they must pay to keep the King and his family on the throne of their realms. If this were true, it ought not to be own'd. Will it strengthen the family to have it believed? But it is far from true; the very reverse of it is true: nothing can weaken the family, nothing can shake the establishment, but such measures as these, and such language as this.

Sir, I know who hears me, and for that reason I speak.—The Hon. Gent. who first moved you this question, and another who spoke since, have both strongly insisted, and it was the sum of all their arguments, that our right not to be searched, is not referred to the discussion of Plenipotentiaries; they are only, it seems, to consider how to remedy grievances. What grievances, Sir, do the Gentlemen mean? the grievances of England! They admit but of one remedy, a very short and simple one, and which wants no consideration: That our ships shall not be searched upon any pretence. This alone can go to the root of our grievances; all less than this is trifling, hurtful, fatal to commerce. Do they mean the grievances of Spain? the illicit trade? The remedy for that too is already provided: it is already settled by our treaties with Spain, that we are not to trade in their ports and havens in America; but if our ships are found there, they must be confiscated. Is not this sufficient? I defy the Hon. Gent. who has so much skill in negotiation, to discover another expedient to secure the Spaniards from illicit trade, which will not be destructive to the lawful trade of G. Britain; and, I hope, we shall be more solicitous for our own, than for theirs. The Hon. Gent. said, the settling this would take up some time. It will indeed, Sir; for it will never be settled; it is morally impossible it can ever be settled: and therefore, I think it ought not to have been brought into dispute. Had we proceeded conformably to the intentions of parliament, we should either have acted with vigour, or have obtained a real security, in an express acknowledgment of our right not to be searched,
as a preliminary fine qua non to our treating at all. This we ought to have insisted on in the words of La Quadra's protest, (which is the preliminary fine qua non of that crown) we ought to have insisted on it in those very words, as the precise and essential means to overcome the so much debated dispute, and that on the validity and force of this express acknowledgment, the signing the convention may be proceeded on, and in no other manner. Instead of this, what have we done? We have referred it to Plenipotentiaries. Is not this weakening our right? wou'd you, Sir, submit to a reference, Whether you may travel unmolested from your house in town, to your house in the country? Your right is clear and undeniable, why would you have it discussed? But much less would you refer it, if two of your judges belonged to a gang, which had often flopp'd and robb'd you in your way thither before.

Things that are of a nature to admit of temperaments, in which each party may recede from their respective pretensions, and come to a medium to conclude the dispute, such things allow of a discussion, and may be referred; but when no medium can be found, when the cafe admits of no temperaments, where to recede one tittle, is to give up the question, there to agree to a discussion, is to endanger the whole: at best, it can end in nothing but in both sides adhering to their claim, and leaving all in uncertainty, to go on as before. And can any thing worse befall us? Is not this destruction itself?

Oh but, said the Hon. Gent. we have gain'd a great point, in bringing Spain to acknowledge by the present convention, that grievances have arisen in the searching of ships, and that means to remedy these grievances ought to be found out! Sir, was this ever denied? Did Spain ever deny, that her guards colts had sometimes committed excesses; that is, searched a little too wantonly, gone a little too far, made some irregular seisures? and that this ought to be remedied? All this is expressly confes'd in La Quadra's letter to Mr Keene, dated the 10th of February last year, before we sent out our fleets; and the orders should be given for removal, when such excesses are proved. But is this amount, or do the words of treaty amount to any thing like a departure from their pretension to search? No; they are only a modification of it to a certain degree; which is a defence of the practice itself: and we thought for a year, or why did we judge that let it unsatisfactory? But, Sir, pray consider, our right not to be searched in very short point, wants no discussion, it does not depend upon arguments that difficulty to examine or to comprehend. The King of Spain must have known that in a twelvemonth at least was ought to think of it, and whether it will yield it or no. The only imaginary reason of his chicaning so long, is, that he suspected a weakness in the cause of England. What was that only fiction, is now turned into certainty: and if that will make him more plain, it is easy to judge.

As we go on with our politics, it will the Spaniards with their. Our has been to procrastinate, to put off at any rate, to live upon daily expedients, to endure and to treat. They have been to fool us with the name of peace, and to commit all sorts of indignities on our merchants and trade; to plunder and butcher the former, and ruin the last. Thus it has been, and it will continue to be. — How we find our account in it, I am unable to judge! How Spain finds her's in it, is too plain at first sight. If that court were but upon undoing this nation, they need only leave us to the conduct we shall. What could they desire better, than for eighteen years more to interrupt our navigation, and destroy our trade, put us to the charge of half a dozen private fleets, furnish us with a pretence for a numerous standing army to confine us at home, render us the scorn of Europe, and at last, to make us amend, account with us so as to receive or detain much more than they give, and keep the claim subsisting upon which they robb'd us so long? But it would be better for England to submit at once, throw up the
trade to our colonies, and the colonies themselves, than to leave our merchants exposed to such inhumane cruelties, and suffer ourselves to be mocked with forms of justice and law, while we are the prey and sport of all injustice and violence; or with insignificant treaties, which, instead of giving us security, serve as a pretext and sanction for all future injuries.

But we are desired to have confidence, to have hopes in the wisdom and success of the measures which his Majesty advised to pursue.

Sir, the people of England fear much more than they hope. And have not they reason? What can a review of the past produce, but dread of the future? Have not these depredations increased year after year, since 1721? How many fleets have been sent out in that time? What were they to do for us? To persuade the Spaniards. To what did they persuade them? To make conventions and treaties. What have we got by those treaties? New, and greater insults and wrongs. This was enough to induce us to suspect even last year, that with all our appearances of vigour, we should do nothing effectual; but those suspicions were born down by the strong assurances given, that we should not meet here again and find nothing done. What has been done, Sir? what is the fruit of our armament? A temporary expedient, a poor, unsafe procrastination, a shameful barter of our future security, for the name of restitution, which, indeed, we make to ourselves.—I won't tire you with repeating what has been so fully made out; but when I compare this nominal, this ridiculous satisfaction, with the serious risk we run of losing our most valuable rights, I dare be bold to say, no other nation under heaven ever flaked their honour and interest against such counters as these.

And are we to go on still hoping, trusting still in spite of experience? Are our resentments perpetually to be played with in this manner, shifted off from expedient to expedient, and from session to session? adjourned from one treaty to another, and so on to a third? if you don't like this, you shall the next; and when that comes, if you don't like that neither, you may go to war. Is this the language to be held to a parliament?

But Gentlemen ask, what have you lost by deferring your war? What have we lost? All that we gave to make it last year. We have lost much too of our reputation, much of the esteem of mankind, much of the affection of our people, which is the worst of all losses. But, I beg to leave to say, in answer to a great deal of reasoning which I have heard from many Gentlemen, and heard with great pain, that the question is not, Whether war or peace be more eligible? the question now is about maintaining your rights. If Spain believed us in earnest, if she did not depend upon our timidity, it is scarce conceivable this should cost us a war. But if it did bring on one, it is a war of necessity, and it is a war, in which our neighbours have a common cause with us. What was said of the war against the pirates, it would be bellum omnium gentium. Would France take arms to overturn a general right, which it is as much her interest to support as ours? Would she fight to establish in the crown of Spain, a power destructive to the freedom of commerce, and a supreme dominion in the American seas; or to impose that upon England, which she must refuse for herself? Upon the foot of all treaties this is quite impossible: we must be used as the gens amicissima; if France, or any other nation shall retain this right for themselves, they retain it for us too; it is ours by consequence. Will she break all treaties then to take this away? This would be acting with a spirit of violence, which does not seem to be in her now, and which, whenever it shews itself, must unite all Europe to oppose its effects. Should not we find one friend among so many allies? Have we negotiated all the world into enemies, united them all to our destruction? If by the conduct of our ministers, things are brought to such an extremity, that we are reduced to the necessity of perishing in the just defence of our rights, or of perishing equally by losing them, the choice is easy to make; let us perish like men, and with sword
in our hands. But don’t let us have the weakness to expect our safety from those, who have brought a flourishing nation to such a dreadful alternative.—What is this wretched reprieve that we have begged for eight months? will that do us any good, Sir? will that be worth our acceptance? Do we really flatter ourselves that we now are at peace? Peace is a secure and unenfeoffed enjoyment of our rights. But peace, at the expense of rights, of essential rights; peace exposed to insults, peace exposed to injuries, is the most abject, is the most deplorable, is the most calamitous circumstance of human affairs. It is the worst effect that could be produced from the most unsuccessful, the most ruinous war. No nation should submit to it, while it can hold up its head: but to such a one have we submitted, without striking a stroke, and in a condition to defend ourselves, not against the Spaniards alone, but, if our strength were wisely exerted, against any enemies, whom in such a quarrel we might have to oppose, notwithstanding all the terrors now thrown out to make us believe, that the nation itself is as weak as our enemies may think, the councils that govern it. Yet though the weakness is not in us, we must suffer the flame of it, and all the mischiefs attending upon los of honour to a nation. With what contempt and infolocation are we used by Spain, when, in the same treaty where the stipulates that we shall not have liberty to fortify Charles-Town itself, which is as undoubtedly ours, as London or York, that we must not dare to dig a ditch about it till this discussion is past, she has not granted us a short suspension of hostilities, a temporary observance of treaties in not searching our ships? So that, far from having a peace, we have not got so much as a truce. For sure the worthy member over the way did not believe himself when he argued, that to have asked a cessation of injuries, would have been allowing their claim. If a man were at law with me for my estate, without any title at all, and the case was referred to arbitrator, should I let him cut down my woods, and make what waste he pleased, till the suit was decided, for fear he should interpret the forbidding it, as an admission of his claim? Sure an acquiescence under it would admit it much more.

But, Sir, the worst of all is indignity is his Catholic Majesty’s behavior with regard to the S. S. company is la Quadra’s protest. That he should not design to submit his accounts with ten to a reference, to which we have submitted things of such immense consequence, as the right we have to our dominions, and the security of our trade: that he should value our friendship so little, as not even to grant us this much, unless out of an unliquidated account part he claims be absolutely paid, without any regard to the balance; or, upon a refusal of this, he shall depose the company of their trade: that this should be the only condition of his agreeing to sign this convention; and that we should take it on these terms, is, indeed, astonishing, even to those whose used to consider the repeated insults of Spain, and the habitual manners of England.

Sir, I entirely agree to what has been said by some Gentlemen, that the unconformity of the company to this monstrous demand will not for less what stipulated to be paid to us our merchants, nor directly annul the convention. To be sure it will not. But the penalty annex’d to it, is the depriving the company, during the pleasure of Spain, of the benefits of the Affento trade, and probably too the less of their debt; against right and justice, and the faith of all treaties. Will our government admit of this? will they agree to it at all? If they do, it is evident, this great body of our countrymen are put out of his Majesty’s protection, and left at the mercy of Spain: and it is no less evident, that we buy this convention at the expense of a great national interest and by a breach of national faith, of the honour and justice of parliament, which has sold and confirmed this trade to the company. To say, this is not an article, what will that avail? It is much stronger than an article, as it is the base of the whole. It is much worse than
than an article, as the doing it in this way has an air of tricking and eva
tion, that would shame an attorney. Gen
tlemen may distinguish and refine as much as they please; but on this dirty foundation this convention does stand. If every other part of it were as good, as it is bad and dishonourable, this alone should oblige us to reject it with scorn.

With scorn, Sir, let us reject it; that, so well have suffer'd before, to all the accumulated insults that were ever heaped on a nation, a worse dishonour may not be added, and that dishonour fall upon the parliament. And therefore I heartily give my negative to this question.

The speech made by T. Manlius Torqua
tus was to this effect.

Mr President, Colonel Moreau.

I have upon many occasions observ'd, that by the art of ministers, or by the art of those who would be ministers, a popular cry has been raised, by which the giddy multitude have been, like children, led in a leading-string, and induced to favour or join with those who first raised the clamour, though the end they were driving at, appear'd to be directly contrary to the cry they had raised. In a late reign, a clamour was raised among the people, That the church was in danger. This cry was first begin

The President.

My reason for not speaking upon this question, was not, because I do not think our trade in danger; on the contrary, I think it will be absolutely sacrific'd, if we approve of this convention: but the affair has been so fully, and so well spoke to by other members; the fatal-consequences of our agreeing to give a sanction to this pre

Mr President.

Now I am called upon, Sir, I must observe, that our trade is at present, I think, in the most imminent danger. A just and a well-conducted war can never bring our trade into any danger: but, if we shew that we dare not resent any injury that may be done to our trade; if we allow our merchants to be plunder'd, and our seamen murder'd and tortured with impunity, our trade will not only be in danger, but must be undone. To this I must add, Sir, that, with regard to the treaty now under our confide
tation,
ration, the honour of the nation is as much concerned as its trade; and therefore, it astonishes me to hear the Hon. Gent. that spoke last, or any Gentleman of his character, making light of such a subject: for, if the Gentlemen of our army should make themselves merry with the honour of their country, or should join in sacrificing it, by giving a parliamentary sanction to an infamous treaty of peace, I am sure they would be at least as blameable as those merchants who should make a joke of, or join in sacrificing its navigation and commerce.

Sir William [signature]

I shall conclude this subject with giving you a short speech, that was made by M. Furia Camillus. He had before spoke in the debate, as he always does, with great eloquence and strength of reason; but, after the debate was, in a manner, ended, he rose up and made a short, but emphatic and moving speech, the purport of which was this:

Mr President,

Do not rise up after so long a debate, to give you again my sentiments upon the convention, which we are now, it seems, to approve of; but to express my great concern at what I have seen happen. In all the variety of company I have kept, I have never heard a single person without doors pretend to justify this convention; and when the sentiments of particulars were such, I did not expect, when they were met together in a body, to see a majority vote for it. This must be owing to one of these causes: either Gentlemen were convinced by the arguments made use of in this house, for justifying this convention, or there are other methods of convincing besides reason. I am not at liberty to suppose it the latter, therefore I must suppose it the former. But this, Sir, is to me a very melancholy consideration; for tho' I have attended with the utmost regard to all that has been said upon this convention, I have not heard a single argument in its favour, that has had the least weight with me. This, I say, Sir, is a very melancholy consideration to me, since it makes me conclude, that I have not common sense, because I find I cannot be convinced by the strength of common reason; and therefore I think myself very unfit to do my duty in this house. While I sit here, I am resolved never to be directed by any thing but reason; and, as I must now conclude, that I do not understand reason when I hear it, I must think myself incapable of doing my duty in this house: therefore I am resolved to retire to the country, and there perform my duty as far as I am able, by acting in conformity to the laws, and in obedience to the government.

However, I must beg Gentlemen to consider the consequences of the vote they are now going to give. This address is intended to convince mankind, that the treaty now under our consideration, is a reasonable and an honourable treaty for this nation; but, if a majority of 28, in such a full house, should fail of that success, if the people should not implicitly resign their reason to a vote of this house, what will be the consequence? Will not the parliament lose its authority? will it not be thought that, even in parliament, we are governed by a faction? And what the consequences of this may be, I leave to those Gentlemen to consider, who are now to give their vote for this address. For my own part, I will trouble you no more; but, with these my last words, I humbly pray to Almighty God, who has so often wonderfully protected these kingdoms, that he will graciously continue his protection over them, by preferring us from that impending danger which threatens the nation from without, and likewise from that impending danger which threatens our constitution from within.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both houses of parliament, on Thursday the 15th of November, 1739.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The present posture of our affairs has obliged me to call you together, at this time, sooner than has been usual of late years, that I may give the immediate advice and assistance of my parliament at this
The King's Speech to the Parliament.

bis critical and important juncture. I assure you, in all my proceedings with the court of Spain, acted agreeably to the sense of this house of parliament, and therefore I can make no doubt, but I shall meet with ready and vigorous support in this just and necessary war, which the repeated injuries, and violences committed by that nation upon the navigation and commerce of these kingdoms, and their obstinacy, and notorious violation of the most solemn engagements, have rendered unavoidable.

I have augmented my forces by sea and land, purporting to the power given me by parliament, which I have done with all moderation, that the security and defence of my dominions, the protection of our trade, and the necessary means of discharging and annoying our enemies in the most easy parts, would admit: But as these services will be various and extensive, they must inevitably be attended with great expenses, and some inconveniences; which, I assure myself, will be sustained with satisfaction and cheerfulness, in pursuing such measures, as the honour and interest of my crown and kingdom, and the general resentment of an injured and provoked nation, have called upon me to undertake.

Gentlemen of the house of Commons.

I have ordered the proper officers to lay before you estimates for the service of the ensuing year, and likewise accounts of the extraordinary expenses that have been made this year, in pursuance of the power given me by parliament. And as in the prosecution of this war, a number of soldiers, to serve on board the fleet, may be requisite; I have judg'd it proper, that a body of marines should be raised, and have directed the estimates for this purpose to be likewise prepared, and laid before you: And I cannot doubt, from your known affection to my person and government, and your zeal for the safety, prosperity, and glory of these kingdoms, but you will grant me such effectual supplies, and with such dispatch, as may forward, and give spirit to our preparations, and enable me to carry on the war with vigour.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The late and animosities, which, with the greatest industry, have been fomented throughout the kingdom, have, I am afraid, been one of the chief encouragements to the court of Spain, to hold such a conduct towards us, as to make it necessary to have recourse to arms; and the unhappy divisions amongst my subjects, are the only hope of the enemies to my government. But whatever views and projects they may form upon this rupture, and what advantages power Spain may mainly premise itself from any circumstances in the present situation of affairs; it is in your power, by the blessing of God, to defeat the one, and disappoint the other. Union among all sorts, who have nothing at heart but the true interest of G. Britain, and a becoming zeal in the defence of my kingdom, and in the support of the common cause of our country, with as general a concurrence in carrying on the war, as there has appeared for engaging in it, will make the court of Spain repent the wrongs they have done us; and convince those, who mean the subversion of the present establishment, that this nation is determined, and able, both to vindicate their injured honour, and to defend themselves against all our open and secret enemies, both at home and abroad.


Most Gracious Sovereign,

W E your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our sincere and humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

The great regard which your Majesty hath expressed for the sense of both houses of parliament, in your proceedings with the court of Spain, is a continuance of that royal goodness, and concern for the true interests of your people, which we have so often experienced; and your Majesty's desire to have the advice and assistance of your parliament, as early as possible, in this important conjuncture, is a fresh proof of your real confidence in your faithful subjects.

The justice and necessity of the war, which your Majesty has been pleased to declare against Spain, must be as demonstrable
The ADDRESS of the House of PEERS.

Faire to all the world, as the violent and intolerable methods practised by that nation, to interrupt and divert the navigation and commerce of those kingdoms, are notorious: and it is the highest aggravation of this offensive and inexorable conduct, that it has been obstinately pursued, in breach of the most solemn engagements, and in defiance of the highest obligations of friendship and good offices. But since G. Britain has been thus unavoidably called forth to arms, we esteem it our peculiar felicity, that we have a Prince upon the throne who, with paternal tenderness, joins in the just resentment of an injured nation; and whose magnanimity and steadiness are equal to the glorious cause in which he is engaged.

On this occasion, the unfeigned tender of our lives and fortunes is no more than is due to your Majesty, and our country; and we do from the bottom of our hearts give your Majesty the strongest assurances, that we will zealously co-operate in all such measures, as may forward your preparations, and enable you to carry on the war with that spirit and vigour, which truly become the British name.

Your Majesty’s goodness in acquainting us from the throne, that you have augmented your forces by sea and land, pursuant to the power given you by parliament, with all the moderation that was consistent with those defensible ends, which you, in your royal wisdom, have pointed out to us, is an influence of your Majesty’s gracious disposition to avoid bringing any unnecessary burdens upon your people: and the assurance given us, that a state of war will not be attended with great expenses and some inconveniences; yet when it is undertaken, not to gratify the views of selfish ambition, but to assert and maintain the honour and just rights of your Majesty’s crown and kingdoms, we doubt not, but those powerful motives will induce all your subjects to undertake with cheerfulness, whatever is necessary in the prosecution of it.

It gives us an insupportable concern, that there should be any occasion for your Majesty to repeat your gracious admonitions against those barks and animosities, which have been fomented throughout the kingdom. As we cannot but most sincerely 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 we trust in God, that any hopes or views formed by our enemies upon such circumstances, will be found utterly vain and groundless; since all your 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 your sacred person and government, and of the Protestant succession in your royal house.

In this common cause, interest, as well as duty, will make us unite; and we do, with the greatest zeal and firmness, assure your Majesty, that we are determined, at the hazard of all that is dear to us, to support it against all your enemies, both at home and abroad; impiouring the divine providence to give success to your arms, and make them the happy means of procuring a just and honourable peace.

His Majesty’s most gracious Answer.

My Lords,

I thank you for this address, so full of duty and affection to me, and of reasonable assurances of your vigorous support. The satisfaction you express in the measures I have taken, is very agreeable to me; and you may depend on my endeavours to carry on the war in such a manner as may best answer the necessary ends proposed by it, and the just expectations of my people.

To the author of the Scots Magazine.

SIR,

Dalkeith, Oct. 16.

The epigram on the calm sea, [p. 421.] occasioned the under.

Epigram on a Storm, adapted to the present times.

A S angry rage the fairest face deform,
Excites our play as it does our fears.
So on the raging main B——e’s fleet
Make Spain to tremble, and her foes to quiver.
But next revolving wave, was void of care,
The fleet’s a scarecrow, and well pleased
the fair.

SCOTICUS.
N E W S AND INTELLIGENCE.

The Scots Magazine, November, 1739.

To be continued every Month. Price Sixpence each.

CONTAINING,

Weekly Essays. The uncertainty of History; Model for a new Parliament-house; The general desire for a Place-bill; In what cases a defection from Parliament may be justified; The Royal Favour engrossed by one man; Danger of Placemen in parliament; An answer to the two last; Mr Stonecastle's answer to philomusas, upon his asking advice, whether he should commence author?

Letters to the Author. A proposal for making the payment of accounts annual; A young Lady's soliloquy upon the prospect of her approaching death; An answer to the discourse on Predestination, &c.

Poetical Essays. Winter; A trip to Vaux-hall; On Lyra; A touch of the times, &c.

The Commons Address.

A cure for the bite of a mad dog.

Mr Chapman's calculation of the two ensuing eclipses.

Domestic History. Deaths, preferments, &c.

Foreign History. Articles of the intended league between the Porte and some Polish Lords; Violent proceedings of Cardinal Alberoni at San Marino, &c.

Register of Books.

DINBURGH: Printed by W. Sands, A. Brymer, A. Murray and J. Cochrane. Sold by the Booksellers in Town and Country, and at the Printing-house in Burnet's Close. MDCCXXXIX.

Whom may be had the Magazine for the preceding months, and the Appendix for October.
CONTENTS.

Uncertainty of history

Answer to Philemonas, upon his asking advice, whether he should commence author?

Model for a new parliament-house

The general desire for a place-bill

Information to the members for Sarum

to the member for Dundee, &c. ib.

In what cases an absence from parliament may be justified

Answer to an essay on predestination

A folio book on the approach of death

Odes translated from Anacreon

Epistle on an old woman who kept a potter's shop

Winter, an epistle

To melancholy

A trip to Vaux-ball

Epigram on Lyra

A touch of the times

Bath-waters

Cure for the bite of a mad dog

The Commons address

His Majesty's answer

A calculation of the two ensuing weeks

A letter on personal payments

The royal favour engraved by our men

Danger of placemen in parliament

The doctrines of the Craftsmen and Common sense considered

Substance of the address of both houses

His Majesty's answer

British ships taken by the Spaniards

Stocks, marriages, births, deaths

Preferment

Mortality-bill

Articles of the intended league between the Pope and some Polish Lords

C. Alberoni's proceedings at St. Maria

Register of books

JUST PUBLISH'D,

The first and second Volumes, in October, of

THE ROMAN HISTORY, from the Foundation of Rome, to the Battle of Actium; that is, to the End of the Commonwealth. By Mr. Rollin, late Principal of the University of Paris, Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Fellow of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres. Translated from the French.

Printed for John and Paul Knapton at the Crown in Ludgate Street, London, and to be sold by W. Monro and W. Drummond, at their Shop in the Parliament-clofe, Edinburgh. Where may be had, the other Pieces of the same Author.

JUST PUBLISH'D,

An Historical and Genealogical Account of the ROYAL FAMILY of SCOTLAND, from K. Kenneth II. who conquer'd the Picts; and of the Surname of STEWART, from the first Founder of that Name. Containing all the Families of that Name that are now extant, and the most considerable of those that are extinct. To which is prefixed, a Genealogical and Chronological TREE of the Royal Family, and the Name of Stewart; that the Reader may, at one view, have a general prospect of the Rise and Original of each Family. The Book gives an Account of the Lives of the Kings of Scotland from that Time, and a genealogical Account of each particular branch of it, according to the Time in which they were propagated from the original Stem, or from one another. By DUNCAN STEWART, M. A. Sold by A. Brymer, and other Booksellers in Edinburgh, and A. Stalker and J. Bar. Bookfellers in Glasgow. Pr. 6s. N. B. Subscribers are desired to call for the Copies at the said A. Brymer's Shop in the Parliament-clofe.

Gentlemen in town may have the Magazines sent to their lodgings, or in the country, to their carriers quarters, as soon as they are publish'd.
Uncertainty of History.

Have been just reading a little book, written in French, and intitled, Description sur l'incertitude des cinq premiers siecles de l'Histoire Romaine, which hath furnished me with some materials for this day's paper.

The design of this treatise is to shew, according to its title, that we cannot depend upon the truth of the Roman history, for the first five centuries; and I think he hath done it pretty well, in the following manner.

After having made some remarks upon the obscurity of the origin and first ages of all nations in general, he proceeds to subject the Roman history in particular, which he thinks defective chiefly upon two accounts.

First he quotes the authority of Cicero, who says, that the history of Rome, during that time, consisted of nothing but collection of annals; for which reason, in order to preserve the memory of all publick occurrences, it was the business of the Pontifex Maximus to record the events of every year. This custom was observed from the foundation of Rome to the pontificate of P. Mucius. They were written upon a white board, and publicly hung up at the Pontiff's door, for the information and judgment of the people; which were called the Pontificial or Grand Annals. But my author is of opinion, and gives his reasons for it, that these memoirs were consumed in the general conflagration of Rome, by the Gauls, and afterwards very imperfectly continued. — Upon this I must beg leave to make a few observations.

The first ages of our own history are equally dark, with those of the Romans, and consist chiefly of monkish annals, written in Popish times, which are manifestly partial to their own religion and orders; I would humbly propose, that for the sake of future ages, our present Most Reverend Pontiff, and his successors for ever, should be desired and authorised by parliament to take a strict account, from year to year, of all publick transactions, and exhibit them to the open view of the people at his palace-gates. If such a custom had prevailed from the beginning of our government, and the Pontifical Annals had been religiously preserved in some secure place, what an eclaircissement would it have given to our history? We should not then have had so many fructless and endless disputes about the original form and constitution of our government. But since what is past cannot be remedied, we ought to take the best care in our power for the future. Let us suppose, for instance, that all our late treaties, and particularly the late ever-memorable Convention had been stuck up at Lambeth, before they were signed and ratified, for the inspection and judgment of the people; would it not have been of some use to the publick, at present, as well as for the information of future ages? though I think it impossible that any conflagration, or other injuries of time, will be ever able to erase them from the knowledge of posterity.

The second reason of the same author for the uncertainty of the Roman history, when the Pontifical Annals were destroyed, or lost, is, that family memoirs were substituted in their stead, upon which there is much less dependence than on the other; for as vanity tempted every man to record all the great and glorious acts...
ections of his family, so it is equally natural to suppose that their bad actions were either totally concealed, or palliated. —Thus, if a certain Honourable Gentleman, who hath long valued himself upon a descent of fourteen generations, should ever think fit to compile any annals of his family, I make a great doubt whether he will not slip over his relation, the Jesuit, who was engaged in a plot to poison Q. Elizabeth and the Earl of Essex; but the old Knight of Bath, from whom he descended, and the wise negotiations of his brother abroad, as well as his own righteous management at home, would certainly be transmitted to posterity in the strongest and most impartial light.

There is likewise great reason, and even authority, to believe that many an upstart, or creature of fortune, whose name happened to resemble that of any ancient Roman, distinguished in history for his valour, wisdom, or justice, derived his pedigree from the same family, tho' he had not a drop of their blood in his veins, and perhaps had his name given him only for a jest, or to gratify the pride of an obscure parent; just as we give the name of Pompey and Caesar to poor negroes, and even to dogs. This puts me in mind of an itinerant painter, named Full, who told me that it was only a contradiction of Julius, and that he had a very good family-account that his ancestor was a by-blow of Julius Caesar, when he landed in Kent.

Livy [lib. 8. cap. 40.] gives us his opinion, that nothing hath contributed to corrupt the Roman history so much as funeral orations, and the flattering inscriptions upon images; every family endeavouring fallaciouly to wrest the glory of all great men to themselves. Hence, says he, it comes to pass, that not only the behaviour of particular persons, but even the publick records, are confounded and perplexed, nor have we any writer of those times left, upon whose authority we can safely depend.

It is not only Livy, who makes this complaint; for Cicero [in Brut. c. 16.] does the same in much fuller and stronger terms. Thee funeral orations, says he, have contributed a good deal to falsification of our history: for many things written in those were never transacted; fictitious confusions, and fictitious actions, by which persons of mean birth have sprung from some of families, only because they have bear the same, or a similar name, as if I, says Cicero, should derive my pedigree from that Marcus Tullius Trician, who was Constantius, the expulsion of Kings; or, if I presume to compare myself to a man as Cicero, just as if I vain enough to deduce my original direct line from Roland de Ave, who came over hither with William the conqueror. —But to return.

What a blessing is it to this and the present age, that we have a funeral orator, who hath so good a regard for his own character, and dit of his holy function, that he to play the hypocrite, or be degraded by the world, which is so unjustly due to his merits. But if the public should ever prevail upon him, or on the British Pontiffic, in spite of his own natural disposition, we expect to see him vie with his predecessors, without any fear of coming to the judgment of the public; his annals would be certainly drawn not only with the greatest judgment and accuracy, but likewise with the regard to truth, and without either cour or flattery. Happy and glorious will those persons be, whose rascals shall become the subjects of panegyric, which is, of itself, a sufficient authority, and will confecrate the memories to all future generations! Woe be to those, (whether Papists, Protestants, Whigs or Tories, Clerks or Laymen, of the Court or the Country) whose conduct and actions do not stand the test of the nicest examination! For, if they should be
Is it not therefore reasonable that we, who value ourselves so much upon being the freest nation that ever existed upon the face of the earth, should have the same liberty of examining the conduct of our superiors, and of cenfuring them too, when they deserve it? Indeed, the liberty of the press, which we enjoy at present in some degree, (and I hope no unhallowed hand will ever presume to abridge it any farther) hath partly answer'd the same ends. But I should be glad to see such a popular judicature erected by authority, for the more solemn and exemplary punishment of evil-doers, and the praise of those who do well.

If Lambeth should be thought too private a place for such a glorious institution, I would humbly propose that tables of all publick transactions may be hung up at Westminster-hall gate, Temple-bar, and the Royal Exchange; which would, no doubt, tend very much to the satisfaction of the people, and prove of signal advantage to the nation.

Universal Spectator, Nov. 17.

S I R,

Oxford, Nov. 2.

It is from a sincere belief that your writings are calculated for general instruction, that I am induced to become your correspondent, and desire your advice in an affair which I think of some concern to me. However trifling my case may at first seem to a great part of your readers, it is worthy some consideration: therefore I frankly desire you would publish it with your impartial sentiments on the request I make; for I am thoroughly satisfy'd it is the case of more young Gentlemen than myself.

From the date of the letter you see it comes from the seat of the Muses; you cannot therefore wonder if poetry is the subject of it. In short, Mr. Stonecastle, I am a young fellow of a good estate, who am said to have a just knowledge of the classic authors, and not an indifferent taste for all kinds of poetry. With such a reputation you may easily imagine that I have produced some poetical performances of my own. I confess I have; and they have receiv'd un-
common approbation from my acquaintance. Encouraged by their applause, I have pursued these amazing studies, till I have induced myself to think their commendations are not the genteel effects of mere complaisance: I begin to flatter myself there must be something of genius in my compositions; and from this furnishe I have entertained an ambition to commence author, and submit them to the censure of the publick.

But, Mr Stonecastle, before I had advanced beyond the power of retreating, I thought it necessary to make my appeal to you; and I desire therefore your most impartial advice, whether with reason you could allow me to indulge this poetical ambition, or whether you think it absolutely necessary to give up all thoughts about it? That you may form a judgment of my genius, I have here sent you some lines, which I think at least equal to any I have wrote. The verses and subject are as follow.

To CHLOE, on her looking at me.

When late on me your eyes did gaze,
There darted from those orbs such rays,
Which, like fierce lightning, to my heart
Did death without a wound impart.
Oh! who could such a wound endure?

Which only your yourself could cure:
And you, alas! too proudly ro\yr,
Have triumph when you can destroy.

Hence, cruel Chloe, will I mean
On my sad monumental stone,
That my hapless death was given
By the adverse stroke of heaven:
Hence, for all other mortals care,
That they may such a fate beware,
I'll bid them such a death to fly,
To ban both powers of Chloe's eye.

You have, Sir, nothing now remaining but to pass sentence; from which, whatever it shall be, I will make no appeal, but remain

Your humble servant and reader,

PHILOMUSAS.

As it is the most difficult province to give an impartial opinion in such a case as PHILOMUSAS has stated his to be, I am glad to hear him profess that he does not expect to be flatter'd. He has represented himself at a young Gentleman of a good estate, commended for his taste in polite learning, and with a strong ambition of commencing a public author. This has been the ambition of more men of fortune than PHILOMUSAS, who have receiv'd such commendations from their friends, that have inspired them with resolutions of appearing in print, though they have afterwards repeated the folly. Nothing is more common than for a young Gentleman of a poetical turn to shew some of his little essays to his friends; and nothing less common than for them to behave with sincerity. They are indeed tempted to such conduct from the observations they may have made on mankind; for however some persons may desire an ingenuous plain dealing, they cannot bear it if it is contrary to the opinion they desire to have given; and this by no means only is in no instance more strong than in poetical productions. There is an admirable scene in Molière's Misanthrope, where all the humour of asking advice on writing, and all the just sentiments on such behaviour, are judiciously mix'd together; As the giving it my readers may prove entertaining to them, and at the same time instructive to my correspondent and all those in his situation, I shall here insert such a part of it as I think most necessary.

MOLIERE'S MISANTHROPE. Act 1. Scene 2.

Orestes, a Nobleman; ALCHEFES, a plain-dealer; PHILOMUSAS, a man of complaisance.

Orestes. [to ALCHEFES.] Sir, because I know you to be a person of extraordinary judgment, as a prologue to our intimacy, I come to show you a song that I writ the other day, and take your opinion whether I shall expose it to the publick or not.

Alc. Sir, you must excuse me; I'm the worst qualify'd in the world to determine you.

Or. Why?

Alc. Why, I have the infirmity of being a little more fancifull upon such than I should.

Or. That's
Or. That's just what I would have; and I should be very sorry, if, when I expose myself, in order to have the satisfaction of your judgment without disquiet, you should use me so ill as to betray me, or conceal any thing whatever.

Alc. Why, then, Sir, upon these terms proceed if you please.

Or. Hem—Hope—'Tis a long as I kid—Hem! Hem!—Hope—You must own there is that a Lady that had flat-te'd my passion with some hope.—Hope—They are not indeed your lofty crotchets—They are soft, tender, languishing, and all that.

Alc. —Well, we shall see.

Or. Hope—I don't know whether we'll think the title correct and easy enough, or the choice of the words may please you; but—

Alc. Well, we shall see, Sir.

Or. Besides, I vow and protest they were made in a quarter of an hour.

Alc. Let's hear—the time signifies nothing.

Or. [reads.] 'Hope for a while 'tis true relievces, And hales asleep our pain; But Phyllis finds the joy it gives, When nothing follows in its train.

Phil. Admirable! 'Gad I am charm'd already.

Alc. The devil you are. [Aside.

Or. [again.] If I eternally must wait, My zeal it extremes will try; Nor shall your cares prevent my fate, But I'll for refuge die:
To hope for ever, charming fair, What is't but ever to despair?

Phil. How gallant the turn!

Alc. Curse the doggerel. [Aside.

Phil. I never saw prettier verses in my life.

Or. O, dear Sir, you flatter me.—But pray your opinion, Sir.—You remember the articles.—Be sincere.

Alc. Sir, this is always a nice affair: every body loves to be flatter'd on the subject of wit. But I'll tell you what was once my answer to a certain person that shall be nameless. When he shew'd me some verses of his, I told him, that a fine Gentleman should have a very strict guard over his inclination to be writing; that the temptation of shining as an author was so very powerful, that the greatest resolution was necessary to bridle it; and that the fondness of dweling on their works, makes people sometimes act very ridiculous parts.

Or. Do you mean by this that I am to blame for—

Alc. Pardon me, Sir—I don't say so—But I told him that to write ill—a man had as good be knock'd o' th' head; there needs no other weakness to decry him.

Common Sense No. 148.

Model for a new Parliament-house.

Several Gentlemen, who have had the honour to represent their country in parliament, observing that their house was become very crazy, thought proper to move for an humble address to be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleas'd to give orders for pulling down this old house, before it did any mischief, and for erecting a new one in its place.

If I am not much mistaken, the motion that was made last sessions was the second, if not the third, that hath been made to that purpose; and yet we see no preparations yet making for beginning the work.

The world imputes it to a certain person in power, that orders have not been given according to his Majesty's most gracious answer, (to the strict observance of which, a person in his station ought to pay the most exact regard); and it hath made the world very inquisitive to find out, what it is that hath made him so fond of this old house; for they cannot persuade themselves that his backwardness in complying with this address of the Commons, proceeds from an over frugality of the publick money, that having never been imputed to him as one of his sins.

