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ON THE

LAST SESSION

OF

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1850

5
OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

LAST SESSION

OF

P -- R L -- M -- N T.

IN A

LETTER from a MEMBER

TO A

NOBLEMAN of Distinction.

L O N D O N :

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OBSEVATION

ON THE

LAST SESSION

AT

P. R. I. - M. - R. P.

1861

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OBSERVATIONS
 ON THE
 LAST SESSION
 OF
 P -- R L -- M -- N T, &c.

My Lord,

IT is not without a considerable Degree of Impatience, that I have waited for the putting a Period to the Session, in order to evince your Lordship, how indispensable I ever esteemed your Commands, by paying a punctual Obedience to that which you was, some Time since, pleased to honour me with, of laying before you my Sentiments on such Proceedings of P——t as have occurred since their last Meeting: being thoroughly
 persuaded

persuaded of the Justness of your Lordship's Observation, that as we may easily form a Judgment of the future Behaviour of particular Persons, by their first setting out in the World ; so it is no ways more difficult to ascertain what we may expect from General Assemblies, by observing their primary Transactions. And as this is but the second Sitting of the present P——t; it will be no hard Matter to form a strong Conjecture, from the Proceedings therein, what we may reasonably look for in the Time to come.

But, while I am accomplishing your Lordship's Injunction, I shall pay that Devoir to your Time, Patience, and Avocations, as not to trespass on either by an historical Detail of every minute Affair, that has come before the H——se in the last Session, whereof you cannot but already be sufficiently apprized. And therefore I shall confine (as I take it to be your Lordship's Desire) my Remarks and Inferences to those principal Occurrences in P——t, that will furnish out a right Idea, to every unprejudiced Person, of the Complexion of the Parties and their Leaders, that are now contending for that great Point,
the

the Enjoyment of ministerial Power; of which one is in Possession, and the others assiduously endeavouring to wrest it out of their Hands. And indeed, it is only from such like Deductions, that we can be enabled to form any true Judgment on the present State of our national Concerns.

That extraordinary Event which occasioned so much Amazement, and for which there has hitherto been none but superficial Reasons given; I mean the sudden and unexpected Dissolving of the last P———t, and calling a new one, will no longer, my Lord, be considered as a Mystery, even by the Vulgar. It is certain, that there was no apparent Necessity for such an untimely Exertion of the Prerogative at that Juncture; as the last P———t had not only manifested, on all Occasions, their sincere Attachment to his Majesty's Person and Government, and their Zeal for the Preservation and Defence of our Liberties; but had also given the most convincing Proofs, how ready they were to oblige the Ministry, in whatever they could desire, either for the Support of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, or the Welfare
of

of the People, exclusive of other Views. But notwithstanding their almost implicit Obedience to the Dictates of the several Pilots, that, during the Time of their Sitting, alternately undertook the Management of the Helm; yet as the two B——r M——s were thoroughly convinced of the unblemished Integrity of some of the leading Members, and certainly knew them to be no otherwise induced to come into their Measures, than in Conformity to the pressing Necessity of the Times, least, as we were then deeply involved in a War, their Repugnance should be branded with Disaffection; or their Disunion with the ministerial Partizans, give any Encouragement to either our foreign or domestic Enemies. So, I say, my Lord, that the B——rs, however weak in Foresight on other Occasions, judged so rightly in this Matter, as not to venture submitting the arbitrary Measures they had then in View, to the Approbation and Sanction of those Men, on whom they could rely but with Diffidence, even when the public Danger afforded the most plausible Pretext for putting their Schemes in Operation.

As many of the Members of that P.—t had been strenuous Advocates for the War, so it could not be expected that they would be brought to approve of a Peace, without rigourously canvassing every Article; and it is well known, that many of them would not bear to be so nicely scrutinized. But tho' the B—rs, by taking the Advantage of several of the Members not arriving in Town till after *Christmas*, by availing themselves of some false Returns, weeding the House, or by other Methods, might have secured a Majority to countenance the patched-up Negotiation; yet they had other Projects to bring on the Tapis for the Security of their own Power, by rendering it almost unlimited, that were of such an extraordinary Nature, as this Assembly could never be brought to swallow, however finely the Pill might be gilded. Therefore, new and arbitrary Measures requiring new and obsequious Creatures to countenance them, the late P.—t was surreptitiously dissolved, and a new one called; in which the M—y were pretty sure of having a Majority on their Side, by their artfully surprizing the Country Gentle-

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men,

men, at a Time when they had least expected it. And as the subtle Managers had already monopolized most of the ready Specie, by having just before secured seven Millions to themselves and their Creatures, under Pretence of pursuing the War with Vigour; so a great many of the Country Party either declined offering themselves, or lost their Elections, by being unprepared for such an extraordinary Expence, as is required on those Occasions, even when carried on without any C—rr—pt—n or B—ry; of which the Ministerial Partizans did not fail to advantage themselves, by a Profusion of the p—c M—y.

