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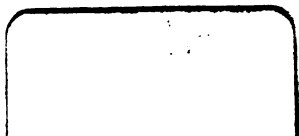
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P 340.1



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M^r Swan
THE
SCOTS MAGAZINE.

CONTAINING

A GENERAL VIEW

OF THE

Religion, Politicks, Entertainment, &c.

IN

G R E A T B R I T A I N :

And a succinct ACCOUNT of

P U B L I C K A F F A I R S

FOREIGN and DOMESTICK.

For the Year MDCCXXXIX.

VOLUME I.

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

E D I N B U R G H :

Printed by SANDS, BRYMER, MURRAY and COCHRAN.

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P R E F A C E .

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

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

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

THE demand for these *Magazines* being considerable in this kingdom, and our distance from the place of their publication rendering their contents stale before they came to hand, several persons were put upon endeavouring to remove these inconveniencies by supplying their place with a production of our own. But this was found liable to so many difficulties as were not easily remov'd:—though at length they were surmounted; and *The SCOTS MAGAZINE* was offer'd the publick when the taste for such collections promis'd all desirable success.— And we are far from complaining of its reception.

BESIDES these, there were other, more important causes for undertaking this work; since, surely the *interest of Scotland*, abstractedly consider'd, is worthy our most watchful attention: In which view we have had the pleasure of gaining the thanks and approbation of several Gentlemen who have done great honour to this undertaking. And while many are so variously engaged to promote the *particular* interest of the more Southern part of this island, it is at least laudable; if it be not necessary, to pay some separate regard to the welfare and prosperity of a country that has been the scene of actions the memory whereof will ever bloom while Fame exists.

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

BESIDES these, several other reasons produc'd this *Magazine*:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

OUR most grateful thanks are due to our many kind and ingenious correspondents; by whose aid we have been greatly assisted,

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

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

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

WE shall only add, that as our study is to instruct and entertain, in such manner as is most agreeable to our readers, we shall chearfully comply with any hints given for the improvement of our design; and beg leave to repeat it again, that before every thing else, whatever concerns the interest of this kingdom, shall always be preferred; for as our labours, so are our wishes employ'd on the PROSPERITY OF SCOTLAND.

EDINBURGH, Dec. 31.

T H E
SCOTS MAGAZINE,

A N D
GENERAL INTELLIGENCER.



JANUARY, 1739.

To be continued every Month. • Price Sixpence each.

CONTAINING,

A SUMMARY of the State of Europe at the beginning of the year 1739. | The Relapse; Ode to W. P. Esq; On Mr. Murray's marriage & Supprium, &c.
WEEKLY Essays: On the unsettled state of our affairs; Mr. D'Anvers's speech to his departing friends; The projector's face, from Common Sense, &c. | A Letter from London relating to the Stage, &c.
POETICAL Essays. The first Psalm imitated; To the Rt. Hon. Miss S—E; | DOMESTICK Occurrences, FOREIGN Affairs. Register of Books.

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

EDINBURGH: Printed by W. SANDS, A. BRYMER, A. MURRAY and J. COCHRAN. Sold by the Bookfellers in Town and Country, and at the Printing-house in Burnet's Close. MDCCXXXIX.

C O N T E N T S.

A SUMMARY of the state of Europe.

S <i>State of the Turkish empire</i>	p. 3
<i>Treaty with P. Ragotski, his death</i>	4
<i>State of the Russian empire</i>	ib.
<i>Scotsmen in high stations there</i>	ib.
<i>Conduct of Count Munich and Lacy admirable</i>	5
<i>State of the German empire</i>	ib.
<i>Unhappy fate of Doxat and Cornbery</i>	ib.
<i>State of Poland. It observes a strict neutrality. Reasons why</i>	6
<i>The Pope's dominions in a bad state</i>	ib.
<i>Naples and the Two Sicilies likely to make a figure in Europe</i>	ib.
<i>Corficain affairs uncertain</i>	ib.
<i>Theodore supported by some crown</i>	7
<i>Venice observes a neutrality</i>	ib.
<i>Disturbances at Geneva accommodated by the mediation of France</i>	ib.
<i>Difference betwixt Sardinia and the Emperor</i>	ib.
<i>Prussia in a good situation</i>	ib.
<i>Denmark improved in its trade</i>	ib.
<i>Regulations in their religious ceremonies</i>	ib.
<i>Sweden improv'd</i>	8
<i>Little remarkable in Portugal</i>	ib.
<i>Spain lately inactive</i>	ib.
<i>France in a flourishing condition</i>	ib.
<i>States General intent on the accommodation betwixt Great Britain and Spain</i>	ib.
<i>Disputes likely to arise about the succession to Berg and Juliers</i>	ib.
<i>Great Britain intent on the negotiations with Spain</i>	ib.
<i>Persia involv'd by a rebellion</i>	9
<i>Morocco a scene of rapine and blood</i>	ib.
<i>Plantation affairs uncertain</i>	ib.

WEEKLY ESSAYS.

<i>On the unsettled state of our affairs</i>	9
<i>Cromwel's letter to the French King</i>	11
<i>Mr. D'Arvers to his departing friends</i>	12
<i>Sale of theatrical goods</i>	15
<i>Character of K. Henry V.</i>	17
<i>Act for granting letters of marque</i>	18
<i>English princes careful of the property of their subjects</i>	19
<i>Pantalon made a minister</i>	20

<i>Arguments for esteeming the industrious poor</i>	p. 23
<i>Love of fame a prevailing passion</i>	25
<i>Odd instances of it in the dress of some modern beaux</i>	26
<i>Complaint against men who dictate the fair sex</i>	ib.
<i>Arguments for putting laws strictly in execution</i>	27
<i>The navy more useful than the army, but worse paid</i>	31
<i>Thoughts on the improvement of the stage</i>	ib.
<i>The King's speech to parliament</i>	32

P O E T R Y.

<i>A flight.—On Mr. Murray's marriage.—Imitated</i>	33
<i>Horace, lib. 1. Ode 26. paraphrased</i>	33
<i>De urbe & ponte Londinensi.—Horace, Book 2. Ode 14. imitated.—On the Poet L—t.—To a Lady weeping at her sister's wedding.—Suspensum.—Universal Prayer</i>	34
<i>The first Psalm imitated.—To the Rt. Hon. Miss St—t</i>	35
<i>The Relapse</i>	36
<i>To W—m P—t—y, Esq;—New-year's Ode</i>	37
<i>Song</i>	38
<i>A letter relating to the Stage, &c.</i>	ib.

Domeſtick OCCURRENCES.

<i>Account of the Royal Infirmary</i>	39
<i>—of the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge</i>	40
<i>—of the late violent storm</i>	ib.
<i>List of ships thereby damaged</i>	41
<i>Proposals for erecting an Hospital for employing the Poor, &c. in Edinburgh</i>	42
<i>Mortality bill</i>	43
<i>Preferments</i>	ib.
<i>Marriages and Births</i>	ib.
<i>Deaths</i>	44
<i>Foreign affairs</i>	ib.
<i>Register of new books</i>	45

The SCOTS Magazine.

JANUARY, 1739.

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

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

The TURKISH empire has long been looked upon as able to raise a prodigious number of troops on any emergency; but those troops were commonly thought destitute of the discipline necessary to enable an army to act with success; and their want of commanders sufficiently experienced in the art of war, has been used as one argument of the ease with which the Ottomans might be dispossessed of the many valuable **E** provinces they hold in Europe; and the great propensity of the subjects of the Porte to insurrection and rebellion, has helped to strengthen the opinion of its being incapable to withstand a general attack from the several Powers whose dominions join those of the Grand Seignior. But the late bravery and conduct of the Turkish forces lay us under a necessity of changing our sentiments with regard to their courage and skill in martial operations; for they have

shewn, that they want neither courage to sustain an attack, nor judgment to improve an advantage: We have seen their frontiers invaded by two powerful empires, who sent four considerable armies upon them at one time, with such rapidity as threatned no less than their meeting in the heart of the Sultan's dominions; yet they have prevented almost every danger that threatned them from so formidable an invasion, at the least expence of blood that can be imagined; a few well-judged marches and counter-marches having prevented the hazard of general engagements: and some slight blockades have avoided the loss of blood, the famine and misery, **C** that constantly attend sieges; Oczakow, Perecop, Nissa, Orsova, Ufizza, &c. having been taken from the Turks with much expence and difficulty, but regained with uncommon ease.

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

The countenance and support which Prince Ragotski, hereditary Prince of

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

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

The country about Smyrna has for some time been greatly molested by a

rebel named Saris Bey Oglew, who has laid the whole neighbourhood, and even the city itself, under contribution, and is now said to command above 20,000 men.

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

Though the success of the Russian arms, in almost every attack they have made upon, and in every skirmish they have had with the Turks, is confirmed from all quarters; yet the large extent of the countries lying between the Russian territories and the scenes of action, have rendered the advantages arising from these operations much less considerable than might naturally have been

expected from such a series of success: For, the enemy making it their first care to lay waste the countries through which the Russians were to march, the difficulty and hazard attending their receiving provisions, would have dispirited almost any other troops in the world. And, when we consider them many hundred miles in an enemy's country, depending on no other succour or supply than what reach'd them by the same tedious rout themselves had taken, to find them vanquishing armies far superior in number to their own, must sufficiently convince their abilities for war, and the advantages they would have procured for their Imperial Mistress, had they been employed to subdue countries as easily kept as conquer'd.

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

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

took Perecop when opposed by an army double the number of his.

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

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

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

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

This insuccess of the Imperialists cannot possibly be attributed to the want

of men, or of skilful commanders; for, notwithstanding the losses the empire has sustained of Generals within these few years, his Imperial Majesty is still possessed of Count Königsegg, Seckendorff, Khevenhuller, Palfi, Hilbourghausen, Wallis, and several others, who have given the world convincing marks of their fitness for command.

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

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

The state of the several sovereignties of ITALY has called the publick attention for some years; and, whatever interests have influenced the Princes possessed of that country to distress the Ecclesiastical State, the Holy Father has always, however reluctant, consented to what has been insisted on by his neighbours, as well as to the demands of more distant crowns; a right ha-

ving been required by one Prince to make Bishops, &c. and a privilege insisted on by another to be excused the payment of what had hitherto been esteemed a sacred tribute;—nor has his temporal authority been thought sufficient to prevent the march of some troops through his dominions, he having been one week glad to furnish provisions for the same regiments, which the week before he forbade entering his territories: And, if the humour of lessening his authority should continue among those Princes who profess an obedience to his decrees, it is to be apprehended, if he has a kingdom at all, it must not be of this world; but that he will be obliged, in good earnest, to seek it in another.

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

CORSICA has long furnished subject of speculation to the politicians of Europe. The accepting Baron Theodore as Sovereign of that island; his sudden departure from thence; his detainment and quiet release in Holland; his appearance at some other places; his return to Corsica, and reported cold reception; and the great quantities of ammunition,

munition, &c. he sent thither during his absence, and took with himself; the large sums he must have expended, and the seeming impossibility of his raising any sum at all: have baffled the penetration of the most discerning: For, as we have been often told, that this itinerant Monarch is supported by some crown, which the world little imagines to be concerned in his fortunes, it is natural to think, that the present situation of his affairs would have discovered the canals of the aids he has from time to time received; but, by what appears by the last advices from Italy, every thing relating to him remains as much a secret now as at his first attempts on royalty.

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

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

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

The VENETIANS, after a long deli-

beration, (while the fate of war seem'd precarious) determined on a neutrality in the contests between the Christian Powers and the Turks; probably not a little to their advantage; having thereby secured their plains from blood, and their trade from interruption.

Some intestine broils, which threatened the utmost danger to the republick of GENEVA, have been accommodated by the mediating hand of France, and the cantons of Zurich and Bern; and the city restored to its former tranquillity.

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

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

DENMARK has, within a few years, greatly improved her commerce; the establishment of an East-India company at Copenhagen having diffused a spirit of trade over great part of the Danish dominions. And his Danish Majesty, during the last year, has made several good regulations in the religious ceremonies of his subjects; having abolish'd the exorcisms used in their baptism, and removed the confession-chairs out of the churches: though the people, ever fond of ceremony than religion, expressed some resentment at first, but are now tolerably reconciled to the alteration.

The

The trade of SWEDEN has likewise been much increased; an East-India company being established at Stockholm, many improvements made in their manufactures, and a treaty of commerce concluded with the Grand Seignior.

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

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

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

FRANCE has been engaged in no war since the campaigns in Italy and on the Rhine, the expedition to Corsica having been attended with no blood yet: tho' the office of Mediator has distinguished the Gallick name of late years, in the af-

fairs of Geneva and Genoa; and has also been often earnestly offered to reconcile the Turks and Germans, and, what is still more remarkable, the crowns of Great Britain and Spain: But her good offices, however it happens, are more readily offered than accepted.— Cardinal Fleury continues in the administration with general applause from the people, though his Christian Majesty's behaviour to the parliament of Paris has no way increased the liberty of France, nor diminished the prerogative of the crown.

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

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

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

The attention of the subjects of GREAT BRITAIN is so generally bent toward the negotiations with the court of Spain, that as nothing final is yet published on that head, we must refer to subsequent advices for the determinations relating to that momentous affair.

THE principal intention of the foregoing Summary being to render the accounts we shall hereafter give of foreign affairs the more intelligible

CRAFTSMAN, Jan. 6.

to such of our readers as have not been very conversant in the transactions abroad, it may not be amiss to add the few following remarks on such other countries as will most probably furnish matter of intelligence.

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

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

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

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

These are truths well known to every Gentleman, who lives the least in the country, and does not fatten upon the spoils of the publick in *this town*, which

is the worst place in the whole kingdom to form a judgment of our condition; though the decay of trade, and scarcity of money are too sensibly felt even here. — I wish the *tradesmen* may not find it so in the payment of their *Christmas A bills*.

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

But these are not all the bad symptoms *abroad*; for, as Mr. Freeport hath fully proved in my last paper, the French and Spaniards, to mention no other nations, are continually improving their *manufactures*, extending their *trade*, and encouraging their *colonies*: whilst we have, indeed, had the dexterity to avoid an *actual war*; though it was thought necessary to send *two powerful*

squadrons, at a very great expence, to protect our *navigation*, *colonies*, and *other possessions*. — How far they have succeeded, for the honour of the nation is visible to the whole world. — Gibraltar and Portmahon are absolutely secured, for the present, by a numerous fleet in the Mediterranean; whilst another, stationed in the West-Indies, hath hitherto protected our *colonies* and *plantations* from any attempt. — Even Georgia is safe. — But I must confess it is a little strange that the Spaniards should dare to continue their *depredations* and *insults*, of which we have frequent advices, whilst the seas are guarded by so great a *naval force*. — This cannot be owing to their *right of sovereignty* over those seas, as the *Gentlemen birelings* suggest; nor to our *own passive obedience* and *non-resistance*, as the malecontents seem to insinuate; but must be imputed solely to the audacious insolence of a few *practical villains*, who steal out in the dark and snap up our ships, without any secret commission from the King of Spain, or his *governors in America*. — It cannot therefore be doubted that his *Catholic Majesty* will readily give us leave, in the *new accommodation*, to focus the seas of these robbers, who commonly make use of his *colours*, and thereby cast a reflection upon that *nice punctilio of honour*, for which the *Spanish court* is so famous, and hath always been so jealous.

However I could wish that some *HONOURABLE GENTLEMEN* at home would be pleased, in the mean time, to look over Milton's letters, written by the direction of *Oliver Cromwell*, the *Parliament*, and others, to most of the *greatest Potentates* and *sovereign States* of Europe. They will there see what a glorious spirit even those *unlawful governors* exerted in defence of their countrymen. They were not only ready to receive the complaints of a *large body* of *merchants*, and represent them in the strongest manner to those, by whom they were aggrieved; but did the same by any *single person*; not only in points of *trade*, but even in cases of *private right* and *property*. — Whether all these *representations*

petitions and memorials succeeded, I cannot say, since it does not appear from the *letters* themselves, and *history* seldom takes notice of such circumstances; but, considering the spirit of *those times*, and that there are but very few instances of above *one letter* upon the same subject, it is natural to conclude that most of them did succeed; particularly those of Oliver, who was not satisfied with *re- vasive, prevaricating, and ineffectual an- swers, or the breach of any promises* made to him. — There are so many instances of this, that it is needless to cite any of them, and therefore I shall return to the *letters*.

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

To the most Serene Prince LOUIS King of FRANCE.

Most serene King, my dearest friend and ally,

“ It is with great reluctance that we
 “ are so often obliged to trouble your
 “ Majesty with the injuries done by your
 “ subjects, since the *renewal of the peace*.
 “ However, we assure ourselves that it
 “ was against your Majesty's consent;
 “ and we cannot refuse to hear the com-
 “ plaints of our people. — It plainly ap-
 “ pears, from the judgment of our court
 “ of admiralty, that the ship *Anthony of*
 “ *Diepe* was justly taken, before the
 “ conclusion of the *treaty*. Part of the
 “ prize, amounting to about *four thou-*
 “ *sand bides*, was bought by Robert
 “ Brun merchant of London; as those,
 “ who were authorized to sell it, have
 “ testified to us. About *two hun-*
 “ *dred* of these being exported to *Diepe*,
 “ after the *ratification of the treaty*, he
 “ complains that he sold them to a cer-
 “ tain carrier of that place, and the mo-
 “ ney being paid into the hands of his
 “ factor there, who stopt it, a law-suit
 “ was commenced against *himself*; and
 “ that he could not procure justice in

“ *that court*. For this reason, we thought
 “ proper to beseech your Majesty, that
 “ the whole affair may be referred to
 “ your own council; and that the money
 “ may be no longer detained, under the
 “ pretence of an unjust demand; for
 “ if what was transacted and decided,
 “ before the peace, is to be called into
 “ question again, after the peace, we
 “ cannot understand of what use *treat-*
 “ *ies* are. Indeed, there will be no
 “ end of such disputes, if some exor-
 “ plary punishment is not soon inflicted
 “ on these common violators of *triaty*,
 “ which we hope will be one of your
 “ Majesty's first cares. — In the mean
 “ time, may God keep you under his
 “ most holy protection.

Your Majesty's

Most assured friend,

O. CROMWELL;

D From our palace at Westminster, the
 — of Sept. 1656. Protector of the
 Common-wealth
 of England, &c.

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

G Our present, lawful, and excellent go-
 vernors have presented several memorials
 and remonstrances, of the same spirited
 kind, to the court of Spain, against their
 long-continued depredations, ravages and
 inhumanities; which have been like-
 wise back'd with a powerful armament,
 as I have already observed: And if it
 should be asked, what notable exploits
 they have performed, my answer shall
 be, in the words of the ministerial writ-
 ters, that PEACE is better than WAR,
 and that these armaments have brought
 the

the Spaniards to terms, as that at Spithead did some years ago. — If I am farther asked, what *these terms* are, I must be silent, and refer my readers to the *treaty* itself when it is produced.

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

GAZETTEER, Jan. 4.

Sir,

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

Mr. D'ANVERS, to his departing friends on the beginning of the new year.

Brethren in design and disappointment,

With too much truth I may now assure you, that repeated instances have convinced me, the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong; — for you must own, one and all, that no man ever exercised such alacrity to gain a point, nor is any person living so fit for the task I have undertaken as myself. — 'Tis now several years since I first promised you relief from the hardships and difficulties, impositions and oppressions, I assured you lay on your shoulders; and I appeal to yourselves, if I have not shewn the utmost vigilance in bringing about that reformation in the state, which I have all along declared to be the only means by which I could work your redemption: nor can you accuse my courage and resolution with any shadow of justice; for I have ventured to assert what none beside myself dared to imagine, having always had sufficient presence of mind to maintain, at all

hazards, what I found necessary to advance; — and my inclination to serve you, enforced by the warm assistance of some Gentlemen who wished you as well as myself, have prompted me to say, in the face of the people, what would in any country have risked an ignominious exit. Has any opportunity offered to render the Gentlemen in the administration odious, that I have not improved to the utmost of my power, though perhaps not always to the extent of my wishes? Instances of this kind are too recent on your memories to require my naming them, it being unusual for grateful minds to forget intended services; or to overlook the inconceivable difficulties I have lain under to preserve, what you have always called, the *spirit* of my paper, and at the same time keep clear of a *heresy*: for though it is an easy matter to *approve* with safety, like the mercenary *backers* who oppose me; yet to *blame*, at all events, requires more than common talents: For when the present possessors of power, have taken such measures as the voice of the nation has approved, it has been matter of no small difficulty to supply a fresh cause of complaint, and to prevent our Generals from being totally deserted. And if with this view I have sometimes involved myself in a few seeming incoherencies and contradictions, charge them not upon me any otherwise, than as the best means I could contrive to support the clamour we were once so fortunate as to raise to a height sufficient to give us a prospect of the golden days we have so long laboured for: nor have these little slips been of any bad consequence, since you must not forget, that whatever was said in order to detect me, must necessarily come from the advocates of our enemies; and then *Court Writer*, and *Tool of Power*, satisfied any man who was wise enough to search no farther. — But, if my modesty would permit me, I could veil these foibles with a cloud of uncontested benefits I have brought to the nation in general, and in a particular manner to you, *Gentlemen*: How has the political knowledge of these

claims increased under my lectures of liberty! How generally have my accounts of foreign and domestick interests, prevailed among the *strongest* men of the nation! With what earnestness have I seen my labours read, (sometimes to the neglect of a fresh pipe) and with what vehemence asserted to be just in the most minute particular!—and when any friend of corruption has chanced to offer an absolute confutation of what I have asserted, with what transport have I seen my votary, with a most becoming contempt, call his antagonist a *persecutor*, and affirm, that he would sooner believe the *Grassman* than all the papers in the kingdom!—These, *Gentlemen*, were the natural effects of the calumny and reproach with which I for some time furnished my readers; but what has been our undoing, is our neglect of the disposition which once so generally prevailed. Every human event has a crisis, which, when carefully embraced, will ever be propitious! The contempt I had happily raised for the persons we intended to succeed, you well know, was more owing to *private* defamation than *publick* misconduct; and the time when the belief of what was published by us, prevailed in half the ale-houses of the nation, was the most promising of success: for it is universally known, that the heat with which a resentment is first conceived, will cool upon reflection; and what a man esteems an enormous offence, while stunn'd with the confirmation of a few undiscerning companions, he may, by some mischievous means or other, happen to compare with accounts from the other side, and thereby become cool in a cause he was before ready to defend with his life. Our misfortunes on this account have been too many; and when, by our own delays, the *private scandal* we had publish'd, began to appear the effect of *private malice*, and to have been offered to the world for *private ends* only, nothing but the detection of *publick maladministration*, seemed sufficient to support the alarming clamour we had raised of the necessity the nation was in of having new governors. In this I ha-

ved with uncommon intrepidity, and multiplied charge upon charge, and complaint on complaint, till I was so fortunate as to have the proof of our grievances attempted in the p——t itself, by such Gentlemen as were generally allowed most capable of proving what I had asserted at their instigation!—But, here we may date our overthrow: no sooner were *records* inspected, and *accounts* re-searched and examined with the impatient attention of our friends and well-wishers, and indeed of the whole nation, but all we had affirmed was disproved beyond a colour of contradiction; the whole legislature, and every body else, being convinced, that the most important of our many accusations were groundless, and founded in nothing more than our enmity to the persons principally concerned in the transactions we accused of *fraud* and *embezzlement*: And it was scarce in the power of man to prevent the current from turning upon us. Then it was I most needed assistance; and then I met with it: But however excellent the *remarks* and *dissertations* furnished me were in themselves, the people were so generally, I know not how to say *unjustly*, prejudiced against their *author*, that had they contained the *Gospels* only, it would have been hard to prevail with many to read them.—He wrote one week, I praised him the next; again he wrote, and my praise succeeded; till growing impatient of insuccess, he left me to despair, in order, since he has no prospect of acting any more as a *Politician*, to retire, and turn *Philosopher*, or rather *Historian*; since we have already been promised the *History of his own Times*; of which, some have had ill nature enough to say, should he write with impartiality, his own crimes would make no inconsiderable part.

Thus, Gentlemen, you see me abandoned by every aid that promised assistance, and left alone to find fault with our governors, at a time when the want of sufficient cause of complaint has been one great cause of my being deserted.—The new year approaches, and with it an unpleasant prospect of

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

an instance of the decay of trade; when you think they will not be able to see that, in fact, it proves only the desire of those wanting to sell to have the more purchasers, and thereby to have the highest price that can be got. — When the reduction of interest is mentioned, you must insist, that it proves nothing more than the scarcity of money, and the numerous inconveniences arising from landed Gentlemen's marrying, and giving portions to their children! — One thing you must assert, where-ever you come, which will require some resolution to vindicate, and yet it must be defended; I mean, the fall of the value of our land estates: for though every country parish through the kingdom abounds with instances of estates being increased within the last thirty years to near twice their former value, and of some to treble the income they at first produced to the present possessors, it bears such a face of prosperity as will never facilitate our wishes, nor any way conduce to promote the uneasiness among those who have no land, which it will be impossible to create among those who have. — And if all these should not prove satisfactory, you may safely enough alledge, that the willingness with which people put their money into the publick funds, is occasioned by trade being now precarious; but if any should happen to reply, That the publick funds subsist by no other means than trade, you must then answer — what appears most to the purpose, for at present I have no reply to that objection.

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

COMMON SENSE, Jan. 6.

IT is now about two months since I observed an advertisement, often repeated

placed in our news-papers, concerning a large parcel of theatrical goods to be disposed of at a certain house in Soho-square. I was very curious to know who could be the proprietors, and who the purchasers of such goods; and, in fine, to be inform'd in all circumstances relating to a sale which seem'd to go out of the common way of trade.

The account given me was, that the late act for regulating the stage, had defeated *Scipio* as well as *Hannibal*, and obliged both these heroes to disband their legions; that it had also forced several unfortunate Princess to abdicate their thrones, which becoming vacant, the allodial effects which once belonged to these crown'd heads, having been taken in execution by the Bailiffs, were sold to the merchants of *Monmouth-street*, and others.

I learn'd the following particulars in relation to this sale: The armour in which the ghost in the tragedy of *Hamlet* makes its appearance, as well as a certain quantity of arms, drums, trumpets, colours, &c. were purchased by the son of a *Change-alley* broker, whose father having gain'd immense riches by the frauds of that profession, and having purchased an estate and a fine seat in the country, the goods before mentioned are hung up in his Honour's hall as the trophies of his ancestors: — *Richard* the Third's shield was bought by a brafter, and is converted into a pot-lead: — The crown and scepter of *Harry* the Eighth went off for old iron.

The following are comedy goods. — Two tinsel suits of cloaths, worn by *Sir Courtly Nice* and *Lord Fappington*, which bore a pretty good price, but are not to be paid for till the day of marriage; they were seen at court the last birth-night, and those who wore them were admired by the ladies as the best dress'd persons there.

The great hat and whiskers of *Captain Hackum* were purchased by commission for a person of condition, lately prefer'd to the command of a regiment, and will be seen in *Hyde-park* the next review day, to the great terror of the *Spaniards*.

The old *rostrum*, used by *Mark Antony* when he harangues the populace upon the death of *Julius Caesar*, was purchased very cheap, by *Orator Henley*. — There was also a small parcel of thunder and lightning, and a shower of snow, the latter very much soiled, but nobody bid for them: — The sea was sold by the pound, at the common price of waste paper; the clouds are now hanging up in *Rag Fair*: — As to the balsters in *Timon of Athens*, they were not put up, but, being called for, the broker acquainted the company, they were the only things which the players kept for their own use.

— *Nam sic juvat ire sub umbras.*

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

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

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

I remember a Noble author hath said, A that when the imaginations of ingenious men are confined and restrained by power, and they find that it is not safe for them to speak their minds, they will have recourse to burlesque, or buffoonry, to express what they think. — I have taken this hint, and am resolved to hold my tongue; and yet I am determined to be devilish satirical upon the projector, and to maul the licenser of the stage, as well as the deputy-licenser, and also his deputy: all this shall be done without a word spoke in my comedy. — To let the publick into a secret, my play shall be danced.

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

It has been no small mortification to me to find, that *France* hath carried the vogue from all the world, both for politicks and dancing. — We have elsewhere observed, that there is a kind of sympathy betwixt politicks and musick; the relation betwixt politicks and dancing is so much stronger, that, without straining the metaphor too high, we may say, the present Cardinal *Fleury* is a most excellent dancer: — All the world acknowledges his superiority in this science, by allowing him (contrary

to the laws of dancing) to lead up every dance in *Europe*, while they are humbly content to dance after him, and think themselves very happy that he gives them leave to pay the fiddlers.

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

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

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

The case stands thus: The licenser can restrain the tongues of the actors, but they still enjoy the free use of their own legs, their own arms, and their own muscles: If I live, said that liberty remains, vice and folly shall not escape satire.

fire.— I have some repartees in my play, which I think will sting the brib'd party to the quick:— I promise there shall not be a gesture or a motion in the whole piece but shall be written on the side of virtue and publick spirit; and I'll make every pretty actress in the house turn out her toes for the good of her country.

The players need not be under any apprehension of suffering by acting my play:— The town will receive with good humour, any thing that is brought upon the stage unlicens'd; so that I don't fear but both the house and myself will get a good sum of money by it.

As to the little busy creature whom I once describ'd under the title of the *latter Hypocrite*, if he should thrust himself in, charged with his pocket pistol, with design to insult the audience, I have taken care to provide for his entertainment: for I have contriv'd a trap that shall convey him out of sight the minute he stands up in the pit, which trap shall carry him under the stage, where he shall be met by some of Doctor Faustus's devils, who shall bestow a little discipline upon him; after which, he shall be rais'd above the stage in a machine, by another trap, and, in a proper habit, be expos'd to the derision of the galleries, with an inscription over his head setting forth his crimes; which, I hope, will cure him of the itch of seeking adventures, for the future, at the theatre.

CRAFTSMAN, Jan. 13.

Sir,

After the many and just eulogiums, bestow'd on the memory of King Henry V. by all the English writers, who have had occasion to mention him, it would be needless, if not impertinent, to enter into a long detail of his excellencies. At the same time, he hath deserved so well from all degrees of men in this kingdom, and his virtues were so conspicuous, that to name him, and not commend him, would in any Englishman be an unpardonable ingratitude.

In the reign of his father, * Henry IV: whose temper was naturally jealous, and (as Kings are often apt to do) too much listen'd to the flatterers about him; who, conscious of the Prince's superior merit, us'd their utmost endeavours to separate him from his father, by exciting the King's jealousy, and artfully rendering the Prince's actions, however innocent in respect to his allegiance, odious and suspected; in which they so far prevail'd, as to induce the King to remove him from being *President of the council*, and to place his son John, afterwards Duke of Bedford, in the Prince's room:— I say, notwithstanding these frowns from court, he shew'd by many instances, before he reigned, that he knew how to obey.

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

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

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

* See Kennet's collection of the English historians, vol. 1. p. 300.

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

“ *Item*, because our Sovereign Lord the King hath heard and conceived, at the grievous complaint of the Commons of his realm in this parliament, for that, in respect of a statute made at his parliament, holden at Leicester, the last day of April, in the second year of his reign, in which statute is contained, That the breaking of truce, and of safe-conducts, and willing receipt, abetment, procurement, council, hiring, sustaining and maintaining of breakers of truce, and of the safe-conduct of the King our Lord, to be made by his liege-people from henceforth, within the realm of England and Ireland, and the country of Wales, or upon the main sea, shall be judged and determined for high-treason, done against the crown, and the King’s dignity — secondly; by reason of which statute, though the King’s subjects be so much grieved against the truce, that they dare not provide remedy by way of *act*, for that the King’s enemies, as well in the parts beyond the sea, as in the realm of Scotland, have thereof taken great courage to grieve the King’s faithful liege-people, in slaying some of them, and in taking some of them prisoners, and also taking their goods and chattels, against the tenour of the truce, as well upon the main sea, as upon the marches of Scotland (whereof the said Commons, have humbly beseeched our said Sovereign Lord the King to provide remedy. — Thirdly; the King, willing in this case, as well as in any other, to take order for the indemnity of his liege-people and faithful subjects, hath declared in this present par-

lament, that of all attempts made in his enemies upon any of his faithful liege-people against the tenour of any truce taken before this time, whereof is no express mention made, that all marques and reprisals shall cease; and will grant *marque* in due form to those, who feel themselves in this case grieved. — Fourthly; and our said Lord the King will do the like to all his liege-people, that feel themselves grieved against the tenour of any truce which betwixt him and any of his enemies shall be newly taken hereafter. — Fifthly; and to the great comfort of his faithful liege-people, the intent that they may the more readily, and without long delay, have remedy in this case; the same our Lord the King will, that if he or they who feel themselves grieved against the tenour and form of such truce within the realm of England, out of the said marches of Scotland, or upon the sea, or in the parts beyond the sea shall complain to the Keeper of the Privy Seal, which for the time shall be, who after such complaint heard and perceived thereof, shall make to the party complainant, (if he the same require) letters of request, under the Privy Seal, in a due form; and immediately after such request made, the party required do not make, within a convenient time, due restitution or satisfaction to the party grieved, then the Chancellor of England, for the time being, shall cause to be made to such party grieved (if he that demand) letters of *marque*, under the Great Seal, in due form. — Sixthly; and as for remedy to be ordained for the King’s liege-people, and subjects, who feel themselves grieved in the realm in Scotland, or in England, the marches joining to Scotland, &c.” — What follows relates only to Scotland, and is now useless. I do not pretend to be a lawyer enough to know whether this *act* is now in force; or politician enough to say, if it was in force, whether it would be proper to put it in execution at this time; nor whether it is

not deficient in some circumstances: all which I submit to better judges than myself.

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

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

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

dominant, that it proved his ruin, and brought about the *revolution*.

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

Queen Anne followed his example, as soon as she came to the crown, by declaring war against France and Spain, in pursuance of the alliance, which her *predecessor* had formed with several great *C Powers of Europe*, for preserving, amongst other things, the *freedom of NAVIGATION and COMMERCE*.

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

I am,

Sir,

Yours, &c.

HANOVERIUS,

COMMON SENSE, *Jan. 13.*

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

La SCENE est a PARIS.

L'ECOLE de la POLITIQUE: Ou,
PANTALON *reque* Ministre.*Parodie de la derniere Scene du Malade Imaginaire, De Moliere.*

Premiere Entre de Ballet March de la Faculte Ministeriale, au son des Instrumens.

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

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

Le President coiffez d'une grande Peruque, faites de Billets de Banque frizéz; son Habit doubléz de debentures de l'Armée, avec des Parements de Billets de la Marine; avec un Neud d'Epaule composé du Contract de la Banque, et du Contract du Fourage:—Une grande Bourse, pleine des Guinées, attachée a son Cienteure, qu'il distribut a toute la Compagnie avant qu'il prend sa Place.

Le Premier Docteur habillé en Harlequin, son Habit étant tout lardé des Traités; des Prestminaires, des Conventions, des Memoriales, &c. &c.

Le President nassis dans un Fauteauil qui est a Milieu, & Pantalón, qui doit estre reçu Ministre, se place dans un Chaise plus bas.

The SCENE is in PARIS.

The SCHOOL of POLITICKS:
Or, PANTALON made a Minister.Being a Parody of the last Scene of the *Malade Imaginaire*, of Moliere.

THE Scene opens with the Procession of the Ministerial Faculty, to the Sound of Musick.

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

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

The President is dress in a large Perriwig, made of Bank Notes curled up; his Coat is lined with Army Debentures, turn'd up and trimm'd with Navy Debentures; his Shoulder-Knot is made of the Bank Contract, and Forage Contract:—He has a large Purse, full of Guineas, tied to his Waste, which he distributes among the Company before he takes his Place.

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

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

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

Le President.

Savantissimi Doctores,
Politici Professores,
Qui hic assemblati estis;
Et vos altri Messiores,
Commissionares & Collectores,
Inimici des les Tories;
Atque tota Compagnia,
Sit Vobiscum Harmonia
Salus, Favor, et Argentum,
Atque bonum Appetitum.

Non possum, Docti Confreri,
En moi satis Admireri
Qualis bona Inventio
Est Politica Professio,
Que, suo Nomine solo,
Facit a Jogo vivere
Tant des Gens omni Genere.
Dumque il est nostræ Sapientiæ,
Boni Sensus atque Prudentiæ,
De fortment travailliere
A nos bene conservare,
Et prendere Gaudam a non recipere
In nostro Corpore Indocto
Quas Personas incapabiles
Et totas Dignas remplire
Istas Plaças honorabiles.
C'est pour cela, que nunc convocati estis
Et credo quod trovabitis
Dignam Materiam Ministri
In Savanti Homine, que voici,
Quem dono ad interrogandum,
Et a Fond Examinandum,
Vestris incapacitatibus.

Premier Docteur.

Si mihi Licentiam dat Dominus Præses,
Et tanti Docti Doctores,
Et Assistentes Illustres,
Au tres savanti Candidato,
Quem estimo et honoro,
Demandabo Causam et Rationem quare
Argentum facit bene votare?

Pantalon.

Mihi a docto Doctore
Demandatur Causam et Rationem quare,
Argentum facit bene votare?
A quoi respondeo,
Quia est in eo
Virtus dormitiva,
Cujus est Natura
Conscientiam assoupire.

Chaur.

Bene, Bene, respondisti;
Dignus, Dignus, es intrare

In nostro docto Corpore.

Second Docteur.

Demandabo tibi, Docte Candidate,
Quid, in Affaris Forinibus,
Convenit facere?

Pantalon.

Principio Bravare,
Postea Guarantare,
Ensuite Mediare.

Chaur.

Bene, Bene, &c. ut supra.

Troisième Docteur.

Mais si duo Puissances,
Imperator et Hollandoisjes
Non volunt agreare,
Quid Methodum trouvere?

Pantalon.

Cum Ambobus Traitare,
Ambos Guarantare,
Cum Ambobus Rumpare.

Quatrième Docteur.

Demandabo tibi, Docte Candidate,
Si habes Expedimentum,
Bene Probatum et Inventum,
Tenere semper Contentum
Liberum nostrum *****?

Pantalon.

Plaças multas donare,
Postea haranguare,
Ensuite votare.

Cinquième Docteur.

Sed si P——
Electum sit male-contentum,
Vult Ministrum chassere,
Quid illi facere?

Pantalon.

Housam bene purgare,
Novas plaças creare,
Postea haranguare,
Ensuite votare.

Sixième Docteur.

Docte Domine Candidate,
Propons tibi ad respondendum,
Quid est nobis faciendum,
Si Diego non vult accomodare,
Si Naviros vult plunderare
Merchandos nostros massacrare,
Et Oreillos matellorum Amputare?

Pantalon.

Flotam magnam assomblare,
Postea multo sanforonare,
Sub Poenâ Mortis Ordonare
Admirallos de non battare.

Septieme Docteur.

Demandabo tibi, Docte Candidate,
 Quid ad E ——— governandam,
 Et Animas nostras conservandam,
 Trouvas a propos facere ?

Pantalon.

Beneficium donare,
 Postea consecrare,
 Ensuite translatare.

Huitieme Docteur.

Super istas Policias

Doctus Candidatus dixit Miravillias :
 Mais, si non ennuio Dominum Præsidem,

Doctissimam Facultatem ;
 Et totam honorabilem
 Companiam econtantem,
 Faciam illi unam Quæstionem,
 Cum exercitu in Pace
 Quid convenit facere ?

Pantalon.

Soldieros Powderare,
 Officieros far votare,
 Malvotantes cashierare.

Chœur.

Bene, Bene, respondisti, &c. ut supra.
Le President a Pantalon.

Juras guardare Statuta
 Per Facultatem præscripta,
 Sine Sensu aut Jugeamento ?

Pantalon.

Juro.

Le President.

Essere, in Omnibus
 Debatis et Quæstionibus,
 Meo Aviso,

Aut bono, aut mauvaïso ?

Pantalon.

Juro

Le President.

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

Pantalon.

Juro.

Le President.

Ego, cum bono Stipendio,
 Dono tibi, et concedo,
 Virtutem et Puiffanciam

Traitandi,
 Garantandi,

Mediandi,
 Blunderandi,
 Confoundendi,
 Corruppendi,
 Pillagendi,
 Stockjobbandi,
 Ruinandi,
 Dominandi,

Impunè per totam Nationem.

Les Excisemen, Commissionaires, &c.
viennent faire la Reverence en Cadence
a Pantalon.

Pantalon.

Ministres Emmenentissimi,
 Tuque Præses Prudentissime,
 Ce seroit, sans Doute, a moi Chosa folla,
 Inepta et ridicula,

Vobis Louangeas donare,
 Qui non Louangeas deservatis,
 Nec d'être blamati curatis,
 Dummodo bene mangeatis,
 Et plaças vestras possedetis ;
 Agradeate que, avec meo Voto,
 Pro toto Remerciamento,
 Rendam gratiam Corpori tam Docto ;
 Vobis, Vobis debeo

Bien plus que a Nature, et a Patri meo.

Natura, et Pater meus,
 Duncium me habent factum ;
 Mais vouz (ce que est bien plus)
 Me havetis factum Ministrum,
 Qui hoc in Corpore, que voila,
 Imprimat Resentimentum
 Quod durerà tant que meum Employ-
 mentum.

Chœur.

Vivat, vivat, cent fois vivat,
 NovusMinistrus, qui tam bene respondit,
 Mille, Mille annis, et mangeat, et parlet,
 Et parlet, et negotiet, et bibet.

Les Commissaires, &c. dansant en
Son des Instrumens.

Premier Docteur.

Puisse toti Anni
 Luy essere boni,
 Et favorabiles,
 Et non habere jamai
 Quam courtas Sessions
 Parvas Oppositiones,
 Et magnas Acquisitions.

*Exeunt omnes.**Anglicè.* ——— Away with them all.

WEEKLY MISCELLANY, Jan. 13.

Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se, quam quod ridiculos homines facit.

Mr. Hooker,

I Persuade myself, from your regard **A** to Christianity, and to every thing descriptive of divine goodness, that this letter will be favoured with a place in your *Miscellany*, though the *Poor* appear the heroes of the piece, and the *Rich* are treated with some freedom and plainness. I would not be thought insensible of the respect due to men of birth and distinction, nor that pride and beggary are too often seen inseparable companions. I would therefore avoid every thing tending to promote an indecent liberty with the one, and which may raise the notions of the other above their proper sphere and province of action. The good man as well as great one will have no cause to be offended, nor can you fear disobliging any rich man, who **D** is a friend to religion and virtue, and ready to employ his wealth in their support; for such are in the class of those for whom I have the utmost regard. The haughty and insolent, the proud and overbearing this letter is addressed **E** to, whose treatment of those below them prove them ignorant of the use of inferiority, and seems to deny the *poor* the privilege of fellow-creatureship. How would the nature of man be humanized in this respect, and what a **F** just value would be set upon labour and industry, did we oftner form an idea of the *poor*'s services to society, and view them in those offices and employments without which the greatest inconveniences would arise! Those stations and **G** circumstances which are overlook'd, or beheld with scorn and contempt, are in short most beneficial to the world, and may be reckoned amongst the kind dispensations of providence. As we may trace its footsteps through every part **H** of created nature, so in low life; in the abilities and constitutions of the *poor*, are the prints of it to be remarked and admired. We seldom indeed look below us for agreeable objects. If we are upon the hill of fortune, the sight is fix-

ed on the higher hill in the view, tho' the valley should as much engage our affections, which is so conducive to a beauteous prospect, and whose use and fertility is productive of so much more real advantage than the barren height. There are wrong estimates of persons and things; the cart loaded with provisions and necessaries must not stop the progress, but give way to the rattling gilt equipage, which has often less business, though it lays claim to place and precedence. The gay and painted tulip is admired, whilst the more useful medicinal herb escapes notice and observation. Thus the idle man of fortune and dress is preferred to the more useful member **C** of society, to the *poor* man whose daily labour brings daily service to mankind. All regard is paid to shew and figure, and real merit is the last thing observed and admired in man. Grandeur and magnificence are courted, when the *poor* **D** man, whose labour clothes and feeds us, is ridiculed and set at nought. Nothing more offends the good-natur'd and humane part of the world, nor may be presumed more affrontive to the divine Orderer of all things, (the honour of whose creation the *poorest* have a right to) than insult and reproach. The afflictions of the *poor* should be oftner recollected, and the benefit received from their necessity and dependence more frequently considered. It is very prettily argued by Sir Richard Steel, where an excuse is offered for an uncommon civility and ceremony to an inferior: "It is not enough barely to pay — we ought to do something more than barely gratify them, for what they do at our command only because their fortune is below us." **G** The esteem of every thing should be proportioned to its usefulness and service, and, if the industrious and ingenious *poor* can be proved beneficial to society, I can't see why they should not share its respect and affection. Society, like a house, would be greatly at a loss if all its furniture was only ornamental. The necessaries and comforts of life are handed up to us from the *poor*. I never see lace and embroidery upon the back of a beau, but my thoughts

It may be sadly apprehended their inferiorities will begin where the others will end; and that the *poors* honesty and industry, humility and resignation to the will of Providence, will be amply rewarded, when the irreligious and ungrateful sons of fortune will receive the just censure and punishment of their conduct.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

UNIVERSAL SPECTATOR, JAN. 13.

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

In this paper I shall not undertake to comment on all the effects which the love of fame has on mankind in general, but shall confine my observations on how strangely it operates on the last species of persons I mention'd, our London *beauce esprits*. The young fellows of this metropolis, who have an ambition to be remarkable, without any one good or amiable quality to make them so, immediately have recourse to dress; an address and particularity in this respect makes them distinguish'd, and draws the eyes of the world upon them: but tho' it should be with the utmost contempt, they attribute it to another cause, as either the gentleness of their persons,

the *je ne sai quoi* of their address, or the elegance of their taste. I look upon the dress to be an indication of the mind; nor do I think, from the observations I have made, that I am deceiv'd in my

A opinion: When I see a man clean and genteely plain, dress'd in the manufacture of Great Britain, whose appearance shews more a study for decency than finery, I scruple not to judge that person a man of sense, a useful subject, and an honest

B Englishman: On the other hand, when I behold a fop, dress'd up in a tawdry finery, or a coxcomb descending in his habit to the imitation of the lowest class, I venture safely to give them the character of vain-conceited, empty, insignificant wretches: But however in-

C significant they may appear, we have at present a reigning ambition among our young Gentlemen of degrading themselves in their apparel to the class of the servants they keep. It may at first seem very extraordinary that these sparks

D should act thus to gain admiration: But from what other cause can it be that my Lord *Jehu* wears a plush frock, a little narrow-edg'd lac'd hat, a colour'd handkerchief, and in this habit drives a motley set of horses, and a

E coach of his own, built by his own directions, in humble imitation of those which carry passengers on the road? it is the knowledge of his own abilities which dictates this conduct: How pleasing is the reflection to him, that when

F he goes through a country-town, sitting with becoming grace in his box, he hears the people say, *There goes my Lord Jehu!*—His great abilities in driving, his exactness of similitude in dress, and his assability to his brethren

G of the whip, must give his Lordship a sensible satisfaction, that this particularity makes him as well known in most roads throughout England, as the honest fellows themselves who drive the stages. I will not undertake to say,

H whether it is in imitation of his Lordship, or whether the product of their own fertile genius's, but I have lately observ'd a great number of smart young fellows, dress'd in the manner of my Lord; a narrow-edg'd Hat flapped down,

down, a plain shirt, buck-skin breeches, and an India handkerchief round the neck, seem to constitute the character of a pretty fellow. There are another set of sparks who chuse rather to appear as jockeys, and it is seldom or never they are to be seen without boots, whips in their hands, and black caps instead of hats. Another class of these gentry disguise themselves in rug and duffel coats, which it seems are politely termed *wrap rascals*; and in short, dark wigs, and dirty linnen; chusing rather to appear like *pick-pockets* than *Gentlemen*. My country readers may wonder that I should instance these persons as examples of ambition; but they will allow them to be candidates for publick notice, when I inform them that in these habits they appear with a kind of pride in all the publick places about town: They have at last carried it so far, that in those dresses they come into the boxes at the theatres; and where one would expect to see a genteel polite circle, we view Ladies of the first Quality and distinction surrounded by a parcel of men who look like stage-coachmen, jockeys and pick-pockets.

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

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

To Mr. Stonecastle.

Sir,

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

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

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

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

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

Thus, by degrees, the heart of the fair creature is melted to pity and compassion, and by this means ten thousand distractions immediately enter, through the falshness and perjury of these admirers; for no sooner have they gain'd their point, but this pretended flame is extinguish'd, and they are engaged in displaying their love to another, in order

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

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

SOPHIA.

CRAFTSMAN, Jan. 20.

THe unsteadiness and variety in human nature proceed more from *affections* than *reason*. *Tempers* differ, D and *fashions* change; but, in matters of judgment, most agree. I would not be understood to mean any thing farther than what is necessary for *order* and *justice*. This opinion the great *Lawgiver* himself seems to confirm, when he E gave that command, *Do as you would be done by*, which submits to an equitable determination of the respective agent, those actions by which others are influenced. *This injunction* is founded on *truth* and *justice*. Conscience and F self-conviction are the strongest evidences to produce the *former*; and when that is cleared, but a small share of capacity is required to judge *uprightly*, according to *this law*. As the word *power* is taken in the common acceptation, G there is no such thing lodged with any man; I mean, every body is enjoined to follow the dictates of *reason* and *virtue*; and, as human perfection will aid, to shun the inticements of *vice* and *personal affections*. Every breach of *this* H *law* is an injustice to mankind in general; and the higher stations *those persons* are placed in, who transgress it, there is the greater number of *sufferers*. — Nothing can be more contrary to the intent of *this divine command*,

than those common positions; *That PRINCES may bestow their favours as they please, and, Every body may do what they will with THEIR OWN*; for, according to *this sacred doctrine*, we are not allowed to make any partial or corrupt uses of whatever we are possessed.

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

note. — It is certain, that we find ourselves in a very different situation; and that *vices* rides triumphant, in defiance of *pains, penalties, and the strictest laws*, than can be made.

*Extruite immanes scopulas, attollite turres;
Cingite vos fluvii; vastas opponite sylvas;
Non dabitis murum sceleri* —

Claudian. cap. Hon. 4. p. 633.

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

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

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

The *moral laws* of most nations have been nearly the same, in all ages; and the *laws* that have been made for many hundred years past, are chiefly calculated to inflict still *greater punishments*.

on the *same vices*. But happy would it be for us, if it were a little more considered, that the difference is not so great in the *laws* themselves, as in the *magistrates*; and that the vigilance and steadiness of the *latter* would be much more conducive to the well-ordering of a nation, than *severe and sanguinary punishments*.

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

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

*In commune iudex si quid, censeque tenendum,
Primus iussa sibi; tunc observantior equi
Fit populus; nec ferre negat, cum viderit
ipsum*

*Authorem parere sibi; componitur orbis
Regis ad exemplum; nec sic inspicere sensus
Humanos edicta valent, ut vita regentis.*

Claud. con. Hon. 4. v. 206.

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

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

The bare increase of a crime, is not always

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

Nemo prudens punit, quia peccatum est, sed ut peccatum—But if vengeance is more concern'd in the forming of laws than justice; if severe penalties are increas'd, upon the suggestion of a few; or, perhaps, on account of a private pique, and to serve particular ends: one may venture to say that they are shot at random amongst a crowd, by which many will be hurt, but nobody knows upon whom the bullet may light.—The most considerate magistrates will execute such laws with reluctance; and the severer the penalties are, the greater will be the opposition and disobedience of the people.—Such partial laws will never be submitted to, in the ordinary course of justice: and whenever it is necessary to add extraordinary force, in the place of legal authority, to aid the civil power; I say, whenever these things happen in a country, that ever was free, let them boast of their constitution and liberties as much as they please; but their wise neighbours will shake their heads, and either pity, or insult their forlorn condition.

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

The mildest execution of penal laws cannot justify a superfluous addition of power; for policy may produce a tempo-

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

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

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

RIDWAY robb'd DUNCOTE of three hundred pound;
RIDWAY was taken, arraign'd, and condemn'd to die;
But for his money was a courtier found
Begg'd RIDWAY's garden—DUNCOTE now doth cry,
Robb'd, both of money, and the law's relief;
The courtier is become the greatest thief.

It is a very wise maxim, never to platt more power in any branch of a state.

state, than what is absolutely necessary for the preservation of the whole.— Power is the offspring of vice: and a very tender and careful daughter she makes; for she never lets her parent want any thing she can procure her. But those, who are not in love with the family, ought to keep both under.— Let it be always remember'd, that people in power, who want to enlarge it, are endeavouring to inroach upon others; and those who desire to restrain them, are only struggling to secure themselves.

*What pow'r was fit, I did on all bestow;
Nor rais'd the poor too high, nor press'd
too low*

*The rich, that rul'd, and every office bore;
Confus'd by laws, they could not hurt the
poor.*

*Both parties I secur'd from lawless might;
So none prevail'd upon another's right.*

See Plutarch's Life of SOLOM.

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

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

Where the penalties of these laws are

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

COMMON SENSE, Jan. 20.

Mr. Common Sense,

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

That our fleets are the honour, the defence, the strength of Great Britain, the support of our trade, the dependence

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

It puts my blood into a ferment to hear the use of a standing army extoll'd by the penal tongues of court-favourites. I know no other use these land-locusts are of to the publick, but to oppress their quarters, harass the country by their marches, insult the Gentry whose estates pay their subsistence, awe the boroughs, influence elections, and make the people uneasy and disaffected. These BROOM STICKS (for from their use they may justly be so stiled) are fit for nothing

but rods for the people's backs. It was an excellent observation of the present Cardinal de Fleury: *The English fleet awes their enemies; their army, themselves.*

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

Yours,

SAMSON MAINMAST.

The Weekly Miscellany, Jan. 27.

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

E His

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

My Lords and Gentlemen,

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

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

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

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

eration had of the demands on both sides, that Prince hath obliged himself to make reparation to my subjects for their losses, by a certain stipulated payment; and plenipotentiaries are therein named and appointed, for regulating, within a limited time, all those grievances and abuses, which have hitherto interrupted our commerce and navigation in the American seas; and for settling all matters in dispute, in such a manner, as may, for the future, prevent, and remove all new causes and pretences of complaint, by a strict observance of our mutual treaties, and a just regard to the rights and privileges belonging to each other. I will order the convention, and the separate articles to be laid before you.

It hath been my principal care, to make use of the confidence you reposed in me in this critical and doubtful conjuncture, with no other view, but the general and lasting benefit of my kingdoms; and if all the ends, which are to be hoped for, even from successful arms, can be attained, without plunging the nation into a war, it must be thought, by all reasonable and unprejudiced persons, the most desirable event.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

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

My Lords and Gentlemen,

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

A FLIGHT.

Callie! my precious! why so coy!
 Thou dear, provoking jewel!
 Why will you still suspend my joy,
 And still continue cruel?

Is it because I've gently woo'd,
 And us'd you like a Goddess,
 That my desires must be withstood?
 — Indeed it something odd is!

Well, then! — since winning makes
 you fly,

And treat me past endurance,
 Henceforth another way I'll try,
 And court you with — assurance.

That I no more may meet disgrace
 In any Paphian battle,
 I'll borrow Naph's bloody face,
 And Cibber's tittle-tattle.

You arm'd with snuff-box, game and
 And twenty pretty fancies, [ring,
 Glib unsex'd from my tongue shall
 In alarm'd advances. [spring

How'er, if all these methods fail,
 And have no power to win ye,
 I'll turn about my tail,
 And — think the devil's in ye.

On Mr. MURRAY's Marriage.

HUc, ô, jocosus septa cobortibus,
 Mater ferocem blanda Cupi-
 dixim,

Venit MURRÆO, columbas
 sise levis, volucrumque currum.

Ille, ille late signa ferens tua,
 Nam & decora millibus addita

Visti ELIZA, rite parto

Prævitit pueris trapæo,

Quæque Jacobi gramina fertilis,

Lætanda caris turba puellulis,

Quæque theatralis superbi

Parovitant spatia ampla testii,

Auro nivescentes & juvenes, comam

Frustra repexi: spererat integra

Canctis, sed ægra te requirit,

Nam humili peritura stamena,

Amice dulcis; te, quia nobilem

Makere sanctos consilio patres

Unquam dolendo, te potentem

Moribus, ingenuaque lingua;

Quam sustinentem fistere curiam;

Relinq' d'clam tollere jurgia

Suavia multo melle tinxit,

Virgibus pariter dolosam.

The preceding Ode imitated.

Parent of peace and sweetest joys,
 Where virtue guides and crowns the
 choice,

Here, Hymen, lead that smiling train,
 Nor let the Muse's wish be vain;

For, now the fair ELIZA his,
 Gives MURRAY claim to all thy bliss.

Those idols of the vulgar fair,

Whose outside is their only care,
 Who flutt'ring haunt the park, the play,

And fool an idle life away,

Could never hope her heart to move,

By nature form'd for nobler love.

That love he best deserv'd, who draws

A nation's wonder and applause;

Who speaks, and senates pensive sit,

Charm'd with his eloquence and wit;

Who in his country's cause appears,

And ev'ry heart is warm that hears —

By merit so above contest

When love invades a virgin breast,

Reason nor can, nor ought to arm;

'Tis virtue, sure, to feel the charm.

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

Let not a poet mind the cares of life,
 Its gaudy nothings, and its bustling strife;

Let cares attend the Monarch's roof of state,

And haunt no more the muses calm retreat.

Since sport's the space assign'd to mortal man;

Enjoy the day, my friend, while yet you can;

Ere death's black pinions overspread the flight;

And shed around us everlasting night.

To Turks leave toils, and fears, and dread alarms,

While glorious Keith shines terrible in arms;

Leave it to George and Walpole to regain

Our injur'd honour, and our ships from Spain.

But come, my friend, and in my peaceful bow'r

In social pleasure pass the genial hour.

No discord here shall raise the warm debate,

No knave shall wheedle, and no fool shall prate.

Here the gay jest the wanton laugh shall bring,

And wit its honey lend, without the sting.

Smooth shall the gentle minutes roll along,

While wine gives mirth, and beauty fires the song,

(Beauty, my friend, that warms the icy soul,

And adds new pleasures to the sparkling bowl.)

First of the fair thy H — ton shall shine,

In manners gentle, as of form divine,

Possess'd of all that grace the fair, the good,

Frank, no coquette; and virtuous, tho' no prude:

— While pleasing fancy to my view supplies

An angel's sweetness in a Finley's eyes.

De Urbe & Ponte Londinensi.