Some people have a notion, that he is grown superstitious, and that he is posses'd with a strange fancy, that building a new house would be pulling an old house...
house over his own head. If he should resolve to let it stand at all events, we must tell him, that he places his own safety in a circumstance which other people look upon as dangerous: for many are so strongly posseted with an opinion that the house is rotten, that the court of Requests and places adjacent have been of late deserted by persons who formerly were the most inquisitive and anxious about publick affairs, as if they were apprehensive of being buried under its ruins; and, among other reasons for the late secession, I heard one of the Gentlemen of that number declare, that he did not think it safe to sit there longer.

As to those who stood their ground upon that occasion, (however they may counterfeit the brave) to my knowledge some of them are frightned out of their wits about the decay of this old house.

In Oliver Cromwell's time it was observed, that the house was become rotten; and tho' nobody ever called his courage in question, he was very apprehensive of some mischievous consequences from it. It is true, he did not order a new house to be built; but he went himself and turned the members out of the old house, and put a bill upon the door, to let it; but it had such a bad reputation, that no body would venture to take it.

As I make no doubt but this desirable work will be set on foot, as soon as the present sessions of parliament shall be ended, I shall, with humble submission, therefore, to better judgments, take the liberty of offering some instructions, which I think very proper to be given to the architect, that the building may be rendered in all respects, not only beautiful, but safe and commodious for the purpose for which it is designed.

In the first place, I would not have the model taken either from France, Spain, or Italy; which nations, with all their delicate taste, and improvement in architecture, have, in my opinion, quite destroyed the idea of the ancient senate-houses, not leaving so much as the form. It is therefore to be hoped, that the construction of this new house will be entirely in the ancient Gothic style, after one of those excellent plans left us by our Saxon ancestors.

We read that, in ancient times, the temple of Virtue, and the temple of Honour, were built contiguous to each other; and were so contrived, that there was no passage into the temple of Honour without going thro' the temple of Virtue. I should recommend it to the architect to copy this hint, and raise a temple to Virtue at the same time with this new house, and to take particular care that there may be no possibility of getting into the last without passing thro' the first.

I am sensible that a certain person is power, and all his adherents, will stand up as one man against this part of my plan; having already made one of their own, for building it close to the Treasury, that no person may be able to find a way into it; but thro' the Treasury. I hope this scheme will never take place: on the contrary, I should be for having it built at a greater distance from that spot of ground than the old house, for reasons which I need not enumerate, the publick seeming already to be very well apprised of them.

I should be for carrying this matter a little further, and having a particular order given to the architect, that there shall not be so much as a window in this new house with a prospect towards the Treasury; left the members, by looking too earnestly towards that place, may have their attention diverted from the consideration of what was doing in the house.

I would propose, that the seats for the members should be divided into stalls, after the manner of our cathedrals.

That the name of each member be written over his stall, with that of the county, town, or borough for which he serves.

As to the placemen, their stalls may be distinguished by the denominations of their employments, not forgetting their respective salaries; which I would have engraved in letters of brass, to be read by the whole nation; that being a material point.
As I bar all jefts upon so serious a subject, I think fit to premise, that when the employment of any member is read, it shall not be called the place for which he serves.

What I propose by this improvement is, that it may be seen, by the empty stalls, what particular members are absent; also, who attends upon national, and who upon ministerial points.

If any member should affront the house, by afflicting a fallhood, his stall may be black’d.

It hath been complained of as a great fault in the old house, that it hath a back-door into the Exchequer. I would have the architect hanged in the court of Requests, if there should be any such thing in this new house. Back-doors, and by-ways are dangerous things. Corruption may creep in at a very little hole.

Nothing encourages placemen to play the knave so much as back-doors; and a back-door into the Exchequer must be more dangerous than any other back-door; the Exchequer may, by this means, be turned into a kind of mint, and become a sanctuary for knaves and bankrupts.

If (for example) a member, not quite corrupted, should have some scruples about acting against his country, the man in power might naturally tell him, there was no danger, for he could convey him thro’ his back-door, and secure him in the Exchequer; and I have been informed, that the excise projector would never have ventured upon that pernicious scheme, were it not that he had a back-door into the Exchequer, where he made his retreat every night, like a fox to his hole.

If there are any persons that expect to creep into the house by a back-door, they will cry out against this part of my proposal, as an absurdity; but I will appeal to all good critics in architecture, and politicians, whether it is not secundum artes.

I object, likewise, against a whispering-gallery, which I look upon as a scandalous contrivance for a senate-house, and which naturally leads me to give a caution against Solomon’s porch. When this shall be pulled down, I hope no such profane apartment will be made in the new house, where (according to the scandalous chronicle) most corrupt bargains have, in former reigns, been made in the middle of a debate.

When it is finished, it will be highly necessary that a proper officer, with a competent salary, and also a reasonable allowance for a constant supply of new brooms, be appointed to sweep it clean; for want of which in the old house, it hath sometimes proved a harbour for vermin.

Before I have done, I must give a few instructions concerning the Speaker’s chair; which, I think, ought to be placed upon a little eminence, that it may appear to maintain a certain superiority over the other seats; otherwise, if some bulky, put-up member should over-top the Speaker, it may look as if he dictated to the chair; an indecent and shocking sight, which, I think, by a proper figure, may be avoided by turning the house upon its head.

I would have the chair stand upon an exact equilibre, that the Speaker may be able to hear both sides. I should even wish that, in the choice of a Speaker, some regard might be had to his person; for, as a crooked Speaker might bend the chair on one side, I would have none but a straight man elected to that honour: at worst, if he should bend a little out of the chair, he should feel himself quite another thing, and appear an erect man in it.

If any Speaker should hereafter be observed to lean in his seat, the house may, by an order, direct some good artist to contrive a machine to peg him up tight in the chair, like a child in a go-cart, and so keep him straight whether he will or not.

I hope a particular command will be given the architect, not to imitate the work lately done in the courts below, by erecting blinds, which look like skreens. A skreen would be such a detestable thing in an edifice of this kind, that if any thing like it should be seen in this new house, it ought to be pulled down to the ground again the minute it is finished.
I hope the new chair will be strong, plain, and beautiful, without gilding, or any other tawdry decoration, which may make it look like a court piece of furniture.

I would have it made of right English oak, if possible, of true heart of oak; that it may always preserve its strength, and look as fresh as the first day.

I have taken all these pains upon a full persuasion, that this old house, which is become so crazy, that timorous people are afraid of coming near it, will, in a short time, be pulled down, and another more to the taste of the best judges he built in its place.

As to the great man who is so fond of this old house, if he flatters himself, that he shall be able to make it stand for ever, he is very much mistaken; for I have been informed, by very good artists who have surveyed it, that the foundation begins to give way already.

If he pretends to keep it up by rotten props and supporters, it will cost a great deal of money, and won't answer the purpose; on the contrary, it may tumble about his ears: which will have this effect, that all his —— will forake him; for placemen and rats always run away from a falling house.

CRAFTSMAN, No 699.

The General Defoe of the Nation for a Place-bill.

If the Gentlemen mercenaries of the quill have any grains of modesty left, they cannot help blushing at their long-continued abuses of our merchants, and apologies for the Spaniards. His Majesty's declaration of war, and his last speech to his parliament, with the general voice of the people, both within doors and without, are full confutations of them. How will they now justify all their unnatural arguments for the Spaniards searching our ships? His Majesty declares against them; the nation declares against them; and both houses of parliament have declared against them, in their late joint address to the throne, that his Majesty would be pleased not to enter into any treaty with the crown of Spain, unless the latter will abdicate all pretensions to a right of searching our ships on the high seas, as a preliminary and fundamental article. This address was presented to his Majesty by the greatest number of Lords and Commons that was ever known at the like occasion: when his Majesty was again pleased to assure them, that he would exert his utmost care and endeavours for the security of their navigation and commerce.

What foundation therefore is there for so many complaints of our enemies and divisors? I can see no definition at present amongst us, as a Noble Lord lately observ'd, than between the whole nation and a few ordinary men, considerable only for their power, who have long used their utmost endeavours to obstruct the so much desir'd navigation of parts; and pursu'd their own selfish interest by fomenting domestic division and animosities, instead of encouraging the ancient spirit, and employing the strength of the nation against our foreign enemies. As to that part of his Majesty's speech, which was at first thought to carry a reflection against the majority of the nation, we are affir'd by a very great authority, that it was not intended as a reproach, but only a paternal exhortation to unity and concord; that is, to such a coalition as the mercenary scribblers have taken so much infamous pains to ridicule and explode.

What hath already contributed very much to this desirable end, is his Majesty's late vigorous measures against Spain; and nothing else seems to be wanting to compleat it, than a steady prosecution of so just a war, till we have obtained ample reparation for the losses of our merchants, as well as security for our commerce abroad; and an act to preserve our liberties at home, by reducing and limiting the number of placemen, for the future, in the house of Commons.

I say, nothing else seems to be wanting to reconcile all hearts, and unite all hands in the common cause, than a vigorous prosecution of the war, (however general it may become) and the passing a place-bill; which I look up-
to be equally necessary and inseparable; for, whatever the ministerial suff may allude, a war cannot possibly be carried on with so much effect, both for the honour of the crown, and the interest of the nation, as by such a bill. This would ease the civil-list of many inmoderate sums, which might be applied to much better purposes; and put in the power of his Majesty to extenuify the natural and truly royal beneficence of his heart. This would effectually cure all jealousies and suspicions, which may have been entertain'd by an undue influence; and quiet the minds of the people, upon that account. Finally, this would give a double terror to our enemies abroad, by finding that we are united at home.

I say, therefore, (and I say it with great and sincere pleasure) that the voice of the King, the voice of the parliament, and the voice of the people, are for once happily united; and nothing can be a better omen of success to our arms.

That the voice of the King and the voice of parliament are united, is evident from his Majesty's speech at the beginning of the session, and the joint addresses of both houses, with his Majesty's answers before mentioned. That the voice of the people co-operates with them, is evident, not only from their universal disposition, but from the particular applications and instructions of their respective constituents.

The city of London began this laudable work, which hath been followed by several great trading towns and corporations, in both parts of the united kingdom, which are in any degree independent; and I can make no doubt that most of the counties would do the same, if there was a proper opportunity; not excepting even the county of Norfolk itself: though we cannot expect the same public spirited zeal from the ruling magnates of Norwich, Lynn, or Yarmouth, however the majority of inhabitants may be privately disposed. Even his Majesty's declaration of war against Spain was proclaimed, in one of these towns, with visible marks of contempt, and not without menaces to those who expressed their loyalty upon that occasion. Let us therefore turn our observations to the conduct of some other places, which are more independent, and may perhaps be represented, for that very reason, of less consequence.

The instructions of the citizens of Aberdeen in Scotland, to the Honourable John Mente, Esq; their Representative in parliament, are almost a transcript from the London instructions; and therefore I shall not trouble the reader with any extracts from them, or observations upon them.

Those from the county of Haddington to the Honourable John Cockburn, Esq; their Representative, go further, and not only instruct him to make a place-bill a previous step to giving his consent to any money-bill whatsoever, but likewise to oppose all votes or bills of credit and confidence, unless in case of sudden and unforeseen accidents, and the most cogent necessity; and even then to take care that such votes, or bills, be limited to a certain sum, being apprehensive, as they observe, that the frequent use of them have a most dangerous tendency to undermine the very being and constitution of parliament, and to subvert our liberties and properties, by transferring from parliament the power of raising men and money to the crown, or rather to the minister, having the greatest confidence in the good intentions of his Majesty, and his affection to his people. They likewise observe, that the long duration of parliaments is one great mean to withdraw representations from the duty they owe to their constituents and the nation; and therefore insist, that he would give his assistance to promote any bill, that may be brought into parliament, for bringing parliaments to their true and ancient constitution, which they are of opinion, would prove an happy and a just expedient to obtain a fair, true, and uncorrupted representation of the people in parliament, whereby the spirit and dignity thereof would be restored, and the ancient reputation and credit thereof would be vindicated and re-established.

The instructions from the shire of Lanark, and the shire of Edinburgh, are much
much to the same purpose; and therefore I shall conclude this paper with another instance, from the Mayor and corporation of New Sarum, to Peter Batbust and Henry Hear, Esqrs., their Representatives in parliament, upon the same occasion.

The Mayor and commonalty of the city of New Sarum, in common council assembled, conceived they have an undoubted right to offer their sentiments to their members on all important occasions, wherein the liberty, safety, honour and prosperity of the kingdom are concerned, in which their own is included.

Nothing can more fatally and almost necessarily tend to deprive us of these valuable blessings, than a false and undue representation of the people through bribery and corruption.

If the electors who receive, and the dealers who give bribes to procure a seat in parliament, did, by such infamous practices, bring ruin on themselves only; they would, like other miscreants, justly suffer for the crimes they have committed; but since they cannot perish alone, but must involve the innocent in the sufferings of the guilty, false neutrality is become a branch of trade in the British nation, (a trade that will soon make us bankrupts and beggars) we cannot but think it calls aloud upon the wisdom of the British parliament to put a stop to a mischief big with such amazing and devastating consequences.

The great cause of this evil they take to be the number of placemen sitting in the house of Commons, whereby the freedom of debating and voting is interrupted, and the fundamental scheme, and essential part of a British parliament is turned into mere farce; not considering that the very derivation of the word Parliament is taken from speaking the mind, which de
ers the attention of every honest true-hearted Briton.

They do therefore earnestly recommend it to you, that as you laudably opposed the late pernicious excise scheme, and Spanish convention, so you would, to the utmost, exert yourselves, in getting an act passed more effectually to put a stop to bribery and corruption, and for the limitation of the number of placemen in the house of Commons, and for securing the freedom of parliament.

Be pleased, Gentlemen, to look into the Succession act, (to which we owe the happy establishment under our present gracious sovereign and his royal house) and you will find placemen and pensioners excluded from sitting in the house of Commons. That wise and august body of men, rightly judged that a person, delegated by the people, who comes free and unprejudiced into such an assembly, is more likely to discharge his trust faithfully and uprightly, than he that comes with his eyes blinded, his judgment darkened by self-interest, and grapples at unjust profit arising from the sale of his country, for which himself or all at last receive the reward of infamy. Certainly that parliament could not be suspected of favouring the Pretender; and therefore, to charge any one with disaffection for buying the same views, must be quite calamity and fallacy.

By answering their defences, you will defend the thanks of the present age, and transmit your names with honour to posterity.

The following Instructions were, on the 22d of November, sign'd in the Dean of Guild Court of Dundee, at a full meeting, and were likewise sign'd by most of the Gentlemen and Tradesmen in Dundee, and tranmitted to John Drummond, Esq; their Representative in Parliament.

We the Dean of Guild, Merchants, Incorporations, and other inhabitants of the town of Dundee, being thoroughly sensible of the many fatal consequences arising from the too great number of placemen and pensioners at present in the house of Commons, which, if not timely provided against, may totally subvert our happy constitution, as it entirely depends upon the freedom and independency of parliament, desire you will, in conjunction with such worthy patriots as shall be willing use your utmost endeavours to prevent a law for limiting their number.

And being, by experience, convinced of the bad effects of long parliaments, further recommend that you join these patriots in--
We think it should be discharged according to the first design of its institution; that is to say, for the good of the electors. We have too much reason to know, that they understand it ought to be discharged for the private profit of the elected.

We think that the private interest of the trustee must neither direct nor influence his opinion: They conceive it to be a trade by which a man is to make his fortune.

They have confined the whole of this duty to one point; that is, to a strict attendance: A member is not accountable for any thing he does in attending; however, he is indispensible obliged to attend. These doctrines have our mercenaries preached to us of late, at different times. I hope the practice does not agree with the doctrine.

As these Gentlemen seldom trouble the world with any maxim that hath the appearance of truth, when they happen to start any thing which carries that face, it would be pity to deny it; and therefore we shall allow, that it is the duty of members of parliament to attend. It is the language of our laws, and must be the sense of our constitution: for it was presumed they could neither defend the liberties, nor promote the interests of those who chose them, without attending. — The rule is certainly right in general; but, like other general rules, it is liable to exceptions.

At some times a perverse and malignant spirit may govern and influence the majority of an assembly to such a degree, that those who are well disposed can neither defend the liberties, nor serve the interests, of those that chose them: as they are obliged to act for the people’s good, it may be their duty to forbear their attendance.

Suppose a minister of state should determine to make himself master of the nation’s purse, in order to divide it amongst his tools, he must certainly corrupt the representatives of the people to betray their trust. Suppose a majority of them should conspire with the minister to secure him in that power which he may be employing to the destructi-
on of his country: When the few that have preserved their integrity find that all the nation's interests are sacrificed to that of the minister; when there is but this one question ask'd, which determines all points, viz. Will this give more ease, or more power, to the minister? when all opposition against the most ruinous measures are vain and hopeless: must they continue, by their presence, to give a sanction to bad measures, and add force and authority to oppression?

Were I chosen guardian to an orphan, in conjunction with others, and saw them betraying and robbing the helpless ward, is it reasonable that I should continue to act with them? No; certainly they should do their dirty work by themselves: after representing the impossibility of my being of any use, I would, for the sake of my own character, quit such scandalous company; and, if they clamoured against me for not attending according to my trust, the world should know, that their noise proceeded from this base motive, that they wanted my presence to countenance their rogueries, and I should not at all doubt of being acquitted.

I think it is incumbent upon honest men in this situation to repair to their principals, and say, "Gentlemen, you may think perhaps our withdrawing a kind of dereliction of the trust repose in us; you may fancy that we are able to serve you; but we should think it criminal in us not to undeceive you, and we could take no other method so proper to let you know the danger you are in: there is no possibility of our doing any thing for your interest; and therefore you must take what legal methods you can think of to save yourselves."

Those who were left behind would have no reason to be displeased. If they meant well, they would have the whole field to themselves; they would have an opportunity of signaliing their love to their country, by taking care of its interest, and must have the whole honour: but if it was plain that they were destroying the country, what man in his senses would stay to take part with them in the infamy that must attend such proceedings?

If it be ask'd, how shall we know whether a parliament hath given up its independency, or not? must such a thing be taken for granted, for no other reason but because a few peevish and disappointed men give it out to be so? I will agree, that it ought not.

There are some matters, however, which cannot be brought before a court of judicature, and can be decided no other way than by the universal opinion and voice of mankind. This is one of those points that must be judged by what the people see, and what they feel: and, I think, there is no one thing in the nature of government, in which the world are so little liable to be deceived, as, whether the trustees of the people really defend their liberties, and promote their interests, or are degenerated into a mercenary faction acting for hire.

When they are fearing of the people's money, strict enquirers concerning the just application of what is granted; when the people are not oppress'd by taxes and penal laws; when the crimes of men in power are severely punished, you may be sure they are right and sound.

But if those that compose the majority shall themselves tell you at what price such and such a man was bought over to act with them; when the most destructive measures pass not only with impunity, but meet with thanks, praise, and honour; when they shall own, in all conversations, that the nation is undone; but, however, that they are obliged to protect its undoer; that they are bound to one another, and cannot leave their friends (by friends they mean the bank-notes which they receive as the wages of their prostitution, for no other friends can bind them:) when all this appears to the whole world, it can no longer be a matter of question, whether a parliament hath given up its independency or not.

Another violent symptom is, when people begin to expostulate with them concerning the wickedness of their conduct, they shall answer, that you have no right to enquire into the reason or justice of their proceedings; that the people are obliged to submit to every thing
thing enacted by a majority, tho' there should be no other reason to justify it: when this is not only their discourse in conversation, but the argument or cant of the whole faction in their pamphlets and writings, you may be sure you are told.

If such a scene should ever appear in any country, sure it would be the duty of every man who preserved himself untainted with the common infection, to shun that place, where justice and the publick interest scarce ever enter'd into consideration. What would avail a hopeless and ineffectual opposition against a determined majority, but to magnify the victory which bribery and corruption must gain over honour and publick spirit? The opposers must make the same figure in such an assembly, that the unhappy captives made that were led in chains behind the chariot of a Roman General, who only serv'd for the ornaments of his triumph.

Oliver Cromwell, upon advice that the long parliament, or Rump parliament, were about to continue themselves longer, went to the house, at the head of a party of musqueteers, and turn'd all the members out of the house; telling them, they had fat long enough, it was time they should give way to honest men. This was the most popular act of the whole usurpation; publick rejoicings were made for it all over the kingdom. Upon another occasion, he imprisoned several Gentlemen just before the time of electing a new parliament, to hinder their being chosen. Another time, he commanded 140 persons that he thought he could rely upon, to go and sit in the house of Commons and make laws, and they were called the parliament. When another parliament was chosen, for which several members were returned that he thought would oppose him, he contriv'd a test to the following effect: They were to swear to be true to the Lord Protector, and not to propose any alteration in the form of government then establish'd. He thought that many of them would not take this test, which would leave him a sure majority; and accordingly about a hundred absented themselves from the house.

All these contrivances would not do. Whatever is bent by force will, by degrees, return to its own position, when the force which rendered it crooked is relaxed. These very people opposed him in many things, and the last mentioned parliament took off the very test, in order to invite the absentees to return to their places. However, as such practices had been made upon them, they never were look'd upon by the people as parliament.

Suppose he had gained a majority by bribery, as it is a more base and villanous method than any he took for that purpose, does that render it more legal? Or would they have a better right to be considered as a parliament, than that where a majority was gained by a test, which those who had any conscience could not take?

If he had secured a majority by this base method, it would not only have been an immense load upon the people, who must be taxed to pay the bribes, but it would have destroyed the very essence of the constitution; it would have impoverished the present age, and have intailed misery upon posterity.

There is nothing so sacred in the walls of that house, as to make that just and equitable, which in its own principles is arbitrary and wicked. If Jonathan Wild and his gang had gone and taken possession of the house of Commons, had chosen a Speaker, and with the formalities usual made laws; had he an army to enforce them, it is possible they might be obey'd; but I am of opinion they would be no longer obey'd, than till the people should have strength and courage enough to seize upon Jonathan and the whole gang, and hang them all up.

It is true, no exact parallel can be made betwixt such a gang as this, and a body of men elected by the people; yet, I am afraid, the nation would find very little difference betwixt a gang of thieves that should take possession of the house, and those that should become such after they were there.
As the speeches made at present in the Political Club are not upon any subject that was debated in parliament, we have now an opportunity of presenting our readers with some essays from our correspondents; several of which we were obliged to delay, on account of the length of the Political Debates.

To the author of the discourse on Predestination. [See April Mag. p. 159. & seqq.]

S R.

The complaint in the title of your discourse surprised me a little, when I reflected, that the Predestination, which is still maintained by several Dissenters, and likely to spread among the ignorant of the church of England by means of some lately risen Enthusiasts, must be much the same that's professed in the articles of the church, and subscribed by her clergy. This should be the doctrine of the church, if she have any doctrine; and, can it be, that no body in the church holds it, but these lately risen Enthusiasts, and the ignorant people that hearken to them?

One who views this doctrine in the light wherein you represent it, with the character it gives of the Deity, would need a great deal of charity to make him think well of the English clergy, who have subscribed articles containing a scheme of doctrine entirely irreconcileable with the divine impartiality, with reason, our natural notions of God, and with plain passages of Scripture; a scheme that sets forth God as delighting in showing his power, at the expense of all his other perfections, and as a sovereign tyrant, — practicing the greatest mockery and delusion to his creatures, as well as injustice. It is hard to believe, that men of integrity or common honesty would, upon any consideration, subscribe such a horrible scheme, or submit to it, even as a condition of ecclesiastic peace. Certainly these subscribers, many of them, wise and good men, must have seen this doctrine in a more favourable light, and looked on it as far more tolerable than you would have it appear; or I cannot say what should be thought of them.

Nor will the learned clergy of Eng-

land altogether approve of your high assurance, in determining a question in point of reason, that has exercised the wits of the greatest disputers of the world, ancient and modern, Heathen and Christian. The ancient philosophers, who professed to follow reason in their guide, were divided upon the question about liberty and necessity; and so are those men who would now appear entirely devoted to their natural notions of God, against revelation; and the Christian philosophers, both Papish and Protestant, differ upon it in the same manner. And would you class all the great reasoners on the side of necessity with your late Enthusiasts and igno-

nants? Or are you confident you have done enough to make all their reasonings appear entirely inconsistent with reason and our natural notions of God?

Your great confidence seems founded on a supposition which could not well be made, at this time of day, by a faithful writer on your subject. You seem to suppose, that your arguments, which to give them the more force, you put in the form of questions, cannot be turned back upon yourself by your own scheme, which still includes the Creator and his providence and providence. That does not indeed make necessity, but it certainly supposes and takes it in. If you had but thought of a possibility of retracting your questions, about bringing such persons into being, and their differing to be put into such circumstances before they existed, &c. you would have put them with a little more candour and reserve, and made your inferences touching the divine character in sober and more decent expressions. I might here recommend you to Boyle, not to teach you Scepticism, but a little more modesty, as very becoming upon a subject that has hitherto defied human reason to fathom it.

Allow me, after this friendly admonition, to observe, with the like freedom, your way of searching the Scriptures, to see what revelation has discovered in this matter.

The rules you lay down, as necessary to be observed by them who would not be
A Letter relating to Predestination.

be deceived, are, 1. To consider the occasion, connection, and drift of the place in question, and give it the meaning proper to the writer’s argument. 2. To resolve difficult and doubtful texts by plain and certain ones.

Very good rules! but I’m afraid, the second especially, will be of little use betwixt you and a rigid Predestinationist. For a text that’s plain and certain to him, because he thinks it plain on his side of the question, may be difficult and dark to you, as requiring some art to make the words of it ply to your scheme; and therefore you would explain it by texts, plain and certain to you, for the same reason for which they will be difficult and dark to him: whose eye, you’ll say, is tinged with his rigid Predestinationism; as, he, on the other hand, will not fail to tell you, that your eye is tinged with a vain conceit of your own sufficiency, and with the pride of your knowledge and merit; from which, till you are converted, and made as a little child, you shall never truly know the gospel of the grace of God. However this debate end betwixt you and him, I may venture to say, that few of us look into the Scriptures with untinged eyes; and till they be cleared, rules for seeing will be useless; but then, needless.

Now, let us see how you observe your own rules. You begin with the character of God, which you give, not from that remarkable passage of the Old Testament where he himself gives to Moses, which is pointed to by Paul, Rom. ix. chap. nor from any passage of his New Testament that serves expressly to declare or explain that name of God, but from broken fragments of a parable and of a passage about acceptable alms: and, after a slight touch on the topic of the functions of the divine law, and Jesus’ weeping over Jerusalem that was to be destroyed according to the Old prophecies, you put the character of God as standing in the relation of a God and Father to all of mankind without any difference, upon the unconfounded benefit of the Redeemer; which you prove by these expressions, He died for all, and, God laid on him the iniquity of us all: though you cannot be ignorant how the Predestinationists would shew, from the connection and drift of these and other such texts, that they cannot be taken to mean all of mankind, but of the elect and the church of every nation of the world and of every nation without difference. And if they could perceive any difficulty or doubtfulness in such texts, they would, according to your rule, resolve them by texts that speak plainly and certainly of a distinction made by Christ’s death, according to the divine purpose about it intimated before-hand in the prophecies, and of the redemption of a peculiar people out of every nation, for whom Christ prays, as he does not for the world: and they’ll be sure to tell you, if your eye were not deeply tinged, you could not but see this distinction carried from the third chapter of Genesis throughout the Scripture to the end of the Revelation, and behold a beautiful consistency betwixt the universal expressions and the particular.

But you are positive, “the Apostle to the Romans puts this beyond dispute, where he teaches, that as the gift of God in Christ in some things exceeded the offence of Adam, so in nothing it fell short of it: and therefore, as this brought judgment on all men, so the free gift of life through Christ came upon all men: for, as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive. As therefore, if man had kept his integrity, every one would have had it in his power to please God; so, by the gift of Christ every one must have it too: since the consequences of redemption extended full as wide as those of Adam’s transgression, i.e. to all men.”

This will put the Predestinationists in mind of your complaint against them for supporting their doctrine by broken fragments and texts of the Bible confided by themselves, without regard to their context and true meaning; and they’ll be ready here to turn it against your self. They will allege you give an idea of the consequences of Adam’s transgression, and of redemption, that could not come originally from the Apostle’s words,
words, or the drift of the place. Whatever dispute may be about these consequences, one thing is plain and certain in the text, that death is the consequence of Adam's transgression, and eternal life the consequence of redemption. And the words of 1 Cor. xv. chap. that you join to the words of this text, serve to let us see, that it is life from the dead. But that whole chapter to the Corinthians speaks of no other resurrection but that of the just, and plainly restricts the all, who are to be made alive in Christ as they died in Adam, to them that are Christ's, who, as they have born the image of the earthly man, shall also bear the image of the heavenly. Now, if death be the consequence of Adam's offence, and eternal life from the dead the consequence of redemption; then, by your argument, the resurrection unto eternal life thro' Christ, must come upon all them upon whom death passed thro' Adam. The consequence of the offence was not a mere possibility of dying; but certain and unavoidable death, even on them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression; and if the gift of righteousness by Jesus Christ bring no more but a possibility of attaining life from the dead, this will be one thing very remarkable wherein the gift of Christ falls short of the offence of Adam; and yet the Apostle is declaring how much more efficacious it is to those to whom it extends, in these same words from which you draw your argument. If by one man's offence, or one offence, death reigned by one, much more they which receive abundance of grace, and of the gift of righteousness, shall reign in life by one Jesus Christ. What does he mean by this limitation, they which receive the abundance of grace, and of the gift of righteousness, while he is shewing how far the gift exceeds the offence? He delights to speak universally, in opposition to the Jewish limitation, but he always takes care to debar your univerality, equally opposite to the freedom and abundance of the gift with the Jewish restriction.

Having finisht your Scripture-proofs with a reproach on the divine charac-
A Letter relating to Predestination. 563

will take great stretching to reconcile this to the putting of Paul himself a the post of greatest danger, or to his ways of speaking upon his own case, or even to these words of his to suffering christians, Unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake. 2. You attribute their being justified, to their good behaviour in their suffering state; and take no notice how the Apostle in the context ascribes it to Christ's death, resurrection and intercession. If you mean he same thing with him in this epistle a justification, I dare say your choice of words to express it is vastly different.

You seem to make the perseverance of the justified elect uncertain, and loose his connection betwixt justification and he reward, against an express affirmation in the text, and against the Apostle's usurances in the following words, to the end of the chapter. He makes the victory certain thro' him that loved them, and speaks the certainty of their perseverance in his love in the strongest terms imaginable, and that by way of inference from God's foreknowing them.

However your manner of expression may differ from Paul's, as one of our countrymen saith, he differ'd only in words from his minister, when being ask'd, What is sin? he answer'd, Saving grace; your sense is the same, by the following words, God spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all; which you would have to be all of mankind; without any regard to the whole context, which, too plainly for you, fixes this all to God's elect and the predelinated. And the all things that God gives with his Son, must be those great things of which the Apostle had been speaking, as free and unmerited by us as the gift of his Son.

As to Rom. ix. chap. you first notice, that the apostle sets himself against the boasting of the Jews, by shewing them, that the promise, as far as it was a promise of salvation and eternal life, was only to the seed of Abraham's faith,—whether Jew or Gentile. Then you allow sovereignty, as the prerogative of God, in bestowing temporal privileges, and preferring one people or nation to another. But here you lose sight of your first purpose, touching the promise to the true Israel, as it is a promise of external life. And when you speak of sovereignty with respect to nations and bodies of men, I cannot see how the whole of any one man's existence comes in as a salvo: for I suppose your vessels, the nations, exist only in this present world; and I hope you are not saying that God is the great Sovereign of this world only, and not of the next world.

However, you allow as much sovereignty as any Predestinarian can desire, in the choice (shall I say?) of the typical Israel. But then, far aside from this purpose, you talk of hardening, as the punishment of sin, without the least occasion for it in your text; yea, by this you cut off all occasion for that objection which comes immediately against it, Why dost thou yet find fault? for whom hath he refristed his will? which you bewolv'd to repel by sovereignty; yet still holding by your forefaded distinction, and laying the whole stress of your defence on the sense of the word vessels; which you must have to signify, not single persons, (as Paul, or as those mentioned 2 Tim. ii. 20, 21.) but nations; and you will have honour and dishonour, only to respect outward, i.e. national privileges and advantages in this world. And even here again, your byas carries you from the point of sovereignty, and fways you to prove, by the text in Jeremiah, merit or demerit, as to the disposal of nations with respect to national honour or dishonour.

But, unhappily for you, the very next words of the Apostle determine most plainly and certainly the sense of the word vessels. His words are,—the vessels of mercy, whibch be beth afore prepared unto glory; even us whom he hath called, not of the Jews only, but also of the nations; as he faith also in Osee, &c. Were these vessels nations! And what were their national privileges? Or does not the Apostle look upon these (the small remnant of the Jewish nation, together with them of every other nation who believed on Christ for righteousness)
A Satyriquy on the approach of Death.

nefs) as the seed of Abraham’s faith, unto whom the promise was, as it is a promise of salvation and eternal life? And does he not say, that those were pointed out beforehand in the prophecies as the people of God, whom he would save by the faith of Christ; while the bulk of the Jews were cut off from that salvation, and fell short of the right to eternal life, thro’ their stumbling at Christ, who was before appointed as a stumbling-stone and rock of offence to them?

You would vindicate God, by denying this fact, plainly enough asserted by Paul; who, at the same time, rejects with the greatest indignation the inferences from it that you allow, and justifies God. And by comparing what he says for him, Rom. ix. 20.—23. and xi. 33.—36. with your vindication, it may appear which of you have most studied the glory and honour of the Deity.

I am, &c.

To the author of the Scots Magazine.

SIR,

July 13.

A certain modern author says, that reification to the will of God is the whole of piety. The following is an uncommon instance of it; which if you see fit to publish, I hope it will not only serve as an entertainment to some of your readers, but will also show to what pitch of grandeur the human mind is capable of being raised, and how uncapable the greatest terror are to alarm a mind conscious of having lived agreeably to the dictates of reason.

Some days ago, being employed in some business in the country, and obliged to lodge in a country house, situated on a river’s side, which ran down thro’ two woods, the one on my right hand, and the other on my left, the prospect of the place at a distance gave me great pleasure: so, after I had alighted from my horse, and for some time refrained with my Soff, the clear evening, the fun shining bright, and nature’s face swimming with beauties, conspired to tempt me forth to view the flowery lawn.

I wandered along the river’s side, on a little green that joined itself to the wood on my right hand; where the murmuring sound of the waters inspired me with an awful silence. The brown perch’d on the trees, congratulating each other’s happiness; and, with sad, woeful notes joining in a general choral singing forth the praises of that sweet beauty on whom they depend, and solely holds in being the several parts of the stupendous frame, made me reflect on the kindness of that God, who has placed the various parts of space with concert and with a liberal hand distributes degrees of happiness, to every creature as its imperfect nature is capable to enjoy.—While I was walking along, singing in this manner, I came unexpectedly to the foot of the green; where a little brook fell from the summit of the heaving hills, and, after passing over veral rocks, here ran into the river, whose side I had walk’d. Here I stood to see whence it came; but my professed terminated, at some distance from me, with a rocky cliff on each side of the rivulet; from which, sprang, bushes, cow and affes, and form’d a most regular amphitheatre. I marched up, entertaining myself, in this remarkable solida, with the murmur of the waters falling from one rock to another, composing a variety of agreeably sounding cacophanies: which to my surprise! I was struck with a deep groan, as if from a female heart, which to me seemed to proceed from a number of trees that grew at the side of a high plain, and formed themselves into a little grotto. Here I stood, to hear if perhaps some nymph of the plain had tired to this place, to launt and mellow the woods by her absent lover. I heard the sound resounded; upon which I advanced nearer, till at last I came to the back of a blooming thorn, through which I look’d, and saw a fair young woman, stately and majestic: Her dress was simple, and seem’d somewhat above the vulgar: the features of her face were meagre and wan, as if spoiled by sickness and distress, and (as I afterwards understood) she was thought by her friends and every body else that saw her; as upon the verge of life, and confines of eternity. I stood (being invisible to her) and
A Soliloquy on the approach of Death.

...and saw her arise, with an air that showed the frailty of her body. She came forth from the thicket, to the little plain; and after she walked along for some time, with a cheerfulness in her countenance that did not seem very common to one in her condition, she smiled, stretched forth her hand, and lift up her eyes to heaven, and thus began.