This being premised, my Lord, we shall no longer wonder either at the unexpected Dissolution of the last P———t, that had so often suffered themselves, and the Nation, to be made the Dupes of the Ministerial Cabal of *Jews*, Brokers, Stockjobbers, Remitters, Undertakers, &c. &c. &c. not through Guilt or Inadvertency, but purely out of an extraordinary Respect and Complacency to the two B—rs; whom, as I before observed, they were willing to support, in
 whatever

whatever they could propose for carrying on the War effectually. Neither shall we any longer be amazed at the extraordinary Lengths that the new Majority have proceeded to in this last S—ff—n, whose inglorious, obsequious Actions, in favour of their supreme Commanders, I am just upon the Point of recapitulating to your Lordship.

The B—rs had been too attentive to the Progress of Elections, not to know they were certain of a Majority, even before the House met ; so that they carried almost every Point, excepting the Naturalization Bill, before them, in the first Session. Since which some favourable Elections have very much added to their Strength ; and whatever Hopes remained from the virtuous Integrity of the Minority, they were entirely crushed by the Superiority of the Others in Numbers ; inso-much that, at the Opening of this last S—n, it was thought there could hardly be any Point started by the M—y, but what they were able to carry. And indeed the B—s were very perfectly assured of the Strength of their Party, otherwise they certainly would have been contented with a less moderate

Assessment than Four Shillings in the Pound Land-Tax for the present Year : As they well knew it to be such a Burden as the Country Gentlemen, and Landholders, were scarce able to bear, even in Times of the greatest Necessity ; and which they had endured ever since the War with *Spain* : therefore they had the greatest Reason to expect some Alleviation as soon as Peace was concluded. But it seems the Gentlemen in the M——y relished the Sweets of having the whole Produce of the Land pass through their own Hands every fifth Year ; and had been so long accustomed to it, that they could not be prevailed with to relinquish it presently. And the only substantial Reason that could be given for continuing the Land-Tax at this high Rate, was the Want of some new Imposition to supply the Deficiencies of the Funds, that were found defective for the Service of the last Year.——How very unhappy, my Lord, were our Task-Masters, that they could not hit upon the Expedient of levying a new General Tax, throughout the Nation, under [the Denomination of a *Peace-Offering* ! — But, perhaps, they have reserved some such Blessing for us in petto, against
 against

against the Time that they shall condescend to make our Burden lighter by Twelve-Pence in the Pound, though they may not be inclinable to give it that Title ; yet I shall never cavil with them about Words, if the Thing be equally the same in Substance.

The last Session had not been long begun, before two very virulent Pamphlets appeared against the two B——rs: The one was, *An Examination of their Principles, and an Enquiry into their Conduct* ;. and the other was, *An occasional Letter*. Both which Pieces, especially the latter, strongly asserted, That the Rejection of the Propositions made by the Emperor *Charles VII.* at *Hanau*, was entirely to be imputed to them. This gave such an Alarm, that it occasioned a Motion to be made, *January 31,* in the H——se of C——ns, for Copies of all Proposals at *Hanau* from the late Emperor *Charles*, and all Papers relating thereto to be laid before them ; but this was rejected by a Majority of 150.

Though this Question was flung out by such a large Majority, yet it manifested the
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Disfingenuity of the M——rs, in refusing to have their Conduct, in this interesting Affair, examined into by the House, who had no other Way to come at a true Knowledge of the Management of this arcanous Transaction, than by the Means of those Papers that were called for. It being well known to your Lordship, that the Br——rs at the Time of this Transaction openly avowed the most pacific Principles; on every Occasion doing their utmost, both in the C-b——t and in P——t, to obstruct the War, by thwarting and disputing every Measure that was proposed for carrying it on; although they were conscious of having but just before given his M——y, and the then Prime Minister, the strongest Assurances that themselves and their Confederates were zealously determined to support, with all the Influence they had, whatever should be either proposed, or undertaken, for pursuing the War with Vigour. Both the K——g and his M——rs could not fail observing the Difference between their first Protestations and their subsequent Conduct; and it was this unexpected pretended pacific Disposition of the B——rs, that induced his M——y and Lord G——lle,

who

who had no other than the true Interest of the Nation at Heart, to transmit to *England* those favourable Propositions that were received from the Emperor at *Hanau* ; not in the least doubting their Concurrence in whatever offered to promote an honourable Peace. But however, the Br—rs took this Occasion of shewing, that their avowed Principles were no more to be relied on, than their zealous Proteſtations ; and neither the Continuance of the War, nor the promoting of Peace, but only thwarting the Miniſter, being the ſole Object of their View, they accordingly reſuſed their Approbation of the Emperor's Propoſals at that Juncture ; tho' they have ſince, with the greateſt *Effronterie*, by the mean Aſſiſtance of a neceſſitous G—n P—ce, endeavoured to ſcreen themſelves, and lay the whole Blame of the Miſcarriages of the Treaty of *Hanau*, at the Door of the Earl of G—lle.