CUM Londinensem Neptunus uiderat urbem,
 In Thamesin, summo, uetus, adusque, salo;
 Cum superimpositum torrenti in flumine pontem
 Viderat, & rapido ponere jura freto;
 Cum tantas moles, ferrumina, castra, tot arcus,
 Quos populi ingentis desuper uerget onus;
 Haec pater undarum spectans, fluctusque sonoros
 Confundi, innumeros & variare gyros:
 Troja, uale! sedes haec sit Neptunia, dixit,
 Quae, final & terris, & dominatur aquis.

HORACE, Book 2. Ode 14. imitated.

How swift, alas! the rolling years
 Hasten to devour their destin'd prey!
 A moth each winged minute bears
 Which still! in vain the stationers
 From the dead authors sweep away,
 And troops of canker-worms, with secret pride,
 Through gay vermilion leaves, and gilded covers,
 glide.

Great B—s—y, should thy critick vein
 Each day supply the teeming press;
 Of ink shouldst thou whose rivers drain,
 Not one octavo shall remain
 To show thy learning and address:
 Oblivion drags them to her silent cell,
 Where great King Arthur and his Nobles dwell.

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

With silver clasps, and corner-plate,
 You fortify the fav'rite book:
 Fear not from worms nor time thy fate,
 More cruel foes thy works await;
 The butler, with th' impatient cook,
 And pastry nymphs with trunk-makers combine,
 To ease the groning shelves, and spoil the fair
 design.

On the Poet L—t, and his ODES.

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

Chang'd to a laurel, his coy maid
 With proper wreath to crown his head
 Her arms did kindly lend;
 Thine, turn'd into a birchen tree
 Alike spreads all her boughs for thee
 But 'tis for t'other end.

To a young LADY, weeping at
 her Sister's wedding.

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

SUSPIRIUM.

OH! my heart! my wounded
 heart!

Can I longer bear the smart?
 Will the fair-one still be coy?
 Still refuse th' extatick joy!
 Gods! propitious be inclin'd,
 Make her pliant, make her kind.
 —Said I pliant? said I kind?
 Rouse ambition to my aid;
 Man for nobler ends was made,
 In the senate, at the bar,
 Or in glorious fields of war.

But can these my mind engage?
 Vain's the thought conceiv'd in rage!
 Ah! ambition falls a prize,
 Baff'd by the dear one's eyes:
 Bacchus, with his midnight crew,
 Mirth and musick may pursue,
 Blythe and gay the night prolong;
 —She's the burden of my song.
 Her forget! endeavour vain!
 Reason; ne'er attempt again;
 Love must ever rule the roast,
 And MYRA be my constant toast.

The first and last Stanza's of Mr.
 Pope's UNIVERSAL PRAYER.

Father of all! in ev'ry age,
 In ev'ry clime ador'd,
 By saint, by savage, and by sage,
 Jehovah, Jove, or Lord!
 To thee, whose temple is all space;
 Whose altar, earth, sea, skies;
 One chorus let all beings raise,
 All nature's incense rise!

The Fifth PSALM imitated,
in a Pindarick Ode.

Happ, O! happy! is his state,
Whose thoughts are always
right;
Whose zeal the wicked can't abate;
Whom no ill words delight:
But who the law of God pursues,
In all he thinks, in all he does,
And, only earnest to obey,
Makes it his study night and day.

II.

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

III.

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

I.

But hapless is the sinner's fate!
Whose thoughts to error tend;
To whom examples laws create,
Whom every wind can bend.
Fiducious hope his fancy feeds;
He, restless, toils, yet ne'er succeeds;
But sees the prospects he design'd
Dispos'd like chaff before the wind.

II.

Such is the water here of things,
Which from the wisest Being springs;
That toil works in vain;
God's will draws its own reward,
While those who wicked ends regard
Pursue and purchase pain.

III.

For, high in justice and in might,
God always unto men doth right;
Doth life into the good supply,
And lets the guilty sinner die:

On the Coroner's giving an account of seventy five persons having died under confinement for retailing spirituous liquors; addressed to the author of a very sparse tract, called, *Spirituous liquors the bane of the nation*, who,

as a proof of the numerous evils attending gin, numbers up five people who died of it.

GIN was, before the act, of five the bane;
But seventy-five have since the act been slain;
Hence it appears INFORMING; crying sin!
Is more destructive; fifteen times, than *GIN*.

Inscribed to the Rt. Hon. Miss ST—T, Sister to the late Master of G—s.

THOU beauteous Mourner! partner of my woe;

Suspend thy Grief, bid Sorrow cease to flow;
Calm the loud tempest that thy Soul alarms,
And dims with clouds the lustre of thy charms;
While weeping Friendship the last tear bestows,
And pays the tribute it so justly owes:
No common grief provokes the short-liv'd sigh,
Nor flows feign'd sorrow from a vulgar eye.

THOU, know'st the friendly voice, — departed Shade,
That prais'd thee living, and now mourns thee dead.

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

Relentless Death can Friendship's tears o'ercome!

Far from thy Country and thy Friends remov'd,
From all who lov'd you, and from all you lov'd,
A foreign tomb contains thy mould'ring frame,
And foreign characters express thy name:

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

Yet round thy tomb the choicest flow'rs shall grow;

The Rose shall flourish, and the Violet glow;
The dawning Morn shall shed her orient tear,
And Night in gentle show'rs bedew thy bier;
Bright on thy bosom shall the marble lie,
And round thy tomb the weeping Zephyrs sigh:
A Sister's sorrow shall embalm thy name,
And Friendship thro' the world resound thy name:

The Grave shall triumph o'er thy dust — in
vain ;

Thou still shalt live, — thy better part remain :
Thy Name the Muse shall from oblivion save,
Despoil the sepulchre, and rob the grave ;
The Muse shall lull despair, suspend the smart,
And soothe the pang that wounds a Sister's
heart.

Go, blameless *Shade*, thy native skies explore,
Where death and pain shall never reach thee
more ;

Where Guardian-angels clap their sounding
wings,

And Heav'n's glad choir sublimer numbers sings :
There a fond Brother's Ghost expects thy Shade,
And hails thee to the mansions of the dead.
Ye kindred-souls, fair victims to the tomb,
Lost to your parents in your earliest bloom,
There by dread Heav'n's tremendous King
approv'd,

Love in those regions — as on earth you lov'd !
CEASE then, Fair NYMPH, let tears no
longer flow,

Nor taint their pleasure with a Sister's woe ;
Favour'd of Heav'n, of Fate thou darling care,
Thou only Hope, and sole surviving Fair,
Thou shalt a sinking Family retrieve,
And both thy Brothers shall in thee survive ;
In thee a Parent find his last relief,
And, cheer'd by thee, a Friend forget his grief :
On thee shall Heav'n the choicest bounties shed,
And dart its influence on thy radiant head ;
Joys in proportion to thy charms prepare,
And make you happy, as it made you fair.
Awake ! thou beauteous MAID ! thy tears
dispell,

And the loud tempest in thy bosom quell ;
Suspend thy Grief — bid Sorrow cease to flow,
And let thy Beauty glad the House of Woe.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

Sir,

THE irresistible power of the Scots mu-
sic is now so universally confessed
through England, that it is not at all strange
to find frequent attempts to have songs suited
to the melting softness or transporting levity
of the most favourite Scots airs. — The
following was written on a Gentleman's leav-
ing his Mistress in much resentment and dis-
dain of the fair sex, and immediately meeting
with another Lady who gave him more anguish
than he had before known. I thought the
images natural ; and if you think them so like-

wife, you'll probably insert it
your new undertaking, and the
by oblige,

Sir,

Your hearty well-wishes
Newcastle,
Jan. 6.

DISCU

The RELAPSE.

Tune, Logan-Water.

From fair CALISTA's cold ad-
dain,
I sought for refuge on the plain ;
The trees, fann'd by the wanton air
With tuneful whiffers sooth'd
care.

II.

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

III.

But, ah ! how weak is reason's wit,
When love points out the killing maid
SALLYNDA on the plain appear'd
I felt the pangs which most I fear'd.

IV.

At her approach my blood ran cool,
A melting horror caught my soul ;
Her angel-step seiz'd on my eyes,
My thoughts were lost in dread sur-
prise !

V.

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

VI.

The warbling linnet, gently cag'd,
Wish'd thoughts of hard restraint en-
rag'd,

Flies to the fields to seek relief ;
But there is sure to find his death.

VII.

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

VIII.

Oh ! that my plaint your breast might
move,
For smile or frown, I still must bow
The sportive lamb, beneath the knife
Salutes the hand that takes his life !

AN ODE to W——M P—T—Y, Esq;

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

From Reason down'd, with troubled fight
I caught the glimpse of painful light,
Afflicted and afraid:

Too weak it thome to mark my way;
Enough, to exempt my steps to stray
Along the dubious shade.

Restless I roam'd, when from afar,
Lo, HOOKER shines; the friendly star
Sends forth a steady ray:
Thus cheer'd, and eager to pursue,
I mount, till, glorious to my view,
LOCKE spreads the realms of day.

Now warm'd with noble SIDNEY's page,
I pant with all the Patriot's rage;
Now wrapt in PLATO's dream,
With MORR and HARRINGTON around,
I tread fair Freedom's magic ground,
And trace the flatt'ring scheme.

But soon the beauteous vision flies,
And hideous spectres now arise,
Corruption's direful bane;
The partial Judge perverting Laws,
The Priests forsaking Virtue's cause,
And Senates slaves to Gain.

Vainly the pious Artist's toil
Would rear to heav'n a mortal pile
On some immortal plan;
Within a sure, tho' varying date,
Confin'd, alas! is ev'ry state,
Of Empire and of Man.

What tho' the Good, the Brave, the Wise,
With adverse force undaunted rise,
To break th' eternal doom?
Tho' Cato bled, tho' Tully spoke,
Tho' Brutus dealt the godlike stroke,
Yet perish'd fated Roms.

To swell some future tyrant's pride,
Good FLURY pours the golden tide
On Gallia's smiling shores:
Once more her fields shall thrive in vain
From wholesome streams of honest gain,
While Rapine wastes her acres.

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

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

RECITATIVO.

Resplendent God! with radiant smiles;
Serene, awake the infant year;
Is promise that the Queen of Isles
Shall ages hence be still thy care.

AIR.

Her whiter cliffs while seas shall beat,
The surge repell'd shall roll the sound
Of Albion's happiness compleat
To shores of wond'ring worlds around,
Of mighty realms remote possess,
Despotick Princes hence shall see,
To make the Monarch great and bliss,
The happy subject must be free.

RECIT.

Cou'd boundless power, like Albion's King,
On publick welfare fix the mind;
What publick jealousy cou'd spring,
Or wish such godlike power confin'd.

AIR.

Serenely glorious George his sway
Conciliates to his crown our hearts;
And every low those hearts obey,
Proportion'd happiness imparts,
To tell their wants, and ask relief,
Is all the happy subjects care;
To grant the laws that heal the grief,
Is more than Kings despotick dare.

RECIT.

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

AIR.

George the scepter gently swaying;
Makes his laws the land's delight;
Obedient subjects laws obeying,
Guard and love the royal right.

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

CHORUS.

*Her whiter cliffs while seas shall beat,
The surge repell'd shall roll the found
Of Albion's happiness compleat
To shores of wond'ring worlds around.
Of mighty realms remote possess'd,
Desp'rick Princes hence shall see,
To make the Monarch great and blest,
The happy subject must be free.*

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE:

Sir,

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

Aburdeen,
Jan. 17.

I am, &c.

R. T.

SONG.

Tune, Polwarth on the Green.

WHEN beauty's pow'r alone
Attracts the lover's eye;
Tho' ne'er so loud his plaintive moan,
Tho' ne'er so deep his sigh,
'Tis ten to one but from his pain
He quickly finds relief;
The next he meets upon the plain
May banish all his grief.

II.

But he widd has the thart's
Of dear MENTTIA felt;
At once her lovely face alarms,
Her ev'ry accent melts:
In vain release from his care
By other nymphs he tries;
He'll meet a thousand who are fair,
Before with one that's wife!

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

Sir,

HA! ha! ha! Split me if I can imagine what induced you to chuse me for a correspondent; who you must

know never wrote more than six or eight lines at a time in my life! my occasions for ink and paper seldom exceeding the length of — *Madam, your fighting Admirer, Adorer, or Slave* (according to the age of the Lady address'd) will gaze his eyes out to-night from the side-box in Drury-Lane, or at the Opera — That is well remember'd, — the loss of the ravishing Italians is the most moving subject I could stumble on: Reformation has long been cried for by my aunt and grandmother; though I cannot suppose them to have influenced an event of such moment; but, however it was accomplished, 'tis certain that Heidegger was reduced to the necessity of advertising the Opera subscriptions in the poultry news-papers, and that fatal preface was followed by a notice of the sale of the furniture of the enchanting Signora Strada. — Because this unexpected flight of the Italians is somewhat difficult to account for, that rogue Harry Cary insists, that they were driven from among us by the roaring of the *Dragon of Wantsey*; and, on that presumption, has given us a second part, which he calls *Margery, or A worse plague than the Dragon*; which has been very coolly received, as is the constant fate of *More Last Words* of all kinds: and his boasted *Lamp* was no sooner lighted a second time, but out it went. — And what is worst of all for this facetious writer, he has, by this last attempt, forfeited the good-will of all the married Ladies; which he gained by his *Honest Yorkshire-Man*; for, by calling *More of Morehall's spouse a worse plague than the dragon*, he has banish'd all hope of her being a comforter, friend and physician.

You have doubtless long ago heard of the hostilities between us and the French at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket: Which had like to have been followed by a more general engagement in one of our Great Theatres for Mess. Francisque and Le Sage, managers of the French company, having in an advertisement (begging leave to act three nights in one of the patent theatres) affirm'd, that in February he

they obtained leave to bring over a French company to perform in the Hay-market; some of the rough curs who turn'd their backs on the French stage, when the curtain drew up, with a loud chorus of the *Old English Roast-Beef*, had ill-nature enough to demand of the said Frenchmen, previous to any indulgence from the publick, Who granted the leave they mentioned? Which question never being answered, the town joined in a negative to their request; and the master of Covent-garden theatre assured the publick, that the liberty of his house was granted only on condition of a general approbation; and that he would sooner see the French go without their benefits, than have his house empty the whole succeeding season.

Pantomime entertainments please as much as ever; and the art of criticism on those performances increases beyond belief; nothing being more frequent now, than, instead of *Rival Hamlets*, *Cesars* and *Catos*, to hear of *contending Harlequins*, *Columbines* and *Pierots*; and you would be surprized to hear with what judgment some of our smarts will descant on the shake of a head, hand, or foot.—Nay, so far has this taste prevailed, that Shakespear's self has been made to comply with it in the very worst thing of this kind, called *Robin Goodfellow*; and I must own that I was shock'd at the name on such an occasion, as it seem'd a violence to nature to introduce any character in which she is visible along with Harlequin, Columbine, or Pierot.

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

youth, as must greatly redound to the honour of the Gentlemen who have occasion'd it.

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

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

Your bumble servant,

London,
Jan. 2.

S. TOUPEE.

EDINBURGH, January 1739.

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

Publick corporations, as well as private persons of all ranks, seem to vie with one another who shall encourage this undertaking most. The capital stock is considerably increased. The contributors were erected into a corporation, with perpetual succession, by his Majesty's royal charter, dated 25th August 1736, by the name of THE ROYAL INFIRMARY OF EDINBURGH.—By this charter the Infir-

mary is put under the care of twenty Directors, *vis.* the Lord Provost of Edinburgh for the time; and, in his absence, the Dean of Guild; the President of the royal college of Physicians for the time, and, in his absence, the Vice-president; the Deacon-conveener of the Trades of Edinburgh for the time; four out of the royal college of Physicians, whereof two of the Professors of Medicine in the university, when there are such at the time; the Professor of Anatomy, if there be such at the time; and two of the corporation of Surgeons, or three of the said corporation when there is no Professor of Anatomy; one of the Senators of the college of Justice; one of the faculty of Advocates; one of the society of Clerks to the Signet; one of the Ministers of the city of Edinburgh, and six others out of the number of contributors to the Infirmary, under the controul of the corporation. — They have begun to build a large house, according to a plan published, 206 foot long from east to west, fronting north, of two wings extending north, 70 foot long each from the body, 4 storeys high, each 11 foot from floor to floor, 25 foot broad within the walls, but 54 foot in the center, which is to be 36 foot within the wall, for a convenient operation-room, where, from 2 to 300 students and apprentices may conveniently see any operation performed, without disturbing those who perform it. — The whole college of Physicians and corporation of Surgeons have engaged to attend the patients, and to give their advice and medicines *gratis*. — All students (for a very small honorary to be applied towards the expence of the house) will be admitted not only to attend the Physicians and Surgeons in their visits, to see their prescriptions, to excerpt from a fair register (which will be kept in the house) of every patient's case and cure, all the cases they think worth their notice; but also will have all the advantage of a regular education by the colleges in all the different branches of physick. Patients from all places are to be received, except incurables.

At a general anniversary meeting of the society for propagating Christian knowledge, the Most Hon. the Marquis of Lothian was unanimously re-elected President, Mr. William Grant Secretary, James Davidson Treasurer, James Nimmo Comptroller, David Spence Accomptant, Nicol Spence Clerk. And, as a committee of Directors, Commissioner George Drummond, Mr. Patrick Haldane, Mr. William Hall, Mr. Albert Monro, Thomas Dundas, Charles Hope, William Hog, Dr. John Riddell, Alexander Nisbet, George Cunningham, James Baillie, Mess. James and John Walkers and John Hepburn, and James Donaldson junior.

This society was erected into a corporation by letters patent in the 1709 and maintain 113 schools; at which there are about 4000 scholars, besides vast numbers who have been learned to read, and are now employed in business. They have sent four Missionaries to America.

The eclipse of the Moon, the 13th at night, began about 26 min. after 9 and ended about 16 min. after 12; apparent time. There was more than 7 digits eclipsed. From one to four next morning, wind W. S. W. we had the most violent hurricane (with lightning) ever felt here, by which the streets and lanes of this city were covered with large stones, tiles, sign-posts, and rubbish. The castle suffer'd extremely; huge stones were carried to some distance, the leads rolled up or blown over the walls, most of the roofs either destroy'd or much damag'd, particularly the chapel, arsenal, and magazine; a part of Ensign Kinloch's house was beat down, and the walls of the Storemaster's house shatter'd; but nobody killed, only one Soldier and the Storemaster's son were wounded. The centries were oblig'd to retire to the guard-house. — The leads that cover'd the stately buildings in the Parliament close were carried off thereof; one part of it, 1200 wt. was born up about half a minute in the air, and carried to the middle of the area; and the rest thrown into Mr. Jolley's close. — The Steeple of St. Giles's

which was much affected by it; the leads of the Tron-church steeple were rolled up; the weather-cock and spire of Magdalen chapel were carried away; the Canonie-church was much damaged, and its fine portico levelled with the ground.—The chimney of a house in Todrick's wynd falling down, broke the roof and the next floor; by which Mr. Moubrey's child and maid fell one story, and were much hurt.—A maid of St. Thomas Gordon's, in Lawn-market, leaving the house in despair, and carrying a grandchild of that gentleman's, fell down and broke the child's thigh-bone.—A man was sorely crush'd by the fall of a stone from a house.—A large house at the back of the Cannock, belonging to Mrs. Hytes, was hid level with the ground, and the tiles were blown off the new play-house.—In this general panick, we were alarm'd by the fire-drum, the catastrophe being much more melancholy in the neighbourhood. The impetuosity of the wind scatter'd the fires in some chimnies, and set the houses in flames: particularly Mr. Bryson's Brewer at Sumnerhall, which reduc'd it to ashes, with above 200 bolls of grain, &c. and some low houses at a considerable distance. The wind increased the flames; and the fire-engines could not be used. One Thomas Mackie, a Joiner, who gave the alarm to the family, was wretchedly scorched.—Another broke out at Blungham, betwixt this city and Newhaven, in the house of Mrs. Angus, which soon reduced it to ashes, with sevenicks of corn, &c.—Also at Coltbridge;—at Green-end in the parish of Liberton;—at Inverkeithing in the shire of Fife, and at Clackmannan; which did unspeakable damage to many of the poor inhabitants of these places.—Numbers of Gentlemen, Farmers, &c. are great sufferers. Many of their houses are blown down; their corns carried away and promiscuously scattered in the fields and roads, or blown into waters; trees torn up by the roots; some people killed by the falling in of houses, and a great many cattle.—The palace of Hamilton and Dalkeith, the

abbay of Culrois, the castles of Stirling and Clackmannan, the houses of Hopetoun, Alos, Ernock, and Craigmiller, the salt-pans along the coast, and the lead-mill at Leith, are much damaged; the house of Auchinbowie, and the new Church of Kilmearn are blown down.—At Darnhall and Prestonhall the whole planting was torn up;—At Yester about 1000 full-grown trees, — at the Lord Elibank's near 400, — at Edmonston 300, — and at Ernock 8 large firs, 16 foot round each, suffered the same fate.

We have the like accounts from Glasgow, and several places in the country.

We have the following advices of the damage done the shipping in several ports of this kingdom.

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

saved, except one seryant. This ship and cargo was valued at *L. 2600 Sterl.* and no insurance made.—At Port-Glasgow, The hands of the Amity, George Blair, finding themselves driving, let out the anchors, struck out the gun-ports, and sunk her in the harbour. John Carnegy's gabart drove upon, and lies across the top of the new key. John Knox's gabart sunk at the mouth of the harbour.—From Broomilaw, that one gabart is sunk, and all the rest much shattered; and that the north coast, between Roseneath and Glasgow, is full of gabarts and small boats drove up among the corn lands.—From Maybole, that a vast quantity of brandy and rum was cast in along the coast of Carrick; and that above 100 casks were carried to the custom-house at Air, and the like quantity found at Ballantire. Two boats putting into Dinure, loaded with brandy and rum, one of them was beat to pieces against the rocks, and in the other, two of the hands perish'd. A great deal of wreck is daily seen, pieces of boards, sea-compasses, &c.—From Gourrock, that their barks and boats were driven ashore, and one or two boats lost.—From Long-Annat, that a great number of cruives were lost.—From Cockenzie, that two fine ships were dashed to pieces in the harbour.—At Loch-Leven in Fife, great shoals of perchies and pikes were driven a great way into the fields; so that the country people got horse-loads of them, and sold them at one penny per hundred.—From Kinghorn, that a dreg-boat which had been hauled up from the sea-mark, was tossed in the air, and thrown to an incredible distance.—From Burntisland, that the shipping in that harbour were drove from their mooring, and suffered considerably.—At Fisher-row, some lives, and several fishing-boats, were lost.—At Leith, several ships broke loose, and carried away the iron-rings to which they were fastned.

Five boats, smuggling brandy, were cast ashore at Inverkip, near Greenock, and all the hands perish'd.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

the conjunct Clerk-depute, L. 5. each. Several others have followed their good example.— The Directors are to be chosen thus: Nine by the Magistrates and Town-council, whereof six Merchants and three Craftsmen; Twenty seven by the particular Kirk-sessions, whereof a Minister, an Elder, and a Deacon, from every session; Two by the Lords of Session; One by the Barons of Exchequer, Three by the faculty of Advocates, Three by the Writers to the Signet, Two by the College of Physicians, and Two by the Episcopal Clergy.

—Any man subscribing L. 50 Sterl. or upwards, toward the building, is intitled to be a Director during his life; and a woman subscribing that sum shall have power to chuse a Director during her life; and any number of persons contributing not below L. 5 Sterl. nor above L. 49 Sterl. may chuse annually One of every ten of their number to be a Director.—Any society or corporation subscribing L. 10 Sterl. yearly towards endowing the house, may chuse a Director.

An accidental flash of lightning set fire to some houses in Valley-field near Culrofs, and reduced five of them to ashes.

The presbytery of Edinburgh have agreed to the settlement of Principal William Wisheart in the New Grayfriars Church.

CASUALTIES in January.

Drowned 4. Killed by a fall, 1. Smother'd 10.

Bill of mortality for January.

Buried, men 18, women 25, children 73. In all, 115. Increased this month, 27.

Whereof have died,

Under 2 years old	_____	30
Between 2 and 5	_____	31
5 and 10	_____	11
10 and 20	_____	5
20 and 30	_____	5
30 and 40	_____	3
40 and 50	_____	9
50 and 60	_____	10
60 and 70	_____	7
70 and 80	_____	4

DISEASES.

Old age	—	—	—	2
Consumption	—	—	—	32
Small-pox	—	—	—	28
Fever	—	—	—	15
Teething	—	—	—	10
Chin-cough	—	—	—	13
Child-bed	—	—	—	3
Suddenly	—	—	—	3
Gravel	—	—	—	1
Flux	—	—	—	2
Killed by a fall	—	—	—	1
Still-born	—	—	—	5

PREFERMENTS CIVIL.

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

MILITARY.

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

NAVAL.

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

ECCLESIASTICAL.

- Dr. Matthias Mawson,— Bishop of Landaffe.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

- Mr. William Somervel of Dorater, Advocate,— to Miss Gib.

The Dutchess of Marlborough, — of a son, and heir. He is stil'd Marquis of Blandford.

The Lady of James Wauchop-Don of Edmonston, Esq; — of a daughter, and first Child.

DEATHS.

Sir Robert Cater, Knight, and Alderman of Cheap-Ward.

Sir Francis Clavering, Baronet.

Mr. Home, an eminent banker, and chief lamp-lighter to his Majesty, a place of about *L. 600 per annum.*

Sir Thomas Lombe, Knt. Alderman for Bassishaw-Ward.

Thomas Goodman, Esquire, one of the King's physicians.

William Greenwood, Esq; formerly an eminent baker, and a director of the S. S. Company.

Sir Roger Meredith, Knt.

William Lawson, L. L. D. and King's Advocate for Nova Scotia.

The Lady Newton, relict of Sir Richard Newton of that Ilk, Bart.

Thomas Pearce, Esq; Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's land-forces in Ireland.

Miss Wright, grand-daughter to Sir Nathan Wright, Knt. formerly keeper of the Great Seal.

Col. James Seymour, formerly an eminent banker in Fleetstreet.

Matthew Norris, Esq; (second son to Sir John Norris, Knt. Admiral of the Union Flag) late commander of the Tartar Man of War.

Capt. Webster, of Handasyde's regiment of foot.

Alexander Master of Garlies, at Aix la Chapelle, in the 19th year of his age.

John Stewart, son to James first Earl of Buta, at Rome.

William Mackenzie, Esq; Merchant at Charles-Town.

Joseph Gibson Surgeon and Professor of Midwifery, author of several tracts in the Medical Essays.

James Gordon professor of Humanity in the Old College of Aberdeen.

Mr. Aiton Minister at Kilconquhar in Fife, fam'd for his *Arcanum*, which effectually cured children of the convulsion fits.

The Lady of Capt. Grant. She was first Lady Kinnaird, and afterwards married to the Earl of Aboyne.

Thomas Dick, late Dean of Gild of Edinburgh.

The young and only son of Principal Wisheart.

Mr. John Gilchrist Minister at Urquhart.
Mr. John Muttar Minister at Tranent.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THamas Kouli Kan, the present Sovereign of PERSIA, has lately sent an embassy to the Grand Seignior, and another to her Imperial Majesty of Russia. The proposals made to the PORTS were, "That the Sultan should yield up to Thamas Kouli Kan all that part of Diarbehin which was formerly in the possession of Persia; and also cede to him in perpetuity, all the district that has been separated from the Upper Armenia and joined to the Ottoman Empire: That the Grand Seignior shall absolutely renounce the alliance he lately entered into with the Great Mogul: That the Caravans of Persia shall have a right to come directly in to the Ottoman dominions, and enjoy the same privileges they have in those of Thamas Kouli Kan: And that the new fortifications that have been made at Bagdat, or Babylon shall be demolished in presence of a Commissary named by Thamas Kouli Kan." These propositions greatly offended the Grand Seignior, and occasioned the calling of a Grand Divan, all the members of which unanimously cried out, That the Persian demand were injurious to the Grand Seignior that his Highness must renew the war against Persia, he being able at the same time to carry on that against the Christians with sufficient vigor. The Grand Visier made a motion for committing the Ambassadors to the Seven Towers (the principal state prison of the Turkish Empire) but the Grand Seignior chose only to put a guard of 150 Janissaries over them.

The following is a translation of the speech of the Persian Ambassadors at their first audience of her CZARIAN Majesty.

Most Potent, most Illustrious, and Great Lady, Empress and Sovereign of the Russians,

WE present to your Imperial Majesty, to that Potent Lady, who in grandeur and happiness equals the Moon and the Sun; to that Great Empress whose fame has surpassed many Sovereigns of the world; to that Sovereign who is adorned with a brilliant crown, and whose reign may God render constantly happy: We present to you that amiable letter, which has been given in charge to us by his Majesty the Schach Nadir, (the title assumed by Kouli Kan on his advancement to the throne of Persia) the great Lord, the great Cagan, whom God has rendered the Conqueror and Sovereign of the kingdom of Iran, so famous in the world, whose reign may God prolong, and who, in consequence of the good friendship subsisting between the two Empires, has sent us, his servants, in an embassy to your Imperial Majesty. We don't presume to trouble your Majesty with a recital of the contents of this letter, but most humbly beseech you to cause your faithful Ministers to read it, in order to make a report thereof to your Imperial Majesty, and then to let us know your gracious resolution..

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

The conferences upon the operations of the ensuing campaign, are begun at VIENNA; and the Imperial Admiral Pallavicina has receiv'd orders for build-

ing, with all expedition, several gallees and galliots. There is a warm report there that Balhaw Bonneval, formerly a General under the Emperor, is banished to a castle in Natolia; but we believe it stands in need of further confirmation.

Letters from Vienna inform us, that the Emperor has prohibited balls, masquerades, &c. and other publick diversions frequent at this season, alledging, that instead of spending time and money in such diversions, it were better to pray to God to put a stop to the scourge of the plague, and to grant a happy success to the next campaign. Count Khevenhuller has solicited, with much earnestness, for leave to resign his post of Vice-President of the council of war, without success: Though General Diemar has obtained leave to resign his regiment, &c. and is gone into the service of the house of Cassel, of which his Swedish Majesty is chief.

The great Duke of TUSCANY, with his Dutchess, daughter of his Imperial Majesty, having set out upon his journey to Florence, the report of the plague raging at Vienna having reached the Republick of Venice, the magistrates of Health determined upon making his Highness perform the usual quarentine, without the indulgence of one day. In consequence of which, on their arrival in the territories of the Republick, they were confined to the palace of Buri, with a few attendants; and the rest of their retinue were shut up close in a post-house near the aforesaid palace, with a strong guard to prevent any of them from escaping. The Duke, who is accompanied by his brother, Prince Charles, made warm remonstrances against conforming to this ceremony, which he said was so unnecessary; it being improbable, that if the plague were even within ten miles of Vienna, the court and foreign ministers would remain there; and Prince Charles was particularly displeas'd with his confinement; and notwithstanding the Venetians have furnished his tables very bountifully, and made him several handsome presents, his Highness is said to

talk of it with much resentment, and has left the palace of Buri in spite of the Republick, which seems not much pleased at his shortening his appointed quarantine without their leave.

The confinement of Baron THEODORE at Gaeta, in the territories of his Neapolitan Majesty, had no sooner raised various conjectures relating to his imprisonment, than he was released, and took the tour of Sicily, which gave fresh subject of speculation; especially, as it has been reported from several places, that the Corsicans, on receiving advice of his being set at liberty, and gone to Sicily, in order to embark for Corsica, made loud acclamations of, *God bless the King of Spain, and Theodore, his Vice-Roy!* On the 12th of last month an action happen'd in Corsica, in which the natives are said to have gain'd a considerable advantage: Since which the Count de Boissieux, Commander in chief of the French forces there, has drawn all his troops into Bastia, and prohibited even any officer from stirring out of that city. The Corsicans having repossessed themselves of the open country, punish all who adhere to the Republick of Genoa in the most desperate manner: Two of the principal Noblemen of the island having taken upon them the title of Lieutenants General, and enjoined the inhabitants, on pain of death and confiscation, not to acknowledge the Republick of Genoa in any shape whatever.

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

From PARIS it is said, that fresh reinforcements are getting ready for Caffica, and that the Marquis de Mallebe is nominated to command the French troops in that island, Count de Boissieux having desired to be recalled.

Cardinal Fleury, first minister to the Most Christian Majesty, has so well covered of his late dangerous indisposition, that he is now said to enjoy better health than he has for several years past. It is reported, that the French King has invited Prince Charles of Lorraine to his court, with design of concluding a marriage between one of the Princesses of the Blood and that Prince.

The attention of Europe, as well of the subjects of the two crowns principally interested therein, seems to be in an extraordinary manner drawn to the accommodation between Great Britain and Spain; couriers having, for some time, been in continual motion between the two courts, which has prompted several news-writers to give the publick such accounts of the proceedings relating to this subject, as have appeared most reconcilable to their own judgments; but every thing hitherto published of this kind appears so conjectural, that, rather than amuse our readers with uncertain reports relating to an affair of such importance, we will defer it till we have authority not to be disputed for what we assert.

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

Letters from Hanover assure us, that his Britannick Majesty's presence is expected in his German dominions the ensuing summer; when, it is thought, the

that every thing will be adjusted between their Britannick and Prussian Majesties; and it is said a double marriage between the two crowns will be then concluded.

Letters from SWEDEN say, that on new-year's day his Swedish Majesty resumed the government.

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

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

Charles-Town, South Carolina.

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

been desired to publish the manner of making and using it.

RECEIPT.

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

REGISTER of NEW BOOKS.

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

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

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

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

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A new book of constitutions of the Free Masons, by J. Anderson, Chaplain to the Earl of Buchan.

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News from the Dead. pr. 3 d.

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

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

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

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

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An historical account of the degradation of Gold. By R. Boyle, pr. 6 d.

Memorials and characters of excellent persons, N. 1. and 2. pr. 1 s. each.

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

The charge of the Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Secker) to his Clergy. pr. 6 d.

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Liturgie Françoise, nouvelle edition. pr. 2 s.

The true Gospel of Jesus Christ; and the dissertation on Providence, by T. Chubb, vindicated by T. Chubb. pr. 1 s.

Universal love and goodness shew'd to be the great duty of all people. By R. Willowes, M. A. pr. 2 s.

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SCOT'S MAGAZINE.



FEBRUARY, 1739.

To be continued every Month. Price Sixpence each.

CONTAINING,

WEEKLY Essays. On the danger of a Standing Army, and the erection of Barracks in the neighbourhood of London; Advantages attending an Honourable Peace; An enquiry into the nature and legal cause of Divorces; Remarks on the Militia, and the Game-laws; On the danger threatened by the liberties taken by the Methodists, a religious sect in England; Observations on the Convention; The state of the S. S. Company's demands on Spain, &c. CONVENTION between Great Britain and Spain, and the TWO SEPARATE ARTICLES. The King of Spain's previous DECLARATION and PROTEST.

The House of Peers ADDRESS, and the substance of that of the House of Commons. The case of RICHARD COPITHORNE sole owner and master of the Betty Galley. The city of LONDON's Petition to the Parliament. The House of Peers Address upon the Convention. POETICAL Essays. An ode to Fame; To Mr. Mallet; *Vigilantis vota, dormientis jomnia*; The relenting Fair; Songs, &c. A letter relating to the STAGE, &c. DOMESTICK History. FOREIGN History. Register of BOOKS.

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C O N T E N T S.

WEEKLY ESSAYS.

T he danger of a standing army.	
Uses of a numerous one	p. 51
An army of 12,000 sufficient. Chob- sea pensioners and workmen in our dock-yards another army. The year- ly expence of the army	52
Of the erection of barracks near Lon- don	53
The martial law dangerous to our li- berties. An extraordinary instance of obedience in a subaltern. The danger of disabling mercenary troops. Of the profits of vacant re- giments and military governments	54
An honorable peace without war an extraordinary case	55
Answers to the antiministerial argu- ments for a war	56
An address to the gentlemen in the pit	59
Original design of divorces	ib.
Advices to the married and unmarried, in order to prevent them	60
Account of the Citizen	62
Of the militia and game-laws	63
Character of the Methodists	64
Their doctrines, and manner of propa- gating them	65
An instance of their forwardness	68
Convention between Great Britain and Spain	ib.
First separate article	70
Second separate article	71
Swearing to the observation of treaties now out of use	ib.
Though solemnly enter'd into, seldom fulfilled	72
Design of the present convention. Ob- servations on the first article of it	ib.
Observations on the third article, and the author's opinion what ought to be done in the future treaty	73
— on the article relating to the diffi- rences between Spain and the S. S. Company	74
— on the previous protest	ib.
— on the powers given to Plenipoten- tiaries to adjust disputes about limits by sea and land	ib.
The power of searching within any limits, very dangerous	ib.
The article for adjusting territorial li-	

mits calculated for contracting our boundaries in Carolina	p.
The property of Carolina in trustees; without whose consent it cannot be disposed of	
Supposed last will of Cardinal Fleury.	
His character compared to that of another Prime-minister	
Further remarks on the convention	
A certain Gentleman compared to one who undertook to teach an ass to speak Greek	
The convention a homologation of the previous protest of the King of Spain	
British courage in former times	
The King of Spain's protest	
Attestations in favour of Mr. Ven Case of Richard Capithorne	
Address of the house of Peers	
— of the house of Commons	
The S. S. Company's demands on Spain	

P O E T R Y.

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

D O M E S T I C K H I S T O R Y.

Macvicar's case, and sentence 89,	
The city of London's petition	
Epitaph on a bankrupt	
Preferments, &c. Mortality bill 92,	
The Lords address upon the convention	
The King's answer	

F O R E I G N H I S T O R Y.

The reasons of the Corsicans attach- ment to Theodore	
Register of boats	
Several poems, &c. are come hand too late to be insert in this M gazine.	

The SCOTS Magazine.

FEBRUARY, 1739.

CRAFTSMAN, Feb. 3.

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

THE dangers, mischiefs, and oppressions of a *numerous standing army*, in time of *peace*, have been to often and so fully explain'd, both *withins doors*, and *withouts*, for above forty years past, that it may seem needless and impertinent to trouble the reader with any thing farther on that head: but every day's experience furnishes us with something new upon it, and makes it necessary to inculcate the same doctrines of *liberty*, which we have always asserted, into the minds of the people, (especially at this time of the year;) lest long use and custom should familiarize them to a *military force*, and subdue their *ancient spirit*, as it hath already done in most other countries.

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

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

Secondly, By *domestick insurrections* I do not mean every little riot, or tumult,

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

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

But it may be suggested, perhaps, that a *standing army* hath been sometimes maintained for another reason, besides those I have mentioned; that is, to support an *odious minister* in the execution

of his wicked schemes and projects: tho' I am sure the present advocates for military power will not insist upon this argument, in favour of their patron; whose measures have been so wisely conducted, and his administration grown so popular; that they have often asserted all opposition and discontent to be, in a manner, at an end.

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

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

But if we must be governed by mercenary troops, I think TWELVE THOUSAND MEN, which have been often proposed, amply sufficient for all the ends of a good government, in time of peace, and all that the ministerial writers have

hitherto thought fit to acknowledge in favour of the present army.

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

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

In the first place, the yearly expence to the nation, rais'd by parliament, to maintain these forces, amounts to about 700,000 l. besides arms, ammunition, &c. — To this must be added another burthen upon the poor people, who are obliged to quarter them; it having been computed, that every soldier quartered upon an inn-keeper, in town or country, costs him near as much as he costs the government; besides the insolence, outrages, and lewd examples of debauchery and idleness, which they spread through the whole nation. — This hardship upon publick houses, in particular, is still more grievous since the late act, to prevent the retailing of spirituous liquors, especially punch; for how can it be expected that a poor inn-keeper, or alehouse-keeper, can

afford to quarter two or three impudent fellows, who think they have authority to use him as they please, whilst he is debarred exercising the most beneficial branch of his trade, for the sake of the civil-list? Multitudes of houses have been already shut up on this very account; and I wish the landed gentlemen may not find fresh instances of it every quarter-day.

Perhaps, it may be owing to the difficulty of quartering, that several BARRACKS are already built about this metropolis, and I am told that more are intended: a sight to which this nation hath never been accustomed, and is enough to give us dreadful apprehensions; for these military edifices are no less than garrisons in effect, where the soldiers are kept distinct from their fellow-subjects, and converted into a sort of Janissaries, ready to march out in a body upon any occasion. It is true, that none but the Horse-guards have been yet assembled in this hostile manner: but, as precedents are too frequently followed, we are not sure that it may not in time extend to the whole army; or, at least, that it may not be judged necessary to keep a constant camp in Hyde-park, which I look upon as the *campus martius* of this kingdom, where young gentlemen learn the art of war, in mock-battles; and, like the ancient Romans, afford great diversion to the spectators.— Thus, again, Spithead may be properly called our *navy-bachia*, where sea-engagements were represented in the same pacifick manner. The only difference between us is, that the Roman shows were intended chiefly for diversion, and were exhibited to the people, upon particular occasions, without any expence to them; whereas we are obliged to pay for our military sports, at a very dear rate; for besides the vast expence of keeping these performers in constant pay, which the Romans never did, it is computed that as much gun-powder hath been consumed, within twenty years past, in field-days, reviews, and salutes, both by sea and land, as would have gone a great way towards supporting an actual war. I cannot, indeed, say that we have had no blows

and bloodshed for our money; since I remember that, some years ago, a poor button-maker was shot in Hyde-park, who had the curiosity to see one of these raree-shows, and rashly placed himself in the front of the battle.— An accident of the same kind happen'd in Queen Anne's reign, by springing a sham-mine in Bunhill-fields, where the city-militia were representing the siege of Lisle, by which several persons were dangerously wounded.— I am likewise told that several big-belly'd women have been frighten'd into miscarriages, by volleys of fire-arms, as they were innocently passing through Hyde-park, not suspecting to meet with a battle there: And I myself have more than once been in danger of breaking my neck, by the same means; my sober nag not being used to such martial entertainments.— But that, indeed, would have been of but very little consequence to the publick, and much less to the administration, or myself, since it would have saved us both a great deal of trouble and expence.— To return, and be serious:

This affair of barracks is an innovation, which certainly deserves the notice and animadversion of parliament; lest it should grow upon us by degrees, as it seems to do, and establish a military power absolutely distinct from the civil power, and independent of it.— I can never take a little walk to Marybone, without thinking myself in an enemy's country; or, at least, that there is a rebellion or civil war in the nation.— This new erection of barracks, is the more unnecessary, because there is always one Battalion, at least, kept as a garrison in the Tower, and another in the Savoy, which are certainly sufficient to quell any little riots, at either end of the town.— But these new barracks look as if the whole city was to be surrounded with them.

The soldiery, both officers and private men, are already too much distinguish'd from the rest of the people, as I have formerly observed; being train'd up in different principles, and subject to different laws, Besides, the military punish-

ments are so severe, and the execution of them so sudden, that they are extremely dangerous to our liberties and constitution; for it is held a maxim in military discipline, that SUBORDINATION is absolutely necessary, and that no INFERIOR OFFICER is allow'd, upon any occasion, to disobey the commands of his SUPERIOR.

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

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

gnior's letter, that orders him to be strangled or beheaded?

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

I shall conclude this paper with one observation more, which I likewise think deserves the enquiry of parliament; and that is, how the profits of VACANT REGIMENTS and MILITARY GOVERNMENTS are apply'd. We have lately

had *not* or *ten* of these vacant at a time, and for a long time; which must amount to a large sum of money—Since therefore the nation is now oblig'd to bear the whole expence of the *army*, without a *shilling* from the *crown*, I think it but reasonable that *all possible savings* should be made for our ease; and as the tranquility of the times hath given our *ministers* an opportunity of keeping up *several regiments* without *Colonels*, and maintaining *garrisons* without *Governors*, there can be no doubt that the *savings*, upon this account, will be laid before the *parliament*, and apply'd to the *public service*.

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

DAILY GAZETTEER, Feb. 7.

The superior advantages attending an Honourable Peace, to what could be expected from a Hazardous War; and the expediency of the measures taken with the court of Spain for the reparation of the damages received by our Merchants, &c. from the subjects of that crown.

There is nothing more uneasy, or more ingrateful to a person who truly loves his country, than to find himself under a necessity of engaging in *political disputes*: for since these are seldom carried on with that *temper*, which can alone render them truly useful and laudable; so, to an honest man, it is matter of real disquiet, when he is compelled to express himself with any degree of resentment on *publick affairs*; because, whatever he may think of their *sentiments*, he still retains a tenderness for his opponents, inasmuch as they are still his *countrymen*. Those who have written in defence of the *present administration*, are, in this respect, under ex-

traordinary difficulties: for, while others act without any regard to *rules of decency*, consideration of *truth*, or respect to *persons*; they, who neither have, nor ever can obtain such a *dispensation*, are obliged to make use of quite another *style*, and to content themselves to oppose reason and argument against a torrent of outrageous calumnies, and a continued strain of malicious buffoonry; which will always have a croud of *mad admirers*, who will laugh at the *Merry Andrew's* jokes, and be poisoned by his *master's physick*. However, this will not justify the *friends* of the *government* in imitating its *enemies*: and, therefore, tho' I dedicate this paper to the consideration of the present *state* of *affairs*, and to the refuting what the *orators* of the *malcontents* have lately advanced about them; yet I shall not forsake my old manner; but endeavour calmly, and without passion, to defend those measures, which, as they had no end but the *publick good*, so they have been pursued with such *steadiness* and *wisdom* as do the nation honour.

During the recess of *parliament*, the *publick attention* hath been taken up chiefly with the consideration of *foreign affairs*; and the general enquiry hath been, whether the *new year* would produce a *war*, or an *honourable peace*, with *Spain*? We are now no longer at a loss on this head: We have been assured, that without recurring to the uncertain method of obtaining an *honourable peace* by *war*, we are to receive it from the *appearance* of *war* only. This is so rare a case, that it seems many do not understand it. They remember a long and bloody war; and, which is more, a successful and glorious war, ended by a *peace* wherby we got *little*: and they cannot conceive how we should obtain *all* that we *desire*, without making *war* at all. Their *surprise* I do not wonder at; but, I confess, I am amazed at their *ingratitude*: For, not satisfied with insinuating a thousand doubts, which have not the least foundation, or appearance of foundation, they are many of them

pleased to dislike the thing as it stands. A *peace* on their own *terms* is not sufficient, since it is a *peace* not obtained in their *own way*; and, therefore, they account it worse than no *peace* at all. And, in support of these extraordinary *positions*, they have a set of as extraordinary *arguments* at their fingers ends: which, if they can make any real impression on the minds of men, I shall only say, that such minds must be of as extraordinary a *make* as the *arguments*: by which they are *governed*; since they are certainly such as no unprejudiced man can possibly be *influenced* by, or see any *force* in; as I shall presently prove. But, in the mean time, I cannot help saying, that I see, with great concern, those, who have been labouring, not only with diligence, but success, in the *service* of their *country*, must console themselves with the old reflection, That nothing is more *prince-ly*, nothing more *noble*, than to do *good*, and to suffer *reproach* for doing *good*.

At the *head* of their *grounds* for *grumbling*, stands this whimsical demand: *Since it appears by the King of Spain's stipulating for the indemnification of our injured merchants, that they were really injured, why did not our fleet proceed immediately to hostilities? Here was a just cause for war; the nation expected it; a plan of operations had been printed in the Craftsman; the publick had been at a great expence; all things were in a readiness; there was nothing wanting but courage in the ministry, to revive the glory of the British name, by once again invading the Spanish territories, burning their sea-ports, destroying their naval power, and leaving them utterly incapacitated to give us further trouble. This would have been truly heroick; this would have raised the reputation of our government; this would have struck terror abroad, and have given general satisfaction at home. But this opportunity has been slipt: Our fleet, which might ruin Spain, hath been a mere pacifick fleet; and, for all that it has done at Port-Mabon, might as well have rode at Spithead. After this, what is to be expected? what weight will this*

nation have abroad? what will become of the honour of the flag? — I protest I have stated this point as fairly as I can: and I do solemnly aver, that I think it the duty of every friend to the administration, to give the arguments of the malecontents their utmost weight; because it is their interest that the people should see things truly as they are, and not have them represented to them in half lights.

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

made a second *Utrecht treaty*, and valued themselves upon saving the *blood and treasure of the nation*, and on the restoring *peace to Europe*. So that, taking things in this light, it is certainly as well as it is. The nation in general hath an *honourable peace*, and a particular satisfaction is also stipulated for the merchants; and this without running any risk, and without the fatiguing the people with a *series of expellations*, the necessary consequences of our commencing *hostilities*. There is not therefore the least cause for calling in question the courage of the *ministry*; but there is abundant reason for applauding the wisdom, moderation, and happy success of his *Majesty's councils*. In former reigns our *fleets* have fought, and have conquered, and yet the nation hath obtained *nothing*: In the present, our *fleet*, without fighting, hath obtained more than *victory* could have given us. While the *terror of the English fleet* can do this, let it ride at *Spithead*, or at *Port-Mabon*. And as for the weight of *Great Britain* abroad, I dare answer for the *administration*, that they will never desire more from the *malecontents*, than that their *conduct* was as well regulated at *home*. Our *fleet* is always in a condition to do us *justice* with respect to our *neighbours*, so that the *honour of the crown* will be always safe; but the *lenity of his Majesty's government* hath not, I confess, had so good an *effect* upon all his *subjects*: tho' I do not doubt but a *time* will come, that the *honour of the laws* will be as well provided for, as the *honour of the flag*; which was never carried higher than *now*.

Another worthy reason offered to the people to prevent their approving what they ought to applaud, is, That *Spain* is much inferior in power to us; that, in the *West-Indies* especially, the subjects of the *British crown* might have been greatly enriched by a *war*; that even in *Europe* extraordinary things might have been done, whole *provinces* might have been added to our *dominions*; and all these great things might have been performed by a *naval armament* only.

This argument is not altogether consistent with the former; since it intimates, that the zeal of some people for *war*, is not so much founded in the justice of the *cause*, as in the probability of *success*. A very hopeful principle this, and worthy those who espouse it! But, taking it for granted, (as indeed there is no way of arguing with the *malecontents*, if you do not take all they say for granted;) would a *war* so apparently unequal, have been much for the honour of *Great Britain*? would it not have betrayed a spirit of *ambition*, not to say of *rapine*? would it not have exhausted the *coffers of the nation*, to fill those of *private men*? would any conquest that we could have made, have proved of any *real benefit* to this *country*? or, would they not have proved the quite *contrary*? Let the wisest of the *malecontents* point out to us where this nation in general was a gainer by a *war*, or by *foreign conquests*; and then it will be time enough to return them a more particular answer: I would likewise be glad to know, whether the most famous *maritime powers* that have flourished heretofore, were not *ruined* by acting from that *spirit* with which these *patriots* would inflame their *countrymen*? And if this be so, I should be glad to understand, why we should not look upon them as *warnings*, rather than *examples*? To all this I beg leave to add, that we are a *trading nation*; that we carry on a great and a gainful *trade* to *Spain*; and that therefore it would be a little unnatural, to carry on such a *war* in favour of *trade* as should destroy it. As it is, we shall have a share in the *Spanish weakness* through the industry of our *people*, and the wisdom of our *merchants*: In another way, we should only have a chance for it from the *vices* and *extravagances* of our *privateers*. On the whole, I conclude, that admitting we are much more powerful than the *Spaniards*, the conduct of the *ministry* hath been suitable to what might have been expected from a *brave* and *generous people*: whereas the conduct the *malecontents* recommended, would have been *directly the reverse*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Universal Spectator, Feb. 3.

CONTAINS an address to the Gentlemen in the pit, (the seat of criticism in the theatres) advising them to set about a thorough reformation of the Stage; which, he says, ought to be the publick school of morality, and not a place for the exhibition of buffoonry and legerdemain. He tells them, that a kind of rude interludes obtained first in England in the reign of Edward IV. which were represented by boys in inns, &c. Marlow being the first celebrated actor, and Shakespear the first poet who called the publick attention, by the prodigious force of his natural genius: to which Ben Johnson added art; and Fletcher, grace, ease and delicacy: Tho' the Stage acquired its magnificence of scenery, dress, and other decorations, after the restoration. The corruption which soon followed he very justly attributes to the extravagancies of Mr. Dryden; and assigns, though I cannot see for what reason, the *disreputation* of tragi-comedies to the writings of Mr. Addison: whereas, had he given him-

self time to reflect a little, he would have found that many continue to be yet acted with considerable applause, as Oronoko, &c. — He concludes thus: "In a word, Gentlemen, the Stage, properly regulated, is the noblest school in the world; no character is too high or too low to escape its notice, no vice or folly saved from its rebuke, no virtue above its praise."

WEEKLY MISCELLANY, Feb. 3.

An enquiry into the nature and legal cause of Divorces.

Mr. Hooker,

THE general invitation which you have given, and the good example you have propos'd to all well-disposed genius's to appear under your banner, in the cause of religion and virtue, have encouraged me to offer to you and your readers a few loose and unconnected reflections, on an affair which, I think, very properly falls under the design of your paper. A report has reach'd this part of the kingdom, but I hope altogether without foundation, that several DIVORCES are now in agitation in some very considerable families. The number of these, if we are to give credit to common fame, is so great, that there is too much reason to apprehend very melancholy and extensive consequences, and to fear that this, like too many other polite evils, will become fashionable and epidemical.

The original design of Divorces was, to dissolve the marriage-contract in some flagrant and notorious cases, particularly where the principal conditions of marriage had on either side been violated and infringed. Some are of opinion that it was first granted, not for the *male sex*, but for the release of distress'd *wives* from the treachery or tyranny of lewd or imperious husbands. Theodosius and Valentinian, Christian Emperors of Rome, gave husbands a liberty in some cases to repudiate their wives upon strong suspicion only, without any proof of actual crimes. A-

mongst the ancient Jews, the parties themselves were the sole judges of the occasion and reasonableness of Divorce: they only wrote a bill, which was to be attested by some Rabbins, or witnesses of note, to prevent all disputes in an affair of such consequence. A law thus loose and indeterminate was liable to great and notorious abuse from every capricious or licentious temper; and there could, I think, be small security and assurance of a settled and lasting union, where a separation was so ready at hand upon every trivial disagreement. Our Saviour, in one of his conferences with the inquisitive Jews, limits and regulates this their indeterminate law, and confines the reasonableness and legality of Divorce only to the violation of the marriage-bed. Our Canon law literally adheres to this restriction; not without many objections from some writers; and particularly from Mr. Milton, who lays down many other cases wherein a Divorce may be very reasonable, just, and necessary. I will not presume to decide in this controversy, or to prescribe what cases may be admitted as a sufficient plea either for the suing out, or for the granting a legal dissolution of the marriage-contract; my present design is, to offer some very plain and obvious reflections on the married and unmarried of each sex, in order to prevent any ruptures of this kind, and to restrain every inclination of such sad and pernicious tendency. The thoughts which I would offer to the publick, are such as will naturally arise in the breast of every benevolent person on such an occasion: and tho' they are too often passed over with coldness and inattention, merely because they are obvious and easy; yet, I believe, were they duly weigh'd, they might prevent many unforeseen ill consequences which too often attend the married condition.

First, then, let it be considered, whether *matches of mere traffick and bargain* do not too evidently lead this way. In these cases, the inclination or aversion, the harmony or disagreement of temper in the parties principally concern'd,

are never consult'd; and two unhappy persons are publickly and solemnly link'd together, without any other prospect of satisfaction, than a recourse to some speedy method of separation. Here too give me leave to observe, that the affections of each may too probably be pre-engag'd to different objects, and that marriage, where it cannot be avoided with the consent and approbation of friends, is enter'd upon only as a friendly expedient for the gratification of a criminal passion with the greater secrecy and security. If intrigues of this nature continue concealed, still they divert the affection from its proper object; if discovered, they either introduce confusion and misery into a family, or end in the indelible scandal and perpetual separation of the unhappy parties, and open a further source of vice and dissolution.

Secondly, let it be considered, how remarkably the prevailing and fashionable debaucheries of the present age contribute to this lamentable state. Attempts upon chastity are by one sex esteem'd marks of an elevated genius and spirit; and they are too often received by the other as nothing more than gallantry and good-breeding. When people have accusom'd themselves to such conversation, and can venture thus boldly to the very utmost limits of virtue, it is too easy for them to pass over the bounds, and to act without any reluctance, what they have talk'd of without due detestation and abhorrence. As an antidote against this too general and contagious evil, I would warn my readers to avoid all liberties, and temptations of this kind. I must take the freedom here to mention one favourite diversion [*Maskerades*] of the town, in which virtue and religion are deprived of their last refuge, shame; which restrains many within the bounds of decency, after they have broken through the ties of principle and conscience. Here immodesty and extravagance may take their utmost swing without any publick loss of reputation; though alas! the effects of them may perhaps

be too soon felt, where it was expected they should have been never known. Against this fatal snare I would particularly caution the heedless and unwary, as well as against every the least imputation, which may embolden the importunity of seducers, or give any reasonable pretence for jealousy to those who are, or should be united to them for life. I do not mention this to encourage every motion of a suspicious mind; but to hint, that great prudence and caution are on each side necessary: on the one hand, no manner of indulgence should be shown to a passion of itself in general too predominant and ungovernable; on the other hand, not the least countenance should be given to the bold expectations of the easy and insatiable traitor, who is too quick in discerning, and too ready to improve every circumstance, which promises success to his villainous intentions. And, lastly, let me again observe, that neither party can be too cautious either of entertaining, or giving occasion to suspicion; which, tho' perhaps groundless, hath too often given the first inclinations towards Separation and Divorce.

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

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

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

Your humble servant,

And constant reader,

PHILOGAMOS,

*The CITIZEN, N^o 1.**Or, The weekly conversation of a society of London Merchants on Trade and other Publick Affairs.**To be continued every Friday.*

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

The writer of the paper assures us he was BORN and BRED a plain *Citizen* of *London*; and having served half of his apprenticeship to a Turkey merchant in *London*, and the remainder in his said master's service in *Smyrna*, he spent some time in *France* on the most polite parts of education, (*I know not how he can well include this in the breeding of a plain citizen*) which enabled him to support his share of conversation in the best company with a decent esteem: And says, that his aversion to all kinds of constraint, prevented his meeting at *daily* and *weekly clubs* to smoke and drink away the time, &c. wherefore he chose a single life, that he might serve his country; but, as he could not hope to do it without forming a society for improvement, he employed himself to find out persons fit for that purpose. The first he met with was Mr. *Goodfellow*, a Spanish merchant; the next, Mr. *Lane*, an East-country merchant, who deals to *Russia*, *Sweden*, and *Denmark*: to whom they added, Mr. *West*, a Barbadoes merchant; *Timothy Bond*, a Virginia factor; *Jona-*

than Asgood, a noted trader to *New England*; Mr. *Clinch*, an Attorney; *D Mildman*, and Counsellor *Pleadwell*; and Lord *Worby*, Mr. *Frederick* and *Ed Walden*, the last two members of the *House of Commons*, have promised to come sometimes to visit them. The places and times of meeting, it seems are in their own power to appoint. As this writer informs us, that they have in order to watch our publick interest more narrowly, recommended to each other the reading of the *Foreign News*—*A recommendation one could scarce suppose such men in need of; for, from Gentlemen who have not attention enough to publick transactions to read the News papers, what improvement can we expect*—*The world has often been amused by the undertakings of SOCIETIES. We should be glad to speak more favourably of this but cannot help declaring it sets out with the heaviest introduction of any for above thirty years. However, as more promising writers have often dwindled into nothing, who knows but from this MELANCHOLY CITIZEN some more lively essays may arise? to which we will do all imaginable justice; being much more desirous to approve than to condemn.*

CRAFTSMAN, Feb. 10.