"O my mind, why shouldst thou be licentious with the thoughts of my approaching dissolution? While I am clogged with organs of sense, these do continually hinder me from making those ours to the celestial regions, and having in my views of things, as beings of a nobler order do continually enjoy.—While I am in the world, organs of sense are absolutely necessary, as instruments to produce those effects, on dead and inanimate matter, that my situation here below demands: but rejoice, O my mind! in a little time thou shalt be no more troubled with such a machine; thou shalt be conveyed to a world of spirits, in which thou shalt have no use for a tongue to convey thy thoughts, but shalt speak the language of seraphs. These wrinckled hands shall drop into their parent lust; these legs, that now carry my almost lifeless corse, shall be supplied by a vehicle of light, in which thou shalt ride along with yonder declining sun, and clearly see the effects he produces on every single plant and vegetable.—Can I give me pain, that I am so soon to be cut off the theatre of the world, and that my appearance here below has been so hort? Did not I see yonder herbs, yesterday, opening their buds, and disclosing their blossoms, beautifying the earth, and graceing this solitude? and lo! to day they are cut down, they lie withered and decayed. Let me rather be glad, that I am so soon to be dismissed from a world, in which such a number of false pleasures are continually courting the senses, and up to captivate the best of mortals.—I must bid adieu to my friends and acquaintances, who have sympathised with me in my trouble, and borne almost the half of my distresses: but this shall give me no pain, since I am persuaded, that the existence of a rational being is not terminated by the scanty period of human life: For tho' in a few days my body shall be laid into the bosom of the earth, and become an entertainment for the worms; yet the day shall come, when it shall arise in blooming beauty, and enjoy a noble repast of everlasting love and friendship, with those of my acquaintances who have gone before me, and those who quickly must follow.—Shall the dismal gloom of that dark vale thro' which I am to pass, alarm my mind? No, sure. My conscience informs me, that I have spent a life agreeably to the laws of nature. I have nothing to fear from within; for my tender years are yet unfulfilled by the infatuating pleasures of sense. Tho' my constitution has been weak and tender from the day of my birth, yet I have not repined; being persuaded, that infinite power, directed by infinite wisdom and goodness, must produce what is best upon the whole. Ye rocks! ye woods! I can call you to witness, that, instead of murmuring at my condition in the world, I have frequently retired to your shade, and here have sung, in rapturous song, the praises of your Maker.—In a little time I shall be transported [here stretching forth her band to the sky] by winged seraphs, to yonder celestial abodes; I shall be welcomed, by the musick of the heavenly choir, to those happy abodes, where sorrow and pain are ever banished. There shall I be a companion for virtuous minds, and shall tune a golden harp to sing anthems of praise to the fountain of light, and source of joy. —No more shall I be at a loss to observe the plan of providence: for tho', to my present views of things,

The ways of heaven are dark and intricate, Puzzled in maches, and perplexed in errors; yet in a few days I hope to see them unfolded in beauty and regularity, and that dark face of things, that has so frequently puzzled my narrow capacity, shall be displayed in order and proportion.—Whilst I am here, and see only the outlines of creation, like a fly on a vaulted roof, I am apt to cavil, and take exceptions; but then shall I see worlds with
in worlds, teeming with new beauties, and every one of them enjoying the greatest happiness; I shall clearly see the gradation of beings, the dependence that one creature has upon another; and, having a view of the whole scheme, shall see objects truly worthy the contemplation of a reasonable being. Then shall I be capable to trace the orbits of the planets: then shall I know, what unseen force controls their rapid motions, and keeps them in their courses; I shall know the habits and dispositions of the inhabitants of those stars, that shine with a tapering light, when the sun dips his winged steads in the western ocean.—

Why then shall my nature recoil at the thoughts of immortality? The blow in a moment shall be struck, and I shall be free from misery and pain. Therefore thanks be to that God, who by his invisible hand has led me thro’ the slippery paths of life. Tho’ I have been guilty of faults, yet the goodness of that being, who knows the secret springs and movements of the human mind, will determine him to make allowances for the frailty and imperfection of human nature. Therefore be glad, O my mind! that in a little time thou art to be removed from a state of probation, from a world, in which thou canst at best but enjoy freedom from pain, and art to lift up thy face amidst innumerable companies of angels and happy spirits, and shalt live for millions of ages, even for eternity, under the tuition of that being, who looks down with a smile on the various orders of beings he has created.—

But now must I leave the lovely theme; for I find the decayed machine of my body demanding nature’s rest. [Hear beckoning with her hand to the woods and circumambient rocks, she said.] Adieu, ye woods! ye rocks that have been my temple, in which I have sung my Maker’s praise: adieu, ye feathered flock, that dwell on the boughs of the trees, who have joined with me in comfort; I shall perhaps, never see you more; but I hope to be admitted into a nobler society. [Here she went away.]

I was struck with the deepest surprize, to see a young female comforting her-

self in this manner upon the prospect of her departure from this world, and behaving with so much resignation in her distress, which every now and then appeared in her countenance. I stood mute till I saw her go out at the end of the lane, imagining with myself, that I had seen a Socrates, or a Cyrus, discourting to their friends, some moments before their death, on the immortality of the soul. I mourned to think that a person, who seemed to have so strong a sense of virtue and goodness, should so soon be called into another world; but I satisfied myself with Hesiod’s advice to Virgil, when he was lamenting Quintilian’s death, lib. 1. ode 24.

Tu frastra pinnis, ben, ne te cruda Pofis Quintilian Deus.

After I came to my lodging, I understood she was a neighbouring Gentleman’s daughter, and that she was remarkable for her piety and goodness, even from her infancy; that she had been always tender, and was now more so than ever, and expected to be dying. The singularity of the case, the heroick spirit she feem’d to be endued with, the perfect resignation that she shew’d to the will of heaven, engaged me to send you the above account, (which is as near what she said as I can remember,) not only to show that a mind, conscious of virtue and goodness, can face any danger, and endure any worldly misery; but also, to shew that in these northern parts of Britain, we can boast of a set of females worthy of love and esteem, whose beauties do not only confit in a fine shape, agreeable features, and charming complexion, but also in the nobler graces of the mind, virtue, modesty, and goodness. R. D.

ODES translated from Analects.

By CHARLES CHESTER, M. D.

Ode 20. To his Mistref.

T HE Gods o’er mortals pass this way, And steal them from themselves away: Transform’d by their Almighty hands, Sad Niobe an image stands;
Philomel, upborn on wings

There air, her mournful story sung.

Would be a, indulgent to my woe,
The happy change I wish allow:
Thy very mirror I would be,
That when might I always gaze on me
And could my naked heart appear,
Though else it self, for there are there!

Here was I made thy folding waist,
But thou mightst clothe me to thy breast!
In turned into a storm, to love
By naked beauties in my veins!

In before-cinature I would grow,
A warms those little hills of snow,
By ointment, in rich fragrant streams
A wonder over thy stamens limb;
By chain of shining pearl,—to deck,
And close embrace thy graceful neck;
I very sandal I would be
To tread on,—if trod on by thee!

Ode 36. By the fame.

The fields and groves subdue his bounds of rage,
And in his quarrels sail and snow engage;
While, with his thunder, fable night comes on,
The forests tremble, and the mountains groan.

Nature amon puts on another face;
Like worlds of storms fleets of rain appear,
And clouds in' squadrons fleet along the air;
The burning fog fit brooding on the bills,
And unforeugh mistleure every region fills;

Sad and deject the Monarch of the day,
Peeps o'er the mountains with a steele ray
The gloomy shadow of his fickle light
Seems but the approaching of the summer's night,
Or the first dawn of day; thro' paths untrod,
'Mong clouds, he seems to labour for a road,
And having made a short unwilling stay,
He steals his fickle head in left than half his way.

The lonely scenes of our once dear delights,
The painted meadows, and the flowry heights,
Now grove beneath the rigour of the year,
And all the horrid face of winter wear.

Like distant clouds the tow'ring mountains show,
Their rising summits, all clad o'er with snow,

Hard chilling frosts have all the country bound:
Nought but a rock you'd think the solid ground:
The ponds and fever lakes, from fire to fire,
Are with a solid surface cover'd over.

Here nature, the in winter's arms she lies,
Bows gaudy violets to attract our eyes,
A thousand various figures give surprise.
The paling rain, distill'd from liquid balls,
In crystal rods bossed down the cottage-walls;
The city ember blazes at every foray,
And silver globes a brilliant light display.
But these indeed no constant glory boast;
All in a hinder bronze or snow's are lost:
Like the gay novelties which fond men delight,
The fairy prospect plays upon our sight.

Philomel, upborn on wings

There air, her mournful story sung.

Would be a, indulgent to my woe,
The happy change I wish allow:
Thy very mirror I would be,
That when might I always gaze on me
And could my naked heart appear,
Though else it self, for there are there!

Here was I made thy folding waist,
But thou mightst clothe me to thy breast!
In turned into a storm, to love
By naked beauties in my veins!

In before-cinature I would grow,
A warms those little hills of snow,
By ointment, in rich fragrant streams
A wonder over thy stamens limb;
By chain of shining pearl,—to deck,
And close embrace thy graceful neck;
I very sandal I would be
To tread on,—if trod on by thee!

Ode 36. By the fame.

The fields and groves subdue his bounds of rage,
And in his quarrels sail and snow engage;
While, with his thunder, fable night comes on,
The forests tremble, and the mountains groan.

Nature amon puts on another face;
Like worlds of storms fleets of rain appear,
And clouds in' squadrons fleet along the air;
The burning fog fit brooding on the bills,
And unforeugh mistleure every region fills;

Sad and deject the Monarch of the day,
Peeps o'er the mountains with a steele ray
The gloomy shadow of his fickle light
Seems but the approaching of the summer's night,
Or the first dawn of day; thro' paths untrod,
'Mong clouds, he seems to labour for a road,
And having made a short unwilling stay,
He steals his fickle head in left than half his way.

The lonely scenes of our once dear delights,
The painted meadows, and the flowry heights,
Now grove beneath the rigour of the year,
And all the horrid face of winter wear.

Like distant clouds the tow'ring mountains show,
Their rising summits, all clad o'er with snow,

Hard chilling frosts have all the country bound:
Nought but a rock you'd think the solid ground:
The ponds and fever lakes, from fire to fire,
Are with a solid surface cover'd over.

Here nature, the in winter's arms she lies,
Bows gaudy violets to attract our eyes,
A thousand various figures give surprise.
The paling rain, distill'd from liquid balls,
In crystal rods bossed down the cottage-walls;
The city ember blazes at every foray,
And silver globes a brilliant light display.
But these indeed no constant glory boast;
All in a hinder bronze or snow's are lost:
Like the gay novelties which fond men delight,
The fairy prospect plays upon our sight.
Poetical ESSAYS in NOVEMBER 1739.

Mix'd with the mud the dashing trifts lie,  
And, in a moment, as they live they die.  
The rivers, charg'd with floods of falling rains,  
Ride in higb pample' or all the higb ring plains,  
And wish'd that rising billows threat to sweep  
All their higb tow'ring rocks down to the deep.  
In mountain beas they bear along the meads,  
Thick bos'ns of ice, grafts, bayses, moss and weeds,  
And swell the rapid torrent with the spoil  
Of with'er'd forests, and the peasan's tol.  
Within the bosom of the naked groves,  
(While om the scene of happy shepherds lanes)  
They whirl'd in rapid gulps, and swallow down  
The tatter'd boughs, then bear them up anon.  
With eyes o'er flowing, and outstretched band,  
The swains: at distance on the meadow stand,  
Fearing their lonely cotes and rural store  
With bumble prayer the river Gods implore:  
But they, regardless, sow, they're all the plain,  
And rout their troubled waters roaring to  
the main.

How changed from that gentle murm'ring stream!  
Whose liquid deeps diffus'd a silver gleam,  
And in smooth windings softly play'd away.  
Reflecting all around a clearer day;  
Where once in quanton berds the f'cly breed  
Stray'd thro' the meads of the winding flood.  
When lately from Aurora's duming beam  
Plea'd ev'ry day when we'd the country game,  
Till the swift gliding hours our course bad  
And made us murmur at the setting sun. [run,  
Sweat river! I shall not thy fate bewail,  
Now glutted with the washings of the dale?]  
Presumptuous waves, who dare infill thy tide,  
And thro' thy flow'ry tenants dwellings glide.  
Staining thee beauties which surrvey with  
Meanders which immortal lays adorn. [scorn  
O cruel my strains like heav'ly Mars's flow,  
Did I tame ardour in my bosom dwell,  
A Mincio or Clitumnus thou shouldst be,  
And much fam'd Tyber only equal thee;  
Like theirs immortal too should be thy name,  
And, as thy beauty, fuch, just, fuch thy fame.  
No more expat from these poor naked braes,  
To bear the amorous shepherd's rural lays:  
In the how wals no more the stalks are seen,  
No more the keepers wanton on the green;  
The woody bays, and low extended plains,  
No longer bear the chanter's mellow strains;  
No more Pathemon, in the budy grove,  
In woeful notes bemoans his bap'tise love;  
No longer Stephon, partner of his pain,  
With kindly words comforts the dying soul;  
No Pastorella, no Amynata sings;  
No vocal foref with the echo rings;  
No prime contended in alternate lays,  
And no Florinda now affirns the bays;  
Beneath a window, or behind some bed,  
Neglected is the road, the crook, and plain.  
The bleating sheep abound for fodder call,  
And strained again below in the f'nd;  
The beartes'sfian, in beartes'sfian attire,  
Sits cleaving wood, or moulding over the f'ne;  
The tender nymphs to a warme wood repair,  
Unable to endure the rigid air;  
There, with mix't tattle of their past amours,  
They pine away the day, lone some hour;  
Long may you now thre' lonely caves freq  
Before the young Myrtilla run away.  
Poor bap'tised groves, then mast you lamy  
shades.

No more be b家公司 the lovely maid;  
Then mast your winning alleys never bear  
One tender figb, or for one gentle tear?  
No;—who can dwell with cruel chilling  
Or on cold beds of stiffer'd ice repose? [frosses,  
The plaintive birds in woeful winter b zwar  
Each naked forest, and each bosome oak;  
The leafy groves no more their fongs inspir;  
No vernal gales tune the harmonious quire,  
No wanton symphonies their gladness toll;  
But ev'ry fparrow seems a Philomel.  

AMERICAN.

To MELANCHOLY.

H

Ail, Melancholy! gloomy pemer,  
Companion of my lonely hour,  
Te sober thoughts confound'd;  
Thou sweetly sad ideal guest,  
In all thy foetbing charms confest,  
Induce my pensive mind.  
No longer wildely hurried through  
The tides of mirth, that cdb and frow  
In folly's moisy stream,  
I from the busy crowd retire,  
To count the objects that inspire  
Thy philosophic dream.  
Thro' you dark groves of mournful mens,  
With solitary steps I muse,  
By thy direction led;  
Here, cold to pleasure's airy forms,  
Consciate with my fitter wishes,  
And mingle with the dead.
Hail, midnight borrows! awful gloom!
Ye silent regions of the tomb,
My future peaceful bed;
Here shall my weary eyes be closed,
And all my sorrows lie repose'd
In death's eternal shade.

Ye pale inhabitants of night,
Before my intellectual light
In solemn pomp ascend!
O tell! how trifling now appears
The train of idle hopes and fears,
That human life attend.

Ye faintly's idols of our sense!
Here own how weak your vain pre;
Ye empty names of joy!
(tence,
Your transient forms like shadowy pafs,
Frait offspring of the magic glass,
Before the mental eye.

The dazzling colours, falsely bright,
Attract the gazing vulgar's sight
With superficial grace;
Thro' Reaon's clearer optics view'd,
How frrip'd of all its glare, how rude,
Appears the painted cheat!

Can weild ambition's tyrant pow'r,
Or ill-get wealth's unbounded lore,
The dread of death control?
Can pleasure's more bewitching charms,
Avert or foist the dire alarms
That shake the parting soul?

Religion! are the bond of fate
Shall make reflection plead too late,
My erring senses teach,
Amidst the flattering hopes of youth
To meditate the solemn truth
These awful relicks preach.

Thy penetrating beams dispense
The mists of error, whence our fears
Derive their fatal spring.
'Tis thine the trembling heart to warm,
And often to an angel form
The pale terrific King.

By thee sublim'd the soul aspires
Beyond these trifling low desires,
In nobler views elate;
Unmov'd her future change surveys,
And with intrepid courage pays
That universal debt.

In earth's soft bosome fold'd to rest,
She sleeps, by smiling dreams caris'd,
That gently whisper peace,

Till the last morn's fair-op'ning ray
Unfolds the bright eternal day
Of active life and bliss.

A Trip to Vaux-Hall.

O! let me, Thamus, along thy surface glide,
And waft me smoothly on thy swelling tide;
Bear me, ob! bear me to the peaceful grove,
The shades of Vaux-Hall, and the courts of love;
Those fragrant bowers, where art and nature vie,
Whose shady walks delight the ravish'd eye.

The Paphian Queen for sake her favorite seat,
And rears new temples in this land retreat:
Here Cupid's arrows more successful prove,
While beauty warms, and musick melts to love;
In these soft scenes he takes the purest aim,
Where all things round promote the pleasing flames.

At distance see 'th Italian state appear.—
Hark! through the grove the magic sounds I hear.
Care, hatred, envy, all are left behind,
With every passion that disturbs the mind:
Pleasure receives us with her jovial train,
And smiling Plenty strives to entertain.
Here pause a while, with wonder and surprise;
And mark the beauties singly as they rise.

Th' extensive vlys thro' the walk pursue,
The straight perspective lengthening to the view:
Here trace the winding thro' the artless shade,
There see the wide extending colonade!
Theinvining grove, for contemplation form'd:
The gay pavilion splendidly adorn'd:
Or in the winding maze intently stray,
While warbling nightingales around you play.
In more melodious notes they learn to sing,
Join in the concert, and salute the spring.
In these cool shades the happy couples row,
And the coy youth oft dares to whisper love.
While some perfum'd, soft, incensing air,
To kind compliance melts the tender fair.
The Statesman here to mirth and pleasure yields;
The Poet wanders in Elyian fields:
The gay, the grave, the graceful, and severe,
All, all alike find something pleasing here.

Behold! from every walk the nimble fair
Trip round to orchestra at some favorite air.—
But hatch! what flow, what solemn sounds are these!
Which wake our grief, and make even sorrow
Can sounds such lively images impart! [please!
Can musick sway thus powerful o'er the heart!
Unhappy Saul! thy fate we're taught to mourn,
And bend in silent sorrow round thy urn.

*Alluding to Handel's King Saul, an oratorio.
A TOUCH OF the TIMES.

A new BALLAD.

Good people all, I pray attend
To what I now shall say,
And hear how citizens wou'd mend,
How courtiers would betray:
And, faith, the talk must only be
To manage things of weight,
When statesmen and chosen men agree
To mend and rule the state.

Oh ! London is a fine town,
An hundred thousand statesmen there
Within the city wall,
Who rules of politicks can give
To statesmen at Whitehall.

Arb in their clubs, on Hastings' bay,
The politick they bewail,
And there they joll, and here they reign,
Brim-full of drink, and zeal.

Oh ! London, &c.

What'er is done they blame : Ah why?
Because that it is done : And were it not, they then wou'd cry,
Why was it let alone?

'Gainst grievances, they hourly cry,
One grievance most of all,
The King and parliament deny
The empire of Guild-Hall.

Oh ! London, &c.

What eloquence has modern Pym!
His strains who can reharae?
Sure none e'er yet could rival him,
But Gl—r in blank verse.
Yet might the Spartan bard have known,
("I will be by all allow'd")
Debate wise Sparta suffer'd me
Amongst the giddy crowd.

Oh ! London, &c.

What fires our spokesmen tongue on tongue,
Declare the cause, my king.
Gl—r may be an Alderman,
George member e'er 'tis long :
In time each orator may gain
A creditable place ;
All places must be damn'd till then,
As marks of wise disgrace.

Oh ! London, &c.

Ev'n L—t—n of haughty heart,
A patriot stern and firm,
Onator, poet, authori smart,
Took place, when place took him.
The following receipt, for the cure of the bite of a mad dog, has not failed in the cure of any one person, out of many, who have taken it.

Take twenty-four grains of Native Cinnabar, twenty-four grains of Flashitio Cinnabar, and sixteen grains of the finest Must; reduce each of these, separately, to an exceeding fine powder; then mix them well together in a glass of rum, arrack, or brandy, and drink it off, all at one dose, as soon as possibly you can after you are bit; and take a second dose thirty days after the first.—But suppose you should happen to be bit by a dog, and should neglect taking any remedy soon after the bite, upon a supposition that the dog was not mad; in such a case, as soon as any symptoms of madness appear in the person, by that neglect, they must take a dose as soon as possibly they can after these symptoms appear; and instead of taking a second dose thirty days after the first, as in the other case mentioned above, the second dose must be given three hours after the first, which, by throwing the patient into a profound sleep and a strong perspiration, will thoroughly cure the bite of any mad animal, though the distemper were in the very last stage.

W E your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of G. Britain in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our unfeigned thanks, for your most gracious speech from the throne, and to express our entire satisfaction in your Majesty's declaration of war against the crown of Spain; a war, which the repeated violations and depredations committed by the Spanish nation upon the trade and commerce of these kingdoms, the notorious violation of their most solemn engagements, their obdurate refusal of making reparation for past injuries and of giving security against the like for the future, have rendered just and unavoidable.
The Commons Address.

It is with the highest sense of duty and gratitude we acknowledge your Majesty's wisdom and paternal care of your people, in making use of the power granted to your Majesty by parliament, for the security and defence of those kingdoms, for the protection of our trade, and for the distressing and annoying our enemies in the most sensible and effectual manner; and we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that nothing shall divert or deter us from suppressing, with satisfaction and cheerfulness, any extraordinary expenses and inconveniences, that must inevitably attend the various and extensive services which your Majesty shall find necessary to undertake, in vindicating the honour of your crown, in asserting the rights of your people, and in procuring justice to an injured and provoked nation.

And we beseech your Majesty to accept the strongest and most affectionate assurances, that, in defence of your Majesty's kingdoms, and in support of the common cause of our country, we will raise such effectual supplies, and with such cheerfulness and dispatch, as will forward and give spirit to your Majesty's preparations, and enable your Majesty to carry on the war with vigour.

And your dutiful Commons, being truly sensible of the fatal consequences of intestine heats and animosities, will, with a zeal becoming the representatives of the people in parliament, endeavour to compose those unhappy divisions, which have too long prevailed among your Majesty's subjects; and we do assure your Majesty, that nothing shall be wanting on our part, to restore to the nation that union and harmony which may effectually defeat and disappoint all the vain projects, hopes, and expectations of your Majesty's open and secret enemies, both at home and abroad.

His Majesty's most gracious Answer.

Gentlemen,

I return you my thanks for this dutiful and affectionate address. The unanimous support of my faithful Commons, in this just and national case, will add the greatest weight to my warlike preparations, and, by the blessing of God, be the surest means of securing successes to my arms, and justice to my injured people.

The two following eclipses are calculated for Edinburgh, from Sir Isaac Newton's Theory, by John Chapman junior.

On Wednesday, the 19th of December 1739, there will happen a small eclipse of the sun; the greater part of which will be over before the sun be up 37 minutes 30 seconds past eight, the sun will rise, 2 digits 30 minutes eclipse on the north-east side; the eclipse will end 9 minutes 7 seconds past nine; the apparent time. This eclipse will be visible 31 minutes 37 seconds.

There will also happen a total eclipse of the moon, on the 2d of January 1740; the particulars of which are as follow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Mean Time</th>
<th>Apparent Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beginning of the eclipse</td>
<td>8 24 45</td>
<td>8 15 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beginning of total darkness</td>
<td>9 30 20</td>
<td>9 21 02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>10 22 19</td>
<td>10 13 01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of total darkness</td>
<td>11 14 18</td>
<td>11 05 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of the eclipse</td>
<td>12 19 53</td>
<td>12 10 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total duration</td>
<td>3 55 08</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duration of total darkness</td>
<td>1 43 58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digits eclipsed</td>
<td>21° 01 49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The moon will touch the shadow, at the beginning, about 40 degrees below her horizontal line, on the eastern side; and at the end, about 2 degrees above it, towards the west. N.B. There will be a conjunction between the Moon and Saturn, 24 minutes past five, mean time; when the moon will pass by the southern side of Saturn, about one of her diameters distant from him.
Some fine Gentlemen may perhaps alledge, that they have so many other uses for money, that they have none to spare for a parcel of trade/ men and mechanics. And what are those uses? either throwing it away in foreign places, to shew strangers our folly and extravagance, and expose us to the ridicule of the world; or upon French wines, to rot away their finances at home. These expenses, like what they are bubbled out of at game, are debts of honour forsooth; and they are punctual indeed, to a fault, in the payment of them. For, if only pimps, whores, stage-players and victuiners can have their money, every body will be brought to the dilemma of either following such laudable employments, or starving, which they will. Besides, all that they spend upon French wines, embroideries, brocades, lace, &c. is an injury done to their country: the money is sunk for ever, since we can never have any trade with France to balance the account.

There are many sober people, I know, who think a shop-keeper well enough paid (as they call it) if he get his money within four or five years after it is due. But, if they consider it right, they will find, that at this rate the shop-keeper must only be the sooner ruin’d the greater his trade is, instead of being able to live the better by it. For, if he fell at the common profit of 10 or 15 per cent: and want his money two or three years, he makes not a farthing of it; and if he want it longer, he is a loser in proportion. But, supposing he should be so provident as to foresee all this, and lay the additional interest of his money on the price of his goods, which is but just; yet other people will not give him so long credit without the same advantage: and so he must lay on the price double the interest of his money for the time he is to lie out of it. Thus the prices of every thing must, of necessity, by such dealing, be heightened: and the shop-keeper must still be at a loss; for, supposing any sudden demand, which commonly happens, it will be impracticable for him, were it to keep him out of prison, to raise 20/- amongst all
his customers. This has been so often the case, and occasion'd the actual ruin of so many industrious families, that I'm surpris'd to see any sober man pretend to honour or honesty, and lay him under such difficulties. Many are guilty of it, I believe, for want of considering the matter fully, or of having it set in a clear light before them.

If the above considerations did not sufficiently argue the sinfulness of this unjust delay of payments, I could bring many texts from Scripture that plainly prove it. It is withholding the wages of the hireling; it is usury, in making the shop-keeper pay double interest for his lawful and reasonable profits; it is oppression, and worse than robbery on the highway, in taking and using that which is another's property, without giving him proper satisfaction for it: nay, it is the height of malice and uncharitableness, in turning us by their delay of payments into a proverb amongst our neighbours; who say, we are like our galloways, long-winded; and those who put the bit into our mouths, had need to keep a good bridle-band.

If we pretend to be either good Patriots or good Christians, let us be good paymasters, and put a stop to that dishonourable practice which at present so much prevails, and so great a discouragement to trade. An amendment here would, in a little while, change the face of things, and soon produce a great alteration on the trade, riches, power and government of this country; for these four hang, by inseparable connection, together. Could I but persuade the bulk of us to make the experiment, at least for some years, I believe we would become so very sensible of the odds, that, as we would find ourselves abler to make punctual payments, so we should grow fonder of it; and, in a little time, the contrary practice would wear quite offashion, and an ill paymaster become as great a rarity as a good one is now.

Sometimes, indeed, but rarely, it may happen, that those who are obliged to contract shop-accounts shall not be able to pay punctually within the year; or perhaps, it may be very inconvenient for them to do so: but, no doubt, it is as inconvenient for the shop-keepers to want his money longer: and therefore, I see no remedy in that case, but to give a bill bearing interest from the year; end; and even that will not make up the trader's loss, who ought at least to make double the legal interest of his money by his bunglers.

I would therefore propose, that all dealers of every sort should be allowed to charge interest on their accounts after the first year of non-payment is expired; and am of opinion, that if the parliament were applied to for that purpose, in a proper manner, by the trading people of both nations, they would readily grant the relief desired. But until that be done in a publick way, I would propose perhaps no less effectual an expedient, viz. That a list should be made up of all those who do not pay or give bill at the end of the year, with the number of years their accounts are owing, and that it should be inserted from year to year in your Magazine for January. This would either oblige people to more punctual payment, or be a sort of civil prescription against them; for who would ever give them credit afterwards? or if any was so unwary, he would have himself only to blame for his sufferings; since every body's true character would, in that publick respect, be universally known. I am, &c.

C——O.

CRAFTSMAN, Nov. 17.
The mischief attending a Monarchy where the Royal Favour is engrafted by one man.

WHEN a single person hath engrafted the royal favour to himself for many years, and assumed the power of dictating counsels to his master, without admitting his fellow-servant: to the least participation, it becomes extremely difficult to defeat his measures, in any degree, or to prevent the ill effects of them, though it may ever so apparent that they tended to the destruction both of prince and country.

For, let the justice and goodness of the
the prince be never so well known; yet as long as his confidence is absolutely rest'd in one minister, and the advice of that minister constantly finds an incontrouable credit with him, it cannot be expected that the greatest and wisest of his counsellors will ever venture to disabuse him; especially if they have been some of his most faithful and able servants dismis'd, for not yielding an implicit obedience to the arbitrary will of the minister. They will think it more prudent to refer to themselves to a better season. They will wait till the conduct of the minister shall expose itself in a most glaring manner; till the difficulties he blunders into shall prepare him for sound advice; because he certain effect of offering good advice, whilst the power of the minister with the prince remained irrefutable, could be exposing themselves to his revenge, without a possibility of doing any good.

A minister, of this Vizier kind, would never regard the interest of prince or country in any other manner than as subservient to his own. Affairs, both abroad and at home, would be always conducted with this single view. War or peace would be the portion of the country, as sister should be thought most conducive to his ease and security. If his pusillanimity should represent war as a state of danger, always to be avoided, left it should interrupt the quiet enjoyment of his despotic authority; or raw from him those treasures, which is interest requir'd for other purposes; or, perhaps, left it should introduce to his favour and confidence of his prince, enmity of military honour and experience, who would not be subservient to his commands; whatever might be his motives, or his fears, he would be deaf to the cries of a whole nation; he would never be diverted from a fruitless train of negotiations; treaties, preliminaries, stipulations, and secesious pacifications of every kind. If a conduct quite contrary to the bent and inclination of the people should produce a general murmuring, and a strong opposition to himself, he would not fail to allure his prince that it was owing to a mutinous and sedulous temper against his government, which ought to be suppressed by power, or otherwise it would grow upon him by indulgence.

Solomon says, that in the multitude of counsellors there is safety. It must therefore be happy, both for prince and people, when the royal favour is unconfin'd, and freely communicated to all his faithful counsellors. Then will some men be found of probity and ability enough to advise such measures, as will soon convince the prince of the true disposition of his people.

I do not intend to apply these thoughts and reflections wholly to the present times; but I have been led into them, by observing the tenor of those dissertations, with which the band of Gassetters have oblig'd the publick for some years past.

The cruelties of the Spaniards to our sailors have been either constantly denied, or diminish'd. The depredations of our merchants have been, in a good measure, justified, on pretence of illicit trade. War, especially with the Spaniards, hath been represented as a measure so much to be avoided by a trading nation, that no injuries should provoke us to enter upon it.

The various treaties and pacifications made, from time to time, have been all applauded in their day, though constantly found delusive and ineffectual. On the contrary, it hath been maintain'd, both by speaking and writing, that the Spanish infallence was grown to exorbitant by our tameness and forbearance, that nothing could convince them we dur'd to reftent their insults, but turning our inactive squadrons into hostile fleets. The voice of the people universally concurred in this sentiment, and exclam'd against every pacifick expedient which hath been almost annually offer'd.

What should the trifly stipendaries of power do, in such a case? The voice of the people is diametrically opposite to the conduct of the minister. Why then the people, great and small, are feditious, impatient of legal government, insensible of their felicity, and attempting to
involve their country in the confusions of war, in order to make way for the pretender. I appeal to the whole world whether this hath not been the language of these writers. But it cannot be supposed that such misrepresentations have reach'd the royal ear. No presumption of superior power and credit can have emboldened any man to such a leaguing-making of the people to their sovereign; or if any such whispers have ever enter'd the closet, what a delight must it give to every true lover of his King and country, to see them so effectually refuted by the loyal acclamations of all ranks of men, in every city and town, where his Majesty's declaration of war hath been proclaimed? Such a natural and unfeigned zeal for his service, as well as such an animosity against our cruel enemies, hath been universally expressed, that a more vigorous resentment against that haughty and faithless nation could not have appeared even in the glorious days of Q. Elizabeth.

Many people with that the generous spirit of resentment, which discovers itself everywhere, had been indulged some years sooner; being of opinion, that the present weak and helpless condition of Spain shews how easily she might have been brought to terms, when she had no reason to hope for the assistance of France, and before France was arriv'd at her present height of power.

It is not my business to say by whose wife advice Britain is at last in a posture to avenge her wrongs; nor by whose counsels the power of her fleets hath been so long restrain'd; nor whether the Algerian ships, as well as the Caracci, might not have been taken by proper orders. Those points, and many others, will receive a full and impartial examination in a place, where no tendernefs to explore, and no backwardness to discover hidden mysteries of any sort will be found; and where all matters concerning the state and condition of the nation will be thoroughly search'd to the bottom.

Then will all hearts and all hands unite with emulation to support and main-

tain a war so necessary to the honor of our King, and the happiness of our country; whether we should be forced to carry it on singly against united crowns, or in conjunction with our old allies.

When they see the ancient value of England vigorously exerted, and the counsels of it resolutely and steadily pursued, they will, no doubt, return to their former confidence in us, and again form an alliance, not more useful to, than necessary to their own safety. If they should ask what is become of those brave Generals, with whose courage and honour they were so well acquainted in the last war, they will find them ready to return from their retirement, and resume their arms in defence of their country, and the liberties of Europe.

What have been the effects of all our boasted wisdom? Is it not to be wished, that England was now in the same state and condition, as when the spirit of negotiation first seized upon us? Is it not to be wished, that we had never entered into that alliance with France against the Emperor, to which the present formidable power of the former crown is owing? Is it not to be wished, that we had never carried Don Carlos, and his Spanish troops into Italy; and, consequently, that the Emperor had never been engaged in the Italian war; or else that he had been supported in it, so as to have preferred his strength as a bulwark against France, and to have prevented the important acquisition of Lorraine? Is it not to be wished, that the Emperor had not been encouraged to concern himself in the Polish question, which drew him into the war with the Turk? Is it not to be wished, that our friendship with France had not been cultivated so far as to make us connive at the reparation of Dunkirk, which may prove very soon a sharp thorn in our sides?

What can be meant by saying, that we have forborne to make war, till it hath been forced upon us by necessity, and therefore we need not doubt of success in it? Would not success in a war have been much less doubtful three or four years ago, or at any time sooner?
Can any success attend our arms without reproach to those, who have tied them up so long? Was it not evident that the Spaniards would never relinquish their usurped right of searching, till they were compelled to it by force? and, consequently, was not a war then as necessary, as it would have been safe and easy? But did not our present honourable minister oppose a war to the last? Did he not call it another man's war? If therefore it should prove as successful as every good Englishman wishes, it will have no right to the credit of; but if it should fail of success, thro' his own bad management, he will be certainly answerable for the consequences of it. He must not think to put the old schoolboy's trick upon us, Heads I win, and tails you lose.

It is no new thing to see the whole city of London abused and insulted by a mercenary faction, when any exigency, or eminent danger, hath forced them to a publick declaration against the measures of that faction's patron. It must be remembered that the patron himself did the same in the most opprobrious terms, on the defeat of that execrable scheme for extending the excise-laws. His creatures have followed his example, in a most licentious manner, upon a late incident. The citizens of London judged it proper to exert their known, acknowledged right, at the last election of a Lord Mayor. They rejected, almost unanimously, the pretensions of one, whose conduct was so suddenly and surprizingly changed, and whose sentiments on the present critical state of publick affairs were so different from their own, that they could not in prudence repose so great a confidence in him as the trust of that high office required. At the same time, they returned thanks to their representatives for voting against the late convention, the stipulations of which they apprehended not to be such as the honour of the nation, and the injuries of the merchants necessarily required. They likewise recommended to their representatives the repeal of a clause in that act, which gives to the court of Aldermen what is called the negative. Can it be said, with any colour of truth, that they acted illegally, or that they have so much as gone out of their way, in so doing? Yet have we seen a pack of infamous birlingers, presuming to threaten this great corporation with the weight of parliamentary punishment, for actions justly and naturally flowing from a charter of liberties, more often and more solemnly confirmed than, perhaps, any other right in the kingdom. We have seen the constituent members of this corporation, legally assembl'd, traduced as a reflect, daring faction; a faction, which would extirpate common sense, and bring madness into fashion; as spreaders of sedition, and enemies to the publick peace. Such is the language which this great body of Gentlewomen hath frequently experienced from the partisans of power.

**Common Sense, Nov. 17.**

**Danger of Placemen in Parliament.**

Shakespeare compares some misfortunes to a toad, which, tho' a creature ugly and hideous, yet sometimes a precious jewel is found in its head.

I think the same simile will fit our late convention, which, with all its deformities, hath also carried a jewel in its head. What I mean is, that it hath put our placemen under a necessity of taking off the mask.

When other unpopular measures have been taken, they vouchsafed to offer some bad reasons in their defence. If they found they could not impose upon us, they hoped to make us believe that they themselves had been imposed upon. But now they seem weary of dissimulating.

They have frankly declared, they have nothing to do with the merit of any publick measure; they are to defend their leader, and their leader is to protect them. King and country are out of the cafe with them; they are neither Guephs nor Ghibelines: they are neither of the Patrician or Plebeian party; but, like Cataline and his conspirators, they are to flick by one another, that they may riot in the spoils of the commonwealth.

Talk
Talk to a placeman of such a man's robbing the publick at home, and ruining its interests by his blunders abroad, he will answer like the French surgeon, who, visiting the abbey of St Denis, fell upon his knees before the tomb of Lewis XI. which one of the Monks observing, told him, that was not the tomb of a saint. He may not be your saint, good father, answered the surgeon, but he is mine; for it was he first brought thepopover into France, by which I have gain'd 150,000 livres.

Just so do placemen reason upon a minister's merits. Is he corrupt? then he is our saint; we shall gain 150,000 livres apiece by it; for he must protect the like practices in others. So that while he is playing the devil with the nation, he may be worshipped up to a God by his placemen.

Who would not be a minister upon these terms? He that places his safety in the merits of his administration, must maintain the nation's honour abroad, and husband the publick money at home.

A man grown old in the study of tricks and practice of little jobs, cannot go to the expense of that knowledge, which is necessary for transacting busi-nesses with foreign courts. If he is to keep his hands clean, what violence must he not do to his natural inclina-tions! All his vicious passions, his avarice, his vanity, his very lust must be left ungratified.