The Miſmanagement of this Affair proved ſo diſadvantageous to the Confederates, that it is no Wonder the P——t endeavoured to obtain an Explanation of it. And had the B—rs been ingenuous, no doubt but the
Papers

Papers relating to this Affair would have sufficiently manifested, who it was that deserved to be censured for this Miscarriage. And it is well known, that neither the great Man on whom they endeavoured to shuffle the Blame, nor any of his Friends, either gave, or desired, the least Obstruction to the producing of the Papers that were called for ; as he knew he could safely make Use of the Expression, which a former Minister * misquoted on a similar Occasion,

Nil conscire sibi nulla pallefcere Culpa.

And, indeed, had the two virtuous B—th—n been as conscious of their Integrity as this noble Lord, doubtless the Motion for these Papers would not have met with the least Opposition from any of their Creatures.

As this Motion was thus superseded by Dint of Numbers, and the Gentlemen who proposed it could not obtain any Satisfaction, whilst such advantageous Proposals were rejected, as would probably have long since put an End to the War ; and not only have saved many Millions of Lives and Money, but also have
afforded

* Sir Robert Walpole.

afforded us better Terms from our then Enemies, than any we have yet obtained : And as the War was carried on upon such a favourable Opportunity of making Peace, they were willing to be satisfied why Peace was concluded when the Event of War, especially by Sea, was so manifestly in our Favour. Therefore on *February* the 7th, a Motion was made, for laying before the H—se all Papers and Proposals previous to the general Peace ; but here again the Bill was returned *Ignoramus*, by near as great a Majority as in the former Affair.

Though the Gentlemen in the Opposition could not gain an Inch of Ground by either of these Motions, yet they served to open the Eyes of the Nation, and gave us plainly to see that the M——rs were resolved in this, as on all other Occasions, to have their Actions be uncontroulable. They would neither give us any Reason for prolonging the War, when favourable Terms were offered for making of Peace, nor shew us on what Foundation they made Peace at all. In a Word, they had got the executive Part of the L——re into their own Hands, and the other two

Branches were rendered ineffectual by the Interposition of their numerous Creatures and Dependents; so that they were left at Liberty to act as arbitrarily in all Matters as themselves, or their Coadjutors, should be pleased to determine. They feared no Complaints of the People, as they well knew they had the Ear in keeping; neither did they value their S———n's Displeasure, as they had both H——s at their Command.

And, in order to shew their Opponents with what Contempt they beheld their Endeavours to deprive them of despotic Sway, and how firmly they were resolved to establish it at all Events, a new and unparalleled Mutiny Bill was brought in; by the Tenour of which it was evident, that the renowned B——rs were resolved not only to have the Civil, but also the Military Power, entirely at their Command. As the Army made but Part of the latter Branch, it was found necessary for them to have the Navy also at their Discretion; so the remarkable Navy Bill was ordered in, by which Means both Soldiers and Sailors were to be rendered Slaves, and the Ministerial Power was to be-
come

come as absolute as the Grand Signior over his *Turkish* Vassals.

As these two Bills had an apparent Tendency to subvert the C———n, so they could not fail of raising an universal Alarm both within Doors and without ; meeting with as great an Opposition as could possibly be expected, in an Assembly where it was well known upwards of two Thirds were at the Devotion of the Men in Power ; wherefore, what with Petitions and Debates, they were much longer in passing than the B——rs expected, or the Minority could have thought ; for though the latter were not possessed of the Strength they could wish for in Numbers, yet, the virtuous Few did not want for Vigour, or Resolution, in exerting themselves on this laudable Occasion, when the Liberties of so great a Number of their Fellow-Subjects were brought to the Stake, as by these two Bills they were to be entirely deprived of all the Privileges of free-born *Englishmen*.

It is certain, my Lord, that our arbitrary Legislators would never have had the Courage

to have brought two such obnoxious Bills into the H—se, had they not been fully assured, either of being sufficiently able to protect themselves against all the Clamours of the Public; or else that the People had so entirely resigned themselves over to Despair in their forlorn Condition, as they would not dare to make any Clamour at all. But I must confess, it is with no small Degree of Pleasure, that we find them deceived in their Opinion of the People's Spirit, though it could not frustrate their evil Purposes.

It will certainly remain a Matter of Astonishment to future Ages, that the wicked Spirit of Lust of Dominion should ever prompt any Minister, in a free Country like ours, to attempt establishing the most tyrannical Rigour of Military Discipline in the Time of Peace, when it should be thought that the Laws of the Land, and the Civil Power, were sufficient to prevent or punish every Enormity, without putting that Severity in Practice, which nothing but the extreme Exigencies of War can plead for. And to extend this rigorous Proceeding to the Sea Service, as well as to the Land; to
make

make no Distinction between those starveling Officers that are obliged to subsist on Half-Pay, and those who enjoy more than the fair Profits of their Commissions, besides the pleasing Prospect of Promotion : In a Word to convert two useful and deserving Orders of his M——y's good Subjects into Slaves.

