THE WORKS OF JAMES HOUSTOUN, M.D.

CONTAINING

Memoirs of his Life and Travels in Asia, Africa, America, and most Parts of Europe. From the Year 1690, to the present Time.

Giving a particular Account of

The Scotch Expedition to Darien in America, the great Advantages accruing to Great Britain from the Union; the Rise, Progress, and Fall of the two great Trading African and South-Sea Companies; the late Expedition to the Spanish West-Indies; the Taking and Restitution of Cape-Breton.

SOME CURIOUS ANECDOTES of the SPANISH COURT; a short Hint for expunging the Errors and superfluous Jargon, and hyperbolical Mysteries in the three great Professions of DIVINITY, PHYSIC and LAW, and reducing them into concise, regular, rational and intelligible Systems, &c. * * * * &c. * * * * and &c.

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THE

AUTHOR'S APOLOGY,

TO THE

GENEROUS READER.

MEMOIRS relating Facts co-
temporary with the Times,
in which they are written, when
almost all the Dramatis Personæ
are upon the Stage, methinks is a
sufficient Proof of their Veracity,
otherwise Truth, must stare them
in the Face to confute them im-
mediately, were not the Facts true,
and the Characters just; why are
they not dissected and contra-
dicted
dicted? And you will find all the Events correspond directly, and have answered exactly to the Prognostics: The Rise, Progress, and Fall of the two great trading Companies, the most advantageous and beneficial Branches of Trade that ever were in England; the Success of the grand secret Expedition; the Restitution of Cape Breton, &c.

Resentment is a Faculty of the Mind, the natural Repeller of Injuries, and Provider for immediate Self-Defence, the first Law of Nature; a Virtue may be aggravated to exceed the Bounds of adequate Satisfaction, into Revenge and Malice, so becomes a Vice: I am conscious to myself, that I have kept within Bounds, in this Res-
Respect; by the Treatment I have met with in the Course of my Life-time, I shall not presume to judge for myself, but leave it to the Determination of the generous Reader.

Conscience or Honour, which I reckon synonimous Terms, is no Faculty of the Mind, but only the inward Sense, every one feels within himself of his own Actions, being conscious to himself only, of the original Spring and true Cause from whence they proceed; so according to the Judgment he forms of these Actions, they are conscientiously good or bad; from this Motive alone, no real good Man of intrinsic Worth dares do a bad Action, for his own sake, tho' there were no Laws in civil Society.
ty to restrain and check him; from hence is the true Source, and original Spring of all real Happiness and Contentment of Mind, or the Reverse; as for my own Part, I dwell within myself. This is what Horace calls the brazen Wall of the Virtuous.

*Nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpâ.*

Emulation, the chief Spur to great Pursuits, may swell out into exorbitant and unbounded Ambition, but the Source was originally good, and the luxuriant Excrecences could only spring from a generous Root; which any one of the least Penetration, may easily perceive without my pointing it out: For there is nothing more cer-
certain than that our Way of Thinking is governed by the Elevation of the animal Spirits, as every one who has lived in Variety of Climates, and shifted different Scenes in Life, have sufficiently and demonstrably experienced: Great Success most commonly infuses great Thoughts, and inspires a noble Presumption, which render Men brave and magnanimous; whereas we frequently see that Men with their Fortunes and Liberties, lose their very Spirits and Souls.

A great Soul indeed that can support under such Pressures!

As the comic Poet rightly observes.
Uti res nostrae sint ita nos,
Magni atque humiles sumus.

When these Memoirs first appeared in the World, I met with a Gentleman of thorough Knowledge of Men and Books, an old Acquaintance of mine, who told me in a friendly Manner; "Doctor, I have read your Memoirs, I should have known them to be yours, tho' they had made no Mention of your Name.

The Whip is good enough, but the Lash is too long.

As you set up in Opposition to the far greatest part of Mankind, and even to yourself, by telling the naked Truth; you reveal the grand Secrets of this World, which shakes the
the Foundation of artful Policy; don't you know the old trite Phrase,

Children and Fools tell Truth;

for Truth is not to be told at all Times. Dulce est decipere, said Horace: Vive la Bagatelle! says Swift.

Doubtless the Pleasure is as great, Of being cheated, as to cheat.

But I know your Answer,

You please yourself in following your own Humour,----and consequently must pay for it.

Necessity is the best Cure for senseless Pride, and whimsical Vanity; it rouses the indolent, and
Physic, and Law, that keep the World in Awe, to extirpate all who were not her faithful and loyal Subjects; with private Orders, to enter into the Breast of every Individual Subject, to extinguish even to the least Spark of Disloyalty to her; in this Case what a happy Life, and more happy World should we enjoy? Heaven in Perfection! but alas! she has got a most formidable and powerful Rival, to struggle with, Money, Emperor de facto of the World, her inveterate Enemy, who has usurped to himself an absolute Dominion, and arbitrary tyrannical Power over the World, and has reigned with a despotic Sway ever since his first Appearance to take upon him the Command, for he has secured Artful Policy, for his prime Minister, and major
major Vis for General of his Forces; and consequently can easily thwart all the Views, disconcert the Measures, and disappoint all the Designs of his Opponents; and very likely to ride triumphant 'till Time shall be no more: In short, Sir, Money is the Devil, the very Devil we all talk of, and most worship; but now-a-days he always appears in Masquerade, for he has got the Art of concealing his cloven-foot, he does not care to be personally known, as in former Times; for he finds by long Experience, that he can do Business more effectually incog. than known, and bids very fair for universal Empire. Solomon tells us,

Money answers all Things.
In the mean Time, I flatter myself that I have said nothing but what is entirely agreeable to Truth, which is but one, and lies within a very narrow certain compass, but Error is immense; however disagreeable it may be to others, I am willing to stand or fall by that Test: it is true, that my natural Disposition, to the qualities of Mind, is frank, open and generous, without Reserve, but inflexible, so that my Inclinations are laid open to public View without any Disguise, by telling Truth boldly; free unfettered Souls nobly dare to think for themselves, to look thorough the Mask, and sneer at Delusions; without sparing myself, or considering on Consequences, I strictly follow her dictates to the best of my Judgment with an Abhorrence to
to all Kinds of Reserve, where Truth is to be concealed or disguised, even to Discretion, when it confines *Wit*, and stifles *Humour*, which only gives a Sort of momentary Pleasure to a *Genius* bent that way; for every Parent is fond of his own Child, when he knows that it is brought forth of a good honest Mother, tho' the Child may be a little perverse and exccentric, in its Disposition, yet I fairly confess it is a *Foible* and a very great *Foible*, for true *Humour*, if not kept up with Decency and Dignity loses its Beauty, and in these irregular Sallies the *Man* loses himself: Bad Policy, or no Policy!

Inherent Faculties of the Mind may be curbed by Prudence, and checked by Discretion; but are not
to be altered, without altering entirely the natural Disposition of the Man by creating him anew. This is the only Apology, I presume to make for myself, and leave the World to answer for themselves; and if any one in particular is offended, let him lay his hand on his Heart, and in Truth blame himself, for I freely acknowledge myself blame-worthy.

Reason will get the better of Prejudices, for great is the Power of Truth, but Nature is unalterable.

Now it may very naturally, be objected, how can he who has conducted his own Affairs and Actions with so little Prudence and Discretion, pretend to prescribe Rules to others,
others, to conduct them in the right way? But there is nothing surer, than he who has struck frequently upon a sunken Rock, without being entirely shipwrecked and gets ashore at the very last Gasp, to tell his own Story; is the most proper Person, to describe the Situation of that Rock, with the great Dangers surrounding it, and the proper Methods of evading them, to direct the Course to steer clear of these imminent Dangers; where you may discover and distinguish, the Procedure and Limits of the human Understanding, from the Irregularities and Sallies of the Passions, in different Characters, of the human Species, and how widely the same identical Person differs from himself in the Career of Life.

This
This is the true Theory of the Economy of this World, the practical Part you will find fully exemplified in these Memoirs; by

Your most humble Servant.

[Signature]

(Author's name)

(viii)
Do not know, for I never thought it worth while to enquire, the Day nor Year I was born; but it must be some Time in, or about, the Year 1690. My Father was George Houstoun of Johnstoun, of a very ancient Family, Houstoun of Houstoun, Baronet, in Renfrewshire, Scotland; and my Mother was Elizabeth Cunningham.
The Custom of that Country is, the eldest Son inherits the whole paternal Estate, and the rest of the Children are thrown upon the World, with little or nothing but Education, which, in my humble Opinion, is as good, and more easily acquired in that Country, than in any other Part of Great Britain. I have heard my Mother say, that I was the youngest of fifteen Children, so nothing fell to my Share but my Education, which, I must acknowledge, was as liberal as that Country could afford; and afterwards I went to Holland and France for a further Improvement in my Studies.

Genius appears in the most natural and lively Colours in Youth, before the Understanding has formed itself strong enough to dissemble; it very early exerted itself with me in Pride and Ambition.
of his Own Life-time. 3 epidemically inherent in the Blood, and concomitant with all Scotsmen, only turning and exerting itself into different Shapes; which has been observed by the most accurate Observators; "The Scots, says the learned Puffendorf, are very apt to propose to themselves great Matters, and to delight in their own Inventions."

M. Mesnager, in his Memoirs of the four last Years of Queen Anne's Reign, says of the late great John Duke of Argyll; "That he had too much of the Scotsman in him, to submit more to any Man than he could help; and too much Sense to be wanting to obtain any Thing to gratify his Ambition."

One Major Smith, a Gentleman of undoubted Honour and Credit, told me, That, on a Journey from London to Edinburgh, he travelled two Stages without even a Servant, when he chanced to break his Stirrup-leather, and, espying a Fellow at some Distance a-hedging, he call'd him to ask his Assistance. The Fellow, in a very
Dr. Houston's Memoirs

a very submissive and obliging Manner, ran half a Mile for an Awl and Pack-thread, and then mended the Stirrup-leather; upon which the Major put his Hand in his Pocket, and gave the Man Six-pence, for which he was very thankful. When the Major was mounting his Horse, he desired him to hold the Stirrup;—Na, Na, says the Fellow, my Name is Campbell, Sir, and I wonna haud any Man's Stirrop in England. *

King James himself, the First of England, had a great deal of Scotch Blood in him, but I am afraid it was intermixed with worse, which contaminated the Blood of the whole Race 'till meliorated again by Intermarriages.—True Scotch Blood from the King to the Cobbler!

It is surprizingly remarkable, and astonishing to the whole World, that, of all Nations, the British are the most industrious and careful in a right Breed of their Cattle.

* The Major was a Scotsman himself, and approv'd of the Fellow's Answer greatly; and gave him another Six-pence for it.
Cattle, Horses, Dogs, and the most negligent of their own Breed from the Highest to the Lowest.

"Pride (says an accurate Searcher into human Nature) is that natural Faculty, by which every Mortal, that has any Understanding, over-values, and imagines better Things of himself than any impartial Judge, thoroughly acquainted with all his Qualities and Circumstances, can allow him." Then I add, expecting and demanding a greater Regard and Respect than is justly due to his real Merit.

"We are possessed of no other Quality so beneficial to Society, (when it exerts itself rightly) and so necessary to render it wealthy and flourishing as this; yet it is that which is most generally detested, and the prouder a Man is, i.e. the more Esteem he has for himself, the greater is his Dread of Shame; and as this Fear of Shame is more or less, so it surmounts..."
mounts, or gives way to other Fears, and sometimes we see it gets the better of the greatest of all Fears, even Death itself, as in Duelling and Suicide.”

The witty Lord Rochester likewise very justly observes, that every Mortal would be a Coward if he durst, for no Man of Honour dares be a Coward, he must either part from his Honour, or his Cowardice; and, if I am rightly informed, by my Lord Shaftesbury and the Duke of Buckingham, the latter was more prevalent with his Lordship than the former; so that he durst be a Coward.

This is strongly exemplified in what they call Scotch Pride, or Spanish Punto, which is much the same Thing, but exerts itself in different Manners, for both are actuated by the same Motive.

Pride has got
Ambition for her first Born;
Hope is a younger Child;
Positiveness is of the same Family; and
Resolution is near a-kin, but she has got Understanding for her Parent.

"That
of his Own Life-time.

"THAT Strength, or Stoutness of Heart, depending on the animal Functions, is commonly call'd Courage or Valour, but that Strength or Vigour of Mind, which depends on the animal Spirits, is called Resolution; the first common to the Vulgar, the other very uncommon, but more inherent in the Great; Strength of Mind is infinitely more requisite for great Actions than Stoutness of Heart." Cardinal de Rhetz.

AMBITION was the ROCK that I so often split on, in the Course of my Life-time, with hundreds more, to my certain Knowledge, and thousands of thousands who will not so ingenuously confess it; notwithstanding I acknowledge to steer near this is right Navigation in the Course of Life, if you can keep clear of the ROCK; tho' this was the very ROCK the Royal Family of Stuarts struck on, which they too severely felt, and paid for, to their fatal Experience by its Consequences.

Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.
Of all History I have always had the greatest Pleasure, Satisfaction, and Edification from Memoirs of Lives, especially when wrote by the Persons themselves, from Cæsar's Commentaries to Colley Cibber's Life; for it is impossible, even for the best Limner, to draw a just Picture to the Likeness, unless the Original is the Object of his Senses. It is true, all Actions in human Life, especially the glorious Transactions of the Great, are the Object of our Senses, but none know the original Source and secret Springs of those Actions and Transactions but the Actor himself. I must own, that Vanity, which every mortal is possessed of, more or less, naturally leads us to be partial to ourselves; but this is sufficiently counter-balanced, by Honour, Sincerity, and Truth, and, in my humble Opinion, every Man of tolerable Understanding, with common Honour and Honesty, is the fittest Man to write his own Memoirs; for he certainly knows more of himself, than others can possibly know of him.

Mas
Mas save loco en su Casa, que cuerdo en agena.

There is great Pleasure and Satisfaction in ruminating on the former Passages and remarkable Transactions in Life, and the useful Reflections from Reading them over in a more advanced Age, as Martial says in his second Book,

Hoc est vivere bis, vitae posse priore frui.

But if these indigested Conceptions should chance to be brought into the World, naked as they are, as my posthumous Works, and the Reader don't like such low-life Stuff, he may let them alone, for I can assure him, they never were designed for his Pleasure or Satisfaction, only for my own; knowing the Veracity of the Facts related, I don't want to enforce them to others.

But, as Example is infinitely stronger than Precept, I shall begin with my very Childhood; when I was in my very
very young and tender Years, I was my Mother's Favourite more than any of the rest of my Brothers and Sisters. I suppose from her innate Goodness, and Piety to nurse up a tender Child, with great Care, that otherwise must have infallibly perished; and she continued her Favours to me 'till the Day of her Death. The rest of the Children envy'd and twitted me with this Happiness; and, when they found a fit Opportunity to shew their Spite and Resentment, they used to give me a Knock or two for it, I was above making Complaints, when I knew they would be severely whipt for it: But they came over me another Way, not thro' Design, but by mere Accident, they catch'd me fairly in my own Way: My Father used to give all the Children a little Money from time to time, except myself: When we Children got together, they shewed me their Money, and upbraided me for Want. I knew very well how they came by it, bore a strong Resentment against my Father for not giving me any, and was resolved to be up with
with him, as soon as possibly I could find a fit Opportunity. I could not then be above six Years of Age, which I remember as well as yesterday, being a remarkable Passage in that Part of Life. Though I had not the least Notion of the Use of Money, yet my *Vanity* led me to be even with, if not out-do them: Accordingly, when my Father was receiving his Rents from his Tenants, I was wholly taken up in accomplishing my Design, which I dexterously enough executed, by securing the fairest Piece of Money I could set my Eyes on, a new coined Forty-pence Piece, in the great Bible, without my Father’s Discovery, or having the least Suspicion of it; which I concealed for some time, ’till my natural Temper, and Bent to *Vanity*, made me discover myself, and brag, that I had more Money than all of them put together. They put me to a defiance, by producing their Money. I readily betrayed myself, by producing my Piece, which they made a Handle of, to lead me into a most terrible Scrape. My Father called for me, but, by
all his Threats and Punishments for some Weeks running, he could never learn, or get any satisfactory Answer, how I came by that Money. But the Moment my Mother asked me, I told her the whole Truth, with my Inducements and Reasons for what I had done, an Emulation not to be out-done in any Thing by the rest of the Children, and gave the Piece of Money directly on my own accord to her, which no Punishment could have extorted from me otherwise: For I knew no Crime in the taking of it, as I thought myself justly intitled to it, since my Father had given all my Brothers and Sisters Money, and me none; which verifies the Saying, That some may be easily led that cannot be drove, according to the natural Disposition of the Person; for Nature is unalterable in itself; it may indeed be new modelled by Education, but there's nothing more sure than, What's bred in the Bone seldom comes out of the Flesh.

I was taught the Rudiments of Learning by my Father's Chaplain, who was a very
very good Latin Scholar; and understood the Greek Language very well: He was afterwards Master of the Grammar-school of Pasley, where I was put under his Care.

I H A D a certain Vivacity and Quickness of Apprehension, and an easy Conception, with a Readiness of Answering, amongst all the Boys, peculiar only to myself, but I never had any Memory, (Wits have no Memory!) which gave me a Rank amongst the first and best of the Scholars, tho' I was no ways entitled to it, for there was amongst them many better Scholars than myself; what Learning they had got was substantial, mine was mostly Appearance, seen thro' a Magnifying Glass: However it fell out, I was classed amongst the first, pickt out from the best Scholars in the School, and had Self-conceit enough to fancy it was thro' my own Merit. Our grand Competition was once a Week, to dispute for Dux of the Class, which I frequently carried from a superior Antagonist, thro' mere Dint of Forwardness: But, when I was worsted, nothing could vex me more grie-
Dr. Houstoun's Memoirs.

grievously, the only Incentive and Motive that could possibly make me apply to my Studies, and what I know of Learning I owe entirely to this Cause; for whipping would never do. My Master used to tell me, *Quos amo castigo*: But I only bore him a boyish Spite for it, and played him twenty arch Tricks; too trifling to repeat: Had it not been for this *Emulation* and *Contention* I never should have made any Proficiency at School, nor even known the very Rudiments of Learning; for which Reason a publick School is infinitely preferable to private Teaching.

Of all Professions and Employments in the World a School-master for Teaching of Youths is of the greatest Importance to Mankind; for, next to the great Creator, he has the Formation of them; a great Genius may be crushed in the Bud, and die; a little Genius may be cultivated to a good Growth, and live; which, without great Care, would have perished: In short, he makes the Man: As you may see in the *Introductory Essay on Genius and Education*. Much
Much about this Time there was a Project on foot in Scotland of settling a Colony on the Isthmus of Darien, near Panama and Porto-bello, which reaches from the South to the North Seas in America. I have travelled from Porto-bello to Panama on a Mule; it is about three Days Journey, the most damned out of the way Road that ever I saw in my whole Lifetime; I take it to be about thirty (tho' commonly called only twenty) Leagues; but there is a much nearer Cut thro' the Woods, which Spanish Policy will not allow to be opened, but keeps this almost impassable Road open, as a Defence for Panama and the Inland Country from the North Seas; which Policy stood them in good stead at the Time of the British Expedition designed against Panama, in the Year 1742. I have been told by one of my Predecessors, Mr. Bacon, in the Company's Service, that he has travelled thro' the Woods with his Boy, Gun and Dog from Panama to Porto-bello in less than thirty six Hours; and I was credibly informed, that the King's Courier has done it.
it in twenty four Hours; but it is Death by the King's Edict, for any one else to venture on this Road, or to clear any Ground for a Road, only Leave is given to cut down a little Brush-wood for Firing round the Town of Porto-bello. There's likewise a Passage up the River Chagre within ten Leagues of Porto-bello, with a good-landing Place in a champaign Country within five or six Leagues of Panama. There are many large and convenient Rivers in Darien navigable, as I was told, within a few Leagues of the South-Sea, a most convenient and advantageous Situation for Commerce. This Expedition made a very great Noise in Scotland, as it was a national Affair separate from England. I have read all that our History says concerning it, by different Hands, and had a particular Account of it, from an intimate Acquaintance of mine, Don Juan de Herrera, his Catholick Majesty's Chief Ingineer, at Carthagena in America, who was the very Person that went with the King of Spain's Express Order to repel Force by Force; which original Instructions from the Court of Madrid I have.
I have seen, but they were gone before his Arrival at Darien: And I verily believe, that the King of Spain would have risked his whole West-Indies, rather than acquiesced to the Settlement of this Colony, which must necessarily have made a Rupture betwixt England and Spain, the Consequences of which might have put all Europe in a Flame, therefore neither prudent nor convenient for the King of England at that critical Time. In short, by all that I can learn, I conceive this Expedition to have been originally an immature Conception of my Countrymen, without duly considering the Consequences, and so proved an abortive Birth; and the Truth of this Conjecture appears, when the united Force of Great Britain, at War with Spain, in the Years 1739 and 1740, took the Harbour, Castles and Town of Porto-bello, and the Harbour of Carthagena with all its strong Castles, they did not think it right Policy to maintain and support them, which they could very easily have done with a small Garrison; but they only demolish'd and razed them to the very Ground, and left
the Harbours open as formerly, without any Shipping; I suppose this was for fear of offending, and embroiling ourselves in War with the rest of the Powers of Europe: Whereas it is certain, had they garrisoned these Castles, instead of demolishing them, with 800 or 1000 Men, which they then could have easily spared, and kept two Line of Battle Ships always in the Harbour, relieved from time to time, with proper Provisions, Stores, &c. for the Garrison from Jamaica, which would have been a sufficient Force for any Attack the Spaniards could possibly have raised against them at that Time; by these Means they might have had an entire Command of the Towns of Carthagena, and Porto-Bello being in their Possession, consequently of all the Trade of those inland Countries, exclusive of all other Nations, during the War; and, on a Peace with Spain, might have received a valuable Consideration for delivering them up, perhaps equivalent to the Expences of the whole War in the West-Indies.
of his Own LIFE-TIME. 19

My Politics in these Affairs go no farther than what I have seen and heard from the Actors themselves, and I do confess their Conduct did raise very strange Notions in my Mind, Why the Scots should be angry with the English for obstructing their Settlement of Darien, when they see that they won't do it themselves, though they have it in their Power and Possession by right of War? But the Scots took Possession contrary to the Tenour of all Treaties, when we had a profound Peace with Spain. Or what the real and substantial Reasons were, that they did not embrace that Opportunity? And what were the Reasons, that England paid Scotland an Equivalent, at the Happy Union of the two Nations, for the Loss the Scots sustained by the Darien Settlement, when they will not settle it themselves? *

I REMEMBER when the Noise of this Caledonian Settlement was spread all over Scotland, I was a mere Child, not above

* See Letter, Number I. in the Appendix,
eight Years of Age; but, from my very Infancy, I had a strange Itch and Curiosity for Rambling and seeing the World, which continued with me all my Life-time. Tho' at those Years of Infancy it was impossible for me to form any Notion where I should go, I asked my Mother, If she would give me leave to go to Caledonia? The good old Lady answered me with tender Love and Affection, (being a very weakly Child, occasioned by the Rickets) Pray, Child, mind your Book.

From the Grammar-School of Pasley I went to the University of Glasgow, where I studied, or, as I may rather say, diverted myself for five Years. The first Year at the College, they teach the Latin Classics, which they call the Hen or Humanity Class. Our Professor (or Regent, as he is called there) understood his Profession exceedingly well; but was a little upon the volatile Taste, and wanted to infuse lofty Notions into his Disciples of the Grandeur and Magnificence of the old Romans. I remember he told us, "That there was more Money expended, and more Men employed-
"employed in cleaning a common Sewer " in Rome, than all the Charges and Num-"ber of Men, in the whole confederate " Army, amounted to under the great " Duke of Marlborough:" But I don't remember to have read any such Account in Roman Authors. However, it took with me, for I liked much to hear Stories and read of the Exploits of the Ancients'. And this Year I passed with Profit and Pleasure.

The next Year they teach the Greek Tongue, or the Bajon Class; in which I made but a very small Proficiency; for the Study of a dead Language was too dry for me at that Time; so that I never knew so much of the Greek Language as to be Master of any Author; yet I divided my Time this Year betwixt the Humanity and Bajon Classes.

The third Year they teach, Logics, or the Semi-Class: But I never had any Taste for this Sort of Learning; and indeed I very soon conceived an utter Ab-
horrence to the Reasoning by way of Syllogism; even so far, that, when we were obliged to dispute one with another, according to the Rules laid down to us in this Method, and it came to my Turn, I endeavoured, as far as in me lay, to turn it into mere Ridicule, without observing any Rule at all: And sometimes our Professor, who was always the Umpire of the Dispute, was pleased with my out-of-the-way Reasoning, without observing their Method of Forms and Figures; yet, methinks, I am at no Loss now for the Want of this Part of Learning: All my Reasoning came è propriâ Pharetrâ.

The fourth Year they taught Metaphysics, or the Bachelor Class, and Ethics. To the first I had an equal Aversion, as to Logics; but the last I was a little better reconciled to. We read Puffendorf de Officio Hominis & Civis: But by this time I had pickt up three or four of the cleverest young Fellows, as I thought, of the whole College for my intimate Comrades,
and we were early initiated to all the Pleasures of the Beau Monde, Whoring, Drinking, Gaming, and gallanting the Ladies; and at these Diversions I was as forward, and made as good an Appearance as any of my Comrades. We were looked upon by the grave, hypocritical, and enthusiastic People of Glasgow, as profligate, wicked young Fellows; whereas the more penetrating and knowing Part of them, but all the young Ladies particularly had Goodness enough to impute our Gallantry only to Sallies and Flights of Youth, which riper Age with Experience might correct.

At the same Time I must acknowledge, we went such Lengths, that, had they come to my Parents Ears, who were strict Presbyterians, very rigid in their religious Forms, and not at all acquainted with the Ways of the World, I should have forfeited my Mother's Favour, and been disgraced and banished their Presence; but I had such a Flow of Spirits at that Age, that nothing could
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have checked, or controled them, but stopping my Vitals.

I always lodged in the College with the Library Keeper, who made me his Companion in all respects. He was a Man of Letters and good Sense; and afterwards married my Sister) a compleat Judge of my Capacity, and perfectly well acquainted with my Humour, and gave me his Advice by way of Friendship, and not that of Superiority, or Command; otherwise I should have despised him, and his Advice too. One Day he delivered himself thus to me; "As you have Time enough (said he) "free from your College hours, suppose "you and I took a Course of Mathematics and experimental Philosophy? You "know young Wilson, who is very ca- "pable of performing that Course; we'll "make him come to our Chambers every "Day, at the Hour you'll please to ap- "point; it will cost us but four Guineas, which we'll find Ways and Means "to make your Father pay for; and we "shall
of his Own Life-time. 25

"shall have the free Use of the College
"Library, and their Mathematical Instru-
"ments." The Manner of proposing it,
by putting himself upon the same Footing
of Learning with me, took extremally
well I greedily went into the kind
Proposal with infinite Pleasure, and spent
two or three Hours a-day, four Days in
a Week, in these Studies, during my Stay
in the College, which did me more Ser-
vice and Profit than all the Learning I
had in the College besides; and I had such
Satisfaction in these Studies, that I even
would have left my Pleasures in the Beau
Monde, to attend them at the accustomed
Hours, when I seldom or never attended
the College-hours, except to answer the
Call of the publick Catalogue of the whole
College.

The fifth and last Year they teach Phy-
ics or the Magistran Clafs. I had no great
Inducement to study here, for they taught
John Clerc's Physics, and I was then read-
ing Samuel Clerc's Physics, a much better
System. All the Students in this Clafs
are
are obliged to make a publick Oration in the common Hall, before the Professors and the whole College, every one in his Turn: When it came to my Turn, I chose for my Subject,

*De veritate investigandâ:* 

Wherein I asserted, "That no rational Creature could believe more than what was consistent with, and agreeable to his Reason: And that it was absolutely impossible for any rational Creature to believe what is contradictory to that Reason the Author of Nature has given him." Truth may be concealed for want of Capacity to discover it, but of itself it is unalterably the same; as for Example, I am told, That the Square of the Hypothenuse of a rectangular Triangle is equal to the Squares of the other two Sides: This is Truth, but I want Capacity to discover it; I consult Euclid, who, by laying down plain Axioms, obvious to my Senses, and agreeable to my Reason, and, going on from one natural Consequence to
to another, equal to my Capacity and agreeable to my Reason, demonstrates and convinces me, that this is Truth; it is so, must be so, and cannot possibly be otherwise; but if this Mr. Euclid had begun with his Axioms, Two and three are equal to Six; one is three, and three are one, &c. I should have stoppt here, and said, This is contradictory to the Reason the Author of Nature has given me; for my Reason dictates to me, That two and three are equal to five; and one is only one; and three are triple the Number.

I likewise asserted in that Oration, "That what was more or less beneficial to Society, was more or less virtuous; and vice versa, what was more or less detrimental to Society, was more or less vicious; and that This was the only "Virtue (Good) and Vice (Bad) in the "World." I endeavoured, under this Cloak, to conceal and excuse my own Vices, as much as I could not being detrimental to Society.

These
These must be innate Ideas, or the Dictates of my own Reason; for I do now solemnly declare, at that Time they were not borrowed either from Men or Books. However our Gymnasiarcha (Principal, as they called him) ordered me to come down from the Rostrum and very angrily took my Oration from me, of which I have no Copy to insert here, and confined me to my Chambers. Next Day there was a Meeting, (a Faculty, as they called it) in order to consult, Whether or not I should be extruded the College? as my Oration struck at the holy Mysteries of our Religion, and was for the Encouragement of Vice.

My Professor sent for me that Evening, and told me my Lord Pollock, Rector Magnificus, of the University, and one of the Senators of the College of Justice, said, "He knew my Parents; that they bred up all their Children in right Principles, and in the Fear of the Lord; so he could not think that I meant any Thing against our Holy Religion:" And my Professor
Professor was pleased to say, "That the Ingenuity of the Oration made some Apology for some odd and out-of-the-way Expressions and Notions." So thro' their Merit I was saved. But our Principal insisted, that I should make another Oration, by way of Recantation. This made a great Noise in the University, and was the subject Matter of Conversation amongst every Body that had the least Smattering of Learning, which gave me an Opportunity of improving my Thoughts, and digesting them into a new Model, in which I divided all Mankind into two Classes. The first and lowest, but by far the greatest and most useful Part, are governed by the first and strongest Law of Nature, Self-love and Preservation. They answer this End entirely, by the Force of Labour and Industry, so as to provide sufficiently for the Preservation of themselves and Progeny; and those Creatures, we call irrational, act on the very same Dictates of Nature, to provide for the Preservation of themselves and young ones.
The second and highest are ambitious to excel the rest of their Fellow-creatures; and in this Class enter the three grand Professions Divinity, Law, and Physick, which they acquire, by improving their Genius thro' Education, so as to arrive by a superior Judgment and Knowledge, to be able to discover and distinguish Truth from Falshood. This is the Origin of the Superiority of one over another, and the Cardinal Point on which all Politicks both in Church and State move, in order to keep the World in Ignorance and Awe; so that the last may only prey on the first, and so I went on,

To investigate Truth; and
Detect vulgar Errors.

In short I was to new model a World, that I then could not possibly know any Thing at all of, and form a Religion perfectly new for myself, which I may call Natural Religion; for I am sure it could not be Artificial, because I knew of none, but what I read of, amongst the
of his Own Life-time.

antient Greeks and Romans, and what I heard at Glasgow. I must own I liked neither, which put me upon this new Invention owing to the Fertility of my own Brain; and, lucky it was for me that my Recantation never was heard, or else, I dare say, it would have fared worse for me with our Principal than at first; and if my Parents ever heard any Thing of these Embroils, they were so discrete as never to mention them.—I concluded with this infallible Maxim,

Magna est Veritas et prævalebit.

And then added,

Sed qui vult decipi, decipiatur.

During the whole Course of my Life-time, I have always had a great Aversion and Abhorrence to all Mysteries in any Profession whatever, as a mere Impostion on Mankind: And I have always opposed, and endeavoured to the utmost of my Power, as far as was consistent with
with my own Safety, to expunge them from the Professions, and to establish Truth in their Room; as the only certain Rule for rational Creatures to govern themselves by.

I REMEMBER one Father Burke, an Irish Roman Catholic Priest, who was Chaplain to Don Francisco Cornejo, General of the Galleons in the Spanish West-Indies, in the Years 1726, 1727, &c. whom we made our Bottle-companion in the Factories of Carthagena and Portobello, as being a Sort of Country Man, (born a Subject of the King of Great Britain) but very Teaguish, one Day, discoursing about the Reformation in England, it was asserted, that even the Clergy were very instrumental in bringing about the Reformation, and that the Protestant Bishops had made very bold Stands for the Support of it: Oh! my Faith then! (said Father Burke) I am greatly surprized, that the Clergy should be for the Reformation; for I am sure, where they make a Penny of Jesus, since the Reformation, they
of his Own Life-time.

they made a Pound of Him before the Re-

formation.

The Holy Father spoke great Truth!

Pope Leo X. says,

Quantas nobis Divitias comparavit ista
de Christo Fabula?

The Emperor Frederick II. frequently
said,

Tres suisse Insignes Impostores, qui genus
Humanum seduxerunt.

I have read Ochinus's History of the
Three Impostors; and do not like it at all;
but the great Mischiefs and direful Cala-
mities by dreadful and horrid Persecutions,
arisng from Multiplicity of different Op-
inions, and the Disputes about them,
have cost the World more Blood and
Treasure, than all the whole Villanies in
the World accumulated, which has obliged
me to chuse,

A Creed of my own.

D

AND
And, ever since I have been capable of knowing and distinguishing what Government was, I have been fixt in my Opinion, that mixt Government, as now established by the British Constitution, is the best.

I have read all the Models and Frames of Government by the Ancients, Chinese, Grecian, and Roman, and I have lived under, and felt the Effects of all the principal different Kinds of our modern Governments; absolute Monarchy, mixt Government, and Common-wealth, and the longer I have lived, by Experience I have learnt, and impartially say, in my humble Opinion, "That Government which "gives the largest Scope, for their King "to be the best and greatest of Kings, at "the same Time limits and restrains "him from being the worst, and pre- "serves the Liberty and Property of the "Subject, is the best of all Governments:"

Such is the Jure Divino King of Great Britain, by hereditary Right, and no farther;
farther; for the Oaths of Coronation, Supremacy and Allegiance, as altered, regulated and fixed by Act of Parliament, in the first Session of King William and Queen Mary, are a reciprocal Contract, and mutual Covenant, between the King and his Subjects; the Counterpart of this Covenant being broke on either Side, the Contract is void of course; for, by this Breach the King on one Side may unking himself, and the Subjects on t’other Side may out-law themselves. The Bulwark of the British Privileges, and Magna Charta is the Basis of all: Such is the mixed and limited Government of Great-Britain, the best in the whole World, with this Amendment, That the House of Lords should be limited, and fixed to a certain Number; and in the Election of Members to represent the Commons, Votes ought only to go in Proportion to Property, and no farther; the Quintessence of Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy. Three in one. And, during the whole Course of my Life-time, I have al-ways
ways mortally abhorred and hated all Priest-craft, King-craft, State-craft, and all Craft, but Handy-craft: For,

Priests of all Religions are the same! And

So are Statesmen!

Only differing in Proportion to the Power and Authority they are invested with: Witnessed by the Testimonies of Cardinal de Rhetz and Father Paul, and strongly exemplified by the Practice of our Courtiers and Patriots, Whigs, and Tories, whilst in, and out of Place;

No general Rule without an Exception.

In the Intervals, during the Vacancies of the College, I went to my Father's House in the Country, where I met a young Lady, with my Sisters, a Cousin of ours, politely bred up in the Female Beau Monde, well vers'd in Romances and Plays, and well acquainted with modern Intrigues: Her Conversation soon inspired me, adorn'd with lofty and refined Notions of
of Love and Gallantry. This Lady fair entertained and encouraged me, I fancy, more for her Amusement, than any other Design; for she had by much the Advantage of me, who was a mere Novice in Amours: However that might be, we continued our Amour for some Years; and when absent by epistolary Correspondence, and she wrote me Letters, that Cleopatra herself needed not to have been ashamed of, which put me upon my Metal to answer them, and made me dip a little into a Field, that otherwise would have lain quite uncultivated; by which I received both Profit and Pleasure.

During this Amour, I fell deeply in Love with another young Lady of Glasgow who was exceeding beautiful in her Person; but silly in Conversation. Here all my intimate Comrades were engaged; yet she used to distinguish me, with her mannerly Favours, from amongst all the rest, which raised my Vanity to such a Height, and increased my Love to such
The great Miss Griz. Bl--r was a young Lady of incomparable good Sense, Wit and Humour; and very learned in her own Way, Romances, Plays, Poetry, the Classics in English; but of no great Beauty.

The other Miss Is. D--gl-fs was a young Lady of extraordinary Beauty, especially in my Eyes, but of no great Understanding; yet all she said and did seemed witty and pleasant to me; the distinguishing Freedoms she used with me in publick Company, greatly fed and supported my Conceit; which went greater Lengths in private, even as far as Virtue allowed: So that nothing but the great Regard and Adoration I had for her, could have prevented our Ruin in Matrimony, or something worse, more foolish, and childish, if possible; but if I had been Master of 20,000 l. she should have been Mistrefs
Mistress of all, at any Stage of my Life-time: A sure Sign of True-blind Love.

She had no Faults, or I no Faults could spy,
She was all Beauty, or all Blindness I.

Spectators.

Hence I observed that Beauty was more imaginary than real, as it depends more on the Shadow than the Substance.

A quick Conception and easy Delivery makes Wit:
A clear Understanding and sound Judgment makes Wisdom.

Much about this Time the happy Union of the two Nations, was concluded and ratified; the immortal Glory of Queen Anne's Reign; the principal Managers of which great Transaction ought to have had their Names handed down to Posterity in indelible Characters of Gold.

At that Time I could be no competent Judge of this Affair; but I heard much Talk of the Antiquity and Independence of the Crown of Scotland, and it was fo-
mented by the *frenchified* Jacobite Party, to serve as a Bug-bear for the Populace. I remember to have seen several Mobs going about, and calling out *No Union! No incorporated Union! No Slaves to England!* And these Mottos they wore as Cockades in their Hats, Bonnets, and pinned to their Breasts. I have read the Speeches made by the Opponents to the *Union* in Parliament, and methinks all flow from the same Source, a glaring Show with *French Tinsel*.

I have had long Experience of the English Settlements and Colonies in *Africa* and *America*, and the Trade thereof; and I dare venture to say, at a modest Computation, that the Advantages accruing to *Scotland* from the *Liberty* and *Freedom* of Trade, since the *Union*, to the foresaid Settlements and Colonies, if they had been rightly managed and industriously improved, might have amounted to a greater Sum than the Value of the whole Property of the Kingdom of *Scotland*.
of his Own Life-time. 41

I have heard George Bailie, of Jer-
viswood, Esq; when he was one of the
Lords Commissioners of the Treasury of
Great Britain, who was a Gentleman very
exact in all his Accompts and Calculations,
say, "That the Port of Glasgow was then
"the third Sea-port Town of Great Bri-
tain, for the Crown Revenues arising
"from Trade."

It is true, that you may hear a general
Complaint, even amongst the knowing and
trading Part of Scotland; which I rather
take to be a Cant Word crept in amongst
them, that they have not Stock to carry
on Trade; which entirely proceeds from
their own Fault; for, as soon as they can
scrape up together a little Money, by Care
and Industry, they knock off Trade and
turn Lairds, at the only Time they are
able and fit for carrying on Trade to Ad-
vantage, so as to deserve the honourable
Name of a Merchant. A bad Custom!
which is a great Draw-back on a trading
Country; for, by laying out their Money
on a landed Interest, they really want Mo-
ney
ney to employ in Proportion to the Trade they might carry on with all the Advantages of his Majesty's Subjects of South Britain, and even with some additional Immunities and Liberties.

And the Advantages accruing to England are reciprocal, from the additional Number of Hands by the Union; for it is a known and true Maxim, That the Riches of all trading Countries depend entirely on the Number of their Hands; and it is more particularly so, when those very Hands, that are now for them, were the same Hands, as History tells us, that were always made use of against them, by the French, to molest and hurt the English, now their own Vitals; and to support the natural and inveterate Enemies of both Nations: For the Disunion of these two Nations, whom Nature seems to have united, methinks, is like an animal Body with one of its principal Members diseased, which if not timely cured, must infallibly turn into a Gangrene, wherein there is no Remedy but Amputation;
of his own Life-time. 43

tation; and, in such a desperate Opera-
tion, the whole Body must be in eminent
Danger of perishing: So every true Brit-
ton has Reason to thank God, that the
Body has now got a strong and vigorous
Constitution, and found in all its Mem-
bers; and I wish from the Bottom of my
Soul, that it may long continue so, under
the Care of skilful Physicians; for no-body
can be a competent Judge of the Happi-
ness enjoyed under a British Constitution,
but he who has seen and felt the Misery
under other Governments.

For my own part, I heartily thank
God I was a free-born Subject of the Island
of Great Britain; the two Nations now
united in one Monarchy, limited by our
constitutional Laws, under one Parliament,
with a mutual Communication of Trade
and Privileges: The Distinction and Names
of English and Scots quite obliterated, the
whole Island called Great Britain, and
all the Inhabitants thereof, by one com-
mon Name, re-assuming the Name of the
antient primitive Natives, Britons; which
which the Welsh are most properly entitled to, as lineal Descendants from them: All, I hope, incorporated as well in Mind as Constitution, for ever and ever: For those who want to raise and foment Differences and Animosities between his Majesty's Subjects of South and North Britain must be Enemies to the whole, and Bane of all Society: So let Hearts and Hands unite amongst all Ranks of People of Great Britain, and take the Dutch Motto for it.

Vis unita fortior; et Concordia res parvae crescent:

And let every Briton say, Amen! And a F*** for all our Enemies!

Now I was arrived at an Age to look out for some Business to get Bread in the World; my Parents having left me to my own Choice, I kept my Eye on the three grand Professions Divinity, Law, and Physick. The first I could not have the least thought of; for, by the Constitution of the Church of Scotland,
of his Own Life-time. 45

land, there's not one Benefice in the Church worth Ambition's pushing for; so I chose Physick.

That I might have a farther Opportunity of improving myself in my Education, I went to Edinburgh to learn Surgery and Pharmacy, and entered Student with the most famous Man of that Place, one Mr. Montieth, Surgeon and Apothecary, who prepared all his Chemical Medicines in his own Laboratory; and the Care of this Laboratory fell to my Share as a Student, and his Apprentices took Care of the Apothecary's Shop.

I applied pretty close at first, for it suited my Taste; I took also a College of Anatomy, and continued my Courses of Mathematicks and natural Philosophy under the best Masters: But, as this is the Place where the supreme Courts of Judicature are kept, the best Company of this Country (and perhaps of Europe) resort thither, I soon got a general Acquaintance with the gay young Fellows.
Fellows of the Town, and my beloved Glasgow Charmer came to Town; so I fell greatly off from my first Application, and spent much more of my Time on my Pleasures, than on Business, and my expensive Way of Life, my Circumstances not being the best, reduced me to great Straits, which put me upon a thousand Stratagems (perhaps some of them not so allowable as strict Honour required) to raise Money to support me; for I was then in such a full Carier, that I could undergo any Difficulty to feed my Inclinations.

At this Time my Father died, and my Mother's Jointure fell into her own Hands, which I suppose was about three thousand Marks Scotch yearly; but the good old Lady must have confined herself to a very little, for I spent her one hundred Pounds Sterling a Year during her Life.

France, very much irritated, that their old Friends, (I may say Tools) the Scots, had
had strictly united themselves with England, and, that they might make a Diversion of the British Forces, then in Flanders, from the Confederate Army, they made an Embarkation this Year, at Dunkirk, of some Transports under the Convoy of a small Squadron of Men of War, with the abdicated King James’s Son on board, to invade Scotland with his Pretensions to the Crown of Great Britain, and they actually arrived and anchored in the Firth of Leith; but, Sir George Byng at the same Time arriving with a considerable Fleet from England, they thought fit to make their Escape instantly, without doing any other Damage, that I remember, than frightening the old Woman, and Children, and throwing the City of Edinburgh all under Arms, in the greatest Hurry and Confusion, for some Days.

I have since been told by Captain Robert Maynard, a Gentleman of undoubted Veracity, that he was one of Admiral Byng’s Lieutenants in that Expedition, and
and that they arrived within a few Leagues of the Firth long before Dark, came to Anchor, and so continued till Morning; when he, being Lieutenant of the Morning-watch, at Day-dawn esp'y'd in Shore eight Sail, &c. On which, being pretty certain it was the French Squadron, and very desirous to carry the first News to the Admiral, who was then a-sleep, he made his Servant wake him; then told him, that he was sure he had espied the French Squadron in Shore; "And in my "humble Opinion, by cutting our Cables, said he, we are sure of them; but "if we tarry to weigh Anchor, they must "escape." The Admiral in an angry Tone answered, "Go on Deck, Sir, and mind "your Watch; that's your Business." The Admiral staid half an Hour and upwards, before he came upon Deck, and then ordered the Signal to be made for weighing Anchor; but, before they got under Sail, the French Squadron was gone sure enough; except one straggling Ship, that accidentally fell in with our Fleet, having my Lord Middleton's two Sons on board.
Maynard's telling this Story prevented his being made Captain during my Lord Torrington's Life; and that this Escape was permitted with Design I have not the least doubt of, and that the Admiral was instructed accordingly: But the Reasons of State for it greatly surpass my Understanding, I can only say, the great Lord Godolphin, who was as good as he was great, then steered the Helm of Great Britain, and doubtless could sufficiently answer for all his Actions.

After their Departure, there were a great many Lords and Commoners of Scotland taken up on Suspicion, but all ended in nothing but Quietness; and I must say, that, by all that ever I could learn from History, or by the frequent Opportunities I had afterwards of conversing freely with the Jacobite Party in France, I do verily believe, that France (but don't presume to enforce it on others for Truth) never had any real Friendship for, or Design of serving the late King James, or any of his Posterity, farther than to make
make Tools of them, subservient to their own perfidious Views.

I HAVE heard some Politicians, even of the first Rank, say, "That it was no "Disadvantage to the Nation in general "to have a Pretender, as it must always "keep the King to his good Behaviour; "and that such immense Treasure, in the "publick Funds, is a sufficient Pledge "for the Subjects Allegiance." This must be on Supposition, that the Remedy don’t prove worse than the Disease; tho’ I did never believe, notwithstanding there’s a large Premium on the Pretender’s Head, that any Man of common Understanding was ever desirous of carrying off that Prize.

After staying two Years in Edinburgh, I went to Holland; where I studied three Years under the famous Professors Boer- haave, at Leyden; there I had no Diversion from my Studies, having four Colleges to attend every Day under my Professor; one for the Theory, another for the Practice of Physick, one for the Chemistry, and
and one for Botany: This last I made little or no Proficiency in, as I never had any Taste that way, and only knew the Dispensary Herbs, that were daily in our Hands. I had a College for Anatomy under Joannes Jacobus Rau, who was recommended to us Students by Dr. Boerhaave, as a very expert Anatomist; one also for History, under perhaps the best Historian then in Europe, Perizonius. Now I applied close to my Studies, for I took Pleasure in them; and only sometimes in Vacancy Time took a Trip to the Hague Utrecht, and Amsterdam, where we let the Reins loose a little; but that was soon over. One Particular however, I cannot forget; my Lord Strafford, who was then Queen Anne's Ambassador extraordinary in Holland, sent his Master of the Horse to Leyden, to invite all the British and Irish Gentlemen there, to dine with him at the Hague; and, the Day being come, almost all went, which, I must own, was a very odd sort of a Medley. The Morning of the Day appointed accidentally met, at Roxel's Coffee-House at the Hague,
Hague, my Lord S**** Messrs. Webb, Montain, Harvey, Haldane, &c. and myself, who were all in the same Way of thinking as to Politicks, when we began to reflect, that this Invitation happened to be on the 10th of June. However, we all went to Dinner, and placed ourselves in a Body together at Table, where we had a most elegant Entertainment to a crowded Company. My Lord Strafford was at Utrecht, therefore my Lady entertained us, making a proper Apology for her Spouse’s Absence. After Dinner, every one having a full Bottle and Glass before him, my Lady rose up from her Chair, filled, and ordered a Bumper round, and drank the King’s Health, which was greedily swallowed by many; but my Lord S**** was pleased to take notice to her Ladyship, “That he knew ‘no King of Britain at present, and “there was none of Holland;’” and immediately turned about to his Company below him, drank his Glass, made a Bow, went off, and was followed by fourteen or fifteen of us; nor did we return in the
the Evening to the Ball, but met at Ro-
zelli's by ourselves, with an Hanoverian Gentleman, an Acquaintance of my Lord's, where we enjoyed our own Toasts and Conversation; and the Peace of Utrecht, being then upon the Anvil, and in a fair Way of being concluded, we then had the Pleasure of hearing Lord S****'s Sentiments of that Peace, tho' very young, yet just appearing in the World, with a most bright Genius, fine natural Parts, a very lively Penetration, and indeed all the Prognosticks of the Great Man about him, which I hope he'll end in, when he has it in his Power to rectify the Mistakes, according to his own Prophecy at that Time, of the fatal Consequences of that Peace; and, in the whole Course of my Life, I never passed so an agreeable Night's Conversation.