Continuation of Considerations upon the danger of a Standing Army; with Remarks on the Militia, and the Game-laws.

IT is far from my design to insinuate that we ought not to keep up a *fleet* and an *army*, for the protection of our *trade*, and our defence against *foreign enemies*.—Let the former be as numerous and powerful as can be reasonably desired, according to the exigencies of the times; and no true *Englishman* will grumble at the *expence*; provided, when given, it is honestly, frugally, and vigorously applied.—But a *land-force*, in time of *peace*, being an innovation of late date, and of no use but to curb the *people*, it ought to be as moderate as possible; especially at this time; not only for the sake of our *liberties*, which are

visibly endangered by it, but, likewise on account of the expence of maintaining such a large number of forces: for though we have been in a state of profound peace above twenty years, as the *most-advocates* acknowledge and boast; yet it is too well known and felt, that we are still burthened with an immense load of *debt*, a multiplicity of *heavy taxes*, and several other grievances, both of a *foreign* and *domestick* nature. It is meer farce to tell us, that the *militia* cannot be made useful *now*, as well as in *former times*, at a much cheaper rate to the *publick*, and infinitely more for the preservation of our *liberties*, than a *mercenary, standing army*, intirely under the command and disposal of the *crowm*; though the *crowm* is so far from paying any thing towards the expence of it, that it is a considerable gainer in *several particulars*, which I need not mention at present.

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

I have now before me a treatise, written soon after the *revolution*, and by a zealous advocate for it; in which, amongst other things, the consequences of these *Game-laws* are fully considered; and therefore, to avoid the imputation of singularity, I chuse to make use of *this author's* arguments rather than my own: but as they are too circumstantial and diffus'd for such a paper as this, my readers must accept of a short abstract of them, instead of a regular quotation. According to the ancient law of *England*, as he observes, the *whole nation* is obliged to bear arms, excepting only

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

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

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

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

But, however this may be, what rea-

son can be alledged, why a late *accidental change in our artillery* should deprive the *people of England*, who are the guard both of the *King and the realm*, of the equity of a *former law*, which arm'd the whole nation in its own defence? — May not the *people* be trusted to guard the *King*, their *landlords*, and *themselves*? — Can any change of *military arms* be pleaded in bar to the necessary defence of the nation? — *Muskets*, indeed, ought not to be trusted with *weapons*. But are a whole people to be deprived of their *ancient privilege*, which they have so often and so bravely exerted, in defence of their *King and country*?

As I was formerly a *sportsman* myself, and took great delight in it, I would not be thought an advocate for *poaching and poachers*, properly so called. But surely it would be much better for us that there was not a *pheasant*, a *partridge*, or an *hare*, in the whole kingdom, than that they should be professed at the expense, or to the imminent hazard of our *liberties*; tho' it might be easily proved; that *these laws* are so far from *preserving the game*, that they have been the chief cause of destroying it. — But that is not my business at present. — The only thing I shall add is, that the *same gun*, which kills a *partridge*, or an *hare*, may happen to kill a *man*; and, perhaps, that may be one of the reasons for *disarming the people*, by these acts, lest they should do mischief.

N. B. Common Sense of Feb. 10: is also upon the same subject; in which paper nothing is added to the weight of what is said in the foregoing.

THE publick attention of the religious people in England having about eighteen months ago been drawn to the extraordinary reports of the efficacy of the preaching of a very young man, named WHITEFIELD, we chuse to insert the following letter, as it is exactly correspondent with the sentiments of the most celebrated Divines of the English Church, of which Mr. Whitefield happens to be a member. — The

Methodists are a sect of a few years standing, who first appeared at Oxford, and got their name from the exact method which they at first observed in the most insignificant actions. — Mr. Whitefield went to Georgia last winter, but talks about returning before he reach'd Gibraltar, and remain'd there no longer than to see the country; being oblig'd as he tells us, to return to the great business of popularity in England; though our correspondent assures us, that but then is not so great as before.

WEEKLY MISCELLANY, Feb. 10.

Remarks on the advance of Enthusiasm in England, and of the danger threatened by the liberties taken by the Methodists; with an account of the courage with which Mr. Whitefield ascends a pulpit in Westminster.

Sir,

IT may justly be reckon'd among the special misfortunes which the Christian faith labours under among us at present; that, while the spirit of *liberty* is openly attacking the fundamentals of all religion, the opposite spirit of *Enthusiasm* (as if one extreme had begot another) should at the same time revive, with most of the same symptoms as appeared upon it when it distracted our unhappy country about an hundred years ago. The *Abbeys* may well rejoice, because they are sure to find their account in it. For, as the *Christians* the only religion which they are not afraid of; so, if they can get an audience behold it in the ridiculous light in which *bigotry* places it, men of good sense, but unsettled judgment, will soon come to disesteem it, and then to disbelieve it. On this account I presume the new sect of the *Methodists* lately risen up among us claims our particular attention. At first we only look'd upon them as well-meaning zealous people, whom the irreligious boldness of these wicked times had driven some what too far into the contrary extreme. They were a sort of *Protestant superstitious*, that would be righteous over

such; and there were hopes that, when this devotional effervescence had boil'd over, they would return to that proper medium, where true piety and Christian piety fix its centre. But, instead of that, they are constantly making, or discovering new advances; and have proceeded so far as to eject the *liturgy* and the *usual expositors* out of their meetings, and declar'd for *extemporary discourses* both in their *prayers* and *exhortations*. The *laity* are allowed to be *members*; and even *common*, as I am inform'd, begin to usurp publick offices. Many are objects to these absurdities, they are ready with an answer, that make them for the future quite unapproachable; for they alledge the *Spirit* is what they do, with whom they have, I know not what, communications, and whose impressions they receive (as they say) even in a *SENSIBLE* manner. They pretend to a sort of *senseless persuasion*, and boast of *inward joys* above other Christians, and at the same time, like the *Quakers*, disclaim being able to describe or prove to other people, the *nature* or *necessity* of their spiritual condition. They distinguish themselves from others, by having *received the Spirit*; with which, and other such *causes*, they are united together like a set of *religious free-masons*. The efficacy of *regeneration* they make not to arise from *baptism* in persons who have committed no *actual sin*, or from true *Christian repentance* in those who have, (if that can according to the Scripture phraseology be call'd *regeneration*;) unless it be attended with such inward *visions*, *feelings*, and *experiences*, or accompanied with such confident persuasions as neither they can explain, nor any body else understand, or at least comprehend according to their notions of *justification by faith*. In general, they seem to be practising over the lesson set them by the *old Puritans* before the beginning of the *Grand Rebellion*. "In the confusions of those times (says *Bishop Burnet*) there were set on foot great abstractions concerning *justification by faith*; and these were both so subtle, and did seem to have such a tendency

to *Antinomianism*, that many books were writ on those subjects." Before these times we may observe most of the same methods used by the *Anabaptists* in *Germany*; whose beginnings were as innocent, tho' I hope the dreadful and bloody events will find no parallel among us. Take the account of them, Mr. *Hooker*, from your ancestor's preface to his immortal work, as he quotes it from *Guy de Bress*, who writ their history.

"They began secretly, with making their doleful complaints every where as they went, That; albeit the world did begin to profess some dislike of those which was evil in the kingdom of darkness, yet fruits worthy of a true repentance were not seen; and that if men did repeat as they ought, they must endeavour to purge the truth of all manner of evil, to the end there might follow a new world afterwards, wherein righteousness only should dwell. Private repentance, they said, must appear by every man's fashioning his own life contrary unto the custom and orders of this present world, both in greater things and in less. To this purpose, they had always in their mouths those greater things, charity, faith, the true fear of God, the cross, the mortification of the flesh. All their exhortations were to set light of the things in this world, to account riches and honours vanity; and, in token thereof, not only to seek neither, but, if men were possessors of both, even to cast away the one, and resign the other, that all men might see their unfeigned conversion to Christ. They were sollicitors of men to *fasts*, to often *meditations* of heavenly things, and, as it were, conferences in secret with God by *prayers*, not framed according to the frozen manner of the world, but expressing such fervent desire as might even force God to hearken unto them. Where they found men in diet, attire, furniture of house, or any other way, observers of civility and decent order, such they reproved as being *carnally* and *earthly minded*. Every word o-

therwise than severely and sadly utter'd, seem to pierce like a sword thro' them. If any man were pleasant, their manner was, presently with sighs to repeat those words of our Saviour Christ: *Who be to you which now laugh, for ye shall lament.* So great was their delight to be always in trouble, that such as did quietly lead their lives they judged of all other men to be in most dangerous case. — From this they proceeded unto publick reformation; first ecclesiastical, and then civil. Touching the former, they boldly avouched, that themselves only had the truth; which thing, upon peril of their lives, they would at all times defend: And that, since the Apostles lived, the same was never before in all points sincerely taught. Wherefore, that things might again be brought to that ancient integrity which Jesus Christ by his word requireth, they began to controul the Ministers of the gospel, for attributing so much force and virtue unto the Scriptures of God read; whereas the truth was, that when the word is said to engender faith in the heart, and to convert the soul of man, or to work any such spiritual divine effect, these speeches are not thereunto applicable, as it is read or preached, but as it is engrafted in us by the power of the Holy Ghost, opening the eyes of our understanding, and so revealing the mysteries of God, according to that which Jeremy promised before should be, saying, *I will put my law in their inward parts, and I will write it in their hearts.* The book of God they, notwithstanding, for the most part so admired, that other disputation against their opinions, than only by allegation of Scripture, they would not hear. Besides it, they thought no other writings in the world should be studied; insomuch as one of their great Prophets exhorting them to cast away all respects unto human writings, so far to his notion they condescended, that as many as had any books save the Holy Bible in their custody, they brought and set them publickly on fire. When they and their Bibles were alone together, what strange fantastical opi-

nion soever at any time entred into their heads, their use was to think the Spirit taught it them. And forasmuch as they were of the same suit with those of whom the Apostle speaketh, saying, *They are still learning, but never attain to the knowledge of truth,* it was no marvel to see them every day broach some new thing, not heard of before; which restless levity they did interpret to be their growing to spiritual perfection, and a proceeding from faith to faith. The differences amongst them grew by this means in a manner infinite; so that scarcely was there found any one of them, the forge of whose brain was not possessed with some special mystery. Whereupon, although their mutual contentions were most fiercely prosecuted amongst themselves; yet, when they came to defend the cause common to them all against the adversaries of their faction, they had ways to lick one another whole, the founder in his own persuasion excusing the dear brethren, which were not so far enlighten'd, and professing a charitable hope of the mercy of God towards them, notwithstanding their swerving from him in some things. Their own Ministers they highly magnified, as men whose vocation was from God: the rest their manner was to term disdainfully Scribes and Pharisees; to account their calling an human creature; and to detain the people, as much as might be, from hearing them. These men at the first were only pitied in their error, and not much withstood by any the great humility, zeal, and devotion which appeared to be in them, was in all mens opinion a pledge of their harmless meaning. The hardest that men found understanding conceived of them was but this, *O quam honesta voluptas miseri errant?* With how good a measure these poor souls do evil? Luther made request unto Frederick, Duke of Saxony, that within his dominion the might be favourably dealt with and spared; for that, their error exempted they seemed otherwise right good men. By means of which merciful toleration they gathered strength, much more than

was safe for the state of the common-wealth wherein they lived. They had their secret corner-meetings and assemblies in the night; the people flocked unto them by thousands. The means whereby they both allured and retained so great multitudes, were most effectual: First, A wonderful shew of zeal towards God; wherewith they seemed to be swapp'd in every thing they spake: Secondly, An hatred of sin, and a singular love of integrity; which men did think to be much more than ordinary in them, by reason of the custom which they had, to fill the ears of the people with invectives against their authorised guides, as well spiritual as civil: Thirdly, The bountiful relief wherewith they eased the broken estate of such needy creatures, as were in that respect the more apt to be drawn away: Fourthly, A tender compassion which they were thought to take upon the miseries of the common sort; over whose heads their manner was, even to pour down showers of tears, in complaining. That no respect was had unto them; that their goods were devoured by wicked cormorants, their persons had in contempt, all liberty, both spiritual and temporal, taken from them; that it was high time for God now to hear their groans, and to send them deliverance: Lastly, A cunning sleight which they had to stroke and smooth up the minds of their followers; as well by appropriating unto them all the favourable titles, the good words, and the gracious promises in Scripture; as also by casting the contrary always on the heads of such as were severed from that retinue. . . . Wherupon the people's common acclamation unto such deceivers was, *These are verily the men of God; these are his true and sincere Prophets.* — Now, whatsoever they did collect out of Scripture, when they came to justify or persuade it unto others, all was the heavenly Father's appointment, his commandment, his will and charge. Which thing is the very point in regard whereof I have gather'd this declaration. For my purpose herein is to shew, that when the minds of men are once erro-

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

O merciful God, what man's wit is there able to sound the depth of those dangerous and fearful evils, whereunto our weak and impotent nature is inclinable to sink itself, rather than to shew an acknowledgment of error in that which once we have unadvisedly taken upon us to defend, against the stream as it were of a contrary publick resolution! Wherefore, if we any thing respect their error, who being persuaded, even as ye are, have gone further

upon that persuasion than ye allow there is — most just cause to fear, lest our holliness to embrace a thing of so pernicious consequence should cause posterity to feel those evils, which as yet are scarce easy for us to prevent, than they would be for them to remedy."

On last Sunday our new Methodist discover'd a more violent temper than is consistent with their great pretensions to *meekness* and *sanctity*. The story is as follows; and as it was related to me by the Gentleman who read prayers at St. Margaret's, Westminster, there is a *very* evening lecture; and when the Reader came, he found in the church-yard, at the west door, a number of people singing psalms. When he got into the church, he was affronted by some unknown persons, as he passed through a great crowd to the vestry. As soon as the clergyman, appointed to preach, came, he was *solicited* (if an *overbearing* impetuosity may be so called) to resign the pulpit to Mr. Whitefield; who (as is supposed by his not appearing at the prayers) was waiting at some neighbouring house to know the issue of their application. But the Preacher continuing as determined to do his own duty as Mr. Whitefield was to do it for him, they at last effected that by *force* which they could not gain by *trick*. So the Preacher was safely confined in his pew, which was lock'd, (the Sexton being appointed by the vestry, and in Mr. Whitefield's interest) and guarded by several lusty fellows; while another party conveyed the *unfortunate* *intruder* transparently up into the pulpit, and kept sentry on the walls, for fear he should be taken down in as forcible a manner as he got in. If this conduct were suggested by the *spirit*, it must be the spirit of *confusion* and *disturbance*, not of *peace*." This story being told me, I had the curiosity to go with a friend to the Reader, who confirmed to us the truth of it.

There are many instances, too well attested to leave any room for any doubt concerning the truth of them, of those *unhappy* teachers using *frivolous* and *unfair* means of getting into pul-

pits against the inclination and consent of the *proper* ministers, or *apostate* preachers. One of these I was told upon my own knowledge, because it was *mentioned* upon myself by some of Mr. W.'s followers, who show that I would not grant him the pulpit upon any terms; and that is, by asking the pulpit for a *period*, and then sending Mr. W. or some other *Methodist*. This method, I am credibly inform'd, has been several times practis'd. Another has been, by stepping up into the pulpit as soon as the prayers are over, without asking any leave at all. And of these *disturbances*, *irregularities* and *outrages*, are punished by persons who have no *curates* but their *predecessors* will find *harder*, to preach in any church in the diocese. I thought it not improper to mention these particulars, that the *people* may be upon their guard. *Yours, &c.*

The CONVENTION between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain. Published at London by authority, in French, Spanish and English, and delivered to the Members of both Houses of Parliament.

Whereas different has been written, a *harmony*, between the two crowns of Great Britain and Spain, on account of the *offspring*, *succession*, and *making* a *cessation*, the *forming* of *officers*, who *regulate* the *limits*, and other *particulars* as laid on each side, as well in the *high* *judges*, as *subordinate*; which *disturbances* are *prevented*, and of such *importance*, that if care be not taken to put an end to them for the present, and to prevent them for the future, they might excite an open rupture between the said crowns. For this reason his Majesty the King of Great Britain, and his Majesty the King of Spain, having united together, have done as to profess and corroborate the good correspondence which has so happily subsisted, have thought proper to grant full Power, viz. his Britannick Majesty to Benjamin Howe, Esq; his Majesty's Plenipotentiary to his Catholick Majesty, and his Catholick Majesty's Plenipotentiary

Don Pedro, Knight of the order of St. James, Counsellor of State, and First Secretary of State and of the Dispatches; who, after previously producing their full powers, having conferred together, have agreed upon the following articles.

I. *Whereas the ancient friendship, so desirable and so necessary for the reciprocal interests of both nations, and particularly with regard to their commerce, cannot be established upon a lasting foundation, unless care be taken, not only to adjust and regulate the pretensions for reciprocal reparation of the damages already sustained, but above all to find out means to prevent the like causes of complaint for the future, and to remove absolutely, and for ever, every thing which might give another thought; It is agreed to labour immediately, with all imaginable application and diligence, to attain so desirable an end; and for that purpose there shall be named on the part of their Britannick and Catholick Majesties respectively, immediately after the signing of the present Convention, two Ministers Plenipotentiaries, who shall meet at Madrid within the space of six weeks, to be reckoned from the day of the exchange of the ratifications, there to confer, and finally regulate the respective pretensions of the two crowns, as well with relation to the trade and navigation to America and Europe, and to the limits of Florida and of Carolina, as concerning other points, which remain likewise to be adjusted; the whole according to the treaties of the years 1667, 1690, 1713, 1715, 1721, 1728, and 1729, including that of the Affairs of Negroes, and the convention of 1716: And it is also agreed, that the Plenipotentiaries, so named, shall begin their conferences six weeks after the exchange of the ratifications, and shall finish them within the space of eight months.*

II. *The regulation of the limits of Florida and of Carolina, which, according to what has been lately agreed, was to be decided by Commissaries on each side, shall likewise be committed to the said Plenipotentiaries, to procure a more solid and essential agreement: And during the time that the discussions of that affair shall last, there shall remain in the aforesaid terri-*

ties of Florida and of Carolina in the situation they are in at present, without increasing the fortifications there, or taking any new posts; and for this purpose, his Britannick Majesty and his Catholick Majesty shall cause the necessary orders to be dispatched immediately after the signing of this convention.

III. *After having duly considered the demands and pretensions of the two crowns, and of their respective subjects, for reparation of the damages sustained on each side, and all circumstances which relate to this important affair; it is agreed, That his Catholick Majesty shall cause to be paid to his Britannick Majesty, the sum of ninety five thousand pounds Sterling for a balance, which has been admitted as due to the crown and the subjects of Great Britain, after deduction made of the demands of the crown and subjects of Spain; to the end that the above mentioned sum, together with the amount of what has been acknowledged on the part of Great Britain to be due to Spain on her demands, may be employed by his Britannick Majesty for the satisfaction, discharge, and payment of the demands of his subjects upon the crown of Spain: It being understood notwithstanding, That it shall not be pretended, that this reciprocal discharge extends, or relates to the accounts and differences, which subsist, or are to be settled between the crown of Spain and the company of the Affairs of Negroes, nor to any particular or private contracts that may subsist between either of the two crowns, or their ministers, with the subjects of the other, or between the subjects and subjects of each nation respectively; with exception however of all pretensions of this class mentioned in the plan presented at Seville by the Commissioners of Great Britain, and included in the account lately made out at London, of damages sustained by the subjects of the said crown, and especially the three particulars inserted in the said plan, and making but one article in the account, amounting to 119,512 piasters, 3 reals and 3 quartils of plate: And the subjects on each side shall be intitled, and shall have liberty to have recourse to the laws, or to*

take other proper measures, for causing the above said engagements to be fulfilled, in the same manner as if this convention did not exist.

IV. The value of the ship called the Woolball, which was taken and carried to the port of Campechy in the year 1732, the Loyal Charles, the Dispatch, the George and the Prince William, which were carried to the Havana in the year 1737, and the St. James to Porto Rico in the same year, having been included in the valuation that has been made of the demands of the subjects of Great Britain, as also several others that were taken before; If it happens, that in consequence of the orders that have been dispatched by the court of Spain for the restitution of them, part, or the whole of them have been restored, the sums so received shall be deducted from the L. 95,000 Sterling, which is to be paid by the court of Spain according to what is above stipulated: It being however understood, that the payment of the L. 95,000 Sterling, shall not be, for that reason, in any manner delayed; saving that what may have been previously received, shall be restored.

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

In witness whereof, we the under written Ministers Plenipotentiaries of his Britannick Majesty and of his Catholick Majesty, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present convention, and caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto. Done at the Prado the 14th day of January 1739.

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

First separate Article.

Whereas it has been agreed by the first article of the convention, signed this day, between the Ministers Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and Spain, that there shall be named on the part of their Britannick and Catholick Majesties respectively, immediately after the signing the above said

convention, two Ministers Plenipotentiaries, who shall meet at Madrid within the space of six weeks, to be reckoned from the day of the exchange of the ratifications; and their said Majesties, to the end that some time may be lost in removing, by a solemn treaty, which is to be concluded for that purpose, all cause of complaint for the future, and in establishing thereby, a perfect good understanding, and a lasting friendship, between the two crowns, here named, and do by those presents name, viz. his Britannick Majesty, Benjamin Keene, Esq; his said Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary to his Catholick Majesty, and Abraham Castres, Esq; his said Majesty's Consul General at the court of his Catholick Majesty, his Plenipotentiaries for that purpose; and his Catholick Majesty, Don Joseph de la Quintana, his Counsellor in the Supreme Council of the Indies, and Don Stephen Joseph de Alvarin, Knight of the order of Calatrava, Counsellor in the same Council, and Superintendent of the Chamber of Accounts, who shall be immediately instructed to begin the conferences: And whereas it has been agreed by the 3d article of the convention signed this day, that the sum of L. 95,000 Sterling, is due, on the part of Spain, as a balance to the crown and subjects of Great Britain, after deduction made of the demands of the crown and subjects of Spain; his Catholick Majesty shall cause to be paid at London, within the term of four months, to be reckoned from the day of the exchange of the ratifications; or sooner if it be possible, in money, the above mentioned sum of L. 95,000 Sterling, to such persons as shall be authorized, on the part of his Britannick Majesty, to receive it.

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

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

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

Second separate Article.

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

lates only to the indemnification and satisfaction to be made for the effects seized, or prizes taken; but that the decision of the cases, which may happen, in order to remove all pretext for dispute, is to be referred to the Plenipotentiaries, to be determined by them according to the treaties.

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

In witness whereof, &c.

B. Keene. Sebastian de la Quadra.

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

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

CRAFTSMAN, Feb. 17.

Observations on the Convention.

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

Yet even still the title, preamble, and articles of most treaties run in a very solemn stile. — Some of them,

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

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

But we are bless'd at present with a *minister*, who hath so great a regard for *religion*, that he choseth rather to subdue our enemies by the mild and peaceable arts of *negotiation*, than make use of *that force*, which was put into his hands, and might have occasion'd a great deal of bloodshed. — A *convention* is not only concluded, and sign'd, but ratify'd, and though it is a *convention only*, yet it is a *declar'd preliminary* to

A FUTURE TREATY; in which all our differences with *Spain*, of many years standing, are to be FINALLY adjusted, not only in the *West-India*, but *elsewhere*. — I shall say but little of *the convention*, because it is now under the consideration of *parliament*, but will confine myself chiefly to the *future treaty* stipulated by it. — However, it is necessary to say something upon the *convention* itself, and to point out the many signal advantages which we are promis'd by it.

It appears, by the preamble, which is very finely worded, that the design of *this convention* is to prevent an ORRUPTURE between the two crowns of *Great Britain* and *Spain*, by putting a stop to all the *grievances*, alledged on *each side*, for the *present*, and to prevent them for the *future*; nay, if it should be found impossible to remove, or to dress all *these grievances*, and *others*, they will at least be REGULATED; which must, no doubt, afford our *merchants* a very comfortable prospect.

By the *first article*, it is agreed, that instead of *COMMISSARIES*, who have been so long employed to no purpose in this affair, there are to be *THREE MINISTERS PLENIPOTENTIARY*; who, being persons of a much higher character than *Commissaries*, will certainly have more influence, and soon put a finishing hand to this desirable work. *These Gentlemen*, indeed, have nothing to do with the claims of our *merchants*; that point being already settled, and the only point settled, by the *convention*, without their knowledge or consent. But *these Plenipotentiaries* are to discuss and adjust all disputes about *LIMITS and BOUNDARIES*, both by *SEA and LAND*, as well as *OTHER POINTS* not particularly mentioned; and all this is to be finish'd in the space of *eight months*, after the *convention* is ratify'd; whereas the *Commissaries* appointed by the treaty of *Amble* had *three years* allow'd them at first, and *three years* afterwards, without doing any thing, except receiving their *salaries*, and putting the nation to a

great expense. — Such is the difference between *Commissaries* and *Plenipotentiaries*; for though their appointments may be somewhat longer, in consideration of their *orders*, yet they are to do what in *nights months* only, which the *orders* could not do in *six years*; and should there be an unhappy necessity of prolonging *this* war, we may reasonably hope that it will not be for above *nights months* more.

The *second article* is still more remarkable; by which his *Catholic Majesty* agrees, after due consideration of the *relative demands on both sides*, to pay his *Britannick Majesty* the sum of 95,000 *l.* During for a *balance*, admitted to be due to the subjects of *Great Britain*, for a *deduction* made of the *sums* of the crown and subjects of *Spain*; which it seems we have acknowledged to be due to them. This sum of 95,000 *l.* is to be employed by his *Britannick Majesty* for the satisfaction of his *injured subjects*. — Every body must easily see the *great advantage* of this *article*; for as the *money* is to be deposited in his *Majesty's* hands, and left intirely at his disposal, our *plac'd merchants* will have no farther occasion to solicit their *creditors* either in *Old* or *New Spain*, at a great expense, and without any success; but they may now apply to their *own* *most excellent Sovereign*, or his *treasury*, who will certainly distribute the *money*, as far as it will go, with an *impartial hand*, amongst all the *sufferers*, without any regard to the distinctions and squabbles of the court of *Spain*. — There is, indeed, a clause in the *article*, that specially excepts all *claims*, or *differences*, which subsist, or are to be settled, between the crown of *Spain*, and the *South-sea company*, by virtue of the *Assiento* *contract*. — But of that more hereafter.

This clause is sufficient to show the excellency of the *present convention*, which has laid the foundation for a *disadvantage* every. But as nothing is absolutely settled in the *convention*, except the payment of a *small sum* of *money*, in comparison of all our *losses*, *sufferings*, and *injury*, for so many years, every thing else being left to the adjudication

of *Plenipotentiaries* in a *future treaty*, which is not yet begun; I may be allowed to speak more plainly upon it, and deliver the sense of an *Englishman*; what *ought to be done*, and what *ought not to be done*, at the present critical juncture.

I am at a loss to guess what it meant by the *DEDUCTION* made, on account of the *DEMANDS* of *Spain*; for tho' our men of war have taken two or three of their ships in the *West-Indies*, and one rich *registor* *ship* very lately, we never confiscated any, by way of *reprisal*, nor even kept them as a pledge in our hands, but immediately released them, for the sake of *peace* and *good harmony*. — For what therefore is *this deduction* to be made; or what are the *demands* of *Spain* upon us? — It cannot surely be for destroying their fleet on the coasts of *Sicily*, twenty years ago, in pursuance of our engagements to guarantee the *neutrality* of *Italy*, to which *Spain* could be no stranger; and however irregular *that action* might be thought, in some particulars, for want of a *formal declaration* of *war*, yet it was voted just, wise, and honourable by *parliament*, and the commanding officer was rewarded for it, in a very distinguished manner. It was likewise soon afterwards settled between the *two crowns*, by the treaty of *Madrid*, in the year 1751, which was confirmed by the treaty of *Seville* in 1763. By *both treaties* nothing farther was stipulated on our side, nor claimed by *Spain*, than a *refutation* of the *indentured ships* taken, in the condition they were then in, or the *money* they were sold for, in case any of them were sold. Nay, we went farther; for his late Majesty having been graciously pleas'd to give them to the *captors*, they were afterwards purchased of them with *publick money*, at an expence of above 20,000 *l.* in order to restore them to the *Spaniards*. Having complied with all this, and fulfilled our engagements, by offering the *Spaniards* refutation of their ships, they would not receive them, under frivolous pretences; and therefore they ought not to bring this demand upon the carpet again, after so many years.

I am justified in this assertion and manner of reasoning by those, who drew up the instructions to our late Commissioners, in pursuance of the treaty of Seville; for by the 5th article they are ordered to insist, that the treaty of 1721 was fully compleated, for the reasons before mentioned. — Would it not therefore be dishonourable for these Gentlemen, as well as the nation, to recede from their positive instructions, and give up so important a point to the Spaniards, after all their ill-usage? — Have we not, at least, as good a right to demand satisfaction for the damages and expences they put us to, many years afterwards, by the siege of Gibraltar, which was likewise undertaken and carried on, without any previous declaration of war? As to the article in the convention, concerning the differences between the court of Spain, and our South-sea company, which are excepted in the present convention; I must observe, that altho' his Catholick Majesty may have a demand upon the said company for about 68,000 l. as it is reported, by virtue of the *Assiento* treaty; yet I am informed that the company have a just demand of above treble that sum upon Spain, for seizures of their annual ships, interruption of their trade in New Spain, till the markets were over, refusals of *schedulas*, to which they have an undoubted right by treaty, and several other accounts. — It cannot therefore be doubted that our Plenipotentiaries will insist very strongly, in the negotiations of the future treaty, upon the balance on our side, in this particular, and on the regular grant of *schedulas*, for the future; since if the Spaniards should be paid their whole claim, without any satisfaction for a much greater demand upon them by the South-sea company, it is a very odd method of settling accounts; and the Spaniards will be so far from paying one shilling to our merchants, that they will be very great gainers by the treaty, as well as by their former depredations.

But I cannot conceal my astonishment to hear of a separate protest, which Spain declares to be an essential part of this agreement, reserving to itself a power

of suspending the *Assiento* trade, if the South-sea company do not pay the sum demanded, within a short time; declaring likewise that, under the validity and force of THIS PROTEST, the signing of the SAID CONVENTION may be proceeded on; and in NO OTHER MANNER; upon the firm supposition of which, and that it may not be eluded on any motive or pretext whatsoever, his Catholick Majesty hath been induced thereto. — But as this protest is not published, with the convention, I suppose it is not yet ratified, and there can be no crime in wishing that it never will; but if it should, and the South-sea company refuse to pay the money, it will at least give us some chance of getting rid of the whole convention, if it should be found either disadvantageous, or dishonourable.

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

Should we yield to them the power of SEARCHING, within any stated limits of their shores, we give up every thing; for they will be the sole judges of the distance; and the merchant, who may be taken, perhaps, three, four, or

five leagues from their coasts, will have a difficult task in a Spanish court of justice, (where the judges are often *hearers in the jail*) to prove that he was not within the *límites* allowed them to search. I do not assert this to be the case; but am only arguing upon a supposition, and the common conversation of the town.— Besides, will the French likewise give up this point?— Will the Dutch?— If not, we shall exclude ourselves by a treaty, to their great advantage; and, instead of standing, as we do at present, on the foot of the most favour'd nation, (or, as it is called in treaties, *gens amicitissima*) we shall become the least favour'd nation, by our own consent.

The article for adjusting territorial limits seems to be particularly calculated by Spain, with a view of contracting our boundaries in Carolina, which is expressly mention'd in the preliminary convention; and it is confidently reported, that the Spanish Minister gives out every where, that his court will, upon no account whatsoever, acquiesce in our possession of Georgia. It is expressly stipulated, in the late convention, that we shall not increase the FORTIFICATIONS there, nor take any NEW POSTS; tho' money was granted by parliament, but last year, for that purpose.— Let us therefore see how that matter stands.

Carolina, as far as the degree of 29, Southern latitude, was granted by King Charles II. soon after his restoration, to particular proprietors. After this came the treaties of 1667 and 1670, which allowed us all that was then in our possession. These treaties therefore being subsequent to this grant, and the possession of these grantees, it follows, that the undoubted property belongs to them; and, if we strictly examine how far the 29th degree stretches, it is my opinion that we can prove a much better right to Fort St. Augustine than they can to Georgia.— But let us go farther.

This country was afterwards bought by the publick, with publick money, from the several proprietors, at the instance of the present administration, and at a very large expence; alledging that great use might be made of it, and that it was a

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

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

and must leave the *French* and the *Spaniards* to dispute the sovereignty of *those seas*, and the dominion of the *whole American world*.

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

I have thus, in a cursory manner, made a few remarks on *this convention*; which, being of the utmost importance to *Great Britain*, will no doubt be more particularly scann'd and examin'd by *those*, who are immediately concern'd in the consequences of it. But in this all mankind seem to be agreed; that be it *good*, or be it *bad*; be it *honourable* or *dishonourable*; the whole merit or demerit belongs to ONE SINGLE MAN, who undertook the negotiation, and made himself answerable for it.

How happy therefore must *that country* be, whose *Prime-minister* is an *able, honest, disinterested, upright man*? — I will illustrate this observation by the example of *Cardinal Fleury*; to which I was led by reading a paragraph in one of the *Cologn Gazettes*, where an account was given of the suppos'd death of *that prelate*, and of his *last will and testament*; in which the whole value of his estate, except a few moveables, is said to amount to no more than 1300 l. Sterling. — Methinks, I see that *good old Frenchman* making his *will*, and declaring, that he leaves his *country*, which he found depress'd with *debt*, reduc'd by a *long and unsuccessful war*, sunk in its *reputation*, almost destroy'd by a *wild project*, and labouring under a *long minority*, now reviv'd in its *credit*, flourishing in its *trade*, recover'd in its *reputation*, and triumphing over its for-

mer enemies, by whom it was thus reduc'd; strengthen'd with *uncommon union at home*, as well as *universal alliances* and *influence* over all *Europe*. — Methinks, I hear him say, I leave *Lorca* to *France*; I leave them *Dunkirk* restor'd; their ancient enemy, the house of *Austria*, humbled; and *Flanders* their power, whenever they please take it: but, above all, I leave my countrymen *trade*, and *manufactures*; my particular bequests, hoping they will never want sufficient encouragement to pursue them. *Lastly*, I leave to my family all the *ready money* now in my possession, which amounts to the full sum of 1300 l. to be equally divided amongst them.

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

COMMON SENSE, Feb. 24.

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

BOTH Houses having, last year enter'd into vigorous resolution to support his Majesty in whatever measures

tures should be taken in order to obtain justice and full satisfaction from the *Spaniards*, for his injured subjects, such formidable squadrons were fitted out, in consequence of these resolutions, that we had no less than a hundred sail of ships at one time in commission; a most immense expence to this nation.

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

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

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

Those who have no very good opinion of the persons, at present, at the helm of our affairs, have taken occasion, from hence, to represent this transaction as a ministerial expedient; for, say they, if the ministers had weight and credit enough with the court of *Spain* to bring it to those terms which the nation expects, and to which we have an undoubted right, they have had time enough, and have wanted no support to effect it; and the malecontents are such infidels, they will not believe

that two Plenipotentiaries can make use of more persuasive arguments than a hundred sail of men of war.

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

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

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

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

Don Sebastian de la Quadra's declaration, or protest, in the name of the King his master, which was made and sign'd previous to the convention, seems

to be an innovation, in the forms and methods usually practised in negotiating; — but his Catholick Majesty was resolv'd that he should not be misunderstood, for he says, — *under the validity and force of this protest, the said convention may be proceeded on, and in no other manner.* — So that the convention seems to be purchased at the price of receiving and agreeing to this protest; and, indeed, it is said, in the body of the protest itself, that it is by *reciprocal agreement.*

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

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

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

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

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

To speak more familiarly of this affair, I hope it is a good convention; for it is a point in which the nation cannot be deceived. — The interest of *England* with respect to *Spain*, is understood by every trading man in the kingdom. — We know the strength, or, to speak more properly, we know the weakness of *Spain*; — we know what we have a right to expect, and what must be obtained to keep the nation from sinking into contempt and ruin: — Though our man may be more presumptuous and

more arrogant than all, no one man is wiser than all; and therefore no artifices to puzzle, to conceal the state of our case, will do:— the multitude hath many eyes; they have many that see for them, some of which are persons of a more discerning sight, perhaps, than he who flatters himself they are all blind.

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

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

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

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

Don Sebastian de la Quadra's *Protest*, in the Name of the King of Spain, dated at the Pardo, Jan. 10. 1739.

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

WEEKLY MISCELLANY, Feb. 24.

THE Rev. Mr. Venn, who was author of the Miscellany of February 10. concerning the doctrine and behaviour of the *Methodists*, and the rash attempt of Mr. Whitefield in forcing himself into a pulpit, happening to die before he could vindicate himself from some misrepresentations charged upon him, it must give much pleasure to every man of honour and candour, to see all the Gentlemen who were any way concerned in furnishing him with intelligence relating to that fact, cheerfully assist their departed friend, by sign-

ing their names to a truth he can no longer defend. — But as those attestations only confirm the circumstances of the fact, as related p. 68. the mention of them here is sufficient.

The CITIZEN, N^o 2.

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

The CITIZEN, N^o 3.

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

The case of RICHARD COPITHORNE, sole owner and master of the ship *Betty Galley*.

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

The privateer, finding his men thus left on board, and not able to compass his designs; in order to regain his men, boarded the ship a second time, with stink-pots, powder-flasks, and pole-axes. Upon which the said Copithorne discharged his great guns loaden with double-round and partridge, with all his small arms, and at the same time set fire to his powder-chests; which oblig'd the enemy a second time to retire.

The enemy, finding they could not force him to submit, resolv'd (having little or no wind) to take the ship in tow, and by that means to carry her to the island of Alboran, (being about two miles distance) there to destroy the ship upon the rocks, and put every soul to the sword; as afterwards appeared to be their design.

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

After five or near six hours engagement, Copithorne's deck blew up by accident unknown, the bulk-head falling flat upon deck; and the enemy from the forecastle at the same time fired a volley of small-shot into the cabin. By the blowing up the deck, Copithorne's foot was taken in between two planks; which kept him fast for an object of the enemy's cruelty, who snapp'd several pistols and guns at him whilst in that condition; and they stripp'd him, and without mercy batter'd, cut and stabb'd him so inhumanely, that they themselves believed him to be dead, as he lay upon the floor, naked, and weltering in blood. After some time, and with some difficulty, they got his foot clear, and by four men tois'd him out upon the deck, and from thence into the boat, and carried him on board the privateer; where he lay in the most miserable condition, naked, for nine days before he was landed: in which time the Cap-

tain of the privateer and company put it to the vote, Whether they should murder the prisoners, and carry the ship to Ivissa or Majorca, to dispose of as they thought proper; or spare the prisoners lives, and carry them to Malaga, according to their orders? and it was carried by a majority of two or three votes only, to spare their lives, and stand in for Malaga. Having thus resolv'd, they kept the prisoners on board the privateer fourteen hours, without a drop of fresh water to relieve them; which oblig'd two of them in that time to drink salt water several times: and they supplied Mr. Copithorne with no other sustenance than bread and fish-bones from the Captain of the privateer's table; neither would they grant him a little spirits to wash his wounds, nor in the heat of the day allow him the benefit of the arning which they had to keep off the scorching sun, but draw'd it aside on purpose to torment him with the heat; which (being naked) blister'd his body in a most dismal manner, and the cold dew of the night falling afterwards, gave him as much uneasiness as the wounds he received in the engagement. Having thus us'd him for nine days, they carried him into Malaga; where he was inform'd, that the enemy had lost twenty-four or twenty-five men, and had a considerable number wounded; and also found that the ship and cargo was no lawful capture. Upon which Nicolas Holloway, Esq; his Majesty's Consul, made a demand of the ship and cargo, and all damages to be made good. And proper application was also made to Mr. Vander Meer, Ambassador of the States General then at Madrid, and Sir Charles Wager at Gibraltar; from whom great hopes were conceived that the ship and cargo would be restored to the owners, and the damages made good, according to the true intent and meaning of the Preliminary Articles: but there came an order from Madrid the 4th October following, to sell the ship and cargo for the use of the cruel captors.

It is very remarkable in this affair, that the preliminary articles were signed at Paris the 31st May 1727, N. S. which was twenty-nine days before the said ship was taken; and, upon the 18th June 1727, his Catholick Majesty accepted and sign'd the said preliminaries, tho' he detained them several days before he accepted the same; and upon the 23^d following, all hostilities ceas'd at Gibraltar and the camp of St. Roche; and upon the 25th of the same month it was publickly known at Malaga (from whence the said privateer sail'd the same evening) and other parts of the sea-coasts, which was four days before the said ship was taken.

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

The humble Address of the Rt. Hon. the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled. Feb. 1.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious Speech from the throne.

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

est dependence on your zeal and vigilance for their real security and preservation.

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

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

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

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

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

THE House of Commons, in their Address, acknowledge his Majesty's great goodness in the constant regard his Majesty has been pleased to express to the petitions and complaints of his subjects and the advice of his Parliament, and in pursuing such measures for the honour and dignity of his crown, and the true interest of his people, as his Majesty judged most proper and advantageous.

They congratulate his Majesty on the success of his Royal endeavours, in concluding a Convention with the King of Spain, whereby reparation is stipulated to be made and paid to his Majesty's injured subjects, and Plenipotentiaries are appointed for regulating all those grievances and abuses which have hitherto interrupted our commerce and navigation, and for removing all future causes and pretences of complaint.

They conclude with assuring his Majesty, that his faithful Commons will effectually support him in accomplishing and bringing to perfection that great and necessary work, in such a manner as may

answer the just demands and expectations of his Majesty and his people; and promise to grant such supplies as shall be necessary for the honour and security of his Majesty and his kingdoms.

The CITIZEN, N^o 4.

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

IN the year 1718, the King of Spain ordered all the effects of the South-Sea company in the West-Indies to be seiz'd; which was rigorously executed, and the goods carried by the King's officers into his ware-houses. These effects (by a fair account delivered to Lord Stanhope) amounted to 850,000 l. prime cost. The Spaniards, who had bought goods and negroes of the company's factors upon trust, took this opportunity, (many of them) not to pay their debts, and there was no selling any negroes; which much increased the loss of the company, great number of those negroes dying in the company's settlements. And the inhumanity of the Spaniards went so far, that the Bishop of Carthagená would not suffer any of the negroes that died in his Diocese to be buried. All the while the company kept their factories at La Vera-Cruz, Panama, Portobel, Carthagená, and Buenos Ayres, and two agents at Madrid, which put them to a very great expence; so that the loss the company suffered by this seizure could not amount to less than one million Sterling.

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

In the year 1727, when the King of Spain besieged Gibraltar, he sent orders to his officers in the Indies to seize again the company's effects; which were put in execution; and it is said this

second seizure amounted to 900,000 l. and that the company suffered more on account of bad debts, and not selling their negroes, than they had done by the first. When the peace was concluded, the King of Spain ordered again the company's effects to be restored; but what was restored did not amount to 190,000 l. and the produce was sent to Spain by one of the King's ships, in indigo, pieces of eight, and cochineal: When the ship came to Cadiz, the indigo and pieces of eight were delivered to the company's agents; but the Spaniards kept the cochineal; so that the company did not recover of this second seizure, above 150,000 l. and were greater losers by this than by the first seizure.

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

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

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

SONG. To Cupid.

Sweet tyrant, Love, ob bear me now,
And help to ease a love-sick heart;
Or rather aid my trembling vow,
And teach me to reveal my smart.

Tell her, whose goodness is my bane,
Whose looks have ruin'd my peace away;
Ob whisper how she gives me pain,
While undesigning, frank and gay.

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

For that I drop the tender tear;
For that I make the artless moan:
Ob whisper love into her ear,
And make the bashful lover known.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR, Glasgow, Feb. 20.

THe first of last month I received the following lines, which have something in them so unlike what I have ever before seen upon the same subject, that I am persuaded the author will not blame my offering them for the edification of your readers. I am, &c.

ELENESSA.

TO STELLA:

With a BIBLE for her New-year's gift

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

A Bible sent a virgin's heart to move?
Somer Cassandra might have hop'd success;
Or Great Amadæus by his wild distress;
Ovid or Waller's softer lines might melt,
But from the Bible can love's pangs be felt!
Yes, Stella, yes; this sacred vol me displays
The harcock love has made in earliest days:
No sooner had th' Almighty form'd our fire,
In station blest'd, and chaast in each desire,
But untanght innocence to love essay'd
And for a beauteous mate incessant pray'd.
His boon was granted, and kind heav'n decrees

Sent him fair Eve — O! may'st have sent
me this!

The relenting Fair.

When first the bashful smiling youth
Spoke his fond passion with a sigh;
To so much goodness, love and truth,
What maid could have been deaf but I!

While he the kindest vows express,
Too cruel I contemn'd his care;
Now all his passion fires my breast;
I love, I languish, and despair.

What tho' I mourn my late disdain?
The gentle youth would sure forgive me.
Al no! no! — Life would be a pain
From one whom I forbade to live.

Then, DAMON, when I'm gone, no more
Accuse a hapless loving maid:
Think, she who cross'd thy love before,
By love, in death's cold arms is laid.

To the author of the Scots Magazine.

SIR, Edinb. Feb. 7.

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

S O N G.

Tune, *The Lads of Patie's Mill*,
In vain my taper burns,
And lends its feeble ray;
Until my fair returns
How tedious is delay!
When Stella is away,
The Sun's no longer bright;
Her presence brings the day,
Her absence leaves the night.

ANOTHER. By a different hand.
 Address'd to the Candle.

When Phœbus' beams are gone,
And Cynthia's face we view,
Each mortal eye would mourn,
Wer't not for help from you:
For, aided by thy glance,
I Myra's charms still find;
But wish thee kick'd to France
Whene'er the fair seems kind.

SIR, Berwick, Feb. 12.

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

Several in this town approve your design, and from the gentlemen of the army, and others who have leisure for such purposes, you will—I

believe, receive considerable assistance, which you can only merit by closely adhering to the Plan of your Design. Your hearty well-wisher,
 ORLANDO,

SONG. Tune, *The Abbot of Canterbury.*

A Parson, who long had taught virtue in vain,
 Unable from vice his rude flock to restrain,
 Resolv'd from experience, and what he had read,
 That it still would be so till the Devil were dead,
 Derry down, &c.

II.

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

III.

For there, quoth the Priest, uncontest'd he reigns,
(With his daughters the nymphs, and his demons
the fawns: [same,
—I'll hasten to London—where, thirsting for
The Lillo's rebarsal next morning he came.
 Derry down, &c.

IV.

Perdus lay the Devil, and leer'd at his guest,
(Who w'd e'ry corner in search for his nest)
Then, by way of defiance, undaunted he stood,
Pointing full at the Priest, till he chill'd all his
blood.
 Derry down, &c.

V.

But, being recover'd, Ab! Satan, he cry'd,
I'll revenge my whole race, let whatever betide;
No longer this place with thy art shall abound,
And increase e'ry day, while the church loses
ground.
 Derry down, &c.

VI.

The Devil, well us'd to each foot of the way,
Stepping cross to the pit, led the Parson astray;
Who, stretching a stretch at old Belzebub's bum,
Fell with head on the spinner like stick on a drum.
 Derry down, &c.

VII.

Ab! first of deceivers! rank foe to the just,
How vain was my faith in thy guidance to trust!
In my church should'st thou ever but dare to appear,
I'll lay thee as low as thou'st tumbled me here.
 Derry down, &c.

VIII.

A match, said the Devil; if e'er I invade
Thy preaching, or praying, or binder thy trade,
Let my punishment then be made full as severe,
As is due to the fool who moves out of his sphere.
 Derry down, &c.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR,

Abertoun, Feb. 16.

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

Yours, &c. FAVOROR.

Vigilantis vota, dormientis somnia.

The twinkling stars had spangl'd all the skies,
And balmy slumbers seal'd my weary'd eyes;
When, lo! a lovely youth approach'd my bed,
Whose shining temples wore with laurel spread;
A flowing garment did his limbs surround,
Which loosely hung, and careless swept the ground;
On his left side a golden lyre was hung,
Which straight he touch'd, and thus melodious sung:

Rise, gentle youth! awake thy infant muse,
And try what thoughts true beauty can infuse;
Where ev'ry feature in her face you'll find
Sweet as her words, and sprightly as her mind;
Still entertaining, negligent of air,
Manners refin'd, obliging as the fair;
Engaging temper, innocently sweet,
Void of all female frauds, and mean deceit:
Nature gave all the charms she could confer,
And robb'd from others to bestow on her.

Description fails. — Come, gentle youth, be cries;
What words can't paint, shall bless thy longing eyes.
This said, I rose; and swift as thought we flew,
Where sixteen beauties open'd to our view;
Where warbling birds awake the cheerful dawn,
And fragrant beauties pain'd themselves all'd lawn;
When thus my guide: See yonder gay alcove;
There bend thy steps, and fire thy soul with love.
This said, he disappear'd: when straightway I,
Proud of his precepts, readily obey.

The bow'r I enter'd, where, on roses laid,
Fair DELIA slept, in all her charms array'd.
Here all the beauties that the world could boast,
In this more beautiful object would be lost;
Here ev'ry charm that Phœbus sung before,
I found enhanc'd by various graces more.

Amaz'd I stood, and view'd the beautiful fair,
Now fir'd by Love, and now depress'd by Fear:
Love whispers softly, Steal a balmy kiss;
Fear bids me stop, and disapproves my bliss.

But Fear gave way, and I, with eager haste,
Flew to surround her dear delusive waste —
But see! she's gone! and all my joys are cross'd,
And flatt'ring transports in a moment lost.
Ixion thus sought Juno's dear embrace,
And clasp'd an empty phantom in her place.

MYRTILLO TO MIRA.

MY lovely Mira! these bright eyes
First rais'd the infant fire,
And kindled in my flaming breast
The ravishing desire:
'Twas thy sweet face that taught
me first,

Thy beauty made me know,
'At Cupid's altar I must kneel,
'And to his sceptre bow.'

O cruel! can you bid me, then,
No more adore those charms;
Or, in imagination, die
Enraptur'd in thy arms?
Can one so near ally'd to beauty's
Demand so hard a task;
Or things that nature cannot grant
From a devotee ask?

No, Mira, no! I can't obey:
The streams shall backward run
And thou, O damask rose, shalt be
And flourish at the pole;
My feeble pulse shall cease to play,
My limbs forget to move,
And ev'ry power be lost in death,
If e'er I change my love.

To the charming Miss

Deck'd with flowers
'Midst the bowers,
See my beautiful Chlo' reclin'd;
Soft reposing,
Charms disclosing,
Ever fair but never kind.

Sad in anguish,
While I languish,
Linnets lend their liss'ning ear,
Me they pity
In soft ditty,
Or in concert sue the fair.

Vallies sounding,
Rocks rebounding,
In compassion speak my woe;
Vocal mountains,
Crystal fountains,
All the plaintive notes return.

Fairest creature
Form'd by nature,
Kindly bear your love complain;
To my sighing
Be complying,
For I die if you disdain.

An Ode to F A M E.

LO! as you promontory's pendent brow,
That threats the shadow'd gulph belows
In the dun air sublime,
Fame spreads her hasty pinions wide,
Disclaiming Britain's sluggish clime;
And, in a moment's flight,
Determines to alight
On active Gaul's more formidable side.—
—Stay, Goddess, I conjure thee, stay;
And, ere irrevocably fear'd away,
Thy piercing trump apply,
And pour so vehement a blast,
As shall alarm earth, sea and sky,
To rouse the present age, and eccho to the last!—

—She hears the muse's call,
And with obedient breath
Inspires the mystic strains! —
Hark! hark! the swelling sound,
Tempests the air around,
Rouzes the sleeping main;
Shakes earth's remotest bound;
Pierces the very centre of the ball,
And almost wakens death!

Again! again th' upbraiding peal renew,
Make courtly deafness bear;
Who tyrant pow'r and base corruption fear;
Whose flames chase their guilty steps pursue!
Again! again it rumbles loud,
As thunder from a bursting cloud!
The distant Russians catch the fierce alarm!
And, fir'd with martial flame,
Luxurious Persians arm,
And bravely emulate the Greek and Roman
name.

But, death to honest eyes!
Britannia's genius slumb'ring lies,
Eminately soft on carpets spread,
Deaf to the honourable sound
That kindles virtue thro' the world's vast
round;
Numb'd with inglorious peace,
Emervated with sloth and ease,
And to all sense of emulation dead!
Her useless shield is hurl'd aside,
And her neglected lance,
The terror once of trembling France!
Disdainful Cupids wantonly bestride.
Unmov'd she feels her idle hands
Fetter'd with golden bands;
The victor-Jaxet too
Drop wither'd from her brow,

While in its stead sarcastick humour ties
A rose-wreath, emblem of a victim doom'd
for sacrifice!

Oh where are all her ancient honours flown?
Her Senators of high renown;
Her Patriots, such as dar'd withstand
The frowns of pow'r, the charms of gold;
Made proud oppression quit her greedy hold,
And from the jaws of ruin snatch'd their
parent-land.

Alas! the monumental bust
That guards their awful dust,
And the historian's faithful page,
Are the sole reliques of that nobler age!
Unless then, Goddess! thy awak'ning strain
Can rouse the mighty dead again,
Give, give thy fruitless labour o'er,
And quit for ever this degenerate shore!
For, where all vices make their joint abode,
Fame's to be fear'd as heav'n's severest rod,
And night-begot Oblivion worshipp'd as
a God.

To Mr. M A L L E T.

Occasioned by being at the representation
of MUSTAPHA;

TO trace the workings of a monarch's
mind,
Hurry'd by passions of the gloomy kind;
Instance the dire effects from thence proceed,
Where pow'r gives sanction to the blackest
deed;
Where daftard slaves the sov'reign's nod obey,
And yield up all their rights to lawless sway:
To picture virtue in its truest light,
And shew that what is good is always right:
Vice in its native colours to reveal,
And mark the secret pang the vicious feel,
Such as too oft ambition does impart,
To stab the guilty statesman to the heart:
These hast thou, Mallet, beautifully display'd,
With nature to conduct, and art to aid.
Nor is thy tow'ring genius here confin'd,
Boundless as nature acting in the mind:
'Tis thine to bid the tender passions rise,
And call the gen'rous tear from pitying eyes;
To wake soft sorrows in the breast humane,
That feels for suff'ring virtue nameless pain;
Refin'd and chastest morals to impart,
At once to charm and to improve the heart.
Be Mustapha the proof, where pleas'd we find
Sense, conduct, beauty, wit and judgment
join'd.

To the author of the SCOT'S MAGAZINE.

SIR, London, Feb. 14.

WE have already been blest'd with two masquerades this season; the last of which was remarkable for the number of Gentlemen and Ladies, and the inconceivable variety of their dresses; the taste for these fashionable disguises advancing every year; it being already the easiest thing imaginable to conceal a daughter from her father, a lady from her husband, and a gentleman from the knowledge of his most penetrating consort. — Some divorces are talked of, and people are weak enough to report that several Ladies dropp'd their reputations at the last of these balls; but I am of a contrary judgment, believing the greater number of such as frequent these assemblies too prudent to carry such a charge along with them. — A Gentleman contributed much to the amusement and instruction of the company, by having his robe cover'd with ballads, *Cherry-chase*, *the Wife of Bath*, and *THE LADY'S FALL*, being placed in the strongest lines of perspective; and particular notice was taken of two *Vesals*, who quickly retired to a neighbouring bagnio.

Mr. R-ch, manager of Covent Garden theatre, is prodigiously disobligh'd at the town for not approving the most tragical tragedy that was ever offered the publick; though the author assures us it was made perfectly agreeable to that Gentleman's taste before it appeared! This motly piece was for some time intitled *The Wrecks of Innocence*; but, before it was perform'd, that name was changed for that of *The Parricide*: Though Mr. *Sterling* had written a play of a good deal of merit, with that title, no more than four years ago. Many were surpriz'd at the motive of presenting *this parricide* to the town at so critical a juncture; but when it came to be known that the author belonged to the theatre, no body wonder'd at its creeping from behind the scenes, who ever heard of the *Tanner of York*, and some other pieces with which those active Gentlemen have oblig'd us. —

Shakepear's being a Comedian has turn'd the heads of too many of his successors, for *our Cibber* is as much as *our age* can reasonably expect.

Last night I went to *Dury Lane* to see Mr. *Mallet's* tragedy of *MUSTAPHA* acted for the first time: The pit was, before five o' clock, filled with Gentlemen who made a very polite appearance, and were mostly of the Scots nation, the author having been some time a domestick of his Grace the Duke of Montrose. Considerable expectations were formed of a genius which was some years ago capable of producing the justly admired tragedy call'd *Emydic*. Before the curtain drew up, some Gentlemen crowding themselves among the musicians, gave occasion to convince the whole audience, that, should they be found necessary, a sufficient quantity of cat-calls, and other instruments of theatrical damnation were provided; but the whole play was acted without one hiss or other mark of dislike. — To say the truth, the language is in general strong, and many of the allusions glowing; the characters well chosen, and the incidents natural enough. — Yet I am sorry to say it, the *best description*, and the most *moving distress* pass'd in silence, while any casual expression which was capable of being interpreted into a meaning unintended (I believe) by the author, met with the loudest applauses. The characters are, as well as I can remember, *Solymann*, Emperor of the Turks; *Mustapha*, his eldest son by a former Queen; *Roxalinda*, his Empress; a son of her's; the Grand Vizier; the Musti; and a daughter of the Sophi of Persia, privately married to Mustapha. — The Vizier and the Empress, assist'd by the Musti, contrive the ruin of Mustapha: To rescue whom from the fate that threatned him, his brother, the son of Roxalinda, contrives a rebellion in the army, and comes to his relief, but too late; in the contest the Vizier received a wound, of which he dies, after owning his guilt: On the sight of Mustapha's corpse, his brother stabs himself; the Empress sues for death,

death, but Solyman forces her to live, that she may suffer the pangs that must attend her crime. The sentences which blame the Vizier, under the name of *Minister*, were most generally applauded, and those in which Prince Mustapha complains of the Vizier's separating him from his father, and where he vows his destruction. The lines which inveigh against the treachery of women, and the bad influence Roxalinda had over Solyman, were distinguished; and where the Emperor, or Mustapha, speak of the protection due to subjects, and the necessity of resenting any insult offered them, the applause was very great. — So that, upon the whole, I think the first night's success of this well written tragedy more owing to the humour of the spectators than its own merit; so fond are mankind of imposing their own meanings upon the words of others. Your countryman, Mr. Mallet, merits success, and I heartily wish he may meet with it.