Former Ministers, my Lord, were thoroughly contented, when they could obtain the Grant of a more numerous Body of regular Forces, to be kept up in Time of Peace, than was really necessary, that they might have the more Commissions to bestow amongst their Friends, Relations and Dependents. But it seems, the two illustrious B——rs were resolved to go a Step farther than any of their Predecessors in Power had done ; and having gained the keeping up of an Army by one Third larger than was needful for our Defence on any Emergency, they were bent upon pushing the Matter as far as it would go, and to make that Army entirely subservient to the Commander in Chief independent of the Civil Power ; well knowing that, by their Influence, the G——l, or chief Officer, must be dependent on them ; and

consequently the Army, when subjected to the implicit Obedience of his Commands, must remain entirely at their Devotion.

If at any Time it be found necessary to keep up a large Body of standing Forces in Time of Peace, it ought to be the Duty of the Minister, to adapt the Laws by which this Military Power is to be governed, in such a Manner to our national Constitution, that no Detriment may arise therefrom ; and that our civil Rights may be protected, and not liable to be oppressed, by the Army. The Soldiers, therefore, ought to be kept under the strictest Subordination to the Civil Power, otherwise they will be inclined to consider themselves as a Body distinct and independent from the rest of the Community. They will conceive themselves to be a Government regulated by their own Laws, without Regard to the general Constitution of their Country ; wherefore they will be always ready on the Command of their superior Officer or Directors, or on almost any other Occasion to subvert that Constitution from which they receive no Advantage ; to oppress the Civil Magistrate for whom they
have

have lost all Reverence ; and to enslave their Fellow-Subjects, by forcing them to bear the same Yoke upon their Necks, that they have felt upon their own.

What otherwise, my Lord, are we to expect from an Army that is formed after the present Model, in peaceable Times ? Whom we have released from the common Obligation of Society, and disunited from the Bulk of the Nation, by giving them up entirely to the Direction and Command of their chief Officer. When the Soldiers begin to perceive this unusual Alteration of their Government in Time of Peace, will they not soon begin to consider themselves as a separate Community, that has no Interest in any other Laws, but what are peculiar to themselves ? Will they not consider him, from whom they receive all their Rewards and Punishments, as the proper and only Object of their supreme Regard ; and endeavour to exalt him to have the same Dominion over others, which he enjoyed in Regard to themselves, that they might share in his Superiority ?

When

When they come to find themselves thus separated from the rest of the People, will they not reflect upon their Condition, and begin to consider, whether they are ennobled or degraded by such a Distinction? And, in either Case, will they not find themselves inclined to have Recourse to the Power of their Arms, for the Exertion of their Privileges, or Revenge of their Disgrace?

The chief Reason, why so many Nations have been enslaved by Standing Armies, is the Difference between a Soldier's Condition and that of other Men. Where Soldiers are subjected to particular Laws, and to a particular Authority; which Authority, in the manner of its Operation, has scarce any Resemblance with the Civil Power: Then it is that they will soon learn to think themselves exempt from all other Laws, of which they either cannot discover the Use, and therefore will the more easily be incited to abolish them; or else, through Envy of their Happiness who are protected by them, they will be prevailed upon to attempt the Destruction of those Privileges that have no other Effect,
with

with regard to them, than to aggravate their own Dependence.

By the new Regulations made in the Government of the Army, by the late Act for punishing Mutiny and Desertion, Soldiers will be led to believe, “ that nothing is a Virtue
 “ but implicit Obedience to the Commands of
 “ their superior Officers, whom they are not
 “ to resist, or obstruct, on any Pretence
 “ whatsoever ; and are bound to the Obedi-
 “ ence of every Order indiscriminately,
 “ which they shall receive from their Super-
 “ rior, upon Pain of Death.” Here, my Lord, is no Distinction made between such Commands as are lawful, nor those that are unlawful ; neither is there any Difference observed as to the Time of the superior Officer’s delivering his Orders: That is, whether he be in the immediate Execution of his Office, or not. And as the putting of the Soldiers in such strict Subordination to their superior Officers was never necessary, but in Times of War, or Rebellion, or when the Army was Abroad ; so they will thereby be soon induced to think themselves Foreigners in their own Country, and may, by the Manage-

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ment of a Commander in Chief, at any time be led, with the same Alacrity, against the Preservers and Defenders of our Constitution, as against an Army of Rebels, or foreign Invaders. As by the Intuitions that will be inculcated in them, from their being frequently obliged to hear the Reading of this Act, they will in Time be brought to lose all Sense of social Duty and social Happiness; and think nothing great, illustrious, or worthy to be achieved, but the Slavery and Destruction of such of their Fellow-Subjects, as remain exempted from the rigorous Tyranny of their severe Military Laws. And if such Consequences, as I have before recited, be not the immediate Effect of this Act, they can be retarded by nothing but that Tenderneſs, which a constant Intercourse with the rest of the Nation may produce, by the Exchange of reciprocal Acts of Kindneſs: But whether this their Communication with such as are free, will have such a strong Power over the Soldiery, as to create in them such just Reflexions on the Heinousneſs of contributing to the Propagation of Slavery, and the Subverſion of the Rights of Nature, as shall not any Time prevent, or deter them, in any such Case,

Case, from rendering that implicit Obedience to the Orders of their Commanders, as is required by the Act now in force, must be left to the Decision of Time.