But give a man all the employments in a large empire, and let him have an immense secret service money without account, and he may be able to remove all the terror that threatens guilty men. Impunity (says Cicero) hath tempted many a man to crimes, which he would not otherwise have thought of. Here will be wealth and power to tempt him on one side, and security on the other; so that, in the space of a few years, he may fortify himself in corruption, and grow impregnable in rogery.

The people, with respect to their liberties, are sometimes in the condition of men in a town besieged, and must use the same vigilance; they must often review their fortifications, and see they are not weaken'd or impaired. If the sinews of war are in the enemy's hands, if they are increased in strength and number, if they raise batteries in sight, and charge the cannon up to the masts, it is time to make new works; in a word, when it comes to this, you must dismiss the placemen, or the town will be taken.

Employments are become so numerous, and so vastly lucrative, that every body must see, that the wealth of the nation hath, for some years past, taken a new channel, and been running into the pockets of the placemen. Formerly, the merchants and wholesale traders of this kingdom were the people, who bought lands, built houses, and raised families; but look round the country, and examine who have purchased large estates, and built costly edifices within these last thirty years, and you will find, they are all done by people from the Treasury, Exchequer, Admiralty, Navy, Post-office, Pay-office, &c. say, down to the very Clerks. It is a true observation, that what is got by rapine, is often spent in luxury; and when I see the expensive buildings of one of these placemen, and observe how the houses of the neighbouring Gentlemen are going to ruin, it puts me in mind of the plant call'd the ill-neighbour, that draws all the nourishment away from other plants, grows vastly high itself, and starves every thing about it; a strong example of which may be seen a little northward, where the whole revenue of a county is run into one house; and a better estate crowded into a closet, than the owner was born to; at the same time that trade and manufactories are declining, and a growing poverty spreads round the neighbourhood.——

Tho' we are at more than a year's distance from a new election, I do not think it too soon to give the electors some cautions against chusing a placeman.

Numerous employments have already occasioned strange revolutions in this kingdom. The son of a peasant, who has the good fortune to be admitted a low domestic in some placeman's family, and afterwards made clerk in some office thro' which the publick money passes,
Weekly ESSAYS in NOVEMBER 1739. 579

waives, hath returned, in a few years, a great man into his country, and bribed the country Gentleman out of his own borough; perhaps the very Gentleman whose bounty our candidate's poor forefathers were beholding for their bread. This is one mortifying effect of the great profit of places, of which more instances than one may be given within these forty years.

How are estates made in offices? By exquisites: which is but an other name for so many frauds; for tho' their families are larger than they ought to be, such great estates cannot be raised out of the savings of a salary, considering that placent are the people of expense, and that give the example of all kinds of luxury.

The publick can never be reliev'd by parliament, unless it is fill'd with men of most disinterested minds. Are those noble minds to be met with in persons long practised in the little low tricks of offices? would they not rather defend that corruption from whence they sprung, and, to put themselves above contempt, sacrifice the nation's interest to enlarge their own power?

What must become of a nation with such representatives? But suppose they should not be all such, and that a few men of families, to their eternal infamy, should join with them, they can have the honour to be no more than their tools, and must be hated with them.

I will go further, and ask, will a representative of any kind of placeman pay off the publick debts, and redeem some of the taxes? whereby several employments must fall, and the exquisites of others be lessen'd.

It is a melancholy truth, that, as a country grows poor, employments make men more considereable in their country; they are thereby set higher above their neighbours; and the people are, more easily subdued and governed when poor; which consideration alone should make this nation dread a parliament of placemen. It will be no falsehood to say, that trade hath declined, that the Gentry and common people have paid heavy taxes, that the merchants have suffered by de-

predations, that all people have felt the weight of the times, except placemen. Will a parliament of placemen mend the matter? I will tell how far it will mend it: When any calamity falls upon the country, and every man is lamenting his loss, the nation will have the mortification to see the authors of the mischief the only persons in plenty and joy.

Parliaments are to punish all the mismanagements and corruptions that can enter into any part of government, otherwise they are of no use to the people; so that a parliament of placemen is a contradiction to common sense; it is, without any thing else, a change in the constitution, and turns the government into a commonwealth; nay, the worst kind of commonwealth, a scandalous democracy of the lowest and the most worthless of the people. Chuse a parliament of placemen, and you become the slaves of your own servants: the places will then make all the laws of the country; nay, they will make the very religion of the country: they will not only make the laws, but they will execute the laws. The places will impose all taxes, and the places will apply the money. In a word, the fortunes of all the people of England will lie at the mercy of placemen.

Of all kinds of government, the most unnatural, as well as grievous, is that which writers upon government call imperium in imperio; and such must a parliament of placemen produce. On one side, it must render the people weak and without weight; on the other, make the crown appear a cypher, a mere pageant for shew, a thing without power or authority.

Cicero tells us, that wife men are instructed by reason; men of less understanding, by experience; the most ignorant, by necessity; and beasts, by nature.

To apply which to the subject before us, we may say, that reason, experience, necessity, and nature's first law, which is self-defence, oblige the people of this nation to take some legal measures to prevent a parliament of placemen.
I have heard it urged, as an argument for the genius of the writers against the present constitution and government, that they have no sooner been abjured, or left out, of one pretended subject of complaint, than another has been, by some means or other, substituted in its place. But they have lately fallen so short of invention, that, at a time when, by the conduct of an administration they have so long, and so avowedly laboured to overturn, the nation is confessed, even by these blind guides themselves, to be in a fit posture to revenge our injuries, and to defend our natural and political rights; at a time the whole body of the nation's friends are unanimous in endeavouring to give each man his best affittance to the common cause of his country, these dull advocates for sedition, these often-boasted enemies of the nation's foes, are meanly busied in the ridiculous task of striving to render one honourable person odious, for advising and pursuing measures which, with the same breath, they approve, and condemn him for effecting!

Mr D'Anvers begins his first offering to the people, after the sitting down of the parliament, with informing his readers, that “When a single person, &c. [down to the end of the first paragraph Crafts. Nov. 17. p. 574. above].”

If Caleb were obliged to affix some certain meaning to this paragraph, I believe he would heartily with it had never dropp'd from his pen; since, notwithstanding the mean sophistry with which it is expressed, it can never be cleard of a manifest insult upon the royal character to which he pays such an awkward deference: for it is easy to perceive, that the blame is slightly thrown upon the supposed single person for engrossing the royal favour, is principally intended to fall upon him who, according to Mr D'Anvers's very modest state of the case, suffers his favour to be engross'd. This is the undeniable tendency of the above citation. If a minister's measures are difficult to defeat, whence arises the difficulty? Can they be supposed difficult to defeat on account of the single person only? Surely no. If a sovereign supports them as the most eligible for his own honour and the good of his subjects, that they can not be defeated without difficulty, will be the advantage of his dominions.—But it may not be amiss to add Mr D'Anvers's own explanation.

“For (says be) let the justice, &c. [down to disabuse him in the second paragraph].”

The Craftsman's opinion of the justice and goodness here ascribed to the prince, may be judged from his giving uncontroulsable credit to one minster, and his wisdom, from rendering it dangerous for the greatest and wisest counsellors to venture to disabuse him!—Also, Caleb! this daubing is too coarse for a sign-post, and will scarcely be reixed by your readers of Hackly-hocks: The mask of loyalty you have worn quite out; and, as things stand at present, it would certainly be best for you to throw aside all disguise, to utter your whole heart, and speak like a traitor at once,—if it were but to have an opportunity of allowing for the liberty of the press. 'Tis high time to cease trifling: war is now commenced: if it was the counsel of one man, it has met with the consciousness of the whole nation; what then avails it to infinicate our publick conduct to be the result of private counsel, when the whole land applauds it?

To follow the complaint of the undue influence of the counsellors of one single person, while so many other people think themselves full as wise, would be paying this miserable scribbler more notice than he merits at present. But I would, on this occasion, be so far Mr D'Anvers's friend as to remind him, that ancient history and modern experience have furnished examples which give room for paying the greatest regard to the counsels of a single person: France raised herself to the splendor with which she has lately shone, by a happy success of able, and (at least to her interests) faithful ministers; the completion of the late
ambitious views of Spain have generally been attributed to the counsels of one bead; the glorious figure England made against the attempts of Spain under Q. Elizabeth, was evidently owing to the steady counsels of one minister, who was a lover of peace, and the butt of his country's enemies; and, by an unfortunate change, and the haughty removal of a great and generous minister, (whose only crime was a faithful love of his country) the latter part of the reign of Q. Anne was overcast by such a cloud, as almost screened the many glorious events with which the former part of her reign was distinguished.

That the entertainment of the day may be of a piece, modest Mr Common Sense has out-done his brother D'Anvers, and every other professor of curiosity that has gone before him: but, being equally to seek for a subject for his harangue, is glad to make the late convention begin his oration, by comparing it to a toad; after which he talks of conspirators, the French pax, of playing the devil, of roguery, &c. &c. &c. and, as a reason for that extraordinary file, he complains (without hope of remedy) That while a great many men are blessed with places and perquisites, and there are such things as a Treasury, an Exchequer, Admiralty, Navy, Post-office, Pay-office, &c. and that while the officers belonging to these are able to build bonfires, he is glad of a garret: In consideration of which he most earnestly begs, that the freeholders of G. Britain will charitably punish their pre-eminence, by keeping them out of the house of Commons; because, says he, the son of a peasant may become a gentleman;—though, if I mistake not, the best representatives of the people among the ancients were no other than peasants themselves.

It is impossible to argue with this writer, who in one sentence complains of the sums saved by Gentlemen in place, and in the next affirms, that they are the people of expense, who give the example of all kinds of luxury: nay, so loit is this abandoned Papist to common sense, as to term the whole executive part of the government, and the care of our whole political interests, the low tricks of offices; though he must think his readers as weak as himself, to believe the business of a nation can be done without the necessary officers: and if, to serve his country, renders a man low and contemptible, from what source must true honour result? Since Majesty itself gathers its real lustre more from serving and promoting the interests of a people, than from merely reigning over them.—Nothing but the disappointment of this writer's last hopes could drive him to file a bouquet of Commons a democracy, (without paying any regard to the other part of our legislature); and, on supposition of its having a majority of Gentlemen worthy the service of their country, to compliment them as the lowest and most worthless of the people.—Madness indeed! to make the possession of places, abstractly from any other view, render a man low and worthless; when all he is folding for is, that his own friends may, by possessing those very places, become equally low and unworthy!—What absurdity is too great for the tool of a party to affect! what too ridiculous for an emissary of Rome to utter!

From premises of his own, he next deduces a consequence he fancies will frighten his readers; but it must be the unwary only he can scare, by saying, that if such and such things should ever happen, the fortunes of all the people of England will lie at the mercy of placemen; such a supposition being wholly unnecessary, there never being a happy nation in the universe where it was otherwise: for all who are, according to the constitution of a country, intrusted with the government of the people, are certainly placemen; and longer than such placemen have the authority belonging to their respective posts, the government cannot be continued, nor the people preferred in the quiet possession of their fortunes. Nay, it is absolutely impossible for a man out of place, let his intentions be ever so generous, to serve a people so much, and with such safety and effect, as if he were in place. A man who has a share of public government...
DOMESTICK HISTORY.

The King has been pleased, by a proclamation, to order its observance on the 9th day of January next, thro' Scotland, as also in England and Wales.

The following Scots manufactures were exported to London from Leith this month, viz. 48,600 skins dressed in allum and oil, 18,443 yards of linen and cambric, 906 dozen of linen handkerchiefs, 720 lb of thread, 2001 lb of snuff, &c.

LONDON, November 1739.

The present posture of the affairs of this nation, and the unanimity of parliament, not only in granting the necessary supplies for the service of the war, but in laying a foundation for the future security of our rights, must afford entire satisfaction to every friend of G. Britain. Both houses, in a full body, waited on the King; when the Lord Chancellor presented an address, humbly beseeching his Majesty, never to admit of any treaty of peace with the crown of Spain, unless the acknowledgment of our natural and indubitable right to navigate in the American seas, to and from any part of his Majesty's dominions, without being bitized, searched, visited, or stopped, under any pretence whatsoever, should have been first obtained as a preliminary thereto.

To which his Majesty made the following most gracious answer.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I thank you for this dutiful address, which is so agreeable to former resolutions of both houses of parliament. Your unanimous and vigorous support in carrying on the war, will be the best means of procuring safe and honourable terms of peace; and you may rely on my utmost care and endeavours, to obtain effectual security for the just rights of navigation and commerce belonging to my subjects."

35,000 seamen are allowed for the service of the year; and there are now 30,000 land forces on the British establishment, 12,000 on that of Ireland, 6000 marines to be raised, 6000 Danes, and 30,000 Hanoverians at his Majesty's disposal. Besides four new independent

EDINBURGH, November 1739.

The Reverend Commission of the General Assembly met the beginning of this month, and ordered the eight seceding ministers to be cited to appear at the bar of the next Assembly; and agreed on an act for a national fast to implore the blessing of God for success to his Majesty's arms, &c. At the same time, they humbly addressed his Majesty to nominate the day on which it should be observed, and further to interpose his royal authority for that effect. In consequence of this, the
DOMESTICK HISTORY.

583

endant companies of invalids, are to e raised, and the regiments of Gibraltar and Minorca are to consist of the same number with those on the British establishment. A lift is ordered to be taken of all the French Papists within the bills of mortality; and, as it seems, the parliament of Ireland are apprehensive of danger from people of that persuasion, they have addressed the Lord lieutenant, that they may be disarmed; which his Excellency has complied with, and given orders accordingly. The Governors of our colonies abroad have taken care to put them in the best posture for defence. The trading vessels which are now in Jamaica are likely to be detined for want of sailors to navigate them home; a prodigious keenness has appeared amongst them to venture against the Spaniards aboard the ships which have been allowed letters of marque from the Governor. The Earl of Waldegrave having complained to the court of France, that some Spanish vessels had seized ships belonging to be subjects of G. Britain in the river of Bordeaux, the French ministers have sur'd him, that orders were sent to the proper officers there, to seize the Spaniards and their vessels, and to restore immediately to the British subjects their ships and effects.

British ships taken by the Spaniards.

The St Joseph, White, taken within a noon-shot of the Portuguese fort of Arno: The Dolphin, Rhymes, bound to Barbadoes with Governor Byng’s baggage; the Friendship of Southampton, Joseph Smith, the Endfield, Smith; the Prince of Orange, Sears, and the loop of Pat. Fortune, of Dublin, carried into St Sebastian: The ships of Isaac Woodbury, Moses Calley, and Isaac Le Crawl, into Bilboa: The Apple, Luke; the Partipreche, Edw. Eprick; and the Rachel, Rowze, into Majorca: The Somerset, Oliver, into Alicante: The Joanna of Brifolt, Nay, into Cadiz: The ships of — Bunkel of Queensferry, and — Wilkie of Abernethy, taken near Bourdeaux: The St John of Waterford, Chisty, taken within 11 leagues of Bourdeaux: The

John and Mary, Bootley, at Hixon: The Golden Fleece of Topsham, John Lee, and the Betty, Stephens. Besides several others whose names are not come to hand.

His Majesty’s men of war, and some Jamaica and other privateers, have made prizes of several Spanish ships,

P. S. London, Dec. 6. Yesterady S. S. stock was 96, 1 half. India, 157 1 4/8th. Ditto old annuities, 109, 1 4/8th a 1 half. Ditto new, 109, 1 half 2 5/8th. Bank stock, 3/8, 3 4/8th. Three per cent. India bonds, 3 l. 19 s. a 18 s. prem. Three per cent. annuities, 98, 1 half 3 4/8th. Million bank, 111, 1 half. Royal assurance, 88. London assurance, 11, 1 8/8th. English copper, 3 l. 6 s. 6 d. Welsh ditto, 15 s. African, 13, 1 half. Seven per cent. Emperor’s loan, 110. Five per cent. ditto, 95. Bank circulation, 2 l. 7 s. 6 d. prem. Three per cent. S. S. bonds, no price. Three 1 half per cent. Exchequer orders, no price. Three per cent. ditto, 5 discount. Salt tallies, 1 half, a 1 prem. Lottery tickets, 5 l. 1 s. 6 d.

MARRIAGES.

Henry Monke, — Mason; Esqs, both of the kingdom of Ireland, the former married to the Lady Arabella Bentink, sister to the Duke of Portland; and the latter, to the Lady Betty Villers, daughter to the Earl of Grandeson.

BIRTHS.

The Lady Talbot, delivered of a son and heir. The Dukes of Richmond, delivered of a daughter. The Countes of Albermarle, of a daughter.

DEATHS.

Gen. Sabine, a General of foot, Governor of Gibraltar, Colonell of the Welch fusileers, &c. — Gen. Napier, Governor of the hospitals, and Lt Gen. of the forces in Ireland. — The Earl of Strafford, a Knight of the Garter, &c. — The Earl of Stamford. — The Lord Compton, only son of the Earl of Northampton. — The two only sons of Henry Pelham Esq; Paymaster of the forces. — Sir George Walton, late Ad-
— Capt. Benson, of Col. Onslow's regiment.
— Quartermaster Sol. Heathcote, of the Earl of Pembroke's horse.—Sir Nicholas Pelham Kt. — Claudius Ronden-ude Esq; British Resident at Petersburg.
— Charles Jarvis Esq; his Majesty's principal painter.— Jo. Smith Esq; ro-
ber to his Majesty at the house of Peers, and one of the chief Clerks in the new Pell office in the exchequer.—Paul Vail-lant, book-keeper, London— Mr Thomas Garnier, apothecary to Chelsea hospital.
— Paul Dufour Esq; treasurer of the French hospital for lame, sick, and lu-
maticks, in Bun-hill-fields.—Dr William Cockburn, physician, London, by whose will Sir Alexander Cockburn of Lang-
ton succeeds-him in an estate of 20,000 l.— Ernste Lefly of Balquhain, Esq;-
Lady Susan Hay, Sister to the Marquis of Tweeddale.— William Earl of Dal-
housie, and Lady Anne his daughter.
— The Lady of Col. James Urquhart.
— The Lady of Patrick Lindefay Esq; Rep-
resentative in parliament for the city of Edinburgh.— At Kilkevar, in Wex-
ford county in Ireland, Margaret Law-
er, in the 135th year of her age.

PREFERENCES.

The Duke of Manchester, a Lord of the bed-chamber.—The Earl of Morton, Grand Master of the fraternity of Free Majors in Scotland.— Mr Serj, Wright, one of the Barons of the Exchequer.— John Strange, Esq; Solicitor-General, Recorder of the city of London.—Charles Clarke, Esq; Representative for Hun-
tingdon; and Charles Gore, Esq; for Cricklade in Wilts.— Hon. Mr Wallop, fon to the Ld Vific. Lymington, and MrChamberlayne, fon to George Cham-
berlayne, Esq; Member for Buckingham, Pages of honour to the King, in the room of John Lee and John A SSHburnham, Esqs, appointed Cornets of horse.— John Harrison, Esq; Clerk of the Naval office, and Provost-Marshal of Nova Scotia.—
John Ellis, Esq; Keeper of the beasts in the Tower, Principal Painter to his Ma-
jesy.— Mr Daniel Graham, Apothecary to his Majesty's person, Apothecary to
Chelsea hospital. — James Rob, Gas-
Keeper in Edinburgh, in the room of
John Henderson.— Lt Gen. Daniel, Colonell of the regiment of foot in the Le-
ward islands, lately the Duke of Marl-
borough's.— Lt Gen. Clayton, Governor, and Maj. Gen. Hargrave, Lieutenant-
Governor of Gibraltar.— The Earl of
Crawford, Colonel of the regiment in
which the fix Highland, with the addi-
tion of other four independent companies, are to be form'd.— Lt Col. Pieris, Colonell of the Weelh fiddlers.— Lt Col. Francis Fuller, of the first regiment of foot-
guards, Colonell of the regiment of foot Lately Brig. Read's. — Edward Wolfe, Esq; of the 3d regiment of foot-guards; Lt Col. William Robinson, of Gen. Handasyde's regiment; Anthony Low-
ther, Esq; of the 2d regiment of foot-
guards; Lt Col. John Wyurray, of Gen. Tyrrel's regiment; Lt Col. Charles Douglas, of Gen. Howard's regiment, and Lewis Dicke Moreton, of the 3d regiment of foot-guards, Colonell of the Marines. — Captains Martin, Greig, Ma-
acleod, and Delabone, Majors to four of the regiments of marines. — Charles Hanbury-Williams, Member for Mon-
mouthshire, Paymaster to the Marines.
— Charles Frampton, Esq; Lieutenant-
Colonel; William Merrick, Esq; First
Major, and Richard Ingoldby, Esq; Second Major, to the 1st regiment of foot-
guards. — Hon. Charles Fielding, and
Capt. Lt Lambton, Colonels in the 4th
regiment of foot guards; and Lt Ogilvie,
a Colonell in the 3d.—Sir Andrew Agnew, Major, Lieutenant-Colonel; and Capt.
Peteel Halkett, Member for Inveresi-
then, &c. Major, of the Scots fide-
William Cochran, Esq; Lieutenant-Co-
lonel of Col. Douglas's regiment of mar-
He is succeeded as Lieutenant-Colonel of Gen. Oglethorpe's regiment in Car-
gia, by Major Cook of the same regi-
ment; and Major Cook is succeeded
Capt. Edmonson of the guards.— Co-
— John Hamilton, Esq; Naval officer of
Jamaica.— Capt. Smith, Command-
the Lark; and Capt. Crawford, of
Southwark.
Died within the walls of the city of Edinburgh, and buried in the Grey-friars church-yard, November 1739.

Men 17, women 23, children 44. In all, 84. Increased this month, 7.

\[\begin{array}{|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Age. No.} & \text{Diseases. No.} \\
\hline
2 & 29 & \text{Consumption} 18 \\
5 & 12 & \text{Chin-cough} 10 \\
10 & 3 & \text{Fever} 15 \\
20 & 2 & \text{Old age} 5 \\
30 & 4 & \text{Suddenly} 4 \\
40 & 9 & \text{Teething} 7 \\
50 & 11 & \text{Still-born} 3 \\
60 & 7 & \text{Small-pox} 1 \\
70 & 5 & \text{Child-bed} 1 \\
\hline
\end{array}\]

so that the publick may expect soon to be informed of the chief particulars. Last winter some Polish Lords sent the Sieur G—ki to Constantinople, with letters for the Grand Seignior and Grand Vizier, which were to serve as his credentials, empowering him to make certain proposals to the Ottoman Porte, and to treat with their ministers. This emissary was very well received; and the answers that were returned to each of his proposals were such, that the Polish Lords had no reason to distrust the success of their dangerous enterprise; as indeed they did not. But both the proposals and the answers are fallen into the hands of our court, together with several other later pieces concerning that horrid negotiation. The late are not yet publick; but the following is the substance of the former, viz. the proposals made to the Gr. Seignior by the Sieur G—ki, and of his Highness’s answer.

I. I am come to the Most Serene Ottoman Porte, with the consent of certain Polish Senators, from whom I have brought letters.

\text{Answ.} Because it is expressly said in the letters of the said Senators that credit may be given to the bearer thereof, the Porte will give credit to what he shall propose clearly by word of mouth.

II. The republick of Poland demands and insists, That the peace concluded with the Most Serene Porte by the treaty of Carlowitz may be inviolably maintained.

\text{Answ.} Since the treaty of Carlowitz, the Porte has constantly taken care, that the said treaty be inviolably maintain’d to the latest times.

III. The republick of Poland demands moreover, That the Porte and Poland may reciprocally be friends to their respective friends, and enemies to their respective enemies.

\text{Answ.} The Porte contents to this demand; and, as soon as they have certain advice that the Poles are confederated, they will give orders for the Ottoman army to join that of Poland, and that both shall act in concert either for peace or for war.
FOREIGN HISTORY.

IV. In pursuance of this confederacy and alliance concluded with the Most Serene Porte, we the confederates desire the Porte to lend us 3 or 400,000 Hungarian ducats, to augment the Polish army; which sum the Most Serene Porte shall reimburse themselves out of the contributions to be raised in Muscovy.

Anf. As soon as the Porte has certain advice that the Poles have formed their confederacy, it will affix them with the sum desired, as well as with its army: and as to the payment of that sum, the same shall be settled in due time and place.

V. The republick demands, That the Porte maintain an army of 50,000 Turks and Tartars near Choczim and Serocca, in order to succour the Poles in case of an invasion.

Anf. This army shall march at the beginning of next spring, with orders to affix the Poles without reserve, as soon as ever they have need of it. The Most Serene Kan and the Seraskier Sultan of Budziack shall likewise join their troops to it, if it be necessary; and the artillery which the Poles shall demand, shall likewise be furnished.

VI. The Porte is desired to engage the crown of Sweden to send into Poland, by way of Dantzick, 10,000 foot, and 500 officers to discipline the Polish army.

Anf. The republick itself may apply to the crown of Sweden for this purpose.

VII. The Porte is desired to affix the Poles in the recovery of the dismembered provinces, without pretending to any other reward for this service, than the booty which shall be taken from the enemy, and that to be equally divided.

Anf. The Porte will affix the Poles in the recovery of their pretensions, and be ready to affix them upon every other occasion.

VIII. The Porte is desired to take care that their troops observe an exact discipline when they enter the territories of Poland.

Anf. The Porte will see that this article be punctually observed.

There is something so noble, and, at the same time, so worthy a great command, in the following account, which comes likewise from Petersburg, that we are persuaded it will be acceptable.

"On the 1st of September, according to the journal brought by Col. Mengers, the army under Count Munch met upon the parade before the camp, to return thanks to God for the great victory gained on the 28th of August, as well as for the taking of Choczim; and to pray to the Almighty to continue to bless the sacred person of her Majesty, and her arms. After the divine service was over, the army made three discharges of 101 cannon, and the retreat of Choczim answered by as many discharges of 100 cannon. During this, the Velt-Marshals rode from one wing of the army to the other, attended by several Turkish officers of the left rank, his prisoners; who upon this occasion said, that the Ottoman army consisted of 100,000 Turks and Tartars; but that it was not possible for it to resist such an army as the Russian, in which discipline and good order were strictly observed; and that besides, their troops were not in a condition to stand the fire of ours. At noon the Velt-Marshall treated the General officers of his army, as well as the chief Turkish officers, at dinner; when her Majesty’s health was drank, with the discharge of the cannon, and the sound of trumpets and kettle-drums."

On the 2d of September, Lt Gen. Gustavus de Biron was sent away with a detachment, to guard the Turkish prisoners, in number 2121, to the Russian frontier. With this body were also sent off some of the trophies, viz. the sword of the Kaitshack Basha, his horse-tails, 13 batons, and 27 colours. His horses and concubines, together with Melhemet Bey his only son, about 11 years of age, and 20 of his domestics, were to be sent home to Turkey, upon the repeated instances of the said Basha, who thought he had no other way to clear himself of the suspicion of treason, than to obtain leave to send his family to Turkey."

Extrait of a letter from Vienna.

The British ministers at this court...
and at those of Russia and Denmark, vigorously put on their negotiations, for concluding the alliance formed with a view of re-establishing the balance of power in Europe, and preventing France, if possible, from growing more powerful; for being already arrived at such an exorbitant pitch, that for eight or ten years last past she has imperiously taken upon her to exclude all other powers from having any share in publick negotiations, and has, in short, through great subtility, made herself a sort of Director-general of most of the European courts. Every body now perceives, though 'tis well if it be not too late, how unhappy the event has proved, of not sufficiently, on a certain occasion, supporting the Emperor; who for that reason was in a manner reduced to a necessity of putting himself into the hands of a power that has ever shewn a passionate desire of weakening the house of Austria. The business at present is, to rectify the untoward situation of publick affairs: wherein 'twil certainly be very difficult to succeed; and 'tis said would have been utterly impracticable, had it not been for the discoveries which have been made by the papers of the Swedish Baron de Sinclair. Among these, we are told, was found the contents of a project which may with justice be called execrable. Had this abominable scheme taken effect, France, it seems, was to have reaped the greatest advantage by it. The purport thereof was in short this: A league was entered into between Sweden, the republick of Poland, the Porte, and the Tartars, to attack, all at once, Russia and Hungary; and at the same time another power was to have raised disturbances in the Empire; K. Augustus was to have been dethroned, and Stanislaus recalled. Sweden intended not only to have retaken Livonia, but likewise to have possessed herself of Servia, Croatia, and the Bannat. In short, considering the situation of affairs at the Imperial court, where the finew of war are wanting, it must be allowed that things might easily have been carried to almost any length. The discovery of this conspiracy has more than any thing else contributed to determine the Czarina to ratify the treaty of peace between her and the Porte; and even to this discovery must be attributed that which France has done towards a conclusion of that peace; which she did to make her court to Russia, at even the expense of her engagements with Sweden, and in order to efface the bad idea which the Empress had entertained of the French ministry. But notwithstanding all this, the courts of Vienna and Peterburg shew a very keen resentment of the above proceedings; which the British ministers, 'tis hoped, will take the advantage of, and obtain a conclusion of the grand alliance, wherein, 'tis said, the King of G. Britain, the Czarina, the Emperor, the Kings of Poland, Prussia and Denmark, will enter, and to which 'tis thought the States General will scarcely refuse to accede.

VENICE, Nov. 14. N. S. "The Republick, which considerably augmented its troops in Dalmatia when the Emperor and Russia entered into war with the Turks, has resolved to recall part of those forces into Terra Firma; which precaution they think the more necessary in the present juncture, because of some alterations they foresee will speedily happen in Italy. According to private letters from Constantinople, the Gr. Seignior held a divan there about the end of last month, in which it was debated, whether it was expedient for his Highness to ratify the articles of peace sign'd with the Emperor? Several Basliaws and great officers of the Serglio, who for their own interest wished for the continuance of the war, said, that the Gr. Vizier might have improved the situation of his army before Belgrade to better advantage, and that he committed a capital error by neglecting to send his troops over the Save. The Kaimacham, the Kifler-Aga, and the other friends of that prime minister, said all they could in his defence; and alleged in particular, that if the Gr. Vizier had not put an end to the war by a negotiation, they would perhaps have been obliged to defer the siege of Belgrade to the next campaign. Those who found fault with
with the peace, and sought occasion to censure that minister's conduct, represented, that the advantage of the restitution of Belgrade was very much diminished by the condition granted to the Imperialists in the article of the demolition of the works of that city and its citadel. The Mufti and the adherents of the Gr. Vizier overthrew every thing that had been urged against his conduct; so that it was determined that the Gr. Seignior should ratify the treaty, and that he should next year send an Ambassador to his Imperial Majesty. The Count de Bonneval was so ill that day, that he was not present at this divan."

The following article, taken from the London Gazette, deserves the attention of all friends of liberty.

Leghorn, Nov. 9. N.S. The following account of the proceedings of Cardinal Alberoni, with regard to the republic of San Marino, has been transmitted hither. "There having been of late divisions and animosities among some persons of note in the republic of San Marino; Cardinal Alberoni, Legate of Ravenna, being apprized of it, formed a design to surprise the people of that little state, and prevail upon them to give up their ancient free government, and put themselves under the dominion of the Pope. In order to this, he suggested privity to the court of Rome, that the people being oppressed by those who had the government in their hands, were generally disposed to submit to that change; and he obtained a bull or commission, empowering him to accept their obedience to the Holy See. But being conscious that nothing but compulsion and force could effectually carry his project into execution, he went on the 24th of October, with a retinue suitable to his spiritual dignity, attended by 300 soldiers and 60 Sbirri or Bailiffs, and entered the town of San Marino, without any opposition; his coming being sudden, and, appearing as an ecclesiastic, his design was not suspected. He began by imprisoning Seig. Belluzzi and Maccioni, two of the chief inhabitants, for refusing to submit themselves to the new government proposed to them; and having appointed the next day, being the 25th, for the ceremony of receiving publicly the oath of fidelity from the community, he repaired to the principal church, where a high mass was celebrated by the Bishop of Monte Felcro. The Legate in his purple robes was placed under a canopy, attended by his retinue, and by the Marquis Spinelli, the Chevalier Rafponi, the Abbot Maritelli, and others, who were to be witnesses of the new subjects taking the oath. The canopy and the church were surrounded by the soldiers with their muskets cock'd, in order to intimidate the people, and to resist any tumult. The Bailiffs were placed at the door of the church; their head officer or Sheriff, with a collar hanging cloth his breast, standing at a little distance from the canopy. Then the mass began; and when they came to the Kyrie, the Cardinal commanded silence, and, standing up, made a long speech in praise of the Holy See, and setting forth the benefits which would accrue to the people by their submission to it. After this speech the mass went on till it came to the Credo, when silence was ordered a second time, and three notaries who were appointed to settle the form of the oath, and register and attest the names of those who took it, were bid to draw nigh to the canopy. The Capitaneo Angeli was called first, who being previously engaged by the Cardinal, laid his hand on the mass-book, and took the oath. Next an old country man was called, who trembling and muttering took the oath. The third was Seig. Onofri, one of the principal persons of San Marino; who, holding out a paper, read it aloud; the purport was, That on such a day in such a year he took the oath of fidelity to San Marino, which oath, said he, I now confirm; and being asked to whom he confirmed it, he answered, to San Marino; and being required to say to the Pope, he replied he would not; whereupon he was turned out of the church, not without some tumult. Then was called Seig. Gozi, who being required to take the oath, answered, Eminentissime poster, si possibile est, transfaso mi taker sit. On which
which the Cardinal flew into a passion; and imagining the heat he chewed might make an impression on others, he ordered the two brothers Gianzi to be called: but they absolutely refused to take the oath; saying, they would rather suffer to be cut in pieces. The same said Seig. Martelli. From which constancy, the people taking courage, began to cry aloud, Viva San Marino, Viva la nostra república, Viva la nostra liberta: so that the soldiers and Bailiffs, by ill usage and beatings, could hardly appease the tumult. The Cardinal judging that the eft of the counsellors would be of the same mind, in a rage ordered the admistration of the oath to be stopped, and he made only to be continued; which went on with new tumult, occasioned by the soldiers and Bailiffs, who with blows bid the people cry out Viva il Papa; which had no effect, every one relying, Viva San Marino. When they came to the words in the creed crucifexus f, the Cardinal got up and commanded silence; and haranguing the people again, declared all those who had refused the oath to be rebels, condemning their houses and effects to be ransack’d and plundered by the soldiers and Bailiffs. When the Cardinal had done peaking, there was great confusion, some strangers, and a few of the inhabitants forced so to do by soldiers and Bailiffs, crying out Viva il Papa; and a this tumultuous manner the mails ended. Mean while there happened a horrid circumstance; which is, that either by order of the Cardinal, or the liberty which the Sheriff took upon himself, four Bailiffs attempted to murder the chief magistrates who had refused the oath, and had shelter’d themselves in the sacristy; which detestable crime was prevented by the people. Lastly, le Deus was sung; and it was offered, that none of the deputies of the jurisdiction or territory, tho’ invited to come and take the oath, would appear. The Cardinal, returning to his lodging, immediately order’d the houses of those who had refused the oath, to be plunder’d, which was executed with unheard of barbarity. Amongst other circum-
stances one is remarkable, which happen’d to the wife of one of the brothers Gianzi, who being lately brought to bed, was dragged about her room naked, and her bed thrown out of the window. The damage done to the persons whose houses were so plunder’d, is judged to amount to several thousand pistoles, and those persons are reduced to poverty. Besides this, the Cardinal publicly declared, that if those who had not taken the oath to the Pope, and were retired into the sacristy of the Church, should persist in their obstinacy till after noon, he would order them to be taken away from thence by force, and hang’d; and he ordered gibbets to be set up for that purpose. Upon which menaces, and by the intreaties of their relations and friends, they were induced to give their oaths to the Cardinal. Two other Gentlemen, chiefs of San Marino, have been put into confinement; the Captain of the militia, and three others have taken flight. A notification has been sent to Seig. Manenti, to make his appearance within three days under pain of death, and forfeit of his estate. The two castles of Monte Giardino and Fautano held out for a while, but have been obliged to surrender; the Cardinal having sent for cannon, and threatening to demolish those castles if he should be put to the trouble of taking them by force. These proceedings seem not to have been the intention of the court of Rome, which only order’d the Cardinal to repair to the confines of San Marino, and there to hear those who should voluntarily implore the Pope’s acceptance of their surrender; and that he should make it appear, that these were the chief and greatest part of the inhabitants: and besides, he was to procure from them an authentic account in writing of their said request. The bull says, Ad confiniam te conferas, se sponte de- ditantes benignes excipias, gratias & privilegeis cumule.—The Pope, on information of these violent proceedings of the Cardinal, in taking possession of the republick of San Marino, contrary to his instructions, dispatched thither, on the 2d of this month, Mons. Lanti as Apo-
FOREIGN

Apostolick Commissary, to determine, upon due information, whether that republick ought to be left to its liberty, or to become subject to the Pope. And on this account Cardinal Alberoni had timely orders sent him, to withdraw from thence the 3d infant, to his legation of Ravenna."

N.B. According to Mr Addison, who gives a very good account of this small commonwealth, it has lasted above 1300 years; while all the other states of Italy have several times changed their masters and forms of government. He says, the chief officers of this commonwealth are, two Captains, with such power as the old Roman Consuls had, who are chose every six months; a Commissary, who judges in all civil and criminal matters, is somewhat like the Recorder of London, and must be a Doctor of Law and a foreigner; a Physician, who must also be a foreigner, as well as a Doctor of the faculty, and is elected only for three years, with an obligation to visit the sick, and to infused all drugs; and the fifth person, who makes no ordinary figure in this republic, is the Scholmasier. The people live upon a very high craggy mountain; and Mr Addison concludes with a remark, That nothing can be a greater instance of the natural love that mankind has for liberty, and of their aversion to arbitrary government, than such a wild mountain, cover'd often with snow, and always with people, whilst the pleasant country of Campagna de Roma is almost destitute of inhabitants.