We have got a new dance, called *Westminster-Bridge*, which some condemn as too slow.

Saul, a new oratorio, by Mr. Handel, has been perform'd twice, to splendid, but thin audiences; and *Alexander's Feast*, written by Mr. Dryden, and set to musick by the foremention'd Gentleman, will be performed at the opera-house on Saturday next. His Majesty is this evening seeing the *Emperor of the Moon* at Covent Garden theatre, which has been honour'd with his royal presence twice this season already. — A new pantomime is daily expected there; of which, perhaps, I may give you some account, if I can reduce it to words. *I am, &c.*

S. TOUPEE.

EDINBURGH, February 1739.

THE company of Comedians being prosecuted before the court of Session, their Lordships, after hearing council on both sides, found them guilty, and decern'd for the penalties in the late act against strollers.

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

examined, Macvicar moved, by a petition, that a day might be appointed for hearing his cause. This was agreed to by their Lordships; and, at the same time, they recommended to the Lawyers for the Crown to pursue on the complaint. This was done; and his Majesty's Solicitor shewed, by an induction of circumstances, that Macvicar was guilty not only of the vitiations complain'd of, but likewise of subornation of perjury. His Council replied: But his guilt appeared so plain, that the bench unanimously agreed (though with a visible concern) to pronounce the following sentence, *viz.* "Find the said Neil Macvicar, being a writer, and being an ordinary practiser in managing of causes before this court, is guilty of vitiating, razing, superinducing, and unwarrantably altering a summons at his own instance against James Cochran and others, part of the record of this court, and the foundation of the proceedings in a cause betwixt him and the said James Cochran depending therein: And find, That during the course of the proceedings upon this complaint, the said Neil Macvicar hath been guilty of many undue, sinistrous and criminal practices, in order to stifle the complaint, and conceal his own guilt; by clandestinely inducing the said James Cochran to transact upon, discharge, and pass from the said complaint, after the same was tabled in judgment; by giving him considerable sums of money, in order to induce and enable him, under false colours and fictitious pretences, to give false evidence in the course of the examination; and by endeavouring to persuade and suborn Archibald Maclauchlan, a witness adduced in this cause, to commit perjury, and give false evidence upon his examination; and by attempting to impress large sums of money into his hands, in order to enable him more effectually to disguise the truth; and by affirming and insisting upon many gross falsehoods in open court, now appearing to be so: THEREFORE the Lords have declared, and hereby declare, the said Neil Macvicar to be,

from hence forth, and in all time coming, infamous, and incapable of all publick trust or office, or of passing upon any affize or inquest, or bearing witness in any cause or trial; And do hereby declare his moveable goods and gear to be escheat and forfeited, and ordain the same to be inbrought for his Majesty's use: Further, the Lords do banish the said Neil Macvicar, during all the days of his life, forth of Scotland, from and after the first day of November next; with certification, That if, after the said first day of November next, the said Neil Macvicar shall be found or apprehended within any part of Scotland, that he shall be immediately committed by warrant of any Magistrate or Justice of the Peace having power of commitment, to the next sure prison, and shall be transmited, with the first conveniency, by the Sheriff of the county where he shall be so committed, to the next Sheriff, and so forth, from Sheriff to Sheriff, until he be lodged in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, there to remain until an opportunity offer of transporting him to one of his Majesty's plantations of America; and shall then be delivered over by the Magistrates of Edinburgh to any merchant, ship-master, or other person, who shall find surety, under the penalty of £. 200 Sterling to transport him to, and land him in one of his said Majesty's plantations; with certification, That in case he return to Scotland at any time thereafter, he shall be punished with the highest pains that may be by law inflicted upon persons returning from banishment or transportation: And the Lords ordain the said Neil Macvicar to be now carried back to prison, and there to remain till the first day of September next, and then to be dismissed out of prison, in order to his going into banishment, as above adjudged: And they appoint this their sentence and judgment to be recorded in their books of Sederunt, there to remain to the terror of others from committing the like practices in time coming."

The Magistrates and Council of this city, on account of some late differences, thought

thought themselves obliged to sue for a reduction of certain regulations mutually agreed to 1720, betwixt them, the presbytery, and kirk-sessions; whereby the right of choosing Ministers was lodged in the collective body of Magistrates and Elders. This process was determin'd by the unanimous voice of the bench; and the Magistrates were restored to their ancient right of patronage, and these regulations reduced.

In a cause betwixt a person who had taken an indorsement to a Merchant's promissory note, and another who had had an arrestment in the debtor's hands for the debt of the indorser, their Lordships preferred the arrester.

The Merchants of this city, of Glasgow, Montrose, Dundee, Kinghorn, North-Berwick, Dunbar, Stirling, and Dunfermling, have severally dispatched petitions to parliament, praying, That the American trade may be free and open, our ships exempted from the search of Guarda Costas, and reparation made for the damages and insults already sustained.

LONDON, February 1739.

The Lords ordered the S. S. Company's address to the King in 1737 to be laid before them. It was moved, that the Directors of that Company, (not members) should attend at the reading the address, and when the convention should be considered; but both petitions were carried in the negative.

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

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

The Trustees for the colony of Geor-

gia have presented a petition, praying, That the Plenipotentiaries may be instructed to provide for the safety of that colony, in regard that Mr. Geraldino, in a letter dated 21st September 1736, to the Duke of Newcastle, asserts, That Georgia is expressly part of the territory of the King his master.

Richard Copithorne, owner of the Betty Gally, and the owners of the Loyal Gally, William Pugelesly Captain, both taken in the Mediterranean, and carried into Malaga, since signing the preliminaries, have likewise presented their case to the House.

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

Several complaints have been laid before the House of the decay of our woollen manufactures. And

The number of land forces for the current year, viz. 17,704 (the same as last year) was reported and agreed to by a majority of near 60. As also 12,000 seamen (at 4 l. per month per man) were voted for the service of the current year. Several accounts were presented from the war and navy office; and the sum of 282,989 l. is ordered for the Ordinary of the navy.

The humble petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, in Common Council assembled, sheweth,

That the citizens of London are too deeply interested in whatever affects the trade of this nation, not to express the utmost anxiety for the welfare and prosperity of that only source of our riches; and it is with a concern your petitioners are unable to express, that they perceive the trade to his Majesty's American colonies, still continues exposed to the insults of the Spaniards, who, under unwarrantable and injurious pretences, continue to stop, search, and make prizes of British vessels navigating the American seas, in manifest violation of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns.

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

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

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

Your petitioners beg leave further to express their humble apprehensions, that such a precarious situation as this, must inevitably expose the trade to the American seas to continual interruptions and

perpetual alarms, as well as to severe losses; that to these unhappy causes they humbly apprehend, the present low state of the British colonies in America, may in a great measure be attributed; and if the cruel treatment of the English fathers, whose hard fate has thrown them into the hands of the Spaniards, should be put up without any reparation, your petitioners humbly apprehend, it may be the means of deterring the seamen from undertaking voyages to the seas of America, without an advance of wages, which that trade or any other will not be able to support.

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

And your petitioners shall pray, &c.

EPITAPH on a Bankrupt.

From duns secure (if creditors should come)
For once a debtor may be found at home:
By death arrested, and in jail here laid,
The first, the last, the only debt be paid.

PREFERMENTS CIVIL.

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

PREFERRMENTS MILITARY.

Robert Napier, Esq;—Lieut. General, and Commander in chief of his Majesty's forces in Ireland.

The Earl of Hyndford,—Colonel of a regiment of foot on the Irish establishment.

The Lord John Murray,—Captain of a company in the guards.

The Earl of Loudon,—Captain Lieutenant of a company in the third regiment of foot guards.

Four Gentlemen, from marching regiments,—Lieutenants in the guards, viz. Mr. Charles Churchill, Mr. Perry, Mr. Urquhart, and Mr. Newton, son of the General.

ECCLESIASTICAL.

Thomas Gough, late Bishop of Bristol, — to the see of Norwich.

The Rev. Dr. Tennison, Archdeacon of Caermarthen, and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, — a Prebend of Canterbury.

The Rev. Mr. Deedes, — a Prebend of Canterbury.

The Rev. Mr. Marth, — one of his Majesty's Chaplains in ordinary.

The Rev. Mr. Reynier, — Chaplain in ordinary to the Prince of Wales.

MARRIAGES.

Sir James D'Ashwood of Northbrooke in Oxfordshire, — to Miss Eliza Spencer, sister to the Dutchess of Hamilton.

James Montgomery, Esq; — to Miss Sawbridge.

John Erskine jun. of Dun, Esq; — to Miss Margaret Inglis.

DEATHS.

The Earl of Fingal of the kingdom of Ireland.

The Lord Viscount Massareene.

The Lord Visc. Preston, Lord Graham of Elk, without issue.

Sir James Reynolds, Knt. late Lord Chief Justice of the Exchequer.

James Ruck, Esq; a banker.

Mr. John Crawford Advocate, Clerk to the admission of Notars.

George Hepburn, Esq; of Montcraig.

The Lady of James Halyburton of Pitcurr, Esq;

Died within the walls of the city of Edinburgh, and buried in the Grayfriars church-yard, February 1739.

Men 15, women 21, children 46. In all, 82. Decreased this month, 33.

Whereof have died,

Under 2 years old	_____	24
Betwixt 2 and 5	_____	15
5 and 10	_____	6
10 and 20	_____	1
20 and 30	_____	4
30 and 40	_____	6
40 and 50	_____	3
50 and 60	_____	9
60 and 70	_____	10
70 and 80	_____	3
80 and 90	_____	1

DISEASES.

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

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, March 3.

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

The humble Address of the Rt. Hon. the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled. *March 1.*

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our most humble thanks for your gracious consideration, in laying the Convention between your Majesty and the King of Spain, dated the fourteenth day of January last, N. S. together with the Separate Articles, before this House.

We think it our indispensable duty, on this occasion, to express our just sense of your Royal care of the true interests of your people; and to acknowledge your Majesty's great prudence, in bringing the demands of your subjects for their past losses, which have been so long depending, to a final

adjustment by the said Convention; and procuring an express stipulation for a speedy payment; and in laying a foundation for accomplishing the great and desirable ends, of obtaining future security, and preserving the peace between the two nations.

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

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

His Majesty's most gracious answer.

My Lords,

I thank you for this dutiful Address, and for the grateful sense you express of

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

Verses made EXTEMPORE.

No mem'ry now of good Queen Bells's days,
When England rul'd sole monarch of the seas.

Her ships with freedom traues'd o'er the main,

And scann'd the universe in spite of Spain.

But tears now trickle down TRADE's meagre face,

And envy starts to see its sad disgrace:

As cowards courage raise by others fears,

So Spaniards dar'd to duck a Briton's ears.

Altho' bad this insult born in C—'s days,

Not half the ears in Spain his wrath would ease.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

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

said the magazines filling with ammunition, &c.

Reports vary with regard to a rupture between KOWLI KAN, the Sophi of Persia, and the GRAND SEIGNIOR; because, at the departure of the Persian ambassadors they were not only complimented with the presents usual on such occasions, but, above what was ever before known, each of them was presented with forty purses.

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

It is not easy to assert any thing of the present designs of the courts of VIENNA and MUSCOVY, the Grand Seignior insisting upon the restitution of the fortress of Asoch as a preliminary article to any treaty of peace.

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

The affairs of CORSICA, notwithstanding the martial mediation of France, remain much in their former situation; the transports sent to reinforce the French troops in that island having been parted, and many of them much distressed; and the Corsicans were so far from regretting the misfortunes of these intended succours, that such of them as the waves threw into their power were put to the sword: So warm is the resentment of these people against all who in any shape favour the Genoese. Count Boissieux, commander

of the French troops in Corsica is dead; and the arrival of a nephew of Baron Theodore's in that island has given fresh spirits to the natives, by assuring them of his uncle's design of being with them in person in a short time. Among the reasons alledged by these people for their unshaken attachment to that brave adventurer, are the following, *viz.*

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

THE MOST CHRISTIAN KING has declared the marriage between Louisa Elizabeth, the first Princess of France, aged 12 years next September, and Don Philip, second Infante of Spain, aged 19; and between the second Princess, Anna Henrietta, her twin-sister, and his Sardinian Majesty's eldest son, aged 23. Digitized by Google

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Of whom may be had the Magazines for the two preceeding months.

C O N T E N T S.

WEEKLY ESSAYS.

A N usurp'd superiority offensive	p. 99
<i>An author's task difficult</i>	ib.
<i>The world not bettered by them</i>	101
<i>Russia, formidable by reason of her natural advantages</i>	ib.
<i>Might easily take possession of a fine haven in Scotland</i>	103
<i>G. Britain's interest with regard to her</i>	ib.
<i>The privilege of searching not given up by Spain</i>	105
<i>Bob Booty's speech</i>	106
<i>A description of the masquerade</i>	107
<i>Remarks on that diversion</i>	108
<i>Complaints of the convention not groundless</i>	110
<i>The treaty of Utrecht invalidated, and the S. S. company sacrificed by it</i>	ib.
<i>Britain to pay for the loss Spain sustained in 1718</i>	111
<i>Main articles left undecided</i>	ib.
<i>Character of a learned coxcomb</i>	113
<i>Misfortune of being well descended, if poor</i>	114
<i>Insinuated in a widow Lady</i>	115
<i>Character of Appius</i>	ib.
<i>Desperate state of Rome</i>	ib.
<i>A division in a state hurtful</i>	117
<i>Character of Sextius and Licinius</i>	ib.
<i>Honesty of the Roman people</i>	118
<i>The Cortex of Castile corrupted by the minister</i>	119
<i>A civil war ensues</i>	120
<i>Methods that should have been used</i>	121
<i>The Castilians enslaved</i>	123

PORTICAL ESSAYS.

<i>Epitaph on a blind man's dog</i>	123
-------------------------------------	-----

<i>Rural virtue</i>	p. 124
<i>Panegyrick on a court. Saw you no my Maggy? Lover's monument</i>	127
<i>Mary Scot. Indictment. On the Duke of Argyle</i>	128
<i>Harry & Hetty. In a Lady's Prayer-book. Fallen Angel. Night-piece</i>	129
<i>Flirt and Phil. On a Lady buried in marriage. Psalm xxix. paraphras'd. On the Spaniards having liberty to search</i>	130

<i>A letter relating to the STAGE, &c</i>	131
<i>Proposal for relief of musicians widows</i>	ib.
<i>Account of Gustavus Vasa</i>	ib.
<i>A dispute between Musicians and Comedians</i>	133

Lord Strutt and 'Squire Bull.

<i>Ground and cause of their differences</i>	133
<i>Bull's preparations for going to law</i>	ib.
<i>The Steward's reasons against it</i>	134
<i>Articles insisted on by the tenants</i>	ib.
<i>What was agreed to thereupon</i>	ib.
<i>Ill relish'd by the tenants</i>	135

DOMESTICK HISTORY.

<i>Account of the Seceding Brethren</i>	135
<i>Determination, and grounds of the cause relating to the estate of Bargeny</i>	136
<i>Maritime affairs</i>	139
<i>Mortality-bill. Preferments</i>	ib.
<i>Marriages. Births. Deaths</i>	146

<i>Foreign History</i>	141
<i>Books</i>	143

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

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

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

The SCOTS Magazine.

M A R C H, 1739.

UNIVERSAL SPECTATOR, N^o. 540.

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

SIR,

WHEN I tell you I had the honour of conversing intimately with that celebrated constellation of wits, who were concerned in the *Spectator*; and *Tatlers*; and that I even remember many of the sprightly sallies of the *Sackvilles*, *Sedleys* and *Drydens*, from their own mouths, you will naturally conclude I am far from being a young man; and, consequently, 'tis my own fault, if I have not acquired some few advantages to myself, both from the merits and follies of my contemporaries.—If I have, I frankly own they are due to the dint of age and experience only: instead of pursuing knowledge, I have pursued pleasure; and if pleasure itself had not in some sort paved the way for knowledge, I believe the little share I now have, had been much less. In a long course of years, and a great variety of acquaintance, 'tis impossible to avoid making some observations; and, as these are rather the result of what we feel than what we are taught, they are perhaps both more useful in practice, and harder to be effaced, than any others.—Of these, I look upon the modest distrust of our own abilities, and a decent regard for those of our friends, or of whoever we converse with, or address ourselves to, to deserve a place among the principal. As there is hardly a man living who has not some pride in his composition, 'tis scarce possible to usurp a superiority without of-

fence (I had like to have said, injury) to those to whom the insult is offer'd.—Precedencies, arising from birth, titles, wealth, place and authority, are easily allowed, from the force of custom and the laws of society; but those that are challenged from the pre-eminence of understanding alone, are never exacted but to the manifest disgrace and prejudice of him who is consider'd as the inferior. Hence, though his resentment may be awed or stifled, it burns inward; and he that thinks he triumphs, instead of conquering, has only made an enemy.—Whatever real difference there may be in capacities, the vanity of the fool may be as large as that of the wit; and the tenderer the part, the more grievous the wound. Even, therefore, where 'tis charity to instruct, such address should be used as to convey it almost insensibly; and the giver should be as delicate in his terms, as the truly-generous endeavour to be in bestowing an alms.

I should be sorry, Sir, if there was any occasion to apply what I have said to Authors: they cannot but be sensible of the truth and importance of these hints; and, no doubt, make it both their study and glory to comply with them in the exactest and politest manner imaginable.—To instruct a numerous, learned and accomplished nation, is no trifling task, requires no small stock of genius, no little application, no contemptible fund of knowledge, no trifling resource of philosophy.—'Tis to be presumed, therefore, that all the Gentlemen who engage in that arduous undertaking, have examined themselves by the severest tests, and write from the

honest conviction of their hearts, that they are really qualified to top the character they assume. — If so, what large and ample opportunities does the present age afford us of self-gratulation, for being blessed with such numbers of *Beaux Esprits* in every branch and species of elegant or useful knowledge? Every year produces new writers in every science; and every season, every week, nay every day, brings to light most amazing instances of their mastery in their different professions. — We have Politicians, on one side, so shrewd and so vigilant, that the smallest speck or flaw in the most brilliant administration cannot escape their detection; and, on the other, such as will not suffer the most refin'd, nay almost imperceptible beauty, to be pass'd over without a due equivalent of praise. We have Orators that would make even *Tully* and *Demosthenes* blush, and Poets that mend *Moliere*, nay *Shakespeare* himself. We have Historians that can represent truth as fable, and fable as truth; we have Philosophers that can furnish out new hypotheses every day, all admitting of demonstration alike; and Polemic writers, who are in so little danger of being confuted, that they are not to be understood. Then for Satyrist, there is hardly a vice but has its writer to expose it; nay those that lash, almost equal the number of those that offend: one would think, *Parnassus* produced more birch than bays; and they lay it on so home, as if they were possessed with the very spirit of the beadle. Former ages, out of an ill-judg'd tenderness, were contented with exposing the crime, and spared the criminal; but those 'tis our happiness to be disciplin'd by, call us into court by name, and tell us our faults as plainly as an indictment: beside which, to their honour be it spoken, they are as impartial as death himself; neither age, sex or quality escape them; they make use of the same free stile to all, and peer and pick-pocket, prostitute and dutchess, are executed on the same scaffold.

Perhaps, Sir, you may think these *Draucanirs* of the gray-goose-quill, by

this conduct, trespass a little on the rules of decorum above mentioned; perhaps, likewise, many other odd, or fashion'd fellows, like us, may be of the same opinion: but will they not come off victoriously, by pleading genius, fire, novelty, and the example of their great leader, not only to invade our censures, but warrant the general applause? — We are to consider art, genius, wit and fancy, have guided numbers to the temple of fame; in nature, bitterness, railing and incivility, few or none: if, therefore, they can strike out a path of their own, they will have the honour of the discovery; and perhaps with this peculiar circumstance that none hereafter will dare to follow them. 'Tis true, this new path of theirs is as broad and easy as that to hell; it calls fool and knave, fop and coward, in rhyme, being no *Herculean* labour: as to write the names at the bottom of that they are supposed to belong to, very nearly resembles the story of the painter, who was forced to do the same by his pictures. — Beside, if a man would not be thought to expose, merely to discharge his own gall, or had the least tenderness for the frailties of his fellow-creatures; he would chuse rather to tickle than wound, and aim more at reformation than punishment. Most men are inwardly convinced of their own follies and vices; but then they abhor to have them laid open to the censures of others. The first Sensation that we feel, perhaps, on such occasions, is shame; but the next is anger: and, instead of esteeming the satyrist as the physician of our souls, as *Shakespeare* expresses it, we consider him as the assassin of our characters. In my humble opinion then, Sir, a writer should first give us testimonials of his own prudence, before he commences censor of the absurdities of others; and, at the same time that he declares war with vice, he should make it appear he is in league with virtue. — Alas! there is no set of men in the universe, who have less reason to be vain than authors. — To look into the advertisements of books for the year,

year, one would think (like the *Spe-
Paw* surveying the Quack-bills hung
round the *Royal Exchange*) that they
contained preventions, or cures, for e-
very evil which could infect the mind.
But when we would trace out the truth
by their effects, how great is our disap-
pointment? Instead of curing the most
dangerous and inveterate maladies, the
slightest, least alarming symptoms, re-
main immoveable, and disgrace their
boasted recipe's. In short, after so many
ages, illuminated with every light of
knowledge, have roll'd away; after the
art of printing has multiply'd copies of
the most valuable books into almost e-
very hand: are we become one jot
wiser or honestier than our forefathers?
are our laws better regulated, our po-
licies better understood, our morals
more perfect, or our manners more re-
fin'd? If not, who will stand forth to
perfect, what the united genius, and
application of so many illustrious men,
labour'd at in vain?

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

Nor has this unlucky destiny only
befallen the obsolete authors of former
ages; but, in spite of the advantage
of printing, has already overtaken num-
bers of the moderns. 'Tis well known
that *Chapman*, *Ogilby*, and *Blackmore*,
had once their days of grace, and en-
joyed the favour of the publick in a
very eminent degree; yet are now hard-

ly any where to be found but in the
linings of trunks and band-boxes: and
yet these, when living, talked with
more ostentation of their arts, genius,
and learning, than either *Milton* or
Shakespeare, and boasted as loudly of be-
stowing immortality on whom they
pleas'd.

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

I am, &c.

The CITIZEN, N^o 6.

*The danger and interest of GREAT BRI-
TAIN with regard to the RUSSIAN
empire. — Occasioned by a position
in a former Citizen, "That it will
" always be the interest of the Mari-
" time Powers to keep the Turk in
" profound Peace with his neighbours
" of Christendom."*

SIR,

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

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

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

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

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

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

She has vast, deep, inland rivers, which extend navigation from one end of her empire to the other. She has inaccessible harbours, and docks of the boldest and noblest invention, for securing and exercising her fleets; which, from the aids in the foregoing article, she can build at the most moderate expence. — Add, that in case of a maritime war, she has little or no foreign commerce, whereby to suffer depredation or captures; while the nations depending on trade would be in danger of a stop in their vitals: For, having no call but *Arms* for her mariners, she would cover the sea with her *capers*; and these she would propose to maintain, without charge to herself, from the plunder of others. — The natural consequence of this, with regard to a

trafficking enemy, would, in a war of continuance, be a general stagnation of trade, and decay of their best manufactures. Hence discontents would infallibly follow; then insurrections, and open rebellion. *Excises* too, and *customs*, the funds for support of resistance, would fail, by the ruin of trade, in such a predatory war as I speak of: where the enemy is, by land, too remote and too strong to be dealt with; and, by sea, too wide-spread and unbodied to be opposed either with fleets or with squadrons: only snatching up our mercantile runners; while (on his own part pursuing no trade, he would be sure to afford no reprisals.

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

Almost opposite to the Sound there are havens in Scotland which nature seems to have formed for reception and security of *fleets*. — One in particular (I do not think it proper to name it is the finest, perhaps, in the island. It is beyond all denial the *safest*; that is most capable of being strongly defended were it to be fortified, either by ourselves, or an enemy: For it is scarce more than pistol-shot over at its entrance, betwixt rocks that are almost naturally impregnable; yet expands itself within, to an extent, and with full depth of water, that are hardly anywhere else to be met with; and has at the bottom the cleanest in the world, and most proper for anchorages.

Suppose it were practicable for an enemy (and why should it not, since 'tis open!) to take possession of so inviting a haven, with a body of 10 or 12,000 well-armed and well-disciplined foldiers, let us weigh a few of the terrible consequences:—They might secure themselves against any superior attempts from the sea: else how are our own ships laid up, with the safety we conclude them possessed of, in our harbours of Portsmouth, Chatham and Plymouth? neither of which, except the last, can compare, as to natural strength, with the haven I am in this place considering.—They might, perhaps not unreasonably, expect, upon declarations they could not fail to be furnished with, adapted, with the customary artifice, to the supposed disaffection they would promise themselves a support from, to be joined by no contemptible body of *natives*; many more, to imagine the least, than could be wanted for *guides*, to say nothing of *auxiliaries*.—I don't know what may be thought by our sanguine presumers in politics, but I should be apt to conclude, both from reason, and the examples in history, that when a powerful army was landed at one end of an island, so secur'd against attempts from without, and so strengthen'd by malecontents from within, nothing human, in the probable course of successes, could prevent them from marching on, at their will, to the other.

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

of exercising both her land and sea forces.

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

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

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

If, under influence of some new light of reflexion, they should mediate to settle colonies of their own in America; and that too more near, and more fatal to ours, than we could think it our interest to suffer; we must either submit, and, by acquiescing in the growth of their colonies, lose a profit that is the

support of our own; or we must oppose their new settlements in their infancy, and, by effect of that step, draw on, as an unavoidable consequence, the resentment and hostility of their mother country in Europe.

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

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

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

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

On the contrary, if under delusive, feeble prospects of *peace*, we should, by

preventing an expulsion of Mahometan insults from Europe, hold the centre of Russian dominion too near us, it will, in the nature of things, be impossible to evade such a clashing of interests, as must give birth to never-ending disputes, and involve us in numberless dangers. *I am, &c.*

BRITOPHILUS.

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

COMMON SENSE, *March 3.*

A Point of universal concern must, in a free country, become the subject of universal debate:—Every man hath a right to deliver his opinion upon it, and every man ought to do so, that the sentiments of all may be made known to the few who are appointed to

represent the whole community.— This is a sufficient justification for what hath already, or what may hereafter be said upon that important affair, which, at present, engages the attention of the whole nation.

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

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

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

I would not be understood to mean as if I intended to lessen that just compassion which every *Englishman* ought

to feel for the sufferings of our merchants; but as their case is of a nature to be involv'd in that of the whole community, I would not separate them.— If full security be obtain'd for a free and uninterrupted navigation for the future, as well as their past losses made good, they are upon the same foot with the rest of the subjects, and may make themselves amends for their past disappoint- ments.

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

Besides, where a gross sum is paid, and the application of it left to others, no consequence can be drawn to explain the true meaning and intention of him who first advanc'd it.— *Spain* pays a sum of money to our ministers, in satisfaction for the depredations committed by her subjects upon ours; but we do not know for what particular captures the reparation is designed by *Spain*.—Many ships were taken, many outrages committed, and variously circumstanced: If the sum allowed be not sufficient to take in all, to make full and entire satisfaction to every individual that hath suffer'd, how can the application of our ministers point out the intentions of the court of *Spain*, and shew what ships they intended to make satisfaction for, and what not? And there-

therefore, if a plain eclaircissement be not obtained, they may be left free to obicane hereafter, and say, they never gave up the right of searching. In which case, the national grievance would be left unredress'd, which would weigh heavy even upon the unhappy sufferers past, to whom a future security would be of far greater importance, than full reparation for their losses past.

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

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

POSTSCRIPT.

A certain person, who hath long been distinguished by the name of *Bob Booty*, was lately put into bodily fear, upon advice that several worthy persons were resolv'd to put an end to his rogueries,

for the good of mankind.—*Bob* had not only laugh'd at honesty all the days of his life, but bragg'd, among his gang, that justice was much more afraid of him, than he was of justice; but no sooner was *Bob* acquainted with the danger that threatned him, but he fell into such a pannick that his very insolence forsook him.—The first expedient that came into his head was, to call together his gang:—a summons was left at each of their habitations, in these words,—*You are desired to meet your friends at the cellar in Knaves Acre, near Thieving Lane.*—This was the place where they always assembled to receive *Bob's* orders when a job offered.

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

—*duplices tendens ad sidera palmas,*
Talia voce refert—

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

Friends and Associates,

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

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

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

But I miss several of our associates; what! they sneak in time of danger.—I see it is they that have not yet been dipp'd in dirty work; I always apprehended mischief from that quarter: I suspected they would bilk me upon the first *coupe d'eclat* I perform'd.—I often told you, if there was one honest man in the gang, it might be our ruin; but you mind nothing. You would draw in some persons of reputation, under pretence we acted upon honourable principles. I told you they would leave us

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

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

WEEKLY MISCELLANY, Mar. 17.

Short dissertation upon Masquerades.

In noua, fert animus mutatas dicere formas, &c. OVID.

Mr. Hooker,

I Was the other day at a crowded coffee-house near the Royal Exchange; when, to my great surprize, not a word was spoke of the *Convention*; which obtain'd for that time a most favourable reprieve from censure and remark: even the papers of the day went without their usual compliment of perusal, and the adventures of the *Masquerade* expelled every other topick of conversation. The night before, it seems, had open'd this scene of *gallantry* and *politeness*, and drawn most of the present company from their shops and their compting-houses. As their minds had been unbent to business some time before, so I found them as yet unfit for their respective employments; and the loose behaviour, which it would have been next to virtuous to conceal, these boasters of their shame seem'd labouring for an opportunity to discover; in-somuch that, out of charity, I could have almost wish'd the coffee-house a masquerade, and that these mirrours of folly and indiscretion had still been *incog*. In short, every one had some intrigue to brag of; and the only misfortune hinted at in this ingenious diversion was, any favourable opportunity lost of injuring some husband or father

in his *property*. The charming Shepherdess, the pretty Quaker, the nimble running Footman, and coy Nun, &c. which compos'd this whimsical group of figures, were the subjects of conversation and encomium. The Christian and the Turk, the short-cloak and the Popish domine were there seen in coalition; could all play and get drunk together; even the merchant was there reconciled to the Spaniard, and the *search* and *unlawful visiting* which the former had so much complain'd of, was an unjustifiable liberty with another man's vessel, which now, under this cover, he had no objection to. I found, from their description, that the jokes greatly lay in suiting a dress to a man's person and capacity. The habit of a fat greasy cook was extremely proper for a man of bulk and corpulency, and the plump gentleman so ingeniously dispos'd of was quite charming and engaging; that of a chimney-sweeper was esteem'd very witty and humourous in a dirty fellow, who is naturally averse to cleanliness and decency; a sour ill-natur'd man, or a growling husband, was mightily admir'd in a bear skin; a rustling bar gown was expressive of loquacity and assurance; and some stations of eminence were archly represent'd in old women's dresses; and to the man of complying principles, leading-strings were thought properly adapted. From this description of the most innocent and pleasing part of the diversion, they proceeded to an account of their amours and assignations; of the illegal captures and seizures which the morning produced; of the whisper'd obscenities, loose witticisms and impure dialect of the place; and the whole ended with a filthy declaration of intemperance and debauchery, in a vain boast of having ate and drank out the value of their tickets. I had almost forgot to tell you, that amongst the other listners to this ingenious conversation, there were two spruce gentlemen whom I knew to be clergymen, and whose opinions I was mighty glad to have of the above mentioned entertainment. With grief I speak it, they were men entirely of this

world, though in a profession to direct men to a better. Their present preference was that of an upper kind of servant, called a Lord's Domestick Chamberlain. But I found by their discourse they had neither of them offend'd their noble patrons with prayers or remonstrances. One of them confess'd he had never done any such duty in the family and the other as frankly told me there had been no prayers since the death of my Lord's grandmother. The interest of his patron at court more than any thing else he seem'd desirous of, and both of them had a levity of behaviour which was as much out of the character, as they were out of the habit of a clergyman. They were extremely favourable in their opinions of masquerades, gave a full and unlimited liberty to men in the choice of their diversions, and rather seem'd to wonder at my want of taste, than inclined to answer my objections. This I thought tallied exactly with their masquerade dress of a button'd-up hat, &c. I could not avoid giving Mr. Hooker this intimation, and hope, from his candour and impartiality, to see such conduct expos'd in his paper; for the order never suffers so much, as in their behaviour, whose loose deportment and ludicrous conversation is a stab to their brethren. But I shall now proceed to give you my opinion and remarks upon this favourite entertainment of the town, and then relieve you and your readers, by concluding the whole. If I mistake not, a masquerade has the honour and reputation of being an *exotick*, and has with great pains and industry been imported for the amusement and impoverishment of the English; many of whom, notwithstanding the badness of trade and the times, can find three or four pounds for an evening's transformation. There is a part of mankind, from whose thoughtlessness and inconsideration, together with an unhappy possession of fortune, nothing, how preposterous or extravagant soever, is the least to be wonder'd at; but that any man, remarkable for virtue and sobriety, only to gratify

gratify his curiosity, should be at so much expence, and encourage so absurd and ridiculous a diversion, gives me at once surprize and concern. Every one puts on a disguise to conceal himself and his actions from notice and observation, and which no one has occasion for, whose deeds and words are always in character. A mask is put on for liberty to say things we are ashamed of without one, and the tongue indulges itself in impurity and indecency under this cover and secretion of the person. To the honour of the fair sex, and particularly the English ladies, they have a native modesty, which is an additional beauty: and can a parent answer sending his daughter, in the bloom of innocence and virtue, where she will necessarily hear things to blush and be offended at? No man that is not abandoned and lost to all civility and good-manners, can avoid treating a modest woman with regard and deference. There is something awful in virtue, which keeps lewdness and obscenity at a distance; and why should the noble charter be a moment surrendered, much more the chaste ear lent to a whole night's ribaldry and indecency? In honour to her late Majesty's memory I mention it, and as a publick proof of her wisdom and prudence, masquerades were her great aversion; and it is said she constantly went into the city on a masquerade-night, to shew her laudable contempt of pleasures tending to corrupt the morals of her people. It seems to me as dangerous and foolish to expose a wife or a daughter at this place, as our money or jewels upon Hounslow-heath, when infested with highwaymen. We are naturally averse to reproof, and hate nothing more than to hear of our faults; and yet crowd to a place, where, the moment we are discovered, every minute ridiculous action of our lives is with great freedom related to us. The liberty which we will not allow a preacher at church, we suffer any fellow to take at the masquerade, and are treated there with the greatest familiarity, by those who in our own cloaths and houses we should

think much beneath our notice and acquaintance. Persons of high rank and dignity (if such can be supposed to mix promiscuously with people of all conditions and principles) are not secure from abuse and impertinence; and the greater a man is discovered to be, the greater whetstone he is made of saucy wit and raillery. I can't help blaming this freedom, more than pitying the persons thus indecently treated; and it was well enough said by a mother to her daughter, who complained of losing her watch in going to see Jack Shepherd at Newgate, That she knew no business she had there. This puts me in mind of a clergyman, who complained to a person, that one of his servants had taken the way of him, and abused him upon the road. The offender being called up, he pleaded his innocence in his ignorance of the gentleman's profession, since there were no marks of it either in his habit or behaviour. Upon which it ended with a prudent advice, That for the future he would never disguise himself, or seem ashamed of a habit which he had taken upon him, and in all probability would have secured him from the insolence he had met with.

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

You, Sir, I look upon as a champion of religion and virtue; and if you will give these remarks and observations a place in your paper, you will oblige many of your readers, to whom this diversion gives great offence and uneasiness, and which to frequent is a great reflection

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reflection upon every one professing a religion whose glorious characteristick is never to behave itself unseemly.

I am, &c.

CRAFTSMAN, March 17.

Remarks on the Convention.

SIR,

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

I wish there were no grounds for the objections of the malecontents, That there is nothing in it but what a broker might have done, and a bad one too; since it contains nothing but a reference to an account not produced, and a balance to be paid by some body, who does not seem in earnest to design it. All the rest, say they, is quite a mystery, the work of a K—ne and a C—st—s, upon whom the fate of G. Britain is to depend, not only whether we are to continue masters of the sea, but whether we have a common right to the use of it, without the licence and permission of these new pretended sovereigns and proprietors of half the world. Such is the fluctuation and inconstancy of human affairs, that G. Britain is reduc'd to sue for peace from a proud and cruel nation, which was so lately obliged to beg it from our victorious arms! I do not know how this change is brought about from any loss of power on our side, or any acquisition on theirs, except what is the work of our own hands, and at the expence of this nation, in assisting them to conquer kingdoms with our fleets, which are now no longer formidable. The very debts contracted, by these great exploits, are made the pretence for a conduct, which becomes only the vanquish'd. After a minister hath declared, in full parliament, the weakness of a state, which is the effect of his own weak measures; does he expect that a proud and subtle

adversary will not take the advantage of our affairs? No; surely, he might have known that reputation is the great support both of peace and war. When that is lost, we must be the prey of every nation, which is disposed to insult us; and, what is more to be apprehended, our allies, if we have any, may desert us, as of no use or assistance to them. This was the case of the Latins, as we find it in Livy: *Latii status, ut neque bellum, neque pacem pati possint.*

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

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

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

So far I could forgive the two *Dons* of *England* and *Spain*, if they would descend to stop here, and only take this small fine from the proprietors of the company, which I submit to the wisdom and honesty of our present *Directors*, who are not easily amused. But what grieves me most, in this affair, is another demand, in which the honour of the nation is chiefly concerned. We are to pay, it seems, for the damage sustained by the *Spaniards* when we disturb'd their fleet in the conquest of *Sicily*, in the year 1718. I thought so then, and think so still, that this was the most glorious action of that reign, as it put a stop to the hasty growth of the naval power of *Spain*, preserved *Italy*, and the peace of *Europe*. Well but, say they, we agreed to restore them, by the treaties of *Madrid*, *Seville*, &c. Why therefore did they not take them, when offered, but suffer them to rot at *Port-mabon*? Did they expect an equivalent of so many ships of war out of that brave Squadron which conquered them? But, alas! those treaties were very far from justifying this concession, in the general opinion of the nation, whatever they might elsewhere; and, perhaps, it would have been better, if it had never been mentioned in a treaty, but a secret way found out to gratify their pretensions, by giving them some other rotten ship of like value. Instead of this, our destruction of their fleet hath been represented, both by the *Spaniards* and their tools in *England*, as an act of piracy; Sir *George Byng* and his Squadron are branded as pirates; and consequently the robberies, insults and barbarities of the *Spanish*

guarda costas are only just reprisals upon us. So that I apprehend the balance of these depredations, on both sides, makes up the account refer'd to in the *Convention*. This is what the GREAT MAN says is making *Spain* pay costs, and acknowledging our right to fail to our own plantations whenever we please.

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

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

abound with instances of characters serv'd up for the publick entertainment, for being distinguish'd only by absurdities of that class. But among all the different kinds of coxcombs that are the growth of our fertile soil, and which have been successively made the lead of wit and humour, to the best of my remembrance, the learned coxcomb has hitherto escap'd. I don't mean the dry, formal, arrogant, presuming, overbearing pedant: he has had justice done him already very handsomely and effectually by several authors; and, out of his own element, the university, is seldom or ever to be met with: not that it was ever known, that a reformation was wrought on a creature so warp'd by prejudice, ill-digested learning and self-conceit; but rather the strain is almost worn out, and the coxcomb reigns in his stead.

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

In coffee-houses he gives the law, and admits of no appeal: Politicks, news, scandal, are all his province alike; and so liberal is he of his know-

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

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

To court he never comes, complaining merit is there jostled aside by worthless titles, and learning eclips'd by well-bred impertinence; and, not content with abasing himself, rails at all that do not the same. According to him, every man is either knave or fool, or both, that is seen there; and every woman, no better than she should be. From generals, he descends to particulars; arraigns this Lady, that Lord;

this character, that person: pardonable in no one particular, but that he attacks all sexes, degrees and parties, alike; and that what would be malice in another, is in him but the vanity of being thought a wit.

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

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

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

SIR,

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

This, Sir, if not convinc'd by your own observations, you will make no scruple to believe, when I assure you, that, within these ten months, a widow Lady, descended from and allied to the greatest families in the nation, was reduc'd

doc'd to such deplorable circumstances, as to want the common necessaries of life; and, when extreme misery, getting the better of her modesty, oblig'd her to solicit those of her blood for daily bread, was refus'd even that, cruelly refus'd, tho' she implor'd it in all the agonies of want and despair; on her bare knees implor'd it of those who are possess'd of thousands, and thousands more than their luxuries could want, or than they have spirit to use, or have any title to deserve. The melancholy result of which was, the desponding creature, heart-broke with insupportable misery, withdrew to her wretched lodgings; where she lock'd herself up, concealed her wants, stifled her complaints, and, at four days end, was found starv'd to death. Judge, Sir, how much reason we have to boast of our descent, or depend on mercies, unsympathizing relations, however great, rich, or noble! *I am, &c.*

COMMON SENSE, *March 17.*

History of APPIUS.

THe happy calm we now enjoy, from that excellent treaty, which has by so considerable a majority been approved of in parliament, leaves us quite at our ease as to danger from abroad; and the secure reliance we may have on the wisdom with which our domestick affairs will be managed by those who have taken such good care of our foreign, makes it impertinent, at present, to trouble the publick with any thoughts upon those points which have heretofore been the subjects of this paper.

I shall, therefore, perform the promise I made at my first setting out, That, when nothing material presented itself relating to our present system of politics, I would amuse my readers with remarks upon *history, poetry,* or any other agreeable subject, which, in the interval of business, may be worth their attention.

I was, last week, reading in the *Roman* history a very remarkable passage, which, in all its circumstances, has not,

I think, been attended to quite so much as it deserves. Every one knows the character of the famous *Decemvir APPIUS*, a bold, presumptuous, fraudulent, wicked man, with some parts; and how, under the veil of the legislative authority, with which he and his faction had been intrusted, for the good of the publick, they exercised a tyranny worse than that of the *Tarquins* themselves.

The effect of it was (as *Livy, lib. 3.* says) that not only the *Romans* themselves were reduced to a state of despair, but that the neighbouring nations began to treat them with contempt: *Nec ipsi solum desponderant animos, sed contempti cepti erant a sinitimis populis.* This contempt drew on great depredations and insults from those who before had trembled at the *Roman* name.

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

Indignitate rerum cessarant in agros; suarumque rerum solliciti, amissâ publicâ, tantum ab injuria se abesse rati, quantum a cætu, congressuque impotentium dominorum se amoverant.

“In vain (says *Diomyfius Halicarnasensis*) did the herald summon them to meet: No one would go to the senate but the partisans of the Oligarchy, and the most wicked and scandalous of that faction.” Not having the *Greek* by me, I will quote the words of the *French* translation. *Le heraut eut beau les appeller, et crier à haute voix; personne ne se rendit à l'assemblée excepté les partisans de l'Oligarchie; entr'autres les plus mechans, et les plus decriez de cette faction, Denis D'Halicarn. l. 11. c. 11.*

What a picture does this give us of the state of *Rome* at that time! In the senate a faction, who, calling themselves the legislature, had suppressed the laws, undermined the liberties, and exposed the honour of their country to the scorn of foreign nations: In a voluntary retirement all the friends of their country, all who desired its glory, or intend-

ed its good. What a reverse was here of the natural order of things! The reader may wonder, perhaps, that these worthy patriots should thus abandon the senate to the creatures of *Appius*. But what could they do there? The weight of the faction was such, that it was as vain to oppose, as it was shameful to comply: they might have dishonoured themselves, they could not serve the republic: *Ils n'étoient pas assez puissans (says Dionysius) pour leur tenir tête, ou pour reprimer leur violence; le seul parti qui leur restoit à prendre, étoit d'abandonner Rome*: "They had not strength enough to resist, or to repress the violence of these men; the only party which remained for them to take, was to abandon Rome." To what end, indeed, should they have imposed on the publick by pretending to keep up the forms of a free government, when the essence and life of it was entirely lost? Was it not better to open the eyes of the Roman people, than, behind the screen of authority, and the name of a senate, to cover the crimes, the follies, the oppressions of a faction, which (as *Livy* says) *donis corruppebatur, et malebat licentiam suam, quam omnium libertatem?* Yet, the necessity of a war being become more evident by the daily incursions of the enemy, some of the senators who had separated themselves before, returned to the senate: There they declared it to be their opinion, that no troops should be raised till the constitution was restored.

But the partisans of *Appius* carried their point, as the others might have foreseen. A war was voted, and the management of it committed to those who had drawn it on by their ill conduct alone. What was the consequence? they were shamefully beat; the Roman soldiers would not fight under such Generals: *Ne quid ductu atque auspicio Decemvirorum prospere usquam gereretur, vinci se per suum, atque illorum dedecus patiebantur*. So that it appears the honest part of the senate, who were the minority, would have done more wisely to have remained in their retreat, than to have assisted the faction in pro-

viding supplies for a war, which, under such an administration, they had found to conclude would be carried on, like all their other affairs, corruptly, weakly, and ingloriously, unsuccessfully.

What ensued by the accident of *Vermina's* rape, is very well known. I will only observe, with *Dionysius*, l. 1. c. 4. That although that accident was an immediate ruin to *Appius* and his party, yet the discontents of the publick, which were the real causes of it, were owing to a series of infamous and tyrannical proceedings; and it was so evident that this would undo him, that one of his best friends, *Caius Claudius*, before that accident happen'd, openly exhorted him "to lay down his ill-got power, and not indanger the whole, by making his safety incompatible with that of the state."

I shall quote some words of his speech from the French translation of *Dionysius* l. 11. c. 17. *Vous faut-il d'autres preuves du mauvais état où se trouve aujourd'hui la république, et du mécontentement général des citoyens, que la desertion des plus honnêtes gens? sans parler des autres, combien y a-t-il des sénateurs qui restent à Rome, excepté quelques uns, qui vous sont attachés par les liens de la parenté, ou ceux de l'amitié?*

Peut-être avez vous fait entre vous quelque traité secret; peut-être vous êtes vous donné une foi mutuelle; peut-être même avez vous pris les Dieux à témoins de vos engagements: si cela est ainsi, sachez que des semblables promesses, faites au préjudice de la patrie, et des citoyens, ne peuvent se faire sans impiété; contez que de les exécuter ce seroit un nouveau crime, et qu'au contraire c'est un mérite d'y manquer.

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

Perhaps you have made among your-

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

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

DAILY GAZETTEER, March 21.

The fatal consequences of a DIVISION in Rome.

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione quaerentes?

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

Many instances might be brought from the *Roman* history in proof of this assertion; for as the *Romans* were a brave and generous people, lovers of liberty, and consequently jealous of every thing that look'd like an attempt upon it, they were the more exposed to the practices of wicked and designing men, the whole system of whole politicks was built upon that virtuous principle of extracting private advantage

from publick tumult and dissatisfaction. Secessions and seditions (terms promiscuously used by *Roman* authors, and which seem to differ only in the degree) were frequently the works of these worthy patriots, brought about by false alarms, false suggestions, imaginary grievances and causes, which the people themselves as little felt as they enjoyed the remedies.

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

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

L. Sextius and *C. Licinius* were neither of them without abilities, of turbulent, factious, discontented tempers, and determin'd at any rate to possess themselves of the consulship. With these qualifications, and these motives, our two patriots set out in pursuit of the consulship.

The people were too well satisfied with the hands in which this high office had been hitherto lodged, to receive easily any proposal for changing them. What was then the expedient? why, dress it up in a popular garb, annex it to an *Agrarian* law, and a law for the reduction of debts, and see, if thus sweeten'd, the people may not be prevailed upon to swallow it. Palatable as the proposal now was, we still find

they refused to do fo. *Il estoit question d' interresser tout le corps du peuple dans ce projet, (lays Vertot :) ce qui n' estoit pas si aisé ; la multitude etant bien plus touchée de l' esperance du partage des terres, ou de la diminution des dettes, que de la dignité consulaire, qui ne pouvoit jamais regarder, que les puissans de son ordre.* Which in *English* runs thus : " The business was, to interest the whole body of the people in this project : No easy task ; the multitude being much more sensibly affected with the hopes of sharing the lands, or of having their debts diminished, than with the consular dignity, in which none, but the most powerful of their order, could ever have any concern. "

Livy describes, pretty much to the same effect, the sense that the people had of the insincerity of their leaders politics : *Concilio plebis habito, apparuit quæ ex promulgatis plebi, quæ latoribus gratiora essent ; nam de sœnore atque agro rogationes jubebant, de plebeio consularu antiquabant.* " An assembly of the people being held, it was there evident which of the laws offered were most acceptable to the people, and which to the proposers of them ; for they enacted those concerning the lands and the reduction of interest, but absolutely rejected that which related to the plebeian consulate. "

So heinous a distinction between their own cause and that of their Tribunes, was not to be forgiven the commons ; it drove our adventurers almost to despair. They now threw off the mask ; anger and disappointment hurried them into such measures as fully explained the true motives of their pretended zeal for the people's welfare : *Le deux Tribunes, alarmez de cette froideur, seignirent de ne vouloir plus prendre de part aux affaires ; ils refuserent même de concourir dans l' election de nouveaux Tribunes pour l' année suivante.* " The two Tribunes, alarmed at this indifference [of the people in regard to the consulship], pretended they would take no more share in publick affairs ; nay, they actually did refuse to concur in the e-

lection that was to be made of Tribunes for the ensuing year. " What a defection was here ? what a base, self-interested desertion of their own duty and the people's trust ? No secession of the whole body of the people, but a most ungenerous revolt of the representatives from their own constituents. *Aut omnia accipite, aut nihil fero,* was the language to the people ; that is, in plain *English*, " Do our business, or we renounce yours. "

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

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

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

COMMON SENSE, March 24.

The causes of the loss of the Liberties of Castile.

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

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

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

Never was country more flourishing than *Charles of Austria* found *Spain* at his accession to that crown, upon the death of *Ferdinand* the Catholick. He was himself a brave, magnanimous prince: but, unfortunately for him and for his subjects, in the hands of a minister the most rapacious and corrupt of those times. After this tutor of the King (for so he was) had pillaged *Castile*, by all the arts of ministerial rapine; as an expedient to get more, he advised the calling a *Cortex*. To secure himself a majority there, he got it called at the *Groin*, a town of *Galicia*, which was

an inconsiderable province, wholly attached to the court: whereas in the great cities, *Valladolid* and *Toledo*, the majority within doors might have been frighten'd by the majority without, and the loud voice of the publick have prevail'd over the whispers of corruption; for the *Castilian* deputies were not yet so harden'd in guilt by the force of habit or example, as to feel no shame in being publickly considered as the betrayers of their country.

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

The procurators of *Salamanca* having likewise protested against the giving a new donative, before the time was expired for the payment of one that had been granted in a former *Cortex*, were expell'd the house for adhering to that protestation: and tho' great numbers of the procurators and of the chief cities (I transcribe the words of Dr. Geddes) did violently oppose the giving of any money, the sum that had been demanded was granted by a majority, who were said to have been hired by bribes, and by promises of offices made to them by the *Bishop of Badajox*, and the *Commandador of Calatrava*; who, for such practices, were every where called *Flemish tools*; as the Nobles,

bles, for looking on, and complying with such things, were called Chevre's [First Minister to Charles V.] Journey-men; who, so they could but have a share of the spoils, did not care how much their country was plundered by foreigners.

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

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

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

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

In the mean time, the Nobility acted

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

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

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

As this fell very short of the demand they had made, it was wisely rejected by all, but a few weak, half-reasoning men, who could not distinguish between names and things. Other articles were proposed to them by the *Almirante* of *Castile*, still less advantageous and solid than the five above named. Two of them were, *That sumptuary laws should be made, and that means should be found for the preventing the exportation of wool.*

These were good popular points; but of no use at a time, when the question was, *Whether Castile should be free or enslaved?*

Had a free Cortez been called, well purged of corruption, it might have been proper enough to have considered of the oeconomy of the state; but what was it to the *Castilians*, whether those who betray'd them to the court, went thither in plain coats or in lace and embroidery, or whether their wool was run

him or not, when a *clandestine trade* was carrying on between the members of the *Cortez* and a profligate minister, in which the commodities truck'd for were, on one side, places and pensions, on the other, the liberties and honour of *Castile*? But these propositions were only thrown out to catch the weak and the unwary; men of discernment saw through them, and rejected them with disdain. All hopes of an accommodation being then at an end, a civil war ensued; in which the Commons acted so silly, that it could end in nothing but their utter undoing. For, first, they united the Nobility on the side of the crown, by violently attacking their interests in the tenderest points; they entered into no concert with *Valencia*, which was in arms at the same time against the King and Nobles, upon the same motives; and they gave time to their enemies to recover strength, and bring a disciplined army out of *Navarre* against their militia, which might have been easily prevented had they acted with vigour at first.

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

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

It seems to me, that when it appeared by the *vote they had given*, that the majority of the *Cortez* at the *Groin* were under the influence of the court, all the honest part of the assembly, who had opposed that faction, should have followed the example of the procura-

tors of *Salamanca*, have protested against their proceedings, and, without staying to be expelled, have *withdrewn from an assembly where their presence could do no good*: They should then have united together upon one great point, upon the restoring the independency of the *Cortez*, by removing that influence which, as experience had shewn, was strong enough to secure to the crown a constant majority there, against the sense of the nation.

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

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

This should have been universally understood as the aim of those who opposed the minister; not the turning out one set of *place-men*, and letting the influence of their places remain; not the bring-

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

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

If any, through *fugularity*, had left them, it would have hurt only themselves; it could not have weakened the party, it could not have prejudiced the cause. An association form'd upon this just and moderate plan, that propos'd to itself so reasonable, so constitutional an end, could not have given offence to the most *quiet*, or scruples to the *conscientious*. All the cities and towns would have approv'd of it; and the Nobility must have come into it, or have own'd themselves a faction, which, having given up the independency of *one part* of the legislature, acted in concert with the minister to destroy that of the *other part*.

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

Was it safe or honourable for the

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

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

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

other business, for a bill to be pass'd should limit the number of places to be held with a seat in the Cortez; and other proper securities against pensions and bribes. If the convulsions the government was thrown into by more violent measures, and the fatal victory of the King, had not made him vastly more powerful, and therefore much more haughty than he would otherwise have been, it is scarce conceivable that the Cortez so chosen would not have prevailed upon him to come into this law; especially being seconded by the Nobles, who would not then have been imperated into such desperate policy, to side with the Crown against the freedom of the Commons, upon which their own depended so much. And that would have given them a greater facility to have carried their point was, the death of the wicked *old minister*, who had begun all this corruption, and who died while the King was in Germany, to the great joy of a nation, which, not content with pillaging, he had resolved to enslave. But the too great impatience of men not used to bear such indignities, the rage of popular passions, and the ill fate of *Cassile*, drove them into a precipitate and ill-managed war; by which the chains were riveted upon them, which they strove to strike off. And when the King came back, he called a Cortez, indeed; but it was a Cortez composed of *place-men* alone, in which there was not *one procurator* (as their *holocutor* told the King in his speech) who was not either in his household, or in the office of his giving.

And to this assembly his Majesty thought it a sufficient answer, when they represented to him the great wisdom of that antient rule of the Cortez, to proceed first upon grievances, and then to vote supplies, That, should it be known at the court of the Great Turk, that he had yielded this point, it might much lessen his figure and authority there.

After a little hesitation they complied, voted a donative, and from that day to this, tho' *Cassile* hath still had the Cortez, both the Commons and Nobles have been absolute slaves,

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR,

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

Berwick,
March 20.
Your humble servant,
ORLANDO.

EPITAPH on a blind man's dog.

From BUCHANAN.

HERE rests LYCISCUS, undisturb'd, and freed

From all those toils and watchful cares of life
His master's age and want of sight requir'd.—
When he, necessitated, walk'd abroad
To seek what nature crav'd, I led the way:
Nor needed he the guidance of a wall;
His staff was useless, and his steps secure;
For all his confidence was plac'd in me,
Nor plac'd in vain.—When, seated on a turf,
Pleading his blind and miserable state,
He begg'd assistance, and a kind relief,
From those on whom great nature had bestow'd
An easy fortune and a heart to give:
Mean while, tho' tempting slumber clos'd my
eyes,

My ears ne'er slumber'd to my duty's voice;
Nor ever disobey'd my master's call,
If to receive from his rewarding hand
The reliques of his feast, a crust or bone;
Or, (night approaching) with a chearful
prance,

To guide him safely to his wish'd-for home.
These were my cares, this my officious life,
Till age and sicknesses slow-creeping seiz'd,
And robb'd me of my breath, and so depriv'd
Poor IRUS of his guardian and his guide.
But, that injurious time might not deface
The mem'ry of his faithful servant's name,
He rais'd this humble monument to tell
The Dog's FIDELITY and MASTER'S LOVE.

RURAL VIRTUE: Or, The HEROICK SHEPHERDESS.

Address'd to Miss Wyndham.

TWO branches, sprung from Scotland's royal stem,
Wish adverse title claim'd the diadem;
Baliol and Bruce: and both so near ally'd,
That scarce for either Justice could decide.
Friends favour'd each, and Slaughter ready
flood

To float the mourning land with native blood;
When to First Edward's * judgment both
submit,

And plead in person their contested right.
The subtle empire, mindless of his trust,
Byas'd by what was gainful, more than just,
Resolv'd by ambition to dispose the crown,
And set the highest bidder on the throne.

Bruce, fond of patriot-glory, scorn'd to treat,
And in his virtue only would be great:
But Baliol, with the charms of empire fir'd,
Submitted to th' injurious terms requir'd;
Paid servile homage to the hand that gave,
And, free before, became a royal slave:

Yet, soon repenting, strove, by force, to break
The galling yoke from his disdainful neck;
But, luckless in repeated trials, dy'd
A captive to the prince his rage defy'd!
While Bruce, his rival, triumph'd in his place,
And barr'd for ever his unhappy race.