As the Case stands at present, we are not only in Danger from the Want of the Army being under a due and legal Subordination to the Civil Authority; but we are also in extreme Hazard of having our Liberties violated or destroyed, by that personal Dependence of the Officers on the M——y, which the best contrived Laws will hardly ever be able to eradicate. And your Lordship knows the World too well, not to be acquainted with what Facility Men of all Ranks learn to reverence and obey those, on whom their Fortunes chiefly depend; wherefore, when one or two M———s have the Distribution of all Places and Preferments at their Pleasure, they may, thereby, acquire as great an Influence in the Army, as it is well known they have at present in most of the Corporation Towns, in several large Counties, that may be said to be entirely dependant on them.

This Influence of a M———r over the Army, by having the several Posts and Preferments therein almost absolutely at his Disposal, it is very evident may be extended to the P——t; and, by Means of influencing the military Power, the two chief Branches of the Legislature may in Time become entirely dependant on the M———r. For we have seen on several Occasions, for many Years past, that military Preferments, even in the most able and experienced Officers, are held no longer, than while the Person possessing them gives a Sanction by his Vote to the Measures of the M———y; and that even the Commanders in Chief, whether P——rs or C——mm——rs, are expected to pay implicit Obedience to the Dictates of the Men in Power, as what is required by the present Act, to be shewn by the Subalterns to their Orders; insomuch that no Degree of military Merit, even in the greatest General, is sufficient to balance a single V——te of P——rl——y Opposition to the M———r's Will. Thus, while the Posts of the Army are bestowed as Rewards of P——rl——m——y Slavery, there will be always those found, who are
willing

willing to be corrupted themselves, and have it in their Power to corrupt a Borough to their Interest: By this Means they will purchase a V—te in the H—se, and sell it for military Preferments; and in this Manner the P——t may be corrupted by the Posts in the Army; and by the Corruption of the P——t the Army may be perpetuated. So that, unless it can be demonstrated, that no such M——r can ever exist, who will endeavour to extend his Influence over the Army; or that Corruption, Ambition, and Treachery, have Place only in the military Establishments; every Argument that shews the Danger of an Army, modelled like the present, and dependant only upon the Commander in Chief, will also shew the Danger of one dependant only on the M——r: and the more especially, when the Plan on which the military Constitution is erected, manifestly threatens, as in the present Case, both the Destruction of our Liberties, and the Dissolution of our G——t.

The Establishment of a numerous Standing Army in Time of Peace, is not only an Innovation on the Constitution, but a burdensome

denfome and unneceffary Charge upon the Nation. For what Ufe can they be put to, when they have no Enemy to encounter, unlefs it be for the Suppreffion of a few Turnpike or other Riots, or the Difperfon and Apprehending of a Gang of Smugglers? both which might be much better executed by the civil Power, and with lefs Danger to the Lives of his Majesty's good Subjects. Indeed they fometimes prove of great Service to a M—r at an Election, as we have very lately experienced ; but then this muft always be in open Violence and manifelt Contradiction to the known Laws of the Land.

If it fhould be faid, that we are obliged to keep ourfelves armed after the Manner of our Neighbours, that in Cafe of any Rupture we may be able to refift any of their Attempts againft us ; or to fuccour any of our Friends or Allies, whole Tranquillity they may endeavour to difturb. To this I anfwer, that the Government of the neighbouring Nations being moftly arbitrary, it requires their keeping up a regular Army, even in Time of Peace, to fubdue any Comotions that may arife among the People,
from

from the Hardships they are obliged to suffer from the despotic Power that superintends them. And as the Nations on the Continent are all bordering upon one another ; so, if the Constitution of one Country requires a military Establishment to second, reinforce, or put the civil Power in Execution, it then becomes all the neighbouring Countries also to keep up a regular Body of Forces, to resist any Attempt that the armed Power may at any Time be inclined to make against them ; as, perhaps, there may be but a few Hours March between the Territories of the one and the other. But this cannot be the Case of *Great Britain*, as we have the Sea for a Barrier, and always a good Squadron of Ships well manned, for its Defence. Nay, our Friends the *Dutch*, though they border on the Territories of *France*, whose Troops are known to be always very numerous, and kept up ready for Action, even in the most peaceable Times ; yet, I say, the *Hollanders* are under such small Apprehensions from their Neighbours, as to keep up, in Times of Tranquillity, but just Forces enough to garrison their Frontier Towns ; and if such be their Security, who are so near to Danger upon
any

any Irruption, surely our Safety ought to be much greater, who are placed by Nature so far distant from the Continent.