MADRID, Nov. 10. "The ministers of the finances are employed in finding out methods of raising fresh sums of money, without burdening the publick. Amongst other expedients, it having been observed that it has been customary for many rich people to lodge great sums of money in churches and religious houses, and seldom or never take it from them, whereby great riches are accumulated that continue in morte main; it has therefore been thought proper that the King should borrow this money, and pay the proprietors interest for the same. As it will be necessary for executing this design to have leave from the Pope, it is said the King has sent orders to Cardinal Acquaviva to ask it of his Holiness. "Tis reported, that some instances will be made to the court of Rome, for the Cardinal Infant to be invested with the dignity of Patriarch of Spain and the Indies. The last advice from Cadiz is, that the King's fleet was preparing to set out to sea. "Tis confirmed that the court has given orders for distributing the effects of the Affligues."

By letters from persons of the best credit at Paris we are assured, that the court of France, as well to prevent the Emperor and the King of Great Britain from entering into too strict an engagement, as for some other good and substantial reasons, is preparing in good earnest to favour the election of the Grand Duke of Tuscany to be King of the Romans; upon condition that he will renounce the possession of the Grand Duchy, in order to its being given to the Infant Don Philip, son-in-law to the Most Christian King. This we are told is the system of France; but as the Electoral house of Bavaria persists in forming great pretensions upon that of Austria, so, in order to satisfy the former thereupon, it will be proposed, that the second Archbishops shall be given in marriage to the son of the Elector of Bavaria, who shall have the Austrian Netherlands with her as a portion: but before all this is effected, every thing relating to the limits between these countries and that of France is to be entirely regulated. If these things should all come to pass, and we are assured that a project is form'd for bringing them about, France will very eminently shew her policy, in turning her engagements for guaranteeing the pramatisch fandition, which have been generally look'd upon as disagreeable to her, in so extraordinary a manner to her advantage, as that in only putting on the appearance of making good these engagements, the choice of the Grand Duke to be King of the Romans being nothing more, the fees the dominions of the Emperor divided among princes over whom she cannot fail of having the
F O R E I G N  H I S T O R Y.

The principal ascendant, and who must
infrequently be no very sincere friends
his Imperial Majesty; and by these
means likewise, let who will be success-
ful to the Imperial throne, he must be
such less puissant than the present Em-
peror, and therefore the more unlikely
to become a rival in power with
the Grand Monarque. As this project
of only concurs with the natural bent
and inclination of the court of France,
it is also exactly consonant with every
theme that nation has form'd in re-
spect to the empire, there is the greater
likelihood of such a one being really
pon the tapis.

Extra of a Letter from Amsterdam.

"As at present 'tis well known that
the peace between Russia and the Porte,
negotiated and brought to its conclu-
mination by the ministry of the Marquis de
Villeneuve, has been ratified; so it is
well known, that the court of France
immediately dispatch'd a courier to the
Marquis de la Chetardie at Berlin, where
he had been directed to stay, with or-
ders for him to repair with the utmost
expedition to Petersburg. Hopes are
conceiv'd at Paris, that this minister
will arrive there time enough to pre-
rent, by his address, the engagements
which that court is upon the point of
contracting with the court of G. Britain,
as well in relation to the present cir-
cumstances of affairs in the north, as in
regard to those which interest G. Brit-
ain in particular. If France can suc-
cceed in diverting the important negoti-
ation which is already begun at Peters-
burg, it certainly will be gaining a great
point. It is manifest, that it was with
this view she has so studiously sought
to enter into a seeming friendship with
this last court; and this was the cause
of her directing the Marquis de Ville-
neuve to do his utmost to bring about
a peace between the Czarina and the
Porte: for it is very evident, had there
not been some such political reason,
France would certainly have gone on
in widening the breach, and encourag-
ing a vigorous prosecution of the war
between the Russians and the Turks;
and this with a view of making it easy
for Sweden to retake the conquests which
Russia had made upon her.—The King
of Gr. Britain's declaration of war a-
gainst Spain gives such universal sati-
faction to the people of that nation,
that, contrary to what is customary on
such occasions, the price of flocks is very
little affected by it, and rather rise there-
upon than fall; which is the more re-
markable, as but little advantages are
expected to be gain'd, especially in Eu-
rope, whilst the Spanish ships of war so
carefully keep in their ports, and out of
harm's way, and so long as the galleons
continue to be laid up in the American
ports. The Spaniards seem rather to
crine, that the English should give a
blow in the West-Indies, either by mak-
ing an attempt upon some of their
settlements there, or even upon thegal-
leons; either of which they imagine
will not fail of obliging the French to
declare in their favour."

REGISTER OF BOOKS.

THE Diffenters apology against the edi-
tor of Dr Warren's sermons pr. 6 d.

A word to the good people of England,
on the present posture of affairs 6 d.

A report of select cases in Chancery, the
King's Bench, &c. during the time that
Lord King was Chancellor, and Lord Ray-
mond and Lord Hardwick were Chief
Justices.

A description of the windward passage,
and the gulph of Florida. 1 s.

Reasons for giving encouragement to the
seafaring people of G. Britain. 6 d.
The British faior's discovery; or the
Spanish pretensions confuted.

Plantation-laws, with the abstracts
and index, from 1681 to 1737.
The student's law dictionary, or com-
plete English law expositer.
The Grecian history. By Temple Stan-
yan, Esq.; vol. 2.
The history and antiquities of the county
of Essex. No. 1. The whole to consist
of 21 numbers. 1 s. each.

A critical and historical account of all
the celebrated libraries in foreign coun-
tries. 1 s. 6 d.

A dissertation on the present juncture,
592 A Register of BOOKS for NOVEMBER 1739.

particularly with regard to trade. 1 s.

The Roman history. By M. Rollin, vol. 1. 2.

The life and adventures of Mrs Christiana Daviess, a grenadier and dragon. 3 s. 6 d.

A new set of tables for builders. By John Wogan.

A tomb of the times, a new ballad. 4 d.

One thousand seven hundred and thirty nine.—Only said to be written by Mr Pope. 1 s.

A short account of the methods used in laying the foundation for the piers of Westminster bridge. By Ch. Labiche. 5 s.

The progress of benevol. 1 s.

An ode to Sir Robert Walpole, on his Majesty's birth-day. By Mr Parrot. 6 d.

The fear of death. By the late Duke of Wharton. 6 d.

London, or the progress of commerce. By Mr. Ghouw, who made the speech in Guildhall, London, on Michaelmas-day last. 1 s.

Reasons for altering the present method of letting church and college leases. 1 s.

The uncertainty of physic. Translated from the Spanish. 1 s.

Improvements in navigation and philosophy. By William Comine, Vicar of Wissendine in Rutland.

Artis obstetriciae compendium, authore Ricardo Manningham, Equite, M.D. 3 s.

The charter for the hospital for foundlings. 4 d.

An epistolatory debate, between Mr William Clark, a dissenting minister, and Mr William Richardson, a presbyter of the church of England. 3 d.

A paraphrase and notes on the epistle of St James, in imitation of Mr Locke.

An hospital for fools.—Said to be written by Mr Miller, author of the Man of taste, &c.

Celibacy; or advice to the Ladies to keep single. 1 s.

Useful miscellanies, or serious reflections. 1 s.

Enthusiasm no novelty. 6 d.

A discourse on the mystery and history of Scripture. 1 s.

A supplement to the philosophical transactions for 1738; being three lectures on mechanic motion. By Dr Stearn.

A vindication of Mr Pope's essays on man; by the author of the divine notion of Mojes. 1 s. 6 d.

An essay for the better improvement of free-thinking. 1 s.

A collection of 128 select observations in surgery, from the Saracids. Annuities for lives. By J. Richob. of Exon. 2 s. 6 d.

A present for an apprentice. By a late Lord Mayor of London. 1 s.

A treatise of frazioni, vulgar and decimal.

Practical surgery. By W. Beth.—But it is printed for E. Curll.

The fatal retirement: a tragedy. 1 s. 6 d.

Woman not inferior to man. 1 s.

Man inferior to woman. 1 s.

An impartial enquiry into the raisable and necessity of a peace bill. 6 d.

Observations upon the declaration of war. 6 d.

An answer to these observations. 6 d.

The history of all religions. By Mr Bromley. Vol. 2. 11. 21. 6 d.

The Jewish fag, vol. 2.

An essay on polite behaviour. 1 s.

A congratulatory letter to the reverend Dr Trapp. 1 s.

A sop's fables, read from party reflections, and calculated to promote virtue, morality, and universal benevolence.

Seleucus diplomatum & manifustum Scotiae thesaurus; ex manuscripto parle- mentari Scotici, a J. ac. Andersonum, scriba regio, collectos & digestos: cum precum, &c. Tho. Ruddimanni, A. M. 61. 6 s. in quarto.

A narrative of the proceedings against the receding ministers; published by order of the G. Assembly 1739. 6 d.

An apology for Mr John Bisset minister at Aberdeen, against a letter published at the Edinburgh Evening-Courant, October 15. 2 d.

The advantages of common water in preventing and curing many distempers. By J. Smith, C. M. edit. 1739. 6 d.

The worthy communicant; by J. Dyke, minister of Epping. To which is added, A sacramental catechism; by J. Fulke. Edit. 1740. 6 d.
WHEN the people of Abdera were mad enough to fancy their fellow-citizen, Democritus, so, for laughing at their follies and absurdities, and bad sent for the great physician, Hippocrates, to undertake his cure, the interview between those venerable personages had something in it so peculiar, so instructive, and so entertaining, that I shall make it the introduction to this day's amusement.

Hippocrates, according to his own account to Damocetus, found his patient sitting under the shade of a plane-tree, in a stone, without shoes, a book on his knees, his beard over-grown, and about him the carcasses of many beasts he had affected. After mutual salutations, the physician demanded what he was employ'd about? To which he reply'd, he was tracing out the beginning, progress, and cure of madness. Hippocrates applauded the task, and seem'd to half envy his happiness and leisure. If so, says Democritus, why are not you as much at leisure, and as happy, too? Because, adds the physician, my family affairs forbid it; the expences of my wife, children and servants, must be defray'd, and the care of them will not permit us live only for ourselves. At which Democritus laugh'd immoderately; and the people of Abdera, present, wept the more pathetically at the continuance of his imaginary phrenzy. Hippocrates then ask'd him, Why he laugh'd? To see, quoth he, the vanities and fopperies of the times: To see men so void of true, and so greedy of gold; so proud, and yet so worthless; so fond of prerogment, and yet so fitted for contempt:

To see them so eager to command others, and yet so prone to slavery themselves: To see them so violent in their passions, and yet so capricious in the means of indulging them: one while in love, then detesting the object below'd; begetting children, and then exposing them to a world more merciless than a desert. Can I help laughing at this? To see them bigotted to names, quarrelling about words, and martyrs to opinions: To see them guilty of all crimes only to be rich, and then die and leave those very riches unejoy'd: To see them prodigals in vice, misers in virtue: To see them annex esteem to trifles, and doat on luxuries without use or value: To see them prize the pictures and statues of men, and yet without bowels for men themselves. Who can help laughing, noble Hippocrates, at such inconsistent vanities? Weak and foolish as children, they covet but a succession of playthings, which they purchase to look at, and throw away! Far below brutes; for brutes are contented with satisfying nature, and never hoard more than they can eat, or covet what they don't want. Who can help laughing at such creatures, such customs, such manners; and, above all, that thef very idiots disdain their cap and bells, and fancy themselves sages, heroes, senators and philosophers? — Thus, and much farther, went on this ironical philosopher, laughing at every period, as if the whole world was but a puppet-play, fram'd for his diversion: and Hippocrates pronounced him not only in his right senses, but one of the wisest of mankind.

Were I now to apply this discourse to our own times, would any body be affronted by the comparison? Would it be an injury to this, or any other European nation? 
repeas nation? — Tho' I don't take up
on me to pronounce definitively, I can't
help hinting, that if Demeritius were to
revive among us, he would have as
much reason to laugh as ever. — But as
examples conclude more forcibly than
the most lively descriptions, or most ac-
curate reasonings, I will beg leave to
introduce some of the moderns, by way
of interlude, in their own proper char-
acters, and leave the reader to deter-
mine in what light they would appear
to that severe, but impartial judge.

Enter Scrape, a miser; Squander, a
fundsbrist; and Varnish, a flatterer.

Sc. Look you, nephew, money is the
esence and quintessence of all things,
that raises more spirits and works more
miracles than all the secrets of magic.

Sg. I know it, Sir; I know it: — 'tis
that makes me so desirous to enjoy
it. — You yourself are not more fond
of it than I am.

Sc. Ay, ay; but then 'tis as rakes
covet women, only to part with them
again. — Now I love money as the
philosophers affect to love virtue, for its
own sake; and if I once get it into my
clutches, am better satisfied than if I
swallow'd in all the pleasures it could
purchase.

Sg. Why, that's all the difference
between us, Sir. — But I don't know
gold from lead, till I put it to the trial;
and pleasure is the only touchstone I
make use of.

Sc. Fool! To have pleasure in one's
power, is to have it in possession; and
when I have any want, I only look on
my gold, and the very sight removes
all pain in a moment.

Sg. Now, I can't bear it in my sight
at all; but as soon as I have it, give it
wings like Mercury, bid it fly to the four
winds, and load them all with luxuries
to please me.

Sc. Luxuries! Lord help thee! He
that knows the true value of gold might
be the envy of Sir Epicure Musumus. —
Auh! the transport of cent. per cent. !
The devouring an orphan! the plunders a
widow! feizing a mortgage! fusing the
penalty of a bond! — These are luxu-
ries indeed! — Then, beside all this, the
respect that wealth commands! dare
ance from the rich, idolatry from the
poor, dependence from both, and ex-
tasy from all.

Sg. Phew! Nothing! nothing to
match the charms of extravagance! — To see:
haughty purst-proud vintner trembles
when you abuse him, waiters fly too to
you, wenches quarrel to oblige you,
strangers bear a beating to plunder ye.
— To be call'd Your Honour by your
dependents, tho' the son of an antich; be
allow'd a man of courage, though
coward might chide you; and bau-
dur'd by want of sense, tho' they exactly
desire you. — Do you think the best
possession of money makes a stigmat
formidable? No such thing, Sir! or
the parting with it; and friends, casts,
power and safety, are as much the cur-
tures of publick profusion, as fine cloth,
women and wine, of private profi-
ty. — In short, Sir, my present beha
is the other hundred; you have lost
your pleasure in receiving it, and 'tis
not right that I should have made in
throwing it away:

Sc. Sirrah! I sink another word, and
I disinherit you. Do you think I'll fall
for the profits of my industry, and the
savings of my economy, to be thus
away in your profuse dissipations?

Vg. O Lord, Sir, nothing can be
more unreasonable! — The 'Scare
is my particular friend, I can't justify
his failings. — One would think the
figure you make in the world, by your
good husbandry, should be both an
example and a law to him. — But youth,
you know, Sir, is too apt to be giddy,
headstrong, vain, profuse.

Sc. Auh! very true, Sir! very true!
Sg. 'Slife! how he banter's the old
put! [Aside]

Vg. But then, on the other hand, it
must be granted impossible to graft an
old head on young shoulders. — I ex-
perience only makes men wise; and ex-
perience must be the growth of time.
My friend has been a little too much
in my confus, but then with him the
wit and spirit has been accompanied.
If you were but to see how well he

Holyks become him, what wit, what
wrathour, what gallantry he discovers in
hem.—Not that I would be thought
advocate for them neither.
Sc. No, no; I hope not, I hope not.
Sq. Ah, the wheeling soundrel!
[Afsa.

Va. But they are even blended with
touch of prudence too.—What do you
think now occasions his present demand
or another hundred?
Sc. No good, I'll lay my soul.
Va. Not too flat I beseech you, Sir.
—There is a young heir just of age,
sofeffed of a considerable estate, besides
10,000 l. in the funds, and we—
Sc. Are to enter him at play I'll
warrant.

Va. The same, in spite of the st of
parliament.—We have appointed to
meet him at the tavern this very even-
ing; women and wine the pretence:
but when he's half-fas over, as they
say, and he hears the dice rattle, he will
leave both; every thing for a merry
main; and, if he once begins to lose—
Sc. As, I suppose, you have taken
effectual care he shall.

Va. Or this right hand has forgot its
canning.—He'll bleed away all he is
worth.

Sc. But, if he should speak?
Va. No, no; he is too much a man
of honour.

Sc. Well, on condition, I go halves.
Va. To be sure, Sir.—And when
he wants to mortgage, (as he certainly
will) you shall have his estate into the
bargain.

Sc. Come along then, come along;
when money is to get money, tho' I
say it, there is not a more generous
man in the three kingdoms.

[Execunt.

COMMON SENSE, Dec. 8.

The Nation united.

I have a book at home, called The
Athenian Oracle, which is my great
fund of instruction for times past; for,
whenever our Parson cannot give me a
solution of any difficulty, ten to one but
I find it there. It surprises me, that so
good a plan has not been continued in
the present times. I look'd, at firft,
upon the Gazetteer, as a paper calcu-
lated to answer political questions; but,
after my carefuft endeavours to un-
derftand what it would be at, I find it
is like an university lefure, something
must be paid for the salary.

I must then have recourse to you;
and as you satisfy me in anfwering one
question, I may, or may not, trouble
you with more. My question is not
upon futurity, for I suppose you do not
deal with the Devil. I do not ask you,
how long the war with Spain will laft,
nor when we shall have another con-
vention or two? I only ask, From what
cause this perverfenefs of our merchants
can proceed, that, letters of reprifals
being offer'd, fo few should accept of
them? as if nothing but downright
war would serve them, however inco-
fident with the repofe of that indefatigi-
able minister who, for many years,
bath rock'd the publick cradle, and en-
deavour'd to lull that froward babe the
nation to reft.

I ought not to anticipate an oracle,
(for, as fuch, I consult you,) but I must
give my exclusion to two answers which
I have already consider'd, and which
not even the Pythia of Delphi should
make me believe. The firft is, That
our merchants have not that implicit
confidence in our unfain'd admini-
stration which their prudent and firm coun-
cils deserve: And the other, That we
are fo miferably torn with party, that
we are not in a condition to prosecute a
war.

As to the firft, I cannot attribute our
present flappiness to a want of confidence
in our muffiny; which I verily think
exceeds, in its kind, any muffiny on his-
torical record. On the contrary; we
have ample funds already laid on, and
the finking fund at hand: We have a
noble fleet, partly at fea, partly get-
ting ready: Admirals we have, and to
spare, fo as to be able to afford to dif-
card fame of the best. The trifle due
to this nation from our ancient friends
the Spaniards was, by the benevolence
of our Commissions, estimated only at
155,000 l. Don Benjamin, with as much
4 S com-
complaisance, gave up his masters of the S. S. company. But say, that the Commisfaries condensation (I had almost called it, present) of 45,000 l. for prompt payment, and the Deo's tipping the winkle for 68,000 l. should be disfavored by their ungrateful constituents; and that to these should be added the Christian article of restitution for the Spanish fleet at Cape Passaro; add, if you will, the other 140,000 l. which our impartial Commisfaries have struck off from our claim, and about 300,000 l. more confessedly due, by the crown of Spain, to the S. S. company; nay, if you please to be so extravagant, add twice as much, or more, for losses which our West-India dealers have patiently submitted to, rather than run the expensive course of solicitation and acknowledgment to our disinterested Governors in those countries, for letters and memorials never to be opened: All this is less than a poor despicable million and a half of money.

His Majesty's ships (God give them success) are not put to the trouble of finding high security to do no mischief: Security for 3000 l. may puzzle a trader that has lost the best part of his stock by deprivations; and other clauses may be thrown into his letters of reprimands apt to stumble honest city fortunes. How much more proper is it, therefore, to leave reprimands to the ships of war? Two or three galleons would do it; and by the behaviour of the King's ships, in acting vigorously, it will be soon seen, whether we are in earnest or not. It is very hard, if a hundred fail of men of war at sea, properly instructed, cannot levy a paltry million and a half, with as much more as will pay the fiddles. We know, that the hearts of the British fleet, officers and tailors, are gallant, found, and keen to be at work.

It makes me wonder, therefore, when I hear our jokers say, that the minister is distrustful. I say, he is trusted. The merchants trust their reprimands to the King's ships, under the minister's direction; and to the minister himself they trust, that he will soon give them another convention, as good as the last. 

If letters of marque had been granted when the Spaniards first began to play their game, it might, perhaps, have given them a check; but the merchants might think they were offered something too late now; for the Spaniards would have continued taking ships as well as we, and as they are many years beforehand with us in copies, we could never be even with them this way, considering that we have still more trading vessels to lose than they. There remain'd, therefore, no other way for us to do ourselves justice, but by a vigorous war. It was necessary to touch the Spaniards to the quick: The sloth, the galleons, as I hinted before, or the taking a rich colony in America, would oblige them to give up the right of searching, and pay costs into the bargain; and it was time for our men of war, which the Spaniards, in derision, called gallinas del mar, (the hens of the sea) to do something to recover their former reputation abroad, as well as to satisfy our people at home, that they were of some use besides eating up the sinking fund, and hindering the payment of the public debts. — The merchants, therefore, might think it best, to leave reprimands to the ships of war.

As to the other answer which I hear is made, our intestine divisions, I am in a condition to prove the contrary, and therefore deny the fact. The nation is not divided; it speaks, and has long spoken, one unaltered senfe. — There is not a thief that goes to Tyburn but has his party. He himself, his brother, his near kindred, all the gang, avow his side; and this they would call a powerful declaration: but ask the mind of the crowd of affiliates, and they will tell you, that they came there on purpose to see him hang'd. — The cries of a few placemen can never infer a divided nation.

I think that, without magic, all the parties in this nation might be easily and cordially united in the common defense.
of their country by a few words, the dismission of one placeman from all publick employments whatsoever.

Sure I am, such dismission could be attended with no danger.—The whole people out of employment with it: so do some of those in employment, if we may believe what they whisper, for they dare not speak out. — Those who have no wishes beyond themselves will be the first to say they did. — If there was any fear of ill-blood upon such an event, have we not an army? and a new promotion of General officers, to supply the playing aside of some useless theorists, in whom an obstinate adherence to a new principle of supporting a placeman to the ruin of the nation, had not only corrupted, but has misled, in the most open manner, to corrupt others? — Never fear: that stroke may be struck without danger.

I am not quite so sure that it is altogether without danger to keep any man in employment, with whom the whole nation is dissatisfied.—I do not know any instance in history of good being got by such a measure, but many of harm. I shall mention but one, from the chronicles of Scotland.

K. James V. of that kingdom was led away by a blind attachment to one Oliver Sinclair, a favourite, whose only merit was, his unbounded compliance with the King’s schemes for increasing his power and filling his coffers. The English having invaded that kingdom, a Scots army marched to the borders to meet them, but loudly protesting that the war should not be conducted by Sinclair or his creatures.—The nomination of General was kept in secret till the very day of battle; when Sinclair was declared: of which the result was, that the whole army, not for love to the English, not for want of bravery, but out of mere fallenness, surrender’d themselves without striking a stroke.

I am, &c.

**UNIVERSAL SPECTATOR, Dec. 15:**

Mr Stonecastle,

A fair sex any weakness or foible for which they are remarkably distinguished, I must beg leave that I may, through your means, attempt to cure a folly which is very prevalent among them. The indiscretion I complain of is, the ridiculous superstition and irrational regard which most women are apt to pay to foreboding omens and fanciful predictions. Though this folly has been often ridiculed, yet one may every day observe multitudes who are so infatuated with these notions, that they imagine there is a spirit of prediction in every thing about them, and are put into a concern and amazement with the most common and trifling accidents in life.

This singular weakness in the female sex has been ascribed to the errors of education: but I can imagine it to be owing only to their want of reflection; for if any person would but give themselves the least trouble to think calmly, they must know the connected accidents, which they call omens and prognostics, are mere whims and idle chimeras. Such a habit of reasoning would soon put an end to many terrors and unaccountable fears which they affright themselves with; nor would they be alarmed at the glowing of a cheek, the itching of an eye, the bowling of a dog, or the chirping of a cricket.

Though it moves my pity when I see such fantastic apprehensions have a serious effect, yet I cannot help laughing at the oddity of the whimsies. Mrs Bridget Forefoot is an old maid, whom this species of madness makes very entertaining. She has nothing befalls her, but she has some forenotice of it: every limb about her prognosticates events; her feet give her a hint when she is to tread upon strange ground, and her elbows, when she is to change her bed; her nails demonstrate the approach of gifts and presents: the bursting of a cinder from the fire will strangely compose or please her, according to the form she imagines it bears; if of a coffin, it certifies death; if of a purse, it promises money: her candles bring her letters, strangers and winding-sheets. Besides these acquisitions of knowledge, she is
a surprising dreamer herself, and an infallible oracle in the interpretation of the dreams of others. With these endowments she is followed like a Sibyl by all the foolish weak girls and widows in the neighbourhood, to whom she reads lectures on coffee-grounds, and betows sweethearts or beadlocks with great solemnity and veneration.

There are, Mr Stonecastle, several other female characters which I could have sent you as specimens of this folly; but as I intended only to give a short hint of this weakness, I shall leave it to you to make what comments upon my epistle you think proper, and am

Your constant reader,

Lucius.

As it is the endeavour of all people of sense to diminish as much as is in their power the too certain troubles of life, so it is the habit of fools voluntarily to increase them. This observation is in no instance more strongly verified than in the superstitious regard which is paid to fancied omens, and the fear and desire of knowing future events. Though my correspondent has laid this charge entirely to the female sex, yet there are not wanting a great number of men who are equally guilty of this preposterous folly. The character of Foresight in Love for Love will suit many persons who laugh at the ridiculous old Gentleman upon the stage. Jack Sprightly will be melancholy two or three days on the hearing the ticking of a death-watch; and has laid aside going about any particular business, if on his going into the streets, the first dog he saw happened to be a black one. The spilling a little salt, or accidentally laying two knives across, will have a wonderful effect on a great many men, who would at the same time be thought to be persons of a more than common degree of understanding.

The inconveniences, disappointments and miseries of life, will come to certain and so quick of themselves, that we need not endeavour to increase the load of them by their foreknowledge; since that foreknowledge, even supposing it true, cannot prevent them. And as to the appraisal of our future happiness, the little delights we may possibly enjoy in life are much impaired, when we are kept in suspense by a tenacious expectation. —There is a most beautiful passage in Shakespeare on what would be the consequence, if a man could know all the changes and events of his life. The lines are spoke by Henry IV. on the surcussion raised against him by his thunderbolt, who a few years before had placed the crown on his head: At the thought of this change he makes this admirable exclamation:

Oh! heav’n, that one might read the book of fate,
And see the revolutions of the times,
Make mountains level, and the continent
Wear of solid firmness, melt itself
Into the sea; and other times to see
The beauteous girdle of the ocean
Too wide for Neptune’s ships; bow changes
And changes fill the cup of alteration [much]
With divers liquors. O! if this were seen,
The happiest youth, viewing his progress through,
What perils past, what toils deferred, Would shut the book, and set him down and die.

A rational regard for our own concerns, and a resolution to meet our happiness with thankfulness, and our miseries with resignation, will put us high to all fantastic fancies and enquiries, which are founded on fraud, folly and deceit. To imagine the decrees of providence are revealed to a poor ignorant fellow, or a prattling old woman, who are the profectors of these mysteries, is not only ridiculous, but wicked.

After having thus moralized in general, I must address a few lines to my female readers in particular, as my correspondent’s letter was calculated for their use.

There is in the fair sex a certain superfluity which is extravagant, and which runs them into several snares. If they would exert so much courage and sagacity of soul, to think how falsely their fears are grounded, they would become much happier to themselves than they are at present. To this want of moderation,
section is owing the effect that ridiculous
men have on their minds. Nor is this
timidity so much an immensity of nature,
as a fault in education: Mothers by their
examples teach their daughters from
their childhood to be alarm'd at old
women's fables, and to tremble and
shriek at trifles; they instruct them to
bring themselves into pretty armies on
all occasions; and in time these imagi-
nary terrors grow into real ones, and
the habit becomes strong that nothing
can eradicate it. I would desire, there-
fore, that my fair disciples would on all
occasions give themselves time to think;
and I have so good an opinion of the
understanding of the sex, that they need
only to exercise their reason to act to
the strictest rules of it.

To the author of the Remarks, in the Scots
Magazine of October last, upon Dr
Campbell's late book concerning the
Necessity of Revelation.

S I R,

Dec. 24.

Since I have been out in expecting
that one might find in November
Magazine some sort of apology for the
haughty letter that was inserted in the Maga-
azine of October, you will give me
leave now to trouble you with my opin-
ion about it. And, leaving it to you
to inform the world about the secret
designs of one's heart, I must pretend to
look no farther than human eyes are
able to reach, and can only undertake
to propose to your attention what every
body else must observe.

In your remarks upon my late book con-
cerning the Necessity of Revelation,
you are pleased to inform the world
that my principles consist in these two
articles.

1. You say, "The Doctor ende-
vours to prove, That the bulk of the
ancient philosophers could not believe
the immortality of the soul, because they
did not infer it from right principles,
that is, from its immateriality." But pray,
Sir, where have you met with this silly
proposition? Not in my book, I am
confident. In several instances I ex-
preily affirm and show the clean con-
trary. One may as well allledge, that,
notwithstanding you have openly said,
it, yet you cannot believe that I am la-
bouring a design wherein I would rather
have men reduced to Atheism itself, than
not to allow of the necessity of an order of
prizes and their method of teaching; be-
cause you do not infer it from right
principles.

2. In the next place, you tell us,
that "The Doctor attempts to prove,
That the said philosophers could not
have any knowledge of an infinite mind,
and of morals or natural religion, because
of their great ignorance in natural phi-
losophy." This, Sir, is of the same
nature with the former, no where to be
found in my book. On the contrary,
I have observed, that several ancient phi-
losophers, notwithstanding their great
ignorance in natural philosophy, pro-
fessed the notion of an infinite mind;
And what was to hinder the rest from
going along in the same sentiments?

Now, Sir, having had the honesty
to confess to you the interest I have in
these two silly propositions you have
had the goodness to father upon me,
the world will judge to whose account
that quackery you speak of, ought to be
placed; and you may be doing the best
you can, in the mean time, to satisfy
them as to your other remarks, no less
extraordinary. Let me here only beg
you to reflect, that greater charity, softer
words, and fairer treatment might have
been expected from one, who seems so
much alarmed at the danger to which,
you apprehend, Natural religion is now-
adays expose. For, besides your pu-
blindly imposing upon me these silly
principles, you further tell the world,
that I pretend to rest the whole matter
(that is, the truth of these two funda-
mental articles of religion, the being of
God and a future state) upon tradition;
which, you presume, I know the Deists
believe nothing of. And therefore, say
you, my attempt to weaken their prin-
ciples, and to throw them loose from all
such obligations, is most unwarrantable.
Unwarrantable! a soft word, I confess,
for so heinous a crime. But from
whence...
whence, Sir, have you come to learn that I rest the whole matter upon tradition? My book, in several places, is most expressly against it. And if the Deists hold their principles about the being of God and a future state, upon rational grounds; those I openly profess, I leave them entire, in their full force, with all the strength they can derive from the works of creation and providence, without infusing any the least thing that in any degree can weaken their authority.

I have only further to acquaint you, that as I am extremely ready to receive any information from you, or from any other hand, that may enable me to rectify my sentiments of mine wherein I may chance to be mistaken, or that may help me to improve any branch of my argument; so it would afford me great pleasure, could I be so happy as to relieve you, or any other person, from any mistakes you may entertain with respect to my principles. But, if you shall think fit to enter into this argument, (for, as yet, you have not so much as touch'd it) I hope you will manage it as it becomes an impartial and fair enquirer, who will embrace truth where'er he finds it, and honestly declare for it, on what side forever of the question it may happen to make its lovely appearance. And since I here offer to go along with you in the search of truth, may I not flatter myself, you will use me gently, as a friend and companion; not with angry and abusive language, the only sort of perdition that a private hand can employ against me?

In particular, as I know my design is good, and that it is not in your power to convince me it is bad, you may save yourself the trouble to bring out the secrets of my heart, in telling the world about my designs. Nor need you introduce into my conclusion, what is quite out of the question. You are pleased to inform the world, that my conclusion bears in it, not only the necessity of revelation, but a sacred institution of priests. Why really, Sir, my argument has no business with any institution of priests whatsoever; and you might have as well assured the world, that I conclude in a sacred institution of kings and queens, who, you know, are said to be nursing fathers and nursing mothers: Only the cry about an one, a sacred institution of priests, helps to make a noise, so be the common cant among Deists, and may come to give those Gentlemen a prejudice against my argument.

In a word, Sir, having declared the judgment of speculation, as in my question absolutely incompetent; I offer you my argument in favour of revelation, to be overthrown, 'either by fairly approving the matters of fact, which I allege in the case of the Hebraic world; or by clearly showing, that the conclusion I build upon those facts, cannot thereby be supported.' In effecting which, you must be no recluse philosopher, but come abroad in the world. As for your moderns, you may let them be by the ear as you please; if you give me an interest in the quarrel, it will turn out to my advantage. And I suppose you will all along bear in mind, that it concerns to the world the truth of one's argument in defence of revelation, when a man miscarries in the attacks he makes upon it: This may, at least, prevent trifling. Nor will you fail to remember, 'that, since the being of God, as it were, an axiom, or a first principle, agreed upon by Christians and Deists, to be sacredly maintained in all religious debates; if an argument comes in favour of revelation, that will either force a man to confess its necessity, or reduce him to deny that first principle; every Deist, that acts candidly, is bound to acknowledge, that such an argument is a full demonstration of the truth of supernatural revelation, or that God, after that particular manner, has made himself known, and imparted it to mankind.' Whether something of this nature may not be the thing that so much alarms some people at my book, and that tempts them to insinuate such bad designs to the author, I not pretend to determine. Only, taking the argument in this light,
man inclines to amuse himself, or to divert other people, that can be diverted with impertinence and contradiction, he may reproach Mr Campbell very liberally, and tell the world, "that Dr Campbell would rather have men reduce'd to Atheism itself, than not to allow of the necessity of supernatural revelation." For, to say it over again, as he has no business, so he as little meddles with the necessity of an order of priests; a set of men that seem to fright people sometimes out of their wits.

Thus far I have taken notice of your letter, which hath so entirely mistaken my principles, that no man who has read my book with his eyes open, can need to be informed of it. And here I take leave once for all to declare, that if nothing to better purpose, or that I may judge worth while, shall hereafter appear against my book concerning the necessity of revelation, this is the last time that I design to trouble the world with any thing of this nature. In the mean while, I would fain hope, that, for the sake of truth, and to secure a decency in one's argument, any Gentleman who thinks he has reason to differ publicly from me, will be so good as to show himself openly. Human opinions are not much to be trusted; they will refuse the bridle in darkness, and suffer themselves to be check'd in broad day-light. Nor do I see why a cover of truth should cover his face, and lie concealed. But every man will take his own way: And just now I have the pleasure to assure you, that, with all the sentiments of humanity, I am,

Dear Sir,
Your most sincere and hearty well-wisher,
Arch. Campbell.

The King of Spain's Declaration of War against Great Britain.

The King.

W.

Hereas my forbearance can no longer dissemble with the regular pretensions of England, her allure in faith to treaties, and the declaration of war proclaimed lately at London against this crown; I, founding on my notorious rights, and swayed by what is dictated by a natural defence, am resolved likewise, that, in this court, against the British King, his kingdoms and subjects, the same shall be publish'd and executed in the like manner in all my dominions by sea and land, laying on embargoes, and committing all forts of hostilities against the subjects of the said nation; and in consequence thereof, entirely to exclude them from all forts of commerce and trade in these kingdoms and other dominions belonging to this crown; and that at the same time all English-born subjects that are not naturaliz'd shall immediately withdraw, only such as are in any mechnick office may remain. For which purpose I do command that this shall be complied with, and executed under the following dispositions and declarations.

II. That for the future the trade and commerce with all the English subjects shall be illicit and prohibited, and all their manufactures, merchandizes and produce, as likewise whatsoever they shall treat, negotiate, and transport in these kingdoms, in such manner as the prohibition of the said trade is to be understood, as I will and understand it, to be absolutely and really forbidding and hindering the importation of the said commodities, produce, goods, merchandizes, and manufactures of the said dominions; pursuant to the prohibition which is made, and I do make by these prefrnts, to all the vaffals and subjects of England: And I do order and command, that in none of my ports in these kingdoms shall be admitted any vessells with the goods, fabrickis, or produce of the said dominions, and that no entrance shall be granted nor permittance given to introduce the same by land, in what manner or form foever; and that all the said produce, goods, manufactures, and merchandizes in these kingdoms, shall be deemed illicit and prohibited wherefoever they may come from, be found, or seiz'd, in ships, vessells, exchangues, shops, or houses of merchants, and any
any other particular persons whatsoever, although they be subjects and vassals of me, or of the kingdoms, provinces and states, with whom I am in peace, alliance, and in free commerce: With whom it is my royal resolution at the same time to preserve the peace, as also the freedom and liberty of trade, which according thereunto are to be preferred in these kingdoms, and the free admission of their ships and traffic in their several kinds, properly and privately belonging to their countries, provinces and conquests, or manufactured in the same. And I likewise do declare those merchandizes, products, and manufactures to be illicit and forbidden, which have been manufactured or made in my dominions, or in those of my friends and allies, but have been dyed or whitened by, or confided to the English, and which have by them been made up, and have paid the duties thereof; renewing, as I do renew by this present prohibition, as the same concerns the said dominions belonging to England, whatsoever is ordained by the laws, cedulas and pragmatics, issued in that respect.