His heir surviv'd him, but a banish'd man
In France, obscure, without a hope to reign!
Of sickle genius, sanguine to aspire,
But chain'd to earth by sloth, and low desire;
Eager his fav'rite-wives to pursue,
Provided that the game was still in view;
Or, weary of the course, he, instant, chose
a new:

Glory his suffrage held a madman's dream;
Pow'r, a gay voyage down a troubled stream;
Learning, the ro' rend bubble of the schools;
Virtue, the joy of philosophick souls;
Wealth, but a slave to wait on passion's nod;
And Pleasure, all to be implor'd of GOD.

At the full stretch, once spurring thro' the
grove,

The chase his toil, and his amusement love!
His hounds loud opening with a jovial cry,
The mountains ecchoing to the huntsman's
joy,

All gay th' enamell'd earth, serene th' in-
dulgent sky!

* Of England.

Just in th' acutest ardour of their toil,
When motion makes the wanton spirits
And hope already seiz'd the panting prey
A rural beauty cross'd in danger's way
Swift as a Dryad from a falling wood
Or naked Naiad, frighted to her flood;
Not deeming the impetuous train so near
The roses on her cheek were blanch'd
fear;

The garland from her hair the wild
blew,

And, ruffled with her speed, her garments
flew:

But, tho' surprize had damp't the bloom
maid,

And, like the light'ning-glimpse, she flash'd
the shade,

Incanting graces stabb'd from ev'ry part
And, at a glance, subdu'd the gazer's heart

Thus Baliol was transfix'd with such
pain,

And dropt, as in a trance, th' unheeded
Pond'ring the wifon gay, and borne aloft

Unknowing whither, by the rising storm
But, rous'd at last, turn'd short his foat
stead,

And chac'd the flying fair with all his
Obliquely thwarting the sequester'd grove

With inter-woven foliage arch'd above,
A dewy path, the haunt of pleasure! led

With green turf edg'd, the turf with
rets spread:

Thro' this the youth his eager course purst
And sent his searching eye around the
Love laugh'd to see the heart its own
And sooth'd his anguish with the hope of
Disclos'd a spacious opening in the shade,
And, panting with her toil, the gl
maid.

Prone on a mossy bank she lay reclin'd,
Her bosom bare t'invite the cooling wind

Inamour'd strait the cooling wind arose
And fann'd her bosom with
boughs;

Robb'd the wild woodbine, as it
along,

And all its balmy spoils around her flung
While nature's choir, to lows and
fig'n'd,

Their various lays in rural concert
The lark's shrill pipe; sweet Philom
grace;

The linnet's mean, and black-bird's
base.

Deep in the shade, distinguish'd to the sight
By a broad sheet of far reflected light,
Still a swift stream, like crystal cool and
clear,

And just in dying murmurs reach'd her ear;
Then wide-expanding, as it downward
flow'd,

It inverted landscape in its mirror show'd.
Nor this she hung; and, bending down her
face,

Wou'd on the image in the liquid glass:
The late alarm forgot, and void of fear,
Her innocence was heav'n's peculiar care!

While thus amus'd, she bears the thick'ning
sound

Of bashy footsteps shake the trembling ground;
Starts from her sweet repose with fresh sur-
prise,

And swift again, as Fear from Mischief,
flies.

Knapp'd Baliol, with redoubled warmth, pur-
sues,

With love's whole art of soft persuasion wou'd
To bate her speed; disdawns all loose design,
And vows her beauty is a guard divine.

But all is lost; pray'rs, vows, persuasion,
love!

Deaf as the adder, whom no charms can
move,

She hastes along, as wafted by the wind;
Nor once replies, or deigns a glance behind.

The forest pass'd, they reach a level green,
Border'd with lots, and tufts of trees between.
Here pauses first the panting maid to breathe,

Or cry'd as the wreck'd seaman 'scap'd from
death:

The guardian house-dogs, in the middle way,
Lest their fav'rite, and around her play;

Warn'd by their signal, glad her parents rise,
To welcome home the darling of their eyes.

Baliol, with transport, ey'd the homely
scene,

Persuaded bribes would here be sure to win:
In this presumption, frank his passion told,

And back'd his suit with all-seducing gold;
Absurdly pleaded his illustrious name,

And made his birth a pander to his shame.
The hoary pair with fix'd attention heard

Th' acknowledg'd flame; and, fond of the
reward,

Look'd with complying glances on the maid,
Prompt to submit, inclining to persuade!

When she, averse, with anger and disdain,
The arms of injur'd beauty! thus began:

Back to gay courts, mistaken Prince, remove!
There spread your golden snares for venal
love!

There pride will barken, avarice betray,
And wealth restore what scandal takes away!
But here 'tis useless.—Here the tempting band
Can nothing add, and therefore tempts in vain.

Health breathes its blessings on the green
hill's brow,
Sweet smiling Pleasure glads the vale below;
And Love, the essence of all joys in one!

Here lays his wings aside, and throws his
arrows down!

Love born of innocence! whose genial fire
Heav'n kindled first from angels pure desire!
He, chaste as blushing morn, my willing breast
Shall freely cherish as a welcome guest!

But Lust, who mimicks that celestial flame,
Offspring of casual heat! and fire of shame!
May all his wiles, and all his charms employ,
But ne'er deceive me into guilty joy.

This said, in frowns she turn'd. But
Baliol, stung

With keen desire, and sense of offer'd wrong,
Strove to subdue her scorn with practis'd art,
Looks, language, tears,—all that bety the
heart!

Now, as of anxious Jove old fables feign,
By Love transform'd, he roams a courtly
swain!

On rural gallantries employs his care;
Culls the first roses for his fair-one's hair;
Explores the flow'ry mead, th' imbow'ring
wood,

Cool grots, extended plain, and winding flood;
The rude rocks pendent, vale of velvet-green,
And ev'ry beauteous haunt of ev'ry scene;

In each, by turns, Love tells his wanton tale,
From the morn's freshness, to sweet ev'n-
ing's gale;

By turns, in each his fond allurements sail:
Stern Honour, still the virgin's faithful
guide,

To flatt'ry's force oppos'd a guard of pride,
Inmur'd her heart, compos'd her lips and eyes,
And stifled ev'ry wish that strove to rise.

Wearry, at last, to sue so long in vain,
And yet too much enchanted to refrain,
He deign'd the sanction of the nuptial tie,
To reconcile her virtue to his joy.

Yet long the prudent maid ev'n this declin'd,
Conscious th' extremes of life could ill be
join'd:

And,

And, when, o'ercome with his pathetick moan,
She yielded, rather seem'd oblig'd than won;
Permitted with a blush her ravish'd hand,
And barely would endure, tho' not withstand.

Baliol, intranc'd with joy so much deser'd,
Ne'er ask'd what motive her consent inspir'd;
But blindly takes the blessing, as 'twas given,
Not to be match'd on earth, surpass'd in heav'n:

Tir'd with the grant, impatient of delay,
Extorts the morrow for the bridal-day;
In fancy antedates the blissful scene,
And curses all the tardy hours between.

The morrow comes; and, with it, brings
along
Sport, gladness, frolick, melody, and song;
All rural; such as make the village gay,
When blooming Flora's crown'd the Queen of
May.

The jolly bridegroom, with the lark awake,
Transported sees the happy morning break;
And, crown'd with flow'rs yet fresh in all
their pride,

Conducts the rustick pomp to meet th' expecting
bride.

She, as Aurora's blush the Orient dyes,
When Phosphor waits to lead her up the
skies,

Glowing with amiable shame appears,
While, trembling on the rose, yet hang the
tears.—

Baliol, on fire at her unequall'd charms,
Presses in haste to clasp her in his arms.—
When, breaking sudden thro' th' attentive
croud,

Arrives brave Beaumont*, and exclaims
aloud:

Oh Baliol!—Then, abrupt, breaks off again,
What passion prompts unable to explain.—

Baliol, alarm'd at his pathetick tone,
Stops short, — and casts his conscious eye-
lids down.—

Both mute a while.— Then Beaumont
thus goes on:

Is this the life thy fathers us'd to lead?
Are these the wreaths should grace a Prince's
head?

Are such the scenes a hero should employ?
The shepherd's triumph! and the ploughman's
joy!

Will these allies thy ravish'd crown restore?
Or dost thou think of crowns, and Bruce, no
more?

Inglorious youth! to Eastern climes repair
There sink in sloth! dissolve in pleasure
there!

Nor, with thy base example, taint our
chaster air!

Know, † Edward! active Edward mean
to raise

Thy ruin'd hopes; with condescending grace
Invites thee to revive thy father's claims,

And win the honours of thy royal name—
But, should this tale of scandal reach
ear,

Dare not to wish! but wed, with her,
spair!

A crown, or sheep-book, then, this moment
chuse!

This moment all thy fate has left to lose!
Despise the future! or the pass'd excuse!

He said: Mute wonder seiz'd the gazers
throng;

And Baliol's heart 'twixt love and empi-
bung

Wav'ring.— Suspence so balanc'd either sea
With equal weight, that neither could pre-
vail.

When thus the maid, magnanimously brave
With eye serene, her gallant suffrage gave

Be bold, my Lord! and, fearless of the
smart,

Tear the barb'd arrow from your tortur-
heart!

It asks but courage, and a moment's pain,
And time soon closes up the wound again:

Summon, then, pride, fame, int'rest to your aid
And let the voice of Fortune be obey'd!

— I cancel all my claims, your vows restore,
Nor ever will obstruct your grandeur more;

Fond of your honour now, as of my own
before!

— Then kiss'd his hand; nor waiting a reply
Like happiness, flew instant from his eye.

Baliol her parting steps with angu-
view'd,

(By all the virtues, graces, loves pursu'd,
Fix'd in a stupid gaze,— till she was gone)

Unable to accept an offer'd throne.

But then, his wishes varying with the scene
Desire ebb'd out, and thirst of rule stow'd in

Pomp, in gay visions, danc'd before his sight
And seem'd the paradise of all delight!

Some tears he shed; but 'twas a summer
show'r,

Heat-drops of love! no sooner felt than o'er-
Es-

* A noble Scot of the faction of Baliol.

† The Third of England.

*Experienc'd Beaumont beauty's flight improv'd,
And snatch'd him from its charms absurdly lov'd:
Then, cover'd with dim evening's friendly shade,
Onward to Edward's court with speed convey'd:
The moon their guide! so policy enjoins;
For night's dark veil best hides her dark designs.*

Part of a poem, called, *A Panegyrick on a Court.*

HAVE you forgotten Oudenarda's fight,
When clouds of smook obscur'd the feeble fight;
When the loud thunder of the cannon roar'd,
And on their hostile squadrons vengeance pour'd?
How brave Almanzor like a lion fought,
And glory, thro' the paths of danger, sought!
Till, rushing forward with impetuous force,
(Unlucky chance) a bullet kill'd his horse?
What fury sparkled in the hero's eyes,
Lager as Jason for the golden prizes!
Without the help of magic charms he stood
In war's dread front, too lovely of his blood;
Till weary slaughter left the purple plain,
And he remain'd alone to count the slain.

But noble Timon's table far excells
In elegance of taste and fragrant smells.
There no unfashionable dish is seen,
To give the well-bred guest the courtly spleen;
No vulgar beef is suffer'd to advance,
By which our great fore-fathers conquer'd France:
Each luscious course in masquerade is set,
To give your appetite the greater wet;
Ragouts and pasties, kitchens and alomode,
Which serve at once for poison and for food.
His Lordship's caterers with art prepare
The palates of the winged race of air.
The fanny prey, that swim the crystal flood,
Contain some part that's exquisitely good;
Which drawn with skill from each peculiar fish,
Destroys their race to furnish out a dish.

In splendid servitude let others stine:
Fair Liberty and calm Content be mine!
To live below the grandeur of the great,
And yet above contempt, in humble state;
To learn in youth to value men of worth,
For merit, not the greatness of their birth;
Nor give a blind applause to fools of blood,
Who draw their pedigree from Noah's flood;
To read what books, converse with whom I please,
Not lead a life of indolence, but ease;
Boldly to speak my sentiment, nor fear
Lest rigid truth offend a courtier's ear;
To laugh at caxcombs, turn to ridicule
The birth-day beau, and self-enamour'd fool.

To the author of the Scots Magazine.

S I R,

Kelfo, Mar. 7.

BY letting the following song
have a place in your next
Magazine, you will oblige
Your humble servant

T. E.

Tune, Saw you no my Maggy?

O How Peggy charms me!
Ev'ry look still warms me,
Ev'ry thought alarms me,
Lest I lose the fair.
Sure a finer creature
Ne'er was form'd by nature,
So compleat each feature,
So divine an air.

When I hope to gain her,
Fate seems to detain her:
Could I but obtain her!

Her alone I've chose;
And, since love inspires me,
As her beauty fires me,
And her absence tires me,
T'er breast I'll vent my woes.

Edinb. Mar. 7.

The LOVER'S MONUMENT.

From Parian mines, or mines of
Greece,
No costly Monument oppress,
Grant me, ye Gods, my weary bones.
With heavy beaps of polish'd stones:
But let me for my cov'ring have
A little turf upon my grave.
Then, with the dear remembrance
mor'd

Of what so much alive I lov'd,
From the same ground I'll rise, and be
The Queen of Beauty's fav'rite tree,
A Myrtle; whose wide boughs shall
spread

Around a dark, but grateful shade.
Here the young pairs shall yearly come,
With pious off'rings to my tomb;
And to the pipe of rustick sound
In circling dances tread the ground.
Beneath my bough: the swain shall sit
Secure at noon from summer's heat;
And, while his lambkins crop the
grass,

Sing to his reed of ev'ry grace
Adorns his beautiful Mistress's face.

Perhaps some happy lover there
 May meet the kind relenting fair,
 And mix with kisses tales of love;
 Kisses the dead would almost move.
 Wish fresher green I'll deck my head,
 Wish greater joy diffuse my shade;
 Tho' bitter are my berries now,
 Sweeter than honey shall they grow;
 The Cypress shall not envy'd be,
 Nor the chaste Laurel, Daphne's tree.

Edinb. Mar. 16.

Mary Scot's the flower of Yarrow,
 adapted to the present age.

IN ancient times, as songs rehearse,
 One charming nymph employ'd
 each verse;

She reign'd alone without a marrow,
 Mary Scot, the flower of Yarrow.
 Our fathers, with such beauty fir'd,
 This matchless fair in crowds admir'd.

Tho' matchless then, yet here's her
 marrow,

Here's ANOTHER flower of Yarrow.

II.

Her beauty, unadorn'd by art,
 With virtue join'd, attracts each
 heart;

Her negligence itself can warm us;
 She scarcely knows her power to
 charm us.

For ever cease, Italian noise;
 Let ev'ry string and ev'ry voice
 Sing, Mary Scot without a marrow,
 Mary Scot, the flower of Yarrow.

S I R,

THE following song, which
 I am sure you will own
 an original, being presented me
 by a Gentleman whom I think a
 fool, and who thinks himself I
 don't know what, I desire you
 will present it to the publick; that,
 by the reception all his works must,
 I am sure, meet with, he may be
 convinced of his incapacity for
 writing; and no more, by way of
 compliment, compare his Mistress
 to a felon at the bar of justice.

I am, your humble servant,

(if you insert it)

Newcastle,
 Mar. 17,

LIZZY LOFTY,

The INDICTMENT.

Tune, A cobbler there was.

MY Lord, for your patient attention I sue
 And, Dons of the jury, I crave it of you.
 —That Lady who stands with so blameless an air
 Is — a thief, and the truth I am come to declare
 Derry down, &c.

II.

Street-robbers by law are condemn'd to a rope;
 Where that crime is found there is small room
 for hope:

And the reason is plain why the law is severe;
 What is worse than to rob us, they put us in fear.

Derry down, &c.

III.

This being premis'd, on my oath I declare,
 T'other night in the street, by the eyes of that fair,
 I was order'd to stop, when scarce able to stand,
 And fear'd out of my wits at the look of command.

Derry down, &c.

IV.

Confounded I stood at the sudden surprize,
 When strait a sharp lancet came, slap, from
 her eyes.

—She, seeing resistance was out of my power,
 Stole my heart, and retains it at this very hour.

Derry down, &c.

V.

If crimes of this kind should be let to gain ground,
 To the state it of fatal effect will be found;
 Should our youth of their hearts thus be robb'd in
 the night,

Who shall we appoint the bold Spaniards to fight?

Derry down, &c.

VI.

Would your Lordship but let me her sentence pro-
 nounce,

For the sake of example this Lady I'd trounce;
 She should be condemn'd, with that blush on her face,
 To — meet me this evening at the same place.

Derry down, &c.

The following Encomium is said to have been
 spoken extempore in a very August Assembly.

THE grateful ages past a God declar'd,
 Who wisely counsell'd, or who wisely
 warr'd:

Hence Greece her Mars and Pallas deify'd;
 Made him the hero's, her the patriot's guide.

—On both accounts ARGYLE may justly claim,
 A god-like honour, and immortal name:

For be alike in field and senate sines;

Great in his deeds, and wise in his designs.

HARRY

HARRY and HETTY.

The FALLEN ANGEL.

HOW happy is Confidence! void of all shame,
She spurns at that trifling thing, a good name;
Injuſt reputation, bids manners be gone.

Can Hetty e'er dance with ſuch tight fetters on?
But adieu to theſe fairies! mere virtue and vice,
Such poetical folks we muſt drop in a trice,
Our charmer to paint: Hark! bark! the ſoft
Chaunter!

Theſe trills might lure Pluto about to gallant her.
The'tis on her mind we muſt build her a name,
Since, with Pharaoh, to hardneſs of heart ſhe
lays claim:

In chiefly her chaſtity ſure ſhe may brag on,
For who, but a Fauſtus, dare mount on a dragon?
Peruſe her fond Sprunny, tho' threadbare his coat,
His riches (collected) may riſe to a — goat:
But what's wealth to him, to whom right's a mere
A vapour diſpers'd by a nip of Welch ale? (tale,

O Harry! conſider how galling a thing
Is the want of a beggar, with the pride of a King!
'Tis madneſs to ſtrut on the ſtrength of your pocket,
'Tis threat'ning to fire the world with a rocket.

For the ſarabings his children amongſt you lay out,
Riſe, neighbours, and lug your humility out;
Prevent imprecations, which heavy may fall,
By a — ſwing with his tail, and a d—n to you all.

Come let us return to the load of our ſong,
A burden ſo huge we can ſcarce drag along!
O help, honeſt bellman! won'd your muſe but con-
tribute,
She'd be ſav'd by a ſong, who would ſwing on a
gibbet.

BEER BUDGELL work'd honey from what I
ſha'n't name:

We ſhould think ourſelves happy could we do the
ſame;

'Midſt vileneſs be honeſt, 'midſt madneſs be mild:
But who can touch pitch, and not be deſil'd?

Theſe reflections on Hetty are quite thrown away;
To a ſew the ſame thing is a psalm or a play:
Can a brute gueſs the meaning of virtue or ſin,
Who wallows and gruntles about in her gin?

Verſes written in a LADY'S PRAYER-BOOK.

BLeſt with ſo pure a mind, ſo fair a frame,
A ſaint's humility, a ſeraph's flame;
Free with no want, polluted with no ſtain;
Why kneels the fair, what pardon would ſhe gain?
Unleſs the lovely zealot ſloop to pray
For thouſands, whom her eyes have led aſtray.

Some mirthful lads, the other day,
A fancy took to act a play. —
Each choſe the part that pleas'd him
beſt.

Young Phaeton too, amongſt the reſt,
Choſe one: — he long'd to repreſent
A meſſenger from heaven ſent.

As he came ſailing thro' the air,
His heavenly errand to declare,
(Whether on purpoſe, or by chance,
Is no material circumſtance)

O ſad diſaſter! the machine
The hero was ſupported in,
Crack'd on a ſudden from above,
And did irregularly move.

Aſraid of what might be th' event
Of ſuch unlucky accident,
The angel cries, "G-d d—n you all!
"Take care, or elſe, by G-d! I fall."

Juſt as he ſaid, it came to paſs;
And down he fell upon his a—
Which having ſcratch'd, by G-d he
ſwore,

He'd never be an angel more.

A NIGHT-PIECE.

Happy hours, all hours excelling,
When, from jealous parents
All attend at Chloe's dwelling, (free,
Sweet, engaging company!

There, no peeviſh age moleſting,
We purſue our youthful joys,
Muſick, dancing, harmleſs jeſting,
Such delight as rarely cloyſ.

If for dance we are preparing,
Then'tis, "Partner, why ſo ſad?"
"Let's be briſk, and caſt off caring;
"Tune away the Highland lad."
Now methinks I ſee't performing:
How the limbs from pavement
bound!

Vital ſpirits ſweetly warming,
Eccho yielding back the ſound.

All conſenting, ſports we vary;
Dear variety is beſt:
Some tell fortunes — who's to marry's
Still returning jeſt for jeſt:
Then, with ale as brown as berry,
Or a glaſs of gen'rous wine,
Toaſting, ſinging, making merry —
Gods! what bliſs! almoſt divine!

Shades of night at length retreating,
 Sol appearing o'er the hills,
 We (each other kindly greeting)
 Part, tho' sore against our wills.
 But, as such is mortals folly,
 That long solitude gives pain,
 We (to banish melancholly)
 Fix a time, and meet again.

FLIRT and PHIL.

A Decision for the LADIES.

A Wit, by learning well refin'd,
 A Beau, but of the rural kind,
 To Sylvia made pretences:
 They both profess'd an equal love,
 Yet hop'd by diff'rent means to move,
 Her judgment, or her senses.

Young sprightly Flirt, of blooming
 mien,
 Watch'd the best minutes to be seen;
 Went when his glass advis'd him:
 While meagre Phil of books enquir'd,
 A wight for wit and parts admir'd,
 And witty Ladies priz'd him.

Sylvia had wit, had spirits too;
 To bear the one, the other view,
 Suspended held the scales:
 Her wit,—her youth too claim'd its
 share.—

Let none the preference declare,
 But turn up—heads or tails.

To the memory of an AGREE-
 ABLE LADY, buried in marri-
 age to a person undeserving her.

T Was always held, and ever
 will,
 By sage mankind, discreeter
 To anticipate a lesser ill,
 Than undergo a greater.

Poor GRATIA, in her twentieth year,
 Foreseeing future woe,
 Chose to attend a MONKEY here,
 Before an APE below.

PSALM XXIX. paraphras'd.

B Ring to the Lord, ye mighty rai-
 lers, bring
 Young rams, the firstlings of the
 fleecy store;

Bow humbly down before the Lord, your King,
 Celestial anthems to Jehovah sing,
 Revere and worship, tremble and adore—

The boisterous ocean's troubled waves obey
 Silent Jehovah's all-commanding nod—
 The whiten'd billows of the foaming sea,
 Dash'd on the rocks, with mists obscure the day,
 But hast'ning back, confess the awful God.

He hurls the rattling thunder thro' the skies,
 Darts livid lightnings in the cloudy air;
 He speaks the word, and black'ning storms arise,
 But at his voice th' impending tempest flies,
 And all the beauteous horizon is clear.

Vast, inexhausted theme of angels song,
 And mens amaze! the voice of God most bright
 Which rives the stately pine, the waving ebrum
 Of Lebanon's cedars, and the intrails strong
 Of knotted oaks, loud thund'ring from the sky

See! at his voice earth feels a gen'ral wound;
 Whole forests whirling ride the dusty air,
 And by the roots up torn, with rustling found,
 Confus'dly dancing in mysterious round,
 Their Maker's glorious majesty declare.

His voice the hinds perceive, and drop their young
 Untimely births; his voice the flames can sever
 Where, high above the water-floods, among
 The heav'ns he sits, by cherubs to be sung
 Almighty Lord and King, and that for ever.

Thus great, thus terrible is God: but when
 To mercy he inclines, with white-rob'd peace
 And innocence he glads the sons of men;
 Protects from serpent's tooth, and lion's den,
 And gives their flocks and herds the wife's
 increase.

On the report, that the Spaniards are to have
 the liberty to search the British Ships, within
 two leagues of their coasts in America.

HOW would our neighbours sneer at this
 strange scene?

What, Spaniards search the masters of the main!
 When that day comes, no more let Britain boast
 Her ancient courage and her naval host:
 Let her Two hundred ships in harbour rot,
 And all her sea atchievements be forgot;
 Pretend henceforth to sov'reignty no more,
 But seek protection from some foreign pow'r.
 Thus should the nation act, who, tho' she might
 With ease compel the foe, yet fears to fight,
 And, 'stead of venging wrongs, gives up her
 right.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR, London, March 27.

AT a time when the service of the publick is so loudly talk'd of on all hands, I am strongly inclined to make an attempt of that kind myself, by recommending to your countrymen the imitation of a foundation lately begun here, for the relief and support of the WIDOWS of MUSICIANS; for the benefit of whom an ode was t'other day performed in the Hay-market. What makes this charity more cheerfully subscribed to by the lovers of our own country, is a hope that the Italian warblers, who have on other accounts been found so expensive, will not soon become chargeable to this design. — Whether in such a settlement it would be necessary to include the most industrious branch of the melodious fraternity, the Bag-pipe professors, ought to be determined by the general voice; which, by what I can judge from the accounts I have heard of that moving instrument, would be in its favour; whereby these poor widows would become the care of the publick, whose husbands are more the servants of the publick, than, perhaps, any other men whatever, by enduring so many weary walks and dripping trudges themselves, in order to aid the pleasure of others. And that such a contribution would be general, can scarcely be doubted, while their assistance is so constantly wanted in companies disposed to that innocent mirth and blameless jollity for which the Scots nation has been long remarkable.

The town is at present amused by the author of a tragedy called GUSTAVUS VASA, the deliverer of his country, with advertisements and other remonstrances against the usage he would be thought to have received from the L—d Ch—n, and the Gentlemen appointed by him to peruse pieces offered to the theatres. To give a proper representation of his cause of complaint, &c. it will be necessary to offer a very short account of this Gentleman in his character of a writer, and of the extraordinary measures taken by himself, and the person

interested in the sale of his writings, to palm him upon the town as a HORACE and a SHAKESPEAR, before his writings had made good his right to the reputation of Francis Quarles.

About three years ago appeared his first piece, a small poem called *Universal Beauty*, remarkable for no particular excellence whatever, and distinguished from the short-liv'd productions of every writer by none beside the puffs of *Tasso's Jerusalem*, the first book of which was published by this writer last year, and in several news-papers said to be translated by Mr. Henry Brooke, student in the Temple, and author of that excellent poem called *Universal Beauty*. He afterwards published more of *Tasso*, which passed in the utmost silence upon the town; and Mr. Brooke remained in the indifferent light of a person who had attempted to please, with such a resolution of meeting success, as had induced him to submit to such steps to obtain it as were in fact the most effectual to prevent it. — After several little homebred praises in the papers, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January last was inserted some verses in his praise, with notes; one of which assur'd us, that his modesty was so prodigious that he was thirty years of age before his friends could prevail upon him to appear in publick; and another informs us that he has several pieces by him that come as near as any to Milton in manner and stile: an information for which the publick immediately own'd the kindness of this embryo bard. And as a tragedy written by him was praised in the above recommendation, the criticks began to think their own proper sphere of approbation or dislike, invaded; and it being agreed that a play of merit could stand in no need of preparatory encomiums, it was determin'd in two large assemblies of first-night judges, that though Mr. Brooke's tragedy of *Gustavus Vasa* should be found to have a common share of merit, that could not be sufficient to atone for the mean impertinence of stunning the town with puffs of a play whose desert they were not capable of determining; and it was agreed

nam. con. That the author's being thirty years old before he published, could be no great argument for the necessity of receiving him well at all events, while every body knew *Shakespeare* was thirty three before he put pen to paper for the publick. 'Tis probable Mr. *Brooke* was not ignorant of this resolution; which might be one reason for his endeavouring to draw a favourable audience, by insinuating in the news-papers, that he met with great difficulty in getting his so-much prais'd tragedy licens'd, intimating thereby the prodigious party-force of his play. This was evidently the 'design of his making the mere shadow of a delay (seven days) a pretence for alarming the world with his ill-usage. However, his Grace the L—d Ch—n, perceiving, no doubt, the design of forcing this play upon the town in a party-light, very judiciously sent an order to prevent being acted indeed, what was not before intended to be restrained: and Mr. *Brooke* has this week assured us, that he now lays aside all thoughts of having his most excellent tragedy performed at all; but that, however, he will oblige the world with the advantage of reading it by way of subscription, at so small a price as five shillings, with the additional benefit of having their names prefixed as encouragers of so great and so expensive a work. Here, Sir, at present, ends the history of the tragedy of *Gustavus Vasa*; a piece ruined in its success by nothing but the author's impatient thirst of praise, in not waiting till it was found his due. We shall probably be yet farther amused with praises of this play: for as the bookseller happens to be a sort of poet, it is no wonder to find him leaving the beaten path of advertisements, and turn his into verse, since I am told it may be done at the same expence; which may serve as a key to many of our lame-legg'd poems, *To the excellent author of, &c.* and, *Verses occasioned by reading, &c.* all which degrade, instead of doing honour to the Gentlemen they are calculated to serve.

Angelica and Medora, a British pasto-

ral opera, has been honour'd with His Majesty's Royal presence, and has had polite audiences twice since. It being a musical performance, the pit has been raised to half a guinea, and the galleries to five shillings, as has hitherto been the practice in such cases: Though since the flight of the *Italians*, people seem more generally inclined to have some reason or other given, why the prices must be more than double for the performance of a few musicians and two or three voices, for two hours at most, than for the action of a play &c. for four hours at least? — It is urged by some, That the qualifications of a *fine musician* are very rare; and as his skill tends to move the more delicate passions of the mind, he merits more reward than a man whose utmost art reaches no farther than the common influence of mirth and sorrow. To which it has been replied, with some warmth, That the greatest force of harmony tends only to a melting softness, useless in every respect, and of the most transitory duration; which is so far from strengthening and improving the human mind, that its direct tendency is, to enervate all the useful faculties, and lose the inestimable power of reflection in an insensible admiration of the force of *mere sound*: That it frequently happens, that a proficient in this soft science has not any thing more to recommend him to the favour of mankind, than a *casual excellence* at some part or other of a science, which ought to be *admired*, indeed, but with the utmost *caution*; lest, by *pleasing the ear* too much, it should, in effect, *ruin the understanding*: Whereas a *Comedian* cannot claim more praise than *Nature* assigns him and *Nature* approves; and as she is his standard for action, and *virtue* the aim of his toils, he can merit no praise from an audience to which he is not, in the strictest sense of the word, *useful*, either by exposing the folly of others, or by representing their own foibles in such lights as they cannot fail to dislike. Besides which, and numerous other arguments in their favour,

favour, it is said, That a good Player must be a man of *wit* and *sense*, of *humour* and *politeness*, to be capable of getting into the various characters he is to represent, in order to perform them with success; that he must be an *absolute master* of every passion of the mind, and a tolerable judge of men and things: Whence, say the advocates for the Comedians, must appear the evident absurdity of rating the performances of a man thus qualified, under those of a man who merely happens to have a good natural voice, to be expert in the exercise of a fiddle-stick, or to have wind enough to sound a horn. — Should this comparison generally prevail, of which there is at present great probability, we may hope in time to hear a TUNE of Mr. *Handel* at as low a price as a PLAY of *Shakspear* or *Steek*. *I am, &c.*

S. TOUPEE.

COMMON SENSE, *March 31.*

Contest between Lord Strutt and 'Squire Bull.

SIR,

IN obedience to your desire, I have sent you a full account of the disputes between Lord *Strutt*, and 'Squire *Bull*, which are now the only subject of conversation in our country.

You must know, these two gentlemen, whose estates are neighbouring, tho' in different counties, are both proprietors of some lands which lie at a distance from the rest of their estates; the passage to which lies cross a large common, which, time out of mind, has been free to both. My Lord, who is a proud cunning man, and was ever a mortal enemy to the family of the *Bulls*, some time since took it into his head to order his servants, that whenever they found any carriages belonging to Mr. *Bull's* tenants crossing the common, they should seize them and bring them home to his house, under a pretence of their having been to fetch corn, or cut timber out of his Lordship's grounds. These orders were

punctually obeyed; and whenever any of 'Squire *Bull's* tenants drove their waggons on that side the common next the inclosures belonging to my Lord, (which the badness of the ways often oblig'd them to do) his Lordship's servants were sure, though against all law and justice, to attack them, even with fire-arms, and not only plunder the loading, but abuse the men in the most barbarous manner, and carry away the waggons and teams under a pretence of having committed a trespass. But what renders my Lord *Strutt's* behaviour the more extraordinary is, that 'Squire *Bull* has long been acknowledged, and known by all the country round, to be Lord of the manor of this common.

This practice was long carried on, through the connivance of a Steward, to whom the 'Squire has long trusted the management of all his affairs, and who, by the by, is thought round us to have neither honesty nor abilities sufficient to qualify him for the office.

At length 'Squire *Bull's* tenants, tired out and in a fair way of being ruined by these plunders, determined to lay their grievances before their landlord, in a body; which they did; and at the same time assured him, that unless they had some redress and satisfaction, they must throw up their farms, since it was impossible for them to pass with their goods to or from market without endangering their lives or fortunes. What at this time had a very bad aspect, and raised great jealousies of the Steward, was, that he endeavoured as much as possible to prevent the tenants delivering this remonstrance to his master: But, notwithstanding his opposition, it was delivered, and the 'Squire was so gracious as to promise them relief.

Upon this, 'Squire *Bull*, by the advice of his friends, resolved to go to law with Lord *Strutt*, and spare no expense in defence of his rights: In consequence of which resolution, he borrowed large sums of money, see'd council, and made all necessary preparations for trial.

All this time it was observed, that

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my Lord *Strutt* never made one step, nor expended one farthing towards his defence; but, instead of that, continued his insults on the 'Squire's tenants as usual. This, as you may well imagine, surprized the neighbours; till at length they discovered that the 'Squire's Steward was in league with my Lord, and had privately acquainted him that he need not be under any apprehensions concerning the suit his master had commenced, for he would take care it should never be brought to trial.

This was agreeable to my Lord's wish; for he consider'd, that while *Bull* was walking his estate in preparations for an imaginary trial, he would be the less able to support the expence when it came to a real one. Besides, 'Squire *Bull's* Steward had several reasons for putting off the trial: He was apprehensive, that in the course of the evidence, every thing which had passed between my Lord and him (and they had long held a clandestine correspondence) might be brought to light. Again, he knew that his master, in order to defray the expence of the lawsuit, must increase his rents; and which he was sensible the tenants were unable to pay, through the cruel exactions he had long continued to make upon them; by which means his iniquities would have been discover'd. For it is notorious throughout all the country, that he has rack'd and oppress'd the tenants, insomuch, that the farms on 'Squire *Bull's* estate, which were formerly held to be the best all around us, are now scarce worth tenanting. I have heard some of the oldest tenants say, that they never remember any Steward in the *Bull* family so ill-beloved, or guilty of such enormous impositions: which is not altogether improbable; for though it is allowed that he was taken into the family a beggar, there are some who not scruple to say, he has now almost as good an estate as his master.

Upon these considerations 'Squire *Bull's* Steward was determin'd, at all events, to prevent bringing the cause to an issue; and accordingly told his master and some of his friends (who

were very much enraged at the unwarrantable proceedings of my Lord *Strutt*) that he himself would undertake to accommodate all matters with his Lordship, both to the honour of his master, and the tenants satisfaction. Upon this, the proceedings at law were stopt, and some considerable time pass'd in endeavouring to reconcile the differences; but during all this time, my Lord behav'd in the most haughty, insolent manner, absolutely refusing to make any concessions; and, though a proposal of amity was carrying on, still continued his violences.

This behaviour, you may be certain, made Mr. *Bull's* Steward very uneasy; not for his reputation, for he despis'd that; but his place, perhaps, lay at stake, and depended on his success. At length, finding my Lord immovable, he had recourse to a stratagem, which was, to prevail on his Lordship to sign a paper that had the form and appearance of an agreement, thought in fact, no one article in it could possibly be of any service either to his master or the tenants.

The articles on which 'Squire *Bull's* tenants chiefly insisted were:

1. Reparation for the damages they had sustain'd. 2. Security for a free passage over the common, for the future.

All the satisfaction 'Squire *Bull's* Steward was able to obtain in these points, amounted but to this:

In the first place, Lord *Strutt* agreed to pay about a third part of the tenants demands; but, at the same time, insisted the 'Squire should deliver up one of his tenants, who was under his protection, and who, Lord *Strutt* pretended, though without any foundation, was indebted to him in a sum almost equal to that which he was to pay the rest of the tenants for their damages.

As to the second article, which certainly was the most material, Lord *Strutt* refused to comply with it any further, than agreeing to refer it to the future consideration of two peeling Attorneys.

This agreement, ridiculous as it may appear, the Steward was hardy enough to prevail on 'Squire Bull to sign; nay, had so much impudence as to boast what eminent service he had done his master's estate by it. But when 'Squire Bull communicated this affair to his friends, who generally come about *Christmas* time, in large bodies, to visit him, they were alarmed, and hoped the 'Squire would by no means be satisfied with so scandalous an agreement.

The tenants finding they were to receive so trifling a satisfaction for their losses, and no security for an unmolested passage over the common for the future, have applied to 'Squire Bull's friends to assist them with their interest in the recovery of their rights and liberties.

I am, &c.

DOMESTICK HISTORY.

EDINBURGH, *March 1739.*

NO less than 981,378 yards of Linen cloth hath been sent this month to LONDON, besides what has been exported to other places, which, no doubt, has been very considerable. By this we may see that the industrious poor only want proper encouragement to make us rival any of our neighbours in the goodness of that manufacture: And, as a bill is ordered into parliament for taking off the duties on the materials for whitening linen, 'tis hoped it will be very readily agreed to; which will be a new motive to our manufacturers to proceed in the advancement of this valuable branch of trade.

The Farmers in Mid-Lothian have expressed their zeal for the good of their country, by entering into an unanimous resolution against the use of foreign spirits. This laudable example has been imitated by many of this city, who are resolved to use their utmost endeavours to put a stop to the pernicious practice of retailing brandy, rum, &c.

The late General Assembly found themselves obliged to take particular notice of the conduct of Mr. *Ebenezer*

Erskine and his associated brethren; and, after appointing the use of gentleness means to reclaim them, empowered their commission (if that method should prove ineffectual) to take all proper steps to sit them at the bar of the next assembly. In consequence of this, several Ministers invited them to a conference, which they constantly refus'd, unless they would agree to argue the debated points, not as commissioned by the general assembly, but in the quality of fellow-christians. The Commission in November finding there were no grounds to imagine they inclined to alter their conduct, named a committee to prepare a libel to be put in their hands, which was done, and presented to that Reverend body in March. Several warm debates ensued, Whether, in the present situation of affairs, it was expedient to proceed further? It carried by a narrow majority, to put the libel in the Seceders hands, and to grant warrant for sitting them at the bar of the next assembly, together with witnesses to prove the charge. This Libel enumerates the several crimes which are alledged on these Reverend Gentlemen; and particularly narrates their secession from the church without any justifiable ground, and persisting therein, contrary to their solemn vows at their ordination; assuming a power of erecting themselves into a presbytery, and pretending to judicial acts over the whole church; publishing to the world their *Act, Declaration, and Testimony*, wherein they condemn the church, and throw out many groundless calumnies against her; dispensing ordinances to persons without the consent of the Ministers of the congregations to which they belong; ordaining of elders, and keeping fairs in different corners of the country; licensing Mr. John Hunter to preach the gospel, and directing him to a particular parish (*viz.* Larbert) wherein to exercise his ministry; taking off a sentence of excommunication passed by the presbytery of Dumblane; absolving scandalous persons; excommunicating one David Lesly Baxter in Pleasants; baptizing children without proper

proper certificates; obstinately refusing conferences with the Ministers of their respective presbyteries; and Mr. Ebenezer Erskine's protesting against five elders, members of the session of Stirling, summoning them to appear at the tribunal of Christ, on the day determined in God's secret Decree, to answer for their conduct.

A bill is ordered into parliament, to enable his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to grant letters patent to any person or persons, to present plays, or other entertainments of the stage, within this city or suburbs. The Magistrates, the University, and the Clergy, have dispatched very pressing letters to men in power, begging their interest to prevent the bill's passing into a law. And

A petition has been sent up, signed by several Noblemen, Gentlemen, Merchants, Burgessees, &c. praying that the bill may pass into a law.

L O N D O N .

THE house of Peers have determin'd the great cause relating to the succession to the estate of Bargeny, in favour of Sir Hew Dalrymple.

The competitors were, 1. Sir Hew Dalrymple of Northberwick, eldest son of Joanna Hamilton, only child of John Master of Bargeny, in whose contract of marriage with Jean Sinclair, daughter of Sir Robert Sinclair of Longformacus, the estate was tailzied. 2. Sir Alexander Hope of Kerse, eldest son of Nicolas Hamilton, only daughter of John Lord Bargeny, maker of the tailzie. 3. Miss Mary Buchan, eldest daughter of Grizel Hamilton, only daughter of William Hamilton, second son of the maker of the tailzie, who afterwards succeeded to the estate, and upon the death of whose son, James, the male line of the tailzier's body failed.

The court of Session gave it first for Sir Hew; but, upon a reclaiming petition, decided in favour of Sir Alexander. Against which both Sir Hew and Miss Buchan appealed.

The grounds of each party's claim will best appear from the following clauses of the tailzie, which were the

foundation of very learned pleading both before the court of Session, and the house of Peers.

The Obligation to infest.

—*The said John Lord Bargeny binds and obliges him, his heirs and successors, with all possible and convenient diligence, duty and validity to infest and seise, by charter and sasine, titulo oneroso, in competent form, the said John Master of Bargeny, and the heirs-male to be procreate of the said marriage betwixt him and the said Mrs. Jean Sinclair his future spouse; whilkis said seising, the heirs-male to be procreate of the body of the said John Master of Bargeny in any other marriage; whilkis said seising, William Hamilton, his brother-german, second son to the said John Lord Bargeny, and the heirs-male to be procreate of the body of the said William Hamilton; whilkis said seising, the heirs-male to be procreate of the body of the said John Lord Bargeny; whilkis said seising, the eldest heir-female of the body of the said John Lord Bargeny; and the descendents of her body, without division; whilkis said seising, the next heir-female to be procreate of the body of the said John Lord Bargeny, and the descendents of the body of the said next heir-female, the eldest heir-female and the descendents of her body, always excluding all other heirs-portioners, and succeeding without division; whilkis said seising, John Houston younger of that ilk, sister's son to the said John Lord Bargeny, and the heirs-male of the said John Houston; [and, after naming six other substitutes, it proceeds as follows] whilkis said seising, to the said John Lord Bargeny his heirs-male whatsoever; whilkis also said seising, to the said John Lord Bargeny his heirs and assignies whatsoever, the eldest heir-female, and the descendents of her body, excluding all other heirs-portioners, and succeeding always without division; and the descendents of the body of the said Mrs. Margaret Hamilton, [sister to the tailzier] being absolutely, and for ever debarred and excluded from succeeding to the lands and estate after mentioned, or any part thereof; and the next person who would succeed.*

by the foresaid destination, in case the said Mrs. Margaret Hamilton's body were extirp'd, and naturally dead, although descending of the youngest sisters, or any one of a remoter degree, is hereby appointed to succeed to the lands, estate, and others after mentioned, immediately after the descendents of the body of the said John Lord Bageny, notwithstanding that the descendents of the body of the said Mrs. Margaret Hamilton be on life; who are hereby altogether excluded from the benefit of the foresaid succession, as said is.

The Procuratory of Resignation is in words the same with the above case, only, when the next heir-female is mentioned, the words, to be procreate, are omitted.

The Obligation for payment of portions to the daughters, failing heirs-male of the marriage.

— And in regard, that by the conception of this present contract, and procuratory of resignation and tailzie above written, therein contained, failzieing of heirs-male procreate of the body of the said John Master of Bageny, of the said marriage betwixt him and the said Mrs. Jean Sinclair, surviving, and succeeding to the saids lands and estate, who shall attain to majority or marriage, the sumes are provided and tailzie'd to the other heirs-male above mentioned, sua that the daughters of the said marriage are thereby excluded from succeeding thereto; Therefore the said John Master of Bageny, by the tenor hereof, binds and obliges him, his heirs male and of tailzie above mentioned, That in case there be no heirs-male procreate of the said marriage betwixt him and the said Mrs. Jean Sinclair, surviving the said John Master of Bageny, and who shall attain to majority or marriage, that then and in that case the said John Master of Bageny, and the heirs-male of his body of any other marriage, and the other heirs male and of tailzie above mentioned, shall make payment to the daughters, one or more, to be procreate of the said marriage betwixt him and the said Mrs. Jean Sinclair, of the sumes of money after mentioned; &c.

Their Lordships have likewise determined a cause between William Scot of Blair's creditors, and Hamilton Blair his son, by affirming the decree of the court of Session in favour of the son.

Near 20,000 ministerial pamphlets in defence of the convention have lately been dispersed gratis among the excisemen, customhouse officers, and other civil, military, and ecclesiastick officers, which has fallen the price of waste paper.

'Tis remarked, that upwards of 100 members were at the house of Commons before six o'clock in the morning, the day the convention was consider'd; and what is very remarkable, there were 480 members at prayers before ten that morning.

His Majesty has made a present of rum, mead, cyder, and beer, to the Most Christian King.

Four brandy and rum merchants, and one cyder merchant, were, upon their petitions complaining of great damage sustained by leaking casks, and a high overcharge of the duties, amounting to considerable sums of money, upon proper vouchers of such losses, relieved, according to their request, by the board of excise.

The French merchants have contracted with some of our greatest Virginia and Maryland traders, for the delivery of above 6000 hogheads of tobacco; of which they make incredible profit, by rapeeing it.

Printed lists of the common-council of this city, and the several trades they profess, were delivered at the houses of Lords and Commons, with the following lines printed on the front of the paper: So every carpenter and work-master, that laboureth night and day: and they that cut and grave seals, and are diligent to make great variety, and give themselves to counterfeit imagery, and watch to finish a work. — All these trust to their hands: and every one is wise in his work. Without these cannot a city be inhabited: and they shall not dwell where they will, nor go up and down. They shall not be sought for in publick council. Eccles. xxxviii. verses 27, 31, 32, 33.

There are five persons in the castle of York for coining guineas; above 1000 of which were found in their custody. And

A discovery has been lately made of several coiners near Derby, and informations are given against many of the offenders, particularly against a Presbyterian Preacher and Hofier, who has acquir'd a considerable real estate, to the surprize of every body, his new trade being not then known. He has been, 'tis said, in close consultation with a ruling man; but is not yet committed. The man who made the tools, and was hired to live with him, and assist him in the use of them, was to receive *L.* 40 for his service; but the *Non-con.* not being so honest as to pay him out of the profit, the mould-maker has brought his action against him, and sues him for his bargain. Another of the coiners rides about the country with arms; but is not yet taken. Others are mentioned, as concerned in the same vile practices, but none are yet brought under examination, for unknown reasons; and whether this affair must be pass'd over as a trifle, or be brought to the assizes, a little time will shew.

The drawer who was concerned in the murder of Lieut. Hume at Roscrea, was found guilty of the said murder at the assizes at Clonmell.

One John Henning, at Barnwood, near Gloucester, who lodged about 13 months with one Mrs. Mills, an elderly gentlewoman of that place, and rented about *L.* 12 per annum, broke open her box, and stole two silver tankards, a half-pint silver goblet, seven silver spoons, money, &c. to the value of *L.* 40; in lieu whereof he left a letter as a pill of consolation, stuff'd with scriptural texts, such as,

Lay not up for your selves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal.

But lay up for your selves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal.

For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.

Be content with such things as thou hast, for he hath said, I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee.

Bless them that curse thee, and pray for them that despitefully use thee.

Be thou therefore merciful, as thy heavenly Father also is merciful.

Fret not thy self because of him who prospereth in his way, because of the man who bringeth wicked devices to pass.

Eat and drink, and enjoy the fruits of thy labour, for that is the gift of God.

I hope that these frivolous and sudden removeables will put you in mind that you have here *no continuing city*, and stir you up to live so holily, that was God at any time to say, *This night shall thy soul be required of thee, you might with pleasure say, Lo, I come.*

John Palmer, alias, Richard Turpin, was tried at York, and convicted upon two several indictments for horse-stealing: The evidence was clear and full, and the prisoner had little or nothing to say in his defence. He was proved by two witnesses from Essex, to be the notorious Richard Turpin (one of whom was Smith who taught him to write) and he himself owned his name so to be, but said he was not the Richard Turpin he was taken for, but another person of the same name: He said he had been a Butcher in Lincolnshire, and failing there, retired into that country, and took upon himself the name of Palmer. He did not apprehend any danger from the first accusation of shooting a Farmer's cock, and therefore tamely submitted to the Constable's authority; and after he was charged with horse-stealing, he did not attempt to escape, lest, if he did not succeed, an enquiry might be made after him, and a discovery made who he was. His necessity in jail forc'd him to get a fellow-prisoner to write the letter which he sign'd, and which pulled off the mask and discover'd him. Since he was suspected to be Turpin, the whole country have flock'd there to see him, and have been very liberal to him, insomuch that he has had wine constantly before him till his trial; and 'tis said the jailor has made *L.* 100 by selling liquors to him and

and his visitors. Though the fellow has made a great noise in the world, he'll now die like a dog. A vast number of wagers have been lost on this account.

Since the news of an English ship's being taken in the Mediterranean, orders have been sent to Commodore Brown at Jamaica to convoy home the merchant ships for the future.

The few officers of the garrisons of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, that are absent here on furlows of leave, have received orders to repair forthwith to their respective posts in these forts.

Several Stone-masons, Brick-layers and Smiths, have been hired to go to Gibraltar and Port Mahon.

Orders are issued for enlisting a number of seamen to man the guard-ships.

On the 3d of May the Spanish court is to pay the sum of L. 95,000 towards repairing the British merchants losses.

A considerable remittance is made to the Earl of Crawford at Vienna.

Brigadier-General Guist is appointed to review the forces in North Britain in place of General Wade.

They write from Dublin, That a commission has passed the Great Seal, appointing his Excellency Thomas Wyndham, Lord Baron of Finglass, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, to be Lord High Steward of Ireland for trying the Rt. Hon. the Lord Santry; and on Wednesday last the Rt. Hon. Thomas Cater, Serjeant at Arms, issued summonses to the Peers of the kingdom, to meet on Friday the 27th of April at the Parliament-house, for trying his Lordship, pursuant to a precept from the Lord High Steward.

MARITIME AFFAIRS.

The Tochem, Burmeester, bound from Lisbon to Lubeck, was lost off of Bergen, eight of the crew drowned, and six saved.

The Hendrick, Grieve, was lost near the same place.

The John and Thomas, bound from Rotterdam to Hamburg, was lost in the North sea, the Captain and crew were saved.

The Missing, with Palatines for Plymouth, was drove from her anchors at the horse-shoe, near the cape of Virginia, and lost, with all the passengers, off of Cape Henry.

The Middleton, Fotherby, of Biddeford, was lost about 15 miles to the southward of Boulogne, but all the crew were saved.

Capt. Hudson, bound from Rotterdam for Bristol, was lost on the coast of Bristol.

A Brazil Ship was lost at the bar of Oporto.

The Alicant, Capt. Elliot, from Hamburg, was lost near Graveline.

The Bristol Brig, John Nicols, bound from Barbadoes to Philadelphia, was lost 12 leagues from the southward of Cape Henlope.

Died within the walls of the city of Edinburgh, and buried in the Grayfriars church-yard, March 1739.

Men 19, women 23, children 73. In all, 115. Increased this month, 33.

AGE.	Nº.	DISEASES.	Nº.		
Under —	2	38	Old age —	5	
Betwixt	2 &	5	28	Consumption	40
	5 &	10	8	Fever —	15
	10 &	20	3	Small-pox	8
	20 &	30	1	Teething —	17
	30 &	40	4	Chin-cough	20
	40 &	50	7	Suddenly —	3
	50 &	60	11	Rupture —	1
	60 &	70	11	Palsy —	2
	70 &	80	3	Still-born —	4
	80 &	90	0		
90 &	100	1			

PREFERMENTS CIVIL.

THE Earl of Kintore,—Sheriff of the county of Kincardine.

Marquis of Lothian,—Lord Register for Scotland.

Mr. Gordon, late Secretary to the society for the encouragement of learning,—One of his Majesty's council in Carolina.

Mr. Nasmith, (brother to Sir James Nasmith of Possò, member of parliament) — Clerk to the Admision of Notars.

The wife of Mr. Murray, Porter to the Prince of Wales,—Wet-nurse to the Prince.

Col. John Pit, — Governor of South Carolina.

Charles Frowen, Esq; — Brunswick-herald at Bath, and Gentleman-usher of the Scarlet-rod.

Nathaniel Stephens, — Deputy Comptroller of the customs in the port of Bristol.

Craister Greatheed, — Comptroller of the customs in the island of St. Christopher's.

Samuel Holden, Esq; — Governor of the Russia company.

MILITARY.

Edward Montague, Esq; son of the late Brigadier General Montague, and nephew to the Earl of Halifax, — Major of Col. Cornwallis's regiment of foot.

Duncan Urquhart, Esq; member of parliament for Forres, — Captain of a company in the second regiment of foot guards.

Major Whitney, — Lt. Colonel of the regiment of dragoons commanded by Brigadier General Hawley.

Lieut. John West, — a Captain in the said regiment.

NAVAL.

Sir John Norris, — Vice-Admiral of G. Britain, and Lieutenant of the navy, in room of the Earl of Berkeley, deceased.

MARRIAGES.

The Lord Cardross, son to the Earl of Buchan, — to Miss Stewart, sister to Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, Bart. — Cooley, Esq; — to Miss Jane Tench, daughter and sole heiress of the late Sir Fisher Tench.

Thomas Gerrard, Esq; Common-Serjeant of London, — to Miss Gay.

James Ogilvy of Rethiemay, Esq; — to Lady Betty Maitland, daughter to the Earl of Lauderdale.

Duncan Robertson of Drumachin, Esq; — to Miss May Nairn, sister to the Lord Nairn.

BIRTHS.

Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, — of a Prince, on wednesday, the 14th March, about two o'clock in the afternoon, at Norfolk-house in St. James's square.

When her Royal Highness felt labour-pains, Mrs. Cannon her Midwife was sent for; who thinking she would soon be delivered, his Royal Highness sent a message by the Lord of the Bed-chamber in waiting to acquaint his Majesty therewith; upon which his Majesty sent a message to the house of Peers: Whereupon the house immediately adjourned, and the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Dorset, and other Lords of the Privy Council, with several Bishops, repaired to Norfolk-house, to be present at the birth.

And a messenger was soon after dispatched to the Court of Saxe Gotha, to acquaint his Serene Highness of the same. And

Messengers were dispatched to all his Majesty's Ministers abroad, to notify the birth of the Prince to the several courts.

The Countess of Cathness, — of a daughter.

The Lady Aylmer, wife of — Fisher of Sandieford, Esq; — of a daughter.

DEATHS.

Charles Earl of Selkirk, one of the sixteen Peers for Scotland, Lord of the Bed-chamber to his Majesty, and Lord-Register for Scotland, at his house in St. James's place, unmarried, aged about 77, of the stone and gravel. He was next brother to James late Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, uncle to the present Duke, elder brother to the late Earl of Orkney, to the present Earl of Rutherglen, and the Lord Archibald Hamilton.

The Lord Viscount Bulkeley of the kingdom of Ireland, and Member of parliament for Beaumaris, without issue, and is succeeded by his brother in honours and estate.

Mr. Holdgate, an eminent Druggist.

Sir John Schaw, Bart. at his seat at Elrham in Kent.

John Elbridge, Esq; Comptroller of his Majesty's customs in Bristol. Among other large legacies, he has left *L.* 5000 to the Infirmary there, and endow'd a charity-school which he built several years before his death, on St. Michael's hill, for the educating and clothing a certain number of poor girls.

William Errington, Esq; High Sheriff for the county of Northumberland.

The Rev. Dr. Humphreys, Vicar of Ware and Humbridge. He translated Montfaucon's antiquities, and other Authors, into English.

Roger Tuckfield, Esq; Member of parliament for Ashburton.

Mrs. Anne Scot, a daughter of the family of Gala, and relict of Walter Scot of Raeburn, Esq; of Harry Macdougall of Makerston, Esq; and of Mr. James Home of Eccles, Advocate.

Capt. William Logan, formerly Governor of New Jersey.

Henry Macneal, Esq; Captain of a company in Col. Reid's regiment now in Gibraltar.

James Drummond of Blair-Drammond.

Hugh Gibson, Esq; in Somersethire.

Dr. Dalmahoy, a noted Physician in Bedford Row.

The Lady Juliana Bruce, wife to Charles Lord Bruce, only son of the Earl of Aylebury, who lives at Brussels.

Capt. Skelton, in Col. Hamilton's regiment of foot.

Anthony Hammond, Esq; once Commissioner of the navy, and Pay-master of the forces (under the Duke of Chandois) in Spain.

Mr. Bowman, of Drury-Lane theatre, aged 88, who had the honour to perform several times before King Charles II. and with whom that Monarch often drank a bottle.—He was the oldest Player, the oldest Singer, and the oldest Ringer in England.

William Farmer, Esq; brother to the Earl of Pomfret.

Mr. Michael Lumisden, Advocate,

The Lady Suttie, relict of Sir James Suttie of Balgownie, and daughter to the late Lord President of the Session.

Jean Stirling, the wife of Mr. John Campbell Cashier of the royal bank.

Dr. George Wharton, an eminent Physician.

John Eyres, Esq; of Berry's Hall in Norfolk, a Roman Catholick Gentleman of *L.* 4000 per annum.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

Accounts from ASIA abound with contradictions, which vary according to the interests of the places from whence we receive them. From Vienna we are often told, That the Sophi of Persia is marching with a numerous army to recover the provinces seiz'd by the Porte during the late war: And from Constantinople it is said, That the Sultan and Kouli Kan are upon the most amicable terms; and that the latter is so far from attempting any thing on the side of Turkey, that his whole strength and attention is necessary to oppose the arms of the Great Mogul, who, having declared war against him, is sending an army of 100,000 men to invade his dominions.—However, it is certain that the armies of the Grand Seignior are preparing for the field with more expedition than at present appears among the forces which will probably be employ'd against them.