But, my Lord, there is another Reason that we have both lately heard urged, in the strongest Manner, in P——t, for keeping up such a large Body of useless Forces; and which is founded upon a Danger that has always appeared more tremendous in the Eyes of the M——y, in Proportion as it has decreased in that of the Nation in general: And, on the other Hand, when the People have been alarmed, and under real Apprehensions, from the near Approach of this Danger, our M——rs have not given the least Credit to the Existence of the common Fears, but have, by their supine Behaviour on such Occasions, treated the whole as a Chimera. With what Ardour have not the two B——rs, for many Years before the War commenced, pleaded for the keeping up a regular standing Force, solely to free us from Attempts of the Pretender and his Adherents? And is it not recent in the Memory of every one, that when the News arrived of his being landed in *Scotland*, and that Part
of

of the *Highlands* were up in Arms for his Assistance, that they treated the whole Relation with the greatest Contempt. Neither did they offer to put the Nation in any Posture of Security, but contented themselves with sending a handful of Troops to oppose him, too much inferior to annoy him, or afford such as were zealous for the present Establishment, the least Hope of Assistance. By this Means the Rebellion was suffered to get to a Head; and your Lordship is too well acquainted with the clandestine Methods they took to avail themselves, in the subduing of that Evil in the full Growth, which they had so notoriously connived at in the Bud.

Is it not then astonishing, that these very Men shall endeavour to bring us to their own Cue, by alarming us with a distant and imaginary Danger, when they shewed so little Apprehensions at the Time when there was most Occasion to be in Terror? But to hear the pathetic Harangues of these Gentlemen, and their Partizans, upon the Necessity of keeping ourselves armed, in order to resist any Attempts of the Pretender, one would really

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be apt to imagine, that this so much dreaded Foe was some despotic Prince of a neighbouring Country, who was Lord of wide Dominions, and Master of numerous Fleets and Armies ;—that he was supported by the most powerful Alliances, and had best Part of the Continent at his Call ; and that he only waited for a fair Wind to land him on our Coasts at the Head of Millions of well disciplined Troops ? But is it not well known that this dreadful Pretender is a poor unhappy Fugitive, driven from his Country even in his Infancy, and who has not the least personal Interest in this Kingdom ; but has only been made a Tool of, rather to favour the ambitious Designs of *France*, than from any real Love or Service which that Crown ever had for him ? that he is without Sovereignty, Money, or Alliances, and has no other Followers Abroad but such as dare not return to their native Country, and are consequently without Fortune, without Dependents, and without any Interest or Influence in *England* ? And as to the Attempt that his Son lately took the Opportunity of making, thro' the Indolence of our M——rs, could he have possibly undertaken it with the least
 Hopes

Hopes of Success, had he not been supported by the conjoined Powers of *France* and *Spain*, both of which were, at that Time, our declared Enemies, as we were at open War with them? The Case at present is entirely different; we have concluded a Peace with both those Nations, by which it is agreed that all Hostilities shall cease, and this young Invader, according to the Articles of the Treaty, has been obliged to evacuate *France*, and is gone the Lord knows whither; so that we need not be under the least Apprehensions on his Account, unless he should chance to drop into *Scotland* from the Clouds; and even then, would he not find the Face of Affairs very much altered in that Country? would he not find his own Friends, if he had any, entirely ruined, so as to be hardly able to succour themselves, much less to afford him any Assistance? would he not find the whole *Highlands* not only totally disarmed, but also compleatly dishabited? and, even supposing that he had a few Friends remaining among the Clans, would they not be two inferior in Number to the Well-wishers to the present happy Establishment, and too much dispirited, by

the great Miseries and Hardships that they have so lately endured on his Account, to attempt any thing hereafter in his Favour? But was he even landed in *Scotland*, and could muster a few of his old Comrades; could such a Handful of necessitous Creatures execute any Thing of Consequence before they were suppressed? It would be absolutely impossible for them to have any Succours from Abroad, as our late Success by Sea has entirely ruined the *French* Marine, so that they could not have sent him Troops in their Transports, without our knowing it soon enough to prevent their coming; neither have they any Ships of War sufficient for the conveying of any Embarkation; and it is well known, that our Guard Ships would on any Emergency, if collected together, form a Squadron sufficiently able to secure us from any such Danger, on the least Notice.

As we had not 4000 effective Men in the whole Island the last Time that he landed, and the M——ry concluded these sufficient for our Security, without sending for any more Forces from Abroad, and this in the Time of War; certainly double that Number

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ber would at any Time be enough to free us from the most daring Attempt that he could make in Time of Peace, even was his Party in *England* as strong, as what they are imagined to be amongst the disarmed Clans in *Scotland*. And the more especially so, as we are in defensive Alliance with almost all the Potentates in *Europe*; so that on any such Occasion, we could not want for Forces to succour us from Abroad, and we have always Ships of War, and Transports, enough in Readiness to bring them over almost at a Moment's Warning.