Of all that Company his Lordship and I were the only surviving Persons to see that Prophecy fulfilled, the greatest Feu-

pas of Mr. Harley's Ministry, as it was the Basis of all the rest of their destructive Schemes, almost to the utter Ruin of the whole.
whole Nation, at such a critical Time, when they had it in their Power to have a Chart-blanc from France, to fill up with their own Terms; but by the most providential Accidents, the Queen's Death in England, and the Duke of Orleans's Regency in France, the very Articles that were designed for the Service of the Pretender, only as a Blind for the People, retorted upon themselves with double Force; as appears in one of my Lord Stair's Memorials to the Duke Regent, presented by his Lordship on the 9th of March, 1716, N. S. wherein his Lordship represents, in the Name of his Royal Master, King George I. on account of that unnatural Rebellion, raised against him at the very Beginning of his Reign in the Year 1715.

"The King of Great Britain, and the Nation, thought themselves very safe on the Side of France, by the solemn Treaty of Utrecht, which for ever excludes the Pretender from France, and obliges France to give him no Succours, nor Ships, nor Arms, nor Ammunition,"
of his Own Life-time. 55

"nor Money, nor Officers, nor Soldiers,
"nor Counsel directly or indirectly,
"&c.""

The Regent of France hearkened to these Representations, I dare venture to say, better than old Louis would have done, had he been alive, only to serve his own Turn, by the Renunciation of the Monarchy of Spain's being united with France under one King, one of the Articles of that Treaty of which his House was to reap the Benefit: But the real Sentiments, and very Soul of the Court of St. Germain disclosed itself in that Declaration the Pretender published in that unnatural Rebellion in the Year 1715, dated at Cro-mercy in Lorain, reprinted and published at Perth in Scotland, whilst he was there, wherein he says,

"During the Life of our dear Sister of glorious Memory, the Happiness which our People enjoyed, softened in some Degree the Hardship of our own Fate; and we must further confess, that
that when we reflected on the Goodness of her Nature, and Inclination to Justice, we could not but persuade ourself, that she intended to perpetuate the Peace which she had given to these Kingdoms, by destroying for ever, all Competition to the Succession of the Crown, by securing to us, at last, the Enjoyment of that Inheritance, out of which we had been so long kept, which her Conscience must inform her was our Due, and which her Principles must bend her to desire that we might obtain.

But since the Time that it pleased God to put a Period to her Life, and not to suffer us, to throw ourself, as we then fully proposed to have done, upon our People, we have not been able to look upon, &c."

I can no more judge of the Genius and Temper of the Dutch, than if I had never lived amongst them; for I knew no Dutchmen, but my Professors; but, if I am
am allowed to take Dr. Boerhaave for a Sample of the whole, I do say, that he was the most extraordinary Man of his Age perhaps in the whole World; a clear Understanding, sound Judgment, with Strength of Memory that nothing could exceed, and indefatigably laborious: It is true, he had not that Brightness of Invention, that some Authors may have; but with these his Talents he has done more Service to the World in the Knowledge of Physick, than all his Predecessors in the whole World put together; by digesting a huge Heap of Jargon and indigestible Stuff into an intelligible, regular, and rational System. Happy it was for Medicine! when this great Man first set out in the Study of Divinity; that his very first Attempts were to purge that Profession from its mysterious and superstitious Errors, which met with great Opposition even in Holland, and his best Friends thought it a Stroke too bold and dangerous for him to attempt to reform, and advised him to change his Profession of Divinity into Physick

This
This is the Time of my whole Life that gives me the most Pleasure on Reflexion; for I was under no Difficulties, I kept within bounds, and my Mother supplied me with Money. After passing three Years in Holland I took my Degree of Doctor of Physick, with the Approbation of my Professor, and set out for France, by Way of Flanders, in Company with Mess. Webb and Pollock. When we arrived at Antwerp the Great Duke of Marlborough was there, and, though out of his Command of the Army, we paid our Respects to his Grace every Morning at his Levee, as every true Briton was in Duty bound.

When we arrived at the Army in Flanders, where the Duke of Ormond commanded in chief, whom none of us ever had the Honour of seeing there, which was taken notice of by some of the principal Officers; but it was quite a Matter of Indifference to us, who had no Dependance, nor nothing to ask of any one there.
However, we passed away about seven Weeks in the Army and Towns in Flanders, and soon after arrived at Paris, the End of our then intended Journey. The Peace of Utrecht was not then concluded, but all British Subjects were received in France, more especially at Court, with Favour. The very first Night I met with a very comical Adventure; being a Stranger in Town, I sent for one Bogle, an old School-fellow of mine, well-acquainted in that City, who carried me to Gregoir's Coffee-house, and from thence to the Tavern, where we were a good many in Company, all British: At last, being pretty well heated with Wine, about Midnight Lord Riccarton asked Bogle, "If he would go to Le Cours de la Reine?" Bogle excused himself, and introduced me to his Lordship, as a proper Diversion for me as a Stranger; away we went in his Lordship's Chariot about one o'Clock in the Morning; that Diversion being held in a shady Grove, upon the Banks of the River Seine, a good Way beyond the Louvre,
Dr. Houstoun's Memoirs

...so that we had near three Miles to ride. By the Way, asking his Lordship the Manners and Customs of the Diversion, he told me, it was a Concourse of Ladies and Gentlemen, the best Company at Paris, by Way of Assembly, where there were Musick, Dancing, regaling with Sweet-meats, Wine, &c. and that I might pick out any Lady I pleased for a Partner that was not engaged: "And the French Ladies, said he, are so very complaisant never to refuse, especially Strangers."

We arrived at the Place which was very finely illuminated indeed with Flambeaux, and a very handsome Assembly of Ladies and Gentlemen, all genteelly and richly dres'd: My Lord very soon left me, made a Bow to a Lady, and she came tripping into his Hand. Several Gentlemen came in after us, and followed my Lord's Example with the same Success; but I took a turn or two up and down by myself, for, as I was left to my Choice, I was resolved to have a pretty Partner.—I fixed, stood at a little Distance, made my
my Bow, and the Lady came frankly up to me; she soon perceived I was a Stranger, and asked me a thousand Questions; and I understood so much of the French Language as to know what she said, and answer so as to be understood by her; for I lodged in a French House whilst I was in Holland.—I rattled away, being heated with Wine, and the Lady was exceeding complaisant, and good-humour'd: We danced, we laughed, we retired to regale ourselves with Sweet-meats, Wine, &c. She allowed me Freedoms, that would not be permitted amongst modest Ladies any where but amongst the free, gay French.—In short, I thought myself blest in a Partner, and cock-sure; 'till, luckily for me, there passed a Leyden Acquaintance, with his Partner in his Hand, and said to me in English without stopping:—"I see you; "take care what you are about; for, if "you push Affairs too far, you will be "disgracefully turned out of Company."

—This cooled my Courage a little, and the Lady observed the Alteration, and asked me over and over what my Countryman
tryman said to me? — I told her, he only gave me a Welcome to Paris. However, he continued as gay and as free as ever, and carried me Home to her House in her Chariot; and told me, "I might take this House for my own, and all that was in it, and hoped I would make use of it as such, whilst I was at Paris:" And then sent me to the Hôtel, where I was to lodge, in her Chariot, with a proper Direction to find her House again.

It is impossible to imagine what an Amaze I was in. I went to-bed, and revolved in my Mind what had passed; for I could not sleep for the Thoughts of it: Sometimes I took it for mere Romance; at others conceited, I had got into a new World, that I could not possibly have formed any Idea of, for I had not then seen London. In short, it is the Genius of the People, as widely different, from all other Nations that I have seen, as if they were not the same Species of Mankind: But the Genius of a Nation appears, in the most lively and natural Colours, amongst the Commonalty in Low-life, wherein there's
there's little or no Diffimulation: I remember I was one Day in Gregoir's Coffee-house, over against the Play-house, Rue de Comedie, in Paris, when two Gentlemen, after the Play, agreed to sup together; each of them had his Chariot, with a great Number of Servants in fine laced Liveries attending. The Gentleman who was to entertain carried the other along with him in his Chariot, all the Servants following, the Gentleman's Servants of the Chariot paid the Compliment to the Stranger's Servants, who should mount the Back of the Chariot first; in the mean Time the Chariot was driving away at a great Rate, in a very dirty Street, whilst these Fellows, about a Dozen of them, running after the Chariot, were adjusting their Ceremony. Montez vous Monsieur: Non Monsieur; Montez vous Monsieur. Je vous en prie? Non Monsieur, vous ne faites bien de l'honneur! Monsieur l'honneur est de mon coté: Monsieur je suis bien obligé: Monsieur, votre serviteur tres humble. And so they went on 'till the Chariot had drove at least half a Mile, before they
they adjusted the Ceremony of mounting the Back of the Chariot, more bedawbed with Dirt than Silver-lace. *A true Emblem of that Superficial, volatile Nation.*

I lived two or three Months at Paris without having the least thought of Business, and went into all the Gayeties of the Town; Assemblies, Opera's, Plays, &c. and, as all the World games there, I chanced to get two or three lucky Hits; which putting me above the common Rank for some Time, I hired a Carosé de Remise, and spent my Money with as much Ease, and as little Thought as I had got it: But this did not last long; I began to think of what I came to France for, my principal Design having been to get into the Salle des Accouchemens de l'Hôtel-Dieu. This is an Institution founded by Louis XIV, and perhaps one of the best in the World, calculated as well consistent with Policy as Charity. In this large and convenient Hospital, Hôtel-Dieu, there are two very large Halls set a-part for receiving Women with-Child.
of his Own Life-time. 65.

The Manner of which is thus, all Women in that Condition of whatever Nation or Religion, within a Month or six Weeks of her Time of Delivery, are there received, maintained, and well accommodated with all Necessaries, at the King's Charge, 'till they are brought to-bed, and entirely recovered from Child-bed. Yet we did not take their Words for the Time of their Pregnancy; but, as we had other certain Signs of knowing it, they were all reviewed one by one, before we received them; and those that had any foul Distemper were separated from the rest, and taken care of in an Apartment by themselves, called Sale des Gatés; for the Charity was universal and noble, for the Relief of all that applied in such Distress, which sufficiently entitled them, without asking any Questions for their Reception. If they have a-mind to carry their Child away they may; for, when perfectly recovered, it is left to their Option, whether they will leave the Child, or no. If they do, it is carried, with a proper Certificate of Baptism, to l'Hôtel de l'Infant-
trouver, where it is carefully nursed and brought up at the King's Charge, a proper Nursery for 10,000 Children, with all manner of Necessaries and Conveniencies. This Policy, not to mention the Charity, was soon obvious to everybody, but especially to old Louis le Grande, who, by his ambitious Views and Enterprises, almost laid his Country waste, through the destructive and devouring Arm of War; but by this Means he had always a fresh Supply of 10,000 growing up. This is not only a Nursery for Children, but a Seminary for educating and instructing Midwives, who must all be strictly examined before they profess Midwifry, which also saves 10,000 more Children from being murdered by the Hands of unskilful Midwives. Of what great Benefit and universal Charity must such an Hospital as this be to Mankind in general, by preventing the Death of an almost innumerable Number of innocent Children not only thro' Ignorance of Midwives, but for fear of Ignominy, and Want of the Mothers, (Cases that daily happen
of his Own Life-time. 67 happen in London for want of such an Hospital) and of what infinite Advantage in particular might it be, by saving and consequently raising such an additional Number, and Strength of Hands, to this grand trading Nation, the Mart, as I apprehend, of the World: And as I have lived to see it accomplished in part, by erecting a Foundling Hospital, I hope to live to see the whole grand Work completed; under the Direction of such Gentlemen of undisputed Honour and Integrity as hitherto have had the Direction of this new Hospital: For of all Charities this is one of the greatest and most useful.

When I was in the Hôtel-Dieu, I delivered a very beautiful young English Lady of her first Child; who, I fancy, never forgot the handsome and mannerly Treatment she met with in that Hospital: From thence she retired, with her Child, as secretly as she entered without the least Suspicion either of her Person or Quality, entirely recovered from Child-bed of a beautiful Boy.
However trifling it may seem to be, for a Graduate to get into this Hospital, there's a great deal of Interest required to accomplish it. Lady Anne Drummond, Daughter of the Earl of Melfort, married into our Family, by whom and her Relations in Scotland, I was warmly recommended to the Lords Perth, and Melfort; Dukes they call'd them in that Country. The old Lord Melfort indeed was dead, before I arrived, but he had left an Heir and Representative: Nevertheless I pinned myself to my Lord Perth's Sleeve, who pretended to have great Interest at Court; (and his Nephew, my Lord Melfort, told me he had) and my only Request was for the King's Order to get into this Hospital; but, I having been shuffled off from Week to Week for almost Nine Months, at last grew very uneasy about it; and one Day, as I was pressing his Grace very hard, and setting forth the Inconveniencies of my staying so long in France, he asked me, If I did not design to go Home with the King. For, said he, the King goes Home this Year for certain. This was the
the last Year of Queen Anne's Reign) I readily answered, "I had no Concern with Kings; I came to France in Pro-
secution of my Business that I must get my Bread by, or starve; and, if he could not serve me in this Affair, I was heartily sorry I had staid so long." So I made my Bow, and came off, not a little displeased.

I used to go to St. Germain en laye once in a Week, or fourteen Days at farthest; and he lived in the Castle with the late King James's Dowager. I always was admitted to his Table with great Freedom of Conversation, and I do declare upon my Honour, "That the more I heard of their Conversation, the greater Aversion and Abhorrence I had to their Schemes and Measures; and I am sure there was no Interest to bias me, one Way or t'other, further than my own Opinion and Inclination."

I must observe one Particularity amongst them, they never drank my Lord
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Oxford's Health; but the rest of Queen Anne’s Ministry, Ormond, Hamilton, Bolingbroke, Strafford, Sir Thomas Hanmer, Sir William Windham, (with this Exception provided that he was not my Lord Oxford's Man) cum multis aliis, (whom I shall not presume to mention here, as some of them never were suspected, at least they never did discover themselves to be of such Principles) went glibly down; and their first Toast always was, Princess Anne of Denmark.

The Castle-gates were always locked up at nine o'Clock at Night precisely, when his Grace of Perth went to his Devotion: (For he was much better adapted for a Clergyman than a Statesman.) Then I retired to the Tavern with the Officers of the Court, Colonels, Majors, Captains in abundance, &c. where we had all the Politicks second-hand without Restraint. I have heard my Lord of Oxford's Health proposed among them too, and always rejected, with their Reasons for it; in vino veritas, and we used to tope it about merrily!
merrily! I did really believe he was a Clog to their Measures, whether through Fear of bad Success in their Schemes, or from Principles of Love and Affection to his Country I shall not presume to determine; but I could easily learn, from the Conversation of the Court of St. Germain, that the Earl was no great Favourite there, which was afterwards fully confirmed to me, when I went to London; for, if Queen Anne had lived a few Months longer, they had certainly carried their designed Measures into Execution.

The Queen had made choice of a Ministry to her Liking, ready and willing to execute the concerted Designs; the Army and Navy were new modelled for the Purpose of obeying Orders: The Pretender's Attainder was to be taken off by Act of Parliament, and he was to reside at the Palace of Holy-rood-house in Scotland, 'till a proper Juncture offered for the Queen to resign her Crown in his Favour. The more moderate of them were only for declaring him, and his Heirs,
Successors to the Queen: But my Lord of Oxford, who was a Man of very great Penetration, foreseeing the dismal and fatal Inconveniencies that must necessarily accrue to Great Britain, from such a great Convulsion of State, by the Opposition it must have undoubtedly met with from the Whigs, with all the direful Consequences of a Civil War; and, by his Lordship’s Policy and Stratagem, I do verily believe, (but I don’t want to impose my Belief on others) that the Execution of this Project was at least retarded, whilst he steered the Helm: But, before it pleased the Almighty Hand of Providence to interpose by the Death of the Queen, the Earl of Oxford, Lord High-Treasurer of Great Britain, was actually turned out of all his Employments, in order to make way for the Execution of their Designs: And I learnt, from the Conversation and Intimacy of a Gentleman of strict Honour, great Integrity and Credit, the Queen’s Physician in Ordinary, and her great Favourite and Confident,
That her Majesty was very warmly inclined to this Project."

Then I retired from St. Germain, and resolved never to visit the Duke of Perth any more. During this Interval the Duke of Shrewsbury, Queen Anne's Ambassador in France, put one Mr. Clayton into the Hôtel-Dieu; and some Months after my Lord Melfort sent for me, and told me, that the Duke of Perth had got me an Order, which he delivered to me: So that I returned to St. Germain to thank his Grace.

Upon this I at last succeeded Mr. Clayton in the Sale des Accouchments de l'Hôtel-Dieu, where I met with more laborious and fatiguing Business than any I ever had in the Course of my Life; every twenty-four Hours, communibus diebus, we brought about ten Children into the World, and there were only four Midwives and myself to go thro' all, Night and Day, we were always employed; and I continued in this Hospital four Months, without
without setting my Foot out of it four times. This is the only Place, for thorough Instruction in this Business; I brought near three hundred Women to-bed in the Time, and every one of the four Midwives in Proportion: So that we had Cases of all Sorts; we assisted one another, and had a Mistress Midwife who directed the Whole; and, in very extraordinary Cases, we called in the Master-surgeon of the Hospital's Assistance. This Hospital is served, in the meanest, servile Work, even to cleaning the Close-stools, by religious Nuns, of the very best Families in France, and none but such can wait there, which makes them better and cleaner than in any other.

Paris is certainly the best Place for learning the practical Part of Anatomy and Surgery, from the frequent Opportunities of seeing Chirurgical Operations of all Sorts perform'd in the Hospitals; and the King has ordered, that every Body of those that dies in the Sale-Petrier (a very large Hospital for the Reception of the Poor) should
should be subjected to Anatomical Dissection, for the Improvement of Physick and Surgery: And I do own the French to be more dextrous and expert Operators in Surgery and Cutters in Anatomical Dissection, (I speak in general) than any I have seen: But as for their Theory, that I did not want.

Whilst I was in France, at my most expensive Time, I drew too largely on my Mother, who was very loath to protest my Bills; but wrote to me of the Straits and Inconveniences I had put her to; and I answered, "That I was in a Popish Country, amongst some Scotch Relations who were all Papists; and if she would allow me to turn Papist, I could live upon one half of the Money I then spent." The good, honest, old Lady, with the greatest Sincerity and Truth, advised me, for God's Sake, "to continue in the true Faith; for she would strip to the Smock, rather than I should turn Papist."
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But, alas! unlucky Fate! there I received the melancholy News of her Death; I shall not presume to enter into her Character, but only say without Partiality or Flattery, that she had all the good Qualities requisite to make a good Wife, and an affectionate Parent! A Wonder!

A Woman entirely without Guile!

which must be acknowledged by everybody that knew her; and, for her Sake, I have always had a great Regard, Respect and Esteem for the whole Sex. From her Death I may date my adverse Fortune.

I had a Letter of Credit on Mr. Gordon, Banker in Paris, who supplied me with Money, and took my Bills on my Mother; I shewed him the melancholy Account of her Death; and told him, what little Money my Father had left me for my Patrimony was in the Hands of my Father's Executor, a Countryman and Relation of ours, in London. I even then foresaw the Consequences, and looked
looked a little dejected: On which Mr. Gordon said to me, in a very genteel, generous Manner, "Never fear, Man! I'll advance you what Money you have occasion for here, and take my Venture on't. Accordingly I took forty Pounds Sterling of him, and gave him my Bills for it on my Father's Executor; and, for his greater Security, I drew also on my Uncle Craigends in Scotland for the same Sum.

I then paid off what little Affairs I owed at Paris, and set out, by way of Normandy, for London. Mr. Arbuthnot, Merchant at Roan, received me very kindly, and gave me a very friendly Letter to his Brother, Dr. Arbuthnot in London. This Gentleman was pleased to favour me with an Intimacy in his Acquaintance, that was of very great Service to me: "He was a "Gentleman of great Learning, clear "Head, and sound Judgment; and, when-"ever he opened, most agreeable in Con-"versation." I lie under many Obliga-
tions to him, and nothing would give me more
more Pleasure, than an Opportunity of making a grateful Return to any of his Posterity or Friends. I did the last Office with a heavy Heart, of shutting his Eyes when he died; but his Memory will live for ever with the World, and more particularly with me.

When I arrived in London, I sent for my Relation; but he shunned talking any Thing of Business; yet invited me to his House, at the same time telling me, that he let his House out in Lodgings; so that I accepted his Invitation, on Condition of paying him for my Lodging. I was but a very short Time there, before I saw how Things went, and how they were like to go; tho' he was very shy in speaking to me about any of our Affairs. I soon learnt, that my Bills had been protested, both by this Relation, and my Uncle in Scotland; and very soon after the Man, in whose Hands my protested Bills were, came to my Lodging, dunned me very harshly,
harshly, threatened me with a Gaol, and, worst of all, upbraided me with Ingratitude and Dishonesty, for using a Friend so basely, who relieved my Necessities, in so genteel and generous a Manner, (a great Truth!) which wounded and cut me to the very Soul, and discomfited and distracted my Mind in such a Manner, that I was not capable of giving a regular Answer, or thinking of any Remedy how to extricate myself. I wrote to my Relations in Scotland, how I was circumstanced, (which they knew well enough) with mean and low Expressions. They answered, "That I must have Recourse to our Relation in London, who had my "Patrimony in his Hands; for they owed "me no Money, and were sorry for my "Misfortune."

Our Relation had a great deal of the inherent Scotch Pride, which exerted itself in an inexplicable Stubbornness; he had involved himself with a Partner, who was but in middling Circumstances, which he
he did not know when they engaged in Partnership. This at length hurt their Credit, which I could easily perceive, though my Relation would never open his Circumstances to me, when he really had 400 l. Sterling in his Hands, one Third which was mine: Whereas, if he had opened himself to me with Affection and Friendship, perhaps we might have fallen upon Ways and Means to have saved us both.

In this great Distraction of Mind, I continued in his House for some Months: Under these Dilemmas, without a Shilling in my Pocket, I did not know what Hand to turn to; and it was impossible for me to introduce myself to the World, in the Character of a Physician, as I first designed. He looked upon me as an Eye-fore, for having any Demand upon him; and I looked upon him as my Destroyer, for not answering my Demand; for he had given his Bond for the Money, to my Uncle Craigends, and that was assigned by him
him, as a Deed of Trust, to me which I had now got into my Custody: The Smoak increased into a Flame, and I left his House at all Risks.

I then got acquainted with Sir David Hamilton, the famous Man-midwife: I informed him of my Proficiency in Midwifry in the Hôtel-Dieu, (of which I had proper Certificates) and begged the Favour of his Countenance, to introduce me to what low Business he did not think worth his Acceptance. He begged to be excused, in his smooth and complaisant Manner, by telling me, that he expected his Son from Leyden, whom he designed to introduce to his Business,

One Week's Countenance from him would have done my Business for ever; but Dr. Douglas told me, that he never did a good Office for any Man of his Profession; but, on the contrary, did all he could to crush him in the Bud, when he was first appearing in the World. I far agreed with Dr. Douglas, as to say, that I never knew
knew, or heard of any good Office Sir David had done in his Way of Business; and as he had extracted and amassed a great Fortune to himself, from bottomless Pits, (80,000 l. and upwards) so it was all sunk in one Year, 1720, in the grand South-Sea Pit: And I dare venture to say, without extending my natural Vanity, that I knew full as much of the Business of Midwifry as the great Sir David did: I have some Observations of his, de Cancro in Utero, which he gave me to revise a short Time before he died, he then designing to publish them. They might have been of some Use to the Publick, as he had great Practice and Experience in Women's Diseases; but he seemed to be over credulous in his Cures, which, to my poor Understanding, appear to be only Palliatives; for I never knew a confirmed Cancer cured otherwise than by a radical Extirpation.

Being reduced to the Difficulties of Low-life, I could not bear them, and was resolved to embrace any desperate Attempt that offered; but first to make a Trip
Trip to Scotland to visit my Relations and Friends. Accordingly I went by Sea, for I could not find Money to carry me by Land: They received me indifferently well, advanced me a little Money, and desired me to stay amongst them and follow my Business as a Physician. On this ROCK I split again; for had they advanced me, at that Time, as much Money as to have set me up in an Apothecary's Shop, (for they practised Physick in the primitive Way in Scotland, as Physician, Surgeon, and Apothecary) I had certainly got a very handsome Living among them, but they thought that below me, and so did I too; and a young Physician will not do at first; so that my Expences were more than my Income, tho' I did not live at all extravagantly, but genteelly, with good Economy:

Vanity of Vanities!

Lord Ormiston, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, and Lord Justice Clerk for Scotland, was then one of the principal and most active Managers in Government Affairs, for what they called...
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the Squadron Party in Scotland, in Opposition to the Duke of Argyll's Party. This Gentleman was married to a first Cousin of mine, whom I had a more strict Friendship, and personal Regard for than all the rest of my Relations. I was reckoned one of their Family; my Lord; thro' the Instigation of his Lady, wanted to provide for me, in my Way, at Court, and I do believe he was in earnest. Away I went to Court, recommended by him to the Dukes of Montrose and Roxbrugh, the Earls of Hadinton and Rothes, and to his Son John Cockburne, Esq; I was a mere Novice in this Affair, and did not well know what I wanted to be at. The Rebellion broke out in the Year 1715, when one Dr. Hamilton, recommended by his Grace the Duke of Argyll, was soliciting to be Surgeon-general to the Army in Scotland, I opposed him, and applied to my aforesaid great Patrons, but afraid of bad Success; and wrote to my Lord Ormiston accordingly. He sent me a Letter to my Lord Sunderland, which did my Business in three Days.
of his Own Life-Time. 85

Day's Time. I had a Warrant from Mr. Secretary Stanhope's Office, to proceed immediately to his Majesty's Army in Scotland, and there to act as Surgeon-general to the Army, according to my Instructions, with a very handsome Salary annexed to it, and ten Shillings a Day for travelling Charges. My Warrant was directed to his Grace the Duke of Argyll, Commander in Chief; and my recommendation Letters to Lieutenant-general Cadogan. I posted down with all Expedition, stopped at Edinburgh with my Lord Ormiston, about an Hour or two; carried a Letter from him to General Cadogan, and arrived at the General's Quarters in the Camp near Stirling, just as he was ready to fit down to Dinner. I delivered my Letters, he read them, and told me, that I must wait on the Captain General, and shew him my Warrant; but, if I pleased I might dine first. I readily embraced the Offer, and sat down to a most elegant Dinner, in the midst of Frost and Snow; our Syllabubs were of Frontiniac, and all the Wines of the richest Sort, so that I did not mind
mind our Captain General one bit, till the General told me, now was the Time of waiting on his Grace. I got up, and went to Stirling Town, where his Grace’s Head Quarters were. I waited in an outer Room for above two Hours, as cold as Death, without a Drop of Liquor; where I met with several Gentlemen of my Acquaintance, who seemed to take no notice of me, and I was even with them, equally regardless of ’em. At last one Mr. Campbell came out from his Grace to ask my Business, which I told him. Some Time after, his Grace passed thro’ the Room. I made up to him with my Warrant in my Hand, and he said to me, without stopping, I have heard, Sir, of you and your Warrant; Cadogan will take Care of you; so I made the best of my Way to the Camp again. At Supper, General Cadogan asked me, If I had waited on his Grace the Duke of Argyll? I answered, Yes; and told him to the minutest Circumstance of what passed, and repeated the Words his Grace said to me. On which General Cadogan said, with a demure
mure. Look, Well, Sir, I will take Care of you. In the mean Time he had taken very good Care of me, by providing me with a very handsome Tent pitched and completely fitted up, and I eat and drank as he did, most luxuriously; I dare say there were more Horses employed about his Luggage, than in his Majesty’s Train of Artillery.

Soon after the Pretender left Perth, where he was encamped, and fled from Scotland: Cadogan had early Notice of his Flight, even before the Duke of Argyll, and wrote the Dispatch he sent to Court on Horse-back: For, notwithstanding his luxurious Way of Living, he was a most laborious and indefatigable Soldier; for I don’t remember ever to have seen him in bed whilst the Camp was in the Field, nor he never slept above two Hours out of twenty four, with his Cloaths and Boots on in a Camp-chair. As soon as the Pretender was gone, and the Army ordered to decamp, his Grace of Argyll did me the Favour to scratch me off the Lift with
his own Hand. I did not see it, but a Gentleman who was present told me so; and, when I told General Cadogan of it, he answered, He (meaning the Duke of Argyll) can scratch you out of the List for your travelling Charges, but not for your Salary, which is on the civil List: I'll take care of that. Yet, however it fell out, I never could get myself re-establish'd neither for Salary nor travelling Charges, farther than for those few Months I served in the Army.

It is impossible to imagine what Divisions and Animosities arose in the Army from these two Parties, Argythelians and Squadronees, (as they called them) and carried on with more Spite and Malice against one another, than against the adverse Party of the Rebels, which was of great Detriment to his Majesty's Interest. It was surmised in the Army, that General Cadogan had a private Commission to supersede the Duke of Argyll in the Command of the Army, if Things were carried to any Extremity. This Rumour was spread
spread about, and did a great Deal of Hurt in the Army, almost to a Mutiny. How true it was I know not, nor, I dare say, no-body else, except himself: But my intimate Comrades of the Duke of Argyll's Party, without any Falling-out, would not lift their Hats to me on meeting, which I despised as silly and boyish.

This is an epidemical Distemper, more common with the British than any other Nation I know of; from long Experience I have seen the fatal Consequences of it, both in publick and private Undertakings; and I will venture to say, that all the Miscarriages that have been made by the British, in my Remembrance, have been entirely, and only owing to the ridiculous Divisions amongst themselves. All Foreigners know it, and frequently make use of it as a Handle to serve their own Designs. I could give innumerable Instances to my own certain Knowledge, but I forbear Particulars, and leave every one to their own Reflection.
As soon as the Duke of Argyll arrived in London, he was turned out from all his Employments at Court, and Posts in the Army with all his Adherents and Dependents, and their Posts were given to the Squadron Party, with my Lord Sunderland at the Head of them; which Party had the Management of all the Affairs in Scotland, and Lord Ormiston, then Lord Justice Clerk, was one of the most active, and diligent amongst them, for executing the Business relating to the Forfeited Estates of those Lords and Commoners who had been in the Rebellion.

The Duke of Argyll made a strong Party in Scotland, and opposed all their Measures, right or wrong; and, as his Party seemed to be on the merciful Side, it took and increased greatly in Scotland, so that they carried a great many of the Elections for Members of Parliament, and then his Grace push'd the Court, in his own Way, to make himself absolutely a necessary Man.
of his Own Life-time. 91

This great Nobleman was a lively Instance of Scotch Pride and Ambition; he would not submit to or be controled by any Man, if he could possibly help it, nor would he serve, or be served in any other Way than his own: Yet he had as much Honour, as Ambition could allow of; and strongly of Cæsar's Opinion,

Aut Cæsar, aut Nullus.

I heard his Grace aver, in the House of Lords, "That he durft say, before " that august Assembly, that, of all the " Employments and Stations he had had " under him, both at Court and in the " Army, under so many different Sove- " reigns, he never had, nor would, dis- " pose of any one for Money." I believe it to be a great Truth; but he disposed of them with so much Prudence and Judgment, to necessary and useful Men, that would stand by him at all Hazards; so as to enable him, to make himself absolutely necessary to a Court, and consequently to carry his own Views and Designs; as the late great Lord Godolphin observed,
served, Of all the young Nobleman, he ever knew, Argyll had the keenest Appetite, and the quickest Digestion.

All my Patrons were now in play, of all the Party Lord Ormistleone was the most busy, and very zealous in suppressing the Rebellion, and oppressing the Rebels; so that he became universally hated in Scotland, where they called him, the Curse of Scotland; and when the Ladies were at Cards, playing the Nine of Diamonds, (commonly called, the Curse of Scotland) they called it, the Justice Clerk. He was indeed of a hot Temper, and violent in all his Measures. I was then in great Friendship and Esteem with his Lady, who was daily pressing him to do something for me at Court. I was so much esteemed one of their Family, that it led me into Inconveniences; so that I could scarce Escape falling into Quarrels upon his Account; for I did not care to hear one abused, with whom I was in so strict Friendship.

Then
Then away I went to Court again, recommended as formerly in very pressing Terms (for now I was reckoned one of the Party, and a Sufferer on that Account) to my old Friends the Dukes of Montrose and Roxbrugh, the Earls of Hadinton and Rothes, and John Cockburn, Esq; I had likewise Letters from him to the Earl of Sunderland, and General Cadogan; (now Lord Cadogan) and I was over-flushed with the Hopes of Success; I wanted to be a great Man, but I did not know how. I was very kindly received by my Scotch Friends, had a general Invitation to their Houses, and was always admitted with Freedom to their Table and Conversation: But, of all of them, my Lord Hadinton was my Choice: "He was of a facetious Wit and Humour, well-verfed in all modern Learning, and the best-natured Man living: He was a Poet too, having composed several Poems, Lampoons, &c. for his own Amuse-ment, but never published: Some of them were exceedingly well done, not only according to my small Judgment, but
"but of the best Judges:"
For I have shewn several of them to Dr. Arbuthnot; and I spent so much of my Time with his Lordship, that I was distinguished as Lord Hadinton's Doctor.

Time now slipt away very pleasantly with me; for I was not at all anxious about what was to come, so I could only get Money to answer my present Expences; which I found Means to do, by running myself into about a 1000 l. in Debt, which I then look’d upon as a Trifle, tho’ I had not one Shilling to pay it with, and took the Obligation to be done to those I borrowed the Money of, as I retained a grateful Sense of the Favour, and was fully resolved to repay it, with double the Service, as soon as it was in my Power, which I never in the least doubted of: And, during the whole Course of my Life-time, I have been strongly of this Opinion, upon what Reason, or Foundation, God only knows; for, I am sure, I do not know, nor no-body else; nay, I would not receive a Favour, or Obligation
of his Own Life-time. 95
tion from any one, that I had not a Re-
gard and Esteem for, but despised their Offer and held their Persons in Contempt: This was setting myself up in Opposition to the far greatest Part of Mankind; which could not but End in my Downfall; and I even then had such a competent Knowledge of the World, as to know, that this was an imprudent and bad Way of managing Affairs; yet, in all the different Shapes of my Life, I never had it in my Power to break myself of this Foible, even when I was smarting severely for its bad Consequences:

Unalterable Nature! O Vanity!

To be sure, never a young Fellow appeared at first in the World in better Company than I did; these Noblemen made a Companion of me, which introduced me to the very first and best Company in England; and I had Vanity enough to think that my Education had put me upon a Level, if not above them, in Conversation, and I would not sacrifice my Opinion to the very best of them, upon no Conside-
ration
ration whatever; neither Prudence nor Interest could induce me to it; the very Rock I again split on; for the Fraelties of human Nature are such, not to bear Contradiction, especially from those in Dependence; even Lord Hadinton, who was the best-natured Man that ever lived, did not like Contradiction. In short, I do really believe, had I been as careful, industrious, and desirous of pleasing the Word, as of pleasing myself in my own whimsical Humours, I had a very fair Opportunity of getting above the World at this Time, in a very genteel Way, and consequently prevented the many Misfortunes that afterwards attended me; but at that, or any other Time, I would sacrifice my Interest to my Joke; for nothing but my superlative Vanity made me lose ground with my good-natured Lord Hadinton, and others; and, in the whole Course of my Years, I never could bring myself to any Thing that had the least Tincture of Flattery, especially to a Friend I regarded, and only to a Person I hated by way of Irony: Which has been some Thou-
Thousands of Pounds out of my Way. And the greatest Genius in the World, that is not conducted by Prudence, must miscarry;

Nullum numen adeoti, si absit Prudentia.

So that I now began to lose Ground with the World, and perceived my Friends slighted me, by using me with less Freedom than formerly: But, instead of enquiring into the true Cause and amending, I repaid them, as near as I was capable of Judging, in their own Coin; and, so far from fawning, cringing, and flattering, I went on the other Extreme, by boldly (tho' imprudently telling them) that they used me ill, by feeding me with fair Promises, and doing nothing for me; at the same Time telling them a naked Truth, that the Scotch Squadron of Party had scarce Interest enough at Court to support themselves, they being near their Downfall, which happened very soon after. For his Grace the Duke of Argyll had got a strong Party in the House of Commons, which thwarted all the Court...
Measures, and his Grace's Party thwarted the Designs and disconcerted all the Measures of the Squadron Party, in such a manner, that they could not proceed any longer, especially in the dirty Part of them, without running the Hazard of raising the People into a second Rebellion. So the Court was now absolutely obliged to take his Grace into Play again upon his own Terms, and he soon got the Ascendancy over the Squadron, and used them accordingly. So, by Experience, I found that my Genius was not adapted to a Court, unless I could have been a Duke of Argyll, whose Method I liked dearly; but his Abilities were great.

Bank-stock now began to run low with me, and, as Duns increased, Credit sunk in Proportion; so that I was obliged to make use of all the Arts that my Invention could find out, to keep myself from sinking under the Weight of such a heavy Burden. I freely acknowledge, that I found out many Ways and Means, not entirely consistent with strict Honour and Honesty,
of his Own Life-time.

neity, at the same Time I declare, that my Intentions were not to defraud any body of their just Right, but to save myself from immediate Destruction, that I might stand the Chance of being in a Capacity to extricate myself, and repaying all Favours with Honour and Gratitude. So that I was like a Man swimming for Life, who at the last Gasp will lay hold of any Thing to keep himself from Drowning.

This Conduct was only again deceiving myself, which retorted upon myself at last with double Force. It requires indeed a great deal of Resolution to think in bad Circumstances; but not daring to think, and taking all Methods to divert Thought, is what precipitates many on one into immediate Ruin, which, upon mature Deliberation, might have been prevented.

To preserve the small Remains of Credit I had left, I was obliged to keep up an outward Shew, an handsome Apartment in Town, (by the by within the Verge of the Court) a Footman in Livery,
going abroad genteelly dress'd now and then in a Chair, were absolutely necessary; for any Signs of Poverty would have sunk me immediately with the common People; for, tho' the Tradesmen in London are more extensive in their Credit, than any People in the World, they have no Bowels of Compassion, in regard to any Thing but their own Interest. I also had a Retirement in the Country near London, whither I used frequently to retreat with my Housekeeper; to avoid Duns, Arrests, &c. and, when I came to Town, I always kept the most expensive Company: So that it was astonishing to every body, even to my Acquaintance, how I lived; for I followed no Business at that Time, and no body was privy to my Affairs; which confirm'd to me the old Maxim,

_Necessity is the Mother of Invention, and has no Law._

For I played a thousand lawless Tricks, by bribing and bilking Bailiffs and Attorneys, and, instead of holding me to Bail under an Arrest, I made those very Attorneys and Bailiffs persuade their Clients to ad-
of his Own Life-time. 101

vance me more Money on Bond, make up a Sum as they called it; but still with an Intention to pay as soon as it was in my Power.

A Man never exertshimself but when he is rouzed by his Desires, and the stronger his Desires, with the greater Force of Invention he exerts himself; for if he had no Desires his Ingenuity and Abilities would lie dormant for ever: And thus private Vices become publick Benefits; for the Extravagancies of private Persons, Seafaring and other ingenious, shifting People, drive them to seek after and fetch Riches, at a great Risk, from foreign Countries, which is all spent at Home, to the Publick's, more than their own private Benefit. I myself, in the Course I have run, have disposed of at least 20,000 l. in this Manner, which I have stated to Profit and Loss: Therefore there's a much greater Art in keeping than in getting Money.

I put my Relation's Bond in Suit

H 3 against
against him, and, after a long and expensive Suit, my Lawyers found him to be insolvent: When I would not allow them to distress his Person, they came upon me for the whole Costs at once, and distressed my Person.

The Attorney I employed took out a Warrant to arrest me in a very treacherous and villainous Manner; for he invited me to his House in great Friendship, and arrested me at his own Table; upon which I stuck him, got off, and was obliged to abscond for some Months, till the Fellow recovered, and I got the Affair made up; but it proved the most troublesome I had ever met with at that Time. In short, if I was to repeat all that passed in this Scene of my Life, it would make a very good Tragi-comical Farce.

Whilst I was at the Height of my whimsical and humorous Pleasures, I had three different Lodgings in different Parts of this great Metropolis, (the Inhabitants as widely different from one another, as if they
he was not the same Nation) and three different Suits of Cloaths; one very fine for the Court, another grave for the City, the third a Footman's Dress: I adapted myself to the Humours of my Company, according to my Dress, tho' perhaps not to Perfection, yet greatly to the Satisfaction of my own Fancy.

There's a Pleasure in being mad, that none but Madmen know.

During these Embroils, there was a Gentleman in London, an intimate Acquaintance of mine, who knew the Place of my Retirement, and the Gause of it, came down into the Country to see me. Talking freely of my Affairs, he run out in Commendation of George Middleton, Banker in the Strand, (whom I knew very well) as a good-natur'd, friendly Man: "And, said he, if you would apply to him, "I dare say he would assist you with "a little Money." I paused a little, but said nothing; and, when he was taking leave of me, he again said, "Try Middleton."

On revolving my anxious Thoughts within
within myself, I came to a Resolution to try him: So I ventured up to Town, huddled myself up in a Chair, and waited on Mr. Middleton. After a little Conversation, I broke the Affair to him, he look'd demure and shy on me, (at least I thought so) and then said, "I should be glad to do you any little Service in my Power; but Money is hard to be got now-a-days but, if it is only a little you want, I will serve you, and you may draw on me by the Hands of the above-mentioned Gentleman;" (naming him.) So I took my Leave, and away I went to this Gentleman's Chambers in the Temple: My first Draught was for 100 l. which was accepted; and I left the Management of all my Affairs to this Gentleman, who was a very clever Fellow, and a fast Friend.

By this Time the sick Attorney was quite out of Danger, being Abroad, and they were negotiating how to make up the whole Affair with him: So I retired again into my Banishment, where I had Leisure enough to reflect on the Follies of
my mispent Time: But to divert these melancholy Thoughts, I amused myself by writing a Play, and called it,

Money, the Emperor of the World!

representing the Emperor sitting on a Throne of great Magnificence, and by him placed a capacious Machine, in form of a Cone, with the Base upwards, reaching and opening to the Ceiling of the House, to which was joined a Wheel, and by turning this Wheel there was to come down a continual Flow of Money, from an inexhaustible Source. The whole World is addressing his Imperial Majesty by Turns; Kings, Courtiers, Divines, Lawyers, Physicians, and Tradesmen: At a Distance was placed a great Multitude of the Populace; all, from the King to the Cobbler, harangue this grand Monarch to serve their different Views and Designs in their own Way. But the whole at last appears to be mere Delusion, and all ends in the same ultimate Design, absolute Obedience to his Imperial Majesty, Money!
Though it is true, that,

*Tutus Mundus agit Histriorem.*

Yet, if my Understanding had been much better than it really was, it was impossible for me at those Years to enter into Men and Things, so as to be equal to so great a Task; for it is certain the whole World aim and drive at one and the same grand Point; but there are such an infinite Number of Ways and Means of endeavouring to arrive at the grand Point, and so many Struggles and Difficulties lie in the Way of gaining it, that few or none ever come completely to the End of their Course, so as to be able to hit the Mark fully, which is the Cause of such a stupendious Variety amongst Mankind: As for Example.

Money begets Power without Limitation; and He that has the most Power is the greatest Man; and consequently this Emperor of ours is the greatest of all, he is Commander in Chief, and the Grandeur of the rest only depends on the Proportion they bear of his Favour.

This
This over-bearing grand Monarch invades and swallows up at once, by superior Force, his neighbouring Monarchs, who all had the same Views that he had,

Kings never want Pretences for War!

and disposesses them of their Dominions, and consequently disappoints them of their Aim, and enslaves Millions more of his Fellow-creatures for his own Subjects: So this is reckoned a great, victorious, and glorious Emperor; whereas, in reality, he is a vile, abominable, and abhorrible Oppressor, a Nuisance to Mankind, the Bane and Pest of Society: And the more Stratagems and Deceit the Generals used, who executed his Orders and Designs, the sooner they were allowed to be the greatest Generals of the Age; but more deservedly they ought to be called, the greatest Monsters of Wickedness and Rapine. For, as one Murder by the Laws of Society deserves Death, Thousands deserve a thousand Times worse; yet these Diversers are the Idols of the World; and All, All, All pay passive Obedience, and Non-resistance to
to this great King of Kings, universal Monarch, and absolute Emperor of this World, as well in Ecclesiastical as in Civil and Military Affairs.

In War there's only one Side guilty, 'tother is lawful, by the first and strongest Law of Nature, Self-defence. The judicious Historian, M. de Rapin says, "It is " a lamentable Thing, that Ambition, " by which Princes are inclined to invade " the Property of others, should pass in " the World for a Virtue, (which is really " a Vice) and that an Historian, by Rea- " son of Men's depraved Notions, should " not dare to represent it in its true Co- " lours; since, generally speaking, they " are your ambitious Princes, that are ho- " noured with the Sirname of Great."

That is to say, in short, that these are just such Princes as we have described our grand Monarch; only in a lesser Degree according to their Abilities, Power and Authority, who, after having devoured the lesser, are devoured themselves by
by the greater; and our Author is sorry, that he dare not tell you the Truth. From hence springs the Source of Honour! a very muddy Source indeed!

In drawing those Pictures, I always kept the Originals before me; so that some of the Speeches were almost verbatim; but, to perform such a Work perfectly, requires the greatest Genius, and a thorough Knowledge of the World, which I was no ways equal to; and, if there were any Beauties in it, they were entirely owing to some Strokes from Lord Haddington's Hand, who did me the Honour of visiting me several times in my Banishment, which, I told him, was owing to the attractive Force of my House-keeper, an humble Servant of his Lordship's. I gave this Performance to the Author of Cato's Letters; for his Animadversions, as the best Judge of a Performance of this Nature, and never enquired farther about it; for I soon got something of more Consequence to mind.
I lived in this Retirement near twelve Months, till the whole Affair was negotiated, and made up, which cost me above 400 l. and Mr. Middleton advanced the Money: In all, he advanced me about 700 l. the most extraordinary Piece of Friendship that perhaps ever was heard of; I dare say not on his own Risque, but at the Desire of some Friend, or Friends, who secured the Money to him; but, from that Day to this, I could never learn, only guess'd, who were my Benefactors.

This was the most generous and endearing Friendship imaginable, to serve me effectually in my own Way, at a dead Lift, in so genteel and handsome a Manner; True Friendship! It is incredible to think of the various Ways I took to support my daily Expences, which were considerable, and a great deal larger than my Income; and it is astonishing to think what large Sums of Money I have raised from Time to Time during the Course of my Life, upon very little or no Foundation; but I never stuck at any Præmium; tho' at other Times
of his Own Life-time.

Times my Credit has been sunk so low, that I could not raise a Shilling. I always dreaded Poverty as shameful, and, when afflicted with it, have, with all imaginable Artifice, endeavoured to conceal it, to shun the Disgrace attending it. I ever made the greatest Show when poorest: I have ordered a Chair to carry me Home to my Lodgings, and, for Want of a Shilling in my Pocket to pay the Fare, have kept it a Month, till I could find Money to pay the whole off, sometimes at the Ex pense of others, which at last discovered itself by meer Necessity, and retorted upon myself with double Force: Whereas, in reality,

Poverty is no Vice, nor Riches any Virtue.

As of all Virtues, Friendship is the greatest, and only dwells with great and generous Souls; so, of all Vices, Ingratitude is the greatest, and only dwells with mean, abject Souls: Tho’ neither one, nor other, falls under the Cognizance of human Laws: But there is a certain, univer-
standing Rule of Life, handed down to us from the Romans, without Exception, which will continue to the End of the World:

\[Si \text{ Ingratum dixeris, Omnia dixeris.}\]

Adversity only can distinguish true from false Friendship.

In this Rotation of Time I fell in with the famous (or rather infamous) South-Sea Year, 1720, when the whole Island of Great Britain was seized with a contagious, pestilential Distemper, which I called a golden Phrenzy: This Contagion first broke out in France, and so contaminated the Air, that it wasted itself over into Britain, and even returned back and infected the Dutch.

This South-Sea Company was a Child conceived, and brought forth by that great and able (I wish I could say good) Minister, the late Earl of Oxford, and was one of the boldest, and perhaps best Strokes that ever he or any one struck at so critical
a Juncture of Time, when the Nation was so involved in Debt, to establish a Fund for the Debts unprovided for; and to settle this Company, the most advantageous Branch of Trade, that ever Britain was possessed of, if rightly managed, according to the original Plan laid down, to open all the Spanish West Indian Ports to the British Trade, without giving Umbrage to the trading Nations of Europe: The first against the Wills of these very Persons to whom those Debts were due; the last against the universal Dislike of the whole Nation, particularly the Whigs, who were endeavouring and striving hard, at that Time, to disconcert all his Measures: Both which he reduced, and erected a Scheme, as well for ascertaining a precarious Debt, as appointing an impracticable Commerce; so that, in less than one Year, those, who were the greatest Opposers of the first Steps in it, were the very Men who bought up all the Stock: For they opposed it at first, rather because they envied him the Success of it, than that they did not think it the
Dr. Houstoun's Memoirs

best Scheme that ever was laid in the Nation.

Dr. Swift, in a Letter to my Lord Chancellor Middleton of Ireland, says of my Lord Oxford, "That he was the greatest, the wisest, and the most uncorrupt Minister he ever conversed with:" And the Dean was no bad Judge of Mankind. I never had the Honour to be acquainted with his Lordship personally; But what I say of him in these Memoirs is impartial, and consistent with my own Knowledge.