III. And in order to know and specify what are the produce, manufactures, and merchandize belonging to the said dominions of England, and what is illicit and prohibited, in case any one party grounds his defence thereon; I do order, that the judge before whom an information shall be laid, or the goods shall be seized by way of enquiry or any ways whatsoever, shall appoint a skillful person, according to the kind of goods that are seized; and the person in whose possession the same shall be found, and against whom any information is laid, shall appoint another; who, upon oath, (and under penalty of treason, which I decree against them if they do not well and faithfully perform their duty) shall declare what kind of merchandizes those are that are laid before them, and of what fabric or produce: and in case they are decided to be of the said dominions, they shall be forthwith declared forfeited; and in case those two should not agree, the judge shall nominate a third person, who shall declare in the same form, and under the same penalty: and in case the transferees do agree, execution shall be passed without any further defence in the same cause. And to the end that they may be informed of those goods of merchandizes that are of the said manufactures, produce, and prohibited goods, to be proper, and especially belonging to the said English dominion; it is my will that judges shall be appointed to, whom shall bear and examine the minutest articles concerning belonging.

IV. And forthwith I declare all those merchandizes, produce and manufactures of the said dominions, that shall be found in these kingdoms, in the possession of any one of any subject, or of any inhabitant there, they be of the dominions and estates of allies and friends, and in any vessels, carriages or vehicles wherefover they shall be found, to be forfeited in case of confiscation; retaining in this respect to the vessels and ships of our friends and allies, those treaties of peace agreed with them. And I do give the third part of the said forfeiture to my exchequer, one other third part to the judge, and the other third to the informer: ordering both judge and informer to appear as soon as sentence of forfeiture is passed, and give a depository security to make restitution in case the sentence should be overturned.

And further, besides the penalty aforesaid, I inflict the pain of death, and the loss of all their goods, so prostituted to my exchequer, on the said person import, or give any help or aid to the importation thereof to the dominions, the crime being remedied: and upon those with whom are found, but who did not import, I do inflict the penalty of forfeiture of the said merchandizes, whatever illicit and prohibited, I say, three parts in manner aforesaid further, upon regular proof. I do demand the malo fide possessors of said prohibited merchandizes, to bring them to be such, in the forfeitures of their goods, to be appropriated to my exchequer: which person, as it is understood
understood, shall declare of whom he has received the same; yet in case he does not declare the same, he shall be leemed the chief importer, and subject to the said penalties, wherein shall be no mitigation, nor arbitration of any judge of what degree ever, nor of any tribunal, nor court of judicature, unless they have acquainted me therewith.

V. And I do order, that all the places, houses and shops of merchants and traders, at least from four to four months, without any fix'd day being given, shall be visited, and all the goods found there shall be enquired into; and whatsoever shall be found to be illicit and prohibited, shall be declared as such, and forfeited, he writings being drawn in the usual form: and in case the posseflor should deny the same to be of the said prohibited quality, they shall proceed to the proof and declaration, by naming such skillful persons as above mentioned, making the said enquiries by dint of office, without any necessity of a preceding defamation or information whatsoever; however so that they shall not have liberty to do the same in any private houses, that are not merchants, unless the same be notorious by information, or any other legal denunciations, importing, that goods and other commodities prohibited by this cedula, are concealed there. And in order to facilitate the said enquiry, and prove against whom it may concern, I do order that all merchants and traders of these kingdoms, natives as well as strangers, shall keep books of account and transactions in the Spanish language, wherein they shall set down, and mention therein, whatever they buy, in order to declare and produce the same before those judges that shall demand the same, as often as it shall be required.

And in respect thereunto, I do order that the sixth law, tit. 18. of the sixth book of the Recapsitulaciones, and the penalties prescribed therein, be kept sacred; but without any aim to alter any the least thing mentioned in the said ordinance, as adjusted with those Kings, Princes, States, and Repubicks I am in peace with, and according to their alliances of a free trade; which rather are confirmed, and shall remain in their full force, as mentioned in the same ordinance.

VI. And that no person whatsoever, of what quality the same may be or hold, may be exempted from any penalty which such prejudicial crimes may require; I do order that none shall avail themselves, in so far as regards this, of any privilege or pre-eminence whatsoever, such as, being of any military orders, titular officers, or belonging to the inquisition, Captains, soldiers, as well those of my guard, as any ordinary ones of my kingdoms, seldiery or artillery, my court-favours, registers or any others that pretend to be exempted from the ordinary courts of justice: And that all that shall act in opposition to this ordinance, shall be punished by the penalties appointed for that purpose; and that no exemption nor privilege shall help them to any mitigation, nor in any ways whatsoever.

VII. And whereas, for the inviolable observance of what is ordained, commanded and prohibited in this present ordinance, it is necessary, for the execution thereof, to prohibit the countries and dominions of the King of England, all trade to these kingdoms; it is my will and pleasure to grant no permission nor licence to import any produce, merchandizes, and manufactures, nor any goods of the said dominions, into this country: and in case any is given, I do revoke, annul, and declare the same void; commanding my councils, Viceroy's, tribunals of justice and magistrates, with whose advice such licences were formerly granted, that from hence forward they give no advice or consent to such licences; and I forbid all application to me for the same, what motive, cause, or reasons soever, for that purpose, they may have.

VIII. And considering it would not be just to prohibit the trade of those sorts of goods, which before the breaking out of the war, and in due time were imported from the English dominions; as also to give no encouragement to import others, which on pretence of their vent may follow; I do declare, that all
the merchants that shall have in their possession, any goods, merchandizes, or produce of the said dominions, within fifteen days after the publication of this my ordinance, which is fixed for a peremptory term, shall declare and register the same in our court, before the minister whom I shall appoint to decide those controversies; and in other cities, towns and places, before the judges which I shall likewise nominate and in case there be no such appointed or nominated, before the ordinary court; to whom, in defect thereof, I give the same jurisdiction: And those that are not registred before the term of the said fifteen days, shall be immediately condemned and proceeded against according to order. And for the consumption of those which shall be registred, and which shall be declar'd and mark'd, two months' time shall be given; which being expired, the merchants and traders shall be oblig'd to deliver the said goods to the custom-houses; and in those places where there are none, to the publick halls or court-houses: and that the same shall be sold by publick auction, in the presence of the minister or ministers deputed for that purpose; and, in default of them, of the court; who shall deliver the produce thereof to the owners, without power to have any of the said prohibited goods brought again to their shops or warehouses, of what sort soever, according to the formalities heretofore practis'd.

And it is my pleasure, that all this be complied with and inviolably executed. And to the end that no body may plead any ignorance of what is contained in this ordinance, I do command that the same be published by my council of war in this court, and that they give the necessary orders for the execution thereof, according to custom in the like cases.

Done at Buen Retiro, on the 28th of November, 1739.

I the KING.
Don Casimiro de Uztariz.

This is the true copy of the Declaration from the Secretary's office of State and War.

A cheap proposal for Land-for-ad Marines.

It gives me the greatest pleasure imaginable, to observe the various revival of that true British spirit, which I fear'd corruption might have tainted, or despair have sunk. That universal zeal and cheerfulness, with which the whole nation at present not only submits to, but solicits the least burdens, in order to retrieve the, its honour, too long insulted, and its rights, too unjustly violated, and its shamefully sacrificed, show that the genius of this island still rises superior to the vile arts made use of to depress it. Every man in the kingdom (except one, or, at most, two) heartily cannon in the carrying on of this present war. They see the justice, and the necessity of it; and they see the evident and lasting advantages naturally arising from it, if conducted with common skill and prudence. Among the many instances of this generous spirit, I cannot help mentioning, with due honour, one particularly of a private person, which seems unequal any thing I have read, of any private Roman; and which would, in those times, have entitl'd him to some of the honorary distinctions, with which the great and wise nation, both exalted and rewarded private virtue and value. I mean Mr Rich, who has, upon this occasion, raised at his own expense, two incomparable regiments for the service of his native country. Whom I lately seen that inimitable comedy, Sir Rehearsal, must, doubtless, have been struck with the strength and beauty of those two corps; which, in my mind, far exceed any we have seen of late in Hyde-park, Haymarket, or any of those theatres of our out-door excitation. It would be well if thes' corps could do them either horse, or dragoons; since, in truth, we are, in themselves, the peculiar recreations of all three. Consider, they have all the cloathing and arms of the fam'd Macedonian phalanx, while, at the same time, they have
Weekly ESSAYS in DECEMBER 1739. 607

strength of the horse, and the celerity of the dragoons: A military improvement, entirely owing to Mr Rich, and unthought of by Polybius or Chevalier Polard; notwithstanding that the authentic accounts we find in antiquity, of the strength, agility, and usefulness of the Centaurs, might, one should have bought, have suggested something of his nature to them. As horse, they must be allowed to exceed even our lifetimwards, being contriv'd so as to receive or bayonets without confusion; not to mention the advantages in their foraging, a little fresh straw, from time to time, being sufficient for their subsistence. And their serving at the same me on foot and on horseback, gives them manifestly the advantage over our agoons, who can do but the one, or the other. Nor can I omit the prudent economy with which Mr Rich has made his levies; there being (I think) it two officers to each corps, a Captain, of an Ensign, or Cornet, tho' doubts he was licentious to many members this house for commissaries. And I hear, that they are paid by the usual pattern, tho' he was extremely press'd to erect a new office for that purpose.

This army, as I am credibly informed, would not have appear'd upon so considerable a theatre, had Mr Rich's generous and public spirit proposed them place; for he first offer'd them the administration for the use of the blisk: but upon condition, indeed, at they should be employed abroad, particularly in the West-Indies, where apprehended that this new and cenar army might scatter the same terror among the present Spaniards, as their e-arms did formerly among the Indians their predecessors. Nay, more, I am assured that having duly weighed certain difficulties, which he suspected right arise concerning a General fit either to contrive, or execute a commissary of that nature, he made a tender of Mr Ryan to fill that important post; a gentleman who, in the character of Hernando Cortez, had often serv'd with distinction and success in those countries. Though Mr Rich was thanked for his loyal and generous offer, he was told at the same time (as the malecontents give out) that it could not be accepted upon those conditions; for that there was no design of acting offensively abroad, especially in America, which would either exasperate matters, and retard a wish'd for accommodation, or would procure such a treaty, as would necessarily disgrace the late convention; that, moreover, his establishment was an improper, not to say a useless one, there being more private men than officers upon it, which did not answer the only end proposed by our land-forces: That as to Mr Ryan, his person was by no means disagreeable to them; and that if it should be necessary, for form's sake, to nominate a Commander in chief, the nature of Mr Ryan's exploits, and service, justly intitled him to that honourable sine-cure. Under these discouragements, Mr Rich, despairing to do his country the service, and himself the honour he proposed, resolved to employ his new rais'd forces, in the same manner as our national troops are employ'd, and exhibit them as a show and spectacle to the publick. To this accident, Prince Valseius and Prince Prettyman owe those excellent bodies of troops, which they now with so much lustre and safety command; and which would make no inconsiderable contingent for some considerable potentates of the sacred Roman empire.

I should reproach myself, if I did not do Mr Fleetwood the justice to inform the publick upon this occasion, that he was by no means behind-hand with his competitor Mr Rich, in the demonstrations of his zeal for the honour and advantage of his country. Nay, I am not sure, if he did not go beyond him. For he had rais'd a considerable body of marines, mounted upon sea-horses, which he offer'd to swim to any appointed place in the West-Indies, without the trouble or expense of transports. But, I am told, his offer was declin'd, pretty much in the same manner, and for the same reasons of the former; with this additional one, that the not wanting of transport ships, was an obje-
tion, instead of a recommendation; because that in case any troops were sent abroad, the hiring and the virtualizing of the transports was already promised to the cousin-german of a brother-in-law of a parliament man, who had always been a steady friend to the present administration, and the Whig cause. What use Mr Fleetwood now intends to turn this excellent body of marines to, is not yet known; but it is reasonably to be presumed, that the public will have the pleasure of seeing them upon some occasion or other. Possibly he may exhibit a Naumachia, after the manner of the Romans, where these forces may distinguish themselves; which indeed the more to be wished, that he annuls of these times may at least transmit to posterity one naval action, in which the national strength, and true spirit of this country may appear.

I am always unwilling to censure the conduct of my superiors; I know my duty, I know my danger, and I am conscious how far these great arcanas of politics are beyond my poor ken. But I confess I cannot conceive why the generous offers of these two Gentlemen were refused; much less do I see the cogency of those arguments upon which that refusal was founded. What harm would there be in having a good body of land-forces on board our squadrons in the West-Indies? I see none. Nay, I'll go further; would there be any great harm, if, by making a decent in the Spanish West-Indies, we acquired some useful and considerable possessions there, that would secure our trade to us for the future? I admit it might exasperate matters a little for a time; but that trinity would soon subside, and we might possibly have a peace both the better, and the sooner for it. And that a that case the peace would be too good a one, and disgrace the last convention, does not seem to me to be a solid objection: for I do not see that my success ties us down to make a better peace than we have a mind to; since those who have it in their power to make as good a one as they will, have a fortuna in their power to make as bad a one as they please. As far as the grace of the convention, it is impolitic; the convention is invulnerable; it secure in its own virtue, and will stand upon its own merits, as long as the records of time shall transmit to posterity the memory of treaties, conventions, acts, proclamations, and declarations.

The objection to the small number of officers upon Mr Rieb's establishment, has, with great submission, but less weight, with relation to troops there to serve abroad: I admit it is in all extent with relation to our forces that are to serve at home. But I cannot think that the administration would be under any difficulties, from the solicitations for commissions to serve abroad. So that the fewer officers the better, as to point of economy; which I think ought to be regarded in all matters where the service of the ministers, and the private interest of individuals does not interfere. But the strongest objection, in my opinion, was to Mr Fleetwood's scheme of swimming his marines to the West-Indies without the use of transports; for as it appears that the ministerial faith was pledged to a person of honour and interest, I would by no means have it sacrificed an engagement violated for the first time upon this occasion: but even this difficulty might perhaps not be insuperable, and this person might possibly, for the service of his country, be prevailed upon to take the value of the job in ready money, if offered him in the civilised manner.

However, since these troops, generously offer'd, have not been accepted, I am very glad to hear that none, or at most very few of the present small number of our land-forces, are to be sent abroad. For, considering how all our neighbours are arming around us, it would be the highest degree of imprudence (and which I am persuaded the administration will never be guilty of) to leave ourselves defenceless at home. The great augmentation France is making of its land-forces, the number of men of war and transports now getting ready in their sea-ports, and the known rashness and imprudence of that administra-

---

508 Weekly Essays in December 1739.
Irritation, all call upon us to be upon our guard. So that if our present number of forces be but barely sufficient to secure us at home from enemies and dangers, I hope we shall not weaken ourselves, by sending any part of our forces, upon useless and chimerical projects abroad: and I own I have com- pletely in reflecting, that we have these theatrical bands ready, which I look upon as useful auxiliaries, and a corps de reserve, to make use of when of these invasions from abroad, and the designs in our secret enemies at home, shall call upon us to exert our utmost vigour pro vis & feci.

**Daily Gazetteer, Dec. 22.**

To my Esteemed Fellow-labourers, the Craftsman and Common Sense, greeting.

Be not surpriz'd, Gentlemen, at this letter; for I havn't put pen to paper since the fatal downfall of our once royal theatre, and thou'dn't now, didn't you draw this from me by your unjust invation of a privilege I long enjoy'd, without any man daring to enter the lists against me; — and, now my support is gone, Gentlemen, I was far from expecting such usage from you. — For, whatever you think on't, I had attempted to imitate, and even to borrow whole shrares from you, I should have been treated with as little ceremony as you to some other folk: — But let who will put up your treatment, 'tis nothing to me, I expect instant satisfaction from you both. — Pray, what a rout have yourselves made about benefy, and I can't tell what: and yet, without the compliment of bidding me deliver, you have robb'd me of all I had to depend on in the whole world. — **My rhetori- chich, Gentlemen, my rhetorick** — How eagerly have these ears swallow'd down, with greedy haste, the praises of my flowing eloquence, my well chosen parallel, my lively similies, and my sensual periods! How have my hard-fac'd champions fat listening to hear my skill blas- ten their prows to the admiring world, while all the praise, all the glory, and part of the reward, gather'd to a cloud, till it burst o'er my elaborate brain, sometimes with the generous gratuity of a half-crown extraordinary! — Those were halcyon days indeed, Gentlemen; but they are gone, and with them is fled my only means of support. — Hence others may learn, from my fall, that those who depend upon fools have but a fewy reliance. — The day of my prosperity is over, yours yet continues: and as you have lately thought fit to snatch from me every peculiarity of my style and diction, by which I was supported, it would be but justice, Gentlemen, to let me share your profits. — Do not mis- take me; I mean not to be a penmaner; No, I am far above it: I propose to de- serve what I receive; an example I think necessary for us publick lights of virtue to set the rest of mankind. — And from what I can judge of the success you have had with my weapons for some months past, when I undertake to wield them myself, on every proper occasion, there is little probability of my eating much idle bread.

Thus, Gentlemen, you see what I pro- pose is an alliance, to which yourselves may, not improperly, be said to have made the first overture; though, nevertheless, I am willing to conclude it on moderate terms, being as inclinable as either of you to desipse money as a writer — if I knew how to gain it any other way.

After I have explain'd myself so far, you will, to be sure, expect me to give some little account of my abilities. — Tho're you seem in a great degree acquainted with already; wherefore, on this head, I shall, as modestly indeed requires, be as brief as possible.

In the art of extolling my heroes I never fail of applause; it being my peculiar talent, to make the weak, strong; the lame, sound; and, which is much more, the coward, valiant; and sometimes to compare the merest daftard that e'er sipp'd winegar, to the best hero we had on the stage, and, on particular occasions, to the most celebrated heroes of antiquity.

In palliating a defeat I have an art above all mankind. If my hero tumble-
bles on his wife, 'twas a feast to draw his extravagant top of him; if his head was first broke, there was such skill in receiving the blow; if he gave out, that is, had what you call the worst on't, 'twas to save his strength till another day; and if he ran off the flags before the onset, 'twas because he despairs of getting the better.

My impartiality was never yet called in question: No undue influence ever begg'd my pen, nor could the intrigues of any party bribe me — against my interest: — For those who paid me well money, I always paid well, and every instance appear'd on the face of my labours.

— This, you must allow, Gentlemen, was conscience, no way inferior to what has influence you on the like occasions; for among ourselves the truth may be spoken. — By keeping up to this principle, I maintain'd, and, I think, deserv'd the character of a friend to mankind, because I serv'd all mankind alike.

— Even an Englishman I used with the same civility as he who could boast my own soil; my paneysick being alike obsequious to the sons of Middlesex and Tipperary.

Bullying was so useful to me, that without it I could have raised but small part of the name I now possest. — How have I thrown the gauntlet for a wretch who would have trembled to have seen it accepted! How have I dared men to their teeth, to attempt, as out of their power, what I knew they could every minute achieve! How have I treated an acceptance of a challenge as a bravado, and a victory as a mark of the want of skill and courage! — When once I had my cue given, who was to be exalted, did I, like some puny pens, set myself about searching for their merit to build upon? No: I pursued my task with a single eye to the purpose let before me; and, in defiance of what weaker advocates would have thought obstacles to their flight, I have compared a low journeyman shoemaker to Furzus Camillus, a drayman to Scipio, and a deputy beg-driver to Julius Caesar himself. — This talent I found of singular use, and, by the power of imagination, I have made the flourishing negros pin at least two inches in stature. — One would be apt to dispute the truth of this; but you as well as I have so long experienced the magick power of putting our champions in good heat on themselves, that by you it will easily be credited: and I need not enlarge on the use I shall be of in this respect; for to raise the dashing spirits of you in races will be made as the power of myself than of either of you.

My art is reconciling differences, or what you would, perhaps, call bringing about a coalition of parties, was not less remarkable: From facing cheek to cheek, flashing forkbeads, and cutting off each, in few hours I have brought my champions to share the friendly cup, so to the amazement of all who did not consider, that sharing the bonny effected the reconciliation; — a motive not to be neglected, you will allow.

These few instances, Gentlemen, among many more, are sufficient to prove my fitness for the alliance I have propos'd; and as you mutually agreed some time ago, to divide the world between you, you have already tacitly consent'd, that to perfect the division my assistance will be more than necessary, of which you see fully sensible, by flocking to my province of your own accord.

— You must have been certain of my friendship long ago: — in our house you both had admittance, and sometimes a paragraph has been read, by myself, for the use of all around me, to whom I always added explanatory notes, as well to shew my own capacity, as to make you understand; for, though most of my champions were admirable politicians, they had generally forgot the art of reading by abstruser pursuits: — and by my success in this, I can easily perceive that, on some occasions, I could greatly contribute to keep my former clients together, and to enlarge our general interests, by reading your papers at plate of publick resort: — as, in an evening, at the celebrated ring in Merryfield, on Sunday among the swells of Hyde-park, on market day to the symphonies of Regair, who improve in potesticks every day.
Weekly ESSAYS in DECEMBER 1739. 61

ay since Mr Common Sense appeared;—
and once a week I would display your
obsequence on Tower-hill;— since your
name certainly reach’d Chick-lane, in
the famous character of Bob Booty, I
now not but it would be worth while
to read you there, now and then, in an
evening, before the hour of business;—
and on execution days, nothing would
be a more proper prelude to the exit of
my good friends, than one of your lec-
tures on the frailties of the great, which
would naturally tend to make the heroes
of the day fancy themselves as honest
men as any they leave behind.

In these, and numerous other instan-
tes, you see the use I can be of in pre-
serving the attention of the people, and
now strongly both justice and interest
point out the alliance I propose:— Let
us then be speedy in the conclusion of
a union so much to our mutual advan-
tage, and so necessary to the support of
the character you have lately establish’d:
—confirm but the league, and be as-
sured that the lonely vales of Hockley
shall be instantly abandon’d, and my
whole care be center’d between Whit-
cfriars and the Leg Tavern; till our joint
name echo from the farthest extent of
Whitechapel-market, to the utmost limits
of St Giles’s.

I am,

Dear Fellow-labourers,
Your long admiring Brother,
Farrol MacGascoigne,
Late Sec. of Hockley-hole.

WEEKLY MISCELLANY, Dec. 22.
The advantages of a Believer, compared
with an Infidel.

Self-love is interwoven with our na-
ture and inseparable from it. Till we
cease to exit, we cannot cease to love
ourselves. Self-love is only the de-
fire of our happiness; and it is impos-
sible but that every conscious being
shou’d wish to be happy. The bare
love of ourselves, considered abstractly,
is neither a crime, nor a virtue, but a
natural and necessary passion. It is the
right, or wrong direction of this princi-
ples that must determine its quality. The
Deity, being self-existent and independ-
ent, is happy in, and from himself alone.
He must be necessarily happy, because
he is necessarily what he is. He can-
not cease to be happy, or else his hap-
pinesses diminished; because he cannot
cease to exist, or to exist otherwise than
he does, from the necessity, and in the ful-
ness, of his own nature. From this self-
sufficiency and necessity of happinesses it
follows, that self-love, or a desire of hap-
piness, is incompatible with the divine
nature; since the desire of any thing im-
plies either the absence of it, or the un-
certainty of it. Whatever we posses,
beyond a possibility of losing it, cannot
be the object of desire. All the actions,
therefore, of the Deity must be directed,
not to his own, but to the happiness of
his creatures; and it is impossible for the
happinesses of the creator and of the crea-
ture to interfere; since God cannot re-
ceive any addition to his happinesses, or
dimination of it, from anything exter-
nal to himself. What a comfort is this
to us dependent creatures, to be assured,
from the nature of that being upon whom
we depend for our existence and happi-
nesses, that he could have no motive in
creating, and can have none in govern-
ing his creatures, separate from their
good! under what perpetual uncertain-
ty, anxiety and terror should we live, if
we could suppose it ever to be the in-
terest of omniscience and omnipotence to
will our misery! But we are assured
that he cannot, because in the nature of
things he can have no possible tempta-
tion to do it. He gave being that he
might communicate happinesses; and,
therefore, the happinesses of his creatures
must always be the will of the creator.

Every creature being of itself insuf-
ficient for its own happinesses, we may be
milled, by self-love, or a desire of happy-
esses, to seek it where it is not to be
found. As we are dependent beings, if
we affect an independent happinesses, we
must be miserably disappointed; because
such a happiness is utterly inconsistent
with our nature. We owe our very exis-
te, and the continuance of it, to the
Deity; and, therefore, to think of mak-
ing ourselves happy independently of
him.
him, must be the same absurdity, as to think of existing independently of him. God is not only the source of existence, but of happiness too. We must derive both from the same fountain. God is the source of all perfection; from whence it follows, unavoidably, that true self-love, or a wise desire of happiness, must lead all rational creatures to the knowledge, admiration, and imitation of him. The highest happiness of an intelligent being must consist in the exercise of its intellectual faculties on the most perfect object. The most perfect being must be the most happy being; and, consequently, the nearer approaches we make to the likeness of the divine nature, the higher advances we make in happiness; because God is perfection in itself. The original of all perfection must, likewise, be the most amiable being; perfection, real, or imagined, being the object of love; and the more perfect the object of our love, the higher enjoyment will arise from the passion, if its perfections be seen. It is, therefore, the most monstrous folly and madmen for us to expect our true and biggest happiness separate from the love of God; or that the degree of our happiness will not bear an exact proportion to the degree of our love of him. As we are dependent beings, we may further argue, that we cannot expect to be made happy by God, upon whom we depend, unless we desire to please him; nor expect to please him, unless we endeavour to know and observe his will. The approbation and favour, the disapprobation and anger of God, are as inexpressible, as his favour and our happiness, his displeasure and our misery; and as we are to expect our greatest happiness from the favour and approbation of him who is the fountain of it, so the more we study to please him, the happier we shall be. — These truths I take to be as undeniable and as obvious as any axioms in mathematics; and, being of the most important kind, they demand the closest attention from all such as desire to be truly happy. An Infidel may make light of them; but I will venture to say, every man who owns a God, who created and governs the world, must be either very ignorant, or very inconsiderate, if he does not give them the greatest weight. Nay, he must be strangely deficient in his understanding, or void of thought, if he does not see that it is the most desirable thing that there should be such a perfect and amiable being, as a God; in the adoration, love, and obedience of whom we may enjoy infinitely more, and are certain happiness; than we can possibly enjoy without him. Is it not the highest wisdom in an intelligent being to wish the existence of a being of all perfection, whose nature, attributes, will, and providence we may contemplate, admire, and celebrate? to whose service will we ignorantly and fallible creatures may confound our counsel, as to the safest guide to happiness? upon whose infinite power we may rely for our protection from unforeseen, and, by us, unavoidable evils? to whom we may apply for our comfort and support under the most grievous calamities? whose goodness never disappoints him to do as good? and the immutability of whose nature frees us from all possible suspicion that he can ever cease to be thus infinitely knowing, wise, powerful and bountiful? An Infidel, no doubt, has the passion of self-love as strong as the Believer can have; with his own happiness as much; but it is absolutely impossible that he should be as happy as a Believer may be by the means of those sentiments and dispositions which the other must want. The Infidel is not exempted from the vicissitudes and calamities which arise out of this life as naturally as the sparks fly upward; unless, therefore, he lives the thoughtless life of a beast, neither looking backward with shame upon his past errors in conduct, nor forward upon future accidents, he will be uneasy from a consciousness of having been accessory to many of his evils, and apprehensive that his own ignorance and folly, the malice and selfishness of others, and what they call the calamities of life, may bring many more misfortunes upon him. Under this state of error, uncertainty, and fear, the only comfort that his barren and joyless
his principles can produce will be this
fan reflection: "Since I cannot recall
what is past, remove what is present, or
preven what is future, I must submit
to-necessity, and bear all evils as well as I
can." Wretched fool! is this all the
reward of so much pains to reason him-
self into insinuity! No; he has another
advantage, equally comfortable with the
former; he hopes, that after death
comes — nothing. But let this contem-
plative Infidel, who prides himself so ar-
rogantly in his superior wisdom, below
me moment in considering what he le-
ws by his insinuity. Has he committed
my errors? Yes; wife as he thinks
himself, he has been guilty of number-
es follies. He loses, then, the plea-
sure of applying to an infinitely merci-
ul being, who will infensibly infuse
pace and comfort into every sincerely
sentimental mind. But the Insinuity is not
able of conceiving the joy that over-
laws the heart which has made its peace
with its maker, and he frowns to take
my one's word for it. Is he likely to
say the fool again? Yes, as surely as
he has done it already. He loses, then,
his satisfaction of asking, and hoping
for the direction of infinite wisdom to
guide his wandering steps into the safe
and peaceful paths of discretion and wis-
dom. Is he liable to any wants? Yes;
he will want abundance of things, let
his condition be what it will; for he is
able to want — he knows not what —
se knows not why. He loses, then, the
sweet, envied, because inconceivable,
satisfaction of contentment. Created
nature, with all her affluence and delic-
es, is too poor a portion to satisfy the
graves of a rational soul, intended for
such nobler possessions; but God is
not only an overflowing, but inexhaust-
ble fountain, sending forth streams suf-
icient to satisfy his whole creation at
once. But were the Insinuets ever so sa-
tisfied with his possessions; were he, did
I say? it is, for this reason, an impos-
sible supposition, because he may lose
them; his friends may forsake him; his
health may be impaired, and he become
incapable of enjoying anything; or
death may soon put an end to all his
enjoyments: which thought, alone, will
imbitter the sweetest draught in life;
as one of them, lately dead, when a
friend was congratulating him upon the
grandeur and beauty of his situation,
with a deep sigh replied, "Tis, indeed,
a most beautiful place; and so much
the worse, for that I must soon leave it;
and its elegance will add torture to the
painful parting, as it does now to the
apprehension of it." How poor, how
wretched is the condition of this GRAND
Insinuets, in the midst of all that earth can
yield, in comparison of the virtuous
Believer! He can never be made un-
happy by the want of any thing, be
cause he has contentment. He can ne-
ever be made uneasy by fear, because he
has God, who commands the whole
creation, for his friend. God is his
friend! This implies more than words
can express, or an Insinuets imagine. He
can never be anxious about future, be-
cause God governs this world, and dis-
poses of the next. What can make this
man unhappy? Can poverty? No. It
is impossible for a good man to be poor,
because he possesses the favour of him
who is the fountain of all good. Can
distresses of any kind do it? No. He
is sure of being supported under them,
and amply rewarded for his patient suf-
ferring. His faith and hope turn all
his evils, upon the whole, into real
good. Go, then, thou proud, conceited
Insinuets: Enjoy, if thou canst, thy un-
comfortable, pitiful condition. I would
not part with my humble faith and joy-
ful hope for all the happiness that all
the Insinuets can possess; for what can they
possess to balance the firm belief of a
God, a providence, and a future state
of inconceivable bliss and glory?

CRAFTSMAH, Dec. 22.
The Representatives accountable to their
Constituents.

NOTHING hath been more labour'd,
for several years past, by the mi-
isterial advocates, than to prove, that
the collective body of the people have no
right to petition or instruct their repre-
sentatives, upon any occasion, however
it may affect their trade, interest, and estate in any degree.—Nothing surely can be more ridiculous and absurd, than to argue that the principal, who elects, hath not a right to instruct his deputy, so elected, and to whom he formerly paid wages for his service; and though this custom is now discontined, yet the original design of representatives still subsists, and ought to be observ'd.

In the first place, it must be observ'd, that the very word representative naturally implies a dependency upon those whom he represents, and who reposed that trust in his hands. —Sir Richard Steele filed the memorial of the House of Commons the Attorneys of the people, for which he was applauded, encouraged, and supported, by many of the present Gentlemen in power, and the general body of Whigs, at that time. Let me therefore ask these necessary writers, whether every man hath not a just right to instruct his attorney, trustee, delegate, representative, or by whatever other name he may be called, in all points relating to his interest; and whether any man in his estate would continue such a person in trust, if he refused to follow his directions, or acted contrary to them?

This is a true state of the case, as far as reason and argument are concern'd.— Let us next see how it stands, with regard to ancient custom and practice.

As early as the reign of K. Edward III. which is almost 400 years ago, we have two remarkable instances of the Commons refusing to grant any new subsidies, without consulting with their constituents; from whence we have the strongest reason to believe that they would not have granted them, if their constituents had sent them positive orders and instructions to the contrary.

In the reign of Charles II. we meet with many addressers of the same kind; in which several counties, cities and corporations, not only return their members, thanks for their past conduct, particularly for bringing the authors of wicked counsel to condemnation, and for affecting their undoubted right of petitioning; but likewise exhorted them to perform in the few landable endeavours, humblyrequenting them not to consent to any measure, till their grievances were redressed; and even promising to stand by them, in the performance of those acts, with their lives and fortunes, which might, perhaps, he called a fact of treason, in those grievous days, notwithstanding the repeated condemnation of our liberties.

There was indeed, as I have severally observ'd, a set of villains in that age, as well as in ours, who traduced the right of petitioning as seditious, and declared an abbreviation of it; but they receiv'd a severe caution in parliament, and have been ever since insulted in history, with the infamous name of Ab- 

But to show that information of members is a right not only in England, but likewise in all other nations, I shall quote the opinion and authority of the ever memorable Mr. Sidney, [cap. 3. sect. 44.] who fell a martyr to liberty, in the same reign.

"Spain and France [says he] are stillen's grand powers; and yet the Deputies, or Procureurs, of the several parts of Castile, did, in the courts held at Madrid in the beginning of Charles V.'s reign, excuse themselves from giving the supplies he desired, because they had receiv'd no orders in that particular from the asses that sent them; and afterwards receiving express orders not to do it, they gave his Majesty a flat denial.—The like was frequently done, during the reign of that great prince, and his son Philip II. and generally the Procureurs never granted any thing of importance to either of them, without particular orders from their principals.

The same method was taken in France as long as there were any general assemblies of the states; and if it does not still continue, 'tis because there are none; for no man, who understands the affairs of that kingdom, did ever deny that the Deputies were obliged to follow the orders of those who sent them. And,
mit it entirely to our posteriority. — We always may, and often do give infracringions to our delegates: but the less we suffer them, the more we manifest our own rights; for those who have only a limited power, must limit that which they give; but they who can give an unlimited power, must necessarily have it in themselves."

Thus far the divine Algernon Sidney, who wrote in the time of Charles II.
— I do not remember any instances of the same kind in the reign of his brother and successor, James II. which was very short, violent, and unfortunate. — Let us therefore defend to the reign of our glorious and immortal deliverer, K. William, who placed the present royal family on the throne.

Not to infall upon those clauses in the bill of rights, where it is said that parliaments ought to be free, and to be bolden frequently, which have since been most scandalously misrepresent; I must beg leave to observe, that there were many petitions and instructions given at the latter end of his reign, by several great corporations, which were not on foot by the staunchest friends to the revolution.

In the preceding parliament was delivered the famous Kentish petition, in which several Gentlemen of that county undertook to instruct, not only their own representatives, but the whole parliament, in money-matters. However, as this was cenfured by the house as irregular, I shall make no animadversions of my own upon it. But I hope that no person, who affects to be a friend to the revolution, or is really so, will make any objection against quoting from Bp Burnet the opinion, which the friends to the revolution had of that proceeding.

"But it [meaning the Kentish petition] was look’d upon as a libel upon their proceedings, [meaning the house of Commons;] and the Gentlemen, who brought it up, were sent to prison; where they lay till the propagation: but they were much treated, and visited as Confessors. — This was highly cenfurd. — It was said that the Commons were the creatures of the people; and, upon
all other occasions, they us’d to favour and encourage petitions. — This severity was condemn’d as unnatural, and without precedent." Hist. of his own times, vol. 2. p. 275.

This abhorrence against petitioning and infringing was not renew’d, as I remember, till the project of the destructive, infamous, and most detestable excise-scheme; which was almost universally rejected by the nation, and consequently given up by the messenger of it, for his own safety, as well as for the interest of trade, navigation, liberty, and property; so that contrariwise may sometimes agree.

The same doctrine is now revived once more, on the proposal of a place-bill; which the honourable backs of power are instructed to call an attempt to change our constitution; and one of them, too inconsiderable to be particularly mentioned, very wisely observes, that the people have rights; but they have no right to change the constitution; for a constitution subject to daily change, is no constitution.

Now, I should be glad to know what rights a people can have, with regard to a constitution, but to alter it in those parts, which are found by experience to be deficient; and who can the whole people of any nation have a right over, if they have not a right over themselves? If a whole people have a right over themselves, have they not a right over part of themselves? — But I ask pardon for digressing so far from my purpose, by taking notice of a little nonsense, which may be easily excused in these low scribblers. My design is only to expose the wicked intention of their patron. — The constitution, say they, was settled at the revolution; which I allow; but I hope they will likewise allow, that the constitution received further establishment by the act of settlement; a clause of which I shall here quote, viz. "That no person who hath an office or place of profit under the King, or receives a pension from the crown, shall be capable of serving as a member of the house of Commons." This was, by King, Lords, and Commons, established to be the constitution. — This clause was afterwards repeal’d. — I should therefore be glad to know, whether an act to limit the number of places in the house of Commons, will be so great an alteration of the constitution, as the repeal of this clause was? — The Crown, by law, can do no wrong; the laws are their own representatives; and infringing members of the house of Commons is therefore irregular, what will it prove? why surely that it will be necessary to have their elections more frequent, and to be more jealous of their undue influence.