Thus, my Lord, it appears upon the whole, that such a numerous standing Army as we have at present, can be kept up with no other Design, than to support the two B——rs in the arbitrary, unconstitutional and unprecedented Power that they have lately assumed to themselves; to which they have very artfully rendered the Army subservient, by their obtaining the Mutiny Act in the Form it is now in at present. And it is not easy to be perceived, what Confidence we can have in their late so much extolled Peace, or what Benefit we are likely

likely to gain by it, if we must put ourselves annually to so much Expence in Armaments, when there is no open Enemy to dread.

I should not have detained your Lordship so long upon this Head, had I not thought that a thorough Explanation thereof, in its several Lights, could not fail of being agreeable; neither has there any thing passed in either House this last Session more worthy our singular Regard and Attention, nor wherein the Liberties of the Nation is more nearly concerned. And History furnishes us with sufficient Instances, that the *Romans* could never have lost their Freedom, had it not been by the Means of a corrupt Senate, and a large standing Army kept up in Time of Peace. How it happens I know not, but it evidently appears, that the Moderns of our Days are too wise in their own Conceits, to benefit themselves by any Examples of Antiquity, let the Case be ever so plain, or the Comparison ever so obvious.

There was very little more happened last Session, besides a few Party Altercations in the House, that was worthy Notice: There-
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fore I shall not attempt to trespass on your Patience by any Remarks thereon.—As for the Appropriation of the Sinking Fund towards the annual Supplies, it is become so preceded, by long Practice, that, to do the B—rs Justice, I must frankly own, that they have more apparent Reason for being indulged in such a Misapplication of its original Design, this Year, than formerly; and indeed, I had much rather see that Fund, at any Time, turned out of its proper Channel, for a little While, than to have any new Taxes imposed on the Nation, of which no Man knows, or is able to foresee, the End. For although the Sinking Fund was at first established for the Payment of the National Debt, yet that has increased so much within these very few Years, that, unless we can invent some more effectual Method for its Discharge, we are like to be insolvent to Eternity. And had our M—s been content with displaying this Stretch of Power alone, I should never have thought it worthy of any particular Notice. But when we see Men not only arrogating to themselves the supreme Management and Superintendency of all Affairs, both Domestic and Foreign; when

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we find them raised to that exorbitant Degree of Power and Ambition, as to be obliged to get the Dominion of the Army into their own Hands, in order to secure themselves, and their Colleagues, in their unconstitutional Proceedings ; it is then that their Actions cry aloud, for the Notice, and Repentment, of every virtuous and honest Man in the Nation.

Had these Men but the least Degree of Modesty or Shame, or the smallest Regard to their injured Country, would they not gladly embrace the present Opportunity that offers itself, and let the Conclusion of a General Peace be the Conclusion of their profligate Administration, Mismanagement, and ill Conduct ; rather than by continuing their outrageous and arbitrary Practices, to render themselves, at last, the just Victims of the Rage and Aversion of a long injured and avengeful People.

Yet it seems the two B——rs are not content with having consumed the Strength and Substance of the Nation, by misconducting the War ; and to leave off here would, with them, be doing Things by Halves.

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So that, to accomplish the Glory of their Ad——n, we are not only to be beggared by War, but also enslaved by Peace; that their Power may run to its full Scope of excessive Insolence and Oppression. Neither are they satisfied with having made the *** Captive in his Closet, and detaining him Prisoner on his T——e, and keeping the two H——ses bound in the Chains of passive Obedience; but they must seize upon the Army, and oblige it to support them in all their insolent and oppressive Outrages. Even the best Discerning will be at a Loss to imagine, to what farther Height of Extravagancy they attempt to carry this their luxuriant Wantonness of Power, or to account for their having carried it so far. Had either of these supreme Dictators any Male Issue, we should be apt to imagine, that their Intent was to entail the A——n in the Heirs Male of their illustrious Family.

Every one that has been but ever so little conversant with the *English* History, of about a Century and Half past, cannot but well know, that the Liberties of the People have been frequently in apparent Danger from the Power of the Crown, by the Extension of

the Prerogative. But that ever a M——y, composed of a coalited Junto of the most depraved Ring-leaders of several Factions, joined and supported by the military Power, should render themselves obnoxious to our civil Rights, and be able to endeavour the overwhelming the Constitution, is what I confidently aver was never experienced by our Ancestors, or even so much as thought of: Otherwise we might certainly have found some seasonable Provisoes in the Bill of Rights that was introduced at the Revolution, for limiting the Power of M——s, as well as K—gs; and preventing the Pride, Avarice, or Ambition of the one, as well as the Prerogative of the other, from encroaching upon the People's Liberties.

It is now, my Lord, high Time for me to drop the Curtain upon the Exploits of the B——s and their Tools, during the last S——n; did not my Astonishment at the tame and abject Behaviour of my Countrymen, and Brother M—mb—rs, call upon me for some Reflections on their dastardly and shameful Conduct; especially, when I have so lately seen those who formerly merited

rited the greatest Degree of Confidence, fit stupidly insensible of the Calamity that the Nation has undergone, and quite supine and careless to what Ruin it may be exposed hereafter. When they who have formerly merited the Esteem of the People, and ought to have been their Guardians at this Juncture, have entirely deserted their Interest, and that in such a Manner, as though they were incapable of doing them any further Service, or of using the least Endeavour to rescue or-redeem them from Bondage.