In or about the Year 1718, the famous John Law, Esq; a Scotsman by Birth, then an Inhabitant of Paris, a naturalized Frenchman, projected a Scheme, for raising and establishing a Bank in Paris, and an united trading Company to the River Mississippi in America. He incorporated the Stock of this new Company, which was raised by Subscription, into Bank-Stock, and the whole united Stock was negotiated and circulated by the Bills of this new Bank; and in a very short Time...
Anions of 100 Subscription rose to 500, 1000, 1800, 2000, nay, even to 3000 and upwards. Then all the Specie in France was called into the King's Mint, recoined, and re-delivered to the Proprietors at double Value, by the King's Edict: So, by this Recoinage the King got all the Money of France into his Coffers, which put an entire Stop to all commercial Correspondence with other Nations and quite sunk the Exchange into little or nothing:

No Exchange!
The calamitous Effects of absolute Government!
All chimerical Notions!
Ridiculous Projects!
Castles in the Air, without any Foundation!

only to serve the Views of the Duke of Orleans, then Regent of France: A very great Man! of a most extensive Capacity and great Abilities, who concerted Measures with, and made use of Mr. Law, only as a Tool to serve his own Purposes, and to execute his deep-laid Schemes. He put him at the Head of the Finances,
and made him Director of this Royal Bank; all which he accomplished in his own Life-time. By this Method he paid off an immense Sum that old Louis le Grand had contracted, and owed to his own Subjects, without putting one Sous in their Pockets; but, on the contrary, made them very considerable Debtors to the Crown, by their own voluntary Trans-actions: And then Actions in this Stock funk to their primitive Nothing, the original Source and Parent of all the subsequent Bubbles, great and small, in Europe, South-Sea, &c. &c. &c. At the same Time the once so great Mr. Law, who has had the first Peers of France attending his Levee in his Prosperity, was oblig'd to fly from the Fury of the People, and died worth little or nothing:

Sic transit Gloria Mundi!

In the whole Time I never heard, knew or so much as read of one single Instance of Gratitude in a Frenchman, from the highest to the lowest of them.

By this Spunge, of paying off all the pub-lick
lick Debts at once, and heaping up all the Treasure in the King's Coffers, France regained Strength to attempt again what the vain-glorious grand Monarch, Louis XIV. had been aiming at all his whole Life-time, almost to the entire Ruin and Destruction of his own Country,

To give Laws to Europe.

But we find by Experience, that Money is the only Law-giver of Europe.

That this Bubble did take with a giddy, volage, precipitate Nation, under a despotic Government, is not so much to be wondered at, but how it could be introduc'd into a Nation of Liberty and Property, under the best regulated Constitution in the whole World, is incredible tho' certain; for in about two Years after there were Proposals made in England, by the Bank and South-Sea Companies, of incorporating the Government Annuities into their Stock, for the more easy discharging the Government's Debts. The South-Sea Company's Proposals were accepted of;
and, in less than twelve Months Time, their Stock rose from 100 to 1300 and upwards, on Notions equally chimerical and ridiculous with the French Actions: At the same Time there were hundreds of other Bubbles going on, every one of them more ridiculous than the other, 'till the Disease, the Phrenzy came to a Crisis, when the grand Bubble broke, and vanished at once into Air; to the entire Destruction of many, they being like a Parcel of Carrion Crows, eating out the Bowels of one another; and which, was worst of all, the Government's Debts were left unpaid, nay, not in the least diminished: A Calamity never to be forgot in the Island of Great Britain!

This contagious Distemper also reached and infected the phlegmatic Dutch, and raged for some Time with Violence amongst them, 'till the States General thought fit to apply an effectual Remedy, which timely prevented the Destruction of their Trade, and Ruin of their Country.
I was on the Field of Battle during the whole Action in London: Imagination cannot form to itself any Idea of such a Scene without seeing the Farce, which ended in deep Tragedy; from the first Quality to the meanest Tradesman butting and jostling together, and dealing promiscuously for Thousands of Pounds in a Minute: Credit was so extensive, that it was in the Hands of every body, they only wanted your Name for it. Methought, I made no bad Figure in the Play myself, which even exceeded my most sanguine Hopes; I never dreamt of less than three or four Thousand a Year:

This was the golden Age!
This the Philosopher’s Stone!
This the Magic Wand, by a Touch turning every Thing into Gold!

The very Face of Nature was changed; all were Brothers of Prosperity; there was room enough for all to deal, if they could find Room to stand? The only Difficulty remained was, where to find Worlds enow to purchase: For, during the Violence.
of this raging Distemper, I durst say, the daily Transactions in Stock-jobbing, in and about Change-Alley, amounted to a greater Sum than the whole circulating Cash of Great Britain amass'd together: And the Mississippi Actions in France exceeded our South-Sea Actions three to one; and the slow Dutch were not far behind us in Madness.

Astonishing Madness!

Philosophers agree, that Happiness and Misery consist chiefly in the Imagination; as Happiness is only a Privation of Misery, so is Pleasure a Privation of Pain, and consists in being more or less dependent on the Will and Pleasure of another: So this pleasing Delirium was universal, every body was greatly pleased and fully satisfied within himself, and thought himself happy, and only wanted to push to a higher Degree of Happiness, in Emulation to their Neighbours; 'till they plunged themselves into Misery. I had Letters from all Corners of Britain, especially from my Relations, congratulating me
of his Own Life-time.

me of my great and good Fortune, setting forth the great Friendship, Regard, and Respect they had for me, and how nearly they were related to me.

Donec eris fælix, multos numerabis amicos; Nullus ad amissas ibit amicus opes. Ovid.
Dum pauper ubique jacet.

Tho' these Memorandums were only for my private Reflection, I do solemnly declare, that I was never asked a Favour personally, that was in my Power, but what I granted; and I always had infinitely more Pleasure in granting than in receiving a Favour. It may perhaps be asked, "Why all these Debts contracted before I met with this Graudeur and "Riches, were not then discharged?" Therefore I do again declare, that no-body ever had occasion to ask me twice for what was in my Power to do at once: But as these Debts were mostly divided into small Sums, and lay in different Hands, few at that Time thought it worth while to ask for Trifles. My Neglect, indeed, was not finding them out, which I overlooked.
looked as Trifles, being always ready on Call with double Service.

I made it my Business to wait on Mr. Gordon, Son to my dear Friend, late Banker in Paris, and told him the Obligations I lay under to his Father, and offered him the Money with my humble Service; the Fellow, who dunned me so severely for it, by this Time being ruined. He received me very genteelly, but would not receive the Money; we continued our Acquaintance with great Intimacy. He ask'd me some time afterwards, to engage with him in a South-Sea Contract, and I readily and with Pleasure consented to, which turned out 2200 l. to his Loss; and I was severely handled for it afterwards as his Surety.

Lord William Johnstone, Son of the Marquess of Annandale, desired me to be his Bondsman for 800 l. which I readily did, and fifteen Years afterwards I was distressed for it with Interest, and Costs of Suit; and, when I applied to his Brother-in-law,
in-law, the Earl of Hoptoun, (who succeeded to a very good Estate by his Death, and has a very great Estate of his own) he absolutely refused me any Relief, and told me, Lord William's Estate was an entailed Estate by his Mother, and was not liable to his Debts; so I was obliged to pay above fifteen hundred Pounds for him, without getting Relief for one Shilling from his Estate, which Lord Hoptoun possesses, as I am told, of about 800 l. a Year.

My Riches and Grandeur did not last above seven or eight Months, before I was sunk into a deeper Abyss than ever, with at least five thousand Pounds Weight more than I was able to pay at the Close of Affairs, which bore me down so that I could never get my Head fairly above Water at Home; it banished me abroad, with a fresh Attack at every Return, so as to keep me out of Business from time to time: Though I reckoned myself once worth 20,000 l. chimerically, but I certainly, with good Management, could have
have realized a great Part of this Sum; but that would not do. The last Contract I discharged was to George Middleton, (for what Cash I had I always kept with him) when I paid him seventeen hundred and odd Pounds, Cash in his own Hands, and he gave me a Receipt for it, the old Debt included, in full of all Demands.

I recovered, indeed afterwards, upon one of my South-Sea Contracts, with Col. Urquhart, twenty seven hundred Pounds by meer Dint of my Lawyer's good Management; the Colonel being then a Member of Parliament, worth a good deal of Money, all got this Way, but had no great Inclination to pay: However, the House obliged him to wave his Privilege of Protection. He then retired into the Highlands of Scotland; so that no-body got a Six-pence of him, but myself.

Now all was gone to the Devil! the Mask was taken off, and every body appeared as so many Ghosts from Hell; Pluto sent forth all his Furies, Spite, Malice, Envy,
Envy, Detraction and Despair, strongly delineated in their Faces; and, indeed, it was a Hell upon Earth, nor do I believe that Hell itself can be worse; and I was fully resolved to fly from it at all Hazards.

Vanity of Vanities! all is Vanity and Vexation of Spirit!

At this Juncture I withdrew into a solitary, but pleasant, little Retirement near Sunbury, by myself, revolving in my Mind what had passed, which seemed to me still more like Dreams than Realities; when one Day the Lords Hervey, Drogeda, and Johnstone found me out, and made me a Visit; but I could not entertain them at my little Hut, so we went to the Tavern at Sunbury. After drinking hard, Lord Drogeda called a Fidler, who was noisy enough with his Fiddle, which my Lord seemed to like greatly, caref'd the Fellow, and gave him several Shillings and Half-crowns; when all of a sudden, without any Provocation that we knew of, he stuck the Fellow dead on the Spot, which could not possibly be foreseen, or
prevented by any of the Company, having no such Suspicion. This sad Accident gave me great Trouble, and much more so, as my Name was again brought on the Carpet, that was sinking into Oblivion. In short, had it not been for my Lord Falmouth's (Drogeda's Father-in-law) Interest and good Conduct, we all of us had certainly been obliged to have taken our Tryals for it: But all Affairs were made up, and the Widow handsomely provided for.

His Grace the Duke of Chandos then patronized the Royal African Company of England, and he was deeply engaged in their Stock, and, as all Stocks fell in Proportion to the grand Bubble, his Grace lost an immense Sum of Money here: However, he stuck by it at all Hazards, and was willing to retrieve their Misfortunes, if possible, by putting their Trade on a better Footing and surer Foundation than they had been on, since that Company had been under the Direction of the Duke of York, the late King James II.
Accordingly he united the old with the new Company, and made Proposals for the Improvement of their Trade, which made some Noise in the World, and their Stock rose considerably, when all the rest were sunk. He declined being chose Governor, under his Majesty, who is always Governor; but enlisted himself as one of the Court of Assiſlants.

Dr. Arbuthnot was his Grace's great Fa-vourite; and I opened myself freely to the Doctor; he carried me to wait on his Grace, and I had the Honour of an Evening's Conversation by ourselves. His Grace had elevated Notions of Guinea, and the Trade thereof, when rightly improved, and came to the Point, speaking to me; Will you go to Guinea, Doctor, in the African Company's Service? I answered, to Tyburn, if your Grace pleases to send me thither. He immediately sent for John Drummond, Esq; who was one of the Court of Assiſlants, and desired him to draw up my Petition, which was delivered next Court-day, and I was directly appointed Physician.
Physician and Surgeon-general to the Royal African Company's Settlements in Africa, and accordingly had my Commission and Instructions made out with all Dispatch, and was ordered to sail the very first Opportunity. I was perfectly pleased with the Thoughts of shunning Hell, and going to Heaven; for I knew as little of it, as his Grace did, which was nothing at all; and, having received his Grace's particular Instructions, failed in a few Weeks.

My Instructions were ample, and would have been beneficial, if I had known how to have made a proper Use of them. No Governor for the Time being, in the Place where I was, (and I was ordered to visit all their Settlements) could ship a Negro Slave on the Company's Account, 'till I had first certified, That they were merchantable Slaves: So that I was a Comptroller, as well as a Doctor. I was ordered to the most Windward of all their Settlements, Gambay, and so to proceed to the most Leeward, Whydah; but, instead
of his Own Life-time. 129

head of Gambay, I arrived first at Sier-
ralcon.

This Factory is on a little Island, about eight Miles up a fresh Water River; by my Instructions, our first Project was making of Pot-ash, with which the Company proposed to serve London, to prevent its foreign Importation. To work I went on this little Island; there's Plenty of Wood, and I had Negroes at Command, I made some Barrels full of it; and sent it Home for a Sample, with my Observations on it, to the Duke of Chandos.

Some Time after his Grace wrote me word, that it would not do: Yet no body could find the Reason why. I had some learned Letters from Dr. Arbuthnot about it: But I knew from Theory, and was convinced by Practice, that the Qualities of all vegetable fixt Salts are the same, they only differ in Quantity, some Woods affording double, treble, quadruple the Quantity of others; and no Wood could afford a greater Quantity than this; but after our

K

learned
learned Ellis's, the Soap-boilers found it out, the Water was brackish, though they drink it there, and is eight Miles at least up a River from the Sea.

After visiting their Out-factories, I arrived at their principal Settlement of Cape Corse-castle, where their General and Commander in Chief resided, and there I met with forty Cornwall Miners, with two Captains or Overseers, sent out by his Grace of Chandos at his own Expence, and fresh Instructions for me to perform wonderful Exploits. I staid some considerable Time here, and, after visiting the rest of their Out-factories, I arrived at Whydah; where I differed with the Governor, which Difference at last tended to set the Company's Affairs in a true Light: For, at my Arrival in London, I published to the World my Observations on the Coasts of Guinea, so far as related to the Trade of Great Britain in general, and the Royal African Company in particular; setting forth the villainous Proceedings and Mismanagements of their Agents, whom they
of his Own Life-time. 131
they stile General, and chief Governor,
with a proper Method how to remedy
those Grievances, and put the Trade on a
much better Footing for the Advantage of
Great Britain: Though, I freely confess,
I published that Treatise out of the Re-
sentment I bore to the Governor of Why-
dah, for the Injustice and Injuries done
me; yet, I assure the Reader, he will find
Truth in it, and some Things not un-
worthy his Notice; as appears by the Ap-
probation it met with among Foreigners,
who translated it into French, and inserted
it in the Journal des Scavans; but, before
I published them, I sent them with the
following Letter.

To his Grace the Duke of Chandos.

My Lord,

"I HAVE digested into some Order,
what Observations I made on the
Coast of Africa, from my first Arrival
to my Departure from thence, for the
Information of the Court of Assistants
K 2 " of
of the Royal African Company; nay, I am almost persuaded to let them go naked, as they are, into the World; which perhaps would be excused, as the last Efforts and Struggles to prevent the Murder of my Character, falsely attacked only to cloak Villany: But, methinks, it would be an unpardonable Crime, especially in me, who am sensible of your Grace's Honour, Justice, and Generosity, to attempt any Thing of this Nature, where your Grace has any Concern, without your Leave; which makes me presume to send your Grace these few Sheets; which, if your Grace can throw away an Hour, in your Country Retirement on them, I humbly submit to your Perusal, and can only plead their Veracity, for an Excuse of Inelegancy. But, my Lord, if there is any Thing, or all, that ought to be suppressed, your Grace has only to say the Word, and there is nothing can give me more Pleasure, than to have the Honour of an Opportunity to obey your Grace's Commands, which shall always be
"be with the utmost Gratitude and Respect, punctually observed by,

"Your Grace's

most devoted, obliged,

and obedient, humble Servant,

London, 1724. "JAMES HOUSTOUN."

His Grace perused the Papers, and returned them to Mr. Lynn, Secretary to the Company; and next Court-day I was called before a Committee of Correspondence, and my Papers demanded of me, as being useful for the Advantage of the Company; but before I consented to the Delivery of my Observations, I gave in my Accompts stated; and on balancing there appeared to be 300l. due to me; and, indeed all the Gentlemen of the Committee seemed willing, that my Accompt should be passed as it was stated and balanced, with all imaginable Dispatch; and not only the Balance paid, but
but to make me an handsome Present, for my faithful Services and great Sufferings, by exerting myself for the Honour and Interest of the Company; it was minuted accordingly in my Presence, by Order of the honourable Court of Assistants; Sir Bibye Lake engaged his Honour, not only as Sub-Governor of the Company, but as a private Gentleman, that all Manner of Justice should be done me, and the Duke of Chandos was also present: So I delivered up my Papers to them in Court.

But Mr. Baldwyn, late Governor at Whydah, my Antagonist, perceiving that his egregious Villanies must plainly appear, took occasion of waiting on several of the Directors, and, by using the never-failing

*Argumentum ad Hominem,*

managed his Affairs so dextrously, that he got an Enquiry put off, from Week to Week for several Months. At last I got a Day fixed, when, coming into the African House, he had procured a Warrant
to arrest me for an old Debt; and, before I found Bail to the Action, the Court of Assistants was up; so he gained so much Time longer on me, thro' J—Bl—kw—d's Means, in a mean-spirited, scoundrel Manner, and, before we came to a Trial, he gained his Purposes by a Majority of Votes of only one, whom I called J—Dr—m—d, Esq; which the Duke of Chandos never would believe or allow of, though there was nothing more certain; for I could produce sufficient Proofs of it.

I do acknowledge, that Mr. D—m—d proposed reasonable Terms to me, if I would have submitted to Mr. Baldwyn, and forgave his bad Usage: But I despis'd him and his Terms too; nay, not the whole African Stock would have tempted me; and nothing less than his Grace's Commands on me, which he absolutely refused. On the contrary he countenanced and supported me in all my Efforts and Struggles against him to the very last, when he gained his Point, by the Force
of what ought to have damn'd him: And all I got for my Money, and Pains, was two or three hard Knocks at him: This sealed his Point effectually; for he got me taken up by the Lord Chief Justice's Warrant, in an Action of Defamation against the Royal African Company, for beating their Servants, and saying, "That no-body but Thieves and Pick-pockets from Newgate ought to enter into their Service;" and bound me over in 30,000 l. Bail: But the Duke of Chandos extricated me from this Scrape without appearing in it, or else I must certainly have sunk under the Burden, as they design'd; whilst Baldwyn escaped by the Force of his Money, and my want of both Money and Experience to prosecute him at Law, where he must have been heartily trounced, and paid severe Damages for false Imprisonment: For he closely confined me in Africa, for refusing to sign his Certificates which were absolutely false, as I published to the World in 1725. Though I verily believe, had it not been for the Precipitancy and Violence of my own
own natural Temper, a great deal too much at that Time, to be checked by my Understanding, I had not missed of my Aim in procuring Justice with the Assistance of his Grace the Duke of Chandos, whose innate Humanity and Generosity always led him to do Justice to the Distressed and Oppressed; but I never had any Money of his Grace, for I always endeavour'd to conceal my Wants from his Generosity; and the African Company owes me this Balance of 300l. to this very Day, and I am afraid will never be less in my Debt; for which, with innumerable such other Instances of Non-payments, they were destroyed.

This Violence of Temper reverses one of the very best and surest Maxims in Life,

Lente suscipe, & cito perfice:

For, on this very Maxim depends the Success of most Transactions in human Life, and Miscarriages to the Neglect of it; as in this, and many other particular Instances which
which in the Course of my Life-time I have severely felt.

\[ Nunca levantar la Mano, hasta que se-puede dar el golpe. \]

I had this Maxim from a Jesuit, and felt the Weight of it from himself, as appears in the Sequel.

Now I had Leisure and Reason enough to reflect on my mispent Time. I lived almost three Years in this Scene of Life, as widely different from what I had been in formerly, as Paris is from Barbary. I was obliged to keep Company with, and be subjected to a Parcel of People inferior in Conversation and Behaviour, even to the meanest Sort that ever I had then known: Besides, there's something in the Climate that infects them, by turning Humanity into Barbarity; it alters human Nature, and converts them into a brutish, barbarous Disposition, without any Bowels of Compassion. I could give a thousand Instances, but I forbear. Those who have the superior Command are as absolute as
of his Own Life-time. 139

as the Great Mogul, and as void of Humanity as Barbarity itself.

As for my own Part, I retired entirely within myself, except the Time I went to Meals: For I always eat at the General's, (Company's Table) by Order of the Court of Assistants our Masters, who gave a very handsome Allowance for a Table for their Principal Servants, whilst their Factors and Writers, who were not allowed to eat at that Table, were starving for Want, their Allowance being so very small, and Provisions very scarce and dear there. I have known some of them starved even unto Death. They ought to have been put under the Regulations for Diet in the Manner I prescribed to them in my Observations.

I considered with myself thus; I am suffering for my own Follies, and it is better to be in this Gaol, than in a Gaol in England: But then the Thoughts of getting out of it, if possible; for all my golden Dreams, that I had formed to myself about Africa, were by this time quite vanished.
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vanished into Air: My Business now, thought I, was to make the best of a bad Bargain.

I found no Way they had of making Money, but by imposing on the Company, for they were all sworn, from the highest to the lowest of them, except the Doctors of Soul and Body, "not to trade upon " their own Account, nor to have the least " Communication with interloping Ships, " (ridiculous Instructions!) under the severest Penalty." The General, or Governors took Care to put this in Execution strictly, against all under their Command.

I have known a Factor lie ten Days with his Head in the Stocks, only for going on board an interloping Merchant-ship, and buying a few Trifles, Provisions, &c. that the Governors might have the more room to monopolize the Whole for themselves, which they served out again, at a most extravagant Rate, to the poor starved People under them; which Practices I always abhorred. But, when I was
was fully convinced of the only Methods how Money was to be got amongst them; I came to a firm Resolution, at all Hazards, to push for my Share of it, which I put in Execution at Whydah, where there was a very great Trade carried on by all Nations, particularly by the Portugueze, in Gold Dust, &c. from Brazil.

Our Governor, Ambrose Bland, Esq; would have slaved two or three of these Portugueze Ships, from eight to nine Ounces of Gold Dust each Negroe per Head on his own Account, and made an equal Number of the Company's Ships wait, till he found more Slaves for them; and, by our Masters Instructions, he could not ship a Slave on the Company's Account without my certifying, that they were merchantable Slaves; and I had signed three or four Times without considering or enquiring into Affairs.

At last I gave our Governor to understand, that I knew perfectly well how the
Game went, that I was positively resolved to sign no more, and that he must stand and fall by himself. I do acknowledge, that he did make me some Offers to come into his Measures, which I despised, and look'd upon him and his Offers too with Scorn: At the same Time I don't pretend to be more virtuous than my Neighbours; but I might be led, but could never be drove. He did not attack on the right Side, and I always carried the old Scotch Proverb strongly rooted in me,

_Ne'er to gang to the De'el with a Dis-clout:

As the Duke of Argyll observed in one of his Speeches in the House of Lords, haranguing about Bribery and Corruption; that they never came to his Price; but his Grace had a much better Way of managing than by Bribery and Corruption, as before taken notice of.

I never did plead Honesty for myself by Words, for all Men are to shew their Honesty
Honesty by their Deeds, and not Words:
It is only the designing Villain who praises
his own Honesty by Words; but I can
say with a safe Conscience, "That I have
" been as honest in all my Dealings as
" most Men that I have dealt with, and
" a great deal too honest for some of
" them," for which I have suffered and
do heartily repent of, as the Cause of my
own Failings, putting it out of my own
Power to answer the Demands on me
punctually and gratefully; for it is no Ex-
cuse in moral Honesty, to say, "That I have
" more Money owing to me than I owe
" to others;" though shewing and bal-
lancing Books is some Sort of Satisfaction
in a Mercantile Way.

However, our Governor and I dif-
fer'd, whilst he made 30,000 l. he put
it out of my Power, by his insolently de-
spotic Government, to make 30,000 d.
in that Time; and confined me close
Prisoner for one and thirty Days to force
me into Measures, and then only gave
me Liberty, on Condition, that I immedi-
ately
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ately went off the Coaft; for he wanted to get rid of me at any rate: Of all which Transactions, I gave a full Account on my Arrival in London, with sufficient Proofs of what I published in the Year 1725, for the Use of the Court of Assistants, as aforesaid.

In those Observations I again assure the Reader, that he'll find nothing but Truth, and I told the whole Truth to the Duke of Chandos, my very good Friend, and let his Grace into the original Source and secret Springs of all their Transactions and Affairs abroad, which he was an entire Stranger to; for I found out all their Ways at last, ad amussim, so undeceived him at once; and then he sold out all his Stock, which was very considerable; on which the African Company's Stock fell to little or nothing.

It is a general Mistake, and a vulgar Error of the first Concoction, to imagine that any Trade, or Branch of Trade, can
possibly be confined by any Nation, or particular Set of People, or Company of that Nation where different, or all Nations, have the same Liberty and Property to that Trade: For Trade is a Mistress to be courted and not forced; she delights in Freedom, and readily confers her Favours on all that treat her kindly: But is unwillingly confined to any particular Place, or Set of Men; especially when it is her Right to be left to her own Choice and Freedom.

This was clearly exemplified by the Conduct of this Company in all its different Shapes: Whilst in its Infant State, under the Direction of his Highness the late Duke of York, they were at very great Expence in building their Castles, Forts, &c. and were then a Monopoly, which raised the Price of Negroes to such an extravagant Rate, which must have ended, if it had not been timely prevented, in the entire Ruin of all our American Infant Settlements and Colonies,
Next their laying the Trade open to all Interlopers, paying 10 per Cent. to the Company, was equally destructive to the Nation in general; whilst all other Nations had the free Liberty of that Trade, without paying any Duty at all, and consequently able and willing enough to under-sell us in all Markets.

At last the Government was obliged to take this Trade under their Consideration, being in danger of losing it entirely, and of having it fall into the Hands of foreign Nations; and to support the Garrisons at the national Charge, which, of all Methods, in my humble Opinion, is the best, provided always they make a proper Use of these Castles, Forts, &c. by turning them into Magazines and Store-houses, and always keeping them well provided with all proper Assortments of Goods to supply the Trade in general, and the British in particular; which would enhance the whole Trade, and ingross the Prices of Negroes entirely to ourselves; and draw great Store of Wealth from all other Nations trading thither, especially the Portuguese.
of his own Life-time. 147

Negroes from Brazil, to our Mother Country in Gold-dust and other Commodities, and Slaves would come out much cheaper from the many, constant, and convenient Opportunities of watching and purchasing on the Spot, and of the quick Dispatch in selling; and so the Returns would increase proportionably.

This is a most beneficial Trade for the Nation in general, if rightly managed by exporting the Product and Manufactures of our Mother Country, and furnishing our American Colonies with Negroes cheaper than our Neighbours are able to do, and underselling them in foreign Markets. A Negro purchased in Guinea for ten Pounds in Goods, to produce three hundred Pieces of eight in Specie in the Spanish West-Indies, one of the best Branches of our national Trade, which ought to be incorporated into the Royal Affiento Trade for Negroes, without any exclusive Clause in the Treaty agreed on, referred to by the before-mentioned Observations, wherein is said, "What a glorious and advantageous Trade this is,"
is, every European Society, as well as private interloping Trader, must be sensible of, as it is the Hinge on which all the Trade of this Globe moves; for, put a Stop to the peopling the European Plantations Abroad, which could be done from no other Country but this, without depopulating Europe; I say, put a Stop to the Slave-trade, and all the others cease of course. Pray, who digs the rich Mines of Peru, Brazil, &c. Nay, who sweetens the Ladies Tea, and the generous Bowl? And who reaps the Profit of all? Therefore let every true Briton unanimously join to concert Measures, how to centre this advantageous Trade in England; and I wish it could be carried on by the Royal African Company, who hitherto have been greater Losers than Gainers by it; a Trade so greedily grasp'd at by the laborious Dutch, which they purchased by the Property of Brazil, in lieu of it. 'Tis only incumbent on me, as an Observator, to lay before your Honours what occurred to me as Hindrances to the Company's Interest,
of his Own Life-time. 149

in respect to other European Nations,
and in particular, by the English Interlopers; for, as to other Nations, the Dutch are the only formidable Antagonists we have to deal with.* This Dutch Guinea Company is an united Branch of their India Company, of which the States General bear the greatest Share, exclusive of all interloping Traders of their own Nation, besides a Tax of 10 per Cent. on all the Portuguese Ships trading to this Coast, which they had granted them as an Article, in exchanging Brazil with the Portuguese, in lieu of this Trade; which they strictly demand, and keep a Man of War a cruizing always on the Coast, to put their Orders in Execution, as well against the Portuguese, as the interloping Ships of their own Nation.

So it plainly appears to your Honours, what great Advantages that Company has over ours; and, indeed, as I have only the Interest of Britain at Heart,

I cou'd and do wish from my very Soul

* Now the French are more dangerous to us than the Dutch.
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"Soul, that his most gracious Majesty, who honours your Society by being your Governor, would take into his Consideration in Council, and, by Consent of Parliament, grant your Company a conditional, exclusive Charter: For it is unreasonable to expect or demand such a one as your Company had formerly, whilst under the Direction of the Duke of York, in King Charles the Second's Reign; the sad Effects of which plainly appeared by the numerous Complaints of his Majesty's Subjects of his Plantations beyond Sea; which, if carried any higher, must have tended to their utter Ruin and Extirpation. Nor is it to be supposed, that even now, if the Company had an unlimited, exclusive Charter, that their Agents would furnish his Majesty's Plantations with Slaves at 30 or 40 l. per Head of that Country Money; whereas, in a few Days they can waft them over to the Spanish American Coast, where they fetch 300 Pieces of Eight per Head, including the King of Spain's Taxes, and other Duties, which
which makes them come out at above 60 l. Sterling; a Price that won't an-
swer with our American Plantations: But if his Majesty's Subjects were to 
compute their yearly Demand of Ne-
groes that are absolutely necessary for 
their Service, which might be easily 
done; and at the same Time if his Ma-
jesty would be pleased to grant the Roy-
al African Company, either singly, of 
united with the South-Sea Company, a 
Charter conditionally, to be obliged to 
furnish his Majesty's Plantations with 
their Quota of Slaves, demanded at 
30 l. of the Country Money per Head, inclu-
cluding Children above eight or Ten 
Years of Age; which might both an-
swer the Ends of the Planters of our 
American Plantations, and enable the 
Company to carry on a Trade, not only 
exclusive of all English Interlopers, but 
to enhance the Trade solely to them-
selves, exclusive of all other Nations, 
and to fetch into England, from the 
Manufactures and Commodities of our 
own Country, above a Million of Money 
L. 4. "Sterling
Sterling yearly in ready Specie; which is entirely stifled at present, through the Inability of the Company's Struggling with such Difficulties, as the great Charge of the Company's maintaining their Settlements Abroad, whilst Interlopers come to take the Bread out of their Mouths; and even assisted in so doing by their own Agents, to serve their own mercenary Ends; whilst thus weakening one another, the Dutch, never forgetful of their own Interest, assisted by other Nations, come in to carry off the Profit of both. Such a limited Charter as this, where there is not one Objection left against it, put into the Hands of any Society, empowering them to raise a sufficient Sum of Money to carry on that Trade, would not only enable us to furnish our Quota of Slaves, \textit{viz}., 4800 \textit{per Ann.} to the Spaniards, as stipulated by the \textit{Ajustment} Contract, and to make good former Deficiencies; but naturally bring the Slave Trade entirely into our Hands, exclusive of all other Nations; so consequently
of his Own Life-time. 153

"frequently reap the Fruits of the American Mines, which they only give
themselves the Trouble to dig, but in
Hopes of such a glorious and advanta-
geous Trade to England."

I then acquainted his Grace of my Intentions of going abroad in the Service of the Honourable South-Sea Company, and begged his Grace's Countenance and Favour. He answered, with a Soul equal to himself, I will serve you: For I knew but few equal to him, so magnificently Good! his Soul was a Composition of Humanity and Generosity.

I have heard his Grace say, "That he had given away a better Estate, than he then possessed;" and this fifteen Years at least before he died. His Grace's Favours were so general, that I must own some of them were bestowed on very worthless and ungrateful Persons, which I could easily account for; but his Grace's Intentions were always the same, Great and Good! Tho' Times and Manners are unaccountable,
His Generosity, Liberality, and Charity always led him to do good Offices, assist the Distressed and Oppressed.

He wanted that I should be first reconciled to John Drummond, of whom I had a very bad Opinion, which I never concealed from himself, nor from his Grace; and he took a most effectual Method of doing it.

"To Dr. Houstoun.

Sir,

I have sent the Letter, you desired to Sir John Eyles in your Behalf, to Mr. Drummond, to whom you must apply for it; having entirely left it to his Pleasure, whether he deliver it you or not. I am,

Your very humble Servant

Chandos."
This was the first Submission that ever I made in my Life, and to a Man I really hated: But it was his Grace's Commands; no other Consideration on Earth could have prevailed on me. I was resolved to obey, but I could not divest myself of unalterable Nature: I went to Mr. Drummond's; (but it was like going to Hell!) "I am come, Sir, said I, by the "Duke of Chandos's Command, for that "Letter to Sir John Eyles."—"Did the "Duke, Sir, said he, command me to "give it you?"—"That is, as you please, "Sir. He answered, "Or as you deserve, "Sir,"—"Pray, Sir, give it me, or keep "it, as you please:" For I was quite ready to burst: So I made a Bow and was coming away. Then he desired me to sit down, and have a little Patience, and began a Story of a Cock and a Bull; so that I could not contain myself, and said, "You know, Sir, that I know you; "that's nothing to my Purpose at present; "give me the Letter, or keep it." And away I came; he followed me to the Door, and said, "Here, take it! there's not
"not such another Man in the whole World!" So I came off, flying as from the Devil.

I DELIVERED the Letter to Sir John Eyles, who was the compleatest Gentleman, take him in all respects, that ever I knew. Some Days after his Grace of Chandos did me the Honour to carry me in his own Chariot to Sir John, and said some kinder Things of me than I chuse to mention. Sir John desired me to put in my Petition to the Court of Directors; and the Court-day following, I was appointed Surgeon to the Royal Assiento Company's Factory, at Cartagena in America.

THOUGH I was an entire Stranger to such a beneficial Branch of Trade ingrafted in a Company with 40,000,000 Sterling Stock, I set out on my Voyage with great Cheerfulness, expecting to meet with Abroad a set of Gentlemen of good Education, thinking they could be nothing less who were distinguished with such honourable and profitable Employments: But
But I was greatly disappointed; for when I arrived, in the Year 1724, at the Factory at Cartagena, I did not find any of our Factors with the least Tincture of a Gentleman in him, except one, and he was over-born (or, as I may rather say, over-laid) by a termagante, Billingsgate Woman.

I was greatly surprized at their Conversation, especially at Table, to hear them take and give one another the Lye, with other very low Expressions; which they termed Freedom and Liberty of Conversation: But I own I never heard the like, not even in Africa; for their Conversation there at Table, though low, was decent, owing, if not out of Respect, to the Awe they had of their Governor.

However, at Cartagena I made myself quite easy, for I was under no Restraint or Subjection, farther than to mind my Business, which was easily done; and I had a large Field for Conversation among the Spaniards, especially the Ladies, who have the best and strongest Genius of all Nations.
Nations for Intrigues which, answered my Purpose of acquiring the Spanish Language, &c. and, whenever our Factors began their shocking Conversation, I endeavoured to turn it into Ridicule, by way of Farce, which I represented next Day to them in some such Manner as this:

The Persons of the Play.

'Squire Little-tattle, first Factor.
Capt. Brute, second Factor.
Sir John Mundungus, third Factor.
Don Ferdinando Punto, fourth Factor.
Monsieur le Medicin, Harlequin.

Doña Leonora de villa Hermosa,
My Lady Mundungus,
Miss Mundungus,
Mulattoes and Negroes, waiting Women.

I never saw a stronger Instance of the Force of Example than this; upon Rehearsal every one took his own Part, and took it in good part too, for they were their own Words almost verbatim, and
ood reprimanded with good Humour, and often turned the Conversation so far, if not quite polite, as to render it tolerably easy.

The old Foible, Division among ourselves, peculiar to the British Nation, as I have frequently mentioned, and always observed, appears in lively Colours in our Factories abroad; where, if you find five, six, or more People (British) in a Factory, you'll certainly see them pulling so many different Ways; whereas, if they all pulled one Way together, they would infallibly pull so much the more Money to each Individual, and proportionably to their Masters. This Animosity is greatly detrimental to Commerce in general, and to Monopolies and private Traders in particular: For these are true Maxims, "He that cannot, or will not, make Money for himself, neither can, nor will make Money for his Masters; and, If Masters don't give suit- able Encouragement to their Servants, they never will be well and faithfully served."
I shall not enter into that long controverted Point, Whether Trade is carried on most for a National Advantage by Monopolies in Company, or a free Trade by private Traders? as it makes nothing at all to our Purpose; for this Trade to the Spanish West-Indies is prohibited to all Nations, Companies, and private Traders whatsoever, by repeated Treaties agreed upon by all European Potentates, unless the Goods are sent to Spain, and shipt on the Galleons, or Flota, registred by his Catholick Majesty, and subject to his Duties and Indulto; always, excepting his Catholick Majesty is pleased to grant to any Nation, by a particular Treaty, the Liberty of introducing into his American Dominions, a certain Number of Slaves for a limited Time, for the Use of his Subjects there: Such as he granted first to the Portuguese, then to the French, and now to the British, commonly called, The Affiento Contract, for allowing to the Subjects of Great Britain the Liberty of introducing Negroes, &c. into Spanish America, as you'll see by an express Article in the Treaty.
Treaty of Utrecht, concluded and ratified between her Majesty of Great Britain, Queen Anne, and his Catholic Majesty of Spain, in the Year 1713.

Every body, who has been in the least acquainted with the four last Years of Queen Anne's Reign, knows that France was then greatly reduced by the long War, and wanted Peace at any rate. At this very critical Juncture our new British Ministers were struggling hard, to get the better of the ousting Party, the Whigs: Therefore, to serve their own Purposes, more easily hearkened to the smooth and artful Offers of France, at a Time when we might have had our own Terms; and accordingly there were some Proposals made pretty extravagant and unreasonable, of which I shall only mention one to the Point in Hand.

"That a free Trade should be granted for the British Subjects to the Spanish West-Indies."
But our then Prime Minister, Harley, prudently enough foresaw what Umbrage this would give to the rest of Europe, especially the trading Part of it, which would necessarily create such Jealousies and Animosities amongst them, that, though the then present Flame of War might be extinguished for a Time, it would very soon re-kindled, and burn with double Force; so that he artfully changed that Article into the following.

"That certain Conditions shall be entered into, with needful Privileges for the British Merchants, to contract with the Spaniards for the Assiento, or Trade to America in Negroes, with such a limited Trade to America as should be agreed on."

Which was so contrived, and agreed to in such a Manner, if rightly executed according to the original Plan laid down, as to have fairly laid open all the Parts of the Spanish West-Indies to the British Trade, without giving the least Umbrage to
of his Own Life-time. 163
to any other Nation of Europe whatever.

This was a Legacy of the late Great Lord of Oxford, the most valuable, for his Country, of any I remember from our first Ministers; excepting that inestimable Jewel from the late Lord Godolphin, the Union of the two Crowns.*

I met with a Gentleman in the West-Indies, in the Company's Service, very well qualified for the Post he enjoyed, chief Supercargo of one of the Company's annual Ships, who really was a Man of Letters; but had as much or more Vanity than myself, which surprized me greatly, to find myself out done in my own Way and Humour, by one of a better Understanding; though, it is true, he had a much larger Field to exercise it in, from his superior Station: And had it not been for this Strength of Understanding, improved by Letters and Experience, which over- swallow his Vanity, instead of being a very clever and well-accomplished Gentleman;

* See Memorial, in the Appendix, Numb. II.
man, as he really was, he must have turned out a mere Coxcomb.

I soon contracted an intimate Acquaintance with him, liked his Company and Conversation, being by far the best in that Place, and he seemed not to dislike mine; so that I was constantly with him, and we took a Trip to the Fair at Porto-bello together: At which Time, in the Year 1728, there happened a Rupture between the two Crowns of Great Britain and Spain: I cannot call it War, for it seemed to be more like a Sham, than any thing else.

The Galleons were all arrived in the Harbour of Porto-bello, with only three Line-of-battle Ships for their Guard: The Fair was proclaimed, the last Bale of their Goods was landed, and all the Money of the Commerce of Peru was brought down from Panama to Porto-bello, which, at a modest Calculation, reckoning the Money registred and unregistred, amounted to 30,000,000 Pieces of Eight, when Admiral
Admiral Hofier arrived, without the least Knowledge or Suspicion, either of the Spaniards or English, with a Squadron of eleven Sail of Line-of-battle Ships; and in a few Hours might have made himself Master of all this Treasure, in Money and Goods, amounting to double the Sum above-mentioned, with little or no Resistance: For he had Strength enough to have blown them into the Air in a few Hours Time; and the Surprize left them no room for Defence, incredible though certain! and never to be forgiven, Feau-pas! the original Source of all our Embroils, and irretrievable Misfortunes, not only with Spain, but with the rest of Europe; instead of being the Umpire of Europe, to become the Dupes and laughing Stock of all;

Quis talia fando temperet à lachrymis!

Admiral Hofier sent Capt. Medley ashore with a Message to the President of Panama, and to the General of the Galleons, acquainting them, "That he did not "come in a hostile Manner, to treat them"
as Enemies, but only as a Squadron of Observation, and to demand the South-Sea Company's Ship, the Royal George; (which was never detained) ridiculous Nonsense!" For this Affair was compleated before the Arrival of the British Squadron: The whole Cargo was sold, and the Cash all ready to be paid in, as fast as they could receive it. I was at the receiving of it, and the whole very dexterously negociated by a Gentleman who knew how to manage the Spaniards in their own Way, better than any one that ever I knew abroad in the South-Sea Company's Service.

I was privy to all the Epistolary Correspondence between the two Admirals, having the Honour to be intimately acquainted with Don Francisco Cornejo, General and Commander in Chief of the Galleons; and, each of them writing in his own Country Language, the General of the Galleons scarce ever received a Letter from Admiral Hovier without sending for me to be his Interpreter: But I had not
of his Own Life-time. 167
not the Honour to know Admiral Hosier
farther than by his Letters to the General;
and I freely own, had a School-boy un-
der my Care wrote such Letters, I would
have ordered him to be whipt.

The General always wrote with his
own Hand to Admiral Hosier, as in all
polite Nations one Gentleman does to an-
other who is his equal, and the Admiral
corresponded in his own Hand, but wrote
great Nonsense, and never a Word was
right spelt: The General had an Irish Gen-
tleman on board of him, in whom he
confided, whose Name was Daniel O'Hony,
and his first Lieutenant, (as honest a Man
as ever I knew) to whom he used to com-
mitt the Admiral's Letters for Interpreta-
tion, who made them greater Nonsense,
if possible, than they were before. Upon
my being consulted, I told Don Daniel,
that he had forgot his English; and so
used to make the most of them, to the
best of my Judgment, begging his Admi-
ralship's Pardon, for his as well as our
Country's Honour.
Admiral Hosier might have been an exceeding good Sea-officer, for ought I know, and, had he come to dispute with Don Francisco with the ultima ratio Regum, he might have got the better of him, at least I wished so; but, in Politicks, he was far inferior to him: Don Francisco was a polite Gentleman, a good Officer, one of strong natural Understanding, and a Man of Honour and Integrity; but our Admiral, was a mere rough, vulgar Tar.

Admiral Hosier lay at the Bastimentos (three Leagues distant from Porto-bello) with his Squadron, when the General of the Galleons continued safe in the Harbour of Porto-bello with his Fleet; throwing up Breast-works and Batteries for their better Defence, and put all their Castles in the best Order, whilst the Admiral was losing his Men by thousands, through a Mortality that visited them. And, whatever Term Mr. Hosier might use for this show Expedition, the cunning Spaniard called it a Reprisial; and accordingly seized all the Com-
Company's Effects, except the Royal George, which was now safe, all her Cargo sold, and the Cash on board the British Squadron.

Admiral Hosier had stopped a Parcel of Bomb-boats, Periagua's, Canoes, &c. with Provisions for Porto-bello; so the Governors of Cartagena and Porto-bello detained the Company's Vessels in Harbour; on which the General of the Galleons concerted and agreed with the Admiral, to set all Vessels then in Custody on both Sides at Liberty, for this Time only.

I began now to be very uneasy with the Thoughts of being taken Prisoner, being absent from our Factory at Cartagena; so I embraced this Opportunity to make the best of my Way back thither, and carried the Articles of Agreement between the two Admirals along with me.

Don Lewis a Ponti, Governor of Cartagena, who had more Understanding in his
his little Finger, than all our Factory put together had in their whole Body, (Savio Mucho, he was an exceeding clever Man) having detained one of the Company’s Vessels in the Harbour, with about 100,000 Pieces of Eight on board, when I delivered him the Copy of the Articles, he gave a shrug with his Shoulders, and said, “Bid your first Factor, Squire Tittle-tattle, come to me, for you have no Concern in this Affair, and I desire that you would not meddle in it.”—He told the old Fellow, (I was going to say, old Fool) “That he did not think that Money safe on board, and desired the Factors to bring it ashore, and put it into the Hands of Don Domingo Miranda.” In short, he persuad’d our Factors to go on board themselves and fetch the Money: But Don Domingo, no doubt, having had his Lesson before-hand, positively refused the Trust. The Governor then told them, “That the best and safest Place was the King’s Chest;” and there it was deposited, and all done by themselves, without any Compulsion, and brought about by mere
of his Own Life-time. 171

mere Strength of a superior Understanding: For, if they had not done it themselves, he would have been obliged, by the Articles of Agreement, to have let the Vessel go, as she then lay, Money and all.

Don Lewis could easily shake off the Governor, and put on the polite Gentleman, after this Victory, which was too easy a Conquest. When he had got the Money into his Clutches, he was in high Spirits, and invited us all to Dinner: And, after I parted from my Friend and Patron, (I made his House my Home) the Jokes went round, for he was a great Joker; he told our Factors, "The Money was now in salva Custodia, in a great strong Iron Chest, that even Fire itself could not destroy it, and that it had three great, strong Locks: Now, said he, Squire Tittle-tattle do you take one Key, and Capt. Brute shall take another, and leave the third for me, so you are two to one against me; and, if you should take a Trip to England, you'll be sure of your Money"
Money at your Return." But, alas! they no sooner turned their Backs on Bo-
zaebica than the three Locks turned into one, and the Chest flew open with a Jirk, and the Company suffers for Senior a Ponti's Joke, and their Factor's Ignorance, to this very Day.

However severely the Company's Affairs were handled, our Persons were treated with Humanity and good Manners, whilst we were Prisoners, by this Gentleman, who detained us for some Months, and then sent us to Jamaica, with our private Interest, not in the least touched.

I staid about twelve Months in Jamaica, and then made the best of my Way for London, where I was received by Sir John Eyles with his usual Sweetness of Temper, and Politeness in Behaviour, peculiar to himself; for he seemed to receive the Favours, he was granting, by his Countenance and Courtship.
I was immediately continued in the Honourable Company’s Service, which entituled me to my Sallary during the whole Time of the Reprisalia; and I was likewise re-imburfed for my Expences on the Voyage Home. Sir John asked me, "How I liked the Service, and the Country?" I answered, "That, for the short Time I had been there, I liked it exceedingly well: That, in my humble Opinion, it was a most beneficial Branch of Commerce to the Nation in general; and, when rightly managed, advantageous to the Company in particular. And that every Servant, in the Honourable Company’s Service abroad, may make Money enough, according to his Station, without interfering with, or the least Detriment accruing to the Company." I then took notice of the great Disadvantage, arising in the Company’s Service, from such an odd Medley of Servants; who are indeed their Representatives abroad: You’ll find a Bacoalào Merchant amongst the principal Factors, because he can talk a little Spanish;
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... a mere Tarr; bred before the Mast, because he has a Friend in the Court of Directors, that makes a bawling Noise in it, and will be heard; — a broken Tradesman, because he is represented as an Object of Charity, and must be provided for out of Compassion; — a young Gentleman, who has been at the Academy, and learnt to ride the Great-horse, dance, &c. because he is recommended from Court; with Et-cæteras in abundance! By this Composition is represented the trading Part of the British Nation, amongst a cunning, subtile, and sagacious People, the Spaniards: Though, I own, I have seen many Refuse amongst them too; but their Governors are generally Men of good Sense and Penetration; and it is on them the principal Business of the Factory depends.

No-body had a more extensive and better Knowledge of Commerce, in all its different Branches, than Sir John Eyles; for he was a thorough Merchant, as well as a compleat Gentleman; and he had made
made it his particular Study to get a full Knowledge of this Trade, carried on under the Affiento Treaty; and indeed he knew it even to the minutest Circumstance, and would have brought it to the greatest Perfection, the Advantage of the Nation in general, and the Company in particular; had not a Dæmoniæo Spirit of Envy, Malice, and Detraction prevented his laudable Designs.

This Run against Sir John was very politically fomented and carried on by the Dutch, to serve their own interested Views, viz. to destroy our Whale-fishery in Greenland, at that Time daily improving, and carried on by the South-Sea Company: They bought up large Shares of South-Sea Stock, by the Hands of their Friends, who made a very great Noise in the general Courts against this Fishery, as disadvantageous to the Company, and set on foot only for the Advantage of some Gentlemen in the Direction, levelling their Speeches at Sir John.
It is true, at their first sitting out Vessels, procuring expert Fishermen, trained up in that Trade, and breeding up others, was a very great Draw-back on the Company, and they were annually considerable Losers: But, these Difficulties once got over, we should have become as expert in it as the Dutch themselves, and supported this beneficial Trade to the Nation in general, and to the Company in particular: And the principal Instrument, the Dutch made use of to accomplish this Design, was one of their own Countrymen, whom Sir John, out of his superlative Goodness, had introduced into the Direction as a Friend. It is therefore, we see, of dangerous Consequence to trust any Foreigner in the Direction of any trading Company; and the Dutch know this Maxim so well, that it is prohibited in their own Country, by an Order of the States General.

Sir John's good Intentions and Judgment further appear by the proper Regulations he put the Factories under, at the
of his Own Life-time. 177

Re-establishment of the Assiento in the Year 1729, to prevent Division amongst themselves, when he made it the Interest of every Individual to unite; and the more Service they did for their Masters, the more Advantage accrued to every one in particular: But even all that would not do; therefore, his Patience being quite tired out, with the unkind Fatigues they gave him for his good Services, he resolved to resign the Government of this Company, on which he made the following Speech to the Court of Directors.