On the 15th of February, a detachment of 3000 Tartars having passed the river Nioper, in the Ukraine, in order to attack a body of Cossacks and RUSSIANS, under the command of Major-General Bachmarow, were, immediately upon their landing, attack'd and defeated by that commander, who took from them 1300 horses, two pair of colours, a great number of bows and arrows, &c. which so intimidated the Sultan of Biologrod, who commanded the main body of troops from whence the above detachment was sent, that he instantly retired toward Poland, plundering and burning the small towns and villages in his road, in revenge for his

his success; so that for the victory of the Russians, the Poles have severely suffered. — General Keith, who is at Paris in order to be cured of the wound he received in his knee at the siege of Oczakow, has written to Petersburg, that he had put himself under the hands of that able Surgeon M. Morand, and hoped to return to Russia in May or June next.

From VENICE it is affirm'd, that the Grand Vizier, upon application of the Marquis de Villeneuve, the Ambassador of France at Constantinople, had declared, that as the last proposals made by the Sultan for a peace had been rejected, he would now offer new ones: Upon which the Vizier produc'd a map, whereon he describ'd to the Marquis a small territory or two his Highness was willing to resign to the Emperor, and the large districts he insisted upon having delivered up to him by his Imperial Majesty, *viz.* the fortresses of Tameswear, the frontiers of Wallachia, including Vipalanka, Meadia, Cornia, &c. The Grand Vizier made no secret to the Marquis of the operations he has orders to execute the ensuing campaign, but frankly told him, he would march with the greatest part of his army to besiege Belgrade.

It is likewise written from Venice, that some Turkish merchants in that city have received information, that Mahomet the Bashaw of Albania, who had render'd himself odious by his cruelties in the exercise of his government of Scutari, being upon the point of taking the field with the militia, to punish the inhabitants of the province of Kuzzi for their contempt of his commands, a conspiracy was form'd against his life; in consequence of which, at a proper opportunity, a musquet was fir'd, upon the report whereof several persons rush'd upon, and stabb'd him in more than a hundred places. — The most rapacious tyrant is so easily subdued, that it is astonishing to reflect how mankind have, in several instances, suffer'd the inhumane disposition of one man to distress and butcher thousands!

The general rendezvous of the IMPERIAL army is said to be fixed for the 5th of May, in the neighbourhood of Belgrade. The Velt Marshal Count Wallis is to have the command in chief, but is not yet departed from Vienna. The Turks have made a fresh attempt to penetrate into Transylvania, but were repulsed by the troops under the command of the Prince de Lobkowitz. The Countess of Seckendorff is arrived at Vienna from Gratz, to solicit that entire liberty for her husband which has so long been promis'd.

The Emperor has lost another of his Generals by the death of Henry William, Count de Welzegg, &c. a member of the Emperor's privy-council, one of his Chamberlains, Velt-Marshal, General of his forces, &c. &c. in the 74th year of his age. — But Count Seckendorff continues in good health.

The French mediation succeeds almost as badly in CORSICA as at Constantinople; for, notwithstanding the repeated accounts from Paris of the Corsican submission, their delivering up their arms, &c. it is very certain that the French troops are pent up, or chuse to remain in Bastia, to prevent any insult from the natives of that island, and that every day affords fresh examples of the firm attachment of that people to their King Theodore, who has so far prevailed upon the affections of his subjects, as to be equally rever'd by them in his absence, as when he is present among them: An instance not common in longer establish'd governments.

From MADRID we learn, That the L. 95,000 stipulated by the late convention has been transmitted to Sir Thomas Geraldino at London; and that the Spanish court every day expected the arrival of the Assogues fleet from Buenos Ayres, which is freighted with an immense treasure.

His Holiness of ROME has lately given several marks of his affection for the Chevalier de St. George, who expresses the highest veneration for the Holy Father.

Veit Marshal de Grumbkow, Prime Minister to his PRUSSIAN Majesty, died lately at Berlin.

Five members of the SWEDISH senate have been expelled for practices against the interest of their country.

Trade is at present more generally consider'd throughout Europe than was ever before known; the improvement of manufactures in France having rous'd several other Powers to embrace every opportunity of extending their commerce: By which it is expected that the importations at several foreign ports from Great Britain will not receive any considerable increase.

The crown of FRANCE having demanded a liberty of sending the several merchandizes of that kingdom into the dominions of the States-General duty-free, some difficulties have arisen against conforming to that demand; upon which it has been reported, that several battalions of the French troops are marching towards the Maese. — Should any contest arise upon this account, it will not be easy to determine who must assume the mediatorial office, since France will become it as oddly in a case wherein she is a party, as on some other occasions.

The STATES GENERAL, as well as several European courts, are very much chagreen'd at the news of the alliance lately formed between the crowns of France and Spain, and at the promotion of the Archbishop of Embrun to a Cardinal's cap: It being apprehended that Cardinal de Fleury designs this Prelate, who is of an intriguing enterprising genius, exceeding subtle, and very haughty, for his successor in the ministry.

Paris, Mar. 18. Last week 12 surgeons were shipp'd for Corsica; so that there will probably be sore and bloody work in that island.

From Bourdeaux we hear, that thirty Capuchin Friars have lately died of poison they receiv'd by drinking too much of some wine which one of their brethren had fined down with arsenick, instead of isinglass.

REGISTER OF BOOKS.

The Philosopher's Stone, or Grand Elixir discover'd by Friar Bacon.

A letter of Claudio Tolomei, translated from the Italian; in which is examined, Whether a Prince should punish his Magistrates and Ministers, who, against the duty of their office, have injured the people; or rather, cover and conceal their crimes, and, by some secret way or other, put a stop to them? With historical notes, and political reflections.

The second and last volume of the Batchelor of Salamanca; written by M. le Sage, and translated by M. Lochman.

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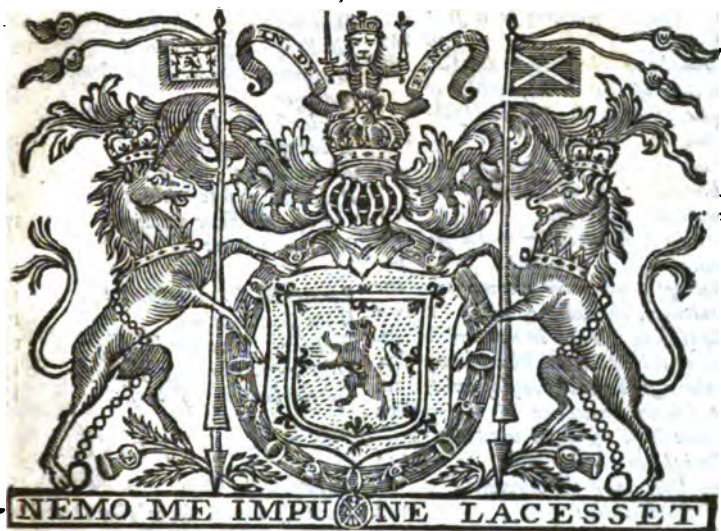
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T H E
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Of whom may be had the *Magazines* for the three preceding months.

C O N T E N T S.

WEEKLY ESSAYS.

T he state of Rome under Augustus, a warning to a free people	147
Methods by which Liberty is destroyed	ib.
Practices of the Tories, which if gone into by the Whigs, would subvert the constitution	148
The attendance of a minority in parliament of no effect, when the majority is corrupted	149
Sejanus's fall not owing to the senate	ib.
A corrupt people never recover Republican, the worst tyranny	150
Folly of being serious in company	ib.
— of being pleas'd with buffoonery	151
Ill-plac'd Liberty the worst of evils	ib.
But sometimes necessary	152
Common Sense's proposal about ministerial pamphlets	153
— Defence of the constitution	ib.
Use of our cabinets	154
Usefulness of money	155
Proposals for a course of experimental love	ib.
Description of the Lown-specula	156
— of the low Telescope	ib.
— of the low Microscope	ib.
Advantages of good state-speech	ib.
These liable to most difficulties	157
Character of one	ib.
Ought to be supported	158
Predestination defined	159
Reasons against that doctrine	ib.
Objections answered	160
Conduct of Mr. D' Aubigny	164
Not to be corrupt, look'd on by some as a crime	ib.
Corruption destroys both itself and the constitution	165
Corruption act as necessary as a Gin-act	ib.
Draught of it	ib.
Reasons why corruption prevails	166
Story of a stupid clergyman	ib.
Whigs led out of the way by Robin the Coachman	167

Case of Lord Macclesfield	p. 16
Abuse of Horse-races	ib.
Secession of the fair sportsmen	ib.
Duke with a good design	ib.
The Farthing-pot construed	16
Cross-mach and Common Sense the danger	ib.
A clause in a bill, to regulate the flux of stamped paper	ib.
Advantages of such a bill	16
A minister unsafe without it	ib.
The Spanish Eyer mutilated	170
The lines left out	ib.
Pirates trials. Indictment	170
Witnesses depositions	171
Sentence. Two pardoned	174
Of the understanding of beasts	175
Of the language of beasts	176

POETICAL ESSAYS.

Calliope's directions	177
Ode in Jonacem Argathelias Ducem	178
Prologue to Hamlet	179
— to Gustavus Vasa	ib.
To Sleep. Ode extempore, Respon	180
A letter relating to the STAGE, &c.	ib.
Handled account of passing	181
Tragedy not so useful as Comedy	ib.
Remarks on the petitions against the Edinburgh Play-house bill	182
Usefulness of Dramatic representations	ib.

DOMESTICK HISTORY.

Account of the secret Ministers, &c.	183
Account of Turpin	185
Maritime affairs	186
Preferments, &c.	187
Mortality-Bill	188
Foreign History	ib.
Register of Books	191

We are still in arrear to some of our Correspondents, especially the Petitioner; for which we must yet beg excuse.

The SCOTS Magazine.

APRIL, 1739.

CRAFTSMAN, April 7.

Dr. D'Avenant's Caution against the
appearances of SLAVERY.

—ubi militem dñis, populum antonid,
causis dulcedine otii pellexit; insur-
gere paulatim, namia senatib, magi-
stratum, legum in se trahere, nullo
aduersante; cum ferocissimis per acies,
aut proscriptione cecidissent. Ceteri
Nobilium, quante quis servitio prom-
ptior, opibus ac honoribus extollerentur;
ac novis ex rebod aucti, tanta & pre-
sentia, quam vetera ac periculosa ma-
lent. Neque provincie illam verum
statum abincedens, suspecto senatus po-
puliq; imperio, ob certamina poten-
tium, & avaritiam magistratum;
invalide legum auctoritate, que vi, au-
bita, postremo pecunia turbabantur.

Tac. in Aug. Ann. lib. 1.

NOTHING can give a free
people better warning to a-
void falling into Slavery,
than the dismal state of
Rome, under the Emperor Augustus, as
it is beautifully describ'd by Tacitus,
in the passage above cited; or, as he
says in another place, upon the acces-
sion of Tiberius to the Imperial throne:
at Rome were in servilian Consules,
Patres, Equites; quanto quis sibi prior, dan-
to magis facti ac sustinuerat. — That is,
“But at Rome they all rush'd headlong
into Slavery, the Consuls, the Senats,
the Gentry; and the more elevated any
person was, the more ready and apt to
become an instrument of destroying the
ancient constitution of his country.” —
Nothing, I say, can give a free people

better warning than this instance from
the Roman history: for, when the se-
nate, the magistrates, and the soldiery
are corrupted, the people will put no
confidence in them, and rather chuse to
submit to the arbitrary will of one man,
who hath it in his power to reward
their servility, than be farther imposed
upon by a pack of profligate tools, whose
duty it is to defend them.

It is observ'd by a very judicious au-
thor, [Dr. D'Avenant] now before me,
that the liberties of a country are sel-
dom invaded all at once. The steps of
power are leisurely and slow. Misri-
fers, who have it in their thoughts to
change the nature of a government, go
to work by degrees. At first, they
make use of the most popular bands they
can possibly procure, ordering it in such
a manner, that the people may not per-
ceive who it is, that puts their fetters
on. But these popular men are turn'd
out, at the first convenient season, that
ALL may be of a piece. Their next
business is, to corrupt such persons as
have the clearest fame; whom they dis-
card, when sufficiently tainted: and
this they do, that the people may think
all mankind alike; which naturally drives
them to follow those only, who are in
power, and who can do them good.
Afterwards, they get from the nation
all the money they can; the collecting of
which erects new employments, and creates
them a number of dependents; who, in
one certain place, are their chief strength,
and best support. By the distribution
of these sums, they likewise make new
friends; but being never out of fear of

accounting for all at last, their principal aim is, to procure *their master* such a *standing revenue* as may make him subsist, without the *people's* help. If they find this impossible, or difficult, then by *accusations*, by *exorbitant proceedings*, without any precedent, and by *harassing private persons*, either in their *name* or *fortune*, they endeavour to make all the different ranks of the *people* out of love with their *ancient constitution*. But when they have done all this, they will not yet think themselves quite out of danger: *Senatus Et populus nunquam obscura nomina, est aliquando obumbrentur, Tacit. l. 2. bist.* They will still lie under apprehensions of being reach'd at last, by the *guardians of liberty*. Therefore, to damp all thoughts of *freedom*, to influence the *better sort*, and to awe the *vulgar*, their last work is, to procure a *standing army*.

Dr. D'Avenant speaks this only, upon the supposition of some *future corrupt times*: and I apply it accordingly; for no body can suppose me to mean the *present*. — In the same manner, and with the same honest view, he reasons in another place, on the supposition that the principles of *each party* are such as he states them; which, if true, I think them so just, and so opposite to my present purpose, that I am sure all my unbiass'd readers will be pleas'd with a quotation of them; which are as follows:

If *old Whigs* should hunt after *places*, as much as ever the *Tories* did; and if, like *them*, upon preferment, they should become quite *new men*, in voting, thinking, and speaking, in a moment making a sudden turn from the whole course of their *former lives*; if *old Whigs*, as the *Tories* did, should ever take *bribes* and *pensions* to betray their trust; if they should do any thing to break into the *Habeas corpus act*, which is the chief guardian of our *liberties*; if they should oppose any good act for the *frequent sitting of parliaments*, which want in our constitution produc'd all our *former miseries*: — If, as the *Tories* did, they should send *their emissaries* about, to influence or corrupt *elections*; if *old whigs*, to whom

meum and *tuum* was once so sacred, should come to ruin a society of *trading men*, and at one blow destroy many hundred families; if *old Whigs* should persuade any *future Prince* to closet *members*, as was done in the *preceding reigns*; if, by their power, they should get men turn'd out of *employments*, for pursuing the dictates of their *conscience* and *understanding*; if, like the *ministers* heretofore complain'd of, they should have a band of *penioners*, ready to give up *any right*, to grant *any sum*, and to excuse, nay even to vote *their pay-master* thanks for any *mal-administration*; if the *old Whigs* should restore to men the *same dishonest interest* they had heretofore; if they should consume us in their *ministerial*, and sell us in their *legislative capacity*; if they should desire to have things govern'd rather by *tricks* and *little arts*, than according to the direction of the *laws*, or the bent of the *people*; if they, who, upon the virtuous principle of keeping *England a free country*, in former times, oppos'd all *excises*, should be brought to create so many *new offices* and *officers*, as may influence *elections* round the kingdom; if they, who heretofore thought the best way to preserve their *civil rights* was, to keep the *purse*, and have always something to *give*, should be for settling *such an immense revenue on the crown*, as may make *parliaments* unnecessary; if they, who were so careful, in the reign of K. Charles II. not to burthen the nation with *taxes*, should give away the *people's* wealth, as if *England* were a *mine of treasure*, never to be exhausted: — If in this manner the *old Whigs*, whose foresight and courage hath hitherto preserv'd *England*, should quite change their minds, and go thus retrograde from all their *former speeches, actions, and counsels*; if they should thus come to clothe themselves with the foul, ridiculous, and detestable garments of the *Tories*, and give into the *worst of their measures*; and if all that hath been here mention'd, should happen, then would the *constitution of this country* be utterly subverted.

Thus far the *Ductor* reasons upon a supposition, which I hope will never be the case, that the old *Whigs* should become so depraved and corrupt; but I think him a little deficient in not pointing out some remedy for such a terrible distemper, if it should ever happen. He recommends, indeed, the constant attendance of members of parliament, in order to prevent it: but, in the case he supposes, of a corrupt majority in parliament, governed by *placets*, *penfions*, and *bribes*; of what use would be the attendance of a minority, who may have struggled for many years, against a torrent of corruption, and found all their endeavours to serve their country of no effect? Of what use was the senate of Rome, under *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, and their successors? Why, it was so far from doing the people any good, or retrieving their ancient liberties, that it served only to rivet on their chains, and sanctify all the vile actions of the Emperors, their favourites, and creatures. There were, perhaps, several senators, of good private dispositions, in the reigns of *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, and *Nero*; but what would their opposition have signified, against a most corrupt and slavish majority, except exposing themselves to the resentment of an arbitrary minister, who governed his master, and was supported by him? It is certain, at least, that the fall of *Sejanus*, the infamous minister of *Tiberius*, was not owing to the virtue of the senate: for whilst he continued in the Emperor's favour, the senate ador'd, and even deified him; but as soon as *Tiberius* withdrew his smiles, and sent a letter of complaint against him, they immediately gave him up, to be torn in pieces, with the same fervility as they before voted statues for him, and even swore by his name.

But God forbid, as *Dr. D'Avenant* observes, that the condition of Rome, when *Tiberius* assumed the empire, should ever be the case of England; for our constitution will be entirely lost, when such a corruption happens. We may, indeed, preserve the name of liberty, and some of its outward forms;

but no more than what will help to keep our chains the faster on. Tyrannies have been often subverted, where the Princes govern merely by their own will, without giving to their subjects the least appearance of being free. But those absolute monarchies are hardly to be shaken; and that servitude is lasting, where the people are left to make their own fetters. — In another place of the same discourse, he speaks thus:

When corruption hath seized upon the representatives of the people, it is, like a chronic disease, hardly to be rooted out. When servile compliance and flattery come to predominate, things proceed from bad to worse, till at last the government is quite dissolved. Absolute monarchies are in danger of great convulsions; when one man, their Prince, happens to be weak or wicked. But commonwealths, or mixt constitutions, are safe, till the chief part of the leading men are debauched in principles. However, monarchy hath this advantage, that the one man, their Prince, is mortal; and, if bad, may be succeeded by a better. But a people, thoroughly corrupted, never return to their right reason: and we see, that the depravity of manners, which began in Rome, presently after the second Panick war, amongst the Nobility and Gentry, became every year worse and worse; till at last *Cæsar* destroyed the commonwealth: and, after his time, under the succeeding Emperors, every senate grew more abject and complying than the other; till, in process of time, the old Roman spirit was utterly extinguished; and then that empire, by degrees, became a prey to barbarous nations.

If all the parts of a state do not, with their utmost power, promote the publick good; if the Prince hath other aims than the safety and welfare of his country; if such as represent the people do not preserve their courage and integrity; if the nation's treasure is wasted; if ministers are allowed to undermine the constitution with impunity; if judges are suffered to pervert justice, and wrest the law, then is a

mixt government the greatest tyranny in the world. It is a *tyranny* established by a law: It is authorized by *consent*; and such a people are bound by *fetters of their own making*. A *tyranny*, that governs by the *sword*, hath few friends but *men of the sword*: but a *legal tyranny*, where the people are only called to confirm iniquity with *their own voices*, hath on its side the *rich*, the *fearful*, the *lax*; those, who know the *law*, and get by it; *ambitious churchmen*, and all those, whose livelyhood depends upon the quiet posture of affairs: and the persons here described compose the influencing part of most nations; so that *such a tyranny* is hardly to be shaken off. — Men may be said to be enslaved by *law*, or *their own consent*, under *corrupt republics*, such as was the *Roman commonwealth*, from the time of *Cinna* till the attempts of *Cæsar*; and, under *degenerate mixt governments*, such as *Rome* was, whilst the *Emperors* made a shew of ruling by *law*, but with an *aw'd* and *corrupted senate*: to which form of government *England* was almost reduced, till *K. William*, of ever-glorious and immortal memory, came over, to put *our liberties* upon a firm and stable foundation.

These quotations from *D'Avenant*, and some remarks upon them, may possibly give the *ministerial advocates* an handle to suggest that I design a parallel between *former* and *present times*. They have a peculiar privilege of abusing *Gentlemen*, even of the greatest distinction, who are out of the *ministry*: but I am not at liberty to defend them at present; though I presume the *Gentlemen* will take a proper opportunity of vindicating *themselves*, and make the *people* understand the reasonableness of their late conduct.

UNIVERSAL SPECTATOR, April 7.

Fools of different Complexions.

There are some men who either have, or affect to have, such an obstinate aversion to every absurd, odd, or conceited character, that they make

themselves almost as ridiculous, by their excessive delicacy, as they represent those very humorists to be, whom they so cordially despise, and so industriously avoid. Invite them to a party of pleasure abroad, or an evening's entertainment at home, they enquire as scrupulously into your company, as a bigotted Roman Catholick would into your bill of fare in Lent; and if any one of these impertinent ingredients should be found in it, however unexceptionable the rest, like garlick it poisons the whole house; and they would no more be prevailed on to visit you, than if you had the plague, or they were sure to catch the very same follies or stupidities they reprehended so severely in others. Hence, if by accident they stumble into strange company, they sit as uneasily as a miser among thieves; and, as soon as ever decency will give leave, hurry off with as much joy and precipitation as *Francis I.* when he was set free from the captivity of his most implacable enemy *Charles V.* Hence, when entertained by those they love best and esteem most, when in the highest spirits, and in a manner overflowing with cheerfulness and good humour; at the very first appearance of a new face, all is damp't at once: they become, instantly, dumb as the ancient oracles; and not only look on the stranger as an intruder, but an enemy. Thus they grow as suspicious as old tyrants, as hard to be pleased, expect to be humoured as much, bring the curse of every man's folly they encounter upon themselves, and put it in the power of fortune to rob them of all the pleasures of free and friendly conversation.

There is another species of men, in every respect, the direct opposite of this, who consider life as an irregular farce; and who make it their business to laugh at every actor that appears, and every scene that passes. To these, folly, affectation, and absurdity of all sorts, are the whole salt of society; and, unless both their meals and computations are zested with their darling ridicule, neither has their due relish; and they call it the drudgery of life, without any of

the entertainment. Coxcombs of all sorts are but so many buffoons and Merry-Andrews to make them sport, and their extravagant actions but so many extempore interludes; which, as rising from pure nature, afford, say they, more exquisite pleasure, than the most masterly imitations of the greatest genius in the world. — I once knew a gentleman who was perfectly infatuated with pursuits of this nature; insomuch that he did not content himself with lying in wait for fools, but made it his whole business to hunt them out; being more pleased with starting fresh game, and turning them down, as he called it, to oblige his friends, than with all the other enjoyments that flatter the ambition, luxury, or vanity of mankind. He that gave him the first hint of such a one, was received with such extravagant acknowledgments, as if he had brought him news of the highest happiness that could possibly befall him. From that moment his whole thoughts were employed in setting out this new delicacy to the best advantage: he made it his interest to be acquainted with him; he desired to have the honour of being numbered among his friends; and, when he was become thoroughly master of his blind side, he made a magnificent entertainment, complimented the fool of the play as the principal guest, and, with the greatest gravity imaginable, set him up for the butt and laughing-stock of the whole table. This was his element; here he was in his kingdom; and, 'till the humour was quite exhausted, or a new vein interfered, no consideration could prevail with him to give it over: though his character, health, or even his life lay at stake. — But though he had such an admirable talent in discovering and exposing the ridiculous in others, he had not the least apprehension, that all this while he was, to the full, as ridiculous himself. If he laughed at the expence of another man's understanding, 'twas likewise to the irreparable ruin of his own estate: If the butt was served up as the principal dish at the feast, he paid dearly for the sauce; and, for my own part,

I have often concluded both equally resembled the TWO LOGGERHEADS in the sign; and that he who called such intemperate frolics wit, would be justly intitled to read the uncouth rhimes generally wrote beneath them*.

But this is not the only character which offends by experiments of this nature: there is another much more dangerous, as 'tis either blended with malice, or administers satire so exquisitely dissembled, that you mistake it for advice; and, by making a compliment to the judgment of your pretended friend, sink, unawares, into the most fatal absurdities. This belongs to him who gravely affects to discover talents and abilities in you, that you never presumed to flatter yourself with before; who asserts you are too modest, too diffident; that no body better deserves, or would so well become, or can so easily procure preferment; that your friends wonder you do not apply, and rather condemn you as one above being obliged, than applaud you for not being troublesome. If the bait takes, and, by your unguarded transports at all these fine things, 'tis manifest you wait but for a little more encouragement; he clenches all, by pointing out what to ask, and who will be proud of being your patron; takes care to put you on a wrong scent in both; refers you to that very creature who will treat you worst, and persuades you to solicit the only thing you are most unfit for; and, when you are become ridiculous to his heart's content, not only joins the laugh, but begins it all over the town.

There are, however, laudable uses to be made of this ironical vein; for example, when it is employed with an honest intention to cure the foibles of a friend, without assuming the self-sufficient character of a formal adviser; or when 'tis extorted by way of self-defence; that is, when impertinence becomes troublesome, and you have no way to make yourself amends, but by turning it into entertainment. — This was the case of a friend of mine, who

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had

* WE THREE, LOGGERHEADS BE.

had invited me to dine with him at his lodgings some years ago. He was a bachelor, not an old one, tolerably handsome, and in easy circumstances. His landlady, a gay widow, though upwards of forty; and her niece, a coquet, of full half that age, were our company at table; where we had not been set many minutes, before I discovered a manifest rivalship between the two ladies for my friend's heart; the amorous dowager overwhelming him with civilities and compliments; while her niece, touched to the quick that he did not repulse her too forward advances, pertly upbraided him with want of taste and discernment, and appealed to me if love and gallantry were not preposterous on the wrong side of fifty. At this provoking affront the aunt red-d'n'd; I was at a loss which side to take, and Miss put on airs of triumph, as if she was sure of her cause; when my friend, with an infinite deal of humour, took occasion to say so many handsome things of his landlady, and with such a face of sincerity, as not only re-assured her, but enabled her to turn the tables so effectually upon her niece, that she rose from dinner abruptly, quitted the room without taking leave, and shut the door after her with such violence, as shook the house. Elate with this victory, the good dowager grew so ridiculously vain, that she entertained us by the hour with the whole character and adventures of her niece; displayed all her faults, levities, and miscarriages to the best advantage, and totally forgot the relation to expose the rival; "In short, Gentlemen, [says she, very seriously, by way of finishing stroke,] for all she is so pert, she never had a lover in her life who did not desert her the very instant they had an opportunity of making their addresses to me. 'Tis true, her fortune is dependent; and mine, such as it is, my own; but I have been assured over and over again, that was no part of the consideration." Here the good lady toasted my friend's health in a bumper; and he, on the other hand, carried on the scene with so much address, and play'd

her off with such a profusion of artificial flatteries, that I began to fear she would forget there was a third person in company, and indulge her raptures at some little expense of decorum. But my apprehensions were soon removed: for my friend (not being aware of the situation of a large looking-glass, which was placed so unluckily, as to give her a full sight of his face, when her own seem'd to be turned a different way) just at this moment tipped the wink on me, with so arch a look, as explained the whole farce at once; on which the lady fell into a confusion not to be expressed, fiddled a moment or two with her lappets and apron-strings, then slung out of the room as her niece had done before her, and, immediately, sent in a servant to desire my friend to provide himself with lodgings and fools elsewhere.

COMMON SENSE, April 14.

Defence of the Convention, &c.

I Value myself not a little upon having been the first person who undertook to justify our excellent M—; with respect to the present preliminary convention; and I may, without vanity, add, that I am the only one, on that side the question, to whom the world hath given the least attention.

Upon second thoughts, I will except a pamphlet, intitled, *A series of wisdom and policy*; which I recommend, because the author's sentiments happen to square with my own.

It is true, the great man hath, upon this, as well as upon all other occasions, sounded forth his own praises himself: for which he hath my approbation. If a man doth not shew the world, that he hath a value for himself, how can he expect that the world should have a value for him? If it be laudable for a man to give himself food and raiment when he wants them, by the same rule he ought to give himself praise when he wants it.

His declaring himself a man of parts, might be particularly necessary at this

crisis, in order to remove the impressions of a contrary nature, which some late affairs may have made of him in the several courts of Europe.

A mind raised above its level with a high idea of its own merit, cannot fail of some admirers. What doth it avail, that men of sense despise him! he is not to be diverted from his pursuits by the scorn of millions. Give a man vanity enough, and nothing will put him out of countenance; which hath been of singular use to our great man upon several attacks, and hath not a little contributed to mortify the insatiable.

To come to the point: All his measures have been stigmatized with the genteel epithets of *corrupt*, and *ignorant*, and *blundering*; which is owing to the prejudice of the world, that will not read those incomparable papers and pamphlets given gratis, and written by himself, his next relation, and five and fifty other ingenious gentlemen, forty of whom are now learning to spell.

I therefore humbly move, that Mr. Collier or Hopkins shall write notes upon every paper and pamphlet that is given away gratis; the publick must pay it. I have heard people say, and with great resentment, If no body will write, or speak, or — for him, without being paid; why should he expect that any body should read for him without being paid?

In the mean time, I will take up the cudgels in his defence; and, having first laid it down as a maxim, That peace is better than war, without an exception in any case whatsoever, I will, upon this foundation, raise a battery, from whence I hope to demolish all the arguments of the malecontents.

It hath been objected, That what betwixt the negotiations of one Gentleman abroad, and the measures of another at home, the nation is neither beloved nor feared; and that one of them hath declared, in the presence of five hundred persons, that we have neither friends, nor allies, nor money to go to war: by which, say the malecon-

tents, they stand condemned by their own confession.

So far from being condemned, I think they deserve the highest praise; for if they have managed so well, that we have neither friends, nor allies, nor money, to go to war, we may depend upon a solid and lasting peace.

If the Spaniards have play'd the fool, and made use of this time to form alliances and save money, they may be mad enough to go to war: and much good may it do them. I hope our M—— have made our safety perpetual, and managed so wisely, that we never may be in a condition to go to war.

For which reason, no man, who is a lover of peace and high taxes, will grudge the money that hath been laid out upon unactive squadrons, as well as upon a pacifick standing army; since the very expences may be made use of as an argument hereafter, that we ought not to go to war. I can not only justify the measures, but I think I can also justify the reasons given for those measures.

It hath been said, That we ought not to go to war, because the event of war is uncertain; and, When war is begun, no body knows when it will end. These are wise sayings, worthy of the wise men who deliver them; and may be applied to some other pretended grievances, as well as war, particularly the decay of trade. I hope, therefore, our merchants will take notice, that the event of trade is full as uncertain as the event of war: That when ships are sent to sea, no body can tell when they will return, or whether they will ever return, or not: for which wise reason let them forbear sending ships to sea. If they are taken by *Guarda Costas*, or destroyed by tempests, not only the merchant, but the nation loses. — It is newly discovered to be a vulgar error, That merchants are useful to a commonwealth; I hope, therefore, that all men will say, with the friends of the excellent person of whom we are writing, that

the greatest blessing which can happen to a trading nation is, to lose its trade.

If our Sugar Colonies should be suffered to run to decay, it may be justified by the like good sense. And here I cannot forbear making a compliment to the modesty and publick spirit of that numerous and worthy body called *place-men*: to them I am beholding for these incomparable arguments; and will pay all due regard to another very late discovery of theirs, That the nation would be better without colonies also.

I will allow, that while they are in a flourishing condition, the inhabitants are worth fleecing; and therefore they might be of use in one respect. — If a Gentleman, who had been a true drudge to a M——, had ruined himself by whores or by dice; to give him an island to plunder, in order to make himself whole again, is very right. — The colonies might be of the same use of *Hounslow Heath* to the Gentlemen of Industry, after an ill run at Hazard; — but whenever the governors shall shear so close, that the flock will be no more worth shearing, let the *French* or *Spaniards* take the colonies, if they will.

As to the colony of *Georgia*, the malecontents ask, If our right to it was doubtful, why was it settled and maintained at so vast expence to the nation? If it is not doubtful, is it not infamous to suffer it to be disputed?

To this it may be answered, That, without considering whether our right was good or not, a new colony might be necessary at that time. — Soon after the *South-sea* project had taken effect, it was not safe to walk the streets, for fear of having one's neck broke by the fall of some unhappy sufferer, who was throwing himself from the top of a house; which was occasioned for want of a new colony, to remove there at the publick charge. Now the *Charitable Corporation*, *York Building*, and some other projects very advantageous to certain friends of our great man, might make a new colony necessary, in order to carry the sufferers out of the

fight of those that had invested themselves with their money. — If it should be necessary to give it up, *Caroline* near, let them repair thither.

The reducing the claims of the merchants, hath been another subject of complaint: which, in my opinion, the malecontents have answered themselves; for they have insinuated, that it was to be paid from hence. — If the lower it was reduc'd, the better.

They have been charged with showing no regard to the inclinations of the people, whereas wise ministers will labour to remove their very prejudices,

The charge is groundless and unjust. The people's prejudices have been indulged in many instances. — They were prejudic'd against a *Standing army*; it is therefore called a *Land force*. — *Concessions* is a word they cannot endure; it is changed into *Plenipotentiaries*. — They have been sick of *Treaties*; wherefore this is called a *Convention*. — What would they have more? They are charged with letting slip events and circumstances favourable to their country. — That while *Spain*, in conjunction with *France* and *Sardinia*, was reducing the exorbitant power of the House of *Austria*, they neither succour'd our natural ally, nor so much as obtained satisfaction from *Spain* for our merchants.

To this it may be answered, That it would have been impertinent to have troubled them at a time their hands were full; if therefore we waited till they had nothing else to do but to answer us, it was very civil, and wipes off all aspersion laid upon our M—— of his being an ill-bred person.

They are charged with rendering the naval power of *England* useless.

If it be useless, it is a sign we are in no danger; which I take to be a compliment to our M——.

They say, our navy, which was once our glory, is become our shame.

This I deny. We have gain'd no small reputation by the glorious show it hath made upon several occasions: I hope, therefore, let our affairs be never so well settled, that anniversary

ships will still be fitted out.— I should not be displeas'd, if we should run about the world, like *Savoyards*, with our rare-shews. Methinks it would be glorious to see a fleet sailing up the *Mediterranean*, close along shore, the Admiral standing upon deck, and calling out, *O rare show, fine show! nubo in my gallant show?*

As to the scarcity of money complain'd of, which is imputed to the burdens on trade, and the measures of many years past, If it be true, I look on it as the greatest blessing of all; for money is the root of all evil.— Where-ever that is, care and trouble attend it. If it be going, we may say, 'twas our care; and what loss is it to be rid of care? Let succeeding administrations look to it: When tax-men shall visit us hereafter, we may laugh at them, as the Philosopher did at the thieves who broke into his house at night: As they were peeping into every hole and corner with their dark lantern, he laugh'd out. They asking him what he laugh'd at? he answer'd, without the least concern, To see you look for money here at night, when I can find none in the day.

When this plague, called *money*, shall leave the land, contentions will cease; and avarice, the most furdid of all vices, will be no more: The merchant will cease to wander round the world for gain, the rugged mariner shall plow the sea no more, the farmer will pay no rent, and the landlord must live as well as he can.

Instead of curses and reproaches, let us offer incense to our most excellent M—r: let no man say, G—d—n him. The changes he hath brought to pass are wonderful: for, behold, the golden age is returning once again: Discord hath fled that place, where never, till this happy time, were men of the same opinion: No jarring, no debate is heard within those happy walls: Peace, unity, and concord, have driven contention thence, and there is but one mind in many men. Wherefore, let us welcome the golden age, and praise the wisdom which hath

brought this wonderful change to pass. There are one set of men, who, perhaps, may look a little discontented at this happy scene; these are the *instrumenta ministri, Angliæ*, ministerial tools; for when all opposition shall cease, the mercenaries must fall greatly in their price; and we may say of them as a man of wit said of another such gang in an island not far West of us,

*When the rogues their country fleece,
May they share their peace a-piece.*

UNIVERSAL SPECTATOR, April 14.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Shortly will begin at C—r,

A Compleat course of *Experimental Love*. In which the whole nature and mechanism of that passion (consisting of its general and special properties, and its general and special effects) will be explained, in a manner entirely new, proper and useful,

By DIDASCALUS PHILEROS, Master of that noble science, Doctor of Love, in the two famous universities of *Paphos* and *Cyprus*, and High-priest of *Venus*; who has his diplomata ready to be perus'd by any Gentleman who can read *Heathen-Greek*, the language in which they are always written; and who will be, at all times, willing to compare notes with any adepts in the said ancient science, or inform any tractable novices, gratis.

N. B. In this course, besides several curious experiments, there will be exhibited a series of learned and useful remarks upon all the several manners of making love, viz. the Heroical, Oratorical, Ogling, Pecuniary, Indifferent, Coxcomical, Peevish, Humorous, Romantick, Ridiculous, Natural, &c. All which will be treated both in an analogical and comparative manner; and their several effects, on the several dispositions of the female mind, as thoroughly and clearly exemplified, as the variable nature of the *medium*, thro' which they are to be seen, will give leave. To which will be added, an in-

fallible and universal theorem, by the help of which, the most raw and inexperienced may easily and naturally calculate the precise quality or *momenta* of love in any breast whatever: A secret of infinite service to those among the ladies, who are inclinable to credulity, and lie a little too open to oaths and protestations.

There will likewise be shewn, some curious *phenomena* upon the Love *Dioptricks* and *Catoptricks*:

Such as the *Love-Specula*; in which the curious spectator will immediately discern True Love from Counterfeit, Plain-dealing from Ill-nature, Truth from Compliment, Candour from Disimulation, Sincerity from Artifice, &c. Discoveries, in which both sexes are equally concerned, and of infinite consequence to guard against each others knaveries.

In the *Love-Telescope* will be shewn Love infinitely remote, and which was not discernible to the naked eye: to which is added, an explanatory table, to calculate the real distance and magnitude of the object; as likewise in which of the three orbits of possibility, probability, and certainty, it moves.— Note here, that fortune-hunters of both sexes have received infinite benefit from the use of this exquisite instrument; for which reason I take the liberty of recommending it, in an especial manner, to that worshipful society.

In the *Love-Microscope*, Love will be examined in its minutest particles; their form, texture, and purity, will be discovered to the greatest exactness: by which means the Genuine may be distinguished at first sight from the Adulterate; nay, the smallest atom, that is a compound of both, (for example, part Love, part Interest; or part Desire, and part Vanity,) may be understood to such a nicety, as to determine which is predominant to the hundredth part of a simple: An experiment of inestimable importance to young heiresses, and dowager ladies incumbered with great jointures.

To all which will be added, *Love's Anatomy*; wherein the heart, the seat

of that noble passion, will be dissected and the numberless *struttes*, between the organs of sense and it, will be traced out; more particularly those by which Love is first admitted, and those from whence it is supposed to take its leave.— The whole of singular use to the inconstant and amorous; those who cast fire at every eye they look at, and those who are no sooner rid of one mischief but they blindly stumble into another.

Some remarks will, likewise, be made on the effects of this passion on the Understanding; with an essay to account for the extravagancies it often causes in Heroes and Philosophers, Wits and Statesmen:

Lastly will be exhibited, a *hasty* sketch of *Unnatural Love*; taken from an *Italian* original, and now published for the consolation of *W—m Col—*
All for love. *Vivat Rex.*

DAILY GAZETTEER, N^o 1173.

Regard due to a good Minister.

IF men ought in general to be regarded and esteemed in proportion to the service they are of to the publick, as government is absolutely necessary to the well-being of a people, a good *Statesman* must merit more from those who have the benefit of his counsels, than a man in any other station possibly can; since the advantages he brings to his country are enjoyed by all alike, while benefits of any other nature are usually as confined in their influences as in their intention. And from hence we may trace that warm affection, and high veneration, which the ancients more universally, and the wise among the moderns, have always expressed for those who have sustained the publick cares with reputation, and an unbiassed attention to the liberty, interest, and honour of their country, and whenever its enemies exerted their power to distress the measures of these *true patriots*, its friends have always been vigilant in frustrating attempts against them, and in giving them the support necessary to discharge their im-

portant trusts with proper authority and vigour.

It is the observation of an excellent writer, That honour is much more easily attained in the *field* than in the *cabinet*, courage being more frequently met with than conduct, and fewer qualifications being requisite to sustain the *foe* of an enemy, than to frustrate their *schemes for destruction*. And in confirmation of this, it is observable, that while the *Heroes* of antiquity are named with a kind of romantick and extravagant admiration, their *Sages* are seldom mentioned without reverence and esteem: which is easily accounted for, when it is considered, that tho' the services of the *Warrior* are generally more suddenly felt than those of the *Statesman*, the advantages arising from the success of the former, have seldom been so durable as the benefits obtained by the good conduct of the latter. And it is very remarkable, that those men who have most distinguished themselves in defence and protection of the liberties of their country, have always met with most obstruction in the execution of their designs: For, *Fame* being, in some degree, the *desire of all men*, and the *idol of the ambitious*, every action which seems to merit present applause and future fame, draws the envy, and sometimes the resentment of all the aspiring; who, conscious of the inferiority of their own abilities, are weakly inclin'd to depreciate and render useless in others, the talents which are wanting in themselves. Instances of this kind being both numerous and familiar, it is unnecessary to enumerate examples of so fatally-confirmed a truth: wherefore I rather chuse to describe the man, who, according to the rules of judging among both ancients and moderns, must be confessed the truest friend of his country, and the most rational champion for liberty.

As soon as his years enable him to judge of the interests of the community of which he is a member, he will engage himself in the publick service, more from a desire of serving others, than of signalizing himself; and, with

that view, his behaviour will always demonstrate an attention to the welfare of his country, whatever difficulties he may meet with, or whatever cabals may be formed against him. As his motives are just and honourable, their foundation must remain firm and unalterable; and his conduct, being grounded thereon, will know no variation.— If at any time the iniquity of others should render his virtuous love of liberty precarious, he will nevertheless pursue it; and, preferring the good of the publick to his own safety, will make the necessary remonstrance against the *intrigues* and *innovations*, the *perfidy* and *treason* of the enemies of his country, though he should thereby draw their resentment upon himself. And if faction should ever so far prevail, as publickly to resent his generous zeal, and even to reach *his person*; the occasion of his suffering will be a subject for triumph, while he knows his enemies to be no other than the enemies of his country. Under these circumstances he will support himself with courage and cheerfulness: And if, with *his own*, the *publick liberty* seem'd to be threatned; he will rejoice in having so conducted himself, as to be included in the ruin of those liberties and privileges which he was so zealous to protect and to preserve.— And if, by any happy alteration, the enemies of his country, and his most inveterate foes, should be deprived of the power they have attained by *artifice* and *deceit*, and used with *levity* and *profusion*; he will then be so far from exercising any resentment against them, that, when the power of injuring the publick is taken from them, and they cease to be longer the destroyers of the national peace, and the violators of the publick faith, &c. his regard for the good of others will incline him to attend more to the future advantage of the whole, than the deserved punishment of a few.— And if he should afterwards, by the force of his long-experienced attachment to the true interest of his country, and his well-known abilities for pu-

blick trust, be raised to the same power that had been abused by the enemies of his country and of himself, he will be so far from growing giddy with authority, or from prostituting the power invested in him for *publick purposes* to *private ends*, that to the general good every private consideration will give place, and injuries offered himself will be forgotten, whenever their being forgotten promises the smallest advantage to the publick; and, instead of exulting over those whom he had opposed, when virtue required he should oppose them, he will interpose in their behalf a beneficence to themselves unknown; and may, perhaps, be prevailed upon to be the principal person in procuring them the liberty of returning to crimes from which their crimes had banished them. — If such his generous interposition be disregarded, and the liberty he solicited be misapplied; provided the misapplication affects no more than himself, he will regard it only as a fresh instance of ingratitude in persons from whom his own generous humanity prevailed upon him to hope amendment, and prompted him to be even officious in serving. That such men are ungenerous to him, will not so much concern him, as their want of due regard to their own true interests. But if they should afterwards become the open and avowed enemies of their native land, THEN *only* would he feel some concern, at being (though with the most justifiable intention) instrumental in enabling them a second time to abuse the land of their nativity.

Such a man, and all who act in concert with him for the general good of the people, will as certainly incur the envy of the profligate and the abandoned, the factious and the ambitious, as the support and esteem of the discerning and judicious, the honest and impartial members of the commonwealth: and as nothing but the interest of their country, and the promotion of the general welfare, will be their springs of action; whatever measures are found expedient for those purposes, will be

prosecuted with the utmost attention; though interrupted as much as is in the power of those, whose airy hopes centre only in their destruction. In a case of this nature, it is an old maxim, To divide whom we would destroy; and, with this view, it is more than probable, that any transaction which these publick enemies endeavour to load with bad consequences, however ridiculouly inferred, they will use their utmost arts to lay to the account of him who is most formidable to their designs. But the same honour, the same integrity, and the same regard to his country, which put him upon the measures his enemies condemn, will be sure to support him unmoved in the pursuit of the benefits they labour to prevent; notwithstanding the empty clamour that may be raised among the more partial and unthinking part of the people, who are sometimes prevailed upon to think a judgment *right* for being *loudly asserted*; though it generally happens, that an inquiry into the motives and occasion of such vociferous recommendations, is sufficient to produce a change of sentiment in those who are capable of distinguishing between the conduct of the real friends of liberty, and the railings of the restless and the ambitious, the desperats and the disappointed.

Hence appears the regard and affection due to a faithful publick minister: For, since without government no state can possibly exist, the man whose share in the administration of it exposes him to the rage and *fury* of its *enemies*, will have the most undeniable and most rational claim to the favour and *esteem* of its *friends*; who, as they will know the malice and insults offered him to be the result of his care and attention to the business of his country, will be sure to look upon all clamour raised against him as calculated ultimately to betray the people he is labouring to protect and defend, and to subvert the constitution that is happier than to be capable of gaining *any advantage* from the *people's enemies*: for

for since the resentment of these will never fail to attend most eminently the man who merits most of the publick, every step he takes in the national service will be sure to be blamed in proportion to its good tendency, and the benefits naturally consequent upon it; and as, in such a case, reason would be of little use in the cause of his enemies, they would be certain to endeavour to confound with their clamour those whom they cannot hope to convince by their arguments. But, as such artifices can prevail upon but a few, and these not the most able to distinguish between PATRIOTISM and its COUNTERFEIT, the man whose uniformity of conduct proves the deliberation and wisdom of his resolutions, and whose perseverance in the service of the publick, by the means which reason and experience, the interest of a nation, and the voice of all its proved and steady friends, declare most expedient to the publick advantage, will stand in need of no other recommendation to the affection of all who wish prosperity to the land he so zealously labours to serve, and in which labour he has been happily blessed with success, in spite of the most outrageous and indecent, the most unwarrantable and unnatural, the most absurd and impolitick opposition, that ever disgraced a land of liberty.

WEEKLY MISCELLANY, April 14.

A discourse on Predestination, which is still professedly maintained by several of our Dissenters, and likely to spread at present amongst the ignorant people of the Church of England by the means of some Enthusiasts lately risen up in this kingdom.

Mr. Hooker,

THE doctrine of absolute Predestination, and irrelative Reprobation, is an objection to God's impartiality. That God should, as some assert, out of mankind, fallen and beheld in an equal degree of demerit, give his Son to die for the redemption of some of them, and those a small

part, and leave the rest without a Redeemer; that, antecedent and without any respect to what they can, or shall do, he has determined some of them to be eternally happy, and some to be as eternally wretched; that accordingly he gives so much grace to the former, that they cannot miss of heaven, and so little to the latter, that they cannot possibly attain it: this is a scheme of doctrine entirely irreconcilable with the divine impartiality; but then it is also irreconcilable with reason, our natural notions of God, plain passages of Scripture, and is only supported by broken fragments and texts of the Bible, consider'd by themselves, without regard to their context and true meaning, misunderstood and misapplied, and therefore cannot be true.

Our natural notions of the Deity are those of a wise, good, and just being; the maker, the preserver of men; who shews his good-will to all his creatures, and delights in communicating existence, and the benefits of it! Now, Reason says, such a being cannot be fanciful, cannot be hard, cannot be injurious. He who made all men, cannot but love all men, so long as they endeavour alike to please and obey him. God is a Sovereign, but not an earthly one, surrounded with prejudice, ignorance, error, humour, or weakness. We bless his almighty power, because it delights not in doing mischief, because it is sweetened with mercy, regulated by justice, directed by wisdom. Can such a being shew unequal favour, or unequal severity, to objects that are alike? Can he love a man for doing what he could not help doing, or hate a man for doing what he could not but do? Is it the part of wisdom, is it the part of equity, to make a difference in creatures, alike the objects of his wrath or mercy? Is it goodness, is it justice, to bring a person into being without his consent, without allowing him a possibility of making himself easy, without a possibility of avoiding wretchedness, and that for ever? How could a creature deserve to be put into such circumstances.

circumstances, before he existed? How then could God place him in them, when he did not deserve it, unless he delights in shewing his power, at the expence of all his other perfections? This is the idea of a sovereign tyrant, not of a wise, a good, a just, a perfect God. But perhaps it will be said, "These are depths too great for shallow Reason to fathom: *Whe art thou that repliest against God?* Search the Scriptures, and see what Revelation has discovered in this matter." Let us search them, then.

Here we find God represented as a master; but not an hard one, *gathering where he has not sowed, or reaping where he has not sown*; but requiring of every man, and accepting every man, according to what he has, and not according to what he has not. We behold him as a Sovereign, different in his administrations; but always just and good: putting mankind under various dispensations, the *Jew* under a law, the *Gentile* under nature; but then taking account and judging them accordingly, the *Jew* by his law, the other without it. We see him figured out as a father, tender, compassionate, declaring he delights not in the death of him that dies, setting life and death before men, courting them to the one, deterring them from the other, and weeping over those who would not be persuaded to be happy. The sacred page sets before us God so full of love and mercy to mankind, that he sent his only begotten Son, to the intent, *that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life*. Does the Scripture confine the benefit of this Redeemer to a few? No, but quite otherwise says, *that he died for all*; that God laid on him the iniquity of us all. The Apostle to the *Romans* puts this beyond dispute, where he teaches, that as the gift of God in *Christ* in some things exceeded the offence of *Adam*, so in nothing it fell short of it: And therefore, as this brought judgment on all men, so the free gift of life through *Christ* came upon all men: For as in *Adam* all die, so in *Christ* shall all be

made alive. As therefore, if man had kept his integrity, every one would have had it in his power to please God; so by the gift of *Christ* every one might have it too: since the consequences of redemption extended full as wide, as those of *Adam's* transgression; that is, to all men. These are plain passages of holy Scripture, which represent to us an universal God and Father of all, an universal Redeemer of mankind, the offers of life and death made to every one of them; and, consequently, a possibility of attaining the one, and escaping the other in every one; unless we can suspect God of practising the greatest mockery and derision to his creatures, as well as injustice.

I proceed to examine the passages brought in support of the contrary opinion, and shew the misinterpretation and wrong application of them. And, previous to this, I must lay down a rule or two necessary to be observed in explaining passages of Scripture, if we have not a desire to be deceived. One is, To consider the occasion, connection, and drift of the place in question, and give it the meaning proper to the argument the writer is engag'd in. Another is, To resolve difficult and doubtful texts by plain and certain ones. If in these lights we examine the 29th and 30th verses of the 8th chapter to the *Romans*, we shall find Scripture consistent with itself and Reason, in this point, as well as in all others. The Apostle, in this chapter, as almost all through the epistle, sets himself to prove, that the distinction of *Jew* and *Gentile* was now ceased; that other nations had an equal share in the *Messiah*, with the *Jews*; that, in order to have the benefit of *Christ*, faith was necessary, and obedience to the new covenant; but not circumcision or other legal performances, as the *Jews* contended; who would allow the offers of the gospel to be made to none till they became *Jews*; and those, who would not comply with them in this matter, they persecuted and afflicted; and the *Gentile* *Christi-*

ans by this means were distressed and contumeliously used, even to death. To convince the *Jews* of their error, and beat them out of that fond conceit, that they were the only people of God; and to comfort the suffering *Gentiles*; he tells them, that God had attested his acceptance of the *Gentile* converts by the gifts of his Spirit to them: *For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, are the sons of God:— And if sons, then heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ; if so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified together.* The way to this glory is this present state of suffering: *I reckon the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us.* We shall be delivered in God's good time, and shall be comforted above our affliction. We hope for this deliverance, and pray for it. But, in this case, as in all others, *the Spirit helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what we should pray for as we ought, but the Spirit maketh intercession for the saints, according to the will of God; who knows better than we ourselves, what is good for us, and therefore has sent you these present afflictions, to make you more glorious and more happy by your behaviour under them: For we know that all things work together for good, to them that love God, to them who are so called according to his purpose; that is, whom he has called to this state of affliction and suffering for the sake of the gospel, according to his design of putting those into the post of danger, who, he fore-saw, would be able to stand it: And whom he did thus foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, viz. in suffering for him and like him, that he might be the first-born among many brethren, the captain of salvation made perfect through suffering. Moreover, whom he did predestinate for this purpose of suffering for the gospel at that time, them he also called to it; and whom he called, them he useth, upon their good behaviour under afflictions, justified; that is, acquitted, received into favour; and*

whom he thus justified and approved, them he also glorified; that is, rewarded with the triumphs of his grace in this life, and, if they persevere in duty, will give them glory in the other. Here is an account of some, who were foreseen fit for suffering for religion, who therefore were destined for that office, called to it, acquitted for their good behaviour in it, and rewarded for it. Not a syllable appears, that can give the least support to the doctrine of an absolute determination of any man to happiness or misery, without his having the power to obtain the one, or avoid the other. It is the condition of all mankind, to be called to some sort of duty and station in life. Whom God foresees fit for one, according to his purpose of governing and conducting the affairs of the world, he predestines and calls to it, and acquits and rewards them for behaving well in it. An eye, tinged with the rigid Predestinarian tenets, can read the whole scheme in every word of this paragraph, and dream of secret purposes, hidden wills, inward efficacious calls; and what not? but an unprejudiced reader will see nothing of all this, nor will suffer a meaning to be drawn out of it, inconsistent with the Apostle's declaration in the verse almost immediately following, that God spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all; therefore not for a few only, whom he predestinated, happen what will, to eternal life.

Having done with this chapter, proceed we to the next, the 9th to the *Romans*, which has been thought to contain many passages in favour of the doctrine I am overthrowing: but, upon examination, we shall find they are just as little to the purpose, as that I have already explained. The Apostle begins the chapter with good wishes and hearty desires for his countrymen the *Jews*, and mentions some of their privileges, *the adoption, the glory of God in their temple, the covenants, the law, the service of God, the promises; whose are the fathers, and of whom, as con-*

cerning the flesh, Christ came. But he bids them not be vain of all this, or trust in it: for the promise, as far as it was a promise of salvation and eternal life, was not to all *Abraham's* seed, or indeed to any barely for descending from him; but to the seed of his faith, those that were like him in goodness, whether *Jew* or *Gentile*. For so he expressly says, *They which are the children of the flesh, these are not the children of God: but the children of promise are counted for the seed.* Then he proceeds to instruct them, not to think it hard, that God now for their sins rejected the *Jews* from being his people, and chose other nations in their stead to the like honour: for to raise or depress a people, outwardly to favour and prosper the inhabitants of one country, and not those of another, was the undoubted prerogative of the great Sovereign of the world, without any injury, and therefore without any ground of complaint to any man, beheld in the whole of his existence. Thus he once selected the *Jewish* people under one covenant, and now he chuses others, with whom to place his name, and to whom to reveal himself; not determining one to damnation, or the other to salvation upon any other terms, than those of having, or wanting faith and obedience. If God was at liberty to adopt the *Jewish* nation, why is he not at liberty now to adopt another to like or greater privileges? for consider, says the Apostle, *when Rebecca had conceived by one, even by our father Isaac, (the children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth) it was said unto her, The elder shall serve the younger; as it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated.* In this passage two things are certain: First, that by *Jacob* and *Esau* we cannot understand their persons, but the nations descended from them; secondly, that *loved* and *hated*, here, does not mean the one to be saved, and the other damned; but one

to be outwardly favoured in this life, and the other not so; that is, that one should command, and the other obey him. The reason for the first observation is plain: because what was said of them, was not true of them in their own persons; for *Esau* never served *Jacob*, that we read of: but it was true of the nations descended from them; for the posterity of *Esau* did serve the posterity of *Jacob*, till at the time foretold he shook his yoke from him: agreeably to what the Lord said to *Rebecca*, enquiring why the children struggled within her, *Two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels: and the one people shall be stronger than the other people; and the elder shall serve the younger.*

Since then it is certain, we are to understand by *Jacob* and *Esau*, in this place, not their single persons, but the nations sprung from them; it is also equally certain, that the words *loved* and *hated*, here, do not imply the one to be eternally saved, or the other eternally damned; but only, that the one should bear rule, and be more favoured than the other, in the present life. For, since by *Esau* we must mean the *Edomites* sprung from him, will any one in his wits say, that all the *Edomites* were damned? and, since by *Jacob* is meant the *Jews* derived from him, a man must be still as much out of his wits to assert, that all the *Jews* were eternally saved. And yet both these assertions must be maintained by him, who interprets *loved* and *hated* in this text, as relating to the future states of heaven and hell. Since, then, the sense I have given to *Jacob* being *loved* and *Esau* *hated*, can be the only true one, the meaning of this often objected passage is no more than this, That when *Rebecca* was with child of twins, *Esau* and *Jacob*, before the children were born, or had done good or evil, God said to her, "The descendants of *Jacob* shall bear rule, and be more honoured in this life, than the descendants of *Esau*."

And

And this he told her before they were born, that God's raising the *Jewish* nation to greatness, and depressing the *Edumites*, might appear to be by virtue of his prerogative; and that his purpose of electing this people to execute his designs, and not the other, might stand; not of works, for one people was not better than the other; but of God, who was pleased, for his own secret reasons, to call the one his people, and not the other. For in such cases, of bestowing outward favours and revelations of himself, God is accountable to none; but *will have mercy, on whom he will have mercy, and will have compassion on whom he will have compassion*, as he told *Moses* with respect to his choice of the *Jewish* people. So, then, it was not *Esa's* running and crying for the blessing, which could entail it on his posterity: for God was pleased antecedently to shew mercy on the descendents of *Jacob*, and raise them above the other; which he might do, for wise reasons, which we have no right to enquire into.