Can such Men, who are well known to want neither for Parts, Talents, Skill, or Abilities, for almost any Undertaking, forfeit all the Honour, Virtue, and Integrity of themselves and their Ancestors, by becoming the Dupes of two Men, who, through an outward Affectation of Sincerity and Virtue, have made Use of all the Folly and Vice that the Age abounds in, to the Establishment of their own enormous and destructive Power ?

Though the whole Body of *British* R———ves, may not be endowed with that Penetration as to discern the immediate

Danger of too great a Connexion between the Military Power and a Cabal; and tho' several may be able to distinguish it, yet if they have not the Integrity to oppose it in Time, it is to the same Purpose, if not worse, than if they had no Apprehensions of it at all. But there are certainly many amongst them that cannot but be conscious that this very Cabal, now called the Coalition, have not only usurped the Possession of the Civil Power, but are also so arbitrarily tenacious of it, as to put the whole Nation to Hazard, rather than Part with it, even to him that invested them therewith.

If this Depravity of Spirit in a *British* P——t, be not a plain Evidence of an unnatural Influence, I know not what can be more convincing? And this Influence never appeared more dreadful than at present, when associated with the Military, and in a Manner supported by it. So that it will not create the least Astonishment in me, if, that next S——n, a Bill should be brought in for punishing Opposition and Contradiction to the B——rs supreme Will and Pleasure, and for the better regulating of Divisions in both
H——s

H—s of P——t ; which, according to the present prevailing Humour, would doubtless meet with as little Opposition, as the late Act for punishing Mutiny and Desertion ; nay, it is very probable, according to the Appearance of Things, that it would be carried even by a greater Majority.

There has been a Time, when it was strictly adhered to as a fundamental Maxim of our Constitution, that both Houses of P——t should be entirely independent of the King, and of each other ; and while this remained in force, the Nation could not do otherwise than flourish, from the Harmony that subsisted between every Part of the Government. But since this salutary Maxim has been exploded the *British* Policy, we have often observed an entire Disunion between the governing Part of our Constitution, and the governed ; which has several Times been productive of Consequences very fatal to the Prosperity and Repose of the Kingdom. Sometimes we have seen both H——s dependent on the Cr——n, and at other Times the Upper H——se and the Cr——n dependent on the C——ns ;
but

but we never, 'till within these very few Years, had an Opportunity to observe both H—s, and the Cr—n also, rendered dependent on the M——y. Hence it is evident, according to the annual Motto of the Almanack,

Omnium Rerum Vicissitudo.

And as there is such a Fluctuation of human Affairs, we may live in Hopes, that the Wheel of Time may restore the B—*sh* C——n to its old Form again ; and that this Nation may once more see the M——y subservient both to their King and Country, though we have so little Prospect of it at present.

I should here conclude this long Epistle ; but that I am thoroughly persuaded that your Lordship will indulge me with a few Words more, in relation to the Resolutions that I have finally taken, in regard to my own future Conduct. Which is, in short, that having had the Honour to serve my Country for many Years past, with the greatest Zeal and Pleasure, tho' without the least Motive or Acquisition of Profit ; and being quite
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wearied out by such a long Opposition to the Torrent of the Times, disappointed, deceived and betray'd, by putting Confidence in those who were looked upon as the fittest Persons to retrieve the Nation from the Jaws of Ruin. Tired with viewing the frequent Apostacies of private Men, new Impositions on the Public, and continual Insults on the * * * *, from his own Domesticks and Servants. Wearied, I say, with these shocking Scenes, and delusive Expectations, and being fully convinced from long Experience, that the feeble Endeavours of such Few as remain true to the Cause of their Country, are fruitless and vain, I have determined within myself to retire to my paternal Estate, and there seek for that Honour and Integrity that is very rarely to be found either in the C—t, Camp, or Senate. Therefore, I shall no more trouble myself about any p——ry Affairs, as I do not intend to visit that Place again, unless a Call of the H—se, or a Change in the Spirit of my Fellow-C——rs should force me thither; tho' I shall at all Times be as heartily glad of being able to do my Country any Service in P——t, as I have been formerly;

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but am entirely out of any Hopes of being able to perform it, till joined by a greater Number of those, that have Resolution and Courage sufficient to dare oppose a tyrannical M——r, even when possessed of the most supreme Power of the Nation. Few Men have stood firmer to the People's Interest than I have done, or have endured the successive Brunts of Power longer; but, after all my Endeavours, I find at last we are sinking; and that if we do not unclose our Eyes, and exert ourselves immediately, we shall speedily be swallowed up in a Sea of Destruction. I am,

My LORD,

June 14, 1749.

with the utmost Sincerity

and Respect,

Yours, &c.