"Gentlemen,

I HAVE now had the Honour to serve near twelve Years, as Sub-Governor of this Company, and have always endeavoured to discharge the Trust reposed in me with Diligence and Fidelity; but confess I have continued much longer in this Chair, than I ever proposed, and it is well known to many Gentlemen, how desirous I was to have quitted it about six Years ago.
I have spent the best of my Life in this Employment; my Constitution has suffered very much from the perpetual Cares and Anxieties attending it: It is high time to lay down so weighty a Burden, and I thought it my Duty to give you this early Notice of my Intention, that you may turn your Thoughts upon some more worthy Person, to supply my Place at the ensuing Election.

I am sorry to say, that, by so many Years Experience, I have learnt, that, from the natural Vicissitude of Things and the Variety of Transactions, Opinions, Tempers, and Views in trading Societies, it is scarce possible for the same Man always to please, without a very uncommon Degree of Prudence and Moderation.

The Difficulty is also increased by a Fatality arising from the very Nature of the Trade carried on under the Affiento Treaty; for, tho' it is certainly in itself a profitable Commerce, and in many
ny respects beneficial to the Nation, provided it could be protected by that Faith, which ought to be inviolably preserved in the Execution of Treaties between two Nations; yet it must be allowed, that the Spaniards have not only thrice seized and confiscated the Company's Effects, under Pretence of War; but, having been made sensible of the great Advantage the Company and Nation might reap from it, have, perhaps, from that Reason too, found frequent Means to interrupt the Returns, and thereby disappoint the expected Gains: And these Disappointments have been too much magnified by those who imagine it to be their more immediate Interest, that the Trade to the Spanish West-Indies should be restrained to the ancient Channel, by the Way of Cadiz only, and who, it may be, have not considered, that whenever the Assiento and annual Ship shall fall into the Hands of any other Nation, the same Quantity of Goods will still be sent to the Spanish West-Indies, in
the same Way, with this essential Difference, that they will not be the Manufactures of Great Britain; or, should the Annual Ship be discontinued, this Nation only will, in all Probability, suffer by the increased Trade at Cadiz.

Thus situated, it is not to be wondered I have met with some Difficulties in the Course of my Direction, but I hope the Uneasiness I have gone through, and which I flatter myself I have not deserved, will not fall to his Lot that shall succeed me.

I return my hearty Thanks to those Gentlemen, who have been so kind, as to afford me from time to time, their Assistance and Support, under the many Difficulties and Peculiarities I have been obliged to encounter with, during the Time I have had any Share in the Management of this Company's Affairs.

South Sea House.
December 12, 17...
of his Own Life-time. 181
From this very Day the Assiento Trade may date its Death; but I hope in a Resurrection.

My original Sins stared me again in the Face, when I returned from Africa to London; but I then published my Misfortunes to the World, so that they did not molest me much, except one John Blackwood: But now, being come from the South-Seas, I must be very rich in the Eyes of the World, and a Man of no Principle, if I did not pay my Debts; so they attacked me at once; they pushed, and I parried; but, had it not been for two able Masters of the Art of Defence, (Lawyers) they had certainly got the better of me, and sunk me on the Spot, and not bettered themselves one Farthing by it. I always have kept a Register of Debtor and Creditor with the World, and a Court of Chancery, or Equity in my own Breast, which shall be balanced in my Last Will and Testament, and till then I beg the World to suspend their Judgment, at least not to put it in Execution:

N 3.
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for I never had but one standing Maxim in Religion and Morality, which comprehends all;

To do as I would be done by.

This I have always made, to the utmost of my Power, and shall continue it till the Day of my Death, my fixed and immutable Rule.

About this Time our Prime Minister, Sir Robert Walpole, patched up a Peace with the Spaniards, and we felt the Effects of it immediately abroad, the Consequences of that grand Blunder, the Omission of Hovier's Squadron at Portobello; for, upon the Re-establishment of the Assiento in the Year 1729, I returned to my Station at Cartagena; and, of all the old Set of Factors, there was only one returned thither, Don Ferdinando Punto, who was now first Factor; he was bred from a Boy amongst the Spaniards at Cartagena, and had little or no Education, for he had lived eighteen Years amongst them, without being out of the Country;
of his Own Life-time. 183

but to be sure, of all that Set, he was the most capable for that Employ.

We had a Cedula from the Court of Madrid, by the King’s Order, for the Restitution of all the Company’s Effects that were reprisalied, particularly the 100,000 Pieces of Eight that Don Lewis a Ponti, late Governor of Cartagena, had tricked the Factors of, and deposited in the King’s Chest.

At our Arrival we found a new Governor, Don Antonio Salas, a stubborn, resolute, old Soldier, with little or no Education, and what little Understanding he had was purely natural, from whom we met with a very unmanly and rude Reception, insomuch that the very Inhabitants of the Place, our old Friends and Acquaintance, durst not even speak to us in the Streets, or invite us to their Houses; but were obliged to come skulking to us in the Night-time, with Protections of their Friendship, though they were positively forbid by the Governor to shew us any manner of Countenance;

N 4

Quan-
Notwithstanding these Difficulties to work our first Factor went with the Governor, shewing him his Catholick Majesty's Cedula, for the Restitution of all the Company's Effects, seized in the Reprisalia, with a particular Order for those Pieces of Eight; but the Governor put him off from time to time with evasive and chicaning Answers: Then they went to Autos, (Law-suits) Declarations, Manifesto's, Memorials, Remonstrances, &c. setting forth the Injuries and Injustice done to the Company, contrary to Treaty and Orders of the King of Spain, but all to no purpose: At last the Dispute got to open Passion; and I have seen the Governor tremble at the Sight of our Factor, (not for Fear, but with mere Passion of Anger) for an Hour running, like a Aspin-leaf: Then his Anger would exert itself in Insults and opprobrious Language: In short, it was a mere Hell upon Earth; none of them would yield, but the Governor was by far the strongest, unless
unless he had been attacked at other Weapons. I have heard his Predecessor say, *Aquí está la Cédula, pero es menester sangrarlo.* It is certain 10,000 Pieces, rightly applied abroad, will do more Service for the Company's Interest than 100,000 Pieces laid out at the Court of Madrid.

One Day conversing intimately with Don Sebastian Iglesias, one of our Royal Officers on this Subject, "There's Edward," said he, (meaning our first Factor) "making a Noise and a Bungle, and throwing the Governor into such Passions, that it is impossible to do any thing with him, about his Papeles, (Law-papers) with which he may wipe his Breech, being more proper for an Attorney than a first Factor: He don't come to the Purpose; but I will shew you:" And then went to his Scrutoir, and fetched a Letter from Don Joseph Patiño, then Prime Minister of Spain, (a great and able Minister) thanking the Governor and Royal Officers, for having remitted, and applied to his Catholic Majesty's
jeffy's Service, those 100,000 Pieces of Eight; and greatly approving their Conduct, for having so opportunely supplied the Exigencies of the Government, at such a critical Juncture of Time, which bore the very same Date with his Catholic Majesty's aforesaid Cedula.

This, I do declare upon Honour, for I read it with my own Eyes; Does it not therefore require Men of Address, and thorough Knowledge of Men and Things, to deal with such treacherous, and perfidious Courtiers, the Bottom of all these kind of Villanies? In short, by long Experience I have learnt, that there's but one never-failing Argumentum ad Hominem with them; but it requires a Man of great Judgment and Penetration to apply it rightly, so as many and great Advantages may accrue from it.

In the beginning of the Year 1733, Sir John Eyles resigned his Government of this Company, when there was a new Set of Directors chosen: I would not presume to
to say any Thing by way of Detraction on my honourable Masters, that Justice and Truth could conceal; but, if their Fellows in all London for Ignorance and Malice, (I mean Ignorance in the Company's Affairs abroad, and Malice to their Servants) could have been found, I'll submit; and the Beauty of it was, they pickt out one to fill Sir John's Chair, who was justly entitled to preside for those two Qualities: so to work they went; they turned out all the Company's Servants abroad, right or wrong, guilty or not guilty, under Pretence of their having promoted private Trade, without so much as ever accusing them, or giving them the least Opportunity of exculpating themselves, on purpose that they might place others of their own making in their room: And then to work they went again with the old ones, by Prosecutions at Law; and, after spending above 10,000l. of the Company's Money in Law, they never have, nor never will, as I think, recover ten Pence: For my Lord Chancellor decreed, "That whatever Damages the Plaintiff"
(the Company) could prove had accrued to them, by carrying on, or promoting any private Trade, should be made good by the Defendants, their Servants, who, they said, promoted and carried on that private Trade.” A most just “Decree!” but I have not as yet heard of any Damages proved by the Company, nor indeed can I find them out, nor even conceive how it is possible there can be any, unless they sold Negroes, or other Goods belonging to the Company, on their own Account. If so, they were Thieves and Robbers of the first Magnitude, and ought to be punished accordingly without Mercy: Of which there’s only one Instance standing upon Record, of one Blechynen, who introduced Negroes, marked with the Company’s Mark, and sold them on his own Account; yet this very Person never was prosecuted for his Crime, and was the only one, of all the Company’s old Servants, that received any Countenance and Favour from this new Direction; and only because he was Sir John Eyles’s Enemy; (though only he, and such like, were
were his Enemies) for, on the new Election, the *Hue and Cry* was, Who is Sir John Eyres's Enemies? Then,

*Dignus est intrare in nostro docto corpore.*

This Scheme was contrived, fomented, and carried on, (under the Rose) by a cunning artful Spanish Agent, who then sate in the Court of Directors, and, under the Cloak of preventing private Trade, made them *Informers* against themselves, whilst he was striking at the very Foundation and utter Ruin of the Company's Trade; as appears by a Correspondence discovered at *Jamaica* between the following Gentlemen, Sir *Thomas Geraldino*, Agent for the King of *Spain* in *London*; Sir *Richard Hopkins*, Sub-governor for the *South-Sea Company*; and *John Merewether*, Esq; Agent for the *South-Sea Company* in *Jamaica*; which was supported by several Affidavits; and I myself have seen the original Letters; and, to corroborate this, I remember, I once happened to be in Company with Sir *Thomas Geraldino*, when the Conversation turned on
on an Offer made, or to be made by the whole Commerce of Spain to the West-Indies, in the Galleons and Flota, to give the Assiento Company one half per Cent. on their whole Commerce to the West-Indies, in Lieu of their annual Ship: To which Sir Thomas answered, "That was a very great Premium indeed, but he hoped to have the Business done effectually with a much lesser Premium." I fancy he meant to make them destroy themselves.

However it may be, this is certain, that they never had an annual Ship since Sir John Eyles left the Direction: And I may justly say, whatever Disasters, Inconveniencies, and Distresses accrued to Spain from the ensuing War, begun in the Year 1739, were in great measure owing to this Gentleman, Sir Thomas Geraldino, who, by his Victory over a Set of such Directors, was puffed up to such a degree, as to encourage and spirit up the Spanish Governors in the West-Indies, to commit repeated Injuries and In-
fects to our Country in general, and the
South-Sea Company in particular, as ap-
pears by those fore-mentioned Letters.
From hence we may infer what great Ad-
vantages accrue to Britain, and Disad-
vantages to the Commerce of Spain, from
the annual Ship, when the latter offered
such a large Premium to get rid of her.

I must indeed own, that it is very
natural and reasonable for a Spaniard, in
the Commerce of Spain, to complain of
the Trade of the annual Ship, as it affects
and prejudices their Trade; for there's
never any thing bought of the Spaniards
till the annual Ship's Cargo is sold off:
But, methinks, it is most preposterous and
absurd, to hear a Briton complaining of
his Country-man, for exchanging British
Manufactures for Spanish Cash, with three
times the Advantage to his Country that
can be done in any other Shape what-
soever.

Some little time after our learned Sub-
governor (for he was a Doctor of the Civil
Law,
Law, without understanding one Syllable of it; nay, not one Word of the original Language in which it was wrote) died; happy for the Company, or else the Affi-
ento Trade could not have lived; and he was succeeded by Peter Burrell, Esq.; a Gentleman of clear Understanding and sound Judgment; who had Penetration enough to discover the Rocks on which his Predecessors split, and took all possible Care to escape them: But the Disease was gone too far to admit of external Applica-
tions for proper Remedies; nothing but Extirpation and beginning a new could eradicate the Distemper: The Wounds we had received from the Spaniards were very deep, even to the very Bone: Our Prime Minister, Sir Robert Walpole wanted indeed to cicatrizé them, (by a Convention made at the Pardo, on the 14th of January, 1739, N. S. when he certainly knew they were very deep, and all fester’d within: For he was not an ignorant Physi-
cian, but sometimes it suits a Physician better to consult his own Interest more than his Patient’s Good. However, those old Sorés
Sores soon cut through the Cicatrice, and appeared naked with a double Glare, and, had not strong Remedies been immediately apply'd, they had most infallibly caused a Mortification; which was timely prevented, at the very critical Juncture, by that just and unavoidable War begun in the Year 1739.

I did clearly foresee the Consequences, and prophecy the bad Effects of our new Direction in the Year 1733, even at such a great Distance, as appears by the following Letter.*

At the same Time I wrote to my Friends in London, to give me timely Notice of my being thrown out of the Company's Service, as I expected, that I might draw off my Effects, which was all I wanted. Accordingly Mr. James Douglas, my Correspondent, wrote me Word, that he had been with the new Directors; that the Factory was changed, but I was included in the new one, with the

* Appendix Numb. III.
the new Factors, under the same Tariff as formerly.

I had then concerted a Trade to the Inland Country, Popayan and Choco; so I went boldly on with it, expecting to reap the Fruits thereof in a Year or two: But our new Factors very soon arrived with a Surgeon of their own chusing in an underhand Way, a few Days before they set out from London, with a Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor of Cartagena, not to allow any of their old Servants to stay there, contrary to their Orders.

The Governor sent for me directly, and shewed me the Letter, (a most scandalous Letter!) and asked me, If I was inclin'd to stay? for if I was, they, the Inhabitants of Cartagena, would allow me the same Sallary the Company gave me: And as for the Letter, said he, I'll wipe my Breech with it. I thanked his Lordship for his Offer, and took ten Days to consider on it.

I had
I had then 16,000 Pieces of Eight, employed in Trade, out in the inland Country, which was more than I had got in the Company's Service: I considered with myself, if I stay, I must shake off my Country's Protection, and put on the Spanish Yoke, which is not a valuable Consideration; so I thanked his Lordship for his kind Offer, and appointed the Bishop of Cartagena, Don Gregorio de Molleda, and Don Julian de tres Palacios my Attorneys, and came off with our disbanded Factory.

There's no Nation in the World, that I know of, more careful and observant of their Punto, (Honour) than the Spaniards, and most of their Business is transacted on this Punto, without the Scratch of a Pen; and even the Villains amongst them, when trusted, devaxo Confiança, sometimes prove honest.

At the Reprisalsia, or Rupture with Britain, the Governor published a Proclamation by Order of the King, "That
Whatever money, accompts, or effects, were in the hands of any Spaniard, belonging to the British, were immediately to be revealed and given up, under the penalty of confiscation of his whole estate, and to be sent home prisoner to Old Spain." But no threat or punishment can extort a confession or cause them to commit a breach of trust; there's not one instance of it in all the three reprisalias; but I attribute this more to their pride than honesty, for, of all crimes amongst them, breach of trust is the most ignominious; yet, whatever may be the cause, the effects are good; and, whilst I lived amongst them, I found them very careful and observant of their punto, but I wish I could say so much for them in my absence. In fourteen year's absence, notwithstanding my repeated importunities by letters during a long war, I never was able to obtain more than 600 out of those 16,000 dollars, owing to me with all the profit on them, which at least must amount to double the sum: And, till I get amongst them
them again, which perhaps may never be, I shall not be able to recover any more, which convinces me that this Punto consists only in the Fear of the Ignominy that might attend the betraying a Confiança; but upon my Appearance I believe every Piece of Eight would be re-delivered.

Sometimes this Punto of theirs, under a false Notion, is carried into mere Quixotism. I have known a Spaniard in the West-Indies starve, by living idly, like a Gentleman as they term it, rather than cultivate his own Lands by Labour, (which would have produced a very handsome Subsistence for himself and Family, because this would be bringing Dishonour and Disgrace on his ancient Family.

In antient Times this Custom prevailed so much in Scotland, that a Gentleman of a good Family did not care to put his Son to any mechanic Employ, whereby he might support himself handsomely; but in my Remembrance, since

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the Union with England, it is almost worn out, and, I hope in the Age to come, will be quite abandoned, as a ridiculous, idle Notion, and greatly prejudicial to the Nation in general, and to every Individual in particular.

But that this Punto does not always proceed entirely from Honesty, I have had a strong Instance of within my own Knowledge.

The Jesuits, as well ecclesiastical as secular, are a Set of the most political People, and the greatest Traders in the whole Spanish West-Indies: They have the Reputation of honest Dealers, fo far as is consistent with their own Policy, and the Interest of their Community, as I have sufficiently experienced in the Course of my Dealings with them. When I lived at Cartagena, I always made use of the College of Jesuits to deposite what contraband Goods I introduced, that did not fall under the Cognizance of the Royal Officers, and they always gave me an exact Account
Account of all those Goods deposited upon Punto, without any Receipt given on either side, nor could I possibly call them to account for any Thing missing; yet in a Course of Years I never lost to the Value of a Real: But then they always bought those very Goods from me in their own Custody, and had large Profits by them; yet, as I likewise found my Advantage in it, from the Security, though my Profits were less, we agreed very well, till they played me a keen Trick just as I left Cartagena, when we were ordered home by the honourable Court of Directors, our Masters.

I had bought of the reverend Father Don Jayme Lopez, who was the Rector of the Jesuits at Cartagena, fifty-four Serons of Cacao, at a Piece of Eight per Milliard, which is 4 lb. I paid him the Money immediately, and marked them with my own Marks and Numbers, from No. 1, to 54: But as the College is very near the Custom-house, where we embark all Goods for Exportation, and our Factory-
Dr. Houstoun's Memoirs

house was at a considerable Distance, I desired the Favour of the Padre Rector, to give me Warehouse-room for those Goods, till the Arrival of the Assiento Vessel from Jamaica; and accordingly he granted the Favour, with a good Grace and Complaisance.

It was two Months and upwards before the Arrival of the Vessel, and in this Interval of Time the Price of Cacao rose, from one to two Pieces of Eight per Milliard. The Reverend Father embraced this Opportunity, and sold off my Cacao, at two Pieces of Eight per Milliard, without asking my Leave, or giving me the least Notice of it. When the Vessel arrived, I took out my Licence from the Governor and Royal Officers to embark my Cacao; but, when I came to the College to receive it, I was told, there was none there, for the Padre Rector had sold all the Cacao, which was delivered to the Buyers some Weeks ago.
I cannot express the Passion it threw me into, and in this violent Passion I went to the Padre Rector, and ask'd him, "Father, have you sold my Cacao?" He answered me as cool as a Cucumber, I have sold all the Cacao:—What! said I, my Cacao? He replied, All the Cacao. —Well! said I again, Reverend Father, if I had you in my Country, and you was the best Clergyman in Great Britain, even the Archbishop of Canterbury himself, and played me such a villainous Trick, I would have you pillory'd, and your Ears cropt. He answered, with the same Gravity and Coolness, Si yo no estoy alla; but I am not there.

I went on, in the Violence of my Passion, with more warm Expressions; and then he raised his Voice a little, and said, V. M, quiere levantar la Mano contra la Iglesia? Do you want to lift up your Hand against the Church? In short, I left him, and went to the Governor's, who was then at great Variance with the Jesuits, and told him the whole Story; who paused
paused a little, and said, "Well! I have " told you of your Merchants frequently, " (meaning the Jesuits) now you see what " they are? I wish to God, I could come " over them; but they are subjected to " no Laws but of their own making, and " acknowledge no Power nor Jurisdiction " but from the Pope; so I can give you " no Redress in this Case; for they don't " come under the Civil Power."

In a few Days after, when I was quite cool, I paid a Visit to the Jesuits again, to reason the Case, and asked them, If they would not give me the Price that my Cacao sold at? They unanimously answered, (for there were then three or four of them together) That they would return the Money that I paid for it, or give me an equal Quantity of Cacao, when it came from the Inland Country; but the College must not suffer: So I took my Money, and put up with the Loss, for fear of being worse off. The Difference amounted to about 5000 Pieces of Eight, which was a sufficient Premium for them to
of his Own Life-time. 203
to strike at, when they knew I was going off, and could make no more of me.

It is impossible to conceive, or to entertain a just and adequate Notion of the Happiness a free-born Subject of Great Britain, on account of the Liberty and Property he enjoys, without being sufficiently experienced in the Misery of those, who are subjected by Birth to the Tyranny of an absolute civil Power, and the Slavery of an Ecclesiastic Yoke. That Society, who calls themselves, The Society of Jesus, are the most political Set of People in the whole World: They carry plenipotentiary Powers from the Pope, exclusive of all secular Authority, which are as despotically exercised, as politically used, for the Benefit of the Hierarchy; and they may properly be called the Church-militant; for, if his Holiness was to tax every Parish 100 Crowns, and every Convent 50, which is a mere Trifle, payable on Demand, throughout all his Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions, and decimate his Clergy, he would be more powerful in Men and Money,
ney, than all the Princes in Christendom put together: And the Jesuits themselves, when they attack, do more Execution, and make greater Devastation, than any Army of Soldiers.

There was a Set of People in Great Britain, called Quakers, of some Affinity, in Inclinations and Resemblance in Conduct, to the Jesuits, fly, cunning, and hypocritical; but greatly inferior to them in Education, and entirely divested of all Power and Authority, and all Manner of Employment, as well in Ecclesiastical as in Civil Affairs.

I left Cartagena in the beginning of the Year 1734, stopp'd two or three Weeks at Jamaica, and then made the best of my Way for London, where I met with the same polite Reception and Behaviour from Sir John Eyles as formerly.

Being of Opinion that the new Set of Directors had no other Reason for their violent Transactions, than to get into the Saddle
Saddle themselves, and provide for their own Creatures, so that they might answer their own private Views and Designs; therefore I took the Liberty to give into them a Memorial.*

This Memorial was given in to the Court of Directors, Sept. 24, 1734. I was then under Covenants with the Honourable Company for five Years, of which there were only three expired, and had a Counter-part of those Covenants, which I shewed to my Lawyer; "Why, " said he, you have got the wrong End " of the Staff, you should always go to " Law against Companies with their own " Money; instead of which they have " got your Money to go to Law with. " Your Demands are just in Reason, Law, " and Equity, but their Purse is a good " deal heavier and longer than yours; " which, I think, were very prudent and " cordial Hints."

I waited several Years soliciting, without being able to procure my Sallary due

* Appendix, Numb. IV
due to me at Home, or recover one Dollar of my Effects due to me Abroad; nor would they so much as give me leave to look after my Effects abroad in the Spanish West-Indies, and took effectual Care to intercept and interrupt all my Correspondence there: So I felt, to my fatal Experience, how the Game was a going; when the Mask was taken off, the Disguise appeared plainly; for they always hunted in a Pack, and the whole Pack was led by Ring-leader, a staunch Hound! It is true, Jowler was the first, a deep-mouth'd Hound! but it was observable he always hunted with an erect Head and open Mouth, and made a terrible loud, deep Noise; but had a very bad Nose, so that he seldom or never found the Scent himself: Whereas Ring-leader had a very good Nose, and followed the Scent close. But Courser was the fleetest Hound of the whole Pack, and could have out-run Ring-leader with great Ease, but he never would pass him, only kept close by him, and sometimes, when Ring-leader mis'd the Scent, and was at Default, Courser put him
of his Own Life-time. 207

him into the Scent again; and the whole Pack had so good an Opinion of Ring-leader's Nose, that, whenever he opened, they would all, without ever laying their Noses to the Ground, open and follow.

And accordingly they sent out one of their Beagles, a young Whelp just set in, only fit as yet to play with his own Tail; for he was not so much as entered, nor never had been at a Chace, at least, I dare venture to assert, he had never been in at a Death; but he was of Ring-leader's Breed, so must be provided for, at whatever Disgrace, Expence and Loss to the Country in general, and the Company in particular.

But this, being too gross an Imposition on the World, fell under the Cognizance of a general Court of the Proprietors of South-Sea Stock, when Master was not only suspended from his Presidentship, but rendered incapable of serving the Company in any shape whatsoever; which Censura
Censure the old Hound deserved more richly than the young Puppy.

Thus was the Nation to be exposed, and the Company's Interest to be sacrificed to the private Views and Designs of our new Reformers! Thus was the Company's Interest and Credit entirely sunk abroad amongst the discerning Spaniards, and Britons became despicable from the many different Samples that they had seen amongst them.

This was the very Rock on which the Royal African Company was wrecked, oppressing and not paying their Servants; for which Reason they cou'd find no-body of Capacity and Credit to serve them; and, I hope, their Honours will do me the Justice to acknowledge, that I prognosticated their Fate, some Years before it came to pass, and told them of it in plain Terms, as appears by my Observations before-mentioned.

But, lucky for the Company! in this Interim their Sub-governor, Sir Richard Hopkins,
Hopkins died, and was succeeded by Peter Burrell, Esq, a Gentleman of undoubted Honour and Integrity; but, as I observed before, the Disease was desperate, and the Remedy to be applied too late.

I thought I saw a Parcel of Moles working hard under ground, throwing up Dirt to bespatter others, whilst the very Dirt, gathered together in a Heap, by its own specific Weight, the Mound being undermined, tumbled down upon themselves, and smothered them.

I had a very large Field here to observe; though some hundreds, to my certain Knowledge, had lain under particular Obligations to Sir John Eyles, not one of a hundred appeared with common Gratitude, and even some of them, who had acquired handsome Estates by his Favour and Protection, most scandalously turned the very Weapons against him.

Some time after my Arrival at Jamaica, I heard of my fast Friend, Sir John Eyles's Death, which gave me much Concern.
Concern, as it was a great Loss to our Country in general, especially the distressed Part of them; for his Humanity and Generosity were so extensive, that, if two or more Persons of equal fair Character and Merit, applied to him for his Countenance, he was always sure to assist the most distressed; but the Loss was more particularly great to me, as it deprived me of an Opportunity of acknowledging my Gratitude personally, to distinguish myself from the common ungrateful Herd of Mankind, who lay under much more Obligation to him: Yet I dare to say, that this very Gentleman had more Satisfaction in his own Mind, notwithstanding all the Ingratitude he met with, for the good Offices he had done, than the avaricious Miser possibly can have in heaping up all his Mountains of Treasure.

The only certain distinguishing Mark of Mankind, by all that I have learnt in this World, is, "He who does the most good Offices and fewest bad, whilst he has it in his Power, is the best Man, & vice versa;" the first is an angelical Virtue,
of his Own LIFE-TIME. 211

Virtue; the reverse a diabolical Vice, and I am fully convinced from this, and innumerable other Observations of the same kind, that Self-love is the original Source and Spring of all Actions in human Life; Good as well as Bad.

This was the third Time I made my Appearance on the grand Stage of Life:

"Now, said the World, he must be rich but a great Villain, for he does not pay his Debts so many Years owing."—

"True, said I, I don't pay all my Debts, for a very good Reason, I have not Money enough: They come to a great deal more Money than you know of, or can imagine; and tho' I have at least double that Sum owing to me, I cannot get at it; so Patiencia por fuerza." Well! up comes a little scoundrel Fellow, "Why don't you pay me? says he, you cannot be an honest Man; but— I'll make you one."

There's no Torment on Earth can equal this to a generous Soul! a mere Hell
Hell upon Earth! I can only declare upon Honour, that I never desired Life upon any other Account, than to do Justice to all the World, and to shew my Gratitude to my Benefactors: At the same Time I do acknowledge, that I have lost one Estate by my own Vanity and Folly; I have spent another tolerable one by my own Mismanagements and bad Conduct; and I have lost a third very considerable one by my real Misfortunes in Trade; and I still hope to have a better Estate at my Death, than any of the three to be applied to the aforesaid Uses: For, whenever I had an Opportunity of creeping into Business, I launched out very considerably, and, though in so doing I have sustained great Losses, I can still safely say, That I have a great deal more Money owing to me than I owe, (either on the Score of Credit or Gratitude) the common Salvo for Incapacity to discharge pecuniary Obligations.

What is attributed to Accident or Chance, generally speaking, is entirely ow-
of his Own Life-time. 213

ing to Judgment, as appears in the Game of Back gammon, what we commonly call Chance depends mostly on Judgment; for he, that has the superior Judgment in a Course of Play, will certainly get the better at last; let Luck, take which Side she pleases. Let two Gamblers fit down to play, with ten Guineas each in his Pocket, and agree to play one Guinea a Game, till one of them loses his ten Guineas, the one, I suppose, to have a much superior Judgment in the Play than the other. Luck or Chance, which ever you are pleased to call it, may give the first ten Guineas to the Player of inferior Judgment in the Play, till the other is stripped; yet, in the Course of Play, the Advantage must have infallibly fallen to the Player of superior Judgment, if he had had Money enough to have continued the Play any considerable Time.

An emblematical Representation of this World!

Under these Perplexities, and Anxieties of Mind, as well in publick as in private
private Affairs, (for our Prime Minister by this Time had made up his Harlequin's Coat, a very compleat Piece of Patchwork, the Convention made at the Pardo, the 14 of Jan. 1739, N. S.) I went into the Country to Sir John Eyles (who some Years before he died) retired from all manner of Business, and opened myself freely to him, and told him, that there was an absolute Necessity for my returning to the West-Indies, under the Protection of the Assiento Service, if possible, to save my Effects from perishing, and consequently myself from Ruin; and asked him, "If he was well-acquainted and in Friendship with our new Sub-governor, Mr. Burrell?" He answered, "Yes; Burrell is a Man of Honour, but he will find Difficulty enough to do any Thing for you amongst those People; they are a malicious Set, and will admit no-body in the Company's Service but their own Creatures, if they can possibly help it: However, I will speak to Mr. Burrell about you."

Accordingly, some Days after I met
of his Own Life-time. 215

met Mr. Burrell accidentally in the Court of Requests, who knew me by sight, and told me, that Sir John had spoke to him about me, and desired me to wait on him at his House; which I did, when I opened myself to him with the same Freedom, I used to do to Sir John Eyles: But, he being just then chosen Sub-governor in the room of Sir Richard Hopkins; the Direction was entirely new to him; yet he was sensible of the Difficulties of re-instating me in the Service with the People who had turned me out. But, to come to the Purpose, he asked me, "If I had any one of the Directors to sign my Petition? and who?" I answered, "Yes; Courser would sign my Petition." He was greatly surprized at that; for this Gentleman was a leading Man, of the fac-tious Party in the Direction, and always went hand-in-hand with Ring-leader, who had set up one in Opposition to me, for the Vacancy I then pushed for: So he asked me again, "If I was sure of him?" I answered, "I was very sure, he durst not refuse his Hand to the Gen-

P 4  tleman
tlemann who promised me to ask it; 
"but God only knew his Heart," Accordingly, this very Gentleman signed my
Petition to the Court of Directors, at the
same time, I'll venture to say, he balloted
against me.

However that might be, though I
lost this Point, I gained another, in being
re-instituted in the Honourable Company's
Service, as Surgeon to their Factory at
la Vera Cruz, and entered into such Bonds
with Sureties as the Honourable Court of
Directors, my Masters, required; and was
ordered by them, the 4th of August, 1738,
to proceed to the said Factory, by the
Way of Jamaica, as appears by their In-
structions to me of the same Date. I set
out on my Voyage for la Vera Cruz in
America, in the beginning of the Year
1739, by Way of Jamaica. I was scarce
arrived at Jamaica, when we had the
News of Reprizals with Spain; and soon
after of a Declaration of War against that
Crown. I own that I had so indifferent a
Notion of the Convention from the begin-
ing,
of his Own Life-time. 217

ning, that I thought it could not be durable; yet I never doubted but the Patchwork might have stuck together for two or three Years, till I could dispose of, and gather in my Effects, which was all I wanted from it for my own private Use; but an immediate Rupture disconcerted all my Measures, and plunged me into greater Misfortunes than ever; and has been the Cause of a whole Series of Troubles during this long War.

I waited at Jamaica eight Years in Expectation from Year to Year of my honourable Master’s Commands, in full Hopes of a Peace, I hope an honourable Peace, or none, for I am sure Great Britain had Strength enough in the West-Indies to force them into any Peace, or blow them into the Air; and, as for my own private Interest, I would suffer the greatest Misery, rather than have Peace upon any other than honourable, just Terms; till then I hope my Honourable Masters will put me upon the compassionate List, as one of their oldest, and, I may
For, to accomplish my Designs, I had concurred and agreed with one Capt. Fennell, (who was then under the Protection of our Deputy-governor, John Brislow, Esq;,) to buy a Vessel in Copartnership, to be employed in the Company's Service; and betwixt us we had Interest enough to procure her the la Vera Cruz Station, where I was to reside, and the Captain was to command the Vessel on that Station; and from Jamaica. Accordingly, we purchased the Vessel, fitted her completely out for Sea, and she was immediately taken into the Company's Service: We also borrowed from my Friends, to carry on our Plan, about 3000l. but the unexpected and sudden breaking out of the War disappointed all our Views; so that the Vessel made one Voyage only in the Company's Service, tho' a very profitable one; yet, thro' the Infidelity of the Captain, and the Dishonesty in his Accounts, the 3000l. were almost sunk in twelve Months.
of his Own Life-time. 219

Time, and the dead Weight fell upon me; for the Captain not only left his Trust, but his Country too, (I should rather say Great Britain, for he was an Irishman, which to my Sorrow I knew when too late) which sunk my Credit, both at Home and abroad entirely, and almost ruined me beyond Redemption:

The Fraud must certainly have been designed by him from the very first setting out; for, by Agreement in London, we consigned all our Goods and Effects in Joint-stock, value about 3000l. to Capt. Turner in Jamaica, and the Bills of Loading were signed accordingly; but he (Fennell) got to Jamaica before me, and I do believe designed to take up these Bills of Loading, and put all our Effects into the Hands of one John Curtin, a Countryman of his own, with whom he had combined; and I never could recover them out of his Hands, till at last the Remedy proved worse than the Disease.

I have
I have had greater Losses than this, in the Course of my Business, but never any that bore so hard upon me; for now I was not only dunned, but upbraided by my Friends, for I bore the Blame of all. I own it was entirely on my Account that the Money was lent; therefore I lost both my Money and my Friends; and what small Portion I recovered of the 3000 l. I was obliged to get by a tedious and expensive Chancery-suit in Jamaica, which Remedy in the Consequence proved as bad as, if not worse than, the Disease, all eat up in Costs and Law Charges, for I was three Years before I got a Decree, and three Years more without being able to get the Chancellor's final Decree put into Execution, which I imputed chiefly to the Marshal and his Bailiffs playing Booty; for his Soul was in no-wise superior to his Bum-bailiff's; a fine Country indeed! where a Chancellor's Decree cannot be enforced and executed in three Years Time, by Execution! Vend. Exp. and alias Writs unheard of in Chancery.
I met with one Mr. Beawes at Jamaica, who was a creature of the factional Party in the Direction, and lately stationed for la Vera Cruz. They had set him up in Opposition to my Interest, and, as they still had a Majority of Votes in the Court of Directors, they got him placed over me.

He had a very large Cargo from his Friends at London, (or rather, under the Rose, at Jamaica) designed for la Vera Cruz; but he was ordered to keep it very secret from me. We very soon differed; for it was an impossible Thing for us to set our Horses together, as our Interests were diametrically opposite; he behaved in a very scoundrel Manner to me, and I treated him as such; and accordingly had him publickly chastized, with all his Accomplices, which he richly deserved. Notwithstanding, he proceeded on his Voyage to la Vera Cruz, where he and his Cargo were seized, whilst I remained at Jamaica. In this Voyage they sunk about
about 10,000 l. from Jamaica, and double that Sum from London.

Under this Situation of Affairs, being involved in a great many thousand Pounds at Home, my Effects thus embezzled at Jamaica, the Assiento Trade stopped, so that I could not recover a Farthing of my Effects from the Spaniards, nothing but an uncommon Stock of Spirits, especially in the decline of Life, could have supported me from sinking under such a heavy Load of Disappointments; at the same time that I was obliged to support myself in the most expensive Country; perhaps, in the whole World, with the additional Burden of a Chancery-suit for the Recovery of my Effects; but I was resolved to struggle to the very last, with my utmost Efforts, for the retrieving my Honour and Credit, sunk in so vile a Manner by the Villany of others.

Then I turned my Thoughts entirely to try if any thing could be done in private Trade upon the Spanish Coast, where
I was perfectly well-acquainted: Accordingly, I was principally concerned in fitting out and assorting the Cargo of two Vessels, and part Owner in both; I went the Voyage myself, and the Method of Trading was thus:

They either set out five or six, more or less, small Vessels in Company, and under the Convoy of a Man of War, or singly by themselves, manned, as they called it, with fifty Hands on board, or upwards; but whilst they are under Convoy only with twenty. The Captain of the Man of War won't let them stir from one another; so some through Malice, others through Envy, the rest, to draw their Commission of 12 and a half per Cent. fell at all Events, every one endeavouring to under-sell and undermine one another, at any dirty, low Rate, or even by Tricking, and the cunning Spaniard all this while slips no Opportunity to improve that Strife to his own Advantage; so that the Price of every Thing were reduced to one Third of what they were when I lived.
I lived amongst them in the Assiento Company's Service.

We used to sell the Company's Negroes singly, Men and Women, from 280 to 300 Pieces of Eight, but in that private Trade 120 to 130 was the highest, and all other Goods in Proportion. I own the Spaniards were at a very great Expence, and run much Risk in buying Goods in that clandestine, contraband Way; for they had no less than twelve different Guards to pass from Porto-bello to Panama, and every one of them must be paid in passing; and perhaps, after they had passed and paid eleven, the twelfth seizes upon all, or makes them pay through the Nose for it. Our Expences and Costs in this private Trade were likewise very extravagant; for we paid five per Cent. on all fold for the Use of the Convoy, whilst the Dutch reaped the Benefit of our Convoy for nothing.

If we went without Convoy, manned fifty Sailors at 5l. a Month, and great Diffi-
Difficulty to get them too at any Price, with the Hire of the Vessel at 80 l. a Month at least, it became a most exorbitant Charge, whilst the Dutch failed at a very small Charge, and consequently able, and always willing enough to under-sell us at least 25 per Cent, and the French also had the Liberty of their Ports during that War.

From the long Experience I have had in that Trade, in all its different Shapes, I dare venture to assert, that the same Quantity and Quality of Goods, employed in the Assiento, yielded triple the net Proceeds in Cash, to what they did employ'd in that forced private Trade; and that whilst the Assiento Trade was preserved in its full Force, with all its Immunities and Privileges, it produced three times more Cash to Britain, than all that private Trade put together during that War, or at any other Time when the Assiento was interrupted.

This is a great Truth within my own
Knowledge ever since the Year 1724, which obliged me to knock off that private Trade, finding, that, instead of extricating me out of, was plunging me into deeper Embarrassments, there being very considerable Sums of Money lost by it, and an entire Stop put to our British Manufactures: For, as the Traders paid so much by the Fardo (a Burden of 75 lb. Weight) to the Guards; which was adjudged by the Quantity, not the Quality; so that the Costs on a Fardo of Bays, or Long Ells, was as much as on the same Quantity of Gold, Silver, or Flanders Thread Lace: Whilst the Trader could afford considerable Costs on the last, the first would in no wise answer them.

There was a Jamaica Merchant of some Credit and Reputation in London, who wrote a Pamphlet, entitled, Considerations on the American Trade in the West-Indies, asserting, "That the Trade to the Spanish Coaft was carried on, by the private Traders in Jamaica, with more Advantage to the British Com-
Commerce, than by the Assiento Company." I answered him with Observations on those Considerations, published at London, in the Year 1741-2, giving a full and exact Account of that Branch of Trade in all its different Channels, where in it plainly appears, when that Trade is carried on by the Assiento Company in its right Course, it returns three times more Money in ready Cash to the British Commerce, than in any other Shape whatsoever: But that is submitted, with the Arguments pro and con, to the Judgment of the Reader. I shall here only assure him, that I was not in any wise prejudiced in Favour of the Assiento Company as one of their Servants, when I wrote those Considerations: I pleaded impartially as a true Briton, for what was most advantageous to the Nation in general; and London in particular has experienced the Truth of those Arguments. It is true, I have seen from Time to Time in the London Newspapers several Puffs, "That there were such and such a Number of Vessels arrived at Jamaica, from the Spanish Main
immensely rich, having sold their European Goods to great Advantage, &c. But the Prices, and Ballance of Accompts of the London Merchants with their Correspondents at Jamaica, will discover the naked Truth.

Whilst we were trading upon the Coast, Admiral Vernon was knocking down their Castles at Porto-bello and Chagre, which at first seemed to me very preposterous. However, I found Trade answer as well, if not better, at that Time than any other during the War; for the Spaniards are in some measure to be compared to the Breed of our Spaniel Dogs, the more you beat them, the more they fawn upon you; for there is no Nation in the World so proud and haughty in Prosperity, nor so mean and dejected in Adversity.

When we returned from this Voyage, we found Jamaica under a terrible Consternation, and not without Reason, as appears by the following Letter.
"To Peter Burrell, Esq; Member of Parliament, London.

"Sir,

"SINCE my Last I have only to acquaint you, that the Situation of our publick Affairs here is most terribly altered.

"The Ferrol Squadron, consisting of twelve Sail of Line of Battle Ships under the Command of Don Roderigo de Torres, is got safe into Cartagena Harbour, about two Months ago, and carries proper Materials with them, for careening the six Sail of Line of Battle Ships, they had there before; so they are now eighteen Line of Battle Ships strong ready to put to Sea.

"The Brest and Toulon Squadrons are met, and are now got safe into the Harbour of Port Louis, Hispaniola, con-

Q 3 "sitting
filing (as I am credibly informed) of above twenty Line of Battle Ships, be-
sides Transports, Tenders, &c. com-
manded by the Marquis d'Antin;
whilst Admiral Vernon continues here in Harbour with ten Line of Battle Ships only, feeding himself with Ex-
pectations of a Reinforcement equal to the Strength of our Enemies. The Re-
sult of all this God only knows!

Quis talia fando temperet a Lachrymis!

We have a perfect Stagnation of all Trade here, attended with an universal Discontent; the Northern Forces are arrived to the Number of three Thou-
sand fiveHundred, under the Command of Colonel Gooch, and Lieutenant Co-
lonel Cope (Brigadier Blackney came a-
long with them, I don't know his Command) which quiets the Minds of the People a little; the rest we must refer to Time.

I am willing to let you know, Sir, that I am
of his Own Life-time. 231

"I am alive, and continue with a firm
"Attachment to be,

"Sir,

"your most devoted

"and obedient, humble Servant,

"JAMES HOUSTOUN."

"Jamaica, Dec.
14, 1740.

We were greatly revived from our
Confternation at Jamaica, by an Express
from his Grace the Duke of Newcastle,
principal Secretary of State, &c.

"To his Excellency Edward Trelaw-
"ny, Esq; Governor of Jamaica, &c.

"Sir,

"I MUST beg leave to refer you to
"my Letter to Vice-admiral Vernon,
"which I have desired him to commu-
"nicate to you, for a particular Account
"of the present Situation of Affairs, of
"the naval Force which France and Spain

Q 4 " have
have sent to the West-Indies, and of the Direction which the Lord's Justices have thought proper to give for a very considerable Fleet to go under the Command of Sir Chaloner Ogle, with Lord Cathcart to Jamaica, in order to join Vice-admiral Vernon there.

You will also see the Account we have received from the Northern Colonies in America, of the great Success with which the Levies are carrying on there, the Number of Men that may be expected from thence, the Place of Rendezvous, and the Time of their failing; and I am desired by the Lords Justices, to recommend it to you in a particular Manner, to take the best Care you can, for the quartering or en-camping those Troops as soon as they shall arrive in Jamaica, and for keeping good Discipline amongst them, till the Lord Cathcart shall arrive, and for the preventing any Desertion, if that should be apprehended,

Tho'
of his Own Life-time. 233

"Tho' we hope there is little Reason to apprehend any Attempt upon Jamaica, yet, as no Dependance can be had upon the Declarations of France, nor any certain Judgment to be made as to the Conduct of Spain, I am persuaded you will take necessary Measures and Precautions against any SURPRISE.

"I have wrote to Mr. Vernon, to give you all possible Assistance, in case any Attempt should be made against you, and as the Troops from the Northern Colonies will probably soon arrive in Jamaica, they may be of great Use to you upon any such Occasion. I am persuaded that Colonel Gooch, who you will see, upon Major General Spotwood's Death, has, pursuant to his Majesty's Orders, taken upon him the Command of those Troops, will be ready to employ them for the Defence of the Island, if there should be Occasion, in the
'Sir,

"Whitehall. Your most obedient,
"Sep. 12, 1740.

"humble Servant

"Holles Newcastle."

Tho' his Grace of Newcastle was then of Opinion, and hoped, that there was little Reason to apprehend any Attempt upon Jamaica, yet the absolute Certainty of it came to be discovered afterwards, in his Majesty's own Royal Words, in his Declaration of War against the French King, at St. James's, the 29th of March, 1744, amongst other just Complaints, in Violation of all publick and private Faith, open Breach of Treaties, violating the Laws of Nature and Nations, "by sending in the Year 1740, a strong Squadron into the American Seas, in order to prevent us from prosecuting the just War"
of his Own Life-time. 235

War, which we were carrying on against Spain in those Parts; and we have the most authentick Proof, that an Order was given to the Commander of the French Squadron, not only to act in a hostile Manner, against our Ships, either jointly with the Spaniard, or separately; but even to concert Measures with our Enemies, for attacking one of our principal Dominions in America; a Duplicate of that Order, dated the 7th of October, 1746, having fallen into the Hands of the Commander in Chief of our Squadron in the West-Indies.

This injurious Proceeding was greatly aggravated by the French Minister at Court, having declared, on Occasion of sending the said Squadron, that the French King was very far from having any Design, or Intention of breaking with us.

Captain Herbert, of his Majesty's Ship the Norwich, being out on a Cruize, by the most extraordinary lucky Accident ima-
imaginable, met at Sea with a French Man of War Snow, commanded by a French Count who was carrying the Original Order, for the French to join the Spanish Fleet, a Duplicate of which His Majesty mentions. When the French Count found himself surprized, he threw his Dispatches over-board, which prevented the Conjunction of the two Fleets, at that Time, with all its dismal Consequences: But at all Hazards Capt. Herbert brought the French Count to Jamaica; yet, as his Dispatches were destroyed, and no Papers appeared against him of any Consequence, and no War being then declared with France, Admiral Vernon released him. This happened about two Months before the Arrival of our grand Fleet, under the Command of Sir Chaloner Ogle, to join Admiral Vernon.

Kings are commonly said to be the Source and Fountain of all Honour; but, methinks, a King without any Honour in himself, is the most despicable of all Creatures.
There's no Nation in the World so perfidious as the French; so that now-a-days Gallica Fides is become a synonimous Expression with the ancient Punic Fides; and England has had Examples of this Gallica Fides, to their fatal Experience, from William of Normandy the Conqueror, and all his Successors, to King John, who granted the Magna Charta; and even He, and his Successors afterwards, made several perfidious Attempts to infringe and break it; till major vis obliged King John to hearken to Reason, which otherwise he never would have done, and restore and re-establish his Subjects in their ancient Rights and Privileges, plundered and robbed from them by his arbitrary and tyrannic Norman Predecessors; and indeed his own Inclinations were as bad and wicked as any, had his Capacity and Abilities been equal to them: Yet, I hope, they were then settled upon a sure and solid Foundation, the Basis of all our Liberty and Property, never to be shaken, but in the Ruin of those who attempt it: There-
Therefore Britons beware of another Conqueror from that Country!

Burnt Children ought to dread the Fire!

By his Majesty's Royal Words from the Throne, it evidently appears, that the Marquis D'Antin, Commander in Chief of the whole French Fleet on that Expedition, had secret Orders to join the Spanish Fleet, under the Command of Don Roderigo de Torres, in order conjunctly to make a Descent on Jamaica, and, as I was credibly informed, one Day in a Council of War, they pressed the Marquis D'Antin very much to put those Orders in Execution; setting forth the Facility of taking Jamaica before the Arrival of the British Fleet: "Oui, Oui, Messieurs, said the Marquis, it is easy enough for us to get to Jamaica, but how shall we get back again?" And sure enough the grand Fleet under the Command of Sir Chaloner Ogle, consisting of ten eighty Gun Ships, nine of seventy Guns, and nine of sixty, with six of fifty and under, besides Fire-ships, Bombs, &c. making above
above 150 Sail in all, Transport Ships and Vessels included, with ten Battalions of Soldiers, besides 3500 Land Forces from the Northern Colonies, New England, New York, and Virginia, by far the greatest Navy and Army that ever was seen, or heard of, in the West-Indies.

They arrived at that very critical Time, so, had the combined Fleets proceeded on their Design as projected, they must certainly have met with this grand Fleet; and we had strong Reasons to expect a complete Victory; at least I wish'd from the bottom of my Soul, that they had put it to the Tryal.

There was indeed a Sort of Rencontre at Sea between three or four Ships, detached from this grand Fleet, and a like Number of French Ships: The Attack happened in the Night-time, as they said, by Mistake; however it might be, they continued firing at one another, and blundering on both Sides for most Part of the Night; but, as there was then no Declaration
ration of War with France, in the Morning at Day-break, they left off by Consent of both Parties; the British Ships rejoined the grand Fleet to proceed on their Voyage to Jamaica, and the French Ships returned to their Fleet, then in the Harbour of St. Louis, Hispaniola. There were also two or three Ships of the Line-of-battle, belonging to the Fleet, separated by a Storm, which were safe, but never arrived at Jamaica.