The Apostle goes on to tell the *Jews*, that hardness of heart had happened to them for their sins and unbelief: that this also was the undoubted privilege of God, to remove the light from those who shut their eyes, and harden them who went on to harden themselves: that in this case, as *he will have mercy on whom he will have mercy, to whom he will, be hardened*. When men have sinned themselves out of God's favour, and made themselves ripe for judgment and punishment, God will in anger sometimes defer the execution, suffering them in the mean time to go on in wickedness, that his justice on impenitent sinners may more signally appear. Thus he did to *Pharaoh* and his nation: he had hardened his heart against many messages and many plagues, till at last he made himself ripe for destruction. But God was then pleased to keep him a little longer alive, that his punishment might be more evident in the destruction of him and his people in the Red sea. "I had determined [says God] to destroy thee and thy

people with the pestilence; for ye had deserv'd, and I had resolv'd your death: but *I raised thee up* from that bed of sickness *for this very purpose, that I might shew my power in thee, and that my name might be declared throughout all the earth.*" This the Apostle intimates to be the case of the *Jews*, who had sinned themselves out of God's favour, and deserved his anger long before he poured it on them; but he endured them *with much long-suffering, the vessels of wrath fitted for destruction, that he might make his power more clearly discerned*, and might take that opportunity of making known the riches of his glory on the vessels of mercy, which he had afore prepared to glory, even the *Gentiles*; whom he called to be his church and people. The murmuring *Jews* reply, "If this be the case, if we are cast off from being God's people, because he hardens us; *why dost he yet find fault? for who hath resisted his will?*" The Apostle answers such a bold questioning of the ways of providence in the disposal of its favours in this life, in its chusing this, and rejecting that people, with great indignation, and a passage out of one of their Prophets, *Nay but O man, who art thou that repliest against God? shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus? hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour?* That is, Hath not God power to raise one nation to the honour of being called his people, and reject another from being so, when they grow unworthy that name? That this is the meaning of the passage; and that by *vessel* we are to understand, not a single person, but a nation; and by *honour* and *dishonour*, outward privileges and advantages in this world; is plain from *Jer. xviii.* whence this allusion of the potter is taken. For thus it stands there: The Prophet went by God's order to the potter's house, who wrought a work on the wheels, and the vessel that he made of clay, was marred in the hand of the potter, so

he made it again another vessel as seemed good to him. Then the Word of the Lord came to the Prophet, saying, *O house of Israel, cannot I do with you as this potter? saith the Lord. Behold, as the clay is in the potter's hand, so are ye in mine hand, O house of Israel.*

What follows there, confirms this explication; where God says, "At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, to pull it down, if it turn and repent, I also will change my purpose: and when I speak of building a nation, if it do evil, I will not benefit them." The full import of the passage, then, is no more than this: That mankind are in the hand of God, as the lump of clay in the potter's; as he can frame out of that a vessel of more or less honourable use, so can God out of mankind make nations with more or less privileges: and as, when the vessel designed for honour becomes marred in the turning, the potter can apply it to another form; so, when a nation, favoured and privileged, has rendered itself unworthy such honour, God can dispose it in a less advantageous manner.

These are the principal Scriptures brought to prove, that God, with respect to another life, has had no regard to what men could do, or have done; but has chosen some men to be happy for ever, antecedent to their birth, and reprobated some to be miserable for ever, and that before they were born; so that it never was in the power of the one to be saved, or the other to be damned. But these texts appear to have no such meaning; and, therefore, this doctrine is not founded in, but is contrary to plain passages of Scripture, as well as Reason: and, consequently, is not true; and, therefore, cannot be made an objection to the divine impartiality; which I have been contending for. *Yours, &c.*

CRAFTSMAN, April 21.

Proposals for regaining our national honour abroad and at home.

MR. D' Aubigny, grandfather to the famous Madam Maintenon, tells

us a very remarkable story of himself, which ought to be a warning to all *free nations* against the growth of *corruption*. This Gentleman was one of the heads of the Protestants in the reign of Henry IV. of France, and opposed the court with so much vigour, that the King was at length determined to take away his life, or at least to confine him in the Bastille. Mr. D' Aubigny being privately informed of this design against him, by a Lady of the court, considered how to preserve himself. After many deliberations in his own mind, he resolved to go to court the next morning, and beg a PARDON of the King, as the surest method. The King, who was very much surprised, as well as pleased, to see a man of such an *big spirit* grown a little mercenary, immediately embraced him, and granted his request. From court he went to the Duke de Sully, the Prime Ministers, who congratulated him upon this occasion, and shewed him the Bastille; assuring him, at the same time, that he would have been a prisoner there in less than *twenty four hours*, but that he was now in no farther danger.

This introduction to my paper will, perhaps, make those stupid animals, the Gazetteers, perk up their ears, as if I had changed my note, and was beginning to inculcate this courtly doctrine to the worthy patriots of Great Britain, That a *penion* is a much better thing than a *prison*; and if it must come to *one* or the *other*, the choice is easy. But let the *fools* have a little patience, and they will find, that I urge this only as an example, which ought to give all *free nations* warning: for when *our corruption* grows prevalent, it is a crime not to be *corrupt*; or, at least, is looked upon as a reflection upon *those* who are so. In such a case, any *Noblemen*, of great distinction and virtue, who should refuse to accept of a *penion*, would be marked out as an *enemy to the government*; and must either expose himself to the resentment of the *court*, or forfeit his *honour* and *conscience*. Such a *person* would, very probably, be marked out as a constant living reproach to his *fraternity*, as an *enemy to the*

the government, and a sort of churl in society; upon which he might expect the following expostulations: "Why, my Lord, should you make any scruple of accepting his Majesty's gracious offer? Don't you see that many Dukes, Earls, and other Peers, of the highest rank, think it no indignity, or reflection upon their characters, to accept of an honourable stipend from the crown? What can you conceive to have been the intention of giving so large a civil list? *Patrimoniaque damusque vicissim*. The bounties of the crown are not to be slighted and refused. Would you pass for a Jacobite? The very refusal of it, carries a reflection against his Majesty, as if he was pursuing some unwarrantable measures, and may prove very detrimental to his service."

But the grand mercenaries of all countries ought to consider, that corruption must at last destroy itself, and the constitution too. Corruption begets corruption, which naturally introduces luxury, and luxury is the certain fore-runner of national poverty. What can be the consequence of this, but some terrible convulsion; which the experience of the last century furnishes us with a terrible example, that whichever side prevails, must end in the destruction of the constitution? The cord may bear straining to a very great length, but it must break at last.

Corruption in a state, is just like *drinking* amongst private persons; which is apt to grow upon them, till it destroys their vitals. I have heard of a woman, who had accustomed herself so much to gin, that by degrees she came to drink three gallons a-day; but it soon put an end to her miserable life. I wish therefore that there was a Corruption-act, as well as a Gin-act; the former being so much the more necessary than the latter, as the preservation of the whole community is preferable to individuals.

I could carry on this parallel with humour, and even form some sketch of an act of parliament. The preamble might run thus:

"Whereas great inconveniences

have arisen, and do daily arise, from the excessive use of corruption, and by the wicked, pernicious, and infamous practice of taking exorbitant pensions and bribes; whereby many of his Majesty's good subjects are diverted from pursuing their own and their country's interest, to the great discouragement of honesty, the manifest detriment of trade and commerce, and the imminent danger of utter ruin to these kingdoms: wherefore may it please your most excellent Majesty, that it may be enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the day of _____ in the year of our Lord 1739, no man in England, the dominion of Wales, or the town of Berwick upon Tweed, (for I would not as yet extend the act any farther) shall for the future, under any pretence, take or receive, or cause to be taken or received, any pension, bribe, gratuity, gift, bounty, or reward whatsoever.

And be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That all contracts and agreements, for the receiving, paying, or delivering, any money, bonds, bills, stock, or any other pecuniary rewards, shall be null and void to all intents and purposes whatsoever.

And for the better discovery of such evil and pernicious practices, every person shall be obliged to take the following oath:

I A. B. do solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I have not, directly or indirectly, either by myself or any agent employed by me, received or enjoyed any place, pension, or gratuity, from any minister, or person in authority whatsoever. — So help me God.

And be it farther enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That every person offending against this act shall, upon conviction, forfeit treble the value of any such place, pension, or bribe; one moiety thereof to be paid to the informer, and the other moiety thereof to the poor of the parish, where the offender may happen to reside; in which the general issue may be pleaded, and the special matter of this act

B b given

given in evidence, at the trial; in which action no *essoign*, *protection*, *wager of law*, or more than *one imparlance* shall be allowed.

And for the farther discovery of the *monies*, *premiums*, or *gratuities*, which shall be given, paid, or delivered, and to be sued for, and recovered, as aforesaid, it is hereby enacted, by the same authority, That all and every the person and persons, who, by virtue of *this present act*, shall or may be liable to be sued for the same, shall be obliged and compellable to answer upon oath, to such bill or bills as shall be preferred against him or them, in any court of equity, for discovering any *such contract*, or *wager*, and the sum of *money*, or *premium*, so given, paid, or delivered, as aforesaid.

Provided always, and it is hereby enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That any person, who will submit to be branded with the name of *Rogue*, *Rascal*, or *Pensioner*, to his face; or to have a broad R clapt on his back, denoting to whom he belongs; may still have, receive, and enjoy a *pension*, not exceeding *two hundred guineas per annum*, any thing in *this act* to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

Nothing tends so effectually to encourage and propagate this destructive vice of *corruption*, as the keeping up *old party names* and *distinctions*, when the *essential differences* are swallowed up in a general concern for the *publick good*. This may be of great use to a *wicked* and *declining minister*; but is certain death to the *people*, if they are foolish enough to bite at so naked an hook.

It is so far, for instance, from being right to keep up the old distinctions of WHIG and TORY amongst us, that I think even those of COURT and COUNTRY ought to be laid aside. The only true and proper distinction, at present, is, that of COUNTRY and MINISTER; which I recommend to my *brother-authors* for the future. The *Ministerial* and *Country interest* hath often been, and may be again, diame-

trically opposite; but the *Court and Country interest* ought always to be the same. I hope it is so now. I assure, at least, that it might be so, if but *one measure* were taken in good time, which is no difficult matter for any body to point out. Perhaps, it may not be proper for me to mention it, at present; but I dare say every one of my readers will guess pretty well what I mean. If therefore *one single, wise act* will, in an instant, unite the *Court and Country*; is it not prodigiously strange, that *no one courtier* among the whole crowd should have honesty, spirit; or gratitude enough, to hit upon *that advice*, and give it, in a *place* where it is so much wanted? What! not *one wise, not one honest man*, to be found, who will venture to undertake so desirable a work, and which might be so easily accomplished? All persons, who sincerely mean the preservation of the *constitution*, and the *present happy establishment*, may co-operate, and must have the *same views*. I have shewn, in a former paper, that *old Whigs* may drop *their principles*, and adopt the direct contrary, deceiving themselves with an idle notion that they are still following their *old principles*, whilst they only pursue the *same guide*, with whom they first set out.— This puts me in mind of a story, which I heard when at Oxford.

A Reverend Doctor, who was a very learned man, and a very silly fellow, (which, God knows, is too often the case) had at last a great inclination to see London. He had an *horse of his own*, and did not care for the expence of a *coach*. But neither *he* nor his *horse* knew the way. Ashamed to discover his ignorance, he resolved to follow the *stage-coach*; and, for that reason, took particular notice of the *coachman*, who drove it. At *Wycomb*, the passengers always shift coaches; which the *Doctor* not observing, but keeping his eye steadily fixed upon the *same guide*, took it for granted that he must be right, and was by

him led the quite contrary road. Which is exactly the case of some of my honest *Whig friends*; very good men, I dare say; but led out of the way by *Robin* the coachman. And as the *Doctor*, after jogging about fifty miles, found himself where he did not design to be; so I hope my good friends will not bring about the very thing which they design to prevent.

Every thing hath its crisis; or, more properly speaking, its *ne plus ultra*. *Rome*, when it arrived to its highest pitch of grandeur, fell headlong into slavery. Even iniquity hath its bounds, and must at last destroy itself. The very nature of government is such, that there will always be corruption, in some degree; but when it spreads like a *leprosy* over the whole body, it must soon be cured, or destroy the constitution. The case of the late Lord *Macclesfield* is a sufficient warning to all persons concerned in any kind of political affairs. He sold the places of *Masters in Chancery*, as all his predecessors had done: but the price growing to an exorbitant rate, he was impeached in parliament, convicted, and fined thirty thousand pounds; in which two Noble Lords, who had been Lord *Chancellors*, and sold the same places, concurred, and voted him guilty.

I might farther illustrate these observations, by the present, melancholy state of *New-market*; which is most agreeably situated by nature, in an healthy air, and accommodated with the finest turf in *Europe* for the diversion of *Horse-racing*. The original design of this entertainment was not only for sports, but to encourage a good breed of horses, for real use; and the royal plates are supposed to be given only with that view, the horses being obliged to carry heavy weights. But, alas! how are those intentions perverted? Our noble breed of horses is now enervated by an intermixture with *Turks*, *Barbs*, and *Arabians*; just as our modern Nobility and Gentry are debauched with the effeminate manners of *France* and *Italy*. The manly and useful exercise of horse-racing is

become a science of such great art and nicety, that the professors of it frequently quarrel about half a pound weight; and is carried to such a pitch of mysterious iniquity, that all mankind complain of it. No man is there ashamed of the character of a *Sbarper*: It is the business of the place; and often the best proof of my Lord's parts. You shall often hear a whole table, of the best company in the place, endeavouring who shall lie most, in order to impose on their friends, and defraud them in a match. In short, spies, bribery, corruption, deceit, signal men, and all other courtly arts, are there employed.

But, these tricks being discovered, the fair Sportsmen went lately thither, for the last time; and having protested against such foul play, retired, (or, if you please, *seceded*;) and are resolved to go there no more, till some new regulation is made, to preserve the honour and independency of that worthy assembly: from whence it is concluded that there will be a very thin meeting next season.

I am verily persuaded that none of these seceders have the least design of destroying the primitive design of that place; but only to restore virtue, honour, and honesty to it; that it may be governed, in all things, according to its original institution, and not become a nest of thieves, with the prospect of dishonest gain, in order to cheat one another, and defraud all mankind. If this reformation can be brought about, we shall soon see *New-market* thrive again; for every body of taste is in love with the place, and delights in frequent meetings, when they are honestly conducted.— But, should the retirement of so many great and worthy persons have a contrary effect, and totally abolish these assemblies, I am thinking how some of the brightest genius's of the place may be employed to the advantage of this nation. Methinks, the same parts, as could make a good horse-match, might make a provisional treaty, or even a convention.

tion. If a minister should understand how to jockey, I don't see why a jockey may not make a good minister. They have likewise scales at New-market, to weigh the contending parties; which might instruct our M——rs, to manage the balance of Europe, with a little more dexterity than some of our negotiators have hitherto done. They have also confederacies there; and now or then, like much greater powers, shift from one to another: but it seldom happens, unless by very bad management; indeed, that any one is totally abandoned, and left without any ally at all. I am therefore convinced, that if these adepts were to be employed in political affairs, they would appear much more Keens than some of our ministers; and that we should make a little better figure in the eyes of Europe, than we have done for several years past.

COMMON SENSE, April 21.

Thoughts on a Bill said to be intended to prevent frauds in the Stamp Revenue.

S I R,

YOU have sometimes taken occasion to bestow all due praises on our excellent M——, for the signal advantages he is always gaining for the nation's interests abroad, by the skill he hath shewn in treaty and negotiation with foreign states; which is very right in you: But, methinks, you have not done him justice with respect to the indefatigable pains he takes, to project good laws for the security of the liberty of the subject at home.

It is talk'd, that a bill will shortly be brought in, which may furnish you with matter for panegyrick; and the rather, because, if my intelligence be right, yourself and the *Craftsman* are the principal objects of it; tho', perhaps, that may not appear upon the face of the bill.

It seems, one of your brothers of the quill, the ingenious author of a paper intitled *All alive and merry, or, The Daily Farthing-post*, hath not paid all that respect and obedience due to

the laws of his country, as becomes a good a Protestant, and otherwise a good a subject: for, whereas he should have contributed the sum of one half penny to the support of the government for every individual copy of his *Farthing-post*; not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being instigated by the malice of the devil, he hath taken the whole farthing to himself, to the great defrauding of his M—— revenue: But you great wits are sometimes guilty of great irregularities.

It is conceiv'd, that the Commissioners of the Stamp office have power to crush him to atoms; but so scrupulously nice are they grown, that, for some reasons which don't yet appear, they have deferred it, till their hands should be strengthened by new powers. But here a snake may lie in the grass. Therefore, caveat *Craftsman* and *Common Sense*; for, if some Doctors don't lie, a clause may be slipt in, that will sweep you both from the face of the earth.

You may remember, your well-bred antagonist, the political Merry Andrew, told you not long since, that he had power to crush you; he also signified to you, that you deserved to have your ears cut off. Perhaps you did not understand him at that time. As he is a very arch wag; he deals much in the unintelligible. There is now some reason to believe that he had a mind to joke in his anger, and that his meaning was, that he would crush you by cutting off the ears of your paper.

To explain this matter, let us suppose that a clause should be inserted in some act, That no paper should be stamped but of a certain size; and that size should be so small as not to contain half the matter you now give the publick.

As much as you despise the parts of these great men, they have made a most important discovery, which is, that the profits of your papers arise from the Advertisements. If such a

Scheme therefore should take place, and you write afterwards upon politicks, you will have no room for advertisements; and if you insert advertisements, you will have no room for politicks, and then no body will buy your papers: so that either way, my friend, (to use your own words) it is over with you.

When *Common Sense* shall be seen upon the table of a coffee-house pair'd and mutilated, I fancy it will look exactly like poor *Jenkins*, when he got out of the hands of the *Spaniards*.

As the whole nation hath felt, by experience, that the projectors of this scheme have nothing in view but the publick good; it is hoped you will acquiesce under any particular loss it may be to you, when your country is to receive many signal advantages from it.

It will first be a great saving to bookfellers and other tradesmen, by obliging them to keep that money in their pockets, which they used to give the *Craftsman* and *Common Sense* for advertising their several goods.

Next, the paper you use, being of *English* manufacture, it will lessen the consumption of it, if not entirely destroy it; and it is much for the honour of our projectors, that neither learning, arts, sciences, or manufacture should prosper, while they have power to destroy them.

Next, it may contribute to break some sturdy beggars called *Stationers*, who may happen also to be *Common Council Men*.

As to the great quantities of this paper which may be already made for this use, and can be fit for nothing else, if it be asked, what must be done with it? let the stationers make bonfires of it, to celebrate the birth-nights of our *per nobile*.

I hope you will not be so wicked as to insinuate, that such an act would be an incroachment upon the liberty of the press, and a step towards taking it intirely away. You may print on; you will be only obliged to give away your works gratis, and even then be

upon as good a foot as the ministerial papers are at present.

Nor can you suppose that the projector of this clause means no more than to gratify his private malice against two persons who would not flatter him. Every body knows his frank and generous heart is a stranger to every thing that is little, mean, or malicious. You have heard, no doubt, how like a hero he expressed himself against the author of some theatrical pieces, two years ago, when he said, *By G— I'll starve him*; and you, who have represented him as a man without faith, must own, that he hath been as good as his word.

It is true, it hath often been declared, that they had no design of meddling with the liberty of the press; but, at the same time, you will allow, it is fit a great M—— should be strengthened with power enough to crush whom he pleases: for great men must be made easy; and therefore why should it not be enacted, that he may do what he pleases, any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding; that the flatterers may be able to say, with truth, that he makes the laws of the land the rule of all his measures?

If there should be such a clause in an act, (for I only have it from the report of some of his people, which you know is a bad authority,) you may depend upon it there is no more a private view in it, than there was in the act for putting the stage under a Court Licenser; which act, you are sensible, was projected merely out of a tender regard to the morals of the people. You will say, perhaps, the example of our great man's integrity and modesty, as well as that of all the other placemen, would be sufficient for that purpose without a law. That may be; but, however, you are sensible the morals of the people are extremely reformed by this act: Two very wicked plays have been lately prohibited. I pronounce them wicked, though, I own, I have not read them; but I intend

tend to read them as soon as they are published, that I may take occasion from thence to bestow some praises on the Projector of the act, as well as on the Licenser, his Deputy, and his Deputy's Deputy.

I find we are likely to receive greater benefits from this act than we at first expected, for it is to operate upon old plays as well as new. The *Spanish Friar* was acted the other night to a very great audience: it was written above threescore years ago, in the reign of *K. Charles II.* a time when the gallantries of the court gave too much countenance to things, not strictly chaste, upon the stage. It happens to be one of those favourite plays which half the audience know by heart: The actor who play'd the part of *Raymond*, having left out half of one of his speeches, it was immediately missed by the audience, and called for. The lines he spoke were these:

*What generous man can live with that
constraint*

*Upon his soul! — to bear, much less to
flatter*

*A court like this! — Can I sooth tyranny?
Seem pleas'd to see my Royal Master mur-
der'd,*

His crown usurp'd, a distaff on the throne?

There he made a stop, even to a full disgrace. The next actor went on: but the audience thought they had a right to the whole speech, and therefore called again and again for it; but to no purpose; either the actor forgot the following lines, or the Licenser had forbid him to speak them:

*A council made of such as dare not speak,
And cou'd not if they durst. — Whence
best men*

*Banish themselves, for shame of being
there.*

*A government, that, knowing not true
wisdom,*

*Is scorn'd abroad, and lives on tricks at
home.*

Now, Sir, if the actor forgot his part, he deserved to be hiss'd for being so negligent in his business: but if

the Licenser laid his commands upon him, that he should not speak them, the actor stands excused.

It is true, that, to the best of my memory, the act does not give the Licenser a power over plays written and acted before the making the said law: but, however, if these lines appear lewd or immoral, it may serve as some excuse for stretching his power a little beyond what is warranted by law; and, at the same time, Sir, it will serve to convince you and others, what wicked ministers there were in the reign of *K. Charles II.* who suffered such things, tending to corrupt the morals of the people, to be spoke upon the stage in their time.

ACCOUNT of the TRIALS of SEVEN
PYRATES, for the MURDER of
Captain *Edward Bryan*, commander
of the *Tewksbury* of *Bristol*; and
RUNNING AWAY with the said
ship, *November 2. 1737.*

At a court of admiralty, held at *Cape
Coast Castle* on the coast of *Africa*,
on the 19th of *November 1737.*

The court con-
sisted of

{	<i>James Cornwall, Esq;</i> President.	} Chief Agents.
	<i>John Cope,</i>	
	<i>Will. Tymewell,</i>	} Secretary.
	<i>Lieutenant Charles Catford.</i>	
	<i>Lieutenant Frederick Cornwall.</i>	
	<i>David Crichton, Esq;</i>	
<i>Stephen Lubington, Esq;</i> Factor.		

The prisoners being called, the indictment was read as follows:

“ **Y**E *James Sweetland, John
Kennelly, William Buckley,
John Rearden, James Bar-
det, Joseph Noble, and Samuel Rhodes,*
ye, and every one of you, are, in the
name, and by the authority of our So-
vereign Lord *George the Second, King
of Great Britain, &c.* indicted as fol-
lows: Forasmuch as it appears, that on
the second day of this present month
of *November*, you were off of the ri-
ver of *St. Andrew's*, on the windward
coast of *Guiney*, in the vessel called
the

the *Towtbury Galley*, belonging to some merchants at *Bristol*, whereof *Edward Bryan* was the then master; and that you the said *James Sweetland*, *John Kennelly*, *William Buckley*, *John Rearden*, *James Burdet*, *Joseph Noble*, and *Samuel Rhodes*, about four o'clock in the morning of the same day, by force and arms, and without provocation, the said *Bryan* did actually murder, by cutting him down the face, whilst he was asleep in his bed, with an ax, and knocking him on the head with the but-end of a musquet, and afterwards throwing him overboard; after which you, with armed and open force, took possession of the said ship, confined in irons such of the crew as you could not depend upon for carrying on, and perpetrating your wicked and pyratrical intentions (which, however, through God's assistance, you have not been able to put in execution) and run away with the said ship out of sight of land, keeping in possession of the said ship for the space of twenty four hours; by which you have committed the complicated crimes of Murder and Piracy: you are therefore brought upon your trials for the said facts before this court, and are to plead *Guilty*, or *Not guilty*. What say you, *James Sweetland*, *John Kennelly*, *William Buckley*, *John Rearden*, *James Burdet*, *Joseph Noble*, and *Samuel Rhodes*; are you guilty, or not guilty, of the facts now laid to your charge?"

To which they severally pleaded, *Not guilty*.

Names of the witnesses.

<i>Thomas Clements</i> , First Mate.	} Mariners.
<i>Thomas Hind</i> ,	
<i>Alexander Walker</i> ,	
<i>Henry Keaton</i> ,	
<i>John Trattle</i> ,	
<i>John Blackston</i> ,	
<i>Samuel Glover</i> ,	
<i>William Gibson</i> ,	
<i>John Crane</i> ,	
<i>Patrick Cockram</i> ,	
<i>Philip Thomas</i> , Second Mate.	
<i>James Menzies</i> , Surgeon.	

sworn, *SAMUEL RHODES* was called to the bar, against whom *Thomas Clements* deposed, That the prisoner was at the helm when the ship was retaken; that he knows nothing of his being concerned in the murder of the master; that he was look'd upon by all the ship's company as a simple kind of a man; and believes he knew nothing of their design. *Alexander Walker* deposed, That immediately after the master was killed, he saw the prisoner with a pistol and cutlace in his hands; that he stood centry while this deponent was put in irons by the armourer; and that upon *Joseph Noble's* asking him (the deponent) whether he would go in the ship or long-boat? and his replying, that he would go in the long-boat; the prisoner made answer, *He must then go without oars and sails*. *Henry Keaton* deposed, That about three o'clock in the morning, being on the fore-castle, *James Burdet* the armourer came to the other side of the fore-castle, where the prisoner was asleep; that he awaked him, and told him that the Captain was killed; at which he expressed great surprize, and cried out, *Lord have mercy upon me!* that this deponent persuaded him to come and sit with him upon the cat-head; which he did for about half an hour, and then went aft; and further he the deponent knows nothing of him. *John Trattle*, *John Blackston*, *Samuel Glover*, *William Gibson*, *John Crane*, *Patrick Cockram*, and *Philip Thomas*, deposed, That they were put in irons immediately after the murder of the master; but that being let out to ease themselves, they saw the prisoner at the helm. *James Menzies* deposed, That he never saw the prisoner in arms; that he was esteemed a man of no consequence on either side; but that he seemed very well pleased at the ship's being retaken; and that he (the deponent) believes *James Sweetland* forced him to do what he did. The prisoner, in his defence said, That when the murder was committed he was asleep; that *James Sweetland* forced him to stand centry

The witnesses being produced, and

over the fore-hatch way, threatening him with death in case of his refusal.

JAMES SWERTLAND being called to the bar, *Thomas Clements* deposed, That he heard the prisoner say several times, that he had knock'd the master down with the but-end of a musquet, which was produced in court; that he always carried arms, dressed himself in the master's cloaths, took upon him the whole command of the ship; promised him (the deponent) that he should not be hurt, but that if he chose it, he should have the long-boat with a cargo in it, to go where he pleased with. *Alexander Walker* deposed, That the prisoner was all the day in arms, acted as Captain, and would have obliged him to go with him; and that upon his excusing himself, he threatened to shoot him with a pistol he had in his hand. *James Menzies* deposed, That, as he lay asleep without the cabbin-door, he was seized upon by *James Burdet* and *John Rearden*; and, being waked by them; he heard a stroke given in the cabbin; upon which, looking in, he saw the late master, *Edward Bryan*, with the side of his face cut down, rising out of his cabbin, and endeavouring to collar the prisoner; who, upon that, knock'd him down with the but-end of his musquet, repeating his blow, and reproaching *William Buckley*, by saying, *Damn it, you stand by, and will not lend a hand*; and that afterwards, the prisoner, with the assistance of *William Buckley*, *James Burdet*, and *John Rearden*, and a black fellow, afterwards killed by *James Sweetland* during his command of the ship, threw the master out of the cabbin-window; having first made fast to him a screw-jug, and two lead bars. *James Menzies* likewise deposed, That the prisoner stiled himself Captain, and acted as such; and that he had often heard the prisoner say, that he had killed the master. All the other witnesses deposed to their seeing the prisoner the day the master was murdered in arms, and taking upon him the command of the ship; and that it was by his orders that they were put in irons. The prisoner

being heard in his defence, acknowledged the facts; and only begged for mercy for *Rearden*, *Buckley* and *Kennelly*, who he said were seduced by *Noble* and himself.

JOHN KENNELLY being brought to the bar, *Thomas Clements* deposed, That he saw the prisoner under arms the day wherein the master was murdered. *Thomas Hind* deposed, That he saw the prisoner standing centry at the companion-door at the retaking of the ship, with a blunderbuss in his hand; which, upon his threatening to shoot him, he delivered up to him. *Samuel Glover* deposed, That just after the ship was taken by the pyrates, he wanted to come up the main-hatch way, but was hindered by the prisoner in arms, who said, *Damn you, you shan't come up yet if you do, I'll shoot you*: He afterwards bid them not be afraid, for they would do them no harm; and added, they should have rum enough now. *James Menzies* deposed, That the prisoner was all that day in arms, seemed very active against them; and that he hindered (him the deponent) and *Thomas Clements* from securing a pistol in order to help themselves in retaking the ship. All the other witnesses deposed to their seeing the prisoner in arms that day. The prisoner's defence amounted to no more than that he was forced by *Noble* and *Sweetland* in what he did; and that he was no ways concerned in the murder of the master.

WILLIAM BUCKLEY being brought to the bar, *Thomas Clements* deposed, That he saw the prisoner at the helm the day the master was murdered; that he had arms lying by him; and that upon his reproaching him with the murder of the master, he replied, *It could not now be helped; and that he must suffer for it*. *James Menzies* deposed, That he saw the prisoner at the same time in the cabbin with *James Sweetland* and the black fellow, when the master was murdered; and that, upon *James Sweetland's* saying to him, *Damn you, you stand by, and will lend no hand*, he saw him give the master the

the last blow, and afterwards assisted in throwing him out of the cabin-window; that he was afterwards all day in arms, and very active in running away with the ship. The other witnesses deposed to his being in arms the day wherein the Captain was murdered. The prisoner acknowledged the facts, but that he was prevailed upon by *Joseph Noble* and *James Sweetland* to do them.

JOHN REARDEN being brought to the bar, *Thomas Clements* deposed, That he heard the prisoner say to some body upon deck, *I'll warrant him, he's safe enough now*, (meaning, as he believes, the master;) and that he saw the prisoner with a pistol in each hand the day on which the master was murdered. *Alexander Walker* deposed, That he saw the prisoner up in arms the same day; and that he heard him say, *The master was now safe enough, and would never kill half a dozen of us*. *James Menzies* deposed, That the prisoner, and *James Burdet*, secured him as he lay in bed; and that he afterwards saw the prisoner in arms all that day, and very strenuous in running away with the ship. The rest of the witnesses deposed to their seeing the prisoner in arms on the day the master was murdered. His defence consisted in alledging that he was forced and seduced by *James Sweetland*, and confessed that he helped to secure the Doctor.

JAMES BURDET being brought to the bar, *Thomas Clements* deposed, That he was in arms all the day wherein the master was murdered, and very active in obeying *James Sweetland's* orders, in putting several of them in irons; and that in retaking of the ship, he made resistance with a cutlace. *Philip Thomas* deposed, That the prisoner put him in irons; that he carried arms the whole day, and swore he would stand by the present Captain, naming *James Sweetland*. *James Menzies* deposed, That the prisoner helped to secure him; that after the master was killed, he (the prisoner) went upon deck, and said, *He is dead now*; that he seemed to be the most active man

amongst them, and was assisting in throwing the master out of the cabin-window; and would have persuaded his confederates to have murdered the said deponent. All the other witnesses deposed to their seeing the prisoner in arms, and that he put them all in irons.

JOSEPH NOBLE, being brought to the bar, *Thomas Clements* deposed, That the prisoner was under arms upon deck after the murder of the master; that he laid the gratings over them, and called to the deponent, and Mr. *Thomas*, the Second Mate, to keep down; that some time afterwards he told them, that the young lads had killed the master, and thrown him over board; that he was forward and active in running away with the ship; that he stood centry over them in arms till some time in the afternoon, when he began to relent, first proposed, and afterwards forwarded the retaking of the ship. *Henry Keaton* deposed, That the prisoner was instrumental in retaking the ship; that he carried to the men who were in irons a gun-cartridge, with musquet and pistol shot in it; and that he told them, it was for their use to help them in retaking the ship. *James Menzies* deposed, That the prisoner was active in running away with the ship, and afterwards in retaking her; that he proposed to the deponent his having the long-boat well fitted to go away with, and that he would hide himself in the bottom of the boat, and go with him; that he afterwards proposed to the deponent the retaking of the ship, and was very assiduous in contriving the proper means; which he at last brought to bear, and then gave a signal to the said deponent, and the rest of them in irons, by firing a pistol when they should make the attack; and that he, at the same instant, went aft into the cabin, accompanied only with *John Blackston*, where there were five of the confederates, and that, upon *Burdet's* making resistance, he fired a pistol, loaded with tobacco pipes, and wounded him over the right eye; upon which

the rest submitted, and begged for mercy. All the other witnesses deposed to the prisoner's being of great service in the retaking of the ship. The prisoner, after confessing that he was concerned with the rest of the prisoners in running away with the ship, submitted himself to the mercy of the court; which he begged might be extended to him, in consideration that he soon relented of the crime he had committed; and he not only proposed, but, in great measure, perfected the means by which the ship was retaken. This, he hoped, as he was no ways concerned in the murder of the master, would entitle him to some share of clemency from the court.

The prisoner being carried back, the court entered into the consideration of the several facts; and having adjourned to three o'clock in the afternoon, all the prisoners (except *Samuel Rhodes*) were brought to the bar, to whom the president spoke as follows.

"You have been brought to your trials before this court for committing the most horrid crimes of Murder and Piracy; crimes which can only proceed from the blackest heart, and which, in this world, can never be punished with too great severity. For the one, God Almighty has himself declared, That he *whosoever shall shed man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed*. For the other, the laws of nations, the laws of reason, of equity, nay, of common humanity, require the punishment of death, for those who shall be so far lost to reason and humanity, that, becoming enemies to mankind, at the same time they dip their hands in the blood of their fellow creatures, they conspire the ruin and destruction of those who gave them bread. Nor by piracy is the honest merchant only spoiled and divested of his property, upon which himself and family, and perhaps thousands, may, in some measure, depend; but the honour and safety of our nation in particular, (trade being its chief support) are, by such base and villainous actions, (which all of you have

but too plainly manifested) most sensibly affected. To shew mercy therefore for such complicated crimes, would not only be an act of cruelty and injustice to mankind in general, but likewise heap coals of fire on our own heads.

It remains therefore, for me, to declare the sentence that, for your most abominable and wicked practices, this court hath passed upon you; which is,

That ye, James Sweetland, William Buckley, John Rearden, James Burdet, Joseph Noble, and John Kennelly, are, and each of you, is adjudged and sentenced to be carried back to the place from whence you came, from thence to the place of execution, without the gates of this castle, and there, within the flood-marks, to be hanged by the neck till ye are dead; and the Lord have mercy upon your souls. After this, ye, and each of you, shall be taken down, and your bodies hanged in chains."

The sentence being pronounced, the prisoners were carried back to prison, and *Samuel Rhodes* being brought to the bar, the court, from the character and behaviour of the man at his trial, judging him to be a foolish half-witted man, and that, by being asleep when the murder was committed, he was not privy to the design; and being forced by *James Sweetland* to stand contrary, or do as he should otherwise order; sentenced him to enter into indenture for the service of the *Royal African* company for the space of five years, without wages. And then the court adjourned till *Monday* morning, eleven of the clock. And, the court being then met, *Joseph Noble* was ordered to be brought to the bar, to whom the president spoke as follows.

Joseph Noble,

"The sentence adjudged against you by this court on *Saturday* last, however just it is, for the wicked crimes of which you stand indicted; yet, upon some considerations, the court has thought fit to mitigate the severer part of it. The reason for it is, that notwithstanding, by the confession of the

the other prisoners, you had the chief hand in laying this horrid scheme; yet it appears strongly in your favour, by the evidence of some of the witnesses, that without your assistance, they had, in all probability, failed in retaking the ship; and, consequently, so wicked a combination must have produced very dismal and cruel effects. To the end, therefore, that in any future attempts of this kind, (which unhappily are but too common) the gate of mercy may not be shut against those, who, by their endeavours, shall shew their repentance of so foul and villanous a deed, the court has thought fit to make you an example of their clemency, by granting you a reprieve from your former sentence, until such time as his Majesty's pleasure shall be signified; declaring and adjudging, nevertheless, that in the mean time you enter into bonds for serving the *Royal African* company, for the space of seven years, for which you are to receive no wages."

After which, *Samuel Rhodes* and *Joseph Noble* exchanged indentures with the chief agents, and principal directors for the time being, according to their several sentences; and on *Saturday* the twenty sixth, the other five malefactors were executed, according to the sentence given against them.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR, Newcastle, April 14.

Father Bougeant, a French Jesuit, has lately been expelled the order; and put into confinement, for publishing a short tract, intitled, *A philosophical amusement on the language of Beasts*: a treatise which in England would have given no manner of offence; but it is the misfortune of some nations to be prejudiced against any alteration, tho' ever so great an improvement, in their vulgar methods of thinking: which is the greatest obstruction of any to the advance of truth, and the banishment of weak and mistaken conceptions of matters in themselves important, as well as those of less consequence. And

as this tract will probably make some noise in France, a short account of it will, no doubt, be acceptable to such of your readers as may not see the book itself.

It is divided into three sections. The first treats of the *Understanding of Beasts*; in which the author explodes the opinion of *Descartes*, That beasts are mere machines, and that all their actions may be accounted for by the laws of mechanism. In answer to which he argues, That it is as impossible to know that a man is not a mere machine, as that a dog is one; since in the latter are visible the outward signs of many different sentiments of joy and sadness, of grief and pain, of fear and desire, of passions, of love and hatred; in which, though the expression may be different, it will be difficult to prove the principle upon which they act not to be the same that actuate the human species upon the same occasions: and yet a spiritual soul is what cannot easily be allowed to beasts; since, according to Christianity, they must then necessarily have a paradise and a hell provided for them. This is proved by a concise sketch of the opinions of the ancients relating to this subject, &c. And this writer bestows no small pains to make it appear probable that animals in general are possessed by devils! who are assigned such abodes for the punishment of their offences. One argument used for which is, That several tame, and all wild beasts, are exposed to such sufferings of pain, hunger, &c. as cannot be supposed to be inflicted on creatures void of offence. To corroborate which it is urged, that from Scripture it appears the devils are not in hell at present, but only assigned to it at the last day: as when Christ said, *Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels*; whence it is inferred, that though the fire was prepared for them, they were not actually in it: and where the devils ejected out of the possessed say to him, *Art thou come to torment us before our time?* for, says Father Bougeant, if the devils ac-

ually suffer the tortures of hell, what reasonable meaning can be assigned for this expression? and where St. Jude says, *God keeps them in everlasting chains under profound darkness, and reserves for the judgment of the great day the angels which kept not their first estate.*—And if it may be allowed that beasts, when they were first created, might properly be said to be good, he seems to think they have grown worse of late years; or else our monkeys would not be so mischievous, our dogs so envious, or our cats so ungrateful and perfidious.—One instance to prove beasts possessed with devils, is that of the herd of swine: for, says this author, as man has not two souls, beasts have each but one devil; and this is so very true, that Jesus Christ having one day driven out many devils, and they having asked his leave to enter into a herd of swine that fed near the sea, he permitted it, and they entered into the swine accordingly. But what happened? Each swine having his own devil already, a battle ensued, and the whole herd threw themselves into the sea.

SECT. II. treats of the *Necessity of a Language between Beasts*: under which article it is observed, that language cannot justly be supposed to be confined to any certain accents, or peculiar sounds, since angels speak without a voice; nay, do not ourselves speak every day by certain looks, motions, and gestures? so that, were a whole nation dumb, they would nevertheless soon fix upon a language to answer all the purposes of words: and it is therefore reasonable to suppose, that each species of animals are as little at a loss to convey their meaning to each other, as ourselves; for, were there not a language among the *beavers*, for example, how would it be possible for them to build their habitations with that regularity and dispatch which is the admiration of men themselves? these buildings never being attempted but by thirty or forty, more or less, in mutual concert, every one of which keeps to the business assigned him. Their edifices being erected on the side

of a lake, a tree is first cut at the root, and falls into the lake; immediately on which other artificers work it; some prepare piles, others drive them, and others are forming the necessary timbers, while another set of them are employed in bringing clay to fill up the vacancies between the rafters and party-walls: which is brought by the admirable invention of having one take her arms-full of clay, and make a kind of cart of her body, by lying on her back, while others drag her to the place appointed: And, after their amazing structure is finished, no dispute is ever heard about taking possession of the different apartments, but age and merit are chearfully preferred. All which are the most evident marks of understanding and language too; since *Babel*, though in the hands of *human artificers*, could not be carried on without one.—And, after some good arguments in confutation of the commonly received ideas of Instinct, Father Bougeant asks, how it can be conceived that two *sparrows*, in the heat of their lust, or in the cares attending bringing up their family, have not a thousand things to say to each other? and thinks it impossible, in the order of nature, that a sparrow who loves his wife, has not a language full of expression and tenderness: He must scold her when she plays the coquet; he must menace the sparks who come to cajole her; he must understand her when she calls him; he must, while she is assiduously sitting on the brood, be able to provide necessaries for her, and discern whether it be food she asks for, or feathers to repair her nest.—Let a cat but shew herself upon the top of a house, or in a garden, the very first sparrow that perceives her, exactly does what a sentinel who sees the enemy does amongst us; he by his cries warns all his companions, and seems to imitate the noise of a drum beating a march. See a *cock* near his *hen*, a dove near the female he is wooing, and a *cat* after his mate, and there is no end of their discourses.

SECT. III. treats of the *Language of Beasts*: Birds sing, they say: but this

is a mistake; birds do not sing, but speak; what is taken for their singing, being no more than their natural language: Do the magpye, the jay, the raven, the owl, and the duck, sing? What makes us believe they sing, is their tuneful voice. Thus the *Hottentots* in Africa seem to cluck like *Turkey-cocks*, though it is the natural accent of their language. Birds, in this sense, may be said to sing: but they sing not for singing's sake, as we fancy they do; their singing is always an intended speech: and it is comical enough that there should be thus in the world so numerous a nation who never speak but tunably and musically. And let any one suppose himself in the same circumstances with a magpye, and the tone and accent of the latter will be perfectly agreeable to what a man would say in the same circumstances: "There is nothing more to be had here. Let us go to some other place: Where are you going, Mate? I am going; follow me. Come quick, come in haste. Where are you? Here I am. Don't you hear me? You eat all: I shall beat you. Who is coming there? I am afraid; have a care, have a care; alarm, alarm! let us fly." — Father Bougeant, in answer to the supposition of the language of animals being full of repetitions, instances the *Chinese*, and other nations, whose sounds are not easily distinguished by foreigners; and thinks a man born deaf, and immediately attaining the use of his ears, would think our language little more than constant repetitions of the same words.

By this faint sketch of this work, you will perceive that many speculative arguments, &c. are brought to illustrate the subject; which seems well worth the consideration of men of delicate and philosophical geniuses, and appears to me capable of great improvement. Yours, &c.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

S I R,

Aberdeen.

THE author of the verses I here send you having joined with others of her sex to write upon Mr. Dryden's death, under the several names of the Nine Muses, she was soon after address'd by some dabblers in poetry, as to a Muse, desiring her inspiration; to whom these verses were sent in answer, in the name which she had assum'd, of, *The Heroick Muse*, but never publish'd. If you think (though writ above 35 years ago) they may be seasonable now, when there are so many pretenders to poetry, you are desired to insert them in your *Magazine*; which will oblige one who may be farther, though

Your unknown correspondent.

CALLIOPE's directions how to deserve, and distinguish the Muses Inspiration.

Attend, ye numerous daring throng, who strive
To gain the dang'rous hill, where few
arrive;

Learn how the sacred height you may attain,
And shine among the Muses fav'rite train.

Let none presume the hollow'd way to tread,
By other than the noblest motives led.

If for a sordid gain, or glit'ring fame,
To please, without instructing, be your aim;
To lower means your grow'ling thoughts confine,
Unworthy of an art that's all divine.

Next try your judgment: — Ere yourselves
indite,

Justly condemn, and praise what others write.

If pompous empty sound you most affect,

Or labour'd scenes insipidly correct,

Devoid of sense sublime; if uncouth thought,

With artless toil far out of nature sought,

Or trifling play of words, delight you more

With glaring tinsel show, than solid oar;

On the Poetic art your pains you'll waste,

In cold productions, duller than your taste:

But if true worth alone your praise obtain,

Whilst S—le, D—fy, B—re, you disdain;

Proceed, — and hope by moral views, success;

If we your well directed labours bless.

When for the Tragic strain you are inclin'd,

To draw the various passions of the mind;

Ambition, love or hate, revenge or pride,

Whate'er disorders human souls divide:

Let your just scene their ruling disapprove,
 Ev'n of the jest, not least pernicious, love;
 Instruct how sure, as if on ruin bent,
 They all the happiness they seek, prevent.

If you attempt the Comic ridicule,
 Last not alone the grosser knave, or fool;
 But all the gallant vices of the age,
 Of which men boast, should blush upon the stage;
 The more approv'd, the more diffus'd they are,
 Less your impartial pen the dangerous ill shou'd spare.
 Let the nice well-bred beau, himself perceive
 The most accomplish'd—useless thing alive.
 Expose the bottle-sparks, that range the town,
 Shaming themselves with follies not their own:
 But chief those foes to virgin innocence,
 Who, whilst they make to honour vain pretence,
 With all that's base and impious can dispense;
 To gain, or quit some fond deluded ste,
 Deceit's a jest, false vows—but gallantry.
 Let ev'ry Dorimant * appear a knave,
 And no false wife, her falser honour save.

If by severer Satyr you'd correct,
 Boldly the crimes of ev'ry rank detect:
 But ne'er descend your censure to apply;
 'Tis vile Lampoon, below the Muses dignity.

Not so to Praise: each honour'd name reboars;
 Peculiar merit most deserves your verse;
 By virtue dignify'd, the lowest name
 Is worthy us, and ev'ry tongue of fame.

Thus far depends on your own care and art,
 A lifeless heap without the Muses part:
 If SHAKESPEAR'S spirit with transporting fire
 The animated scene throughout inspire;
 If, in the piercing wit of CONGREVE dress'd,
 Each sees his darling folly made a jest;
 If GARTH and DRYDEN'S genius, through each
 line

In artful praise, and well-turn'd Satyr, shine,
 To us ascribe th' immortal sacred flame,
 And still invoke th' auspicious Muses name.

* A loose character in the *Man of Mode*, a celebrated comedy.

S I R,

THE following poem, upon his Grace the Duke of Argyle, done by a Scots Merchant, having had the approbation of several of the best judges, as truly *Classical*, will probably be acceptable to the publick, and therefore may deserve a place in your *Magazine*.

I am

Pertb.

Your humble servant,

J. M.

Ode in Illustrissimum JOANNEM
 Argathelæ Ducem.

Ob victoriam prope Montes pa-
 tam.

NON usitata laude Britannicam
 Heroa, longo stentante mobilem
 Illustriorem sed tropæis
 Militiæ, celebrato Musæ.

Divæ serenos Pierii jugi
 Virum deserto carmine dicite,
 Fidissimam spem, grande dactis
 Præsidium patriæ, decusq;—
 Cum Gallicarum signa cubortium
 Expansa Ducitur Martia cerneret,
 Hostemque leges jactitantem &
 Vincula se populis daturam;
 Ardens futura gloria, & bellum
 Ulturns armis diæ minacium,
 Incedit hortator duelli:

“O comites, socii ô laborum,
 “Sperata multum venit, ait, dies,
 “Funeſta Gallis, grata Penantibus,
 “Quæ reddet Europæ perenne
 “Fœdus amicitia, jugumque
 “Servile demet gentibus: cu vocat
 “Clangor tubarum in prælia.” Pro-
 tinus

Adornat hastatas manibus,
 Bella movens metuenda Gallæ.
 Tendens in hostem per nemora iuvia,
 (Res imminentes plena periculi!)
 Per damna, per stragem & procellos
 Flammivomans, aciem læcessit.
 Firmata vallo triplici, & audique
 Defensa forti milite, machina &
 Munita circum fulminante,
 Scandit atrox inimica castra.
 Illius horæ voce quis explicet
 Cladem? querelis funera quis satis
 Pleret dici lætuose,

SCOTICA qua periiu juventus?
 Quo Musa tendis? (talisa quid moror
 Fanda?) refert hæc tristitia desinas;
 Dum vivit ARGATHELUS heros,
 Magnificos peragens triumphos.

Selecta Regis robora Gallici,
 Seræ senectæ spem, decus imperi,
 Formidinem aque Fœderatum,
 Præcipitat tacitas ad umbras.
 Quocunque ducit, dextra secat viam
 Inviſta, cedunt agmina dexteros
 Non ante debellata: SCOTUS
 Quid poterit didicere Cæles.

Muli-

*Multiplici anibus subsidio tamen
Gallus, (parabat sicut in ultimum
Certamen,) armis explicatis,
Dimicat egregie: trucidat
Pubem cruenta cæde Britannicam,
Mæbat Sicambros; hoc, Bataros, tu-
mens*

*Felice successu, hinc & illinc
Fundit bæni graviore casu.
Id conspicatus per sociâ agmina
CAMPELLUS (instans usque operi)
volat,*

*“Ratpendens (inquit) vi per hostes
“Transitus, & revocanda vir-
tus.”*

*Inflectitur ingenti sonitu tube,
Cælestis virum sublatus ad æthera est,
Cæcæ remissa est vox, nonusque
Insolitus transit omne natu.*

*Jam perma perjuri accelerat gradum,
Ubriz tyranni perfidiæ & doli;
Edoet Britanni corda, & auget
Libera conditio vigorem.*

*Dum pergit, hostis missile sustinet
Fulmen, famoris stætibus obvia
Rupes volut: qua tela ternit
Densa, ruit mediis in hostes.*

*Martem peritus ancipitem jubet
Sevire, (certus vincere vel mori,)
Turmasque fractas & repulsas
Acce docet renovare bellum.*

*Illustris Heros, difficile est Ducis
Cantare, quos & quot dederis neci
Congressu in hoc: vastis sepulchra
Deficiunt cunctis riuæ —*

*Somnis adortus viribus, (hoc opus
Æternæ ô! quæ cura Britannicæ?)
Perrumpit ætatas phalanges
Victor, & auspiciis secundis,*

*Immittit acer præcipitem in fugam.
Ipse Imperator vulnere sancius,
Quæsitus, ense abjecto inani,
Villaribus latebris salutem.*

*Procedit audax: scena miserrima!
Campus recenti Francigenum madet
Occisione, impleta fessa
Purpureis stuvviis imndat.*

*Mortale quamvis supplicium levat,
Duriq; Galli luce novissima
Corda evabit, Ductoris ense
Letifero cecidisse tanti.*

*Vindex dolosa fraudis, & impij
Fastus severas persequitur; necans
Es dans catentis, comminatur
Bella Parisiæ in arces,*

PROLOGUE, spoken the 10th of April, 1739, at the Theatre-Royal in Covent-Garden, on occasion of SHAKESPEAR'S Monument. Written by Mr. THEOBALD, and spoken by Mr. RYAN.

[The curtain being drawn up to solemn music, discover'd the stage in mourning.]

MEsthinks, to-night, I cast my eyes around
With awe, and seem to tread on bal-
low'd ground:

*The vaulted scene assumes a gloom of dread,
Like that where sleep the venerable dead;
And you, a pious train, in pleas'd array
Are rang'd, the solemn obsequies to pay.*

*Immortal SHAKESPEAR! we thy claim admit;
For, like thy Cæsar, thou art mighty yet!
Thy spirit walks abroad; and at our hands
The honorary tomb thy right demands —
That debt is paid, and, to thy mem'ry just,
We press to execute the pious trust!
Fast rise the marble, and long-live the pile,
O'er which thy venerable busts shall smile:
A long respect must guard the sacred tomb,
Where Flattery's tongue is mute, and Envy dumb.*

*Britons! with virtuous pride your merits know:
You've done, what Kings, of old, were fond to do.
—Then, when the Poet dy'd, the Monarch mourn'd,
And, by command, his ashes were inurn'd.*

*The due respect you've in this tribute shewn
Bespeaks the Poet's worth, and trowns your own;
And, haphy hence shall spring new Tragic rage,
And distant SHAKESPEARS rise to charm the age.*

*What muse can languish, who may hope to boast
A fame fresh-blooming at the publick cost?*

*For the dead bard receive our thanks and praise,
And make us sharers of the tomb you raise.*

To Fair, who have distinguish'd favours shewn,
And made this Poet's patronage your own;*

*Urge those, whose gen'rous hearts confess your sway,
To follow, where your virtues point the way:*

*Then think, this pile his honour'd bones contains,
And frequent visit — here — the low'd remains.*

* A set of Ladies, who, for the two last seasons, had two plays acted every week for their entertainment; from whence they took the name of The SHAKESPEAR CLUB.

PROLOGUE TO GUSTAVUS VASA.

BRitons! this night presents a state distress'd,
Though brave, yet vanquish'd; and, though
great, oppress'd.

*Vice, (rav'ning culture) on her vitals press'd,
Her Peers, her Prelates, sell Corruption away'd.
Their*

*Their rights, for pow'r, th' ambitious weakly fold;
The wealthy, poorly, for superfluous gold.
Hence wasting ill, hence few'ring factious rose,
And op'd large entrance to invading foes:
Truth, Justice, Honour, fled th' infected shore;
For Freedom, sacred Freedom, was no more.
— Then, greatly rising in his country's right,
Her hero, her deliv'rer sprung to light:
A race of hardy Northern sons be led,
Guilless of courts, untainted, and unread;
Whose in-born spirits spurn'd th' ignoble fet,
Whose hands scorn'd bondage,— for their hearts
were free.*

*Ask ye what laws their conqu'ring cause confess'd?
Great Nature's law, the law within the breast;
Form'd by no art, and to no set confin'd,
But stamp'd by Heav'n upon th' unletter'd mind.*

*Such, such, of old, the first-born natives were,
Who breath'd the virtues of BRITANNIA'S air,
Their realm when mighty Cæsar vainly fought:
For then with Cæsar mightier Freedom fought,
And rudely drove the fam'd invader home,
To tyrannize o'er polish'd, venal Rome.*

*Inspir'd, exalted with a kindred-flame,
Our author pleads for ev'ry free-born claim.
He to no state, no climate, bounds his page;
He bids the moral beam through ev'ry age:
Then be your judgment gen'rous as his plan;
Ye sons of Freedom! save the friend of Man.*

To SLEEP. [Dalkeith.]

Profitious Pow'r, to wretched mortals kind,
Who, not content to snatch the pensive mind
With soft repose, dost splendidly delight
With various scenes our intellectual fight.
Oft, while, within thy downy arms care's'd,
The sluggish body takes refreshing rest;
Freed from its earthy charge, the wakeful soul
Visits the stars, and ranges o'er the pole;
To distant worlds with nimble pinions flies,
And climbs with easy steps the steepy skies.
While blust'ring winds around my chamber blow,
And all the neighb'ring fields lie hid in snow;
Whilst, uncontroul'd, tempestuous Winter reigns,
And strips of all their bloomy pride the plains;
Wasted by thee, swift Fancy wings her way
To milder climes, where verd'rous fields look gay.
There, lightly skimming thro' mild air, I move
O'er the green meadows and enchanted grove:
Or, fir'd by Love, an amorous chase I run,
Pursuing DREIA thro' the mazy turn
Of Love's deluding ways; till, gently, she,
By honour won, resigns herself to me.
In extasy of bliss intranc'd I ly,
Till morn's return, and then the phantoms fly.

S I R,

A Gardener in this neighbour-
hood, a handsome young
fellow, and a bachelor, being be-
sieged by all the pretty girls near
him, who discover a desire to walk
in his garden preferably to any
other, occasioned the following
lines to be left on the table in his
summer-house. I am,
Aberwick, Your humble servant,
March 28. T. C.

O D E. Extempore.

When our first fire, by heav'n's
command,
Survey'd fair Eden's blissful land,
Of all its goods possess'd;
Each tree gave but a saint de logis
Each flow'r but half regal'd his
fight,
And half reliev'd his breast.

II.

*For something more his longing soul
Deep-sigh'd, in spite of all controul.
He know not what he meant.
— His great Creator, over kind,
To cheer his thoughts, and fetch his
mind,*

A beautiful comfort sent.

III.

*Transported by such bliss bestow'd,
His grateful heart with thanks o'er-
flow'd,
To taste such joy unknown;
Till, weakly list'ning to her tongue,
On which his ear too fondly hung,
His state was overthrown.*

IV.

*O! H—! if in Eden's shade
Our gen'ral father was betray'd
By one fair nymph, no more!
What care need you, your fate to
scan?
For if by one he was undone,
Can you withstand a score?*

The RESOLVE.

To his WIFE, looking over his
shoulder while he was reading.

My dear, you partly bid me write
An Indian King, who could
resign'd

*His kingdom, and the pomp of life,
To ransom and regain his wife :
— But how, quoth you, d'ye think 'twould
With modern Queens,—or even me, [be,
If case like this should chance t'attend ?
You'd scarce resign your glass or friend !
In answer, therefore, to your query,
The reason is, (with patience bear me)
— He was at choice, when e'er she seiz'd
him,*

*To cast her off, for one that pleas'd him :
Whereas had he, like us, been ty'd,
Or like or hate her, to his bride,
To his life's end, go rack or mangle,
He'd sooner gi'n his crown to change her.*

Haddington, March 10.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR, London, April 24.

THE art of puffing increases beyond belief: and even the great *Handell* himself has been accused of conforming to this prevailing folly, in an instance where (I cannot help speaking with some concern) there was the least cause for descending to such mean arts.— A new oratorio, called *Israel in Egypt*, was performed the third night to a small, though very splendid audience: on which appeared a letter in the daily papers full fraught with praises of the above piece; and intreating, as a blessing for the publick, that *Mr. Handell* would favour the town with it once more. And that *Master of Melody*, out of his constant inclination to oblige, condescended to this request; and the oratorio was performed, to the surprize of myself and many more, to a very numerous audience, headed by two personages of the greatest distinction; and, two days after, a second letter was published, pointing out the beauties of that composition, in such a manner as will, if the publick take it for a spontaneous compliment, go near to have it yet once more repeated.