I shall therefore conclude with recommending unanimity to my countrymen. May we always be unanimous in establishing our liberties at home, and defending our rights against foreign invaders! May places come in making a law to limit their own number in the house of Commons, so generally disdised by the nation! May we all be unanimous in carrying on this war, in justly begun, with prudence and vigour! May no secret attempts be ever made to incense the crown against the people, or to alienate the affections of the people from the crown! May his present Majesty and his pejorative enemors govern this island, both as mighty monarchs and as tender fathers; and may they meet with grateful returns from a dutiful people! May the throne be always surrounded with counsellors, endow’d with prudence, wisdom, and fortune! May they always have in view the true interest of their country, preferably to their own private gains! May the nation be unanimous to chase corruption from the kingdom; and may it be as unanimously abhor’d as a baleful pest! And, lastly, may the arm of England, both now and for ever, be successful, when they have go call a cause to defend! — P. 8. It having been mentioned, in one of last Wednesday’s papers, that there would be a call of the House to the middle of January, we are assured by very good authority, that it is now determined to have no such call, according to the usual method. — But as some
points, of the greatest importance to the liberties of this nation, are expected to come under consideration, soon after the recess of parliament; it is to be hoped, that the natural calls of justice, honour, and confidence, will induce every gentleman, who hath any regard for the interest of his country, to come up, and execute the trust reposed in him: or if there should be any so negligent of their duty, as to absent themselves, they ought to be ferreted out of their boroughs by those who elected them, or not continued again in the same trust. I believe very few of those gentlemen would care to have their names published, as hath been frequently done upon the like occasions.—This is mentioned with no other view than to give a fresh instance of my loyalty to his Majesty, and regard for the present most excellent administration; for if the house should be as thin after the holidays, as it is now, when not much above one third of the members give their attendance, and those chiefly placentum, what sanction can such a partial approbation give to any public measures, relating either to war or peace?

COMMON SENSE, Dec. 29.

The Use of Roman History.

In the 255th year of the building of Rome, the people called for two new laws: one, to ascertain the interest of money, which not being settled, the rich took advantage of the necessities of the poor, and every man got as high an interest as he could.

The second was, to rectify an abuse in relation to the conquered lands; half of which, in former times, were sold to the highest bidders, to reimburse the expenses of the war; the other half let out to the poorer citizens at an under rent, to enable them to live better: but now a faction in the senate, like true placemem, having a mind to engross the riches of the commonwealth, granted out to several of their own members, that is to say, among one another, such parcels of this land as lay contiguous to their other estates; by which not only the poor were defrauded, but the burden of wars began to fall upon the people. Tho' all the Latin cities had entered into a confederacy against Rome, the people insisted upon a redress of these grievances before they would contribute to a war.

The senate, in order to get over this difficulty, proposed to pass an edict, that no person should be sued for any debt whatsoever till the end of the war, and that then these affairs should be taken into consideration. This quieter would not go down, the people telling the Patricians, (whom upon this occasion we may call the placentum) that it was the business of those who enjoyed the revenues of the commonwealth, to maintain its wars, and fight its battles.

The enemy being now near their gates, the senate gave out, there was not time in this dangerous situation to settle the grievances complain'd of: they proposed therefore, that a magistrate, with absolute power to do what he pleased, should be created for six months; to which the people consented; and this was the original of the high office of Dictator, by which the Roman liberties were at last destroyed.

Titus Lartius, being created Dictator, soon defeated the enemy: by which the Patricians being delivered from their fears, they troubled themselves no more about the grievances of the Commons; they would not so much as take the points into consideration.

The next year the Volsci invading the Roman territories, Servilius, one of the Consuls, by prayers and intrigues prevailed upon the people once more to defer their demands. When this war was ended, they were used by the senate just as they had been before.

The year following the Samnites, the Equi, and the Volsci, falling upon them, the Patricians were obliged once more to have recourse to the people: but, as they expected the Commons would refuse to contribute to the war, a Dictator is created, who, being vested with absolute power, might by his own authority make levies. Magnus Valerius was the man; a perfon wife, virtuous and extremely popular; who, resolv-
not to make use of rigorous measures, obtained a promise from the Senate to pass the laws required by the Commons: wherefore, summoning the people, he assured them, in the name of the Senate, that they should have full satisfaction the minute the war was ended.

They now thought themselves safe, having a promise from a man that was a stranger to fraud. But no sooner were their enemies without defeated, than their enemies within fast to the Dictator to keep his army still in the field, as if the war was not ended, in order to amuse the people, that they might not expect the performance of the Senate's promise. But the generous Dictator disdained to base a commission; he abolished the army from their military oath, and returned to Rome, to demand that edict should be passed conformable to the promise made to the people. But, instead of complying, they told him, that, were he not Dictator, and therefore not to be called to an account, they would punish him for disobeying the army. To which he only answered, "I perceive you will force the Commons into seditions, which I had rather see as a private man than as a magistrate: wherefore I shall resign my high office." Then convening an assembly of the Commons, among other things he said to them:

"As you have behaved yourselves like brave and worthy citizens, no doubt you expect to see the promise made to you fulfilled; but there is a faction in the Senate more powerful than even the authority of the Dictator, which hinders it. — I know in what manner, in the vigour of my youth, I would have behaved in this matter; but an old man, who hath seen more than threescore and ten years, is despised by those who resolve to ingros the power and riches of this commonwealth: since therefore I am not able to do you justice, I here resign my office of Dictator. — If any citizen reproaches me for the breach of my promise, I willingly put the remaining part of my life into his hands, to dispose we as he pleases."

have quoted these facts of history to show, that the Romans never denied their grievances to what were called proper times; but they were impatient upon and abused: and had they not been incensed by unwise neighbours, which put the Senate under necessity of applying to the people to defend the commonwealth, the Senate of Rome would have been powerfull to a few Patrician familiies, than our they had been to the Tarquins: so that it may be truly said, that the enemies of Rome saved Rome; for the people you wishes by example; and the very next year, when two confederate armies were to be raised, the people, instead of contributing to the war, marched out of the city to the sacred hill, and there incamped; and when the Senate sent a deputation to them, to represent the danger the commonwealth was in from its enemies, they answered, the people were not so weak but they knew their enemies were within the city, nor would they stir till satisfaction was given them.

The same could not they afterwards observed upon the like occasions, even in matters of infinitely less consequence than what is now contended for by the people of this nation: of which there is a remarkable instance with respect to two laws; one, made in the time of the Decemvirs, which forbids marriages betwixt Patricians and Plebeian families; and another, which confined the dignity of the Consulato to Patricians only.

The people demanding a repeal of these two laws, the faction had recourse to the old argument: Was this a time to bring on things of this nature, when the commonwealth was entering into war? Upon which occasion Cassius, Tribunus of the people, in a speech to the Consuls, after expostulating with them concerning the indignities laid upon the Commons by those laws, says:

"Here me, Consul: Whether the news of the war be true, or a false rumour raised for nothing but to draw the people out of the city, I declare, as Titus, that this people, who have so often split their blood in our country's cause, are again ready to arm for its defence.
Poetical ESSAYS in DECEMBER 1739. 619

With candour, lamb, my arched song pursue.
With the rude essay of an unpolish'd taste,
Forgive the hard, sube, mainly fond of fame,
Adorns his number, with Amanta's name.

Frown'd in the fad, with defpif'd might's, fow'd love away.
And the glad world confoled th' all clearing ray.
When drowsy, mortals lie entrac'd in sleep.
Woe'd with his flowing tears, Alexis speaks;
And while afeledd we, beneath the braven flood,

Two youthful shepherds, rage, to rend their fappo;
To refit their weary limbs, the fow'd are laid.
The young Memalco, fill'd with arrouncl efte.

And while afeledd we, beneath the braven flood,
To refit their weary limbs, the fow'd are laid.
The young Memalco, fill'd with arrouncl efte.

Thee gloomy fow 's hang upon thy brow.
Say, dearest shepherd, wahance this secret grief?
The birds, invif'd by the feafon's fong,
And with melodious notes they build the fpring;

Then why should they be sad, why thus complain?
Cone, make thy friend a partner of thy pain.

Men. Ab ! what avails it, shepherd, the you
Why I a wretch, abandon'd thou to war, (now,

The faireft nymph that over trod our plain,
The females envy, and the shepherds pain:
The equal Gods have us'd their utmost care,
To make me wretcheed, and to form her fair.

But will my Celia, will she ne'er be kind?
Will soft compassion never touch her mind?
Can that dear breaft contain fo hard a heart,

Sure heaven oft deprives man's wretcheed fate;
And will its image never mourn my fate?
State her, ye angels, your peculiar care;
Blow all, ye winds, my passion to the fair;

Thou may well pity, but thou can'st not blame.

A PASTORAL.

VIRG.

Ye rov'd pastors, who guard these lovely plains,
And aid the shepherds while they fong.

Direct my pen, my youthful muse inspire,
And kindle my breast's poetick fire.

And thou, Amanta, whose command

Inspires my tender fongs, my plaintive voice,

Ut vidi, ut peri, ut me malus absulit.

error.

Ye rov'd pastors, who guard these lovely plains,
And aid the shepherds while they fong.

Direct my pen, my youthful muse inspire,
And kindle my breast's poetick fire.

And thou, Amanta, whose command

Inspires my tender fongs, my plaintive voice,
Some gaudy beam, perhaps alters her sight;
The tripping pleasures of the town delight;
Some youth with sparkling eyes and flowing hair,
Is now the happy object of her care.
Forget that fair one, take thy pipe and play,
And Corydon shall drive our flocks away.

Men. Where can I, dear Alexis, comfort find?
Masick; small place to a troubled mind;
My faithful dog you see unattended lies;
The tender kids past all unheed by.
Abi cruel Cupid, whence this raging pain?
Why sent thy siren upon a harmless soul?
O make the fair one feel a equal part,
Or spare, great god, a victim to thy dart.
Since she is gone, how dismal all appears!
No more the plain its swaying before wears;
No Pisgah now sings; nor solemn shrines,
Nor bow'ring limes5s charm the flighting swains;
No murmuring stream now gently glide along,
And with soft murmurs grace the shepherd's song.
No spreading shade affords a glad retreat,
No cooling brook allays the raging heat.
Come, lovely Celia, with thy blooming charms,
Resist me not, dying, in thy folding arms:
Alas! return, the brooks again shall flow,
The birds shall warble, and the nymphs blow;
Then shall the mates refund my evening song,
While mimick Echo will the notes prolong.

To the author of the Scots Magazine.

SIR,

Glasgow, Dec. 19.

The following ode is the performance of a Gentleman now abroad, whose fine genius for poetry has appeared by some small works of his already published. It is indeed but a short sketch of a larger design; but, as it is, I am persuaded it has beauties sufficient to recommend it to your readers at large. I am

One of your readers.

ODE on the New Year.

Janus, auto with sliding pace,
Runn'd a never-ending race,
And drif't about, in prone career,
The whirling circle of the year,
Kindly indulge a little stay,
I beg but one swift bear's delay.
O! whilst th' important minutes wait,
Let me revolve the books of fate;
See what the coming year intends
To me, my country, kind and friends.
Then may'st thou swing thy flights, and go,
To scatter blindly joys and woes;

Spread dire disfavour—wars profuse,
And, as it were, great peace or wince;
Their hour, swift-held by patient years,
E'en Peace shall find repose in Pow'r's aid

Kings find their immovable seat,
And for a moment wish to life.
Life now presents another scene,
The same strange face to us again;
Again the weary humans play their advance,
And take their fatal leap:
Clouds roll'd, Cæsar fights,
Tally, phante, and men write;
Aman's fierce fan conquers the globe,
And Hachquin directs the web.

To Time's dark covers the year retreats,
Those hourly unfrequented seats;
There lies his loaded wings to sleep
The months, the minutes, hours and days;
Then sile, the feasters in his train,
To compose round the year again.

See there, in various knobs combin'd,
The crafty devices of man's kind;
Whatever foolish the statesman's thought,
The mischief, and ambition unwrought;
Publi and hidden guilt,
The blaze by secret murder itch,
Friendship to servest interest given,
And ill-match'd hearts, or pair'd in heaven

What America, to crown his pride,
Stole from the orphan, and the poor;
Or Luxury's more shameful theft,
Squireth'd on the unseemly feast.
To kings, and guilty great, drawn near
Before this cruel court appears
Bare to the muse's piercing eye
The secrets of all mortals lie;
She, as'd avenger, brings to light
Your crimes conceal'd in darkest night;
As conscience, to her truth will true,
Shall judge between th' oppress'd and you.

This casket forces, ye wretched train,
How often merit fail'd in vain.
See, there, undrest; the widow's tears;
See, there, unsoiled the orphan's fears;
Yet, look, what mighty fumes appear,
The evil perfusion of the year.
Couldst thou not, impious greatness, soar?
The smallest aims, that canst might?

And yet, how many a large project,
Pull'd the rich glutton's fleshly coat!
DOMESTICK HISTORY. 621

The great officers are getting their field equipages ready; and the several officers of the new marine regiments, (who are recruiting with the greatest industry) are ordered to repair, with the utmost expedition, to their head quarters, or to their Colonels in London, unless commanded elsewhere, under pain of his Majesty's highest displeasure. Four regiments of dragoons, and two of foot, are order'd to be rais'd with the utmost haste. 39 men are to be added to each company of Dalziel's and Philips's regiments. The press for seamen is revived, and several men of war are lately put in commission.

His Majesty has given the royal assent to the malt bill, to that for the better encouragement of sailors, and to the land-tax bill, at 4 s. in the pound.

Several Spanish ships are taken; and we hear from S. Carolina, that Capt. Warren, of his Majesty's ship the Squirrel, had taken the Havanna packet, with ten passengers.

The Spaniards have taken the Ford galley, John Tucker, and carried her into Almeria; the Providence, Donován, into Majorca; the Neptune, Lynn, into Porto-Specie; the Stourminster, David Hooper, into St Sebastian's; and the Fellowship, Pincomb, into Carthagena.

On the 3d inst. 521,295 yards linen were entered at the custom-house from Dublin.

A violent hurricane began the 28th. The 30th, in the evening, many small vessels drove from their anchors, and struck with great violence against the bridge, some of their bowsprits break-
DOMESTICK HISTORY.

ing through the houses on the east side. The 31st, above 30 boats were lost between Tower stairs and Woolwich, some of which sunk under the ice, and were seen no more; and several lighters were sunk that run foul of the bridge. The Rooofwyc, Dan. Rougers, for Batavia, was lost on Goodwin Sands, and all her crew (above 200 men) perished. The great fall of snow, and the long continuance of the frost, make the roads dangerous, and the river un navigable; so that, 'tis feared, the price of all provisions will rise considerably, coals being already at 45s. per cask. Several people are starved to death with the excessive cold.

They write from Philadelphia, that the Rev. Mr. Whitefield and Mr. Seward landed at Lewis-town in Peninslyvania the 30th of October, where Mr. Whitefield preached, and was waited upon by the High Sheriff, the Juffice, and other chief men of the country. He preached at Philadelphia on the 4th of November, to a numerous congregation, and designed to travel through Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina.

A general Bill of all the Christnings and Burials, with the diseases whereof they died, and the years of their age, from the 12th of December 1738, to the 11th of December 1739.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disease</th>
<th>Age. No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abortive and Still-born</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aged</td>
<td>1770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ague</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apoplexy and Suddenly</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asthma and Tiffick</td>
<td>638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedridden</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bleeding</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bloody- flux</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bursten and Rupture</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cancer</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canker</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childbed</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colick, Gripes, and Twit-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ling of the guts</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumptioen</td>
<td>4429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convulsion</td>
<td>7371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cough, and Hooping- cough</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diabetes</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dropnss</td>
<td>1007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 2, 9687</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 2 and 5, 2302</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 and 10, 844</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 and 20, 875</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 and 30, 1866</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 and 40, 2218</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 and 50, 2378</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 and 60, 2039</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 and 70, 1421</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 and 80, 1166</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Evil 32
Fever Malignant, Fever 18
Scarlet, Fever, Spotted, 3
Fever and Purples 3334
Fistula 9
Flux 10
French-pox 116
Gout 48
Gravel, Stone, and Stran- gury 47
Grief 10
Headmould- shot, Horsehoe and Water in the Head 155
Jaundice 121
Impofhumme 22
Inflammation 39
Itch 4
Leprosie 4
Lethargy 5
Livergrown 10
Lunatick 34
Mealies 326
Mifcarriage 3
Mortification 258
Palsie 37
Purisie 53
Quinsie 19
Rah 4
Rhumatism 23
Rickets 80
Rising of the Lights 11
St Anthony's Fire 6

Scald Head 9
Small-pox 1590
Sore and Ulcers 37
Sore Throat 2
Spleen 1
Stropage in the Stomach 206
Surfeit 6
Swelling 2
Teeth 1372
Thrush 104
Typhany 2
Vomiting and Loosens 5
Worms 10
White Ives 4
Broken Limbs 12
Burnt 3
Drowned 91
Excessive Drinking 47
Executed 12
Found dead 43
Fractured Scull 7
Killed by the bite of a Cat 1
Killed by a Dog 1
Killed by Falls and several other accidents 2
Made away with themselves 45
Murdered 7
Overlaid 102
Poisoned 2
Scalded 4
Stabbed 1
Starved by Hunger or Cold 9
Suffocated 3

Age. N. 80 and 90, 547
90 and 100, 70
Of 100, 3
102, 4
103, 1
104, 1
105, 1
110, 1
125, 1

R.S.
DoMESTICK HISTORY. 623

P. S. London, Jan. 3. This afternoon with Sea trading stock was 97, 1 qr.
1 half. Ditto old annuities, 109, 1 qr. a 7 8". Ditto new, 109, 7 8", ank stock, 138, 3 qrs. India ditto, 150.
three per cent. annuities, 100. Mil-
on bank, 114. Royal assurance, 88.
don assurance, 11, 1 qr. Mine ad-
venture shares, no price. Easch cop-
er, 3 1. 7. 6 d. Welch ditto, 15 s.
African, 13, 1 half. Seven per cent.
Imperor's loan, 110, 3 qrs. Five per
dito, 95, 1 half. Bank circulation.
2 1. 17. 6 d. prem. Three per
cent. S. S. bonds, no price, prem. In-
dia ditto, 4 1. 9 s. prem. Three 1 half
per cent. Exchequer orders, 1 prem.
Three per cent. ditto, 5 discount. Salt
allies, 1 half, a 1 prem. Lottery tickets,
1 1. 17 s.

EDINBURGH, December 1799.

The common-council of New-
castle upon Tyne, have unani-
mosly agreed to give 50 guineas to the
Royal Infirmary out of their revenue;
and the Mayor, and other persons of
distinction, have engaged to collect the
donations of private persons.

The merchant-company of this city
have offered a reward for informing
against such persons as presume to use
and wear. Indian filks and calicoes; up-
on which informations have been laid
against several delinquents, and one per-
son fined by the Justices. The mer-
chants of Glasgow have requested the
Commissioners of the customs to be ri-
gorous in the execution of the laws pro-
hibiting these commodities.

Robert Thomson Smith in Aberlady,
who was some time ago convicted of
the murder of George Porrester, land-
labourer, has obtained his Majesty's re-
mission, on account of his curiosity; but
he is to be transported.

P. S. The eclipses mentioned in our
last could not be observed by reason of
clouds and snow; but there arose a great
darkness, on the 2d Jan. half an hour
after nine at night, and lasted till a
quarter after eleven.

Marriages.

G. N. Columbine, at Gibraltar,
to Miss Maiters, daughter of the
Judge-Advocate in that garrison:
— Capt. Peters, Sub-Brigadier of the 3d
troop of horse-guards, to Miss Drum-
mond, daughter of Mr Drummond,
banker at Charing-crofts.— Capt. Ale-
xander Grant of Grantsfield, to Miss
Margaret Farquharson, daughter of
the deceased Mr Farquharson of Inverey.
— Mr Lamiden of Rennyhill, to Miss
Mary-Lilias Sharp, daughter of the
deceased Sir James Sharp.

Births.

At Leeuwarden in Friesland, on the
10th December, the Princes of Orange
was delivered of a Prince, who lived
but half an hour. — The Lady of Mr
Temple, son and heir of Lord Visct. Pal-
merston, of a son and heir.— The Coun-
teef of Winchelsea and Nottingham, of
a daughter. — The Lady of Sir James
D'Athwood, sister to the Dutchefs of
Hamilton, of a son and heir.— The Lady
of Lord Sidney Beauclerk, brother to the
Duke of St Albans's, of a son and heir.

Deaths.

Francis Earl of Moray.— At Enville-
green in Surrey, the Earl of Stirling, a
Scots Peer.— Neville Coke, Esq; Britis-
sh Conul at Aleppo.— John Vanderbank,
a celebrated painter. — — — Wright,
Esq; Chief Justice, Morris Lewis, Esq;
Judge of the Admiralty; and Mr Higgin-
son, Collector of the customs in Charles-
town, South Carolina.— Mr Gordon,
Professor of music in Gresham college.
— Edmund Parker, bookseller, London.
— Thomas Herbert, Esq; member for
Newport in Cornwall, a Colonel in the
first regiment of foot-guards, and Pay-
master of Gibraltar. — Lt Col. Berry,
of Gen. Otway's regiment.— At York,
Major Milbourne, aged 95. — At Du-
blin, Major Graham, an old officer.—
Capt. John Brindell, of the horse guards,
blue. — Capt. Hall, who lost his right
arm at the battle of Blenheim, and at
the battle of Almanza was found among
the slain (almost expiring in his wound): by his footman, who, as soon as the bat-
tle was over, missing his master, went
in diligent search of him; for which act of fidelity Capt. Hall settled 20l. a-year upon him.—Thomas Marsh, Esq; Deputy-Governor of Dover-castle.—Dr John Hollings, Physician.—Henry Parsons, Esq; Member for Malden, Purveyor of Chelsea college, and one of the Commissioners for victualling the navy.—George Clive, Esq; Curator Baron of the exchequer, London.—Alexander Willson, Lord Provost of Edinburgh at the time Capt. Porteous was hang'd.—Dr David Freebairn, Bishop of Edinburgh.—The Lady of Gen. Gordon of Auchintoul.—The Lady Pringle, widow of Sir John Pringle of Stichill.—Archibald Wallace merchant and late Bailie of Edinburgh.—William How, present Deacon of the skinners, Edinburgh.—In Greenwich hospital, Thomas Bond, aged 105.

Preferments.


DomeSTICK HISTORY.

625


Died within the walls of the city of Edinburgh, and buried in the Gray-friars church-yard, December 1729.

Men 21, women 26, children 53. In all, 100. Increased this month, 16.

Age.
DOMESTICK HISTORY.

Diseases. N.  Under 2.  Between 40 and 50.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age. N.</th>
<th>Diseases. N.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under - 2</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &amp; 5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 &amp; 10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 &amp; 20</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 &amp; 30</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 &amp; 40</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 &amp; 50</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 &amp; 60</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 &amp; 70</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 &amp; 80</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 &amp; 90</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Between 2 and 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age. N.</th>
<th>Diseases. N.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between</td>
<td>434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 and 5</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 and 10</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 and 20</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 and 30</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 and 40</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 and 50</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 and 60</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 and 70</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 and 80</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 and 90</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FOREIGN HISTORY.

The reports of Kouli Kan’s subduing the dominions of the Great Mogul, and of seizing the person of that unfortunate Prince, has been confirmed by advices from several places. All of which seem to agree in the overthrow of the Indian empire, though they vary pretty much as to his treatment and behaviour: it being once reported, that he was generously restored to his dominions by the conqueror; afterwards, that the Mogul having rallied his forces, and marched against Kouli Kan, the latter had totally overthrown his army, put out his eyes, strangled his children, and joined his vast dominions to the Persian monarchy: And lately a report was spread, at Petersburg, that Kouli Kan was killed in an engagement with the Bajasp, a warlike people, inhabiting the mountains between Indo-fan and Persia. Since which all the following has been received from Constantinople, dated No. 8.

"We have positive advices here, that Kouli Kan made himself master of all the dominions of the Great Mogul, and seized his immense treasure; tho’, by virtue of a treaty, he had restored him to the entire possession of all his country, except some provinces which he had reserved for himself. It was believed at first, that Kouli Kan had replaced him on the throne from a principle of pure generosity and magnanimity; but we are since informed, by an account of the most important transactions in those parts, that the said pretended magnanimity was only a feint, and that Kouli Kan perceiving he could not compass his end by force, employed craft. The relation we have had of it is in substance this:

After
After Kouli Kan had in March last defeated the numerous army of the Great Mogul, he pursued his victory with all be vigour possible, and took several places that were most within his reach; but as he had a great many others still to take, his troops were very much diminished by the several battles they had been engaged in, and as the Great Mogul, the defeated, had still a good after-game to play, he judged it for his interest to propose a treaty of peace to the Indian monarch, and for his end employed Sadac Kan, a subject of the Great Mogul who had suffered himself to be brib'd by Kouli Kan, and who the better to conceal his treason suffered himself to be taken in a French attack.

This traitor was sent to the Great Mogul; to whom he declared, that Kouli Kan desired to get nothing by his victories but two or three provinces; and that he consented to leave the Indian monarch in the full enjoyment of his dominions on the payment of a certain sum for the expenses of his return, &c. The Great Mogul accepted of those offers, and the treaty was concluded accordingly. Not many days after, the Indian monarch gave a grand entertainment to Kouli Kan, who was refused to treat him in his turn. The Mogul was very loth to come to it; but Sadac Kan and some others, who had preconcerted the plot, prevailed to come, so much to go, that at last he consented. The dinner was scarce over, but Kouli Kan caused the Great Mogul to be arrested with all his retinue; and immediately after sent 20,000 men, who treacherously made themselves masters of Deli, the capital of the kingdom. These troops having a quarrel not long after with the inhabitants of this city, the latter killed 400 of his men; at which Kouli Kan was so exasperated, that he immediately sent other troops to Deli, with orders to put all the inhabitants to the sword.

These orders were executed with so much cruelty and inhumanity, that in two days time near 200,000 people of both sexes and all ages were left dead upon the place, not to speak of the plunder and demolition and burning of two thirds of the city. This massacre was commenced the beginning of April; since that time Kouli Kan has extended his conquests as far as possibly be could; and 'tis even said, that he has made himself master of Surat. But, on the other hand, we hear, that the grandees of the Mogul kingdom are assembling their forces, to take revenge for the treacherous practices against their King, &c.

The court of Petersburg has been very busy for some time, in searching into some important designs said to have been formed against the Russian empire, between the Turks, Tartars, the Swedes, and great part of the Polish Nobility; the discovery of which is generally believed to be owing to the papers taken from the unfortunate Baron Sinclair. A western power, lately famous for negotiation, is said to be at the bottom of this Moslem Christian scheme.

Whether on the above account, or any other, does not yet fully appear; but advices from Russia are full of severe executions carrying on in that empire: which her Czar, at any rate seems to have thought would so much alarm Europe, that she has published a manifesto in vindication of the deaths of four Princes Dolgoroucki and the bastinado of two. The charges brought in the manifesto against them are of such a kind as seem not probable causes for their punishment at this time. They are accused of having "fatigued the Emperor Peter II. by racing, hunting, with dogs and falcons, and by other chances of wild animals, and thereby impairing his health so as to occasion his death; of concealing his sickness; of forcing him to marry into their own family, when he was too young; of seizing some furniture of the crown, which was taken from them at the Czarina's accession, and of doing other things equally contrary to the laws of God and man; of misrepresenting some ministers of state; of putting a malicious construction upon measures of government; of forcing a will; of the times of lèse majestatis under exile, &c. &c.

Prince John Alexowitz Dolgoroucki, who was sentenced to be first broke on the wheel, and then beheaded, upon hearing his sentence pronounced, is said to have pulled a knife out of his pocket, and cut his throat.
The peace between the Ports and the court of Vienna has met with so many obstructions, and the delivery up of Belgrade has been so long retarded by disputes relating to the preliminary articles, &c. that we can give no satisfactory account of those powers, till either the one or the other chiefs to speak more plainly; which will probably be about the time for opening a campaign. — However, a few Deshaws have been managed for negotiating to execute some articles of the peace. —
The report of an insurrection in Constantinople, of the Grand Seignior's being deposed, of the Grand Vizier's being strangled, &c. are, we believe, all without foundation.

The Emperor has lately had several instances of the necessity he is under of giving some attention to the design of the house of Bourbon: and it is not doubted but the natural balance of Europe will be preferred.

Naples and Tuscany declare a neutrality in the war between G. Britain and Spain.

Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia, have taken no new measures.

France still enjoys Cardinal Fleury; Spain has declared war.

And, we may safely say, Great Britain is prepared for it.

The French Ambassador has been complimented by the Grand Seignior's order for the excellent discharge of his mediation at Belgrade.

At the Hague, and Amsterdam, many things are reported, but none confirmed.

---

Register of Books.

Horace's twelfth epistle. By George Ogle, Esq. 1s.
A short account of the state of our woollen manufactories. 6d.
A draught of a bill for the recovery of small debts. 1s.
A book of instruction to be members. 6d.
Sir Roger de Coverly; or, The merry Christmas. By Mr Dorman. 1s.

The learned speech of J — P — w — Grand J. of M.— x.— 3 d.
Webley's piece. Being an account of some schools. 1s.
A defence of the church of England, in relation to the doctrine of regeneration. By The. Church, M. A. 1s.
Geography reformed.
Proceedings against state prisons, Nos. 1. 1s. each number.

The sentiments of the old Whig relating to a place bill. 1s.
A defence of Dr Whisk's treatise of original sin. 6d.
A letter from a freethinker of H — y — d. to his representatives in parliament. 3d.
The immateriality and free agency of the soul demonstrated.
Driser and Chriftianity fairly confider'd. Dr Barnes; the extraordinary two theological treatises. Published by J. Willy.
Some reflections upon the administration of government. 1s. 6d.
The satyricals: a satire. 1s.
An historical account of the life and reign of K. David. By Dr D — y, author of revolutions examined with candour.
Remarks on the divine legation of Moifs. The nature and advantage of public worship.
Mr Welchman's thirty nine articles, translated. 1s. 6d.
The happiness of a holy life, exemplified in the pious Mrs Mary Gerffs, of Boston in New England.
A brief account of Spain. 1s. 6d.
An essay on the history of Louis XIV. Translated from the French of Vaunet.
An historical account of the Brix of Luther and Calvin. 1s. 6d.
The Lover, a poem. By the late Dr Drake of Salifbury. 1s.
The third book of Horace's odes, in prose. 1s.
The first book of Paradise, attempted in rhyme. 6d.

Merc and measures characterized. 2d.
Edinburgh Almanack for the Year 1740. 6d.
INDEX to the Debates, Essays, History, &c. 1739.

A

Absence in parliament when excusable 557
Absent members. See Seceders 232
Absolute monarchy of France increasing 335
Act of the Associate Presbytery 281, 621
Acts assented to 320
Address of the Lords 82. Of the Commons extract of the 83. Of the Lords on the convention 93. Of the Lords 543. Of the Commons 571
Administration vitiated, how dangerous 308
Agrippa, M. his speech against an address 205
Panegyric on the late 320
Edie, James, his trial and sentence 329
Emilius Paulus, L. his speech against amending the address 308
Belgrade, siege of 381, 382, 427. Its Governor's resolute conduct 382. Its provision for an attack ib. Believer, his state compared with that of an infidel 612
Benefits for players, why disagreeable 182
Berg and Juliers, account of its succession 287
Bill for acting plays in Edinburgh ordered into parliament 136
Birds, their speech mistaken for singing 176
Bob Bootysummons his gang 106. His speech ib.
Books numbered, and the small effect they have on the world 101. Many old ones irrecoverably lost ib.
Bourdeaux, a riot there 239
Britifh ministers, their diligence in forwarding an alliance, to prevent the growing power of France 587
Brooke, Mr Henry, account of 131
Buchanan, translation from 460
Buckley, William, his trial 172
Burdet, James, his trial 173
Buriels 43, 93, 139, 188, 236, 283, 332, 376, 424, 498, 585, 622, 5, 6
Calpurnius Pisos, C. his speech for an address of thanks 115
Campbell, Dr, his answer to the remarks on his book 601
Cantab's petition to Nicholas P—— 220
Canuleius, his speech to the Roman Consuls 618
Capuchin Friars, account of the death of thirty 143
Carlos, Don, fixed in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily 6
Carolina, our right to it proved 75. Provision for its safety 422
Caftilians, their manifesto for a free cortez 120. TotaUy enslaved 123
Catechism for the Women Methodists 210
Cato, M. his speech for the addresses 348
Causes of the bad state of our affairs 416
Censers, publick, account of 549
Cham-
INDEX to the Debates, Essays, History, &c.

Champion, Sir George, excluded from the
Mayorsalty, and why 422

Charles II. view of his government 196

Charon and Mercury, a dialogue 410

Chloe, verses to 550

Choctaim taken by the Russians 426

Cicereus, C. his motion for an address of
thanks on 435. Speech in favour of it 448

Cicero, M. G. his speech against the ad-
dressers 342

Cicero’s saying applied to Common Sense 582

Citizen, account of 62

Civil lift increased lately 247. Much
larger than it ought to be 248

Clarendon and Southampton, their good
conduct 196

Clergymen, loose behaviour of two 108.

Story of one infested 109

Club, political, account of 189

Coalition of parties desirable 258

Coiners, several discover’d near Derby 138

Colonies, what use made of ours 154

Comedy more useful than tragedy 181

Comedian preferable to a musician 133

Comedians, at Edinburgh, proscribed 89

Commission’s proceedings 582

Comparisons, Cardinal Fleury and anoth-
er prime minister 76. Paulus Æmi-
lilius’s fortune and that of our ministers 78

Common Council’s good resolution 417

Common Sense’s scurrility and incon-
sistency 581

Conjugal affection, instance of 234

Convention between Great Britain and
Spain 68. Remarks on it 110. Further
remarks on it and the manifesto 416.

More general remarks 405

Copithorne, Richard, his cafe 80

Cornberg, Count. See Duxat.

Corrupt minister, the placemens idol 578

Corruption, in parliament, how dangerous
148. Precautions necessary against 198.

How fatal in a common council 217. In

government lately introduce’d 105

Corruption act as necessary as a gin act 165.

Sketch of 168

Corrifica, subject of much speculation 6.

An action there 46. France’s deceit with
regard to it 238. State of 286. French
success and barbarity there 335

Coriscans, their reasons for chusing The-
dore King 95. Causes of their rebel-

Cortez betray the liberties of Castile 110.

Under court influence 3

Court of Vienna’s declaration regarding
the peace 499

Cromwell, portrait of a learned one 112.

His conduct at several places 113

Craftman and Common Sense in danger
168

Craftman’s mean insinuations answer’d
580

Crawford, R. of, refutes a post in Russia 95

Crocza, battle of 375

Cromwell, Oliver, his letter to the French
King 11. His conduct with regard to
parliaments 559

Czarina’s good conduct in a rewarding mer-
rit 4. Her declaration in relation to St.
Clair’s murder 376

D’Anvers to his departing friends 12

D’Aubigny, Mr. story of 169

Debates on proceedings against the Se-
ders 230

Debauchery, how pernicious 573

Declaration of war against Spain 478

Free thoughts on it 472. Against Brit-

Debtors, proposal for proscribing 574

Demands of Spain on the S. S. company
unreasonable 74. On us answered 111

Democritus, interview between him and
Hippocrates 595

Denmark’s commerce greatly improved 7

Descent, not to be boasted, without an
adequate fortune 814

Dialogue between a miser, a spendthrift,
and a flatterer 596

Diseases, 43, 93, 139, 188, 236, 285,
332, 376, 424, 485, 585, 622, 624

Difinterestedness of the late administra-

Disputes with Spain not settled by the
convention 111

Divan, disputes at, on ratifying the peace
87

Divorces, their original design 59. How
far necessary 61

Dolgorucki, four princes, executed, and
two banished, and why 617

Domitianus Calvinus, his speech against
amending the address 269

Donjac Ormo defeats the Cabaen Tas-

Duxat and Cornberg, their hard fate 3

Dramatic writings, usefulness of their e
INDEX to the Debates, Essays, History, &c.

exhibition 182. Much reformed ib.
Dreis alter'd, varies women's tempers 261
Drop'y, cure for 333
Dublin society worthy imitation in Scotland 361
Dundee, instructions to its member 556
Eclipses, calculation of 242, 572
Edinburgh representative, instructions to 483
Edward and Eleonora, a tragedy, denied representation 181
Eloq't, Sir John, his impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham 252
Engagement between the Turks and Russians 425
Engagement between a French fleet and two Spanish galleys 185
English officer, story of one 78
Englifhman's letter on Scots trade 221
Entertainments at Vaux-hall described 363
Enthusiasm, how pernicious 268
Epigram, one of Ben John's 29. On a storm 544
Erskine, Mr Ebenezer, proceeded against 135
Esteem, most people ambitious after 259
Subulus's character 260
Sadoc's letter 261
Europe, summary state of. See Turkish empire, Russia, &c.
Experience attending a collision at Vauxhall 409. Of the war, proposal for supporting it 466
Fabius Maximus, Q, his speech against the convention 500
Feedback's dangerous effects 218. What it is 253
fear sex often deceived, and how 26
fear, love of, 25. Affects the dress, ib.
The desire of all men 157
family memoirs little to be depended on 547
arthing-post illegally carried on 168
Notitious pedrogues 548
Htery, Scots, capable of great improvements 221. And how 361
Flattery ridicule 151. When useful ib.
An instance 152
fleet, ours, more useful than our army 31
fleetswood, account of his marines 607
fleur'y, Cardinal, his ministry approved 8
Himly and Shallot, their adventure 363
Hilt, age of 211
forces for the current year 91. In his Majesty's service 582
Fortune, advanced, difficulty of behaving well under 260
France, famous for its mediations 8. A project of her's 590. Diligence to prevent the British negotiations 591
Frauds in the stamp duties, bill to prevent, thoughts on 168
Fraserburgh, treatment of a ship in dif- f'rese there 187
French surgeon, story of 578
Frequent parliaments, bill for, assented to 213
Funeral orations one cause of the corruption of the Roman history 548
Funeral orator, character of ib.
Furius Camillus, M, his speech for allowing the merchants council 390. On the address of thanks being concluded on 542
Gage, L--d V-fc--t, his speech against the convention 276
Game-laws, remarks on 63
General Assembly's answer to the King's letter 229
Geneva, its intestine broils settled 7
Gentlemen ought to serve their country 221
Germany, state of 5
Giganius Macerinus, M, his motion and speech for amending the address 289
Gla's, Mr John, rejoiced 232.
Glover, Mr, his speech to the Sheriffs 477
Goshick government preferable to others 212
Government, the ends of 213. Our peculiar happiness under the present 266
Governors, their subjects' partiality for them 202
Gout, cure for 270
Graham, Marquis of, attacked on the highway 339
Grand Vizier's reported character 3
Grant of Dalrachney's fine house burnt 42
Great man, defence of the 152
Great Mogul defeated 585
Gustavus Vasa, a tragedy, history of 131
Haddock and Clavijo's mutual compli-
ments 383
Haven, a fine one in Scotland 102. Lies open to an invasion 103
Hawick, account of the falling of a house there 233
Helvius, C, his speech against amending the address 306. And in favour of the convention 489
Hew-
INDEX to the Debates, Essays, History, &c.