Before this grand Fleet could join Admiral Vernon, who waited at Jamaica, to take upon him the Command in Chief of the whole British Fleet in the West-Indies, in order to go with all Expedition to pay a Visit to the Marquis D’Antin, but his Lordship was gone (luckily for him) with his whole Fleet for France; and, tho’ his Lordship made a very short Stay, not above two Months at Hispaniola, his Fleet was reduced to great Straits, for want of Provisions, Naval Stores, &c. which caused a very considerable Mortality.
of his Own Life-time. 241

lity amongst them, before their Arrival in France.

Then Admiral Vernon, missing the Marquis, proceeded on his designed Expedition to Cartagena; but, very unfortunately, my Lord Cathcart, who was Commander in Chief of all his Britannick Majesty's Land Forces on that Expedition, died in the Passage from England, universally regretted by his whole Army, and every good Man, that had the Honour of his Acquaintance, and much more unfortunately for the Service, as he was succeeded in his Command by Major General Wentworth, a Gentleman no ways equal to such a Command: As indeed, Admiral Vernon said to one of his Aids de Camps, on purpose that it might be told him again, That he was more fit to be a Wapping Attorney, than a General, with his low Cunning, equivocating, and chicaning Tricks.

I do acknowledge, that he was a Man of no great Understanding, and, as Admi
General Vernon rightly observed, what Understanding he had exerted itself in low, mean Cunning, and Reserve; and tho' he was not unmannerly or rude in Conversation, yet, methought, he had the least of a Gentleman about him, of any one that ever I had the Honour of knowing in such a superior Station, with a down-cast-look, so as never to look one in the Face, tho' there was no Reason to doubt his personal Courage.

On the other hand, Admiral Vernon was a down-right honest Man; he had a hearty Zeal and a sincere Attachment for the Service of his King and Country; but abhorred the then Prime Minister; he was a very good Sea-officer, and kept a most strict Command in Discipline; but he was prodigiously passionate, and unmannerly, rude, and abusive in his Passion: In short, notwithstanding the Affectation of Humility in his Undress, he was exceeding proud: It is too true, that they had the greatest Contrariety of Tempers, and an utter Abhorrence to one another;
of his Own Life-time. 243
the Original Source of all the Miscarriages on that Expedition!

The Bane of all Britons!

Division and Contention, Bribery and Corruption amongst ourselves, with all their direful Effects, and calamitous Consequences, are now come to such a Crisis, that they must infallibly kill, if a Cure is not immediately found out; they admit of no Delay; but, like the Roman State,

We must die, to live again.

When Admiral Vernon left Jamaica, the Command in Chief of all his Britannick Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the West-Indies, devolved on Sir Chaloner Ogle, who kept a much better Look-out for the Spanish Commerce to take Prizes, than to protect and encourage the British Commerce, and succeeded accordingly; for he took three Prizes for Admiral Vernon's one, and some of them very rich too; and in the Proportion of Time made six Times the Money; so that an Officer, that was made Captain of a Man of War by
by him, reckoned the Ship so far his own Property, by how much he could make of her: And indeed their principal Business was to make the most of the Ships for their own Service, rather than for that of their King and Country.

Admiral Davers succeeded Sir Chalonier Ogle in the Command in Chief; but I cannot say, that the Navy behaved much better under that Gentleman's Command: For I remember, in the Year 1746, the Admiral received timely Information from the Lords of the Admiralty, that there was a Fleet of French Merchant Ships, under the Convoy of two large Men of War and two Frigates, to sail from France to the West-Indies, at such a certain Time; and he was informed of the Course, as well as the Number, with strict Orders to intercept their Passage, with all his Strength, in order to give a good Account of them. Accordingly the Admiral (unlucky that he did not go himself!) sent four stout Line-of-battle Ships, with one of forty Guns, viz. the Strafford, Plymouth, and Wor-
of his Own Life-time. 245

Worcester, 60 Guns, the Lenox 70 Guns, the Milford 44 Guns, the Drake Sloop, and the Wager, a new 20 Gun Ship followed: (The Admiral's own Ship the Cornwall of 80 Guns remained in the Harbour at Jamaica; and I heard the Admiral say, that she was very foul, not able to keep up with the Fleet, and that he was obliged to mann the rest of the Fleet from her. It is certain, that when the Fleet failed, there were not 100 Men left on board of her: But I don't presume to excuse or vindicate this Conduct, which was all of a-piece with the rest of their Management.) A Force superior enough to blow the French Squadron (consisting of only four Ships of War, one of 74, another of 64, a third of 50, and the fourth of 44 Guns) into the Air, or sink them into the Sea, under the Command of Commodore Mitchel.

The two Squadrons met at Sea, sure enough, and were eleven Days in Sight of one another, sometimes within a League or two, but there was nothing done, only
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a small Brush in the Night-time for two or three Hours, when the French were the Attackers; and our Commodore said he never could get up with them afterwards, notwithstanding the French had sixty deep-loaded Merchant-men at least to protect and cover; which they did effectually, whilst our Commodore was pursuing, which the Jamaicans called, conveying them into their Harbour, to the great Reproach of the British Squadron.

It seems as if the British Navy had forgot their ancient Way of Fighting, to fall on at once, without saying Grace: They are become a great deal more cautious now-a-days than formerly. It is true, they had greedy Eyes on these rich Merchant-ships for Prizes; but the French Commodore would not consent to it without fighting; so our Commodore was so very complaisant to Monsieur ——, as not to meddle with them at all, but only saw them safe into Cape François, Hispaniola; and so returned safe into the Harbour of Port Royal, Jamaica, without losing
losing one Man in the Battle, which afforded Matter of Scandal for the People of Jamaica for some Months, who excel in that Quality above all the World that I have ever seen.

I never was a Sea-man, consequently no competent Judge of this Case; but it seemed to put me in mind of the Car-men of the City of London, who stand at some little Distance one from another, make a terrible loud Noise, talk big in Billingsgate Language, but seldom or never come to Blows; if they do, 'tis very often only for a Brush and away.

However it fell out, this was certainly another fine Opportunity lipt, of destroying the whole French Trade in the West-Indies irrecoverably during this War; for, by demolishing these Men of War; all the Merchant-men would have became Prizes of course, which would have prevented the French from carrying off their Sugars, and greatly assisted us in carrying off ours, which lay upon our Hands at that
that Time for want of Shipping, and consequently to enhance the Prices in European Markets at our pleasure.

The News of this bad Conduct (to say no worse of it) struck Admiral Davers to the Heart; and I really believe was the Cause of his Death; for, after Enquiry, he languished under a Depression of Spirits for some Weeks, and died.

He was a good-natured, mannerly Gentleman, and, whilst he had the Command in Chief, was very careful and diligent in protecting and encouraging the British Trade, according to the best of his Knowledge and Information, which was but lamish: And, though Governor Trelawny and he were Friends, and both alike affable, yet they were constantly kept at Variance by vile Incendiaries about them.

"Bold were the Men, who on the
"Ocean first
"Spread the new Sails, when Shipwreck
"was the worst:

"More
of his Own Life-time. 249

"More Dangers now from Man alone
" we find,
" Than from the Rocks, the Billows, and
" the Wind.

Waller.

Whilst they were knocking down those Castles, I was trading on the Coast with the Spaniards, which gave me an Opportunity of hearing the Sentiments of the better Sort of them, I mean the trading Part. It is true, no Spaniard of any Figure will be seen in this contraband Trade himself, but he sends his Money by some Corredor (Broker) to be employed in Trade; and these little Fellows speak their Masters Sentiments, intermixed with their own very freely. There was a general Discontent at this long War, even in the West-Indies, who did not feel the Weight of it; regretting and lamenting the Destruction of Commerce, which they were very sensible must end in the intire Ruin of their Country. It is almost impossible to think of the Misery Old Spain has been reduced to by it; and the Spaniards, even in America,
Houstoun's Memoirs of America, had Sagacity enough to lay the Saddle on the right Horse.

A Foreign Prince on the Throne, governed by a more Foreign Queen, whose ambitious Views and Projects were entirely separated from the Interest, and diametrically opposite to the Good and Commerce of Spain; which must certainly end in the Ruin and Destruction of their Mother Country: A Queen, who might properly be stiled the Firebrand of Europe, and indeed it was absolutely impossible that Spain could ever thrive whilst that Lady had any Influence in her Councils; for the better she succeeded in her Schemes, the worse it must be for Spain; and the Spaniards themselves were very sensible of all this, but knew not how to help themselves; as appears from the many intercepted Letters that I have seen and read in their Correspondence between Old and New Spain, from whence I learnt the Miseries that Old Spain was reduced to, groaning under such a Load of Oppression, as would have drawn Tears from a Stone.
of his Own Life-time. 251

A Butt of Wine in Old Spain, formerly worth from 60 to 70 Dollars, was now offered for 10 or 12 Dollars, and often could not find a Purchaser even at that Rate; so that a Vintage, farmed at 6000 Dollars per Annum, would not fetch one sixth Part of the Rent, yet the poor Farmer, according to this Valuation, was obliged to furnish a Man for the War; and, if he could not find Money enough to fit out a Soldier, he was forced from his Farm with Wife and Family, and pressed into the War himself, to serve as a single Soldier; and their Correspondents particularized several amongst their Friends and Relations used in this Manner. And, though they did not feel the Weight of this War in the Spanish West-Indies, (for they bought Goods a great deal cheaper than from the Spanish Commerce) yet the low-life People even went to Exclamations against their Sovereigns, and the universal Cry amongst all Ranks of People was, Peace with Britain, and War with the whole World!
New Spain has felt none of these Miseries; for they only wanted a greater Plenty of Goods, which their Governors would not allow of, to feed their Luxury and Vanity, with their superfluous Money, that they did not know how to dispose of otherwise.

I must own, that it is a Misfortune for any Country to have a Foreigner to rule over them, but much more so to an absolute Government, than to a limited one, who always will have Views separate from the Country he governs, for they cannot coincide in every Thing; and it is impossible to shake off this Dulcis Amor Patris; but in a limited Government the Sovereign is tied down to the Laws of that Country he governs, by a mutual Contract between King and People, which he cannot break through, without unkining himself; for it is a Maxim in our Law, by the Constitution, That the King can do no wrong, unless he unkings himself by Breach of his Covenants;
of his own life-time. 253
nants; his Counsellors are answerable for all his actions.

What beauty, methinks, there is, and Majesty enough at the same time, in that speech the King of Great Britain made to his Parliament in the Year 1745, on Occasion of the unnatural Rebellion, then raised against him by the malicious Contrivance of his foreign and domestic Enemies.

His Majesty says, "I have, through the whole Course of my Reign, made the Laws of the Land the Rule of my Government, and the Preservation of the Constitution in Church and State, and the Rights of my People, the main End of my Actions, &c." He is a great and good King in so doing, and no farther is He the King of free-born Subjects.

And his Majesty further says, "The Maxims of this Constitution shall ever be the Rule of my Conduct."
In his Majesty's most gracious Answer to the Lords Address are these Words, "Your Concern for the Preservation of "our excellent Constitution in Church "and State, is as agreeable to me as the "Zeal you express for me and my Go- "vernment."

Again, in his Answer to the Commons Address, "Whatever Strength you "shall place in my Hands, you may be "assured shall be employed only to pro- "mote the Good and Happiness of my "People; and to secure to them the per- "petual Enjoyment of their Religion, "Laws, and Liberties."

These are not only Words but Deeds, and such is our great and good King by Contract.

At the same Time the Kings of France and Spain published their Edicts, requiring every Subject to pay the tenth Penny of all he was worth.

Porque tel est notre plaisir.
of his Own Life-time. 255

And, if that will not do, they press every tenth Man for their Service, because that is their Pleasure too.

These are Kings only of Slaves.

There's no Nation in the World, that I know of, adore their King as the French do; they adore him as a God; and, though they are a volatile, changeable People in every Thing else, they are constant and fixt in this Adoration: even to the last Extremity, when they were reduced to the greatest Distresses and Misery by the vain Glory of their grand Monarch, Louis XIV. they adored him as their Saviour, Le Roy, & le bon Dieu, were put upon a footing.

The Spaniards go upon a different Footing, they have too exalted Opinions of themselves to adore their King; what Adoration they pay above themselves is to their Priests.

The Spaniards and French are as diametrically opposite to one another in their Way
Way of thinking as East is from West: So it must be a very unnatural Union between these two Nations.

Whilst the King of Great Britain raises nine Millions Sterling, voluntarily from his own Subjects, in nine Hours, the Kings of France and Spain cannot raise an equal Sum by all their Edicts in both their Kingdoms in nine Months.

The French serve their King, whom they adore.
The Spaniards serve their Priest, whom they adore.
The Modern Britons and the Dutch serve Money, which they adore.

I have seen what was said to have come from the Hands of Messrs. John Cathcart, and David Campbell, reputed Privy Counsellors to the late Lord Cathcart; called a Plan of the Operations for this grand secret Expedition, with my Lord Cathcart's Manifesto at his landing amongst the Spaniards, which these Gentlemen bragged of having a principal Hand in
in themselves: But, with all due Deference to those Gentlemen's superior Judgment, it appeared to me but as a ridiculous Project, to land 10,000 Land Forces at la Vera Cruz, to conquer the Kingdom of Mexico: Yet surely they had Forces enow, to execute any reasonable Project in the West-Indies, under a Commander in Chief of so much Honesty, Courage, and good Conduct, as the late Lord Cathcart was said to have.

Whilst Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth were upon their Expedition to Cuba, I had with me one of the Alcaldi's of St. Jago de Cuba, on board of a trading Vessel I then had upon the Coast, who left the Town of St. Jago de Cuba ten Days after their Arrival at Cumberland Harbour, who told me, "That it was unanimously agreed on and resolved in their Juntos, (of which he was a Member, and one of the principal Men of that Place) that, upon the Attack of the Town of St. Jago de Cuba, which was not at all able to make any Defence, being in-
tirely open, to make some Shew of Defence for Honour's Sake, and then to retire into their Castles and Fortifications in the Harbour, where they had provided accordingly, and placed all their valuable Effects: For (as he also assured me) they could not raise 600 able Men to be depended on, the Governor of Havanna de Cuba having swept the Country of Men for the Defence of that Place." Therefore the 1000 Negroes they carried from Jamaica on that Expedition, was sufficient Force to have taken the Town of St. Jago de Cuba; and consequently done the Business effectually.

This Alcalde likewise assured me, which can be easily attested, that the Roads from Cumberland Harbour, where the Army landed and the Fleet lay, were as clear and passable as any in the West-Indies: And, by taking Possession of the Town, which I really believe, from other good Information, might have been done with little or no Resistance, they would have had a Blockade for the Fortifications in
in the Harbour, which are very strong indeed, especially towards the Sea; but they must have capitulated in a short Time, without firing a Gun, for want of Water; for, as the said Person also told me, all their Tank-water was not sufficient to supply the ordinary Garrison above three Weeks; and they were obliged to fetch their Water at three Miles distance, which they constantly did at that Time to spare their Tank-water; but had not had the Fore-sight to fill their Tanks, never expecting to be attacked by Land; and that Communication was very easily cut off by an advanced Party from the Town. But our General thought fit to let his Army die like Rats, Hundreds upon Hundreds, without firing a single Shot, for fear of alarming the Spaniards, and indeed, it appears clear to my Understanding, that they never had a Design of taking Possession of that, or any other Town in the Spanish West-Indies. I only speak of these Things according to the Light I have seen them in; what private Reasons there might be, for not doing of
Dr. Houstoun’s Memoirs

it, I shall not pretend to account for, as they are Politicks greatly above the Reach of my Apprehension.

When they could not take the Town of St. Jago de Cuba, how could they conquer the Kingdom of Mexico?

I have all due regard for these Gentlemen’s Capacity, sufficient enough in their own mercantile Way, but no ways equal to the projecting, carrying on, and executing such a grand Project and Undertaking: But they projected very well for themselves, for they engrossed two of the most lucrative Posts and Employments on the whole Expedition, and knew very well how to play all the Game to make the most of them.

John Cathcart, Esq; was Director General of the Hospitals, and Purveyor for all the Sick and Wounded of his Majesty’s Land Forces on that Expedition, and accordingly contracted with one Mr. Hamilton and Company, to provide the Sick with all Necessaries at two Shillings Sterling
of his Own Life-time. 261
Sterling a Day per Head; a very handsome Allowance even in that Country, where all Provisions are very dear: Yet it was so very badly performed, that the poor sick Soldiers were perishing for Want of the common Necessaries of Life, and an House to lie in. Upon these crying Calamities there was a Court Martial held, to enquire into the Cause of the Neglect, and to discover the Delinquents: But, upon Enquiry, it all ended in Nothing.

Then they built an Hospital, as they called it, for the Sick; fifty Huts of Mud, thatched with Palmeto Leaves; which cost 200 l. Sterling each, and the whole Number of course 10,000 l. Sterling; whereas they might have built better Huts, by employing twenty Negroes for twenty Days Time, at the Expence of 20 l. each Hut: But these were laid out and built under the Direction of the Engineers of the Army, wherein they shewed their Ingenuity more, than at the little Fort of San Lazaro at Cartageña.
Then there was a new Contract made with new Contractors, at two Shillings Sterling only for the Maintenance of each sick Soldier, for they were furnished with Medicines from the Chests of Medicines belonging to the Army, and the Articles of due Performance were drawn up under a Penalty: With these new Regulations I officiated in the Care of the Hospital, by Deputation from Dr. Graham, Physician General to the Army on that Expedition; and I dare venture to say, calling the whole Hospital to witness, during my Time, there was great Plenty of the very best Provisions, and all manner of other Necessaries for the Sick, and Money enough besides for the Contractors; for they had made a very good Bargain; and I had my Share of it, whilst I officiated amongst them; and I don't at all doubt, but the same Care was continued, under the Gentleman's Direction who succeeded Dr. Graham.

These were very good Pickings for the Pay-master and his Associates, because
of his Own Life-time. 263

these, and all other contingent Charges were paid at the Rate of 120 l. Jamaica Currency, and they deducted 5 per Cent. Poundage, as they called it; so there was only 115 l. Jamaica Money paid for 100 l. Sterling, for which Receipts were passed for the Pay-master in full of all Demands. I myself was paid at this Rate, whilst the Exchange for the Army was paid at a greater Advance, fluctuating from time to time: But how Mr. Pay-master and his Associates divided the Spoil I can't tell; for I could never learn their proportional Shares. "These were the Reformers of "Abuses, and Complainers of Injustice "done in Exchange of the Money!"

I remember to have seen a Dialogue on this Subject, betwixt John Colebroke and John Merrywether, Esquires, said to be wrote by Mr. Colebroke. A curious Piece!

I answered by a Paper, entitled, The Development of John Colebroke, Esq; wherein the great General, the great Mr. Manning, Major Chamberry, and John Colebroke,
Colebrooke, Esq; were the Dramatis Personae: But I have lost both, not being worth preserving.

There was indeed a large, handsome, convenient Hospital built in Jamaica, for the Reception of the sick and wounded Seamen of his Majesty's Navy, by the Direction of Admiral Vernon, the most beautiful Edifice, the best contrived, and commodious for the Climate, and completely fitted up in a better Manner than any Hospital that ever I have seen out of Europe; but it must likewise fall to ruin very soon, for want of proper Regulations and Officers under a right Direction, for the whole Business already seemed to be, Who should make the most of it!

In short, the whole Expedition appeared to me like a Tragi-comical Farce, a great Multitude of People got together, all striving and scrambling who should get uppermost, at any Rate, by fair, or foul Means, with Plenty of Money stirring amongst them, very unequally divided; for, whilst some were lining their Pock-
ets with Gold, I have seen the poor Soldiers starving in the Streets for want: And indeed how is it possible, that even a subaltern Officer can subsist in a Country, where he cannot get a Dinner for a Day's Pay, and must pay 6 s. 3 d. of that Country Money for a Night's Lodging, or lye in the Streets? But the only great Struggle seemed to be, who should get most of the Spoil and Plunder amongst themselves, without having any malicious Views or envious Designs against the poor daftardly Spaniards.

But as for the grand Project it was a Secret; I never expected, and entirely despair of ever coming to the real Truth and Knowledge of it; for I did really believe, as it only lived, so it died with our Prime Minister and Cardinal Fleury, perhaps Mr. Wentworth might have had some private Instructions, but I dare venture to say, Admiral Vernon had none, nor the least Communication or Correspondence with the Prime Minister. The Admiral's Head was not turned to be a Courtier; his
his Passions were so strong, they left no room for Diffimulation. The very Spaniards observed of him, that he was the only English Admiral, that ever they knew, to say any Prayers at all; for he was indeed very regular and observant of his Devotion, and I believe in earnest in all his other Business.

However it may be, it made Money circulate in Jamaica, and enriched that Island greatly, with no great Disadvantage to Great Britain, further than the Loss of so many Hands by Mortality, for the Spaniards did not kill a great many of them. It is true, there were some hundreds of them run their Heads against a dead Stone Wall in the very Mouths of Cannon, at a poor little Fort, called San Lazaro, near Cartagena, (where I have slept many a Night) because their General bid them do it.

When the Vice King had an Account of this Action, he said, If my Master had such Men as these, what could he not do? He was an old experienced Officer; by
his military Discipline and regular Conduct he saved the Town of Cartagena; for he timely sent off before the Siege all the Women, Children, and supernumerary Clergy, and kept all the effective Men in Town with all their Effects; nay, he was so strict, that every Man was searched when he went out of Town to see his Family, and not allowed to carry above five Pistoles at a Time, and find Security for his Return; All which he acted upon this solid Maxim, That if they will not fight for their own Effects, they will never fight for their King and Country.

As for the Cash that was spent upon the Expedition, it all returned to Britain in a very short Time, but left Jamaica much richer, and in much better Credit than formerly.

In short, methought I saw a great Heap of Money thrown amongst a great Mob, all striving who should get most of it; so that the strongest is sure of carrying off the greatest Share of the Spoil; others indeed
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deed may get a few Pickings, but The Weakest must certainly go to the Wall.

Thus was the Nation bubbled and disgraced; for the War seemed to be made more upon ourselves than against our Enemies:

We owe the Island of Jamaica to that most extraordinary great (I may likewise say wicked, for he was not a King) Man, Oliver Cromwell, which is now one of the best Jewels in the British Crown. It is situated in the very Heart of all the West-Indies as if the Almighty Author of Nature had placed it there on purpose, on account of the Commodiousness of its Situation, for Trading with the British, Spanish and French West-Indian Colonies.

There's no Nation in the World can maintain a numerous Army and Navy, in the West-Indies, but Britain alone by the Help of Jamaica, as appeared by the Expedition in the Year 1740, when that Island fed above twenty thousand Strangers,
gers, (to my certain Knowledge) besides its own Inhabitants, for above twelve Months, without any Scarcity, or any other Inconveniency than raising the Price of Provisions; nor did they leave any Scarcity behind them, yet the advanced Prices continued; and it is certain, there's no Place in the known World, where Provisions are in such Plenty, and so dear as in Jamaica, which is a Sign of the Plenty, and consequently the Cheapness of Money; for a Spanish Real, (called a Bit) which is Seven-pence Half-penny currency, the lowest Species of Coin they have there, is of no more Value than a Half-penny in England, there must have been a greater Plenty of Money in Jamaica, in proportion than in any other Place; or, that Money was extraordinary cheap, or greatly undervalued there: But the real Cause was a Combination amongst the landed Interest in the Assembly.

It is a very great Disadvantage to the Country in general, to have no less Currency than this Bit, but more particular-
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ly affects and distresses the Poor; yet this Oppression is supported by the landed Interest, (of whom the Assembly consists) from which they reap a considerable Benefit, the Produce of their Plantations being all manner of Eatables, Fruits, Greens, Roots, &c. which are paid for at extravagant Rates, as well by the Labour of the working Mechanicks and industrious Poor, as the Extravagancies of the trading Part of the People, the Planter from his Pennis reaping the Fruit of both. But in all other his Britannick Majesty’s Colonies in the West-Indies, a Bit is divided into at least four Parts Currency.

We have no occasion to fight our Enemies in the West-Indies, if we are true and faithful amongst ourselves; and not supply them with Provisions, naval Stores, &c. nay we can starve them out, as is very evident above.

I have seen a Computation, made by those who were allowed to be competent Judges in these Affairs, that all the Plantation
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tation or Cane Land in Jamaica, sufficiently cultivated, and fully stocked with Negroes, Cattle, Works, &c. one Acre with another, produced 20 l. Jamaica Currency per Annum, communibus annis.

Mr. Carver's Plantation was reckoned the best in Jamaica, and there were eleven Acres of that Estate (as I was informed by the Overseer) that yielded fifty one Hogsheads of Sugar one Year with another; and the whole Estate was reckoned to produce three Hogsheads an Acre, one with another.

In the marshy Ground there grows a long strong Grass, taller than an ordinary Man's Height, (commonly called Scotch Grass) very good for feeding of Horses, &c. I have heard an Owner of one of these Scotch Grass-pieces say, that an Acre of this Land would produce Grass sufficient to maintain ten Horses yearly at 10 l. a Head, which is 100 l. yearly: And, at a very modest Computation, an Acre feeds at least six Horses all the Year round in Grass
Grass, at 10 l. a Head, which is 60 l. per Annum, but the common Pasture-lands (commonly called Penns) don't produce one sixth Part of this Money, and this Grass-land is cultivated at a very small Expence, at most fifty Negroes is sufficient to keep fifty Acres in good Order all the Year round, which is a very small Stock in comparison of Cane-land: And, take all the Country of the Island of Jamaica round, it has perhaps the greatest Produce of any Land in the known World, when rightly cultivated.

Tho' I have lived long in Jamaica from time to time, yet I am no judge in planting Affairs; but I have made a sufficient Enquiry only for my own Satisfaction; and am of Opinion, that this Calculation will answer at a Medium: Therefore, if fully peopled and stocked, that Island would bring a prodigious Revenue to the Crown of Great Britain, and an immense Treasure to the Subjects.

I have likewise heard it asserted, "That
That the Island of Jamaica, joined with the rest of his Britannick Majesty's Colonies in the West-Indies bring more Money to the Crown of Great Britain, than the whole Spanish West-Indies bring to the Crown of Spain."

And thus far I can say, that I am really of Opinion, that Jamaica alone brings more Advantage to the Crown and Subjects of Great Britain, than the whole Kingdom of New Granada brings to the Crown and Subjects of Spain.

When I lived at Cartagena, I had an Opportunity of knowing these Affairs rightly. It is true the King of Spain has, or ought to have, his Quinta (fifth Part) of all the Gold and Silver dug from the Mines in the new Kingdom of Granada, and all his other rich Kingdoms, Mexico, Peru, &c. in his Dominions in the West-Indies; and there are some very rich Mines in Popayan and Choco in this Kingdom of New Granada; for which Reason his Catholick Majesty has a Royal Mint, with an Eflayer-general, and all other
other proper Officers under him, to receive all the Gold, Silver, &c. dug from the Mines, to assay, to give proper Certificates of its Value, and retain his Majesty's Quinta. But I dare venture to say, at a modest Computation, there is not one half of what is dug from the Mines comes to account for the Payment of the Quinta, and what his Majesty does get is all expended in that Country, towards the Maintenance and Support of his Royal Officers, other Officers, Guards and Garrisons, &c. &c. &c. So that all the Time I lived amongst them at Cartagena, near ten Years, there never was one Piece of Eight, in the Royal Chests of the King's Revenues, of the Kingdom of New Granada, to my certain Knowledge; not only all being expended before-hand, but were greatly in Debt: And there is but little Reason to think, that they have been richer since the War with Great Britain, and the Demolition of their Castles.

When I lived at Jamaica I computed 300 Sail of Ships and Top-sail Vessels yearly,
of his Own Life-time. 275

yearly, from 300 to 80 Tons, besides a great Number of small Craft, only to carry off the Produce of that Island, which comes to a much better Account to the Crown and Subjects of Great Britain, than the Produce of his Catholick Majesty's Mines does to Spain, of which Foreigners chiefly reap the Advantage.

I REMEMBER to have heard the late great Earl of Halifax say, in the House of Lords, "That, in his Opinion, it "would be a great Disadvantage to Great "Britain, to be in Possession of the Spa- "nish West-Indian Mines; for, whilst "the British Manufacturers staid at Home, "to mind and improve their Manufactu- "res, they had so many Slaves work- "ing abroad for them in the Mines." And when this Trade is in a right Chan- nel, and rightly improved, I know this, by long Experience, to be a great Truth, and the most beneficial Branch of Trade that I know, or ever heard of, in the whole World, with the Returns all in Specie.
Jamaica is governed by their own Laws, according to the British Constitution, though subjected to Appeals to the King and Council: The Inhabitants are a stiff, unruly, and ungovernable People, living almost like a Parcel of Men-eaters devouring one another; the greater eating up the lesser. They are composed of (a very odd Sort of Medley indeed!) the Refuse of the British Nation, intermixed with some Irish, and they, for the most Part, Roman Catholicks in Disguise: (And it is a known Truth, there are no Enemies so inveterate against the British Nation, as the Irish Roman Catholicks) Tho' there was a very good Law in Jamaica, to prevent Dangers arising from professed and concealed Papists, yet it is now repealed; but upon what Account, and for what Reasons, I could never learn; and I wish, from the bottom of my Heart, they may never have Reason to repent the repealing of that Act of the Assembly.

I have said, that Money is Emperor of
of his Own Life-time. 277

the World, and I am sure, that it is the Lord of Jamaica.

The Jews make up a very considerable Part of the Inhabitants, and have a larger Share of Trade than the Christians in Proportion to their Number. I have no Aversion to any Man, or Set of People, for Religion's Sake only; provided always, that the Tenets of their Religion are not contrary to the Rules of the Society I live in: But I do declare, that these were the worst Set of Rogues that ever I knew, in the whole Course of my Life; a Set of meer low-life Thieves, (as bad as the Negroes themselves, who are all naturally Thieves) the meaner Part of whom held a strict Correspondence with all thieving Negroes, from whom they received the stolen Goods. There was no Trust or Confidence to be put even in the better Sort of them, in the most valuable Ties of all Society, the Bands of Commerce, the Breach of which is the Bane of all trading Societies; and, as they lived at a much less Expence than the Christians,
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by these Means, and their sinister Ways, they over-reached and greatly out-traded them in Jamaica, and some of them acquired great Estates.

I do acknowledge their saving their Money and employing it in Trade increases in a Duplicate, Triplicate, &c. Proportion, which proves a National Advantage to a trading Country; and at the same time I own, their under-selling the Christians by retail in the Community where they lived, to engross the Trade to themselves, was a general Benefit, by keeping the Jamaica Christians, who have no more Conscience than the Jews, from taking exorbitant Prices for every Trifle they fold.

The Offspring of the British and Irish make up a Set by themselves, called Creoles, (all the Natives of his Britannick Majesty’s Dominions in the West-Indies, of whatever Denomination or Colour are so called) who, generally speaking, get a Knock
Knock in the Cradle, which no Education is able to shake off.

There's no general Rule without an Exception; for I have known Men of great Capacity and Abilities in Jamaica, who would have made a Figure in any Part of the World, and as honest as the Place could well afford, being surrounded on all hands by cunning Knaves: (N. B. the great Lord Verulam gives Cunning the Title of Left-handed-wisdom:) So that sometimes they were obliged to make use of all the chicaning Weapons in Self-defence, to save themselves, otherwise they must infallibly have been destroyed; for it is impossible for a moral honest Man, who launches out into Business, to live and subsist among them.

I have known also some very clever Fellows, even amongst the Creols: There was a pretty prevalent Custom among them, The longest liver takes all; and he that has the most Money is the best Man amongst them: So that a Jamaica-Executor.
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cutor was reckoned better than the Heir; and I always observed the Irish hunted in Packs, and divided the Spoil; and whenever they miscarried, they all contributed towards the Loss. They were deep-mouthed Hounds! I had the Misfortune to encounter with a Pack of them, and they hunted me till I was almost worried several times: But I escaped from them at last by a long Chancery Suit.

The Governor for the Time being is always Chancellor; the then Chancellor was a Gentleman of strict Honour, and undoubted Integrity; in so much that, I verily believe, no Consideration on Earth could have biassed him from what he thought Justice: But his greatest Foible was,

*Nemo sine crimine vivit.*

that he believed every body about him as honest as himself; whereas, to my certain Knowledge, there were Persons about him the very reverse, which sooner or later he'll be fully convinced of, from his own
of his Own Life-time.

own Experience, without any Information.

When His Excellency was resigning his Opinion to others, he was submitting a superior to an inferior Understanding, which laid him open to their mercenary Views and sinister Designs, wherein he must find Difficulties in extricating himself: In short, they mired his Excellency on all hands to such a degree, that the fairest Character could not escape without some Dirt, and some of it must stick hard and fast, before his Excellency gets cleverly out of it. This brings to my Mind Cicero's great Man, or rather great Wonder, amongst the rest of his Set.

Maximeque admirantur eum,
Qui pecunia non movetur.

This Sentence is worthy of Cicero; but I found it applied to my Lord Chancellor Macclesfield, by a Gentleman of the Law in a Dedication to his Lordship long before his Impeachment.
Ever since I have known Jamaica, which is almost thirty Years, I never knew a Governor there, that did not put himself into Leading-strings. It is true, whilst Peter Beckford lived, it was a Sort of Force-put; there was a Necessity for it, for those who would not be led he drove; and, as the Saying is, they must needs go, whom the Devil drives. Indeed, he had both Ability and Capacity enough for it, and, had he lived another Age, in all probability, the whole Island would have become his own Property; but he has been gone Home some time ago; therefore ever since his Death it must be voluntary Resignation, where there is not even an Inclination to withstand.

The Climate is very tolerable, with Plenty of Provisions of all kinds, enough even to feed Luxury, but most extravagantly expensive, even for the Produce of the Island.

On the 20th of October, 1744, we had a most dreadful Hurricane in Jamaica,
of his Own Life-time. 283

the only one (thank God!) that ever I saw in the West-Indies. It began about Noon, and lasted about twenty four Hours, and blew all the Shipping in Port Royal and Kingston Harbours on Shore, except one of his Majesty's Ships that rode it out. It did incredible Damage in Town and Country, by carrying off all the Wharfs, damaging Warehouses and Works, lodging and rooting up the Canes, Fruit-trees, Plantain-walks, &c. In short, the Damage was so very considerable, that it could not well be calculated exactly; but I have heard it computed at about 500,000 l. to the Island of Jamaica alone. Notwithstanding the greatest Part of the King's, as well as the Merchant's Ships and Vessels, were got off again, which made the Loss come out not near so terrible as at first imagined. And, what was very remarkable in this Storm, it did not reach the French nor Spanish Colonies, but confined itself within a few Leagues off of the Island of Jamaica.
The old People of the Island remembered former Storms, which, they said, blew much harder, but did not last a fourth Part of the Time, nor did half the Damage. Methinks, I have seen a greater Storm in England, which, indeed, always happened in the Winter-time, when there was nothing in the Fields to damage; and, the Houses and Works being better and stronger built, it did not affect them so much; but their principal Loss used to fall upon the Shipping, and indeed the chief Loss of a West-Indian Hurricane falls on them, which casts the dead Weight at last upon the Mother Country, Britain.

But what surprized me greatly was, to speak of this Hurricane a little philosophically, that the Trees and Bushes were stript of their Leaves, (and even of some of their Bark) as bare as in the middle of Winter in England, and in a Week's Time after I saw all the Fields covered with Verdure, in two Weeks I measured Leaves full grown seven Inches, and eat the
of his Own Life-time. 285
the rough ripe Figs, in presence of Alexander Innes, Provost Marshal, and William Lindsay, Clerk of the grand Court, Esquires, off of a Tree, that, as they attested to me, was quite bare three Weeks before. The quickest Vegetation perhaps ever known in the whole World! From a dead Winter to a Summer, or rather Harvest, in three Week's Time! What is it then that Island is not capable of producing, if rightly cultivated, and were in the Hands of Men of common Honour and Honesty, or Industry truly encouraged? But it is impossible for any Country to thrive, where Liberty and Property is not legally and equitably secured and supported in all Hands alike, with Arts and Industry equally encouraged according to Merit only.

There is a small River here at St. Jago de la Vega, commonly called Spanish Town, which rose to an incredible Height in twenty four Hours Time, at least an hundred Feet perpendicular, which
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which Inundation did great Damage to
the adjacent Country.

The Houses of this Town, which is
the Court of Jamaica, suffered greatly,
as they are very meanly built. If I was
to describe them truly, I could only say,
the People, live in the King's High-way,
with a Cover over them to protect them
a little from the Sun and Rain; for the
Piazzas, which are the most useful Part
of their Houses, are in the King's High-
way, the publick Street; so that every bo-
dy that passes has the same Freedom of
looking into your House as the Possessor
of it; yet these Huts let much dearer
than fine Houses in London.

Upon the back of this general Cala-
mity, there was a Conspiracy amongst the
Negroes, for a general Insurrection, to
destroy all the white People; but, before
it came to Maturity, it was luckily dis-
covered, and crushed in the Bud; other-
wise a very short Time would have car-
ried the Scheme, which was very regu-
larly
of his Own LIFE-TIME. 287
larly laid, into Execution, to the De-
struction of the Island: For which Crime
several of the Negroes suffered Death,
some being burnt alive, and others hanged.

From the irregular Government of
their Negroes in Jamaica, I have always
dreaded some such fatal Consequence, and
I wish, from my Soul, that what I have
feared may never take place; for they
have no manner of Discipline amongst the
Negro-slaves, neither Religious nor Civil,
but the Exercise of the Whip and Stocks,
and they are too often used very indis-
creetly, sometimes wrongfully and most
unmercifully.

The Negroes are stubborn, resolute and
revengeful Creatures in their own Way;
but seldom or never grateful. Their na-
tural Temper appears in more lively Co-
lours, as they are entirely without all
manner of Education, and, generally
speaking, it exerts itself in Low-cunning,
which they employ in Theft, or Revenge;
and, when they have miss'd of their Aim,
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I have known them very frequently revenge it on themselves, by cutting their own throats; as happened to the principal ring-leader of this conspiracy, who, when he found the plot was discovered, cut his throat, and died hard, for he would confess little or nothing, though the truth of it appeared to a demonstration to be a very regular laid plot.

There was at that time computed to be about 100,000 negroes in the island, and, by a law of the country, for every 10 negroes, there ought to be one white man; but this had been so very little observed, that, I am pretty sure, at that time there was not in the country, on a modest computation, one white man for fifty negroes: And the white servants that come, or are sent thither, are the very scum of the earth, and, generally speaking, prove good for nothing; tho' there's no country in the world where a tradesman can earn so much wages.

Whereas the Spaniards have much better
better Government and Discipline amongst the Negroes in their West-Indies; at their Introduction the Jesuits take care to instruct them in some of the fundamental Principles of the Christian Religion; and the Asiento Company cannot sell their Negroes, without a Certificate of their being first, Christned, which is done in eight or ten Days from their Introduction, and sometimes the Baptism is over in three or four Days, when Dispatch is required for Sale, and a valuable Consideration is given; but they are afterwards more fully instructed, and bred up in the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of Rome, the very best Religion in the World that I know of, to keep the Vulgar in a slavish Awe, and the greatest and best Policy, to subject the whole Body of Laicks to the Ecclesiastic State.

I remember in the Reprisalia, 1727, I had a Negro-boy, who was bred up a Roman Catholick, amongst the Spaniards at Cartagena, whom I always found to be very honest and true to his Trust;
wherefore I did not care to part from him, so I brought him along with me to Jamaica, and left him there till I went to London; and about two Years afterwards, upon my Return, I carried him over to Cartagena again, still reposing the same Trust in him as formerly: But I had not been there above two Months, before he stole a Chest of Rhubarb from me, value 200 l. Sterling prime Cost in London. I challenged him with the Theft, but he denied it stoutly, instanced his former Trusts to ten times the Value, that he had discharged faithfully, resolutely stood all Threats and Punishments, Confinement with his Head in the Stocks, a great many Whippings from time to time, &c. Tho' I was convinced that no-body but he could be guilty, yet I had some Remorse about it, as it was not impossible that he might be innocent; so I gave it over entirely for lost, till one Day I ask'd the Negro, Who was his Confessor? He told me Padre Antonio, whose Sister I was intimately acquainted with. I told her the whole Story, with the Promise of an handsome
of his Own Life-time. 291

some Reward upon Restitution. She answered me, "Leave the Management of that Affair entirely to me; in mean time you are to promise, upon your Honour, that upon Restitution you are to ask no Questions of the Negro: In short, said she, you are not to say one Syllable more to any one Person about it." All which I promised, and succeeded accordingly, whether by the Force of the Lady's Rhetoric, or the Padre's Ecclesiastical Power of Persuasion I know not; but, in about ten Days Time, the Chest of Rhubarb was set down in the very Place from whence it was taken up, wanting about 6 lb. which I took no notice of, as the Remainder fetched me above 4000 Pieces of Eight.

The wonderful Force and Effect of Ecclesiastical Policy and Government!

I have likewise been transiently at some other of his Britannick Majesty's Colonies in the West-Indies, St. Christopher's, Barbadoes, &c. The Island of Barbadoes was regularly settled during the Reigns
Reigns of King James I. Charles I. and Charles II. and some of the best Families in England were concerned in the settling of it at their own Expence, and sent their younger Sons to support the Settlement, who were soon followed by whole Families of Credit and Reputation: But Jamaica was taken from the Spaniards in the Year 1655, and settled by a Parcel of Oliverian Banditti, whose Customs and Manners they have not as yet been able to shake off, and I am afraid never will.

I do declare, and without Prejudice too, there was as great a Difference, in Point of Manners and Behaviour, between the Inhabitants of Barbadoes and those of Jamaica, as between St. James's and Wapping.

The People of Barbadoes had something of Genius, and a polite, genteel Education, as appears by their Miscellaneous Essays on various Subjects, occasionally published in two Volumes in 4to, entitled, Carribbeana, chiefly wrote by the Gentle-
of his Own Life-time. 293

men and Ladies of that Island: Whereas few Gentlemen or Ladies of Jamaica knew how to write, or even spell truly to the End of a common Letter: The very Propriety and Accent of the English Language were quite corrupted in this Island, by conversing so much with Mulatoes and Negros; for they were so very closely intermixed, that they suckled, eat, drank, and lay together; wherefore their Tempers and Manners may be very easily accounted for. Most spent their Estates in their Life-time, others left what they had at their Death amongst those Creatures. I could give innumerable Instances of the first, and amongst the last I remember one Crosi, a Jamaica Grandee, Receiver General of the Island, who acquired a very considerable Fortune, and lived, died, and left his All amongst those Vermin, whilst his Brothers and poor Relations were starving for Want. Most Part of the Creols, and a great many other Inhabitants, will leave the finest white Women of the Island, to enjoy and cohabit with those Creatures; It is natural for
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for the Creols so to do, they suck in the Affection, or rather Infection, with their Nurses Milk, and the rest of the Inhabitants acquire it by Custom and Habitude, which are a second Nature.

Simile simili gaudet.

I could not slip a curious Philosophical Account, and very just Observation on the Natives and Inhabitants of Jamaica, by an ingenious Gentleman, a Clergyman of Letters, lately arrived in that Island, and I cannot do him more Justice than to insert it in his own Words.

To the Publishers of the Jamaica Gazette, April 21, 1744.

Varium cæli prædiscere Morem, Curæ sit, ac patrios cultusq; habitusq; Locorum, Et quid quæq; serat Regio, & quid quæq; recuset. Virg. Geor. l. i.

S I R S,

"I have by me a general Map of human Understanding, with all the Depths and Shallows of the Mind, the"
of his Own Life-time. 295

"Ebbs and Flows of Humour, and the Variations of the Compass of Wit, throughout the whole habitable Globe. I here send you an Extract of the particular Chart laid down with the utmost Exactness for this Climate. The Author of this intellectual Cosmography, if I may so call it, is very singular in one Circumstance of his Style; whatever Country he describes, he speaks always of it as his own, a strong Instance of his Impartiality, and Unwillingness to give Offence, and that he esteemed himself a Citizen of the World.

"The Torrid Zone, says my curious Traveller, has no where so remarkable an Influence on the Dispositions and Capacities both of Europeans and Natives, as in the Meridian under which I now reside. The Imagination, in the Latitude of Jamaica, is found, from the nicest Observation, to be lively, tho' the Judgment don't appear altogether so firm. The Faculty of Attention is considerably diminished, but the Quickness
of Apprehension is increased in just Proportion. Horace says,

"Cælum non Animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt." Epist. xi. 1. i.

"But in his Time this Part of the World was unknown, otherwise he had said, with respect to a Voyage hither,

"Cælum atq; Ingenium mutat, qui trans mare currit."

"The Natives and Inhabitants of this Climate enter warmly into any Proposal for the publick Good, and cool as suddenly. This surprizing Change wrought on the Mind by the Operation of the Air may be illustrated, and possibly explained, by Instances drawn from Natural Philosophy; but, as Physical Proofs serve more for Entertainment than Instruction, I shall entirely wave them.

"The Proverbial Saying, That second Thoughts are best, will by no means hold good in this Island. The Latitude of eighteen to nineteen, I absolutely affirm, admits
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admits of no second Thoughts; but who-
ever lives in it, be he never so transient,
must follow the Impulse, or rather Im-
petus of his Genius, in order either to
act or write well. All Resolutions, whe-
ther Publick or Private, must be carried
into immediate Execution, otherwise
the good Intention evaporates, not from
any Vice of the Mind, but from the
mere mechanick Effect of the Consti-
tution of the Air.

A man cannot persist here in pub-
lick Spirit, for want of animal Spirits,
which quickly exhaust themselves. If,
by some lucky Hit, the scattered Rays
of Policy, or Wit, be gathered into a
Focus, let 'em exert themselves effect-
tually; for the Moment they are dis-
persed, there is an end of all their
Action.

A person, whose Composition
you would one Moment imagine to be
all Mercury and Volatile Salt, becomes
the very next an insipid Piece of Earth
what
"what the Chemists call Caput Mortuum, or Terra damnata, which last Term some rashly apply to the Island itself."

"Perhaps it may be objected, That my Advice tends to hurry Folks on into too hasty Conclusions, which, upon more deliberate Views, would allow of much Amendment, if not appear wholly rash; that great Caution and Circumspection is requisite to digest a Scheme; that every accidental, as well as necessary Consequence ought to be taken into Consideration. This sober Method of Proceeding is, I grant, absolutely proper in Europe, among People of a dull and phlegmatic Temperament, who are for the most Part of the Year involved in Fogs. There the Fancy is not alert enough to strike Things out at the first Heat, there Time and Leisure are wanting to bring the Productions of the Mind, as well as those of the Earth, to due Maturity; but we in this Isle may apply to ourselves the Cha-"
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Character Dido gives of herself and Subjects,

"Non obtusa adeo gestamus pectora Paeni,
Nec tam aversus equos Tyriâ Sol jungit ab Urbe.

VIRG. Aën. 1. i.

"Here the Sun is so kindly, that it forwards the Powers of the Soul, like the Juices of some Trees, where you see Blossoms and ripe Fruits at the same Time; that is, we can conceive a Succession of Projects, some crude and green, e're others are well concocted; but with this Difference from the Bearings of our Trees, that the Fruit of our Brains becomes rotten as soon almost as ripe, and therefore their Point, or Degree of Perfection, is to be narrowly watched, else they fall immediately to the ground. Now this cannot be accounted for by the general Principle of Gravity, which inclines Bodies to their Centre, for Designs drop here from mere Levity.

" In
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"In short, the Dwellers in Europe are utter Strangers to what we call the prickly Heat, which I take to be a furious Incentive to the Imagination, it stimulates like an Oestrum, or Gad-Fly at home. Therefore I take this Climate to be very favourable to Poetry, and we might lay out all the flowry Roads of Parnassus in this Island, which I most Humbly recommend as a proper Employment for the wild Negros.

"Philosophy, 'tis true, and other Matters of dry and barren Speculation, would not suit this Air by many degrees; we could not toil thro' the irksome Process of a Problem in Mathematicks: But what need have we of taking all the tedious Steps of Demonstration to come at Theorems, when every Proposition we make is a Self-evident Truth at first Sight. We never should have the Patience to argue in Mood and Figure, or fetter ourselves up to the Form of those methodical Syllogisms which require a Major and a Minor;"
Minor; but we can do better without either, by employing an Enthymeme. This indeed the Sophists call an imperfect Syllogism, but very unjustly: For the Logical Definition of an Enthymeme is, the Whole of Thinking, or the entire Action of the Mind. Now if all this can be included in a single Proposition, does not that imply a greater Perfection, in Ratiocination, Argumentation, or Disputation, call it which you will, that School-boys, or School-men value themselves so much upon? We can draw Inferences without the Formality of laying down Premises, or the Ceremony of proving Things by any intermediate Term. Nay, we despise all Mediums between the Tropicks. We can establish Propositions by direct Assertion, without any Trouble of Deduction or Connection, or the mortifying Pains of giving Reasons for what we say.

In one word, Things speak and prove themselves here otherwise; I protest.
protest I don't know how they would be proved. And who would talk problematically, when we can as safely talk dogmatically? I mean dogmatically in the good philosophical Sense of the Word; that is, who would speak with Diffidence, when (Thanks to the Climate) he is at Liberty to affirm what he will positively?

I know not a People upon the whole Round of the Earth, who have vindicated the original Right of Freedom, (Slaves by Nature are in course excepted) or rid themselves from the cumbersome Shackles of Thinking to so thorough good Purpose as we. It is absolute Tyranny and Usurpation to pretend to establish an arbitrary Art, or System of Thinking. Logick is downright Priest-craft, and flourished most in the Times of Popery and Slavery; but Free-thinking, (the Mind's exalted Privilege) Religion, Politicks, and Literature, were happily introduced with the
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"the glorious Blessings of Liberty of Person and Property of Goods. However,

"it is not, nor can be, so fully enjoyed any where as in this most delightful Spot, this Paradise of America, or, to "speak more fashionably, this Elysium of the New-found World.

"Here the Author breaks off abruptly with saying, That he could produce an unanswerable Reason for what he last asserts; but that the penetrating Reader will guess it, and the candid Reader will excuse him from giving it. "By this I concluded, that he had an Intention to publish this Draught, and "therefore communicate it to you, as a proper Subject for the Jamaica Gazette.

"I am,

"Your most obedient,

"humble Servant,

"Britannus."
In what Contempt then must such People expect to be held in, when they'll find some of the first Rank and Dignity of Great Britain despicable for want of a proper Education, and mannerly Behaviour? When they go to Great Britain, (Home as they called it) they are very soon tired of the Place; because they think they have not Respect enough paid them; they cannot play the Mogul in a Land of Liberty and Property, where every Gentleman is respected as such, only from his own Merit and Behaviour; they cannot lord it as they do over their own Plantations, as well over their white Servants as their Negro-slaves, without Controul: Shew me the Man, and I'll shew you the Law, notwithstanding some of their principal Men have been indented Servants themselves, which verifies the old Proverb, Set a Beggar on Horseback, and he'll ride to the Devil.

I had drawn those Characteristics of the People of Jamaica from the Life, some Years before I had the Experience of
of his Own Life-time. of having the Observations exemplified on myself in the following Particulars.

I had an Embroil with one Mr. Beawes, in the Service of the honourable South-Sea Company, the original Cause whereof the People of Jamaica were entirely Strangers to; but, as a great many of them were very deeply concerned with him in a Voyage to la vera Cruz, they were all ready and willing to assist him to proceed on that Voyage, which, for Reasons formerly hinted, I would have stopped by a Ne exeat insulam, had it not been for the Regard I had for the Interest of the South-Sea Company's Service, and Respect for my honourable Masters. I remember, in examining one of his Witnesses, who declared, "That, when such and such Circumstances happened, I was smoaking a Pipe of Tobacco." At the same Time I solemnly declared, (Tehe Deo, and all my Acquaintance) "That I never did smoak a Pipe or Se- gar of Tobacco in the whole Course of my Life." Upon which, to invalidate my
my Evidence, they got three Witnesses of Reputation (Jamaica Currency) to declare, "That they had seen me smoak a hundred times;" and one of them offered to swear, "That he had seen me smoak five Segars in a Quarter of an Hour."

AND, though it made nothing at all to the Purpose, yet it evidently shewed, what I was to expect from the People of Jamaica; Life and Fortune here hung entirely upon a precarious Lay!

The next Attack was more extraordinary (if possible) in one of my trading Voyages on the Spanish Coast. I struck a Bargain with the principal People of Porto-bello for 20,000 Pieces of Eight in Goods; I wanted some of the Commodities to make up the Assortment agreed on, so looked out for them amongst the rest of the trading Vessels; when it happened, that one Moses Mendes, a Jew, engaged to answer for such and such Goods, the best of their Kind in Quantity and Quality, at the Prices agreed on, to make
I went on board of Mendes's Sloop myself to negotiate the Contract, and the Contractors appointed one Compton as Broker on their Behalf: We lay off of the Mouth of the Harbour of Porto-bello to deliver the Goods, and receive the Return, one half in Cash, the other in Cacao. On delivering the Goods, Mendes sent on Shore Dutch Bays instead of English Bays; Compton, their Broker, immediately challenged the Imposition, and upon Enquiry I found it to be Truth, and a down-right wilful Cheat of Mendes's. So the Bargain was broke off, and the Contractors laid the whole Blame on me, and indeed they had Reason, for they knew nothing of Mendes.

Mendes had received, when the Bargain was broke off, 1625 Pieces of Eight more than there were Goods delivered for: So I was obliged on Punto, and indeed in common Justice in merchandizing, to make good this Sum to the Contractors, which I did out of my own Cash; and then
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then sued Mendes at the supreme Court of Judicature in Jamaica, where the Lawyers pleaded, "That we must prove "the Identity of the Goods delivered."

There was one Mr. Lowther, who made Affidavit, "That he received the "Goods on Shore, and that the Bays "were Dutch Bays." But, to invalidate my Evidence, they got two Witnesses to swear, "That my Head was in a Water- "Jar all the time that I was on board "the Sloop, which was about thirty-six "Hours:" Whereas there was no Wa- "ter-Jar on board. But they likewise swore, "That they were obliged to break "the Water-Jar before they could get my "Head out of it."

In short, this was all I got for my 1625 Pieces of Eight, besides Reproach from the Spaniards, in endeavouring to deceive them, by not fulfilling my Bargain according to Agreement, to the Disgrace of Traders in general, and the English in particular, whose Word in com-
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mon Dealings the Spaniards will take above all other Nations: For we know by Experience they chuse to deal with the British, and will trust to their Samples without opening a Bale, which they will not do with any other Nation. I wish we may not forfeit this our good Character, by means of these rascally Fellows of Jews, who trade from Jamaica under the Denomination of Englishmen: And some nominal Christians from Jamaica are full as bad as the Jews; and indeed it is some Encouragement for them to go on in such villainous Ways, when they can escape Punishment in a Court of Justice, on very gross Impostitions on the World in general, and the trading Part in particular. Nay, they even gloried in their Shame, by dividing the Spoil, in the very Face of the World between Aaron Dias Fernandes and Company, Daniel Mendes de Costa and Company, and the aforesaid Moses Mendes: And, though these Fellows deal very considerably on the Coast, I have seen them so very low and base-spirited, as to steal a Doll-
lar or two from the Spaniards in counting their Money, and change one Bale for another; which I have detected, and confronted them in Presence of the Spaniards; but they stick at nothing, if they think they can escape Punishment.

I have had innumerable Pieces of grand Larceny committed against me in Jamaica, when I was a Trader there, my great Misfortune having been that I lived amongst the Spaniards, with whom you may see sixty Millions of Pieces of Eight negotiated to and fro, without the Scrape of a Pen, all upon Punto. In Jamaica it is quite otherwise, for there it is reckoned no Disgrace, or Loss of Credit, to fail in, or fall from your Word, Bill, or Bond.

There was one Curtin, my Partner Fennell's Factor, (called a Merchant in Jamaica) who, in my Absence, took up ten Pipes of Madeira Wine, consigned to Houston and Fennell; for he stopped my Letters of Advice, so that it was some time
of his Own Life-time. time before I heard of the Wines. When I asked him about them, he denied he knew any Thing of them till I got the Bills of Loading from my Correspondents in London; and then I immediately sued him at Law: But, to the Honour of the Court and Jury be it said, he non-suited me, though I proved that I had paid for the Wines, and had Credit in my Account current for them from my Correspondents. This stands upon Record as a farther Proof of the Customs of Jamaica: The Jury-men were almost all Irishmen, as were my Partner Fennell, and this Curtin. So I had no great Chance there, and never got a Shilling of this Money, whilst they divided the Spoil. This was called, The Custom of Merchants in Jamaica; and they called John Merewether Esq; a great Merchant, to prove it, who declared in open Court, "That it was the "Custom of Merchants in Jamaica;" which, I am sure, would have been found grand Larceny in Westminster-Hall.

There was one Yeoman, a very great Mer-
Merchant amongst them, and who had some dry Goods of mine in his Custody, in my Absence. He sent them out upon the Coast on his own Account and Risk, with a very advantageous Prospect, but the Vessel happened to be lost; so he charged the aforesaid Goods to my Account. Lucky for me! we referred it to Arbitration of honest Men,

*Rara avis in terris!*

and they obliged him to produce his Books, where the Fraud appeared plain; but, had he gone to common Law, he would have gained his Point, as he was not obliged to produce his Books, there being Plenty of Witnesses to swear to any Thing.

I bought thirty Pipes of Canary Wine, Prize-goods, which I ordered a Cooper in Kingston, one Lewis, to fine down, and turn into Ten-gallon Cags for the Spanish Coast-trade; and accordingly it was put under his Care in his Store-house for some Months. When I received
received the Wines from him two Thirds of the whole Quantity was gone, (as he said by Leakage) and he charged me over and above 150 odd Pounds for Cooperage and Store-house-room, and swore to his Account; so I was obliged to pay the Whole, and never could get any Redress, for the gross Imposition, at the Court of Judicature.

I could give a great many other Instances of such petty-fogging, little, dirty Tricks, greatly beneath and unworthy of the very Name of a Merchant: I must own I never had the good Fortune to meet with any one in Jamaica worthy of the Name of a real Merchant, which, in my Opinion, is the most honourable Title of any in the whole World.

It was an antient Law amongst the Saxons, who settled in England as politically as advantageously for the Encouragement of Arts, and especially of Trade and Commerce, "That if a Merchant had crossed the wide Sea three Times, he should
should be honoured with the Title of Thane, (Baron) and admitted to all the Privileges of that Order.” And ever since, by Custom, Merchants of a distinguished Character in Commerce have been honoured with the Title of Knights; for, when he becomes a Peer of the Land, he leaves off Trade; yet King James II. when Duke of York, was the greatest Merchant in England, and was proud of the Title; the Duke of Chandos enlisted himself a Merchant, and his Majesty of Great Britain honours the trading Companies by being their Governor. I have had the Honour, which I do reckon a very great one to me, to be called a Merchant in Bills in Chancery, and other Affairs in Law. I know nothing that entitled me to that Honour, more than having passed the wide Seas oftner than three times, and much wider Seas than the Saxons ever knew of in those Days; and I dare venture to say, that I have seen more Business in Commerce negociated in thirty Days, at the Fair at Porto-bello, than
all the Pedlars in Jamaica transact in thirty Years, with much more Exactness, and much less Bustle about it. And indeed I do reckon it an Advantage to Britain, that in other Countries they have not the Regard and Respect due to Merchants; they are scarcely reckoned in the Station of Gentlemen; every Thing in common is called Merchant, in France the Fellow who fetches the Water for your House is called Marchand de L'eau.

What they call Merchants in Jamaica, I take to be a Burlesque, a synonymous Term for Pedlars: Protested Bills and Orders; Bills and Orders accepted, and refused Payment; shuffling off from Day to Day, from Month to Month, even to Years; evading the Execution of the Law by sham Bills of Exceptions, Interest, Trick, Chicane, &c. are common amongst them; even amongst their tip-top of what they call their Merchants; the twentieth Part of which Management would sink the Credit immediately, and irretrievably ruin the very best
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best Merchant on the Exchange of London: Yet they have gone on in this Manner for a Course of Years, without either Shame, or loss of Credit, till the greater have eat up, and destroyed the lesser; he that gets the most Money is the best Man. It signifies not a Farthing how he has acquired it; his Riches insures him a Protection; and as they increase in Riches, so they do in Oppression, and, in Proportion to their Riches, are supported in that Oppression by Authority; which I have severely felt to my fatal Experience from one of their Grandees.

I HAD Dealings for a great many Years with one Manning, who was a young Man that wrote in Mr. Pratter's Compting-house, (Agent for the Honourable South-sea Company) his Relation, and he was the only Correspondent that I had in Jamaica, during the whole Time I was in the Spanish West-Indies, in the Service of the Honourable South-sea Company: So there was an Account current betwixt us, for a considerable Value, fourteen Years standing
Standing and upwards. I had pressed him from time to time, I may say, a thousand times, to settle Accounts, which he always shuffled off, and chicaned just like the rest of them; but I was fool enough, at that Time to take him for an honest Man, and my Friend, till he became a great Man, and then he discovered himself openly, and absolutely refused to come to any Account at all, positively telling me, he would refer it to no-body, and put me to Defiance.

So the grand Stroke against me, the Coup de Grace, was reserved for this Gentleman to put in Execution: An Attempt to assassinate Life, Character, and Fortune at once; for no other Crime, that I know of, than having the Impudence to presume to call to account, and sue a Gentleman of such Importance in Jamaica, for what he was justly and fairly indebted: for by this time he was become a very great Man indeed.

Mr. Pratter died very rich, and this
Manning was his sole Jamaica-executor, and Administrator, Custos Rotulorum for Kingston, an Assembly-man, a Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature, &c. &c. when I attacked him, and got a Verdict for 1600l. Value in Goods, the Delivery and Receipt proved, and never accounted for.

Now he was hooked, and, to contrive how to get his Head out of the Collar was his Business. Accordingly, before Judgment passed on this Verdict for the Plaintiff, Mr. Attorney General, Penny, of Counsel for the Defendant, the great Manning, moved for a Bill of Exceptions to be entered; either thro' Ignorance or worse, to impose on the Court.

The Honourable Bench ask'd Mr. Attorney, "What he excepted against in his "Bill of Exceptions? And why he did not "draw it up, a plain Action to account, "one Merchant with another, for Goods "received, and not accounted for?"
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Mr. Attorney answered, "That he excepted against the whole, all, every Thing," without naming any thing in particular; and accordingly signed in Court, without drawing up any Bill, and without my Counsel’s consenting, or signing: Thus he excepted against every thing! *

Ridiculous Nonsense!

A Burlesque on all Law!

More properly a Bill of Indulgence, for the Honourable Edward Manning, Esq. However, the Bait took, and the Chief Justice was hooked, for he signed also to the Bill of Exceptions, tho’ not in Court; I verily believe more thro’ Ignorance, than any thing worse, for he himself told me afterwards, that he was sensible he had done a wrong Thing, and was sorry for it: But, Tinker-like, in mending one Hole, he made two; as will appear by the Consequences: For it appeared to me, that neither the Honourable Bench, nor Bar, seemed to know what a Bill of Exceptions was, nor how to draw up one; at least they

* See Appendix, Numb. V.
they did not do it; but only mentioned it by the Attorney General, to serve as a Clog to farther Proceedings. Whatever were their Reasons I shall not particularly lay, though the Effects proved fatal to me, and I clearly perceived how the Game was a going, to clear Manning of his Debt was the main Design.

If a Merchant in London, or any where else in Europe, was to propose a Bill of Exceptions to be made to a plain Action of Account, one Merchant with another, his Credit would be intirely ruined, he durst not shew his Face on the Exchange, and it would be disgracefully look'd upon by all Merchants as a notorious Fraud.

In the mean time I must acknowledge, that my Antagonist gave me fair Warning before-hand: "Go on, said he, with your "Law-suits: I'll shew you, that I will "make an Example of you! I don't "care what Money I spend, so that I can "expose you at any Rate, or Expence! "I'll refer it to no-body." This En-
counter happened at the Attorney General's House; and I appeal to the Attorney General's Honour, if he has the least Spark of it in his whole Body, if these Words, or to this Purpose, were not said in his Presence, which will appear by the Sequel to be Malice propense, and inveterate Revenge.

I own my old Blood was up at him; (I wish from my Soul that I had taken the shortest Way of the Dissenters with him) but Baldwyn's Case, before-mentioned, struck into my Mind, and stared me in the Face: Death itself would have been more welcome, than the villainous Treatment I met with; but I then thought it was impossible to expose me in a Country of Liberty and Property, where Justice at least ought to be equally administered to all free-born Subjects, the poor as well as the rich, in his Britannick Majesty's Dominions, under a British Constitution and Government.

But, alas! though I was no Stranger
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to Jamaica, and the Customs thereof, I had forgot my old Assertion, Money absolute Lord of Jamaica! but, conscious of my own Innocence, being guiltless in all respects towards him, fair in all my Proceedings, and just in my Accounts with him, I went boldly on to ask for Justice, when I very soon felt the Effects of his Power and Authority, and his Menaces verified and executed by his fast Friend at Command; the Force of what ought to have damned him.

With the Assistance of his Privy-counsellor, and his Attorney's Clerk, they trumped up a Bill of Indictment for Perjury against me; the Crime in the whole Catalogue of Sins that I have had the greatest Aversion and Abhorrence to: for, of all Crimes I reckon it the most low-life, scoundrel Villany; even to tell a Lye, and to take God Almighty to witness it must be infinitely worse; yet this was the Method our Custos and his Counsellor took to accomplish their Designs of bringing this
of his Own Life-time. 323
this Accusation of Perjury, to sink this Debt into my entire Ruin.

A monstrous Piece of Villany! the most shocking, cruel Misfortune that ever happened to me; and impossible to be foreseen; and I am sure the least expected and deserved! for I don't at all doubt for one hundred more, enforced by the Strength of Mr. Attorney General's Rhetoric, they would have found the same Bill for Sodomy, and brought it within what Statute they pleased.

All Ballad-makers, have some Device at top, as the Image of a Man, or a Beast, or whatever else they please; so my Indictment had its Device at top likewise;

Houstoun Manning, { Declaration.

The Jurors find the Defendant accountable to the Plaintiff 1600l. Value in Goods, with Costs.
These 1600l. were my original Crime, and this Commission from the Supreme Court of Judicature was the Rock on which I was to be wrecked: However, I attended this Commission, having drawn up the Proceedings of the Commissioners, and gave them, in Obedience to the honourable Court's Orders, on Affidavit, as follows:

**Facts,**

I. The Commissioners, in Obedience to their Commission from the honourable Court of supreme Judicature, met at the House of Laurence Brodbelt, Tavern-keeper, in Kingston, Dec. 7, 1745, in order to proceed to Business.

II. They adjourned to the 10th of the aforesaid Month, at the Request of the Defendant, the honourable Edward Manning, Esq;

III. They
III. They met on the 10th of the aforesaid Month, according to Appointment, when they refused the Commission.

IV. The Attorney's Clerk, (one Graham) who said he appeared there on account of the Defendant, told the Commissioners, "That the chief Justice had no Power or Authority to grant a Commission returnable in so short a Date as that was.

So help me God.

J A. H O U S T O U N.*

This Commission was only for Auditors of Accounts, to audit all Accounts, Papers, Bills of Loading, Receipts, &c. and to make a proper Report to the honourable Court.

But by this time I was sufficiently apprized how Matters were a going, with their different Machinations, and designed Assassinations; for they had got this Attorney's Clerk, whom they made use of

* See the Appendix, Numb. VI. and VII.
as a proper Tool, to swear to the Indictment and other Affidavits, consisting of divers Sheets of Paper, full of flat Contradictions: For he makes Oath, "That he did not say, that the chief Justice had no Power or Authority to give a Commission returnable in so short a Date as that was:" Yet, at the same Time he positively swears, "That he said, the said Commission was irregular, and he would petition the grand Court for a new Commission." Whether these are not synonymous Terms, expressing the same Fact, I leave the whole World to judge? Whereas I kept only to Matters of Fact in my Affidavit, which were agreed to, and granted on all sides, even by Graham and the Commissioners themselves. They insisted on the Facts, yet did not hear the very Words; monstrous Quibble! Facts I expressed and not Words. Graham, no doubt, had his Instructions, and they were resolved to shuffle this Commission off, and make a Handle of it to my Ruin: For this Attorney's Clerk told the Commissioners, "There could be no Business done
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done at their Meeting, because Mr. "Morfe was not in Town, and Mr. Man-
ing was not ready". This Morfe was a petty-fogging, tricking Attorney himself, now turned Counsellor at Law, and Pri-
vy-counsellor to the great Mr. Manning; and Graham was his Clerk.

These, with Mr. Attorney General, and the Cuslos behind the Scene, were the Dramatis Personae of the Conspicacy, and they were positively resolved to annul this Commission at all Hazards; for whenever they found the Chief Justice was resolved to support his own Commission, signed in Court with the Consent and Advice of the then Assistant Judges, he was contemp- tuously turned out of his Office, with his Commission along with him, and one of his Assistants had been turned out beforehand; a stubborn Stick! and most of the the rest of them, if I remember right, laid down their Commissions, rather than chuse to be rode by an Attorney, to make room for others more pliable to their Pur-
poses. And they issued out another
Commission of their own forming, as much a Commission for a Captain of Dragoons, as to audit and report Accounts, because it was the same as to leave it to them, whether my Horse is yours or mine.

It was Mr. Attorney General's Pleasure; on which depended the Lives and Fortunes of his Britannick Majesty's Subjects in Jamaica, just as they fell under his periodical Fits or lucid Intervals.

I hope his Honour, the Chief Justice, will do me the Justice to acknowledge, that I prognosticated his Fate! One Day, when I was complaining of my hard Fate, and Injustice done me by Mr. Manning's oppressive Power, he told me with some Indignation, "That he would see Justice done me against the greatest Man in Jamaica." I answered submissively, "That, if they thought you would, or could do me Justice, against the great Manning, you would not be long Chief Justice." I wish he had been as able,
of his Own Life-time. 329

as I really believe he was willing to do me Justice, at least to save me from such tyrannic Oppression: But I must own he was as fit to be a Cardinal as a Chief Justice. It is true, that it was Hobson's Choice, for his Predecessor, the only Person in Jamaica that I had the Honour of knowing equal to such a great and weighty Office, would serve no longer, for Reasons best known to himself; (perhaps he knew too much for them, but this Charge is left for himself to answer) and his Successor knew less Law than he, but a better-natured Man, and more pliable to their Purposes.

But if this Commission was legal and returnable in the limited Time, as signed by the Chief Justice with the unanimous Consent of the Assistant Judges in Court, why did they not proceed upon it? No: They must have a new Commission of their own forming, modelled, no doubt, to the Pleasure of the great Man, Defendant: So these Commissioners made their Return accordingly, as I was informed; for I never saw it, nor went near
near them again, for fear of a new Indictment for Sodomy, or any other Crime they pleased to devise; but I was told their Return was,

Nothing due by the Defendant to the Plaintiff;

expressly contrary to the Verdict of the Jury, as aforesaid. They should now have called again for old Merewether, (Manning's Partner) to prove, That this was likewise the Custom of Merchants in Jamaica: But alas! he was dead; yet, it seems, he has left some of his Customs in Legacy to his Partner.

Was ever such a bare-faced Impostion heard of in a free trading Country? Goods delivered and received, but no Account given thereof, nor any Thing made due upon that Account: So I am to be dragooned out of my Property by Major Vis, in a Country where Liberty and Property are said to reside under his Britannick Majesty, by the Sanction of Law. Can Judges give a Commission to any Person
of his Own Life-time. 331

son or Persons, to take away, or keep my Property, without giving any Account at all of it? That celebrated Author, the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Addison, says, "When Judges are capable of being influenced by any Thing but Law, or a Cause may be recommended by any Thing that is foreign to its own Merits, we may venture to pronounce, that such a Nation is hastening to its own Ruin."

All that I have got for my Money at present is an Entry in my Journal.

To Profit and Loss.

Robbed by the dishonourable E. M. Esq; and his Accessories, P. A. S. J. and W. F. of Goods delivered to the Value of 1600 l.

Witnesses to the Robbery twelve Jury-men, good and true, upon an Appeal to his Britannick Majesty in Council, Jamaica, 1746.

So I was robbed by the Custos, and came upon the County, who made up a Purse,
Purse, as they called it, for me; which I thankfully accepted, and make this publick and grateful Acknowledgment for the Favour to the Community in general, and particularly to the Collectors George Galbraith and Thomas Bontein, Esquires, Aids de Camp to the honourable Brigadier General Price, Prime Minister of State, first of the Wittenagenmot, Brother Custos, and Judge, with the great Manning, and indeed was a greater Man, if possible, than this great Manning himself, but stood more in need of a Ready-penny, who supplied them both with Furniture for their upper Chambers, at an advanced Price. From this Quarter, I imagine, the Favour came, otherwise, I do suppose, none else durst presume to shew me the least Favour or Countenance, under the Penalty of their Displeasure. But how trifling soever it may seem to be, it was of ten times more Service to me than the Value, at a Time when, out of 2200 l. justly and fairly owing to me in that Island upon Record, I could not raise 22 Pence to save my Soul and Body from perishing for Want; nay, even
of his Own Life-time. 333

even the Chancellor's final Decree and Order in my Favour was evaded, baffled, and refused: In short, all Writs in my Favour were of no Effect, and those against me took Place, and were enforced: Our Cusfios and his Counsellor pushed their Resentment to such a Height, and drove Affairs to that Extremity, to persecute me at any Rate, that I was daily expecting to have my Life sworn away by false Witnesses: And though I don't suspect the Cusfios to be capable of such gross Villany, yet I am well assured his Counsellor is capable of being guilty of any Roguery, even of the blackest Dye, that his Invention can contrive or reach: And Passions, seduced by evil Counsel, may blindly give way to Resentment against those who have it in their Power to destroy themselves: For he well knew that it was in my Power to h—g him for a T——r to his King and Country, if I would turn Informer, which I would not do for his Estate, nor the whole Island of Jamaica.*

* See Appendix, Numb. II.
For no Treatment, how bad ever it may be, shall ever provoke me to do, what in my own Way of thinking is not strictly consistent with what I call Honour and Honesty: I dare not do it for my own Sake, without any Regard to others: I own that I have done several Things in the Course of my Life inconsistent with my own Way of thinking, but it was Necessity, not I; which I hope shall be rectified in the remaining Part of my Time.

But even all this did not satisfy them; they were resolved to assassinate Life, Character, and Fortune at once; and go on with the Prosecution for Perjury against me; and I was resolved to stand it at all Hazards, being conscious of my own Innocence, that I might find an Opportunity of exculpating myself, which, I flatter myself, will appear to the whole World to be a false and malicious Prosecution; and, after the Custom of the Holy (I mean villainous) Tribunal of Inquisition, I was absolutely denied a Copy of my Indictment.
ment, or a Sight of the Depositions against me; so I could not tell, or so much as guess, what I might be indicted for; it might have been for Sodomy, as well as Perjury, for I am sure I was as much guilty of the one as of the other. The Attorney's Clerk, who swore thro' thick and thin for all, offered for 50l. not to prosecute at all. I told him, with great Scorn and Indignation, that I would not give him fifty Pence; and that he must be a very great Villain to make the Offer. I depended entirely, and I thought safely, on my own Innocence, and a British Constitution; but I had forgot where I was.

When the Chief Justice was giving the Charge to the Jury he said, "Tho' he was of Opinion, that the Facts related, and agreed on by all Parties, were synonymous Terms, in different Words, and could not amount to the Charge;" yet three of the Judges declared their Opinion, Guilty; which over-awed the Jury, and over-ruled an Arrest of Judgment.

Thus
Thus I fell a Sacrifice! "Now, say "They, the Judges are all very honest "Men, tho' they were not bred up to "the Law:" Ay, to be sure, they are all honest Men; so is Judge Manning too!

Es Hombre de Bien pero no paresce mi Capa.

What Satisfaction is it to me, whether I suffer thro' Roguery or Ignorance, if I do suffer unjustly and wrongfully? And it is certain, that I have suffered for a Crime, which, as must evidently appear to the whole World, I was not guilty of; and I have felt, to my fatal Experience, that I have been sacrificed as a Burnt-offering to 'Squire Manning and his Counselor's Threats and Resentment: For an Affidavit to a Matter of Fact, which stands upon Record to be so, must be so, and cannot possibly be otherwise, as clear as any Demonstration in Euclid.

If I was reduced to an absolute Necessity, under an absolute Government,
to submit, I should rather chuse to subject myself to a Rogue of Sense, than a Fool at any rate:—But both is the Devil!

Now, methinks, I hear an old Druid, sitting at a Corner, say, They say—and They do so and so;—Who are They?—Mine A-r-e in a B-nd B-x. What! more Wheels within Wheels? But let the Druid go on to teach and preach in his own Way, without controul.

 Qui docet Indoctos, licet Indoctissimus esset, 
Ipse brevi reliquis doctior esse queat.

I have known the Foreman of a Jamaica Jury, and a Grandee too, subscribe his Name to a Bill of Indictment before the Grand Jury ** * * * * * cum Sotius, englished, Come Sots.

I had no Objection, it was rather my Desire, to find the Bill, in the Grand Jury against me, Billa vera, that I might find an Opportunity of exculpating myself from any Guilt of the Accusation, which must then have retorted on the Accusers.
**Dr. Houstoun's Memoirs**

But my Foreman of the petty Jury was a Man of more Learning, and could read, and spell his Name, *Cum Sociis*; tho' he was only a poor *Irish* Hackney-coach-man, who let out Hackney-coaches and Horses by the Day, or a longer Time, as agreed on, and always secured his *Hire* before-hand, and the highest Bidder was sure to ride the *Horse*; so I had no Chance for the Horse, I must be jockey'd.

Mr. Attorney General insisted only on that Point in my *Affidavit*, "That Graham, the Attorney's Clerk, told the *Commissioners*, That the chief *Justice* had no "Power or Authority, to give a Commission returnable in so short a Date as "that was."

When the said Graham swore again it was only to a Negative, *That he said no such thing*. At the same time he confesses, "That he said, The Commission was "irregular; and he would *petition the "grand Court* for a new one."

The
The Commissioners likewise said, They did not hear these Words: But all agreed to the Facts; the Commission was irregular, in the Return at so short a Date, and they must have a new one: My Affidavit is only to Facts, which are unalterable.

Horrible Quibbles, and Contradictions, for a Man’s Life, Character and Fortune to depend on!

When my Counsel was pleading, “That my Affidavit was only relative to Facts, and not to Words.” (For who can express Facts in the very same identical Words? Tho’ the Facts were agreed on by all Parties and Sides to be the same in synonymous Terms:) Mr. Foreman with his Sots, (as I was informed, for I was not allowed to be present) said, “That none of them understood what synonymous was, or meant;” but they had found the Bill, and the Bench over-ruled an Arrest of Judgment; so that I was denied an Opportunity of clearing myself: And the Evidence, on which the Bill was founded,
Dr. Houstoun's Memoirs can be demonstrated and proved false and malicious, as clear as any Demonstration in Euclid; and the Accusation groundless and false.

Thus was I cowardly stabbed, barbarously murdered, and cruelly butchered; and at present am, with the Bleeding of my fresh Wounds, at the Point of Death; though in some small Hopes of a Resurrection. The Ancients died, rose again in this Life, and fought Battles! Why may I not rise again?

Some, raised aloft, come tumbling down amain;
And fall so hard, they bound and rise again!

During the whole Time of my Interdictment, Indictment and Confinement, about six Months Time, they had a large Field and full Scope to ruin me entirely, to sink my Credit irretrievably, to embezzle my Effects, (and other People's Goods in my Hands to a very considerable Value) and even to deny me Subsistence-Money.
Money from my own Cash in their Hands; and they not only attempted to assassinate Life, Character, and Fortune Abroad, but to murder my Character and Credit at Home; after the Custom of the French Robbers, murder first, and rob afterwards! to accomplish the grand Design of clearing Mr. Manning's Debt, which they did effectually, and sunk as much more into it!

But if I should chance to survive it in Life, I do flatter myself that I shall be able to vindicate my Character to the World with Honour and Integrity, nor do I desire Life upon any other Conditions, and make it ignominiously retort upon themselves with double Force, which shall be enjoined and enforced in my Last Will and Testament, to prosecute to the very last the Murderers.

And, during the remaining Time I was obliged to linger in Jamaica, I took upon me the Vows of an Hermit, and strictly kept up to the Rules of the Order; for indeed
indeed it was no Punishment to me, to be banished from Company in Jamaica, because conversing with the Inhabitants always gave me more Pain than Pleasure, and indeed the whole Island was a Goal to me; for here I can truly say,

*Nunquam minus solus, quam cum solus.*

And, after the first severe Pangs and Shocks of the Surprize on my Commitment were over, being entirely conscious of my own Innocence, I carried a sound Breast, a serene and calm Mind, with the greatest Patience and Resignation during the whole Time of my unjust Sufferings, which under my Confinement were at first very barbarous, rather worse than those in the Inquisition, except Tortures; (for, had I not been rescued by some of the Prisoners, they had murdered me directly, which can be sufficiently testified by those very People who rescued me) which broke the best Constitution that perhaps was ever carried about in so many different Countries in the Torrid Zone, for almost thirty Years, without the least Ailment.
of his Own LIFE-TIME. 343

The greatest Discontent or Anxiety, that I suffered in my own Mind, was being shunned and deserted by my former Friends, who acknowledged their being convinced of my Innocence of the Crime I was accused of; yet, thro' Fear and Dread of the Great, who generally hang together in a String like wild Geese, and to attack one is to attack all: For thus was I left destitute of Friends to struggle with my Misfortunes, to extricate myself in the best manner I was able; for it was reckoned High Treason to entertain me in their Houses, or shew me any Countenance or Friendship; and my Enemies embraced this Opportunity to appear with Malice and unjust Reproaches, to ingratiate themselves with my Antagonist, and follow the Run.

I was to be chastized and humbled at any rate; Down with him was the Word; We'll humble him: And my Friends wanted Resolution enough to stop the Current, which might have been easily done at first.
This is what they call *hunting* a Man down in *London*, and Men of much more Honour and Integrity than I pretend to, even the very best of Men, have been *hunted down* to serve vile, mercenary Designs; but in the whole World, among the most despotic, barbarous Countries, there's not to be found an Instance of such unjust, cruel, arbitrary Proceedings, (the *Inquisition* excepted) executed by the pretended Sanction of the *Laws* of a free Country.

*The Scots* abroad are very remarkable, for standing by their Country-men; tho' I must own, I never was a very great Favourite amongst them at *Jamaica*; I always was of a different Kidney from them, and used to tell them roundly of their Mistakes, which made them more easily give way to the Current against me; for most of all the *Scots* that I knew in *Jamaica* were *Jacobites*, which made the People of *Jamaica* run away with a mistaken Notion, that all the *Scots* are inclinable that Way, whereas nothing can be
be more false; for the knowing and trading Part of Scotland, where I was born and bred up at School, have very just and true Notions of the Good and Interest of their Country, and so fixt in their Principles, that I dare venture to say, for thirty Miles round, there could not be thirty Jacobites found. It is only the Scum of the Nobility and Gentry of desperate Fortunes, of no Estates at all, and the Dregs of the Commonality, as idle as ignorant, who engage in that Cause; with the Highland Clans, who carry along with them a Parcel of ignorant, uncivilized People, their Vassals, who know no other Reason than blind passive Obedience, and Non-resistance to the Will of their Superiors and Masters; whom I used to compare to a Jamaica Planter, driving his Negro-slaves along with him; as evidently appeared by those engaged in that very unnatural Rebellion in the Year 1745, of all those engaged scarce one of them worth hanging, except the Highland Chiefs, who ought to be extirpated from all Society.
During my most oppressive Distresses I met one whom I can call a fast Friend, and, had his Abilities been equal to his Inclinations, I had been enabled to surmount all my Distresses, and overcome my Enemies. And, what was very remarkable, I brought that very Person into the World, by delivering his Mother of him, when in hard Labour; so that, by saving his Life, I saved my own; remarkable Providence!

And in this Solitude I found a very agreeable Companion, though of an African Breed, a Creol of Jamaica, of Negro Parents, educated in England; for he had a superior Genius, a more liberal Education, and a better Understanding to improve it; which entitled him to keep better Company, Men of Letters in England, than any of the Creols that ever I had the Honour of knowing in Jamaica, which evidently demonstrates, that it is not Colour, but Genius and Education that makes the Man.
of his Own LIFE-TIME. 347

Nothing perhaps is more beautiful in the moral World, than that Compassion which universally prevails in every honest Heart, when they see the Innocent and Helpless struggling under unmerited Misfortunes, and borne down, by the Current of Power, under a Load of Oppression, and to feel that Indignation rise which never fails to inspire the Virtuous with Courage and Resolution to oppose Oppression, and bring the Authors of it to Reason and Justice by condign Punishment; and, vice versa, when it appears contrary, nothing can be more ugly and diabolical.

I remember, when I lived at Cartagena in the West-Indies, I was credibly informed; that one of the best and honestest Men, and most substantial Merchants there, had the Misfortune to be taken up by the Inquisition; all his Friends shunned and deserted him in this Distress, (for they durst not do otherwise) and, after twenty Years Imprisonment, with all his Effects embezzled, he was cleared and declared innocent, and, by Order of the holy Inquisitors, in token of his Innocence,
cience, he was allowed the Honour of riding all over the Town on a white Horse, as a sufficient Satisfaction for all his Sufferings in Person and Estate.

I expected and accordingly found a white Horse waiting for me at the Courthouse Door, on the appointed Day, but they made me pay 10 l. Horse-hire, and then bid me ride when, and where I pleased; which shall be as soon as I am able to ride at all, to His Britannick Majesty in Council, for Redress of Grievances, as a free-born Subject of Great Britain, to plead for the Liberties and Properties of a British Subject; for, by the Laws of Nature and Nations, and the Laws of my Country under a British Constitution, I am fully entitled to appeal on this Assassination Plot to the King, for an Attempt on the Life of a Subject; to the legislative Power, for Violation and Breach of the National Laws and Constitution; and to the Commons, for a Violation and Loss of the Liberty and Property of a Fellow Subject of Great Britain: For it is the joint
joint Concern of the whole united Legislative Power of Great Britain.

In short, I would much rather have chosen a Throw at Dice for Life and Fortune, than have submitted to the Courts of Judicature in Jamaica for it; and, if against one of their great Men, there's no more Chance than a Mouse has with a Cat.

"When such sacred Things as the Laws are not only touched, but guided by profane or ignorant Hands, Men will fear, that out of the Tree of the Law, from whence we expect Shade and Shelter, such Workmen will make Cudgels to beat us, or rather, that they will turn the Cannon upon our Properties, that are entrusted with them for their Defence."

Lord Halifax.

Though my Body was confined, it was impossible for them to confine the Mind, and this Confinement gave me full Time and Opportunity of finishing my Memoirs of Jamaica, which otherwise might
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might have lain dormant for ever through my Indolence: So I shall now give a few more strong Examples amongst Hundreds that I could call to mind: One very strong of the Grand Seignior himself of the Country of Jamaica, who governed and swayed the whole Country round him with a tyrannick Power, at the same time he was a good-natur'd Man enough; and very hospitable to all those who would submit implicitly and cringe submissively to his Will and Pleasure: But, Creol-like, he would bear no Controul or Contradiction; for he would put his Fellow Creatures upon the Footing of his Slaves, and always chastised them, when provoked, with a cruel Hand; nay, to such a Degree did he once carry it, that one of his indented Servants, a British Subject and a white Man, happened to die under the Severity of his Chastisement.

On this, about five or six more of his indented Servants, being greatly moved and irritated at such barbarous Usage, left the Plantation, and run to Town to lodge a Complaint with the King's Attorney-General;
of his Own Life-time. 351 General; the Evidence was strong, and concurred in all the material Circumstances, so as to amount to an Indictment for Murder; and the Attorney-General indicted him accordingly, and it was believed impartially: But the absolute Lord of Jamaica (I don't mean the King, nor the Governor) interposed, and, by the never-failing Argumentum ad Hominem, managed by a clever Fellow for Foreman, (whom they took out of Goal for that very Purpose, who knew all the Game, and perfectly well how to make the most of it) the Jurors had their Eye-fight rubbed up, and saw very clearly, that the Bill greatly surpassed their Understanding, so brought it in Ignoramus. But the then Attorney-General, depending on his Knowledge of the Law, imputed it to the Ignorance, to say no worse, of the Jurors, and not to the Want of Strength in the Law; and therefore was of Opinion, that a fresh Indictment ought to be brought.

However, for this Opinion, Mr. Attorney-General was suspended from his Office;
Office; and another put in his Room, who was as clear in this, as well as in all other difficult Cases, as the Sun at Noon-
day in Jamaica, who continued afterwards the Cicero of the Island; and I must own, that, in his lucid Intervals, he was a very clever Fellow, and rightly cal-
culated for that Meridian; but often put me in mind of the Wapping-Attorneys pleading before the Justices of the Peace at Mile end, who, generally speaking, are East-India and other Sea Captains, who, having got Money enough to leave off the Sea, only want the Honour on Shore of becoming Justices of the Peace. Mr. At-
torney appears before their Worships with his Client's Case; and says, "I tell you, "Sir this is Law, an't please your Worship; "and the English Laws are like the Laws "of the Medes and Persians, unalterable! "And your Worship cannot go from the "Law, without running yourself into a "Praemunire; and remember I tell your "Worship so?"——"No, No, Mr. At-
torney, (says his Worship) I won't run "myself into a Praemunire; I'll go by "the
Some Time after there was an Overseer of a Plantation, who happened to differ with one of the indented Servants, a white Man, and gave him two or three Licks with an Horse-whip, for which the Fellow was resolved to be up with him. Accordingly, not long after the Overseer was indicted for killing five Negroes, in five different Indictments, by whipping them to Death, and this Fellow was the only Witness to swear to the five separate Indictments.

Mr. Attorney-General was very clear in this Case: So the Man was found guilty of murdering them all, and condemned to die, and it was expected that the Man would have hung for it, (for he was poor) had not he made his Escape before the Day of Execution.

There were two of his Majesty's able Sailors indicted for committing a Rape
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on an abandoned, profligate, common Whore, Hundreds having lain with her publickly in the Streets, as was proved in open Court; yet Mr. Attorney-General was clear in this Case, he saw into the bottom of it at once; so the poor Fellows were condemned to die: But His Excellency had Goodness enough to pardon them.

There must be something in the Climate, as I have observed in Africa, that changes the natural Disposition of Mankind from Humanity into Barbarity, or Custom is a second Nature; for I never saw human Nature divested of Humanity, and Brutality and Barbarity introduced by Custom and Habitude, except in the Torrid Zone. I could even instance Ladies there (the fair and soft Sex) who have gone very great Lengths in punishing their Slaves; particularly one, who has stood over the Negroes to see them punished in a most cruel Manner, even to the last Extremity of seeing them burnt alive to Death, and gloried in the Sight.

Every
of his Own Life-time. 355

Every Person, rich or poor, who is divested of Humanity, whose Nature is changed, by Custom or otherwise, into Barbarity, Brutality and Cruelty, ought to be hanged without Mercy, as the greatest Nuisance to Society.

Colonel Charteris, who was the greatest Villain perhaps of his Age, (except Jack Shepard, who was more dextrous) and deserved, though he escaped the Gallows innumerable times: But poor Jack was hanged at once, whilst the Colonel was condemned at last of a Crime, the World must believe he was not guilty of, for the Sake of what had so often saved him.

This is the practical Part, corresponding to the Characteristics of the People of Jamaica, which I have drawn, and related without any Malice, or any interested Views, against them: Yet I cannot say, by the Depravity of human Nature, that it is possible for me to divest myself entirely of all Prejudices, after
so many unjust Sufferings amongst them: And though I have kept strictly to Matters of Fact, yet I do own, that it is a very hard Task, for an injured Person to give an Account of the Injuries done him, without mixing the Ink with a little of the Tincture of Gall.

But, to leave this disagreeable Subject the following is an authentick Letter from my Correspondent at Cape-Breton.

"To Dr. Houstoun in Jamaica.

Louisbourg, Nov. 20. 1745.

"Sir,

"The many Obligations I lie under to you, for your Care of me, in the Hospital at Chelsea, to rear up a Constitution, broke and almost worn out upon so many unsuccessful Expeditions, make me embrace this Opportunity to acquaint you of the agreeable News, that I have fallen at last upon a very successful one, against the French Settlements on Cape-Breton, in Compa-
We set out from Boston, March 24, 1745, being of the Massachusetts-Bay Forces, to the Number of 3250 Men, exclusive of Officers; we arrived at Canfo the 4th of April, where we found the New-Hampshire Forces, being 304 inclusive of Officers, and were joined the 25th of the same Month by the Connecticut Forces, being 516 Men including Officers, in all 4070: With these stout, hearty Fellows, and honest brave Officers, we all set out, unanimous in our Inclinations and Resolutions, to conquer, or to die under the Command of a Gentleman, as honestly brave, as courageously successful, William Pepperell Esq; Lieutenant General and Commander in Chief of the New-England Forces, and we succeeded accordingly.
"I shall not presume to trouble you, with a Journal of all the Proceedings from our first Landing at Chapeau-rouge Bay, but only take notice of the most remarkable Passages. April 29th and 30th, and on the 1st of May, all the Forces were landed, and began to get Provisions and Stores on Shore: The Landing of the heavy Artillery, Ammunition, Provisions, &c. was attended with extreme Difficulty and Fatigue; there being no Harbour there, and the Surf almost continually running very high, so that some Days there was no landing any thing at all, and often the Men were obliged to wade high into the Water, to save what was damageable from being wet; and the poor Men had no Cloaths to shift themselves, or defend them from the Rigour of the Weather, the Nights being very cold; but Resolution in brave Men will overcome all Difficulties.

"It is incredible to think through what almost insurmountable Difficulties from time
time to time we raised our different Batteries, and mounted our heavy Artillery; particularly on the 25th of May, the thirteen Inch Mortar bursted, and a Bombardier was thereby wounded, occasioned by some Flaw in the Shell, which broke in the Mortar; but another thirteen Inch Mortar from Boston was mounted in the same Place, and play'd the eighth Day after the other was burst.

The conveying the Cannon was with incredible Labour and Fatigue, for all the Roads, over which they were drawn, were either very rough, rocky, hilly Way, or a deep Moras; into which, whilst the Cannon were upon the Wheels, they several times sunk, so as to bury not only the Carriages, but the whole Body of the Cannon likewise; Horses and Oxen could not be employed in this Service; but the whole was to be done by the Men themselves, up to the Knees in Mud; at the same time the Nights, in which
the Work was done were cold, and for the most part foggy; their Tents also were bad, as there were no proper Materials for Tents in New England, when the Forces were raised.

"But, notwithstanding all these Difficulties, and the People's being taken down by Fluxes, so that at one time there were no less than fifteen hundred Men incapable of doing Duty, occasioned by their Fatigue, they went on cheerfully, without being discouraged or murmuring; and by the Help of Sledges of about sixteen Feet in length, five Feet in width, and twelve Inches thick, they transported the Cannon over those Ways, to the Amazement of the French, who always thought them entirely impassable for such heavy Bodies; as indeed they were by any People of less Resolution and Perseverance, or less Experience in removing such heavy Weights: And besides this they had all the Provisions, Powder, Shot, and Shells, which they daily made use
of his Own Life-time. 361

use of, to convey over the same Ways
upon their Backs.

"I don't pretend, Sir, to give you
an Account of erecting all our Batteries, and removing from time to time
to different ones, during the Siege, all
which was performed with good Conduct, and intrepid Courage.

"To see the Bravery and Resolution of
these Men, when rightly commanded,
ized, raised in me some melancholy
Thoughts, in reflecting on our by-past
unsuccessful Expeditions. What a Fi-
gure would the little Fort of San Lazaro,
near Cartagena, have made before
them, who battered down the well-
fortified Town and strong Forts of
Louisburg! which the French took to
be impregnable. You may remember I
was upon that Cartagena Expedition,
tho' I was not upon the Attack of San
Lazaro, where we had an Army of re-
gular Forces, double, nay, I may say,
near triple the Number of ours here.

"The
The Plan of Operations for this Expedition was regularly well concerted between his Excellency W. Shirley, Esq; Governor of New-England, our General, and Peter Warren, Esq; Commodore of all his Britannick Majesty's Ships and Vessels on this Expedition, &c. and most gloriously executed by the Undertakers: For Commodore Warren arrived at Canso, April the 23d, in his Majesty's Ship the Superbe of 60 Guns, with three forty Gun Ships, the Eltham, Launceston and Mermaid, &c. under his Command, and, after having conferred with the General by Letters, went immediately with the Ships to cruise off Louisbourg, who, with great Care and Diligence, cut off all Communication with the French, and took several Prizes that were coming with Relief for the Besieged: And, on the 21st of May, he took the Vigilant, a French Man of War of 64 Guns; on the 25th he was joined by the Princess Mary of 60 Guns; the 26th by the Hector of 40 Guns; on the 10th of June by the Chester.
Chejier arrived from England on the 12th the Canterbury and Sunderland joined him, as did likewise the Lark with a Store-ship under her Convoy, for Annapolis Royal: So now, our Commodore having under his Command a strong Squadron, it was determined to make a general Attack by Sea and Land.

This Island Battery was a strong Fort at the Entrance of the Harbour, mounted with thirty-two 10-Inch Mornas, and garrisoned with an hundred and eighty Men.

So to work we went, to erect our left and most useful Battery near the Light-house, just opposite and within three thousand four hundred Feet of it, which, notwithstanding the almost insuperable Difficulties that attended it, was a great Nuisance to us, and of the greatest Consequence to be Masters of, having under his Command a strong Squadron, it was determined to make a general Attack by Sea and Land.
"we had six eighteen Pounders mounted, sustained by 320 Men, which did the Business effectually.

"On the 15th the large Mortar was ordered to this Battery, and, a new Supply of Powder arriving, the Fire was more fierce than ever, when the Mortar began to play from this Light-house Battery upon the Island Battery; out of 19 Shells, 17 fell within the Fort, and one of them upon the Magazine, which together with the Fire from the Cannon, to which the Enemy was very much exposed, they having but little to shelter them from the Shot, that ranged quite through their Barracks, so terrified them, that many of them left the Fort, and ran into the Water for Refuge: In short, the West Gate was demolished, and a large Breach was made in the Wall adjoining; the West Flank of the King's Bastion was almost ruined; all the Houses and other Buildings almost torn to Pieces, (but one House in the Town being left unhurt) and the Ene-
my's Stock of Ammunition growing short, they sent out a Flag of Truce to the Camp, desiring Time to consider upon the Articles of Capitulation.

This was granted till next Morning; when they brought out Articles, which were refused, and others sent in by the General and Commodore, which were agreed to by the Enemy.

Hostages were exchanged on the 17th of June, 1745, the City and Fortresses of Louisbourg were surrendered, and the Garrison with all the Inhabitants, to the Number of 2000 capable of bearing Arms, made Prisoners, to be transported to France with all their personal Effects.

During the whole Siege we had no more than 10 Men killed by the Enemy, and all other Accidents, and about 30 died of Sickness; but, according to the best Accounts, there were killed of the Enemy within the Walls about 300, besides Numbers that died
A M O S T glorious Action! greatly surpassing the martial Achievements of the great General Wentworth, and all his regular Forces! What is it that Britons cannot do, when they are unanimous? Nothing can withstand them, when rightly conducted.