Henry V. his character 17
Hippocrates, his account of Democritus 596
History, ours very dark, and why 547.
Right use of 619
Holliein-Gottorp, Duke of, his death, account of 284
Honour easier attained in the field than in the cabinet 157
Horse races, abuse of. See Newmarket.
Hortensius, L. his speech in favour of the convention 533
H.—w. J.—n, Esq; his reply to Lord Villo
count Gage’s speech 370
Human nature, reflections on, how entertaining and useful 199
Hypocrisy of mankind at present 212
Janissaries attempt to enter Belgrade 430
Scilicius, L. his speech in favour of the convention 512
Imperial army’s insucce 5. Progress again
the Turks 334. Success in Croatia 427
Impunity, an incitement to vice 578
Indian skins, wearing of, discouraged 621
Indolence, how disgraceful 362
Insidels, their wretched state 612
Influence, danger of a corrupt 318
Inundation, a great one in Holland 191
Inspiration, Whitefield’s pretence to, ab
furd 206
Instructions to the London members 478
Introduction to the political debates [289]
Johnson, Ben, a quarrelling scene from 324. Observations on it 326
Journal of Haddock’s voyage 222
Ireland, number of papists there, an incentive to national union 258
Irish papists disarmed 583
Israel in Egypt, an oratorio, methods taken to make it successful 181
Italy, state of 6
Julius Florus, his speech against the convention 534
Jull, a painter, derives himself from Julius Caesar 548
Junius Brutus, L. his motion for two ad
dresses 339. His speech in favour of that motion ib.
Kenelly, John, his trial 172
Khevenhuller, young Count, killed 382
King’s letter to the General Assembly 229.
Speeches to parliament 32, 270, 542.
Answer to the Lords address 94
Knight of Malta’s bravery and good con
duct 17
Koulis Kar’s embassies to the Port, at to the Carabinas 44. Takes Caballur
Cabull 283. Manife ́sto against the Gen
Mogol 333. And his success against him 424. 626. His barbarity at Dei 627
Lacy, Velt Marshal, his charact’r. Suc
cess in Pecopcor and the Cim 434
Language between faults, necessity of 179
Laws ought to be vigorously enforced. Made necessary only by vice 119
Leaden age 21
League, an execrable one discovered 111
Legacies, charitable ones 141
Leige, a tumult there 239
Letters; an odd one 138. To Temur 186.
From the G. Scianors’s Equestri 76. To
the author of a discourse on prostitution 560. Of marque, act for granting 118.
Two reasons for their not being accept
ed, answered 297
Liberty, invaded by degrees 147. In dan
ger by designing ministers 205. Exile
destroyed under specious names 370. Of
the press in danger 169
Licentiousness, how cursed 209
Limiting the crown, act for, passed 215.
Remarks on it ib. Repealed by the
Whigs 216
Linlithgow, a riot there 280
Linnen manufacture, its success in Scot
land 355, 361
List of the members for and against the
convention 309
London, government of, not corrupt 219. Its trade and opulence, how ca
fused 221. Well situated for trade 125.
Defence of that city’s late conduct 464.
Its citizens late wise proceedings recom
mended 577. Struggles at the election of its Mayor 422
Lorraine, Duke of, his accession to the Ger
Dukedom of Tuscany 7
Love, experimental, course of 355
— Specula, telescope and microscope.
their several uses 178
Lucian’s method of exposing vice, very
agreeable and instructive 410
Luxury, and languishing trade, causes
of our national poverty 126
Macclesfield, Lord, cafe of 50
Macvicar and Maclean’s cafe 191
INDEX to the Debates, Essays, History, &c.

faiiltes 383. Demands the Princefs ib.
Minifter, character of a good one 157.
Danger of a corrupt one 348
Minifterial pamphlets, proposal about 153
Minifters, bad, fatal to their masters 366
Miracle, a comical one 190
Mifanthrope, part of a scene from 550
Mixt government, when it may be called

a tyranny 149
Model for a new parliament-houfe 551
Modelly, Harry, character of 260
Mogul’s dominions, bad state of 283
Monarchy of Rome, attended with licen-
tiouenefs 203
Money, scarcity of 155
Moon, eclipse of, at Edinburgh 40
Morocco, its fluctuating government 9
Munich, Velt Marfhal, his character 5.
His noble conduct 586
Murrain in cattle, care for 373
Musicians widows, proposal for supporting 131
Musick, its use, a tranfitory pleafure 132
Muftapha, a tragedy, well received 88.
Its characters ib.
Nation’s præsent melancholy circumftan-
cies 415. Its voice for a place-bill 555
Navigation, free, instances of its being le-
cured to us 19. Our right to it clear and
explicit 105
Navy, ours rendered useless 154
Necceffity of Revelation, remarks on 474
Negroes skirmish with the Englifh 234
Nero, his absolute and corrupt reign 368
New-market, melancholy state of 167
New Sarum, instructions to its members 556
Noble, Joseph, his trial 173
Oaths formerly the seal of treaties 71
Obligations on parliament-men 557
Observations on the convention 71, 76
One man’s ingroffing the power of giving
places, &c. ill conftquences of 253
Operas, Italian, their exit out of England
New 38
Orange, Prince of, his fucceffion to King
William’s estates not determined 8
Order, a good one of the K. of Spain 239
—— for granting letters of marque 330
Oxford Doctor, story of one 166
Paintings at Vaux-hall 363
Pallavicini, Marquis, his engagement
with the Turks on the Danube 379

ad dog, cure for the bite of 571
agitators partial and vicious, render the
saws odious 28
magazines, objections against 243
ahomet, Balhaw of Albania, aſſaffinated
143
majority, corrupted, how vain to oppo-
149
alecontents arguments for a war anſwer-
d to. Their endeavours to lose the
ame of party 257
ail practices of sea-officers 408
aliffeto of the King of Spain 374. Ill
inflated 418
aliffeto, commonly the fore-runner of
a declaration of war 415
anius Valerius, his speech to the Roman
people 618
anius Torquatus, T. his speech in fa-
our of the convention 541
accellus his oration against Thrasea
368
argery, or a worfe plague than the dra-
on, facetious remark on 38
arrages; first Princefs of France, and
he second Infante of Spain 95. Second
Princefs of France, and the King of Sar-
lippias eldest fon ib. Princefs Anne of
Mucklemburg and Prince Anthony Ul-
lick 189, 334
lafquerade, account of one 107. An exo-
Late Queen’s avenion to
ib.
lafquerades, their ill conftquences 60.
Account of two 88
latagarda, fort, its treatment of an En-
thifhip 383
lecanas’s speech on the liberty of the
refs, and againft a great land army 406.
Against the convention 537
flemorial, British Ambassador’s, to the
States General 486
furchants, injured, expediency of the
methods taken to redrefs them 55. Pe-
tition againft the convention 352
furchant-company’s petition 482
fercury, a dialogue 462
fermaid, description of 185
ferman, description of 
ib.
iferriwe, his rebellion 9
fethodists, why fo called, and when 64.
Account of them 65. Their illegal pro-
cedings 207. How dangerous, if not
checked 209
linq, Marq. de la, publick entry at Ver-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pencova, a small skirmish there</td>
<td>382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pantomines, their success</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adapting them to children ridiculed</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papists and Protestants, their number in Ireland</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parallel betwixt R—k and W—te—d</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parricide, a tragedy, not well received</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliament's long arguments against</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not accountable to their electors, how absurd</td>
<td>467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliament-men, penalty on absenting</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern divisions of</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party, definition of</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party-names, the supports of corruption</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriot, preferable to a private Gentleman</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Payments, irregular, bad effects of</td>
<td>573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace, honourable, preferable to war</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defence of</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace concluded between the Emperor and the Porte</td>
<td>428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penal laws, when necessary</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensioners, law against them very defective</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peoples prejudices, how indulged</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their right to instruct their representatives defended</td>
<td>614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perifor, castle of, attacked</td>
<td>382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petitions against Spanish insults, and free trade</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For part of the 95,000 l. ib. for the safety of Georgia ib.</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of London, for free trade</td>
<td>ib.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petit Maitres, their behaviour at Vauxhall, humourously described</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philomusias, his account of himself</td>
<td>549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambition to turn author</td>
<td>550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophical amusment on the language of beasts, extract of</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pinchbeck age</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pifo, L. his speech for amending the address 303. Against the convention 449</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pit, address to, on stage-reformation</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place-bill, brought in 198. How necessary and useful</td>
<td>555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place-bills much opposed by the court 197</td>
<td>581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placeman, ill consequence of keeping one in employment, after he was hated 599</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placemen, limitation of, better than a total exclusion 121. Unfit to sit in parliament 318</td>
<td>A dangerous militia 320. Corrupted by interest 577. Hurtful in parliament 579. Necessary in government 581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Player, what a good one must be</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Players, French, their sorry read</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plebians dispute for the Cornishman</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flinianus Cecilius, C. his speech for an address of thanks</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland much reduced by the late war</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish frontier ravaged by the Tatars</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By the Turks and Tarran Polities, facetious remarks on</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pomponius Atticus, his speech in the convention 521. His motion of an address of thanks</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor, the industrious, how valuable a society</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pope, his distress'd state 6. His probable successor</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popular commotions, their cases</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popular judicature, propositor for election</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porcia, L. his form of an address (292)</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predestination, arguments against</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petitions for it, answered</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prices of stocks. See stocks.</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pride in Writers exposed</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prim, Mr. his ludicrous behaviour</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince, ceremonies used at the birth of the 140. His baptism</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proposals for an hospital or workhouse</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proposals to the Grand Seignor by G—ki, and his answers</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protest, Spanish, 80. Remarks on it</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protest of the Lords against an address</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thanks</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prudentia, her case</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prussian Ambassador cuts his throat</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publick offices, who unfit for</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publick spirit remarkable in the administration</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puffing, art of, daily increases</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punishment payments recommended</td>
<td>573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quacks, what they are 205. Account of one</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queries, to Mr Whitefield 201. Reporting influence, civil list, places, &amp;c. 317</td>
<td>Quintus Capitolinus, T. speech against allowing the merchants counsel 317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quintus Cincinnatus, L. his speech for reducing the army</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ragotski, Prince, courtesies'd by the Turks 4. Reward set on his head</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radcliffe, James, his escape</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX to the Debates, Essays, History, &c.

Scots manufactures slowly improving 227.
Exportations 484, 582
Scotmen, their bravery in Russia 4
Seamen least encourag'd than landmen 30
Searching, on any terms allow'd, very danger-ous 74. Right of, not given up by Spain 105
Seat in parliament, how eagerly fought 195
Seceders vindicated 167
Seceding ministers, some account of their conduct 183. Arguments for and against them 230. Sentence against them 233
Seckendorf, Count, his treatment 335
Sejanus's downfall, how cau'd 149
Self-love, what 611. As strong in an in-fidel as in a believer 612
Sempronius Tuditanus, P. his speech against an address of thanks 527
Scraffiker of Widdin made Gr. Vizier 237
Servilius Pricus's speech against allowing the merchants' counsel 387
Sextius and Licinius, their characters 117
Ships, lost 42, 139, 186, 187, 234, 282.
Taken by the Spaniards 282, 430, 431, 481, 583, 621. From them 481, 583, 621
Slavery, warning against, from the Romans example 147
Small-pox, receipt for 47
Smyrna, its neighbourhood molested by Sare-Bey-Oglow 4
Society for propagating Christian knowledge, general meeting of 40. Short account of it ib.
Sallioquy on the approach of death 569
Solon, a wise reflection of 29
Sophi of Perisa's claims on the Porte 188
South Sea company's losses by Spanish siezures 83
Spain, little done there last year 8
— its trade extending 10
Spaniards conduct on our granting repri-fals 383
Spanish depredations 10
Spanish Fryar, how mutilated 170
Sparkish, Ned, story of 161
Speaker of the Commons, his speech to the King 281
Speech, Perisa's ambassador's, to the Caz-a-rina 48
Spirits, foreign resolutions against them 135
Stage, proposal for its reformation 31. Put under a licence, why 169. Taint for, decreases 461
Stam-
INDEX to the Debates, Essays, History, &c.

Trials of seven pirates 170. Their sentences 291

Tribunial power, the guard of man liberties 291

Turnbulls, remarks on the late ones 291

Turpin, Rich. his trial 158. Account 291

Turkish empire, state of 292

Turks and Tartars pursue the king over the Niester 292

Tuscany, Great Duke of, performs the treaty at Buri 292

Tyranny, legal, how pernicious 292

Valerius Corvinus, M. his speech in mitting the merchants consul 292

Flaccus, L. his speech on the number of land forces 399. Mezzial regulating them 292

Vaux-hall. See Voyage 301

Verfes on the Spaniards insult 292

Vice (not weaknesh) the proper object of indignation 292

Villius Tappulius, P. his speech against the convention 293

Virginia, ancient limit of 293

Virtuous men ought not to meddle with corrupt government 293

Unity, national, the only preserving against corruption 293

Voyage to Vaux-hall honourably ended 323. Return from hence 323

Wages, when paid to parliament-men 323

War, preparations for 330, 331, 371

422, 432

Wellesley, Count de, his death 393

Westley's more blameable than Whig field 287

Westminster bridge, a new dance 293

Wheel, introduced into Corfu 322

Whigism, present state of 294

Whitefield seizes the pulpit at St. Margeret's 68. His conduct how absurd and illegal 200. Reflections on it 201. His account of himself 202. Arrives in Philadelphia 621

Widow Lady, story of one 114

Wilkens, counsellor, his sentence 193

Wisdom of the late administration 372

Wishart, Principal, his settlement 45

Zuchin, Emperor of China, his unhappy fate 395

Stamp-paper if, recod'd to a certain size 168. What its effects would be 169

Standing army, danger of 51. Ours ought to be reduc'd 52

States General, arduous in their mediation betwixt Spain and Britain 8. Their conduct in the present conjuncture 335. Their resolution with respect to our war with Spain 383. Letter to the King of Gr. Britain 487

Statesman, regard due to a good 156

Steele, Sir Rich. story of his chariot 261

Steinhort, a scuffle there 45. Dispute there amicably adjusted 150

Stephens's medicines for the stone 268

Stocks, prices of, 333, 374, 422, 482, 583, 623

Storm, a violent one in Scotland 40. Another in Essex and Bath 234. Another at London 622

Stratagem, a politick one of Gen. Bernclau 379

Strutt, Ld, and 'Squire Bull, their case 133

Subjection in a subaltern, an instance of 54

Succession, great expectations on the Hanover 246

Supper at Vaux-hall 409

Sweden, its trade much increased 8

Sweden, K. of, refuses the government 47

Sweetland, James, his trial 172

Tartars, 300, defeated in the Ukran 141.

Their ravages in Poland 377

Theatre, at Edinburgh, thoughts on opening it 182

Theatrical goods, sale of revolutions 461

Theodore, Baron, some account of 6. Seizure at Naples 9. Released 46

Thomson, Robert, his trial 329. Obtains a remission 622

Thrasea Petus, Nero's barbarity to him 367. Death, and dying words 368

Timoleon's generous conduct 549

Tory practices, how dangerous, if gone into by old Whigs 148

Trade increasing in Europe 143. Scots how it may be improved 361

Tragedies lately very numerous, and their effects 181

Treaty of peace between the Emperor and France 286
INDEX to the POETRY, 1739.

Lady, on an agreeable, being married to one underserving her 130
— of May 224
Lover's monument 127
Lying in the Earl of Rochester's bed, on 360
M—mV—te, on seeing her picture 223
Majestas, on his picture 418
Mallet, to Mr M 87
Manscholy, to 568
Mifs—, to the charming 86
Murray, Mr, on his marriage 33. The preceding ode imitated. ib.
Myrtillo to Mira 86
Night-piece 129
Northern star 224, 271
Ode 26. 1. 1. Horace; paraphrased 33
— 14. 1. 2. Horace, imitated 34
— on the new year 37
— to W—mP—y, Esq. ib.
— to Fame 87
— on the D. of Argyle 178
— extempore 189
— ad N—m M—d 273
— to a young Lady 358
— on his Majesty's birthday 475
— two, from Anacreon 586
— on the new year 640
Panegyric on a court 127
Poet L—t, on him and his odes 34
Prologue to Hamlet 179
— to Gustavus Vasa ib.
Prospect of war 326
Palm I. imitated 130
Recalpe 36
Resolve 180
Rofe-bud 223
Rural beauties 359
— virtue 224
Sleep, to 180
Songs 38, 85, 127, 223, 328
— to Cupid 84
— Mary Scot, adapted to the present age 128
— the indictment ib.
— on a young Lady's illness 359
Spaniards, on their searching our ships 130
Stella, to, with a Bible 84
S—t, to the Rt Hon. Mifs 35
Sulpurium 34
Sylvia, to 328, 421
Sylvio to Maya 228
Third chapter of Job 420
Touch of the times 570
Townshend, to Mrs Elizabeth 419
Trip to Vaux-hall 569
Veris written in a Lady's prayer-book 129
— inscrib'd to Mifs J—ny 360
— to the memory of a deceas'd Lady 476
Vigilantis vota, dormientis somnia 86
Universal prayer 34
Winter 275
With for a young Lady 567
Young Gentleman, to a 228
— on one oft disappointed in love 328
Young Lady, to a 476

INDEX to the DEATHS, PREFERMENTS, &c. 1739.

Abercorn 484
Abercrombie 624
Adams 235, 625
Adair 624
Abercrombie 584
Adams 236, 423
Abercrombie 331, 484
" 235
" 484
Aberdonian 331
Aberdeen 233
Aberdeen 332, 594
Aberdeen 625
Aberdeen 484
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afton</td>
<td>624</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afton</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>Breadalbane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austin</td>
<td>624</td>
<td>Brecon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aykner</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>Bridgenham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baber</td>
<td>624</td>
<td>Brindhall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagot</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>Brodie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balfour</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>Brookes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baker</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>Brown, 423.624,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baldwin</td>
<td>624,5</td>
<td>Bruce, 42.141.283.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balfour</td>
<td>624</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baljouney</td>
<td>92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banfield</td>
<td>624</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barkley Lyon</td>
<td>332</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnwell</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>Balkeley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barr</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>Ball</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batesman</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>Burdet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bates</td>
<td>624</td>
<td>Barrard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauchler</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>Barton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beanfort</td>
<td>624</td>
<td>Butler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaumont</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>Byng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedford</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>Cadogan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beecher</td>
<td>624</td>
<td>Calderwood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bell</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>Campbell, 43.236.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benson</td>
<td>584</td>
<td>Cardrois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bentink</td>
<td>583</td>
<td>Carmontisseur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berkeley</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>Carr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berrers</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>Carrick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berry</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>Carroll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bertes</td>
<td>624</td>
<td>Carteret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bechisefy</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>Cater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betsworth</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>Cathcart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackerby</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>Cathness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blagrove</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>Cavalier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blake</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>Caulfield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blanford</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>Chalmers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blondeau</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>Chamberlay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodens</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>Chambers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boisford</td>
<td>624</td>
<td>Chambre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolton</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>Chudleigh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bond</td>
<td>624</td>
<td>Churchill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonfoy</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>Clarke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borchard</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>Clayes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borthwick</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>Clayton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boswell</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>Cland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bower</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>Cleland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowles</td>
<td>931</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowman</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>Clive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyd</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>Cochran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyle</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>Cockburn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boynton</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>Codd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bradbury</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>Colquhoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bravewynt</td>
<td>624</td>
<td>Colson</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*INDEX to the Deaths, Preferments, &c.*
INDEX to the Deaths, Performances, &c.

Monk 429
Monson 332
Montague 93 140
Montand 282 375
Montagu 93 423
Montalieu 331
Moore 624
Moray 235 623
Mereon 584
More 235
Morton 235 623
Moffyn 332
Moyle 625
Moyston 283
Monro 625
Murphy 423
Murray 93 140
Murray-Kynynmound 331
Mutter 44
Nairn 140
Napier 93 583
Nalbh 331
Newbey 426
Newton 44 93
Noyart 624
Norciere 625
Norris 44 140 282
North 624
Nottingham 623
Ochtertony 624
Ogilvie 140 584
Ogle 624
Oliphant ib
Oliver 423
Onslow 375
Orange 623
Orfeur 331
Orme 375
Ouillston 423
Ouwald ib
Ouway 331
Paget 332 75
Palmerston 623
Parker 331 423
Parrot 423
Parley 484
Parson 624
Patterson 484
Paton 283
Payne 423
Peachey 624 5
Peart 44 332
Pelham 583 4 625
Pemberton 332
Percival 484
Perry 93
Peters 235 623
Philips 283 331
Philpou 235
Pierpont 236
Pierr 584
Pinston 485
Pocklington 485
Pole 375
Pomfret 484 625
Porter 333
Portland 423
Powell 624
Poyntz ib
Preudeux 625
Prescot 93 331 624
Priaulx 375
Prince 140
Pringle 624
Pulteney 332 484
Parcel Kempe 624
Pyle 625
Ramsey 235 625
Raymond 187
Reade 332 624
Rempston 284
Reynor 93
Reynolds ib
Rich 331 2 75
Richmond 332 583
Rider 188
Rivas de Foiias 331
Rob 584
Robertson 140 282 3 624
Robinson 332 584
Robhead 423
Rogers 92
Rolton 332
Rondeau 584
Roffa 625
Rothes 332
Ruck 93
Rudd 423
Rue 424
Rusfei 375
Ryan 624
Rycault ib
Sabine 282 583
St Clair 332
St Morris 624
Salter 423
Saltmarsh 624
Savage 423
Sanderson 188
Sawbridge 93
Scarborough 331
Schaw 141 332 75
Scoie 141 88 331
Scot 484 584
Seafort 375
Selkirk 140
Seymour 44
Shadwell 625
Shaftus 624
Shannon 282 423 623
Shelton 624
Shields 624 395
Shirley 375
Slatter 624
Smith 282 375 584
Soleguard 375
Somervell 43 235
Spark 283
Spelman 624
Spencer 93
Stacey 624
Stambour 235
Stamford 583
Stammers 625
Stanhope 484 625
Stanley 282
Stephenson 624
Stevens 140 332
Stewart 44 140
Stevens 375 624 4
Sterling 141 623
Stone 187 485
Strafford 583
Strange 584
Wade 322 332
Waite 587
Waite 325
Walloe 285
Wallace 624
Wallop 584
Walpole 325
Walcott 584
Ward 425
Wath 332 424 624
Wanchop-Dow 44
Weare 322 625
Weaver 44
Webb 624
Weber 44
Welsh 624
Wentworth 332 75 624
West 148
INDEX to the Books.

Batchelor of Salamanca 143
Beginning of masonry 240
Bellamy's miscellanies 336
Benefit of procreation 288
Bill for recovery of debts 628
Bp of London's pastoral letter 384
Boëthaeus's materia medica
Bravo turónd bully 488
Brief inquiry into standing forces 96
— account of prayer 288
— of Spain 628
British representative 239
— Lyon rouz'd 432
— word's discovery 591
Bratum Fulmen 240
Candor 239
Canto of Fairy Queen 240
Cafe between the clathiers and weavers 143
— of K. Jehosphat 144
— between Stebbing and Whitefield 488
— of the oaths ib.
Catechism for Deists 240
Caution against religious delinquency 432
Chelvania 328
Champion's defeat 488
Characters 143
Charge to the clergy 248.288
Charge for the hospital for foundlings 592
Christian, a new creature 47
— worship 96
Christianity the way of life 488
Chronologia enucleata ib.
Chronological tables 144
Clubb's vindication 48
Ch. of Eng. vindicated ib.
Church discipline 432
Church-yard 240
Clarendon and Whitlock
Clarke's supplement 488
Collection of texts 336
— of pieces of Locke 488
— of observ. in surgery 592
College wit sharpen'd 288
Colloquies of Eristas ib.
Comports of matrimony 48
Common Sense 336
Conduct of Whitefield vindicated 336
Congratulatory poem to Sir R. Walpole 96
— letter to Lord Walpole 239
— to Dr. Trapp 592
Considerations on the state of affairs 48
[sons 47
Constitutions of the free man
Contempt of the clergy consider'd 96
Continuation of Mr. Whitefield's journal 47
Convention 96
Counterpart to Pope's essay on man 288
Country Common Sense 96
— correspondent 192
Course of lectures 240
Critical account of libraries
Cure of scimy 336
Decrecta of Ovid 328
Defence of Whitefield 48
— of religion 96
— of the reformers princip.
— of the enquiry 288
— of the Ch. of Eng. 628
— of Whitby ib.
Deism and Christianity ib.
Delays dangerous 96
Description of curious creatures 336
— of the windward passage
Dialogue Baptist & Churchman 192

5 A
INDEX to the Books.

Dial. Kt and his man 336
—Mencalus and Philem. 96
—Whitefield and Garnor 288

Discourse on Christian and Antichristian authors 288
—on confirmation 192
—on divine and moral obligation 384
—on learning 432
—on the mystery and history of scripture 592

Display of Fr. Politicks 336

Difficenters apoloby 591

Discertation on tithes 96
—on the present conjunct Aroure 591 [192

Divine legation of Moles 432

Don Sancho 336 [488

Dramatick works of Orrery 432

Dreadful degeneracy of the clergy 288

Dunces of Norfolk 432

Earnest appeal 384

Edinburgh almanack 628

E—b—gh's instructions ib.

Edward and Eleonora 240

Eighth and ninth epistles, book 1. of Horace 144

Enquiry into Jewish and Christian revelation 47
—into the advance of the price of coals 48
—into fittness of attending parliament 144
—into the nature of Bristol waters 384 [143

Entertaining correspondent Enthusiasm explain'd 288
—no novelty 432

Epidemical madness 144

Epistle to S. R. Walpole 240
—from Mary Collyer 432

Epitaph of the debate 592

Erroneous translation of scripture 144

Essay on civil power 192
—for the improvement of free-thinking 592
—towards the character of Madam Champaneze 192
—on the decay of the fine woollen trade 192
—on regimen 488

Essay on oriental learn. 288
—on polite behaviour 592
—on vocal mufick 96

Eternity of hell torments 48, 288, 432

Eucharistical sacrifice 432

Examin. of the enquiry 240
—of Stephen's med. 384
—of the manifesto 432
—of a late vindication ib.

—of the Quakers persecutions 488

Excurious view 384

Exposit. with the clergy 144

Exploatory letter to Mr. Whitefield 96

Family expotitor ib.

Farmer rector'd 628

Farther considerations 144

Fatal retirement 592

Fear of death ib. [384

First book of Virgil's Aeneis 144

First fatur of Perfies 144

Four original letters 48

Fourteen sermons ib.

French politicks 336 [432

Frid. Spanhemii introductio

Further reply to Shepherd 192

Gardener's dictionary 384

Genealogies of J. Christ 192

Geography reform'd 628

Golden calf 48

Grecian history 591

Green cloth 143

Grobianus 192

Gualtherus & Grifelda 288

Guide to London traders 384

Gustavus Vasa 239

Hammond and Hopkins's expostions of two texts 336

Happiness of a holy life 628

Hemp 432

Hist. Josephi patr. 384

Historical account of the degradation of gold 48
—of deviles 239
—of several sea-fights 336
—of the Stewarts 488
—of K. David 628

Hist. of Solymon the Great
—Gustavus Vasa ib. [96
—of the Egyptians 288
—Northamptonshire 144

—Edward and Eleanor
—England 191
—English Bishops 192
—Peter the Great 400
—West country 525
—King Anne 144
—Exeter 391
—all religions 392
—Lewis XIV. 628

Honour of cuckoldom 432

Hospital of fools 592

Hymn to the supreme

Jewish Spy 240

Jews complaint 48

Imitation of 2d epistle of Horace 192

—of Horace's 168

Immateriality and fin
gency of the soul 628

Impartial exam. of Ne
—enquiry 592 [19

Imperious title of Tiber
Improvements in 1749

Index to the records 432

Inanity of the world 28

Inspiration of N. 76a

Journal of Had.'s island 144

Irresistible fair 143 [7

J. Cestaris comment. 88

Jus parliamentum 239

Kind of dialogue in hal

K. of Spain's manifesta 49
— in English metre ib.

La literig. Francois 48

Lady's dispensatory 96

Lark 432

Laugh and cry down 35

Laws relating to the poor

Lay-tyranny 96

Letter to the S. S. compan
— to Whitefield ib. [14
— to Mr. Eb. Erdine ib.
— of Claudio Tolomei 14
— to a Noble Lord ib.
— to Dr. Mead ib.
— to Sir R. W. 144 [14
— to Mr. Salmon on libert

— on Diffenters being Sir

— to Mr. G. Chubb 192
— to Weekly Miscell. 212
—from a Spaniard ib.

— on the Trinity 288
INDEX to the Books.

on Whitefield 288
  to Philelthes ib. [336]
  to the Abp of Canterbury from an Ital. merch. 384
  to the Liverymen 432
  to Sir G— C— ib.
  to the Bp of London 488
  to the Livery ib.
  from a freeholder 628
  tters of E. Strafford 144
  concerning poetic transf.
  fe of God 192 [288]
  of Edm. Dickenfon 440
  of David Nefas 384
  of the 8th champion 488
  of Bp of Rochester ib.
  of Mrs Chr. Davies 592
  of Mr Hallyburton 96
  of Luther and Calv. 628
  arithmetologia 384
 ondon 592
  mdon citizen injured 144
  gnisus on the sublime ib.
  over 628
  ria orationes 192
  rthafis Anglicana ib.
  an superior to woman 592
  of pleasure reform’d 240
  anners, a fatyr 48
  anners decyphered 144
  armor Norfolciense 192
  asony ib.
  r Wapole’s case 144
  atrimony 336
  laureing completed 96
  made easy 144 [384]
  memoirs of D. de Ripperda 384
  memorials and characters 384 [48]
  ttery conversation 96
  companion 336
  erh.’s letter to the Prince 240 [ib.
  method to prevent running of wool ib.
  methods of laying West
  netbridge 92 [47. 239
  fiscell. in profe and vers
  finisterial prejudices 144
  feries of miserable 192
 ock-preacher 288
  modern-Englishman 144
  history 192

—question affirmed 288
—book-keeping 336
—Moral essays of Seneca 48
—Mournful nuptials 288
—Mufapha 96
—Narrative of the life of Mr Whitefield 288
—of what passe’d at the e-
  lection of Ld Mayor 488
—of the proceed. against
  the seederers 592 [288
—National disp. on the conv.
  Nat. hist. of N. Carolina 96
—of the Rhinoceros 336
—Nature, fin, &c. of being
  righteous over much 288
—Nature and advantage of
  publick worship 628
—and laws of chance ib.
—Necessity of good works 96
—and of revelation 288
—New year’s gift 48 [96
—New treatise of husbandry
  tranf. of Juvenal ib.
—account of Jamaica ib.
—abridg. of the statute 336
—art of war 384
—precedents in conveyan-
  cing ib.
—set of tables 592
—News from the dead 48
—Nineteen let. of Dr Ham-
  mond 192
—Objections against the repeal of
  the test-act 144
—Observationes de aere 336
—on whigs, &c. 47
—on the convention 96
—on the remarks 144
—on the present taste for
  poetry 192
—in surgery 384
—in Mr Seagrave ib.
—in the manifesto 432
—in the declarat. of war
—Answer to the last ib. [592
—Ode to W. Pulteney Esq. 96
—in prophecy 144
—in Sir R. Walpole 592
—Odes, &c. of Horace, tranf.
—in Pr. of Wales 47 [336
—Old Whig 144
—Old Whigs sentiments 628
One physis. is e’en as good
as t’other 488
One thousand seven hundred
and thirty nine 592
Oratio in honorem legis 336
Panegyric on a court 96
Paradise lost, b. 1. in rhyme
Paraph. on James 592 [628
Pastoral letter verified 432
Peace and no peace 48
Periplus illustrata 192
Peruvian tales 336
Philemon to Hydaspes 240
Philosopher’s stone 143
Philosoph. amulements 191
—experiments 192
—dissertation 336
—Philof. essay on muffick 432
—Phyfick is a jest 888
—Plain youth 336 [488
—Plain to Methods
—Reafons for beingProtest.
—Plain-dealing ib. [240
—Plantation-laws 591
—Poems by Mr Pope 48
—in several occasions 488
—Poeatarum Scotorum mufe
  sacra 432 [192
—Political life of O. Cromwel
  reflect. on the finances ib.
—essay on commerce 488
—Political-chymical-christian
  preparation 432
—Practical treatife of painful
  distempers 48
—expofition of the four E-
  vangelifts 144
—surgery 592
—Prefent for an apprentice ib.
—Prefent state of politics 96
—and of matrimony 336
—Preferentive against unfet-
  tled notions 432
—Principles of liberty 240
—Prior’s miscell. works 488
—Proceed. of Aff. preb. 432
—Proceedings and trials 628
—Progress of honesty 592
—Protest against the church
  of Scotland 240
—Raven and owl 48
—Reasons on the defection of
  Sir G. C. 488 [591
—for encouraging feamen
—in altering leaves 592
INDEX to the Books.

Reflections on the administration 628
Remarkson observations 96
— on the Review 144
— on Mr Butler's treatise ib.
— on Chubb 192
— on the pastoral letter 384
— on the div. legation 628
Reply to Dr Waterland's charge 96
Report of select cases 591
Review of all that hath passed since 1721. 144
Rhapsody on pleasure and virtue 96.
— Roger and Joan 144
Roman history 592
Royal Gauger 96
Rudiments of anc. hist. 246
Rules for a holy life 48
— and orders for a religious society 96 [litia 336]
— and directions for the sacred hymns and poems 384
Satyr, in the manner of Pers.-
Satyrillos 628 [lines 432]
Saul, an oratorio 49
Scarcity of copper coin ib.
Schismatics delineated 96
Second book of the odes of Horace 384 [ibid 488]
— letter to the Ep of Ox-
Select contemptations 48
— Pieces of Th. à Kempis 432
Selectus diplomatam 592
Self-love and virtue reconciled 96
Series of wisdom and policy
Serious address 48 [144
— considerations 432
Sermo pedestris 288
Sermon, by H. Read 48
— by Mr Paton ib.
— by Mr Niving 96
— on regeneration 288
— at St Paul's 488
Sermons on several subjects
— by Whitefield 335 [288
Seventeen hundred thirty nine 96
— shavingambassadorsboards
Shrew short preservative 432 [96
Sir A. of his speech 96
Sir Roger de Coverly 628
Sixteenth ode of Horace imitated 240
Slof's answer to remarks
Smugglers defeat 144 [336
Some important duties 240
Some thoughts on standing forces 96
— on a future state 438
— Sovereignty of the British seas 288
Spanish insolvency 96
Speech in parliament 288
— of J. P. 628
Stag-cases in Windsor.
Stag-case 628 [ref 336
State of Rome under Nero
Statues 144 [288
Student's law-dictionary 360
Success of Stephen's medicines 336
—Thirty nine
Summary of defects in fe-
— of the controversy 356
— of the crown-law. [ib.
— Summary view 490
Sun's standing still 288
Supplement to ophthalmogra-
Syphilis 48
Tale 191.
Third book of Horace's
Three odes of Horace imi-
tated 240 [pole ib.
— letters to Sir Ro. Wal-
Tillingston and Sharp on re-
genation 288
Timber-tree improved 192
Touch of the times 592
Tragedy of K. Saul 191
Trapp vindicated 288
— tried and cast 336
Travels of Ed. Brown 144
Treatise of human nature
— of original sin 240 [48
— on dissolvents 336
— of common recoveries
— on the sole ib. [18.
— on the Lord's prayer 368
— of ancient painting 436
— of fractions 992
— Trial of W. S. 524
— of Rishal Tanpuz
— Trials of ferun'-rants
— True character of Whig-
field 288
— interest of the Peace
of Europe 336
— Christian 348
— Truth 143
— triumphant 432
— triumphing 432
— Twelve epistle of Eran
Twenty six sermons, to
— Batty 356
— by Whitefield 328
— Two lectures, at High-
— to-hall 240
Verles on Dr Swift 47
Verity laid open 143
View of the evidences in
— View of the exchanges 33
— View of the necessities
— of the political union
Vindicat. of a defeat 91
— of the licensor 240
— of reply on man 592
Uncertainty of physic 368
— Universall love and good-
nefs 48
Useful miscellanies 592
Welsh poetry 628 [628
Welchman's 39 arids
Whitefield's journal 288
— answer to the pastoral
letter 384
Wolf uncoath'd 48 [591
— Woman not inferior to
— Woman not inferior to
— Wonderful vision of hell 592
World to come 336
Works of Mr. Rowe 144
Worthy companion 592
Xenophon's defense & me-
norabili. Socrates 192
Young mathematician's
companion 384

The End of the First Volume.