Here was great Unanimity, and a perfect Harmony betwixt the two commanding Officers in chief, by Land and Sea; and indeed there was a perfect Agreement between all the Officers, and even amongst the common Soldiers. Upon this Expedition every Man fought with his Wife, Family, &c. at Stake; and Success brought him a comfortable Living for himself and Family to all Posterity, as his own Property; whereas as a mercenary Soldier, who fights for Six-pence a Day, and a little Plunder, under Awe and Dread of military Discipline.
of his Own Life-time. 367

pline only, has Misery entailed on himself and Family for Life.

"I shall not take up your Time in giving you a Description of the Island, which you may find elsewhere, but only tell you, that it is excessively cold at present, the Island being small and surrounded with Ice; but we have a Remedy at hand, Plenty of good Coal, upon the Sides of the Mountains, very near the Surface of the Earth, and great Plenty of all Sorts of Wood for only cutting down; particularly fine old Oak, enough for the whole Navy of Great Britain, and Pines large enough for the Masts of first Rate Men of War.

"It is true we have some marshy Ground, and the Woods are not as yet cut down; but I dare venture to say, by draining the Marshes, which may be easily done, and clearing the Ground of the Under-wood, the Place would be as healthy as any other Part of America: In short, Sir, I like it so
Dr. Houstoun's Memoirs

"so well, that here I design to reside

"with my Family for my Life-time, and

"put them in a very good Way of pro-

"viding for themselves.

"We have had some Surmises here

"in our Chit-chat Conversation, as if

"the King and Parliament designed to

"give it up a second time to the French,

"at the Conclusion of a Peace; but the

"more thinking Part assure themselves,

"that that cannot be: In as much as his

"most gracious Majesty, with Consent of

"his Parliament, when he issued out his

"Royal Proclamation, given at his Court

"at St. James's the ninth Day of April,

"1740, and confirmed by an Act of

"Parliament passed that Sessions, entitled,

"An Act for the more effectual securing

"and encouraging the Trade of his Ma-

"jesty's British Subjects to America,* and

"for the Encouragement of Seamen to

"enter into his Majesty's Service; for

"raising Forces, for conquering and sub-

"duing this, and all other Settlements

"from

* See the said Proclamation and Act of Parliament.
of his Own Life-time. 369

" from the Enemy; his Majesty has been
" graciously pleased to give us his Royal
" Word, with parliamentary Security,
" That whatever we conquered from the
" Enemy should become our own Property;
" with due Acknowledgment
" and Subjection to his Britannick Ma-
" jesty and the constitutional Laws of our
" Mother-Country, Great Britain, as ex-
" pressed in the aforesaid Proclamation
" and Act of Parliament: So that what
" we have conquered here, or elsewhere
" from the Enemy, at the Risk of our
" own Lives and Fortunes, and are now
" in Possession of, under the Sanction of
" this Proclamation and Act of Parlia-
" ment, we reckon as much our own
" Property as a Shilling that we earn for
" a Day’s hard Labour; and we take our
" Security for this Property to be the ve-
" ry best in the whole World, the Con-
" stitution of Great Britain never to be
" unhinged.

" Now, Sir, I conclude by sending
" you enclosed an exact Account and

B b " Com-
Dr. Houstoun's Memoirs

"Computation of the French Fishery, as it was carried on before the War, on the Banks of Newfoundland, Cape-Breton, &c. the Whole depending on the Port of Louisbourg, as a Cover and Protection to it, &c. with the Advantages accruing to France from it before the War, and Disadvantages by the Loss of it, with the vast Advantages and Importance to Great Britain, by conquering and keeping Possession of this important Place, as it was given in to General Pepperell on the Spot, by such of ourselves, who, at Canso and Louisbourg, have been Eye-witnesses of it, and from their Captains, &c. of their Ships, at different occasional Conversations, on comparing the French Fishery with the English; and transmitted by the General to Great Britain, for the Consideration of his Majesty in Council, and our British Parliament, as follows,

"From the Gut of Canso down along Shore to Louisbourg, and from thence to the North-East Part of Cape-Breton, there was yearly employed at least 500 Shal-
of his Own Life-time. 371

"Shallops. And these required, at Sea and on Shore, 5 Men each; which amount to 2,500 Men: And 60 Brigantines, Schooners and Sloops, each of 15 Men; making 900 Men more: Which together make 3,400 Men.

"Allow these 500 Shallops to catch 300 Quintals of Fish each in the Summer Season; and the Whole is 150,000 Quintals: And the 60 Brigs, Schooners, &c. each 600 Quintals, which make 36,000 more. So that there is made at Cape-Breton annually of Fish 186,000 Quintals.

"Now, to carry this Fish to Europe, to Market, there must be employed 93 Sail of Ships of the Burthen of 2000 Quintals each, one with the other, and each of these Ships have at least 20 Men, which are 1860 Seamen. And these, added to the 3,400 Fishermen above, make 5,260 Men employed at Cape-Breton only in the FISHERY.

"At Gaspay, Quadre, and other Harbours
bulbs, mentioned in the following Estimation, there are six Ships yearly, which, as they come out from France mann’d to catch their own Cargoes in Shallops, they haul up and leave in the Country every Winter, till they return the next Spring, one with another may be allowed 60 Hands. And it has always been allowed, from St. Maloës and Granville they have at least 300 Sail of these Ships in this Fishery, that fish at Petit Nord, Fisbante, Belle-Isle, and the Gulph; which will, all computed as above, (allowing those Ships, that so come out to make their own Voyages, to carry each 3000 Quintals) be as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shallops</th>
<th>Men.</th>
<th>Quintals.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At Cape-Breton</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>5260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Gaspay</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Quadre</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Port en Basque</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Le Foils Isles</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Malos Men</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>18,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

414 24,520 1149,000
Here it may be objected, that of the 300 Ships above from St. Malos (which they insist upon) some of them are of those Ships above-reckoned at Gaspay, Quadre, &c. which is well known to be so. But, then, no regard is here had to the Ships so employ'd, among the rest, from St. Juan de Luz, Bayonne, Nantz, Havre de Grace, &c. which go annually into those Parts on the same Voyage; and are a great many more in Number than those 21 Ships above; and would, could an exact List be had, much swell the Account.

Besides all these, there have been constantly from the River Sendre, Olune, Poiteux, Havre, &c. 150 Ships at least, the French say 200 Sail, employed in the Mud-Fishery, or Mort Vest (as they call it) from 16 to 24 Men each: Which carry home, upon an Average, from 22,000 to 30,000 Fish in Number; which make, on the most moderate Estimate, 150 Sail of Ships: And, on a
Medium, at 20 Men each, employ 3000 Men, and in the Whole 3,900,000 Fishes in Tale. These Ships are fitted out in France for their Voyages on the Banks, and there tarry till they are laden; unless they meet with any Disturbance (in which Case they resort to Cape-Breton for Shelter and Supplies and from thence home to France. And it was thus frequent for them, when they had made their Voyages, to go into Cape-Breton for Water especially, as they had no other Port.

In regard to the Value of this Branch of Trade, it is necessary here to observe, that there is hereby produced a large Quantity of Train Oil; which France has always an immediate Demand for at Home, for their Woollen Manufactures, Lights, &c. And with which also their Sugar Colonies, that can't do without it, are yearly supplied. It is certainly well known, that they either do, or may at least, make one Hoghead of sixty Gallons of Oil, clear drawn off from the Blubber,
of his Own Life-time. 375

"Blubber, out of every hundred Quintals of Fish. And this, out of the Quantity of Fish before mentioned, will produce 11,490 Hogsheads of Oil. And, allowing that 4000 Fishes in Number are equal to 100 Quintals when cured, then the 3,900,000 Mud-fish, by the same Rule, will yield 975 Hogsheads of Oil, which added to the other make 12,465 Hogsheads of Train-oil, which are equal to 3116 Tons and a Quarter.

"Now, let the 1,149,000 Quintals of Fish be valued only at 10s. Sterling per Quintal, the prime Cost usually at Newfound land, and it is worth

\[
\begin{align*}
&574,500 : 00 \\
172,350 : 00
\end{align*}
\]

"And, to this, allow 3s. Sterling Freight per Quintal of it, in English Bottoms, to Market

\[
\begin{align*}
&746,850 : 00
\end{align*}
\]

"And then the Fish only is worth

Brought
Brought over 746,850 l. d.

And let the 3116 & qr. Tons of Oil be valued at 18l. Sterling per Ton, the Amount of it is 56,092 l. d.

As to the Mud-fish, it is generally sold in France at 1000 Livres per 1000 Fish; and then, at 11d. Sterling per Livre, their Value is 178,750 l. d.

And thus it appears, that One Year's Fishery of the French only is 981,692 l. d.

Which great Branch of Trade in a manner depends entirely on their Possession of the Island of Cape-Breton, as it is impossible to carry it on without some convenient Harbour of Strength, &c. to supply, support and protect it: And it is now with us to determine, whether they shall enjoy it or not?
"In Addition to this, let us consider, "that, in regard to the Woollen Manufacture, the Staple and Dependance of "England; in which also the French "have been vying with us, and have now "brought that Trade to such a Pitch as "to carry it all over not only their own "Dominions, (formerly obliged to us for "fine Cloaths) but to a great Advantage "into Italy, Spain, and Turkey, even to "the great Detriment of England.—I "say, in regard to this Branch of Trade, "allow that every Man before-mentioned "in the Fishery, in his Blanket, Watch- "coat, and Rug, Pea-jacket, &c. con- "sumes of these coarser Woollens 30s. "Sterling per Annum, at that Rate even "their Consumption will be 41,250 l. "Sterling; which, had we the whole "Fishery to ourselves, must of course be "of our own Manufacture.

"But besides this, all due Consideration must be had to the Canvases, "Cordage, Hooks, Lines, Twine, Nets, "Lead, Nails, Spikes, Edge-tools, Grap- "lings,
lings, Anchors, &c. &c. that 564 Ships, and the Shallops to fish for them, must expend at Sea and on Shore: And allow all these to be British, and the immediate Value of this Branch of Trade to England, could she (or rather would she) keep it to herself, will discover itself of greater Consequence than any other; not even excepting the Tobacco; that is, than any other Trade dependent on the Plantations. First, in regard to the raising Seamen for the Royal Navy: Secondly, the Consumption of the British Manufacture and Produce: And, above all, in a certain yearly Remittance of the Ballance of this Trade made to England from Spain, Portugal, Italy, &c. either in Specie; or in such foreign Commodities as pay his Majesty a prodigious Revenue; and this procured by Dint of Labour only, and fetched out of the Abundance of our Seas.

Thus, supposing the French entirely excluded this Fishery, (as may and must be
of his Own Life-time. 379

"be the Case if England keeps Cape-Bre-
"ton, and allows them no Privilege at
"Newfoundland; — for then they will
"not have any Port convenient for them
"at least till they fortify upon the Main,
"in the Gulph of St. Laurence,—which,
"having Cape Breton, we may hinder
"when we please. And adding the Ad-
"vantage of this Fishery to that of our
"own already, and considering, that the
"whole Papal Empire must then depend
"on us solely for this Bacaláos, which
"they can't do without, which will give
"us almost the whole Trade of the Me-
diterranean, and all the other national
"Advantages that must arise from this
"Consequence; and the present Acqui-
sition of Cape-Breton, unpeopling the
"French Colony there, and reducing the
"Garrisons to his Majesty's Obedi-
"ence, which must give us all the rest,
"is of itself a sufficient Compensation
"for the War; and will be so al-
"lowed by all those concerned in Trade,
"that know the many Advantages and
"Benefits that must arise from this Branch
of it only to England, by monopolizing the Whole of it."

"But besides the national Advantage by the Fishery;—by the Reduction of Cape-Breton, and an English Garrison there, France has not any one Sea-port for the Relief of their trading Ships, either to or from the East or West-Indies, open to them any where in North America, to the Northward of the River of Mississippi: For Canada is not to be looked upon as an open Port to the Sea; it being first sixty or seventy Leagues within Land, through the Gulph, to the Mouth of the River; and then a great deal further up the River. So that it is impracticable to think of going thither for Shelter: And of Consequence the whole Trade to and from the West-Indies, &c. will be not only exposed to our Privateers from the Northern Colonies in War-time, without any Place to

* More valuable than the Possession of the Mines of Mexico and Peru."
to retreat to, but even in Peace, without any Sea-port they can call their own, or lay any Pretensions now to do, in these Seas, any where to the Northward of Mississippi, as above said.

And as to Canada itself,—the River is now so much under our Command, as well as the Gulph, that all Trade there may be very easily stopped, and all Communication cut off from them by our Ships in and out of Cape Breton. So that (without Force or Arms) in a very few Years that Colony would fall, and the whole Trade of Furs, carried on with the Indians there, come into the English Hands, as Canada may be unable to supply or furnish them. But a happier Consequence than this will be, that as they may be kept from supplying the Indians to trade, so also to encourage them from annoying our Frontiers: And they (the Indians) even must become obliged to, and dependent upon, Us; so that we shall not be in such continual Apprehensions of their...
Hostilities, but rather may have them in as much Subjection to Us, as they have been to the French.

"To all that is said before in regard to Cape-Breton, let it be added, that by this Acquisition we have secured to the Nation the Garrison of Annapolis Royal, and the Colony of Nova Scotia; which being a very rich and fertile Soil, and its Coasts and Rivers abounding with Fish, and settled by French Catholicks, that Nation has much regretted the Loss of, and wanted to recover. Yea, and which they endeavoured to retake, by laying Siege to Annapolis, both the last Year, 1744, and this present Year; and would have got it, had it not been for our Expedition to Cape-Breton, which caused them to raise their Siege and withdraw. And, by our HOLDING Cape-Breton, we shall keep those French Inhabitants at Acadia in strict Allegiance to His Majesty, or else oblige them to quit their Possessions; which are all Farms,
Farms, brought to and fit for any Service immediately; which will be an Encouragement to our own Subjects to go and settle there; and also oblige the Cape-Sable Indians, our Enemies, either to abandon that Shore, and fly to Canada for such Shelter and Supply as they can spare them. And by that Means we shall get rid of that Tribe at least, if not, by the same Means those also of the St. John’s Tribe, which have been always troublesome to us; as both these Tribes have had their Dependance entirely on Cape-Breton and the French Acadia; the latter of which (as Neuters) have been supplied and used as Subjects both by the English and French. Which we have long enough lamented the bad Consequence of, and which now is stopp’d; so that they must either depend entirely upon us, and become good Subjects with us, or else on the French. And if the latter, they must of course retreat to Canada, (where they will help distress, rather than relieve, that Colony) and leave us Nova Scotia disencumbered both of themselves and Salvages.
"Had we not taken Cape Breton this Year, and the French had taken Annapolis, (which it's not disputed they would have done, had we been idle) the Consequence then would have been, —All the Inhabitants of Nova Scotia would have declared for the French King immediately, and the Colony at once been establisht'd to him; and all the Cape-Sable and St. John's Indians, who assisted at the Siege of Annapolis with those of Canada, would have been well supplied with Arms, Ammunition, &c: and set loose upon our Frontiers; and their Success would have so dispirited even those other Tribes, that pretend to be at Peace with us, that they must have joined with them; and they together would have carried Havock, Devastation and Ravage, all over our Frontiers; their Men of War and Privateers, by Sea, would have destroyed our Sea-ports, and kept us in continual Alarms, without having it in our Power to hinder them from carrying their Conquests from Annapolis, along our Eastern Shore
of his Own Life-time. 385

"Shore, even to Cape-Ann, were they " so inclined.

"The quiet Possession of all which " for the future in great Measure de- "pends immediately on this Acquisition " and Keeping of Cape-Breton, if not for- "tified Ourselves at least from the "French."*

Now it only remains incumbent upon me, as the Publisher, that I should give some Account of myself, and how I came by these Memoirs.

It is enough for the World to know, that I am the Son of the famous Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq; and I hope they'll have some Regard for me on my Father's Account; so I address myself solely to the Author, if alive, or, if dead, to his Pious Manibus. I have picked up, Sir, these your Memoirs, from a great Heap of loose Papers,

* And whoever so much as thinks of giving it up a second time, his Name and Memory will stink to all Eternity.
Papers, all wrote with your own Hand, to which I have made no Additions or Alterations, only collected and connected, I will not say digested, what I met with in your Manuscripts. I have had little or no Regard to Symmetry in Time, what I wanted was good Sense more than Chronology; so the Facts are related, in regard only to the Time of your own Life as they happened, and, I am sure, that I have had more Trouble in collecting and connecting than you had in remarking them, which you did only for your own Pleasure and Satisfaction; so I shall make no farther Apology for publishing them to the World; which is divided into three Tribes, under whose Cognizance an Author stands or falls, viz.

The Frowns or Favour of the Great;
The Applause or Censure of the Criticks;
or, how the People in general stand affected. The only Apology that I have to make is to yourself, for throwing these loose, crude, and indigested Conceptions (as you are pleased to call them) naked as they
they are into the World, without your Leave.

Now, Sir, as to the first Class, I have a Lord, and a great Lord too, who has promised me to accept of a Dedication, which would have served more properly for a Prologue than Epilogue; but I am so fond of it myself, that I cannot forbear giving it you; and here it goes.

My Lord,

If I was to describe the many political Transactions, as well in ecclesiastical as civil Affairs, of your Great Forefathers; the great and glorious martial Achievements of your noble Ancestors; and the Source of your most noble Family, they must swell into a Volume as big as Baker's Chronicles; but transcendent above all your Ancestors is your Lordship's great personal Honour, profound Learning, and inexpressible Merit, so very conspicuous and extensive, that no Language, even the most copious in the World, can find Words to express your Lordship's real
Honour and Merit. — Wherefore— I must be silent. So you see, we shall escape, and save Ourselves on this Side.

If the Criticks begin to snarl, I'll leave them to you, and (if you are alive) perhaps we may reap the Benefit of it, by your answering them; for when Thieves and Rogues fall out, honest Men come to their own.

As for the third Class, they are quite out of our Sphere, beneath our Notice, for it is only shooting a Parcel of Small-shot amongst the Multitude, and they'll disperse immediately, and run away to leave you on the Field of Battle: In like manner as you have pleased yourself in writing these Memoirs, why should I not take the same Liberty in pleasing myself by publishing them?

For whatever Displeasure I may incur from you, I shall make no other Apology than to tell the World, that I have been intimately acquainted with you, ever since you
of his Own Life-time. 389

you have had the least Remembrance of yourself, fifty Years and upwards, and I have Vanity enough to think, that I know you, intus & in cute, as well, if not better than you do yourself. I am sure, had I met with these Memoirs in the barbarous, rude, or most civilized, polite Countries, I should have known the Man, without having one Letter of his Name mentioned; and he must be a very complete Limner indeed, who can draw his own Picture to an exact Likeness, when he can only fit to it by Reflection, as in a Looking-glass: But it is a greater and much more difficult Task, though infinitely more useful to Mankind, to delineate Human Nature and Human Art, in such Lights and Colours as Mankind may be able to read, and see themselves so clearly as to discover the innumerable Snares that are laid for them, as well by the Passions and Foibles of human Nature, as those laid for them by human Art, so as to endeavour, to the utmost of their Power and Ability, to avoid splitting on the Rock in the Course of human Life.
I have often heard you say, That the Mind is formed by Genius and Education.

Genius, at its first Formation, depends chiefly on the Quantity, Quality, and Circulation of the animal spirits, when there's no wrong Organization of the Solids; and by its second Formation, Education, which is only a due Cultivation of that Genius, whilst it is in its infant State, capable of being moulded, and turned into an infinite Number of different Shapes: So you call Genius, human Nature, the Work of the Almighty Author of Nature; and Education, human Art, the Work of Man: These two, you say, form the Mind; and you are of Opinion, that the Diseases of the Mind may be as rationally accounted for, from these known Causes, as the Diseases of the Body can be accounted for, from the Quantity, Quality, and Circulation of the Blood in the animal Oeconomy; for that the animal Spirits are sooner affected, and more sensibly altered by Change of Air, Diet,
of his Own Life-time. 391

Diet, &c. at least more visibly altered, than the Blood, from which they are secreted; and I have remarked, in your Observations on the Coast of Guinea, published in the Year 1725, wherein you say, Page 38, that,

"You most heartily regretted the Loss of a Camelion, which you kept alive for some Months, which afforded you Matter of Speculation in your melancholy Hours, by evidently demonstrating to you, the Sympathy betwixt the Soul and the Body; for according to the different Passions you raised in the Mind, the Body changed immediately into different Colours: When it was perfectly pleased, it was of a beautiful light Green, and the whole Body, Tail and all, appeared transparent; when displeased, or very angry, of a dark, cloudy Colour, and the Body and Tail perfectly opake; and, according to the intermediate Passions, from the one extreme to the other, so were the intermediate Colours formed beautiful to Admiration.
This Animal afforded Subject-matter for sublime Speculation, and ocular Demonstration, to shew the natural Sympathy betwixt Soul and Body.

And I have likewise frequently heard you say, that you could rationally and mechanically account for the Variety and Diversity of Tempers and Humours of the Mind, with their different Distempers even unto Death, by what you call Morbus Animae, and particularly account for the Diversity of your own Temper, and Variety of Humour, (and I am sure none ever had a greater) from the above-mentioned natural Causes, and their Effects: At the same time I must do you the Justice to acknowledge, that I always found the fundamental Maxims in your Way of thinking uniform, and unalterably the same.

You have likewise been pleased to tell us, that, from the long Experience and Practice you have had, in so many different Countries in the Torrid Zone, you have
have known more People die of Diseases of the Mind, which you call the Soul, than of Diseases of the Body. It's certain, there's a natural, certain, and constant Sympathy betwixt the Soul and the Body, and, when the Source and original Cause of the Disease proceeds from the Mind, the Body is likewise affected, and suffers of course, as symptomatical Effects only; and, vice versa, from the Body to the Soul, even unto Death.

Now suppose I should ask you, How the Soul actuates upon the Body to produce this Sympathy? Why! the Question is as absurd, as to ask the Cause that produces centripetal Motion, or magnetic Attraction, of which we have ocular Demonstration, the Cause occult, as yet only known to the Almighty Author of Nature.

By your loose Papers, amongst your medicinal Observations, I find that you frequently make use of the following Expression, in a great many different Cases.
The Source and original Cause of this Disease proceeds entirely from the Mind, and those are only symptomatical Effects which appear and affect the Body.

\textit{Dato morbo invenire remedium:}

And then follows the Ratio and practical Observation; and there's particularly one Scrap of Paper, which to me looks like the Title-page of a Treatise of this Nature, giving an Account of the various Diseases of the Mind, with their Causes, Symptoms, and Effects on the human Body.

\textit{Morbi Animæ, tam è Nervorum fluidis ab excessu Spirituum animalium, circulationis nimiae, eorumque defectu circulationis parvae, quam è Nervorum solidis, Fibrae rigidae \& tensae, laxae \& debilis: \& De Morbis inde oriundis.}

But, to understand human Nature thoroughly requires great Study and Application, as well as great Penetration and Sagacity.
of his Own Life-time. 395

And to understand human Art, so as to be able to trace it thro' all its Turnings and Windings, into an infinite Number of different Shapes, requires a great deal more Knowledge, than the mere Study of the animal Oeconomy and Literature, and to be learnt only from a clear Understanding, sound Judgment, and Observations in the Course of human Life.

When Genius exerts itself without the least Education, you call it the primitive State of Nature; for there can be no Education without Genius, but there may be Genius without Education; and then you call in the great Sir Isaac Newton to your Assistance,

"Adjicere jam liceret" (says the great and immortal Sir Isaac Newton in his Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica, at the Conclusion of that inimitable Work) "nonnulla de spiri-
"tu quodam subtilissimo corpora craf-
"fa pervadente, et in iisdem latente; cu-
"jus vi et actionibus particularè corporum
ad minimas distantias se mutuo attrahunt, et contiguae factae coherent; et corpora Electrica agunt ad distantias majores, tam repellendo quam attrahendo corpuscula vicina, et Lux emittitur, reflexit, refringitur, inflectitur, et corpora caelefacit; et sensatio omnis excitatur, et membra animalium ad voluntatem moventur, vibrationibus sicilicet hujus Spiritus per solida nervorum capillamenta, ab externis sensuum organis ad cerebrum et a cerebro in musculos propagatis: (And that incomparable Gentleman concludes) "Sed hae paucis exponi non possunt; neque adeo sufficiens copia Experimentorum, quibus leges actionum hujus Spiritus accurate determinari et demonstrari debent."

What Pity it is, that this great Man did not apply himself to the Study of Medicine, and the animal Economy; for from him we should have learnt more of the Laws of Nature, reduced to a regular Mathematical System, according to this Specimen he has left us, than from all the World
World beside, till there rises up a second Newton, to apply himself to this Study: At least we should have had no Occasion for your Essay on Genius and Education.

The indefatigable and learned Dr. Boerhaave, (that Heluo Librorum) has gone some length this Way; but I am sorry that he broke off so abruptly, I fancy through Sickness or Death: And what loose Thoughts I have got of yours, amongst your Memoirs, on this Subject, I vow and protest, if you don't overcome that damned Indolence, (your old Companion, only when Necessity or some whimsical Humour rouzes you, and obliges you to shake her off for a Time), and make what Haste you can to digest them into some Method, and nothing but Death shall excuse you, I'll send them the same Way with your Memoirs, stark naked as they are at present, into the World, to shift for themselves, Scots like; which perhaps may incite some more able and willing Hand to say something to the Purpose on that glorious Subject. For my own Part,
Part, I must acknowledge, that I have picked up, even from those loose, indigested Scraps of yours, some Knowledge, and Observations on human Nature, that may prove very useful and advantageous in the Course and Conduct of human Life, which I was an entire Stranger to, before I had the Hints from you; but, as I am no competent Judge in these Affairs, I shall only say, that a Treatise on this Subject, from an able Hand, would be of great Benefit to Mankind, and greatly contribute to the Support of Society.

So, pray Sir, do you think that you could know your own abortive Conceptions, if you were to see them again? Well! it is your own Brat, your very Likeness: Tho' I took it up a Foundling, I'll nurse it a little for old Acquaintance sake, and, as soon as it can walk alone, I'll send it abroad to shift for itself, like its Papa. I have likewise got your Creed, last Will and Testament, Epitaph, &c.

I would have you keep the Creed, for
for your own private Use, till you find it of more Benefit and Service for the Publick than those they have got already; and, as for your Last Will and Testament, I would likewise advise you to keep that too, till you get some Mexican Dollars, to answer the Disposition and good Intention of the Will, for the World seems not inclined at present to take your Word for it; in mean time I'll give them your Epitaph gratis, to be inscrib'd on your Tomb-stone.

ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ.

Deum pius adoravi, Qui est:
Intelligere de Deo unice volui id,
Quod Deus de se intelligit:
Eo contentus ultra nihil requiris
ne Idololatria erraret.

Ens Entium!
Miserere Mei!

In fine, the Inference, which I can draw from the Whole, is, that the only great and difficult Task, in the Course of human Life, is, to know yourself; this Nosce Te-ipsum is the grand Secret of Life; for
for the whole Course of Life is only one continual Struggle between our Reason and our Passions, which shall get the better; the Passions are so strong, the Understanding so weak, and the Course of Life so very short, that we cannot possibly arrive to that Perfection only comparatively, some nearer than others; but, if you know yourself, all other Knowledge comes in course by Application, and consequently you'll very soon discover, that

*The World's a Bubble, and all Things shew it; I thought so once, at last I knew it.*

You have had this thought of Mr. Gay; you have altered the Words, but the Reason continues strong for it; as you have divided the World into

**Bubblers and Bubblees,**

*Hic aut Hæc.*

**Homo:**

So I conclude your *Memoirs*, at present with these Sentiments of that polite Writer, my Lord Shaftesbury, in the first Volume of his *Characteristicks.*

"*The"
of his Own Life-time. 401

"The only Method which can justly qualify us, for this high Privilege of giving Advice, is in the first Place to receive it ourselves, with due Submis-
ion, where the Publick has vouch-
safed to give it us by Authority; and if in our private Capacity, we can have Resolution enough to criticise ourselves, and call in question our high Imaginations, florid Desires, and spe-
cious Sentiments, according to the Manner of Soliloquy above prescribed; we shall, by the natural Course of Things, as we grow wiser; prove less conceited, and introduce into our Cha-
acter, that Modesty, Condescension, and just Humanity, which is essential to the Success of all friendly Counsel and Admonition; an honest, home Philosophy must teach us the whole-
some Practice within ourselves; polite Reading and Converse with Mankind of the better Sort will qualify us for what remains."

D d

Now
Now you see Mr. Bickerstaff threatens me very hard, if I don't continue my Memoirs, that he will publish what loose Papers he has of mine in his Hands; I know the Man well; though he says he was born in England, I dare say he is of Scotch Extract, for he is d-mn-d Positive; if he says he'll do it, he certainly will do it; therefore I think it more adviseable for me, to publish them myself: It is true, that he has made a tolerable good Apology for himself, which has put me upon my Mettle to make an Apology for myself, as Example is infinitely stronger than Precept, and Virtue appears more beautiful, when it enters into Contrast with Vice. I am persuaded the judicious Reader will be able to draw some good moral Reflections from the whole, and though it should be at my Cost, I am pleased, so I'll e'en jugg on to the End of my Journey.

I left Jamaica, that Den of Th-v-s, sheltered under their own Wings by Authority
of his Own Life-time. 403

Authority among themselves, not in a clandestine Manner, by Stealth, as it was maliciously and villainously reported, to murder my Character at Home, as they had done Abroad, for I put up my Name in the Secretary’s-Office, according to the Law and Custom of the Country, some Months before I left the Island, and Nobody offered to underwrite me; I embarked publickly at Noon-day on board the Ship Shirley, with the Governor’s Certificate and Passport, and arrived safe in London, in the Year 1747. This was gaining a Point by the Jamaica People, and what they had aimed at for some Time; for there was then owing to me in the Island of Jamaica 2200 l. that Currency, and I sued, and had obtained a Verdict (See pag. 323.) against one of their Grandees for 1600 l. who mustered up all his Strength and Forces to ruin me and force me off the Island; so thus disabled to get rid of me at any Rate, for I am sure I did not owe 200 l. in all the Island;
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Island; so they get clear by me 2000 l. by Balance, nor do I expect ever to recover a Shilling, unless I could catch that Grandee Judge Manning, out of his Den in Westminster-Hall, I would soon shew him the Difference; or if I could have laid hold on their late Attorney-General and Executioner Penny, an Action for false Imprisonment would have lain against him, as I am well advised by Counsel learned in the Law; or if I could find a proper Method of moving the Cause, from the Courts of Jamaica to England; for there is no such Thing as carrying on a Prosecution against lawless People at such a Distance, who have the Power in their own Hands, which is well known and sufficiently felt by Thousands as well as myself; for I dare say, the Island of Jamaica is indebted some Hundreds of Thousands of Pounds to the Cities of London, Bristol and Liverpool, &c. which on Balance of Accounts will amount to a greater Sum than would purchase the whole
whole Island, Effects and all, as it now stands; which may be easily made appear by the Merchants Books; as for my own Part, I would not give an hundred Pounds for a Debt of a Thousand of the best Man in Jamaica, unless he was willing to pay it; for there are several able enough if they were willing. I heard one of their Grandees, who was President of the Council and Governor for the Time being, (as there was no Governor at that Time appointed from England) talking about getting a Gentleman, well versed in the Law and Customs of the Court of Chancery, to sit as Chancellor, or Assessor to the Governor as Chancellor; No, (says he) that will never do, How shall we then be able to serve our Friends? For in that Country they are generally divided into Factions, or Parties, the one called the Governor's Party, the other the Country Party, and they follow one another like a String of wild Geese, and stick close as Glue, Right or Wrong, all is
is turned into Party Affairs, which they endeavour to do in every Thing that comes on the Carpet; so when the Governor shews himself a Gentleman of Spirit (as they call it) especially, when he has sucked in the Jamaica Air for a long Time, which contaminates the Mind, by bringing Custom into a second Nature, more particularly when creolized, his Party must always prevail, for his Power is great, and as absolute as the Grand Mogul for the Time being; he can dissolve the Assembly, place and displace Judges, without assigning any Cause to them for so doing, and suspend all Officers, civil or military, till his Majesty's Pleasure is known; he does it first and answers for it afterwards; there was one of the Country Party, a Man of Credit and Reputation among them, told me that he was heartily sorry for the bad Treatment and Sufferings I had met with, but in the main, says he, I am glad of it, for it is such a crying Injustice and Iniquity,
it must undo them, they'll hang themselves, give them but Rope enough: a fine Compliment to me, to hang me first, who was innocent, and of no distinguished Party, that they should hang themselves afterwards. It is true, the Governor turned out all the Judges who gave Judgment for me, the whole Bench, except Judge Manning himself, and the Attorney General brought a Bill of Exceptions (See p. 318, 319.) and next Court they had a new Set of their own chusing, who answered the Purpose effectually, by accomplishing my Ruin. (See from p. 316, to 350.) There is no Stand can be made now-a-days against the Governor's Party in Jamaica, for they have got no Leader of any Consequence to head them, so they carry their Protection about with them, and all Things before them swimmingly, according to their old standing Maxim

*Show me the Man, and I'll show you the Law.*

D d 4 Under
Under these Pressures and Distractions of Mind, struggling hard to extricate myself from such a heavy Load of Oppression, and a long Series of Misfortunes and cruel Disappointments, as you will see by these Memoirs, which no human Prudence could foresee, or prevent, for the Burden of Debt to unfortunate and generous Souls, when it is not in their Power to satisfy, is the worst of all Tyrants to the human Mind; but these Difficulties surmounted give double Pleasure, for the true Use and real Value of Money is only known by the Want of it: but I do own the Experience as too dear bought at the Height of Misery, and Poverty crowns it.

The only Relief, Comfort, and Composure of Mind, I found, was Retirement into a little Hermit's Cell in the Country with my Books; as Cicero observes, Adversis solatium et perfugium present, studia senectutem delectant, pernoctant nobiscum,
for I still retain that Vanity to like few Companies better than my own; so if I cannot be set to my liking, I retire within myself with Pleasure, for \( \text{secum esse, et secum vivere} \) is a Pleasure that very few know or enjoy; for Solitude and Retirement are the proper Seasons in which the Fund of Reflection is expanded: and here, indeed, I had a large and beautiful Field to go upon, for my long Absence from the Republic of Letters, in Countries where few or none of that Republic were to be found, gave me great Pleasure to find the Improvements that had been made in my Absence, and digested into a regular, concise Method of Study: I found Divinity reduced to a regular, rational, and intelligible System, purged of its superfluous Jargon and hyperbolical Mysteries, and made a Science agreeable to our Reason, amiable to our Understanding, conformable to the Laws and Religion of Nature and social Virtue, in these inestimable
ineffimable Discourses of the learned and honest Dr. Foster, in the First Volume of his Works, and the whole Ecclesiastic History, from the Rise of Christianity to be continued to the present Time, digested with great Accuracy and Learning, clear Understanding and sound Judgment, by the accurately learned Mr. Bower; wherein we may learn how the Church, by their refined Policy in contriving their subtle Artifices and Intrigues, in carrying on their consummate Villainy, and executing their Designs, laid the Foundation for grasping at overgrown Power, and Authority, and universal Dominion, and Slavery, over the Minds as well as Bodies and Estates of Mankind; as wide as the Earth could not bound them, they extended their Power to the Kingdom of Heaven, nay, above all, that is God, vested with the Plenitude of all Power both spiritual and temporal; and, which is remarkable, never one of them lost, or parted with an Inch gained by their Predecessors,
of his Own Life-time. 411

Predecessors, constantly acquiring and adding to their Power and Grandeur, according to their different Abilities and Capacities, tying the Hands of their Successors by the irreversible Entail of Divine Right, interlarded with the most horrid Scenes of Cruelty, Bloodshed and Slaughter in executing their Designs, which reflect Disgrace on Human Nature itself, or rather on that Religion which has divested Human Nature of all its Humanity, and taught its Votaries to thirst after the Blood of those who profess any other.

Cum fueris Romæ romano vivito more,
Cum fueris alibi vivito more loci.

But every Man's Reason is every Man's Oracle, and he that follows that Guide in the search of Truth, will have a much better Plea to make, whenever or wherever called to account, than he who has resigned himself either deliberately or inadvertently to any Authority upon Earth;
Earth; for, "Where Mystery begins "Religion ends," an Apophthegm of the honest Dr. Foster, which likewise holds true in all Professions where Mysteries begin, Professions end in Imposture and Delusion.

Physic owes no lesser Obligation to the great and famous Dr. Boerhaave, who has purged the Body of all its bombast Jargon, chimerical Notions, and theoretical Whimsies, and reduced it into a regular, rational, and intelligible System, in his Institutes and Aphorisms, which were the Basis of his Daily Academic Lectures, published, and explained at large by that ingenious Gentleman Gerardus Van Swieten, M. D. a Disciple of his, as he had them, viva voce, from the learned and indefatigable Author.

There is nothing more certain, as we see by daily Experience, that the spontaneous Recovery of Patients, who escape merely by the Force of Nature,
and even sometimes in Opposition to Medicines wrongly administered, when the Effect is ascribed to the Medicines exhibited, which is doing something, as they call it, worse than nothing; for if this was not the Case, the innumerable different Theories and Practices founded thereon, diametrically opposite one to another, would expire in their Infancy for Want of Success, for one only can be right, which is to follow the Indications and Dictates of Nature, as the Prince of Physicians, *Hippocrates*, rightly observes, "It is Nature which cures " Distempers by a *Concoction of Humours*," as he terms it, which is only their Preparation for a subsequent Discharge, to throw off the morbific Matter by some spontaneous Evacuation, which is the *Crisis* much celebrated and observed by all Physicians of Knowledge both Ancient and Modern; so that the whole Business of a Physician is to watch the Motions of Nature, by no Means disturbing her in her Operations of concocting
coacting and expelling the Humours, by attempting any Thing of Consequence, whilst he is only permitted to prevent, if possible, by a proper Regimen, those Accidents which he foresees by Symptoms may happen and prove dangerous, or to assist Nature, by gentle Means, to complete this critical Discharge when begun, provided her own Force is insufficient for that salutary Purpose; and the only Competition between Superiority in Knowledge, amongst Physicians, consists in

Nature and I, against any Two,

To follow the Indications and Dictates of Nature, when she overacts, to curb, and when she underacts, to stimulate her, is the whole Ars Medendi; though it must be confessed, that some few are so happy in an unextinguishable Strength of Constitution, that they, even at last, miraculously recover at any Rate;
Rate; and if the Patient should chance to die of the Doctor, as I am fully convinced a great many do, by Mal-Practice of a pompous Farrago of Medicines, Alexipharmics, Cephalics, Diaphoretics, Emmenagogues, Febrifuges, Galactopherics, Hypnotics, Neurotics, Panchymarocs, Quid pro quo in abundante, Odotics, Rhyptics, Sarcotics, Topics, Xeraphics, cum innumerabilibus ablis S. A. compositis.

But the only Efficacy of all this Trumpery, if not heaped one upon another, is, Capiat cum debito regime, in plain English, Abstinence: O flagris dignum facinus, quo innumeroros perdunt aegros! and whoever opposes this pernicious Practice, will be sure to meet with the whole Posse of Apothecaries, in Combination with the Nurses, to defame his Character, to demolish him if his Character is not above their Reach.

When
When the Friends come to lament over the Deceased; and find the Table covered with innumerable Bottles; Phials; Gallypots, Boxes, &c: with their proper Signatures, they readily pronounce him a great, learned, and careful Doctor, for the Patient has wanted for nothing, the Doctor has tried every Thing, and nothing would do but *stark Death*; and especially if there is a good Fortune left by the Deceased, the Heirs and Executors will not grudge the Apothecary's Bill, though it fills several Sheets of Paper. As for my own Part of the Practice of Physic, I have reduced the Materia Medica into a narrow Compass, in a very small Bulk, which I find, by long Experience, answers all the laudable Intentions of Practice, equal to the most swelled Volumes of Dispensaries.

When Foreigners and Strangers come to London, by reading the public News-Papers, they will find innumerable Advertisements of infallible Remedies for every
there; I have tried some of these in my own Practice, and found some of them, when properly and judiciously applied, of Benefit to Mankind; but one ought to be very cautious of meddling with such Stuff not knowing the Composition.

Asclepiades was so sensible of this even in his Time, that in cracking his Jokes, he called a Consultation of Doctors, a Meditation on Death.

But I am very far from derogating from that noble and honourable Profession of Physic, when professed by Gentlemen of Learning, Candour, and Understanding, and practised by honest Men; as in its primitive State, Physic, Surgery, and Pharmacy was only one Profession, now-a-days it is turned into three Trades, that they may with the greater Facility play into one another's Hands to prey upon the Patient.
Æsculapius, Son of Menes, was a Physician and King of Memphis; at the same Time his Brother Mercurius, who was a Chemist, reigned at Thebes, (from him the Preparation and Name of Mercury.) Hippocrates was a Prince of the Island Coos; Galen was of Pergamus, co-temporary with Marcellus; Julius Cæsar gave the Freedom of Rome to all who professed Medicine, and Augustus exempted them from the Payment of Taxes; and the Profession of Physic is turned into a more profitable Trade in England, than in all Europe besides.

As for the Law, which was originally designed for the Support of Society, and instituted for the Benefit of every Individual of that Society, I have learnt by long and fatal Experience, having the Misfortune of being unhappily involved in innumerable Law-Suits in the Course of my Life-time, that unavoidably flowed in upon me, like a Deluge, se defendendo, in the Course of my Misfortunes, the
the greatest Aversion, Curse and Plague of my Life. That Law, as it is now practised, is become the greatest Bane and Nuisance in England, not from any Defect in the Laws themselves, or Want of Justice, in the supreme Courts of Judicature; for the Laws are good, and the Benches in England never better filled with Judges of Capacity and unimpeachable Honour; and the supreme Judge * is of an unparalleled Genius and Capacity, and indefatigable in Business; but they are surrounded with such an innumerable tumultuary Crowd, the very Scum and Dregs of the Earth; that it is next thing to an Impossibility to get at them; for the first Attempt must be begun amongst the lower Class of Attorneys, whose Education, Morals and Ways of Thinking are not much superior to the lowest Rank of all, the Executioners of the Law, the Bailiffs, and Jack-catch; and amongst this Pest of Mankind, you

* Lord Chancellor Hardwicke.
must dwell perhaps some Years, spending or rather mispending your Time and your Money; for you must allow your Pockets to be pickt daily by Consent, or else they'll drop you at once; and if they find that there is nothing worth picking, you are sure to meet with the same Fate: Then perhaps you'll rise a little higher, and come nearer the Tribunal, by applying to a Solicitor of Credit, as they call him, to state your Case fairly, to be laid before Counsel; that is to say, you'll find one to pick your Pocket with a better Grace, and more Credit, by Wholesale, and not by Retail, like the Petty-foggers, by bringing you in a Bill of some Hundreds at once, Fees and Attendance on Counsel, Coach-hire and Attendance on Defendant's Solicitors, and always a great many Meetings between the Plaintiff and Defendant's Lawyers, to accommodate and compromise Business for the benefit of their Clients; and these Gentlemen never walk the Streets, but always go in Coaches, that they
they may be more expeditious in the Dispatch of their Client's Business; and when they charge Coach-hire ten Times, I'll venture to say they walk nine of these Times on Foot; and perhaps you may at last arrive at the Summit of all, the Counsellors, Gentlemen learned in the Law, these Wranglers at the Bar, where you may hear Oratory and Rhetoric displayed without any other Meaning than to amuse: Chicanry and Trick advanced under the Colour and Figure of Law and Justice, and always with a seeming fervent Zeal for the Benefit of their Clients, without one grain of Sincerity, farther than it can contribute to their own particular Interest: a very dry and laborious Study, which affords no Pleasure but from the Profits arising from the Practice; and may be justly stiled a bottomless Gulph: but we have a pregnant Instance, in his present Majesty of Prussia, of the great Benefits and Advantages accruing to Society, and particularly to his own Subjects, by curtailing Processes at Law, and
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reducing the Law into a concise, regular, rational and intelligible System, and punishing the Litigiousness of the Lawyers.

"History is, no doubt, the most instructive and useful, as well as the most entertaining and diverting Part of Literature; more especially when it is not confined within the narrow Bounds of any particular Time or Place, but extends to the Transactions of all Times and Nations. Works of this Nature, as Cicero rightly observes, carry our Knowledge beyond the vast and devouring Space of numberless Years, triumph over Time, and make us, tho' living at an immense Distance, in a manner Eye-witnesses to all the Events and Revolutions, which have occasioned such astonishing Changes in the World. By these Records it is, that we live, as it were, in the very Time, when the World was created; we behold how
how it was governed in its Infancy;
when Mankind were in their primitive
State of Innocency and Simplicity;
we see the Necessity People were un-
der to form themselves into Societies,
with the Origin, Rise and Progress of
civil Government: How Kings and
Kingdoms have risen, flourished and
decayed; and by what Steps they
brought upon themselves, their final
Ruin and Destruction: By these
Means we can penetrate into their
Actions, and easily distinguish the
virtuous from the vicious, by seeing
what Height of Happiness Mankind
arrive at, under a regular good Go-
vernment; and Abyss of Misery they
are plunged into, by a wicked bad
one. From these and other like
Events occurring in History, every
judicious Reader may form prudent
and unerring Rules for the Conduct
of his Life, both in private and pub-
lic Capacity. In short, as Lord Boling-
broke says, the Love of History seems
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"inseparable from human Nature, be-
cause it seems inseparable from Self-
Love. We are fond of preserving,
as far as it is in our frail Power,
the Memory of our Adventures, of
those of our own Time, and of those
that preceded it.

"It is a Maxim founded on Truth,
and promotive of the Happiness of
Mankind, that whatever is generally
useful, should be generally known;
and therefore, he who propagates or
promotes the Knowledge of the Sci-
ences, merits the first Rank among
the Benefactors to Society and the
Republic of Letters. And as the Be-
nefits flowing from Literature extend
to every Individual, from the Prince
on the Throne, to the meanest Inhabi-
tant of a Cottage, it is no Wonder that
we should abound with such a Multi-
pliety of Authors on every Branch
of Learning. But it is not reasona-
ble to suppose that every Person, who
defires
of his Own Life-time. 425

desires to understand the Sciences,
has either Time or Capacity sufficient
to read the different Authors, who
have written on that Subject, or Abi-
lity to purchase the Number of Books,
requisite for this Purpose; wherefore
we are infinitely obliged to a Society
of Gentlemen, who have undertaken
effectually to remove this Difficulty,
by publishing an *History of all Nations
whatever, both ancient and modern,
from the earliest Account of Time, to the
present Time; compiled from original
Authors with great Accuracy and
Learning, and digested with sound
Judgment and Understanding, by
indefatigable Labour; a very valua-
ble compleat historical Library of it-
s elf: And we are likewise obliged to
a Set of Gentlemen, who have com-
piled and published, a compleat Body
of Arts and Sciences, as they are at
present practised, taught and cultivated,
in the Republic of Letters; a very
useful
"useful Work, intitled A New and Universal Dictionary."

Literature is now improved and reduced into such a concise regular Method of Study, that I'll venture to say that any Person applying himself to his Studies in general, or to any particular Branch of Literature, may acquire more solid Learning and Knowledge, in one Year, than in antient Times in ten; I am aware, that the Critics will object, that reading from Collections is only School-Boys Learning, without searching into the original Authors; I suppose every Gentleman who applies himself to his Studies, is so far Master of the original Languages, to satisfy his Curiosity when he pleases; others must take on Trust of the Compiler, which they may do with Safety in the above-mentioned Works. As for your critical Learning, I confess my Ignorance, for I never could find out its Use; I have known a Gentleman purchase a Cameo at Rome for some
some Hundreds of Pounds, really not worth so many Shillings; for I dare say, he knew as little of the *cui bono* as I did, only to have the honour of being reckoned among the number of the *Literati* or *Virtuosi*, which no doubt pleased him more than the Money he paid for it: so all Parties were pleased; for to say Truth (as Mr. Pope rightly observes) whatever is very good Sense, must have been common Sense in all Times; and what we call Learning, is but the Knowledge of the Sense of our Predecessors: Therefore they who say our Thoughts are not our own, because they resemble the Antients, may as well say our Faces are not our own, because they are like our Fathers.

As for classical Learning, you'll find an elegant Description of the Classics, and lively Images drawn of them, with all their Beauties and Excellencies, set forth by the learned Monsieur Rollin, in his History of the *Belles Lettres*, which will
will naturally lead you to have Recourse to the original Authors.

These were my Amusement in my Solitude, which gave a greater Tranquillity and more real Satisfaction of Mind, tho' at the same Time under the greatest Pressures even for common Necessaries of Life, than ever I found in all the gay, luxurious, and extravagant Scenes of Life, with Money at Command; the former gives real Pleasure, and Satisfaction, the other great Trouble and Pain; there are no Words to express the Pleasures of Retirement, only to be felt by those, who have a thorough Knowledge and Experience of the World, capable of Reflexion: which puts me in mind of a beautiful Saying of Dioclesian, who had passed through all the Vicissitudes of Fortune, a calce ad capitem, and met with so many Embroils; after he had resigned the Empire, and retired for the last nine Years of his Life to Salona, when his Friends were importuning
tuning him to reassert the Government he answered, "Now I live, now I see the Sun; if you would observe (says he) these fine Pot-Herbs, which are the Fruit of my own Industry and assiduous Care, you would trouble me no more with the Thoughts of Empire."

But I made frequent Excursions in my Studies, to Horace and Swift, Virgil and Pope, cum multis aliis: and greedily grasped at whatever came out new worth Notice.

The ambitious Views, lofty Designs, and insatiable Desires of a Lady seated on the Spanish Throne, who took the Reins of Government solely into her own Hands have kept all Europe in a continual Ferment from her Accession to the Crown, I fancy, never to subside till the Day of her Death; when she first set out in her royal Dignity, and set her Foot on Spanish Ground, she gave
gave a true Specimen of her aspiring resolute Temper.

*Julio Alberoni*, afterwards Cardinal, served as domestic Chaplain to the Duke of *Vendosme*, when he commanded the Army in *Spain* in the Year 1710, who ingratiated himself so far at Court as to become a Favorite, and was Projector and principal Negotiator of the Marriage between *Philip* the Vth. of *Spain*, and this Lady *Isabella Parmasena*, and was sent into *Italy* on this Errand; who, no doubt, like a prying Priest, informed her of all the Anecdotes of the *Spanish* Court, where the Princess *Ursini* then predominated, and had the Command of the King’s Household, *la Major-Domo* by Order; and of the King’s Person by Inclination, if Fame speak true; howsoever it may be, this Lady was sent by the King to receive and conduct his new *Queen Isabel*, now of *Spain, Parmasena* to Court: They met on the Borders of *Spain*, when the Princess *Ursini* began
began early to find Fault with the new Queen; that she was surprized that Her Majesty made so long Journies, to travel so late at Night to catch Cold; and that she was not dressed after the Spanish Mode at Court: upon which presumption, the new Queen made no other Answer, than calling for the Captain of the Guard, ordered him to carry that Lady, Princess Ursini, out of the Territories of Spain, never to return more; and sure enough the Orders were executed immediately, for there was the King's Sign-Manual, artfully procured by Alberoni, for the Execution of this Plot. All this was done before she ever saw her betrothed Husband, and maintained her Ground with him afterwards; for that Lady Princess Ursini never appeared more in Spain: the boldest and most resolute Stroke, that perhaps ever was struck by Woman, at her Age and Circumstances: A bold Stroke for a Husband!
So soon as she was firmly fixed on her Throne, she made Choice of Alberoni for her Prime Minister, and prevailed with the Pope to make him a Cardinal; which his Holiness heartily repented of afterwards, and acknowledged himself circumvented and over-reached in this Choice by her Majesty; for his Holiness strove all in his Power to undignify him, and take his Cardinal's Hat from him; but her Majesty knew very well, that could not be done, without Leave of the Holy Ghost, and his Holiness was ashamed to acknowledge Fallibility.

I think it was in the Year 1718, when she, and her Prime Minister schemed the Sicilian Expedition, expressly contrary to the Articles of the Peace of Utrecht 1713, which Project proved abortive only by the Interposition of Great Britain, as Guarantee of the Peace of Utrecht; it was nipped in the Bud, and the shocking Disappointment bred a Canker in her Breast, which nothing but Death can extir-
of his Own Life-time. 433

extirpate; and methinks it was in the same Year that haughty, imperious, and tyrannical Priest, projected to enslave the Lordship of Biscay, a free independant People, who have enjoyed fueros of their own, for Time immemorial, unalterable like the Laws of the Medes and Persians; which exempt them from all Tythes to the Church, and all Dutes and Taxes to their Lord, who is always of their own free Election, and holds it only for Life, quamdiu se bene gesserit; so that there is a free Ingress and Egress to Commerce, without the Trouble and Plague of Custom-House Officers; when this bold daring Priest, under the Cloak of his Royal Master Philip the V. of Spain, who was then elected and sworn in Lord of Biscay, offered and actually did settle, Custom-House Officers within the Districts and Territories of that independant Lordship, to impose and levy new Taxes expressly contrary to the Articles and Laws, which their Lord had sworn strictly and
religiously to keep inviolable: But the brave People in Vindication of their own Liberties, in Justice to themselves, rose and cut them all off to a Man, with some of the Ringleaders of their Accomplices, and Abettors; which the High-Priest himself deserved more richly than any, but I am only sorry they could not get at him; which would have prevented great Destruction to Mankind, which ensued afterwards, by the Execution of his Measures: And tho' there are no Tythes paid to the Church, in the Lordship of Biscay, yet as it has been a Refuge for Christians, when conquered and persecuted by the Moors; the Church has laid hold on them, hard and fast, for they have more Clergy-men in proportion, than any other Part of Spain, that I have seen, and live better by their frank Offerings, and voluntary Contributions, than others do by their Appointments.

Then
of his Own Life-time. 435

Then she tripled her Alliance with the House of Bourbon, by marrying her Daughter to the Dauphin of France; and her second Son without one Foot of Land, to the eldest Daughter of France; and planned out new Kingdoms for her Sons, to be robbed from their Neighbours; and prevailed with the Holy Ghost, to make her youngest Son, whilst a mere Child, an Arch-Bishop and Cardinal; a Burlesque on ecclesiastical Preferments, for sure the Pope could not be imposed on a second Time by her: But I will venture to say, if she had got no Sons, the Holy Ghost would have done the same Favour to one of her Daughters; and if she was in the Conclave herself he would certainly make her Pope, to hold it in commendam.

This Ferment burst into a Flame, first kindled between Germany and France, and by the artful Tricks, and assiduous cunning Chicanry of France, stirring and blowing the Fire, at last it set Great Britain in a Blaze with Spain, which lasted nine Years and upwards. Although I was
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was Witness to the most material Transactions of that War, I cannot say what was done, but can easily tell what was left undone; and shall only mention that Great Britain, has no great Reason to brag of her martial Achievements in the Camp, or political Negotiations in the Cabinet, but all Parties being heartily tired, and exhausted, all Losers, no Winners, they unanimously agreed on a general definitive Treaty, concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the Year 1748. Thus ended a very expensive and unsuccessful War to Great Britain, badly projected and worse executed.

By this Time her Majesty of Spain, had lost her Consort King Philip the Vth. of Spain, and consequently the Reins of Government were shifted into the Hands of Ferdinand the VI. the late King's Son, by a Princess of Sardinia; and the Queen Dowager retired to her Palace of Ildefonso built in her Husband's Time; on Purpose for her Reception; where quite obscured to vulgar Eyes, even
of his Own Life-time. 437

even blinded to the Court of Madrid, her immense Capacity and great Abilities, exert themselves with a Lustre, that shines through all Europe, and sends its darting Rays to the utmost Corner of the Globe, which gives Weight to Affairs of the greatest Consequence; and is the secret invisible Spring, by which not only the Court of Madrid moves, but sets in Motion other Affairs of the greatest Importance in Europe: The Ore is brought crude to the Office of Don Joseph de Carvajal y Lancaster, where it is weighed, and Judgment formed of its Specific-Gravity; afterwards it is carried to the Office of Don Cenon de Somodevilla el Marques de la Ensenada, where it is refined and valued; then cast into different Moulds, Shapes, and Forms, and finely polished by the best French and Italian Tools, adapted to its proper Uses: All this Time she appears to be a meer Recluse, never to meddle in any Affairs at all, when her Ambition is unmeasurable, of an aspiring, restless Mind, and her
her Invention always upon the Rack, which is visibly seen, and more sensibly felt, by Thousand of Thousands from the dire Effects. Till she gets her three Sons made Sovereigns, the World will never be at Rest; tho' the Race of Mankind were to be extirpated in the Execution of her Schemes.

At the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle 1748, Don Carlos was confirmed King of the two Sicilies, and Don Philip had the Dukedoms of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla given him; and the Spaniards had two more Points to push at with the British, the Restitution of Gibraltar, and the total Suspension of the Assiento Contract: Upon this last Article, my whole Interest and Fortune depended; my All, and a great deal more than my Ally, was at Stake: Which roused me from my Hermit's Cell, and sent me to the Court of Madrid in the Year 1749, to lay this my hard Case, before his
Britannick Majesty's Ambassador at that Court, for Redress of Grievances.

I engaged myself in the Service of the South-Sea-Company, in the Year 1724, where I have seen that advantageous and beneficial Branch of Commerce, under all the Vicissitudes of Fortune, in Peace and War; and I have suffered greatly by Ruptures with Spain, illegal Seizures and Reprizals directly contrary to the Articles of the Assiento Treaty, in open Violation and Breach of almost every Article of the Assiento Contract, then subsisting in force between the two Nations, and at last by the total Dissolution of the Assiento Treaty: whereas it is expressly stipulated by the XL Article of that Contract, that in Case of a Rupture between the two Nations; the Assentists should be allowed a Year and a Half from the Declaration of War, to recover and gather in their Debts and Effects, without Hindrance, or the least Molestation, and their Servants.
vants are to be safely conveyed to his Britannick Majesty's Dominions: But contrary to all publick and private Faith, upon the least Surmise of a Rupture, the Spaniards seized and detained the whole Effects, and confined all the British Subjects close Prisoners.

In Conformity to the express Articles of the Afsiento Contract, at the breaking out of the War 1740, by Advice and with Consent of the South-Sea-Company's Agents at Jamaica; I hired and dispatched a Vessel, with a Flag of Truce from Admiral Vernon to la Vera Cruz, with the Vice-King of Mexico's Domestics and Servants, Prisoners of War at Jamaica; for Exchange of the South-Sea-Company's Factors and Servants Prisoners at la Vera Cruz; which Vessel was very illegally detained by the Governor of la Vera Cruz, without any Reason, or the least Pretext given, for the Space of two Years, in open Violation of the Law of Nations,
in Breach of all Stipulations and Customs, agreed on amongst all Nations, for a Flag of Truce; to the Dishonour of the Nation, and my great Loss and Ruin, as appears by the Charter-party of that Vessel, at two hundred Pounds Sterling per Month, for the Space of two Years, where the dead Weight fell entirely on me; which reduced me to the greatest Straights and Difficulties, and in the End totally ruined me.

When I was at the Court of Madrid 1749, I could easily perceive how the Game was a-going; the Spaniards pushed at these two Points alternately, the Restitution of Gibraltar, or the total Suspension of the Affiento Contract, with as much Earnestness, as if they had not been already agreed and settled, by the late Peace of Aix la Chapelle; and they succeeded accordingly, for by a subsequent Treaty concluded at Madrid, in the Year 1750 between their Britannick and Catholick Majesties; His Britannick Majesty
Majesty in Consideration of a Compensation of one Hundred Thousand Pounds sterling payable to the Royal Assiento Company, yields to his Catholic Majesty all that may be due to the said Company for Balance of Accounts, or arising in any Manner whatsoever from the said Assiento; so that the said Compensation shall be esteemed and looked upon as a full and entire Satisfaction on the Part of his Catholic Majesty, and shall extinguish from this present Time, for the future, and for ever, all Right, Pretension, or Demand, which might be formed in Consequence of the said Assiento directly or indirectly.

By this Article alone, there were 20000 Pieces of eight of my own Property irretrievably sunk.

To the Conclusion of this Treaty, the Assentists, Proprietors of South Sea Stock consented; at the same Time in a general Court, they drew up an Address.
dress to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased, to continue to be their Governor, and that he would be pleased to take their great Demand on the King of Spain into Consideration, the same having been ceded for the Peace, and Tranquillity of the Nation for 100000 l. only; whereas it appears that there is a Balance of 1300000 l. and upwards in favour of the Company, besides a great Demand of Tonnage, due on the annual Ships for the remaining Time of the Assiento Contract, as stipulated by the 16 Article of the definitive Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle 1748, for which about the Year 1732 Sir Thomas Geraldino, then Agent from the King of Spain, in England, offered 70000 l. for the Tonnage of each Ship, due for the Time of the Assiento.

For the King of Spain lays Duties on all Goods exported to the Spanish West Indies, at the rate of 11 Reals valon per Palm measured, without opening the
the Bale, Box, Chest, &c. or Regard had to the Quality of the Goods: woollen Cloths, or any other Goods of the coarsest Manufactory, pay the same Duties by Measurement as the finest Silks, Tissue, Gold, Silver, or Thread Lace; it is the Quantity, and not the Quality, that fetches such a prodigious high Duty; and the English licensed annual Ship was exempted from all Duties whatsoever by a Royal Cedula, which would have amounted to more Money for each Ship, than Sir Thomas Geraldino offered; a glorious benefit Ticket for the British Commerce! add to this the Duties already paid at Madrid for 140000 Negroes at 33½ Dollars Duty for each Negro, and only 70000 of them introduced, the rest due by the Assiento Contract, besides all the Seizures, outstanding Debts at all the different Factories, in the Spanish West Indies; and I will venture to ascertain, that it amounts to a greater Sum than abovementioned by the Proprietors.
And accordingly the Court was acquainted from the Duke of Bedford, then one of his Majesty’s principal Secretaries of State, that his Majesty had given for Answer to the Company’s Address presented to him,

"That he had obtained from the King of Spain, all that lay in his Power; so that no more could possibly be expected."

The Produce of his Grace’s Politics of his own hatching.

However it may be, the Company in a general Court accepted of the 100000 l. in full of all Accounts and Demands from Spain; an easy Composition, not two Shillings in the Pound; but it is still much harder upon their Servants, who are left Sufferers in their All to shift for themselves, without one Farthing of Recompense, or the least Expectation, from the Spaniards hav-
ing, got a Notion that their King has paid in full for all Demands that can be made on them; for I have Letters lately from my Friends in Spain, that it is in vain to make any farther Application for the Recovery of our Effects in the Spanish West Indies for their Answer, is

El Rey ha pagado por todos.

This shews the very Nature of the Spaniards in lively Colours; the more they get, the more they crave; haughty in Prosperity, abject in Adversity, nor indeed the King of Great Britain could not make this Concession to the King of Spain, without the Consent of the Proprietors whose property it is.

The Restitution of Gibraltar was too bold a Stroke, as it is the Golden-Calf of the Populace; it would have set the whole British Nation in an Uproar, whereas the Proprietors of the Assiento Contract, South Sea Stock Holders
of his Own Life-time. 447 tamely acquiesced in giving up their Property, not knowing the value of the Jewel they possessed, and what equivalent the Nation has got in lieu of it, I shall not presume to determine.

In the Beginning of the War 1740, there was a small Pamphlet published at Madrid by Authority entitled,

Cotejo de la Conducta de S. M. con la de el Rey Britannico.

setting forth his Catholick Majesty's Conduct, Pretensions and Complaints with the King of Great-Britain. Among a great many other Complaints there is a remarkable Letter from his Majesty King George the Ist of Great-Britain; dated the 12 of June 1721, to his Catholick Majesty

bor
Which the chicaning Court of Spain, wanted to look upon as an absolute Promise from his Britannick Majesty for the Restitution of Gibraltar, whereas his Majesty of glorious Memory, only says that he will take the first favourable Opportunity to lay this Article before his Parliament to be regulated: The Spanish Ministry do not consider, that the King of Great Britain, as he is great, so he is good and just; and will not, nor indeed cannot make any Concessions of Property, without the Advice and Consent of his Parliament.

After so many Year struglles and Efforts to extricate myself from these unsurmountable Difficulties, all my Hopes of recovering my Effects, and getting
of his Own Life-time. 449

getting full Satisfaction for my just Demands on the Spaniards, as stipulated by the 16th Article of the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle 1748, were frustrated and entirely cut off by a subsequent Treaty, concluded at Madrid, Octr. 5 1750, between their Britannick and Catholick Majesties, where, by the 2d Article his Britannick Majesty dissolves the Affiento Contract, and cancels all Accounts and Demands on his Catholick Majesty: Thus by a national Turn of Politics was I stripped at once of a very considerable Fortune, nine Thousand Pounds and upwards, in Effects and outstanding Debts, seized and detained by the Spaniards, the Acquisition of thirty Years Labour, Risk, and Fatigue, in the Service of my King and Country; and left quite destitute of Money, and consequently of Friends. Tho' the Demands on me did not amount to one third Part of that Sum, yet as the Clouds thickened, so in Proportion did the impatient Importunities of my Creditors, which
which obliged me to shelter myself under the Wings of an Act of Parliament of the twenty-first Year of his present Majesty George the second, entitled,

*An Act for Relief of insolvent Debtors.*

And in the Year 1750, I took the Benefit of that Act, and then threw myself entirely on the Mercy, Justice, and Bounty of my most gracious Sovereign, the King and his Ministry, for Redress of my Grievances. Sovereign Princes are the Source of Honour, Justice, and Mercy; but the great Difficulty lies in getting at that Source, for I am well apprized, that ministerial Government carries no Bowels of Compassion, or Regard to Justice, farther than is subservient to their own Views and Designs, whenever they swerve from this general Rule, the Ministers may be truly called as Good as Great.
of his Own Life-time. 451

But whatever Distresses I am reduced to on this Account, I humbly acquiesce, hoping it may prove to the Advantage of the Nation in general, for in all Places, and upon all Occasions, from my very Infancy, I have strenuously exerted myself to the utmost of my Abilities, and Power, with a hearty Zeal and sincere Attachment for the Honour and Interest of my King and Country, as by Law established in the most illustrious House of Hanover, not from any interested Views or Designs, but merely from my own fixed fundamental Principles.

When I was reduced to these, my greatest Distresses, past Imagination or my Expression; for indeed I had survived myself greatly, the Slights, Insults, and Upbraidings I daily met with were insufferable, the constant Concomitants of Poverty, the Scorn and Butt of the fordid, avaritious, and greedy; beware of the greedy, and the needy, says the Miser, but especially the needy: With

G g 2 Variety
Variety of Scenes during the Time that I was within the Rules of the Court of King's Bench, there was the oddest Contrast that perhaps ever happened in Life; I visited and conversed with a King, (Theodore of Corsica) in the same Circumstances with myself, and I had an Opportunity from Time to Time, of having the Honour of playing at Cards with a Duchess, whilst one of the Lord Justices of Great Britain, attended and snuffed the Candles for us. But what was still more shocking to me, to be shunned and despised by those I had generously assisted in their Wants, and extricated them from their Misfortunes, in their greatest Distress, particularly one whom I had set fairly above the World; for my own Sake more than his I will not expose. Why don't you apply to your Relations, says he, I have poor Relations of my own? at the same Time, he well knew, that none of his Relations would assist him in his Distress: Which at last I was persuaded with some Reluctance.
of his Own Life-time. 453

luctance to try; for no Man suffers so much by bad Fortune, as he who has been deceived by good.

As the Law of Nature dictates, the Rules of Society require and the Art of Policy oblige Relations to assist one another, more especially in Distress; and by my Birth, I was related to some of the best, I mean most antient, and by Inter-marriages allied with a great many of the most considerable Families in North Britain, and some of them with large Fortunes for that Country. I drew up my Case and stated it fairly, and represented to them in lively Colours, and moving Terms, the deplorable Circumstances I was plunged into, not from any Misconduct or Fault of my own; but by a national Turn of Politics, and Misfortunes, which no human Prudence could foresee or prevent; and that a small Assistance from them, would extricate me and put me above the World again, for what little Patrimony my Father
Father had left me by Will was embezzled among them, for I had never touched a Farthing of it: no doubt my Father's Estate was liable for it, if I had gone to a Prosecution at Law, for he died in good Circumstances enough: but whilst I was in Circumstances, I never thought it worth while, to enquire after such Trifles; and when Want obliged me to mention it, neither Justice, Love, Compassion, or Charity, could move them to part from one Shilling for my Relief; several of them indeed promised to join, but none performed as yet, except one Gentleman, who has shewed me some Countenance and Favour: They shuffled it off from one to another 'till dropt entirely, not so much as to answer my Letters, tho' wrote in the most pressing Terms only for an Answer; and I was robbed of the Gleanings of my Fortune, by a fordid, avaritious, mean-spirited Fellow, in whom I confided as a near Relation, whose Father, my Brother, and his whole Family I had
had saved from the Brink of Ruin, by an Act of Generosity, which for my own Sake I forbear mentioning; yet in my greatest Distress, this Fellow absolutely refused to supply me with two Guineas, tho' he has above an Hundred Pounds in Cash in his Hands which no ways belong to him; and indeed the Nature of the Beast is such, that if one Shilling would keep me from Starving he would not part from it willingly, for which barbarous Treatment and Ingratitude, I do publickly declare, that I design to expose him, and make him in Justice refund the Money he so illegally detains; for I can truly say of all the Members of Christian Society, my Relations have been the least friendly to me, for I'll venture to say had the like unforeseen Misfortunes happened to me in the most barbarous uncivilized Country that I have seen, (and I have travelled most Part of this Globe,) I should have met with more Compassion, Assistance, and Relief, than from my Relations, which
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which I impute to a narrow Way of Thinking, for Want of their knowing the World.

In these Circumstances, without Hopes of Recovery, Death would have been a very welcome Guest to me, for under these Distractions and Pressure of Mind, I was at more Pains to get rid of Life, than ever I was to save it, for the Diseases of the Mind are infinitely more severe, afflicting, and consuming than those of the Body, for I may safely say that my Constitution, in Strength of Mind and Body, in these my Years of Vexation, were worn out ten Times in Proportion to any other Stage of my Life, for whenever urgent Necessities drive one to low Shifts, it cuts to the very Soul of a Man of Spirit, but—

*Necessity has no Law.*

It is true, that Nature struggles hard against its own Dissolution. Resignation of
of Life may indeed be made very easy by the Force of Reason, but parting with it by Compulsion is a hard Task, and requires great Resolution, or very strong Passion; these violent Agitations of the Mind, occasion unconnected Ideas whilst we are asleep, called Dreams, the only Superstition that ever I took any Notice of, handed down to us by the Antients, for I can verily say, that there never happened to me any very remarkable Passage in Life, but what was previously prognosticated to me in a Dream.

Methought I found myself on the Top of a high Hill, with a steep Precipice of all Sides, quite destitute of all Necessaries of Life, in View of a plentiful Valley below, with my Acquaintances and Friends walking within my Sight and Hearing. I called frequently to them for Relief; but no Answer made! where I continued helpless, naked, and starved; now I fancied
I had got miraculously down the Precipice, then I found myself chained to the very Summit.

Thus I waked in agonizing Pain, for in Reality I was drove to Despair; but

—nil desperandum.

"Patience that baffled Fortune’s utmost Rage,
"High minded Hope, which at the lowest Ebb;
"When Brennus conquered, and when Cannæ bled,
"The bravest Impulse felt and scorn’d Despair.
"Hence Moderation a new Conquest gained, &c.

Thompson.

Which naturally leads me into the following Enquiries and Reflexions.
What are the Ties of Nature or Blood?
What are the Rules of Society?
What is the Art of Policy?
If I had died in the course of twenty years running, before the misfortunes happened to me, worth ten, or perhaps, fifteen thousand pounds, who are my heirs at law? These who would not advance me a guinea to keep me from starving, nor give me the least assistance to recover and retrieve my lost fortune; or those who assisted and supplied me in my wants, and gave me their countenance and favour, to recover my losses and retrieve my misfortunes? Whenever I die, and whatever I am worth, who are my heirs in equity and gratitude? For to relieve the distressed, and extricate them from difficulties, that make life burdensome to them, is a much better office than giving them life, by bringing them into the world.

Policy directs, for the better government of ourselves and interest, that we enter into society, and subject ourselves to the laws of that society for the preservation
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Preservation of our Interest and reciprocal Advantages accruing to one another from the Observation of these Rules; and Relations have the first and nearest Call to enter into this Compact in Society among themselves, which greatly contributes to the Advantage of the Community in general, and the Interest of every Individual in particular; the only pathognomonic Sign we have to distinguish ourselves from the brutal, or what is called the irrational Part of the Creation, and even in this Rationality, I am afraid, we are equalled, if not outdone, by the industrious Bees in their Economy and Government; and the most savage ferocious Animal upon Earth, industriously takes Care to provide for the Dam, in bringing forth, and the young ones till they are able to provide for themselves, and then a la mode d'Ecoffè, will drive them off to shift for themselves, and take no farther Notice of them, whatever unlucky Accident may befall them in Life: and indeed,
Indeed, these natural Ties of Consanguinity being once untied, the Counterpart of the Covenant ceases of Course. But to sum up the whole, the Labyrinth of Difficulties and Abyss of Distresses, by the Viscissitudes of Fortune, that I have passed through in the Course of Life, by Reflection, are incomprehensible; even to myself, not to be describ'd by Words, only known by Events; and the Causes from whence they proceeded, I shall not presume to determine, but leave it to the superior Judgment of the candid and generous Reader.

I heartily beg Pardon of the World, if I have offended them by telling the Truth, particularly of my native Country, if by this last Observation I bear hard upon them, or am in the least unjust; for I tell it feelingly from my own Experience, and can give some Hundred more Examples to confirm it; but there is no general Rule without an Exception; and this is the real Cause that
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that the Scots are dispersed all over the habitable Part of the World, and when they meet together Abroad, are fond of one another, as Brothers in Distress: but all this does not obliterate the Dulcis amor Patriæ, so natural to all Mankind, only to me it makes it a little more extensive, and reckon myself a Native of the Island of Great-Britain, where I have found Parents, Brothers, Sisters, and all other Degrees of Relations, some of them indeed Scotsmen, who by seeing the World in different Shapes, enlarge their Way of thinking greatly above those at Home; and at all Times and in all Places, I am ready and willing to part with the last Drop of my Blood, and Penny in my Purse, in their Service; and thank God that I was born of a Country preferable to all others that I have seen or read of.

Therefore my last Will and Testament is * * * * * * * * *

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But
of his Own Life-time. 463

But you may see by what Ways and Means, I have been disappointed of my Mexican Dollars, so I cannot let you have my last Will and Testament as yet; but Mr. Bickerstaffe, who was the first Publisher of these Memoirs, promised to let you have the Creed; now I will give it you.
Believe in the Unity of God, the Almighty Author of Nature, Creator and sole Governor of the whole Universe, celestial and terrestrial, and all that is therein; and that there is no Certainty in any Religion but

The Religion of Nature.

I believe all Morality consists in doing as you would be done by; according to the eternal and invariable Rule of Right and Wrong: an infallible Guide for us.

I believe all Actions in human Life proceed from Self-Love.

All the same, whether Sinner it, or Saint it; Nothing more sure than that all Man-kind want it.

Gratification of Self-Love.

Epicharmion illud teneto
Nervos atque Artus esse sapientiae
Non temere nec timide credere.
APPENDIX.

NUMB. I. Page 19.

Extract of a Letter, from Jamaica, to his Friend, a Member of Parliament, in London.

SIR,

INCE my last, of March the 6th, 1742, by his Majesty's Ship Prince Frederick, prognosticating the Fate of this last Expedition to Panama, just such another scandalous one as the Cuba Expedition, in July, 1741, which I hope, for saving the Honour of our Country, will be sunk in Oblivion, so as never to enter into the Annals of British History.

I now begin to reckon myself a sort of a Prophet, and have good Authority for
for my Prophecy; for the Bible says, (and who does not believe the Bible?) *A House divided against itself cannot stand.* I shall at present only assure you, without entering into Particulars, that the whole *Farce is shamefully at an End in this Part of the World; and, whatever is doing, or may be done in Europe, I know not, I cannot help saying, that it has made a most scandalous Exit here, having only settled a little, shitten, uninhabited Island, off the Bay of Honduras, called Rattan; an Enterprize infinitely more ridiculous, than Sancho's Island of Barataria. At the same time, I must own, that the only Thing, I most heartily regret, was the Dishonour accruing to the British Nation, from so many unsuccessful Attempts, entirely owing to their own bad Conduct, and not want of Bravery in the Men; incredible! tho' certain! whether from mere Ignorance, or some Design, greatly surpasses my Understanding to fathom; therefore leave it to Time to discover: For I am of Sir Andrew Freeport's Opinion, That it is stupid and barbarous to extend
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Dominion by Arms, especially in a trading Country, when true Power is only to be got by encouraging Trade, Arts and Industry.

Great Britain wants no Castles but floating ones: Tho' I must acknowledge, when they took the Castles in the Harbour of Cartagena, had they garrison'd them with 800 or 1000 Men, which they could then have easily spared, and kept two Line-of-battle Ships always in the Harbour, reliev'd from time to time, with proper Provisions, &c. for the Garrison, from Jamaica; (which was a sufficient Force for any Attack the Spaniards could have raised against them at that time) by these Means they would have had an entire Command of the Towns of Cartagena and Porto-bello, and consequently of all the Trade of those inland Countries, exclusive of all Nations whatever, during the War; and, on a Peace with Spain, received a Consideration for delivering them up, equivalent to the Expences of the whole War in the West-Indies: But all
is well, that Ends well. In the mean Time I am,

S I R,

Jamaica.

Your most obedient,

Humble Servant,

J A M E S H O U S T O U N.

P O S T S C R I P T.

I C A N ' T slip this Opportunity of acquainting you, that some Time ago there was a grand Council of War about this Baratarian Expedition; present the Generals Wentworth and Blackney, Governour Trelawny, the Admirals Vernon and Sir Chaloner Ogle; and they were unanimous in their Opinion, to take Possession and maintain the Island of Rattan: But after the Generals Wentworth and Blackney were gone, there was some Dispute about impressing the Seamen; upon which arose some Billingsgate Words unbecoming Gentlemen, with an Attempt of drawing Swords: The two Combatants were Go-
To His Most Excellent Majesty, the King,
Governour, and the Honourable Court of Directors, of the Royal Assiento Company, the humble Memorial of James Houstoun, M. D.

Sheweth,

That your Memorialist has had the Honour of serving this Honourable Company since the Year 1724, and has seen it under all the Vicissitudes of Fortune, in Peace and War; wherefore he thinks it his indispensible Duty, as your oldest Servant abroad, to lay before your Majesty, and the Honourable Court of Directors, the State of the Company's Trade abroad, with the Causes of its Decay; or total Ruin, if not timely prevented, to the great Disadvantage and irretrievable Loss of
of national Commerce in general, and the Assiento Trade in particular.

The first and principal Cause is, the open Violation of publick Faith, in the Execution of Treaties, between the two Nations: For, by the very first Article of the Assiento Contract, her Britannick Majesty does oblige herself by the Persons whom she shall appoint, "To introduce 144,000 Negroes (Piezas de India) in-

to Spanish America, within the Space of thirty Years, to begin on the first of May, 1713."

Now the Company has paid the Duty for the whole Number at the Court of Madrid, and not introduced one half of that Number, for the Time past, after the Proportion of 4800 per Annum. And, in Case of Interruption, by a War between the two Crowns, there is a reasonable Time allowed for the Introduction of the whole Number in Time of Peace, Duty free without doubt, till the whole Number shall be compleated.
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By the xlvth Article of the Affiento Contract, "in case of War between the two " Crowns, the Company are to have a " Year and a half to withdraw their Es- " fects from Spain and the Indies:" But this was not at all observed; they were not allowed a Day and a half; nay, I may truly say, not an Hour and a half: For upon the first Notice of a Rupture, the Company's Effects were immediately seized, and, which was worse, never returned upon a Peace, though stipulated and ordered by Treaty; which I am positive of, on my certain Knowledge, has been the Case in these three last Ruptures with Spain.

By the xlvth Article, "his Catholick " Majesty dispenses, in favour of this Affi- " eno, with all Laws, &c. contrary here- " unto for 30 Years; and allows three " Years more for gathering in their Debts, " &c." Whereas, upon the first Notice of a Rupture, he publishes an Edict, upon the severest Penalties, to deliver up all Goods
APPENDIX to
Goods and Effects belonging to the British, into his Custody.

The xivth Article of the Assiento "strictly forbids all Vice Roys, Governours, 
&c. from detaining the Ships or Vessels "of this Assiento, upon any Pretence 
whatever, but shall give their Aid 
"and Assistance in their Release." This Article has been frequently broke through, (of which I have sufficient Proofs) which as yet have remained without any Redress.

By Article xv. "Neither shall the said 
"Vice Roys, Governours, &c. lay an Em-
"bargo on, or seize any of the Effects 
"belonging to this Assiento, nor search the 
"Houses of the Factors, except on Proof 
"of some unlawful Importation; and 
"then not without the Concurrence of 
"the Judge Conservator." This Article has been likewise infringed, by laying an Embargo on the Company's Effects at Exportation, in Time of profound Peace, at Cartagena, in the Years 1732; 1733, and with-
without the least Reason given for so doing, and the Company's Vessels detained in Harbour for some Months, which I was Eye-witness to, without so much as saying, Why? or, Wherefore?

By Article xix. "His Catholick Majesty undertakes, upon his Faith and Royal Word, to cause all the Articles of the Affiento to be observed." I do assert, that his Catholick Majesty's Faith and Royal Word has been forfeited in almost every Article of the Affiento.

And the only Remedy is, at the very first Breach, to make Reprizals immediately, and then complain and redress full-handed: There's no other Way of dealing with a dilatory, chicaning Spanish Court in Europe, and an absolute Spanish Governor in the Indies, to the last Degree countenanced by his Court, who not only exercises that Power over their own People, but even over the Company's Servants; who ought to live amongst them without Control; and there's no convincing them of
of their pernicious and audacious Errors, so as to expect any Redress for Injuries or Grievances, but by the ultimate and prevailing Argument, Powder and Shot; which, if well applied, seldom or never fails: And,

Of two Evils, we ought to chose the least.

Another, and none of the least Causes, are the Divisions amongst ourselves, as well at Home as Abroad: The Bane of all Britons!

Divide & Impera!

And, for ought I can learn, this is a Disease without a Remedy at present; but, if there is any at all, it consists in the right Choice of their Servants, who ought to be Men of Understanding and Experience; for, if they know Men, they will soon come to know Things: The Mystery does not lie in the Assiento Trade itself, but in the People who are concerned in the Management of it, as well at Home as Abroad.
But what was most detrimental to the Commerce of Great Britain in general, and the most fatal Blow that ever was given to the Assiento Trade in particular, which proved the Ruin of the Trade of the Island of Jamaica, was a Contract made during the War, by Messieurs Manning and Company, of the Island of Jamaica, with the Vice King of the Kingdom of New Granada, in the Spanish West-Indies, "to supply his Dominions, "during the War with Negroes, &c." which was executed by the Mediation of the French; notwithstanding the King of Great Britain, in his Declaration of War against the French King, has strictly forbidden "all his Subjects, to have "any Communication or Correspondence "whatever with the French King's Sub-"jects."

This Contract was executed thus; there was a French Vessel or more, with French Commanders, lying at the grand Barru, within ten Leagues of Cartagena, who receiv'd the Negroes, sent from Jamaica, in his own
own Name, then hoisted French Colours on board all the Vessels belonging to their Company, and so failed into the Harbour of Cartagena altogether; and under this Pretext they introduced large Quantities of Provisions of all Sorts, &c. And as, no doubt, the Vice King felt the Sweets of it, he encouraged them only, and discouraged, nay, strictly forbid, all Manner of Trade with every body else, more particularly the English; and he erected a Gallows before his Palace, and swore a most solemn Oath,

Por la Leche de la santissima Virgin,

that the first Spaniard, he caught trading with the English, he should be hanged upon that Gallows, without Benefit of the Clergy. Notwithstanding they contracted to sell their Negroes at an under Rate, 125 Pieces of Eight per Head, which was a great deal less than they could buy and transport them for from Jamaica, allowing for Mortality, &c. and proved very pernicious to the Commerce of Great Britain, and the Trade of Jamaica.
maica in particular; yet it was very beneficial for those concerned in the Contract, as it gave them an Opportunity of introducing large Quantities of Provisions, Prize-goods, &c. whilst our British Manufactures lay rotting at Jamaica.

But the Vice King reaped the greatest Benefit of all; for he marked those very Negroes with the King's Mark, and gave them a regular Despacho, as introduced by the Affiento, (though brought in open Violation of the whole Affiento Contract) and sold them to the King of Spain's Subjects, the Inhabitants of the Place, at the same Rate the Affiento Company sold their Negroes from 280 to 300 Pieces of Eight per Head; so that, at least, he put into his own Pocket 150 Pieces of Eight by each Negro, and so of all other Goods in Proportion; instead of its being returned by British Subjects to their Mother Country in ready Cash, it now remained in Balance to the French and Spaniards; which is so much dead Loss to our Mother Coun-
try in general, as Subjects of his Britannick Majesty.

Besides all this, the Enemy were furnished with large Quantities of Provisions at very low Prices; Flour at seven Pieces of Eight and a half per Barrel, and other Provisions as cheap in Proportion; which enabled them to fit out Privateers, to destroy our own Trade, which we have had a late fatal Instance of, five of our trading Sloops, or Vessels, being all taken at once, worth at least 100,000 l. Sterling prime cost; whilst those large Exportations greatly raised the Price of Provisions at Jamaica, which must prove the Ruin of many here; and London will feel the dead Weight of all at last. And now I must observe, if they are not supplied with Negroes and Provisions by the English, I am sure there is no Country can supply them; and to prevent the digging of their Mines, would be effectually depriving them of the principal Sinews of War, Cash.

Your Memorialist humbly begs leave to
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to lay these Matters of Facts at your Royal Feet, not by way of Complaint, but Information; being very sensible, that, after your Majesty had used all the persuasive Arguments, that could possibly be used, in Honour and Justice to your injured Kingdoms, to prevent the great Effusion of Blood, and Expence of immense Treasure, in destructive War, Your Majesty was absolutely forced to have recourse to the Ultima Ratio Regum, to demand and procure just and ample Satisfaction for all Injuries done: Wherefore, your Memorial, with all your Majesty's good Subjects, who are not Enemies to themselves, and their Country, most earnestly pray for Success to your Majesty's Arms by Sea and Land, till you make your Enemies, and consequently the Enemies of Great Britain, your Footstool: Which particularly is the most fervent Prayer of,

Your Majesty's
Most Loyal, faithful Subject, and Most obedient, humble Servant,

James Houstoun.

1745
These Affairs were brought upon the Carpet before the Assembly in Jamaica, but they set out on a very wrong Footing, by accusing one Don Pedro de Estrada, whom Mr. Manning at that Time entertained in his House, of being a Spy and an Informer, amongst the Spaniards, a Matter impossible to be proved before any Court of Judicature, unless they had intercepted his Letters, or informed one against another. This Don Pedro de Estrada, a Frenchman by Birth, but passed for a Spaniard, was one who belonged to the New Assiento Company, established at the Havanna, a very proper Instrument for the French and Spaniards to make use of to serve their own Purposes.

If they had gone rightly to work, the Charge ought to have lain on the Delivery of those contraband Goods, and the Proof for it, the French and Spaniards Receipts for them, which must have appeared in their Accounts, and so would have been easily proved; though it might have carried along with it the Sting of the ignominious
minious Name of an Informer, or Betrayer of Confiança, which is prohibited to them under a most severe Penalty. And his Catholic Majesty himself, in his Edicts that he publishes for seizing of contraband Goods, says, La quinta parte al vil Denunciader, "the fifth Part of the Seizure " I give to the villainous Informer." Who would then execute that villainous Office? But Proofs are of little or no Validity, when the great Lord of Jamaica appears; there his Numbers prevail greatly?

Numb. III. Page 193.

To the honourable Sir John Eyles, Knt. and Bart. Sub-governor of the South-Sea Company.

Hon. Sir,

EVEN at this Distance, we must be sensible of the great Load of Business you have upon your Hands, which makes me forbear troubling you so often as my Inclination and Duty lead me, to
acknowledge the many Obligations I lie under to you.

Esteem is commonly judged by the Warmth of Expression, when they have it not in their Power to shew it by Actions. I may be deficient through Faintness of Expression, but the greatest Pleasure I desire on Earth is an Opportunity of trying my Zeal and Gratitude in your Service; at the Time I am sensible, that all Acknowledgments of this kind must be ungrateful to a Gentleman, who, by his innate Generosity, seems to receive the Obligations he confers.

We are under some Concern here, left the vexatious Troubles, and ungrateful Returns you daily meet with, should justly provoke you to shake off the Government of the South-Sea Company. I only beg leave to observe, the more Malice and Envy exert themselves, the brighter will Honour and Integrity shine. But, if such a Misfortune should happen to the Company, I answer for myself in particular,
as the meanest of their Servants, and I dare likewise say for their principal ones here, instead of a Pleasure, it will be a great Pain to continue in their Service; for they'll soon find all go to ruin. To say more perhaps might be uneas'ly to you, and to say less would be unjust in him, who is, with the utmost Gratitude and Respect,

Sir, Your most obliged and

Obedient, humble Servant,

JAMES HOUSTOUN.

Numb. IV, Page 205.

To the honourable Court of Directors of the South-Sea Company.

Gentlemen,

As I have not the Honour to be known to this honourable Court of
APPENDIX to Directors, nor the Pleasure of being personally acquainted with any one Gentleman of the Direction, I presume to beg Leave, Gentlemen, to give you a short Detail of my Story, and humbly pray you to take my Case under your Consideration, as I depend entirely on your Justice, Honour, and Generosity.

In the Year 1724, by ample Certificates and Recommendations, from the President and other Members of the College of Physicians, and some of the most eminent Surgeons in London, the then honourable Court of Directors were pleased to appoint me Surgeon to the honourable Company's Factory at Cartagena.

I have been continued in the Service, by all the succeeding Courts of Directors, without the least Blemish in my Character, and have behaved myself agreeable to my Station in all Respects, as appears by the Approbation of all the honourable Company's Servants, who served as my Cotemporaries abroad.
I have been at great Expences in fitting myself out twice (now thrice) in the honourable South-Sea Company's Service, and returning Home; and sustained great Losses by the many Reprisalias, and since; of which I only beg Leave to mention one Instance: I covenanted with the honourable Company, by Counter-covenants with the honourable Court of Directors, to furnish your Factory at Cartagena with all proper Medicines for 200 Pieces of Eight per Annum, which is much cheaper than is paid for any one of the rest of the Factories; and accordingly I supplied them with the freshest and best Medicines from London, and had just wrote for a new Supply for the Use of the Factory, to the Value of 200 lb. Sterling and upwards, when I was recalled; so that they now lie perishing at Jamaica to my great Loss.

And as my Bread depends entirely on the Credit and Reputation I have gained in my Profession, for I know no underhand Dealings, I have not meddled with any Business, that I cannot publickly avow.

Dr. Houstoun's Memoirs.
avow to the whole World, and this honourable Company, who have reaped the Benefit of my Labour; for, out of 4000 Negroes, in three Year's Time, with the Small Pox, and several other epidemical Distempers amongst them we have lost but thirty-six: The Spaniards have likewise reaped the Benefit of my Profession as appears by a Letter from the Bishop of Cartagena, in the Name of the whole Inhabitants there, to his Excellency the Conde of Montijo, his Catholick Majesty's Ambassador in London.

After all these my Sufferings, I must own, Gentlemen, I think it not a little hard, to be turned out of my Employ, without the least Reason, previous Notice, or Warning given; which is always given to the meanest Domestic Servant; and, after ten Years faithful Service, to find myself in worse Circumstances than the Day I engaged in the Company's Service.

Therefore I hope, Gentlemen, that
that you'll be pleased to favour me with your Vote and Interest, for the Payment of my Sallary due, from the 20th of June, 1729, to the 21st of March, 1730, yet unpaid; notwithstanding all the Company's Servants, upon the same Footing and Establishment with me, have been paid for that Time, and I made the only Exception. And I humbly hope for your farther Favour, in some Allowance for my Expences in coming Home, in Obedience to your Orders; and also, that you will be pleased to continue me in the Honourable Company's Service to the Vacancy at la Vera Craz, where I am ready and willing to serve the Honourable Company, till I am able to recover my Effects: And am, with all Submission and Respect,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient, and

Faithful humble Servant,

James Houstoun.

Numb.
The Exceptions ought to be put in Writing, sedente Curia, in the Presence of the Judge who tried the Cause, and signed by the Counsel on each Side; then the Bill must be drawn up, and tendered to the Judge that tried the Cause, in order to be sealed by him when signed: There goes out a seire Facias, to the same Judge, ad cognoscendum SCRIPTUM, and that is made Part of the Record; and the Return of the Judge, with the Bill itself, must be entered on the Issue-Roll; and, if a Writ of Error be brought, it is to be returned as Part of the Record.

There was not one of these Articles legally performed, yet it passed pro re natâ: They went on, as you see in the Page above signified.
For Thomas Hill, Esq; Counsellor at Law.

Sir,

In obedience to a commission, from the grand Court of Judicature, appointing Messieurs Patrick Adam, Samuel Johnston, and Walrond Fearon, Commissioners, to audit, adjust and report certain Accounts, depending between the Hon. Edward Manning, Esq; and James Houstone, accordingly the foresaid Commissioners met at the House of Laurence Brodbelt, in Kingston, December 7, 1745, in order to proceed to business; but, at the request of the said Manning, Defendant in this cause, they adjourned to the 10th of the aforesaid month, when they met again according to adjournment at the aforesaid House; when and where appeared one Alexander Graham, who said he appeared on behalf of the Defendant, Manning,
Manning, who told the Commissioners, there could be nothing done, for Mr. Morse was not in Town, and Mr. Manning was not ready: Notwithstanding he very well knew, that there was due Notice legally given to Mr. Manning. Then he (the said Graham) took up the Commission, that lay upon the Table before the Commissioners, and, looking at it, said, This Commission is not Returnable for this Court. Then I (James Houstoun) asked him, Why?—Why, said he, it is signed in August, and cannot be returnable for the same August Court. Then I (James Houstoun) answered, Don't you see that the Chief Justice has signed it, to be returned for the same August Court? Do you deny his Hand Writing?—No, replied the said Graham, I don't deny his Hand Writing; a Chief Justice may sign any Commission; but no Chief Justice has any Power or Authority to sign a Commission returnable in so short a Date as this is, with the Commission in his Hand; and the Commissioners inclined to the same Opinion, tho' they knew that there was due and lega
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gal Notice of six Days given to the Defendant, Manning.

But what the Commissioners boggled at was my Assertion, That Graham told them, that the chief Justice had no Power or Authority to sign a Commission returnable in so short a Date: Horrid Equivocations! when at the same time they acknowledge, that they were of the same Opinion themselves: The Design is plain!

Now I do again assert upon my Honour, and by all that is sacred and good, (if I have Ears, or any Part of the Sense of Hearing left) the very identical Words were, No chief Justice can give a Commission returnable in so short a Date as that was. It is indeed said, No chief Justice; but, I hope, our Chief Justice, who was then in Officio, was one. I am sure I acknowledged him as such, by punctually obeying his Commands with the greatest Patience and Resignation, which proved at the Risk of my Life, Chara-

eter,
fter, and Fortune; (too great a Stake to be laid at once:) But if this Commission was legal, and returnable in the limited Time mentioned, why was not due Obedience paid to it? No; they did not refuse Obedience, but they must have a new one. Mr. Manning was not ready; Nor never will, said I. Was ever such Contradictions in terminis heard of? Then I asked Graham, What was to be done with the old Commission? He answered, You may wipe your Arse with it.

The Truth of all these Facts I do not only assert, but will burn at a Stake to vouch it, if need require: And now leave them as my last Speech and dying Words, at the Place of my Execution. At the same time I declare to you and the whole World, that I had no Intention of Hurt to our Custos's Counsellor, nor his Clerk, Mr. Graham, when I said, "That Graham argued like a Wapping Attorney; that I believed, the Arguments he made use of were none of his own, but that they came from his Master,
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"Master, only to shuffle and chicane the Court off; and desired to lay the Saddle on the right Horse, that the Counsellor might have an Opportunity of arguing the Validity of his Bill of Exceptions, and the Invalidity of this Commission, issued by the Honourable Court, in propriá Persona, before the Chief Justice, who signed the Commission in Court, returnable at that very same Court." Wherefore I kept out of my Affidavit the unmannerly Expression of wiping my Arse with it, lest it should have done the young Man Hurt, which was the farthest from my Intentions.

I shall not presume, Sir, to ask your, or any of my Friends Favour and Countenance in any Thing that is not strictly consistent with Honour and Honesty; I have a sound, tho' open Breast, now laid open to two of my greatest declared Enemies, and indeed to all my Enemies with Daggers in their Hands. But I comfort myself with, Magna
Magna est Veritas, & prævalebit

otherwise Life would be a Burthen to me. I am now aware of all their Machinations, and designed Assassinations. You have assisted me in my most oppressive Distresses here in Jamaica; I beg the Continuance of your Favour and Countenance, but no farther than is consistent with strict Honour and Honesty; whenever I swerve from that, I deserve to perish like one taken up by the Tribunal of Inquisition. In the mean time give me leave to assure you, that I retain a grateful Sense of all your Favours, as you have always behaved to me like a Gentleman, a Friend, and a Lawyer; and nothing shall give me more Pleasure, than an Opportunity of gratefully and thankfully acknowledging the Obligations done to,

SIR,

Your most obedient,

Humble Servant,

During my Interdiction, in the Month of January, 1745-6:

JAMES HOUSTOUN.

P. S.
P. S. I have not as yet been allowed, notwithstanding my frequent Importunities, to see the Depositions against me; this, methinks, is something like the Tribunal of Inquisition,

- Punish first, and know your Crime afterwards.

If ever I should be able to see them I'll trouble you, Sir, with my Observations and Considerations on them, as the most remarkable Passage that ever happened to me in the whole Course of my Life, and I am sure the least deserved: But I never could see them; they absolutely and positively refused me a Copy of the Proceedings, nay, they would not so much as allow me a Sight of them, which never was practised in any Court of Judiciary in the known World, except the Tribunal of Inquisition.
SIR,

THERE'S a Prosecution just now carried on against me, with a Design to ruin me entirely, which they have already done in part; I chuse to stand it for an Opportunity of exculpating myself from any Guilt alleged against me, which I flatter myself in due time will appear to be a false, spiteful, and malicious Prosecution, as I am conscious to myself of my own Innocence of the Crime alleged against me: Though I have never seen the Indictment or Depositions against me, (Inquisition-like) but I am fully convinced of my own Actions, that proceed from a sound Heart, and guiltless Conscience. This is an Attempt to assassinate Life, Character, and Fortune at once, which they have accomplished in
in part already: So, Sir, if you are not engaged on the other side, and are pleased to favour me with your Countenance and Advice, give me Leave to assure you, that it shall be most gratefully acknowledged the first Opportunity, by

S I R,

Your most obedient,

Humble Servant,

JAMES HOUSTOUN.

During my Interdictment, in the Month of February, 1745-6.

FINIS.