The late act for regulating the stage has already produced some unexpected occurrences; and at present the publick is offered proposals for printing by subscription a tragedy called *Edward and*

Eleanora, written by *Mr. Thomson*, author of the *Seasons*, &c. At which some writers in defence of its being denied representation, seem a little displeas'd; while others think the author has just cause to complain of his treatment.— For my own part, I am perfectly easy whether these Tragical Gentlemen are ever more allowed the use of the theatre: for, if Comedy does not next winter relieve us, I am under no small apprehension that we criticks, who scorn to laugh in a deep scene, shall lose the art of smiling with success; whereby many of our smarts would lose by far the most prevailing part of their rhetorick.— I have studied, sometimes, I believe, for not less than five minutes together, without being able to find out the cause of that swarm of Tragedies with which of late years we have been over-run; and could never assign any reason to my own satisfaction: since I should think it more probable to succeed in a species of writing which owes its origin to scenes of life in which every Gentleman must share the pleasure of application, (as every Gentleman is, in some degree, concerned in them;) than in a train of actions, which, if they ever subsist at all, are not seen more than once in an age; and that never by those who are spectators of the use the Poet makes of them.— But however the criticks may look up the power of a well written Tragedy, I cannot help thinking the most admired of them better adapted for setting the heads of an audience a-gadding after scenes of life which they can never probably attain, than for furnishing them with sentiments which they can reduce to practice.— Your countrymen have sufficiently play'd their parts with the Tragick Muse; and, were they to favour us with a few Comedies to act in turn with them, they would, probably, in some measure, remove the generally received opinion of their being too piblogmatick for such lively undertakings.

But perhaps you preserve all your pieces of that kind till the opening of

D d

your

your own theatre in Edinburgh by special authority. But such an opposition arose against that attempt, as will naturally put those Gentlemen who were most zealous in soliciting that licence, upon weighing its consequences with more deliberation than was at first exercised in that affair. The petitions that have been presented on this occasion, have been here read with considerable attention, and the reasons contained in them pretty generally approved, and much applauded by the more grave and experienced amongst us. And indeed I must confess, that, in my own opinion, the parallel drawn, in the petition of the Lord Provost, &c. between London and Edinburgh, as equally entitled to the benefit of the late act for reducing the number of play-houses, as places of trade; and between the last mentioned city, and Oxford and Cambridge, as universities, bears more weight than I was at first willing to imagine:—Tho' in the petition of the Dean of Guild and his Council, &c. I was a little surprised to find stagnation and revival of trade in general attributed to the influence of the theatre among you: for, during the short time you enjoyed that improving entertainment, the persons who appeared in it were far from boasting of their reception;—for, in a letter from a manager of the company, he complained, that, if they got a bit, a bat (as he expressed it) never failed to come along with it.

I do not think myself properly qualified to attempt deciding a matter of such importance, and with respect to which I know myself attached to one side of the question: And after this acknowledgment you will, I believe, more readily allow me to declare, that, as far as I am capable of seeing into causes and their effects, I believe our politeness in town in a very great measure owing to the exhibition of Dramatic compositions; where even the very nature of such assemblies must inspire a virtuous breast with thoughts superior to vice of any kind: and, where the known reason assigned for such assemblies is, the improvement of

our morals, and the reformation of our manners, it must be the abandoned and depraved only, that can pervert so useful and excellent an intention, to purposes directly inconsistent with the design, as well as the natural tendency of such entertainments.—I know not how far, indeed, some of the worst of our old plays may affect vicious minds: but, in honour of our modern Dramatic writers, or rather, of our discerning audiences, it must be confessed, that so far is the dirty ribaldry that once could alone please, from being countenanced now, that seldom a double entendre is allowed; three of which, if apparent to the spectators, would be enough to damn a play of considerable merit; *Smut* and *Bowdery* having been long banished to *stews* and *brothels*, their proper places of residence: which may, not improbably, be one reason why it is now so much more difficult to write a play with success, than when *immoral insinuations* served for *thought*, and an *impudent pun* was accepted for *wit*.—What influence a play-house would have in Edinburgh, I will not offer to conjecture; but in London, it is the judgment of several men who express the greatest attention for economy, that, among men of fortune, those evenings which are spent in the theatre are *always* the *cheapest*, *often* the *shortest*, and *too frequently* the *most rational* of any during the whole winter.

Benefit-nights engross almost the whole stage at present: and though it is from them principally our Comedians obtain support, I have often wished a means could be found out to avoid a custom which is certainly not agreeable to the sentiments of men possessed of qualifications necessary for the stage; because it subjects them to a continual dependence upon every face they know.

I am, &c.

S. TOWERS.

EDINBURGH.

AS the case of the SECEDED MISTERS will probably be the subject of some debates in the ensuing

General Assembly, we hope a short narration of some facts relative to their secession, will be acceptable to our readers.

There being no fixed method for the church-judicatures to proceed upon, in settling Ministers in vacant churches, since the act of Parliament *decimo Anno* restoring Patronages, great disturbances happened in different parts of the kingdom upon these occasions. To remedy which, the General Assembly 1732 passed an interim act, till it should please God to relieve the church of the grievance of patronages, vesting the Town-council, Heritors and Elders, in royal burghs, and in landward parishes, the Heritors and Elders, with the power of electing and calling Ministers or Preachers to supply their vacancies; the person elected to be proposed to the congregation for their approbation, or, in case they disapproved, that the reasons should be laid before the Presbytery. This act was, in substance, much the same with the act of Parliament 1690, which was framed by the advice of some of the principal Presbyterian clergy at that time, and with which the church, by an uninterrupted acquiescence, shewed her satisfaction, till the 1712; when the Parliament, by an act, restored to patrons the power of presenting Ministers to vacant churches in Scotland. However, the act of Assembly 1732 gave offence to several members of the church, who maintain the divine right of the people to a suffrage in the choice of their own pastors; and especially to Mr. Ebenezer Erskine Minister at Stirling, who testified against it and several other decisions of the church-judicatures with respect to settlements of Ministers in vacant churches, in a sermon at the opening of the Synod of Perth and Stirling. This was the beginning of the divisions that have since followed. For the Synod ordered Mr. Erskine to be rebuked at their bar for reflecting against the proceedings of the church-judicatures. From which sentence he appealed to the Assembly 1733; who, having heard parties, ordered Mr. Er-

skine to be rebuked at their own bar; which was done accordingly. To this sentence, as importing that he had departed from the word of God and approved standards of the church, Mr. Erskine would not submit; but protested, That he should be at liberty still to preach the same truths of God, and to testify against the same or the like defections of the church upon all proper occasions. Mess. William Wilford at Perth, Alexander Moncrief at Abernethy, and James Fisher at Kinclaven, Ministers, adhered to this protest; and then they all withdrew. Whereupon the Assembly passed an act, ordering the protesters to appear before the Commission in August, and to shew their sorrow for their conduct; and, in case they should refuse to retract their protest, the Commission was appointed to suspend them from the exercise of their pastoral office, &c. The protesters appeared in August, but still adhered to their former protest; whereupon the Commission suspended them. In November they again appeared before the Commission; who, finding they disregarded the sentence of suspension, and continued in their former courses, declared them *no longer Ministers of that church*, and their churches to be vacant from the date of the sentence. This sentence being intimate to them, they read a paper, wherein they made a secession from the church, and protested, That, notwithstanding this sentence, their pastoral relation to their respective parishes should still be firm and valid, and that it should be lawful and warrantable for them to exercise the keys of doctrine, discipline and government, according to the word of God, the confession of faith, and the principles and constitution of the covenanted church of Scotland. The Assembly 1734 seemed to disapprove of the measures taken in some former Assemblies and their Commissions: For they repealed the act 1732, passed an act in favour of ministerial freedom, dispatched Commissioners to address the King and Parliament for a repeal of the Patronage act,

turned a young Gentleman out of his church that had been ordained by the preceding Commission contrary to the inclinations of the body of the Christian people, and impowered the Synod of Perth and Stirling, under certain limitations, to restore the Seceders to their ministerial charges. Some time thereafter, that Synod accordingly took off the sentences pronounced by the Commission in 1733 against the Seceders. But they refused to come in to the church, which they said had unjustly thrust them out; associated themselves into a Presbytery, assuming a power paramount to that of the church over all Scotland; and published a pamphlet, intitled, *All, Declaration and Testimony, for the doctrine, worship, &c. of the church of Scotland*, in which they review the conduct of the church for a long series of years past, condemn her decisions, and represent her as corrupted. Their party is since strengthened by the accession of Mess. Ralph Erskine at Dunfermline, Thomas Mair at Orwald, Thomas Nairn at Abbotshall, and James Thomson at Burntisland, Ministers. They are all sisted to appear before the ensuing Assembly, and serv'd with a copy of a libel, the substance of which we gave in our last *Magazine*, p. 135. Yet they still preach in the fields, to very numerous audiences, in several different parts of the kingdom.

Mr. James Bathgate, Minister of Dalgety, who was transported by the Commission to Stirling, has given in a demission of his ministerial charge to the Presbytery of Dunfermline.

Wheat being now scarce in Spain, five ships were lately hired at the port of Leith to carry that commodity thither.

A great many informations have been laid against people in this city for retailing spirituous liquors, four of which being tried before the Justices of the Peace for the shire, have been convicted, and fined according to their circumstances. The Lord President of the Session, who was in the chair, represented in very moving terms, the

bad consequences of that pernicious practice, how ruining to the country and destructive of the real advantage which might accrue to the nation by encouraging the consumpt of our own spirits.

The estate of Luffness, in East-Lothian, was purchased at a publick roup by the Earl of Hopeton, for L. 8350 Sterling.

L O N D O N.

A Large subscription of the merchants, &c. of London, for encouraging the Linen manufacture of Ireland, is near compleated.

Some boxes of stones, voided by persons who drank Mrs. Stephens's medicines, were expos'd to view in the house of Commons, and several Gentlemen appeared there who were cured by them, as did some Physicians and Surgeons, to give their opinions about the said medicines.

The Captains of the royal navy will, for the future, be restrain'd from carrying goods or merchandizes on board the ships of war to foreign countries.

Two persons are ordered to be brought over from Dublin, for arresting a Scots Peer there last summer.

The parliament of Ireland, which stood prorogued to the 3d day of May, is, by his Majesty's order, farther prorogued to the 16th of August.

The 11th April, at night, the newborn Prince was baptized at Norfolk-house, by the name of EDWARD-AUGUSTUS. The Duke of Queensberry was Proxy for the King of Prussia, the Marquis of Carnarvon for the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttle, and the Lady Charlotte Edwin for the Duchess of Saxe Weissenfels. The ceremony was performed by the Bishop of Oxford.

A large quantity of gun-carriages, with 2000 iron ordnance, were shipped for Spain.

The victualling-office has provided nine months provisions for twelve men of war, besides what are ready at Portsmouth, Plymouth, &c.

An apartment is taken in German street, Picadilly, for the conveniency

of poor lying-in women, at the expence of several of the nobility and gentry, who are carrying on a subscription to establish it.

His Majesty has sent a message to the parliament, desiring them to make a provision for their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Princesses, upon their surviving his demise.

The crew of the Halifax, Manly, newly arrived at London from the East Indies, say, that in the island Mauritius, they ate of the Mermaid, and that its taste is not unlike veal. It is a large fish of about 3 or 400 weight; the head is particularly large, and so are all the features, which differ but little from those of a man or woman; the male having a beard four or five inches long, and the female a short neck, and breasts exactly human. When they are first taken, which is often on the grass, they cry and grieve with great sensibility. It is amphibious.

They write from Vigo in Spain, that some fishermen lately took on that coast a sort of monster, or Merman, five foot and a half from its foot to its head, which is like that of a goat. It has a long beard and mustachoes, a black skin, somewhat hairy; a very long neck, short arms, and hands longer and bigger than they ought to be in proportion to the rest of the body; long fingers, like those of a man, with nails like claws; very long toes, joined like the feet of a duck, and the heels furnished with fins resembling the winged feet with which painters represent Mercury. It has also a fin at the lower end of its back, which is twelve inches long, and fifteen or sixteen broad.

By a letter from St. Eustatia, by the way of New-York, we learn, that a French trading sloop from the Spanish coast touched there, laden with cocoa, having 20,000 pieces of eight on board. On the coast of Caraccas she met with two Spanish galleys of 20 guns each, which she engaged for twelve hours, and, at last, obliged them to give over. She was very much shattered, so that she came up to St. Thomas to refit, and went down again to

complete her trade, and meeting a Spanish guarda costa, she sunk him.

York, April 9. 1739.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

S I R,

ON Saturday was executed here the notorious RICHARD TURPIN, by the name of *John Palmer*. The noise this fellow made for some time is the only apology can be given for troubling the publick with any account of so mean, and, from whatever appeared of him here, so stupid a wretch.

From the best accounts I can come at, it appears, that about two years ago he came out of Lincolnshire to Brough, near Market-Cave, in this county, and lived some time at North Cave, and some time at Welton; at which places he passed chiefly for a dealer in horses, and sometimes went a sporting with the Gentlemen of the neighbourhood. The occasion of his being first apprehended was his shooting a favourite game-cock: for being blamed by a neighbour for that action; he told him, if he would stay till he had charged his piece, he would shoot him also; which was a manner of speaking so unusual, that the master of the cock, and the person threatned, got a warrant for taking him up; and he refusing to find security for his good behaviour, was thereupon committed to the house of correction at Beverly. On this, several informations were given against him, concerning his going frequently into Lincolnshire, and usually returning with plenty of money, and several horses; whence it began to be generally believed he must be either a highwayman or a horse-stealer: and the accounts he gave of himself being unsatisfactory, a messenger was sent to Lincolnshire, to enquire the truth of what he said relating to his father's living at Long-Sutton in that county; who returning with a detection of the falshood of all he had said upon that head, and a request from a Justice of the peace in Long-Sutton to detain him, in

order to be tried for some facts charged upon him before his departure from thence, he was removed from Beverly, and by two men conveyed to York castle. While he lay in confinement here, a letter was intercepted by his schoolmaster, who knew his hand-writing, whereby he was discovered to be the infamous Richard Turpin of Essex. The following is the copy of a letter he received from his father, then in confinement for selling a horse his son had stolen.

Dear Child,

I Received your letter this instant, with a great deal of grief. According to your request, I have writ to your brother John, and Madam Peck, to make what intercession can be made, to Colonel Watson, in order to obtain transportation for your misfortunes; which, had I 100 l. I would freely part with it to do you good. In the mean time, my prayers for you; and for God's sake, give your whole mind to beg of God to pardon your many transgressions, which the thief upon the cross received pardon for at the last hour, though a very great offender. The Lord be your comfort, and receive you into his eternal kingdom.

I am,

Your distressed,

yet loving father,

Hempstead.

JOHN TURPIN.

All our loves to you, who are in much grief to subscribe ourselves your distressed brother and sister, with relations.

Nothing remarkable occurred upon his trial. The stealing a mare and foal were flatly proved upon him; and his defence consisted only of denials of plain facts; and before the court he was proved to be the notorious Richard Turpin whose father keeps at the Bell at Hempstead in Essex.

The morning he was executed, he gave to five men who were to follow the cart as mourners, 3 l. 10 s. with hat-bands and gloves, and hat-bands and gloves to several other persons; he also left a gold ring, and two pair of shoes and clogs, to a married woman at Brough, though he owned he had a wife and child of his own.

On Saturday last, the 7th of April he was carried in a cart, with John Stead, condemned also for horse-stealing; and behaved with amazing assurance. One of his legs trembling as he mounted the ladder, he stamp'd down with an air, and look'd impudently round him; and, after speaking a while to the topman, he flung himself off, and expired in about five minutes.

The accounts published of his robberies, &c. are trifling, and no way answerable to the terror he for some time struck upon the Essex road, and other parts of England: for which reason I shall not offer you a tedious detail of such trifling events, but subscribe myself,

Your humble servant,

H. G.

MARITIME AFFAIRS.

They write from Riga, that they are froze up very hard, and that five ships from thence, bound for several ports, were lost the 26th of March, N. S. near Salis and Hay, a few leagues from Riga; but the captains and crews were all happily saved.

The Loyal Judith, Atkins Colchester, from Marseilles, was lost at the mouth of the Rhosne.

The Lydia and Luciana, Capt. Ladd, from St. Kitts, coming up the Thames, run ashore off of Margate, and was lost.

Capt. Davis Cockeril, was cast away on the Seaton Sands; but all the crew were saved.

The Barbary of South-ferry of Dundee, David Greig, was cast away at North-Berwick, but all the crew were saved.

The ship of James Orkney of Montrose, load with meal and yarn, was cast away at Gofwick, five miles south of Berwick, and one man and a boy perish'd.

The ship of Walter Johnston of Portsoy was lost at the mouth of that harbour, but the crew happily got to shore.

The *Barbary*, Richard Lee, and the *Mary*, John Taylor, was lost on Lincolnshire coast.

The ——— Capt. Arnould, from London for Newcastle, was lost in Yarmouth Roads, and only 3 men of 17 were saved.

The *Old Bowes* of Newcastle, Francis Herman, was lost near Whitby, and the crew and passengers perish'd.

A Spanish guarda costa attempted lately to surprize an English trading vessel belonging to Liverpool, on the coast of Guinny. She had put out false colours, to lead them into the snare; but how soon they found their mistake, by receiving a round of guns, they crowded all their sail, and made off.

A ship was lost off of Yarmouth, occasion'd by the ballast running all on one side, and five of the hands were lost.

A fine West India vessel was driven ashore between Birchington and the Isle of Thanet.

A vessel bound from Lisbon to the Western Isles was lately lost.

A vessel bound from Lisbon to the Maderas, and another to Figuera, were lately lost.

The *Guiney Packet*, Capt. Wright, for London from Cape coast, in the service of the African company, was foundered at sea; but the Captain, several passengers, and the crew, were saved by Capt. Paul.

Six Dutch ships, bound from the East Indies, were long detained by contrary winds in the Downs. 'Tis remark'd, that most of their crews were English sailors.

The *William and Elizabeth* of Newcastle, Ralph Burfield, is lost on the coast of Boulogne, but the crew were saved.

A Spanish sloop, in her passage from the bay of Honduras to the Havanah, was lost. The crew saved themselves by getting on a Maron island, but afterwards famished. Capt. Derby of Boston having information where the wreck lay, went and took up 7000 pieces of eight, 500 pistoles, a silver tea-table, a gold cup, several crucifixes,

and other things of great value, with which Capt. Derby failed, with a design of disposing of them in Holland, but had the misfortune to be lost a few days after, in his passage thither, with all the crew and cargo.

A ship bound from Frederickshall to Rochelle, Capt. Ole Arandez, was lost near Dunkirk.

The inhabitants of *Frazersburgh*, upon observing a large ship, without masts or rigging, except a small part of the foremast, about two miles from shore, mann'd several boats, and made up to the vessel; but, to their surprize, found her entirely deserted; and what became of the crew remains a secret. The greedy fishermen took this opportunity to plunder the ship, but were prevented by the good-natur'd interposition of some of the inhabitants, who came with a party of soldiers, and, after a short scuffle with them, they hoisted something like a sail on the broken foremast, and, towards night, got the vessel brought near the shore. On examination they find she is called the *Felton*, belongs to Ipswich, and is loaded with timber from Norway. She is reckoned of about 400 tons burthen, and draws 24 foot water. The ropes are so bleach'd, and part of the cargo so spoiled, that 'tis thought the ship has been a long time without her crew. The Lord Salton, who is Superior of *Frazersburgh*, assists very generously in securing the goods.

PREFERMENTS CIVIL.

THE Earl of Hyndford, — his Majesty's High Commissioner to the General Assembly.

The Earl of Buchan, — a Lord Commissioner of Police.

Sir John Eyles, — conjunct Postmaster General with the Lord Lovel.

John Courand, and Andrew Stone, — Deputy Secretaries of State for Scotland.

Sir Robert Byng, — Governor of Barbadoes.

The Lord John Raymond, — Grand Matter of the Ancient and Honourable

able Society of Free and Accepted
Masons in England.

William Kilpatrick, — Clerk to the
record of tailzies, and inventories
of heirs serving *cum beneficio*.

MILITARY.

Brigadier Cope, — Colonel of General
Pearce's regiment of horse.

The Lord Cathcart, — Governor of
Londonderry.

MARRIAGES.

William Waine, Esq; — to Miss Fle-
ming, eldest daughter of Gilbert
Fleming, Esq; Lt. General of the
Leeward Islands.

Sir Alexander Macdonald of Slate,
Bart. — to Lady Margaret Mont-
gomery, sister to the Earl of Eglin-
ton.

DEATHS.

The Earl of Delorain, cousin german
to the Duke of Buccleuch, at Bath.

George Watson, Esq, great uncle to
the Earl of Rockingham, and uncle
to the Earl of Salton.

Dame Christian Scot, Dowager of
Brandsfield.

Andrew Gairdner, an eminent mer-
chant of Edinburgh, and a confi-
derable dealer in the manufactures of
this kingdom. He was long Treas-
urer of the Trinity hospital. He
was the first projector, and a very
considerable benefactor of the Or-
phan hospital.

Edward Carteret, Esq; uncle to the
Lord Carteret.

Mrs. Costel, a rich maiden Gentlewo-
man, the bulk of whose fortune goes
to John Douglas merchant in Lon-
don.

Samuel Boyle, Esq; a near relation to
the Earl of Glasgow.

Sir Thomas Moncrief of that Ilk, Bart.

Dr. Saunderson; Professor of Mathe-
matics in the university of Cam-
bridge. This Gentleman, though
blind from two years of age, by the
strength of a surprizing genius, and
close application to study, attained to
so great a proficiency in his art, as

to be accounted one of the *greatest*
mathematicians that ever lived.

The new-born son of the Lord Vis-
Beauclerk.

Sir James Elphinstone of Logie, B-
ronet.

Mrs. Janet Scot, Lady Middleton.

Mr. Geary, Engineer to London bridge
and the new river water-works.

William Leveson Gower, eldest son
and heir to the Lord Gower, and
brother to the Dutchess of Bedford

Edward Ridder, the famous pastry
man, who had taught near 6000
Ladies the art of pastry.

*Died within the walls of the city of E-
dinburgh, and buried in the Gray-fri-
ars church-yard, April 1739.*

Men 23, women 23, children 62. In
all, 108. Decreased this month, 7.

	AGE.	N ^o .	DISEASES.	N ^o .	
Betwixt	Under —	2	33	Old age —	4
	2 & 5	26		Consumption	33
	5 & 10	2		Fever —	20
	10 & 20	2		Small-pox	8
	20 & 30	5		Teething —	4
	30 & 40	7		Chin-cough	23
	40 & 50	14		Suddenly —	5
	50 & 60	3		Convulsion	3
	60 & 70	11		Cancer —	2
	70 & 80	3		Strangury —	2
80 & 90	1		Palsy —	1	
90 & 100	1		Overlaid —	1	
			Still-born —	8	

FOREIGN HISTORY.

THE alliance lately concluded be-
tween the *Grand Seignior* and
the *Great Mogul* has reduced
the Sophi of PERSIA to a necessity of
abating much of his demands lately
made to the Porte; and the high claims
of that Prince are now said to be com-
prised in these three articles: 1. That
the Grand Seignior suppress some duties
hitherto levied upon the caravans of
Persia passing through his dominions;
2. That methods be taken to put an
end to the religious differences that di-
vide the subjects of the two empires,
with

with respect to the sects of Alli and Omar; 3. That the Grand Seignior make good his promise of restoring to Persia a certain number of families taken prisoners by the Turks, or pay a sum of money by way of indemnification. And as it is improbable that these articles will be difficult to settle, those two powers may now be considered as upon amicable terms.

In a late divan held at CONSTANTINOPLE, for settling the operations of the campaign, at which the Kan of the Crim Tartars assisted, who was sent for by the Grand Seignior on purpose, it was proposed to the said Kan to make a diversion on the side of the Ukraine: but he represented, that so uncertain was he of what motions the Russians might make, that he was obliged to be upon his guard, that he might be in a condition to repulse them if they should return into his country; that what with the Russians, and what with the Tartars, who had done all they could to deprive their enemies of the means of subsistence, two thirds of the Crim were ruined; that he was not able to mount above 40,000 men on horseback; that with this body of troops he should observe the motions of the Russian army; and that if the latter did not make any incursion into the Crim, he would endeavour to invade the Ukraine again, or to favour the siege of Asoph, in case the Grand Seignior should persist in his design to attack that place. The Grand Seignior approved of the regulations proposed by the Kan, and has also given orders for reinforcing the squadron which the Captain Bashaw is to command on the Black sea, with eight sultanas, or men of war, and fourteen galleys. The last advices from the Bashaw Count de Bonneval, say he is sick, and narrowly watched in the place to which he is banished.

The Porte is under some uneasiness on account of the progress made by Sare-Bey-Oglu, (son of a Bashaw who was strangled by order of state, and his effects seized) who continues master of the provinces about Smyrna, and is now said to be joined by the Bashaw of

Babylon, lately revolted from the service of the Grand Seignior; and it is apprehended that their armies, when joined, will be able to employ great part of the Turkish forces which were intended for other purposes. Notwithstanding which, it is certain the preparations for the campaign in Europe go on with the utmost expedition.

Complaint having been made by the republic of POLAND to the Kans of the Tartars, who ravaged part of the Polish dominions in returning from their unsuccessful expedition in the Ukraine, these chiefs plead in their excuse, That their troops knew not but the villages they pillaged belonged to Russia; but that, in order to rectify to their utmost the bad consequences of their mistake, the subjects of Poland who had been carried into slavery should be sent back, and restitution made for what damages had been done by the Tartars.

The armies of RUSSIA take the field very slowly; and the operations intended for the ensuing campaign are not yet published, nor, probably, resolved upon: and among the various reasons assigned for this seeming delay, there is not one we think worth communicating to the publick; chusing rather to wait the discovery which time must make, than offer conjectures which the next post may probably contradict. A marriage is concluded at Petersburg between the Princess Anne of Mecklemburg, presumptive heiress of the throne of Russia, and Prince Anthony Ulrich of Brunswick Wolfembutte; which has given great joy to their Imperial Majesties of Germany, the Emperor having very much interested himself in the match; which cannot but be perfectly agreeable to his Imperial Majesty's desires, whatever prospects it may afford to some other crowns.

Velt Marthal Count Wallis is set out from VIENNA to take upon him the command of the Imperial forces intended to act against the Turks in the neighbourhood of Belgrade, where the Ottoman troops are said to be strong in number and ammunition, &c. And

letters from Choczim say, that 25,000 men are expected under the cannon of that place, 25,000 under Sorokka, and 40,000 under Bender.

Letters from ROME mention frequent conferences between his Holiness and the Chevalier de St. George, at which the Chevalier's eldest son is sometimes present; from whence his friends conjecture that something of importance relating to his interests is certainly upon the anvil.

Accounts from CORSICA grow more and more uncertain every day, which is by many attributed to the skill the French have in concealing their own successes, and the influence they have over the publick intelligence of Europe. However, spite of all the arts of French and Genoese, it is certain, that the Marquis de Mallebois is arrived at Calvi in Corsica with some troops, to take upon him the command of the French forces in that island; to no other purpose than pronouncing the natives rebels, and threatening them with rigorous punishment if they do not instantly strike to the French flag. — But, when the unpardonable perfidy of the Genoese under the mediation of his Imperial Majesty is considered, who can wonder to see them risk the last drop of their generous blood, sooner than ever stoop to a yoke so often experienced to be insupportable? — By all advices it appears that the native Corsicans are in a tolerable posture of defence; and not a free breath can think of their long suffering, their conduct, and their often-tried courage, without sharing in their misfortunes, and wishing their success: for such has now for many years been the valour of these people, that their struggles for liberty must be allowed to equal, if not to exceed, the most shining instances in ancient history; when the smallness of their number, their confinement to so small an island, and the prodigious aids lent their enemies, are considered! All which render that brave, though much injured people, an example to all modern states which are so unhappy as to fall under oppression; since from them it is evi-

dent how formidable a few united by the sacred ties of virtue, and a love of liberty and of their country, are to a large number of men joined only by the sand-ropes of the pay they receive; especially where they are foreigners to the interests they are hired to defend.

Berlin, April 10. The Privy Counsellor Wilkers, who was detained in prison near twelve months, having been convicted of mal-practices in the management of the finances of the new marquisate, the King has condemned him to be whipped, and then sent to Spandan, to work at the wheel-barrow for his life.

Though the above sentence may by some be thought a very severe one, yet it must by all be owned a very just one; since by it his Prussian Majesty has shewn it is his judgment that only a scoundrel can betray his trust; and that a Privy Counsellor, when treacherous, loses every proper mark of Nobility, and is fitter for a wheel-barrow than a cabinet.

The dispute between Denmark and Hanover, relating to Steinhorst, is brought to an amicable conclusion, by means of a convention said to be concluded between the courts of London and Copenhagen; whereby Steinhorst is to be evacuated by the Germans, till the possession of that place be settled by umpires, or course of law.

Spain, France and Holland, afford nothing material this month; the courts of Madrid and Paris being employed so much on the intended marriages between them, that scarce any thing else is mentioned from either.

By the Paris A-la-main we are told that they write from Mocon, near Nogent, upon the Seine in France, that as a couple of men were digging a grave in the church-yard there, they turned up the head of a dead person, which they threw upon the grass; but it had not lain there long ere it was perceived to move. The fellows went in a very great hurry to acquaint the parson of the parish, that a saint had been interred in the very place where they were

were at work: whereupon the parson went immediately to the spot, and was so surprized at the prodigy when he saw it, that he cried out, *A Miracle! a Miracle!* as did also the rest of the spectators: and not being willing to stir from so precious a relick, he lent for his crucifix, his holy-water bottle, his surplice, his stole, and his square cap, and caused all the bells to be rung, to give notice of it to the parishioners; who assembling together in great numbers, he ordered a dish to be brought, wherein he put the head, covered it with a napkin, and carried it in procession to the church. The people had great disputes by the way upon account of the several claims of affinity to the sacred skull: but they were soon pacified; for when the head was arrived at the church, and placed upon the high altar, while *Te Deum* was singing upon the occasion, just as they came to that verse, *The whole church throughout the world doth acknowledge thee, &c.* a mole leaped out of the head; upon which discovery of the cause of its motion, the parson put a stop to *Te Deum*, and the inhabitants went quietly home.

Hague, April 24. O. S. The two colleges that have the inspection of the dikes of this province, met last week, to concert how to drain that prodigious quantity of water with which all the meadows are still covered, and, if possible, to make a channel for it to run into the sea. The oldest man living does not remember the waters ever so high in this country as they have been this year, the canals not being able to discharge themselves into the rivers, which have been prodigiously swelled for three months past. The wind has been continually at W. and N. W. So general is the inundation, that the whole province of Holland looks like a sea, to the vast prejudice of the people of the country, who begin to want hay for their cattle, and cannot hope to put them to grazing before the 4th of May, which will be as soon as the meadows can be clear of the waters; a thing that never happened before.

This general flood makes all the necessaries of life dear. We had an account about a week ago, that nine ships, supposed to be Dutch, have been cast away near the Cape of Goodhope. The Prince and Princess of Orange design to go to Breda for the summer season.

Warsaw, April 25. The letters from M. Komarowsky, the Polish Resident at Bender, not only confirms the orders given by the Kan of the Tartars, to send home the Polish prisoners; but add, that though the Grand Vizier seemed to be secured of the favour of the Grand Seignior, yet the great number of his enemies at the Porte had taken the advantage of his absence to get him deposed; and that the Grand Seignior had given his post to Ali Packa, the Seraskier Bashaw of Widdin. This news is confirmed by letters from Kaminiac. The Grand Seignior having, out of pure friendship to the late Grand Vizier, given him one of his sisters in marriage, the latter thought himself cock-sure that this match would protect him against any disgrace: but his harsh, haughty and inflexible temper, and the death of several Bashaws, whose behaviour he had rendered suspicious, raised such powerful enemies against him, that they at last work'd his overthrow. This Vizier was the most enterprising man that has been in his post for many years.

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T H E

SCOTS MAGAZINE.



M A Y, 1739.

To be continued every Month. Price Sixpence each.

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Of whom may be had the *Magazines* for the four preceding months.

C O N T E N T S.

WEEKLY ESSAYS.

W Ages formerly allowed to parliament-men	p. 195
A seat <i>post-estem'd</i> a burden	ib.
Landed trading, and manied interests, a new prosecution	ib.
Seats in parliament now profitable	ib.
K. Charles's ministers introduced corruption.	ib.
Honesty of Clarendon and Southampton	196
The parliament's grant to K. Charles exorbitant	ib.
Laid a foundation for standing armies and arbitrary power	ib.
Yet not corrupted till 1672, it is 25th year	ib.
Views they to rule without a parliament	ib.
Their difference from ours in corruption	197
A bill brought in to the house of Lords	ib.
Occasion'd a test for purging them	ib.
Absurdity of rejecting it	ib.
Arguments for frequent new parliaments	198
Danger of place-men in them	199
Reformation necessary in life	ib.
Mr. Whitefield's conduct absurd	200
Queries proposed to Mr. Whitefield	201
Subjects falsely charged with a dislike of their governors	202
Romans jealous of their liberties	203
— Licentiousness in time of monarchy	ib.
— The effect of a bad administration	ib.
Ill usage the cause of resistance	204
Sanguinary laws cannot remedy the causes of the late riots	205
Mr. Whitefield worse than quacks	ib.
Inspiration can only justify his conduct	206
His practices expos'd	ib.
Intituled to the benefit of the Toleration	207
Fatal effects of Enthusiasm	208
— Justly to be dreaded	ib.
A conversation with Mr. Whitefield	209
A confession for the Women Methodists	ib.
Ovid mistaken in the four ages	210
— The age of Flint	211
— of Lead	ib.
— of Pinchbeck	ib.
Courtiers, patriots, &c. only Pinchbeck	212
Gatbick the best form of government	ib.
Revolution did not correct all abuses	213
Excluded members from collecting taxes	ib.
St. Bernard's opinion of the bill for frequent parliaments	ib.

Majority in the triennial ones against corruption	p. 214
Heads of an act W. III. for limitation of the crown	215
These ill observed	ib.
Clerks not fit parliament-men	216
Boof-eaters, &c. more honourable	ib.
The above act repealed by the Whigs	ib.
Whigs more mischievous than Tories	ib.
The Common Council of London banish corruption	217
The Commons should imitate them	ib.
Consequences of corruption in the city	ib.
Honest men would be obliged to retire	219
Resolution of the rag-dyers	ib.
Letter to Nicholas P——	ib.
Author's proposal to conjure a ghost	220
A letter relating to trade in Scotland	222
Abstract of a journal of the British Squadron at Malon	222

P O E T R Y.

To the author of <i>Gustavus Vasa</i>	222
Upon seeing M——'s picture	223
Epigram on Turpin	ib.
An Answer to it	ib.
The case-bad	ib.
Song	ib.
The lady of May	224
Governor R—— N——'s orders	ib.
False morning	ib.
Good effects of fine poetry	225
Illustrated by A. Hill's Northern Star	ib.
Extract from that poem	ib.
A fit companion. From Anacreon	228
Sylvio to Mapa	ib.
To a young Gentleman after an interview with his mistress	ib.

D O M E S T I C K H I S T O R Y.

Proceedings of the General Assembly	229
King's Letter	ib.
Assembly's answer	ib.
Debate about the Seceders	230
Maximian affairs	234
Preferments, &c.	235
Mortality-bill	236
Foreign History	ib.
Register of Books.	248

Several other Poems, &c. are come to hand, which could not be inserted this Month. We hope our Correspondents will continue their favours.

The SCOTS Magazine.

M A Y, 1739.

CRAFTSMAN, May 5.

Importance of PARLIAMENT'S, and the advantage of having them often chosen.

THE author of the *FITNESS* tells us, that the statute 6. Henry VIII. cap. 16. well deserves the attention of every member of the legislature; in which we are intirely agreed. He quotes the first part of the law for attendance; but leaves out the latter part, which contains the penalty, and shews the difference between our ancient constitution and the present; for it is, "upon pain to every of them so departing, or absenting themselves, in any other manner, to lose all those sums of money, which he or they should or ought to have had, for his or their WAGES." It will not be disputed that those, who are paid for their attendance, have no injustice done them, if their pay-masters stop their wages, for not doing what they are hired to do. But this shews the essential difference between ancient and modern parliaments, in which such vast numbers of the representatives now receive wages from the crown. In former times, there were frequent new parliaments, and always but short sessions. Wages were then paid, and the poorer boroughs were excused, on account of their incapacity to pay. Laws were likewise made in favour of the Gentry, that corporations should compel none but their own freemen to serve for them; which not only shews that it was esteemed a burthen, but what a considerable number of members were sent by the Trading part of the nation, to take

care of their interest; whilst the Landed Gentlemen had only the Knights of the shire to represent them. In those times, they were all united in one and the same interest: The separation of them into the Landed interest, the Trading interest, and the *Whited* interest, is a modern invention of dividing and governing; for parliaments have been since altered so much, in this respect, by their long continuance, that a seat is looked upon as a profitable plate, and every art is used to influence elections. Nothing shews this difference of things, in a stronger light, than the hearing of learned councils at the bar, in cases of controverted elections, setting forth the great injury that is done to their clients, and the great advantage of being a member of parliament. Nay, the very laws themselves, now allow great penalties to be paid to the candidate, for the injuries done him, in discharging him from what was formerly thought a burthen. The vast sums, that are now spent to obtain a seat; the varying of the market-prices of boroughs, according to triennial and septennial parliaments, and most places being now given to members, too plainly shews the cause of this alteration, and points out the only remedy.

The ministers of K. Charles II. were very sensible of the use and abuse of parliaments. They were the first, who introduced the art of governing by corruption. The extasy at the restoration intoxicated the nation to such a degree, that they could hardly think themselves safe, whilst they had any liberty left, or refused any thing that was asked. We

are certainly much obliged to those great and honest ministers, *Clarendon* and *Southampton*, for stopping the first fury of those times; by which they gave the nation an opportunity of cooling, and coming to a better understanding of *their own interest*. The *first* of these *Noble Lords* was afterwards supposed to have suffered, upon that account; for the *court* thought that he did not ask enough, when 1,200,000 *l.* a-year was granted for defraying *all the expences of the government*; (for so much being granted, they thought whatever had been asked would be so too;) a sum, though nothing in comparison with the present times, for *those uses*, yet it was thought vast and dangerous, in proportion to what any King in *England* ever enjoyed before, and was justifiable only by the transport of those times. It enabled the *King* to keep up a *standing army*, though a very small one in comparison with what the nation hath been since loaded with; a power unknown in the hands of any of his predecessors; and such a one as laid the foundation of all the subsequent progress of *arbitrary power*. All the absurd notions and doctrines, upon which his *two predecessors* had built, and by which they vainly flattered themselves with hopes of enslaving the people with *words*, were enforced by *law*, as much as possible. The contrary notions, and real good acts for preserving the *liberties of the people*, were exploded and repealed; particularly the act for *triennial parliaments*, because it had given a set of wicked men an opportunity of destroying the constitution, which the *original opposers* pretended to preserve. The guilt of *these men* was made the pretence for eradicating all principles of *liberty*, as a thing dangerous in itself; nor were they deficient in enacting laws of this sort too.

If we view *K. Charles II.* in this situation, with respect to former reigns, he seems to have been in full enjoyment of *arbitrary power*, abounding in *wealth, armies*, and the power of making *laws*, for his support alone. This success was certainly beyond his expe-

station; and therefore he could not foresee any end of it. His love of *pleasure* and *profusion* made him necessitous. The just apprehensions of *France* and *Papery*, and the many vacancies that happened in the *house of Commons*, created an opposition, which enabled the *friends of liberty* to make a stand again. The views of the *court* were better known. The *length of the parliament* had given time for a thorough acquaintance with every member; and yet *this parliament* was not corrupted with *pen-sions*, till its twelfth year, 1672, which was first began by *Lord Clifford*. This was so contrary to the very essence of a *parliament*, that they have ever since been branded for it. But it is surprising to find so much noise made, at present, about *sixteen pensioners in parliament*, who received amongst them 7800 *pounds a-year*; though, if it is considered as the introduction of what hath since followed, the amazement of the thing at that time, together with opening a *new scene of government* by it; we cannot help applauding those, who expressed so much jealousy upon it, and do them honour by shewing the difference between *those times*, and the *present*.

Nothing confounds the *true state of things* so much, as applying our *present ideas of them* to the *same names*, in *former times*. Some people are apt to imagine, that all the *place-men* and *pensioners* constantly voted according to the *court's* direction, in those times, without considering the difference of the infamy of what they have at last seen, with so much labour, brought to *maturity*. The very notion of always governing by a *corrupt majority*, was too great an absurdity to be swallowed, in those times. *Arbitrary power* and *Papery* were then too closely connected together for any schemes of that kind. The notion of the *people's* making their own fetters, and the name of the *people's* consent, by their *representatives*, for the service of the *crown*, and the *minister* only, could not enter into the imagination of any persons;

lens, in those times. All the views of arbitrary power were then, to rule alone, without the name of a parliament. The private interests of those, who were corrupted, were diametrically opposite. Their fundamental maxim was, Not to starve the crown, for fear of a dissolution; and not to give too much as a standing revenue, for fear of being no longer necessary. Upon this principle, their whole conduct turned; and all their extraordinary grants were determinable at short periods. The danger of religion was the strongest bias upon the minds of many persons; and upon all, in a great degree. They justly apprehended, that if religious liberty was once lost, their civil liberties would soon follow. Parliaments, indeed, had formerly changed the religion of their country, according to the views of the crown; in which they gave new instances of their power. But they never gave up the liberties of their country, or made themselves the slaves and tools of power. The interest of the whole nation, as well as of individuals, hath always preserved us from absolute slavery, though often attempted. No temptation to numbers could ever be equal to it. The very design destroyed the nature of the thing, and their future utility.

These principles carried safety to us, and great odium to those, who set the first precedents of corruption in that assembly; though they received the money of the court, and often voted against what their hearts was most bent upon. How different are the times since, even in that point of corruption? Yet the clamour of the whole nation run very high against them, and introduced attempts to put an end to it, for the future. The first instance was in a bill, brought into the house of Lords, in the year 1675, to prevent the dangers, which may arise from persons disaffected to the government. The wise remedy for this was, to make the nation swear, That they would not endeavour to alter the Protestant Religion, now established by law in the Church of England, nor the government of this king-

dom, in church or state, as it is now by law established. This occasioned the proposal of another oath, to be taken by the members of parliament, for preserving the independency of parliament, from the influence of the crown.

This, with reports spread abroad of their corruption, were the occasion of a test, for purging the members, and vindicating the honour of the house of Commons, by swearing, as they did, That they had not, directly or indirectly, received any sums of money, &c. since the 1st day of January 1672. This points out the time, when it was supposed that corruption was first introduced; and likewise shews how few were influenced by such motives, as well as how necessary the rest thought it to preserve their own reputations. How different hath been the conduct since; when endeavours have been made to obtain bills, upon the same plan; and surely for more visible reasons? Is it not urged against them, as well as place-bills, that they are designed as reflections upon the members of that very assembly? But do not they themselves convince mankind of the necessity of such bills, from the very motives of not passing them? That a set of men should thus acknowledge themselves to be accused; take the charge upon them; and for that very reason, will not shew their own innocence, is somewhat surprizing. The evil influence exists, or it does not: If it does not exist, every body would agree to take away all suspicion of the abuse of a power, which gives such uneasiness to the whole nation: If it does exist, the more unjustly is the remedy, in any degree, refused, since it the more convinces the nation of the necessity of it; and how vain are the hopes of any opposition to a minister, whilst it is impossible, let the opposers be never so much in the right, in a cause of the greatest importance to the people, to have so much as a chance of carrying any point against him, by a majority of votes?

Soon after this, an address was moved for, in the house of Lords, for dissolving

solving that parliament, and for calling frequent new parliaments. The arguments for it were, That long parliaments had produced an alteration in our constitution; which, joined with this corruption, they could not be considered as the representatives of the people. I shall mention some of the arguments then urged for it, from the *State Tracts of K. Charles II. vol. 1. p. 66.*

“Parliaments began in the time of Henry VIII. to be longer than they ought; that Prince knowing that long parliaments were fitter to make great changes. They have been too frequent since; but never of that length as this. Besides, the long continuance of representatives renders them liable to be corrupted, and won off from the publick interest. It gives them time to settle their cabals and interest at court, and takes away the great security the nation hath: that if it be possible to happen, that the *Spiritual Lords*, on account of their great dependence on the crown, together with the *Court Lords* and great officers, should, in any future age, make up a greater number of the house of Lords, and should pass things very prejudicial to the publick; yet all should prove ineffectual, and the nation remain safe in an house of Commons lately chosen, that have not time to learn new sentiments, or put off their old principles at a good market, &c.” The nation was very sensible of this kind of reasoning, (for it is plain that mere pensioners, in the house of Lords, were not so much as dream’d of, in those times) and their apprehensions of such an influence have been ascribed as the reason why the next parliament was chosen so generally against the court. They too were so well convinced of the dangerous consequence of such an influence, that upon being informed of eighteen members having received pensions, in the last parliament, they ordered a bill to be brought in, That no member should receive any pension, or place of profit, &c. The small number of pensioners, as it may be thought at present, upon which all this outcry was raised, is very evident. What was the number of

places-men, who sat in that parliament, does not appear; but they seem only to be hook’d in afterwards. We may however negatively conclude that they were not many, from the very state of things at that time; for the Admiralty was in one person, and the Treasury in one person. The Commission of Trade was composed chiefly, if not intirely, of a committee of the Privy Council, appointed for that use. The inferior officers of them all three were really, and so then esteemed, only necessary drudges of the office. The great number of places in the Exchequer were low things, in those days. The officers of the Army were very few too; and probably few or none of the Fleet were in parliament, considering in what low state it then was. To this may be added the number of new places that have been created since; many of the possessors of which have had seats in parliament. This will be farther proved hereafter, when we come to show the vast number of places-men, &c. who have sat in parliament, and that there is not the lowest employment, which a member is capable of holding with his seat, but what he is thought most capable of executing.

In the times, now under consideration, the collection of the revenue afforded but little corrupt influence. The Customs were farmed, for part of the time; as well as the Excise and Hearth-money. To modern inventions we owe the improvements, on that head, of insinuating relations, and quartering.

Having thus enquired into the state of a corrupt influence in parliament, and the opposition to it; I shall continue the progress of both in future papers; and will conclude my present letter with observing, that if so small a number of places-men and pensioners filled the nation with such dreadful apprehensions at that time, what ought they not to fear from what they have seen since? The more necessary a regulation of this kind hath been, the less success hath it always met. The several laws, which have been already made, for prevent-

ing it, are sufficient to shew how careful we ought to be to preserve the *representations of the people* untainted: but if at least double the number of *placemen* should be in any parliament, besides *penioners*, than ever were when those former *laws* pass'd, for limiting and restraining them; is it not a proof how essentially they are eluded? Will it not demonstrate the certain success of every debate, when all the *placemen* are constantly on one side of the *question*? *Debating* would then be at an end. What other struggle therefore can be made, in such a case, than to bring it to that point, which will make absolutely necessary to regulate such a *privilege*; or that it shall be the avowed principle of our *future government*, to which all must be obliged to submit, if ever they should be reduced to it. That *parliaments* themselves would be the greatest burthen and grievance of the nation?

ledge of human nature, we shall often be imposed upon by fair appearances, by plausible pretences, by bold undertakers; and sometimes led into quite contrary mistakes, as injurious to others, as the former impositions are prejudicial to ourselves; be too narrow, rigid, and uncharitable in our censures; lose the generous pleasure of judging candidly, and deprive the innocent of their just share of esteem and affection. There cannot be a more flagrant instance of a distorted mind and deprav'd affections, than a willingness to detect latent blemishes, and view things in the worst light. What should we think of a man's taste for musick, architecture or painting, whose ear is more pleas'd with discord than with harmony, whose eye is better entertain'd with disproportion, than with regularity and symmetry? Should we allow any one's palate to be in a natural state, that could relish nothing so well as things sour, bitter, musty, or putrified? Not less unnatural is it to take a pleasure in painting our species in the most odious and disagreeable colours, or to resolve their actions into the worst principles. To a virtuous mind vice is the proper object of indignation, folly appears as contemptible to the eye of the understanding; but benevolence inclines, Christian charity commands, the example of our Master invites us strongly to compassion and candour: our own offences and failings give our offending and weak brethren a right, in strict justice, to that merciful allowance and compassionate regard of which we ourselves stand so much in need; and the great mixture of good and evil qualities in mankind leave room for a rational exercise of our charity. There are few men so wholly debas'd and disfigur'd by their own corruption, but that they retain some faint lineaments of the divine image originally stamp'd upon them, few actions that leave us without some reasonable hope that an honest intention might have its share in the production and direction of them. This good-

WEEKLY MISCELLANY, May 5.

Danger attending tumultuous Preaching; with some Queries offered to Mr. WHITEFIELD.

Mr. Hooker,

Nothing can be more entertaining to the mind of the curious, or more improving to the heart of the honest, than reflections on human nature, and human life. What can be more rationally amusing to a reasonable being, than to look inward, and examine its own structure and composition? What more useful, towards the improvement of our nature and the direction of our conduct, than the knowledge arising from such an enquiry? Unless we know what sort of beings we are, how formed, how disposed, how influenced and actuated, we shall make wrong judgments of ourselves; be conceited and fond of our own perfections, (if any thing that such imperfect creatures enjoy may deserve the name of perfection) self-sufficient and presumptuous. Unless we make observations upon mankind, by the assistance of such previous know-

tatur'd turn of mind, the ornament, the distinction of our nature, and the glory of our religion, I endeavour to cultivate; and every improvement of it is as satisfactory as it is useful and engaging. In a bad character I search for something that may abate the pain of hatred and resentment, in a bad action for something that may lessen the guilt of it, in a foolish one for something that may mix the pleasure of an affectionate esteem with the uneasiness of contemptuous thoughts. When I find out, upon reflection, more ground for respectful and kind sentiments than appeared at first, it is an agreeable disappointment, and gives unexpected pleasure; like a man that examines narrowly into his accounts, or treasure, and discovers himself to be richer than he before imagined. With these tender sentiments and humane dispositions I lately went through *Moorfields*, while an itinerant pretender to the science of *Physick* was cheating the deluded multitude out of their money and health. I attended to a great part of his address, which consisted chiefly of self-commendations, an enumeration of his many and wonderful cures at home and abroad, the honours and rewards he has received from persons of the greatest distinction, his superior skill in his profession, the extraordinary virtues of his packets, and, by way of confirmation of the truth of all these strange things, professions of the most disinterested zeal for *their* good. I make no doubt but his speech convinc'd his hearers that he was a most extraordinary person, and induced them to toss their handkerchiefs upon the stage without hesitation, or distrust. But my indignation and contempt rising too fast upon me, I withdrew out of the crowd, and walk'd off full of reflections upon the impudence of the Doctor, and the folly of the people. It was some time before I could moderate my resentments enough to think of equitable extenuations in favour of the impostor, and his dupes. For the former, indeed, I could suggest to myself but few mitigating circumstances; but,

upon cooler thoughts, I soon turn'd my contempt of the multitude into compassion for their ignorance and simplicity. An instance of the greatest weakness, no doubt, it is, so implicitly to take a man's own testimony for his abilities and integrity. But as no one would despise a child for not having the understanding of a man, so the ignorance of the illiterate vulgar being invincible, their blind credulity is not only pardonable, but in one respect reputable. It is not a reproach to their natural understanding so much as it is an argument of their having wanted the means of information and improvement; and their readiness to credit the professions of others, while it shews their unacquaintedness with the world, it manifests the sincerity of their own hearts. If they were designing and deceitful, they would be distrustful; but, conscious of an honest intention in themselves, they take it for granted, the Doctor would not have the assurance and the roguery to pretend to knowledge which he does not possess, to cures which he never performed, to honours which he never received, as a zeal for the good of others while he means nothing but his own interest. These impudent frauds upon the innocence, and insults upon the common sense of the well-meaning mob, are a disgrace to our constitution that tolerates them, but a standing proof of the *natural* honesty of mankind.

We have had reports (the notice which he gave of his intended appearance here, rais'd too great an abhorrence of his conduct to admit of any inclination to see so monstrous a curiosity) of a much more extraordinary itinerant, who lately made a progress into the Western parts of *England* and some parts of *Wales*; where, from *towns*, *stones*, and *market-crosses*, on *commons* and *mountains*, he preach'd to vast numbers of ignorant people; and, since his return, in a wide place, near a building which would suit him much better. This is a method quite as *new* with us, as it is *irregular* and *illegal*. It

It is impossible, indeed, that this Gentleman should ever have had a *proceſſe* for in ſuch proceedings; becauſe, while there was any ſerious regard to religion, to order, and the laws of the land, in the *magiſtracy*, they would ſoon have obliged him, if he needs muſt preach, to preach only to ſome fellow-prisoners: and yeſterday I heard, with great pleaſure, that the *Grand Jury* deſign to preſent theſe ſcandalous, diſorderly meetings. The Gentleman that on *Sunday morning* ſucceeded the *Mountebank* in *Moorfields*, pretty near the place where the *white bear* exhibits himſelf to publick view every day, (but *Sundays*) from the wall, inſtead of a *ſtage*, harangued his congregation, and by the choice of his text moſt blaſphemouſly compar'd himſelf, after his uſual cuſtom, to our BLESSED SAVIOUR. I wonder, for the conveniency of being better heard, he did not take the advantage of his neighbour's booth, and preach from the top of that, as being the greater eminence. By a proper underſtanding between them, they might be of ſervice to one another, ſince they ſhew themſelves at different times. There is ſomething ſo extravagantly ridiculous in the behaviour of this young man, that it is very difficult for a perſon of any humour to keep his countenance: but the diſhonour done to God and Religion, by making ſuch a farce of it, the great offence given to all ſober *Chriſtians*, the occaſion of impious merriment to the ſcornful infidels, and its tendency to unfettle and pervert weak minds; theſe conſiderations are matter of the moſt ſerious concern, and ought to affect thoſe who are intruſted with the execution of the laws moſt tenderly, (more than they hitherto have done) from a ſenſe of piety, decency, and compaſſion to thouſands of innocent perſons, who are daily miſt, and greatly injured in many reſpects. I muſt poſtponè any further remarks upon the behaviour of this publick preacher and his brethren, for the ſake of complying with a requeſt that I would ſend you the following *queries*, which were ſent to Mr.

Whitefield at *Briſtol*, but not answer'd by him.

April 30.

Yours, &c,

QUERIES to Mr. WHITEFIELD.

SIR,

There is no need of any other *preface* or *apology* for my deſiring a *ſolution* of the following *QUERIES*, than that the *principle*, on which they depend, is by you maintained to be of the *utmoſt importance*, ſuch as no *Chriſtian* ſhould be ignorant of, eſpecially a *profefſed teacher* and *inſtructor* of others. This therefore being a ſufficient reaſon to apply for information from a perſon ſo readily diſpoſed to bring mankind out of *darkneſs* and *error*, I proceed to acknowledge,

That I do not perceive in myſelf thoſe *operations of the Spirit*, which you diſcover *within*, and experimentally *feel*.

But though I am hitherto unacquainted with this *extraordinary* and *ſupernatural LIGHT*, and therefore will not pretend to determine any thing about the *reality* or *evidence* of its *operation* in you; yet I think my natural reaſon will ſuggeſt thus far, that if there is ſuch a *LIGHT vouchſafed from Heaven*, it muſt certainly tend very much to the *benefit* and *advantage* of thoſe *happy choſen few*, who enjoy this *ſignal charaacteriſtick of divine favour*; as it will give them the *cleareſt* and moſt *perfect* knowledge of their duty, and a *ſuitable power* of performing it; which ſeems to me the *greateſt bleſſing* we can enjoy in our preſent ſtate of probation, becauſe it would render us eaſy under all circumſtances here, and happy hereafter.

Be pleaſed therefore to ſpecify,

I. What are thoſe *principles, doctrines, articles of faith, motives*, &c. which this *extraordinary light* reveals: after *what manner* they come into the mind; and by *what mark or character* you diſtinguiſh them from the *deceptions of fancy*, or *worſe temptations*?

II. What

II. What are those *particular duties* you are enabled to perform, which all others must leave *undone*, till they obtain the same means of performing them, viz. *an extraordinary intercourse with the Deity?* Or,

III. If I am mistaken in my conjectures, "That if it doth exist, it must exist for such ends or purposes," be so kind as to mention, in a *particular and determinate* manner, for what *other* uses it is *given*; to what *purposes* you *apply* it, or it *applies* you; and for what *special ends* desirable; which ends could not be obtained without it?

Here then you have ample room of being serviceable to mankind. For, as you will alledge, that all men might enjoy this *signal blessing*, were it not for their *sins*, which either withhold or withdraw it; so you must allow, that if a precise and exact summary were given us of those several doctrines, and duties or advantages, that cannot be known, or performed, or received without this *divine assistance*, it would greatly alarm, and make us more sensible of our dangerous situation. A good step this towards repentance, and amendment of life; or (if you please) toward *regeneration* and a *new birth*.

Nor will it take up much of your time in vouchsafing a *distinct answer* to every particular in this request: for as I do not desire a *philosophical account* what this *spirit* is, whether the *same* with the *Quakers*, or a *different* one, or how it *assuates*, or how consistent with the *natural powers of the understanding*; and *moral agency*; but only, of what benefit and advantage it is, and wherefore desirable: I apprehend it can be considered as a matter of *fact*, and expressed in a *few words*, with little or no trouble. If I am guilty of any impropriety in my manner of speaking about this *mysterious* subject, 'tis a mistake unavoidable in my present circumstances: and therefore beg leave to repeat my desire of a *clear and explicit answer*; an answer not made up of *general terms* and *phrases*, of an *unsettled meaning*; but *pointing*, and *particular*,

whereby I may perceive the *usefulness* of this *light* WITHIN, and the extreme danger of being unconcerned about it: And in the mean time do engage to give to all you advance, a *fair and impartial* reception, according to the apostolical rule of *proving all things in order to hold fast that which is good*.

Yours, &c.

COMMON SENSE, May 5.

Fatal Consequences of LICENTIOUSNESS in a GOVERNMENT.

IT is an imputation most injurious to mankind, (though it has gained too much credit in the world) that their natural disposition is apt to incline them, to a distrust and dislike of those who govern them. For my own part, I am satisfied the contrary is so evident, that it has been always easy to discern in people a kind of bigotry (if I may use the expression) in favour of such as have been placed in power over them; which could not, where they have not met with more than ordinary ill usage, be got the better of: nor can I think it less than great arrogance, and a high insolence offered to mankind, to affirm, that the submission which all the civilized part of the world have thought fit to pay to governments, of one kind or other, when employed in their protection, is wholly owing to fear, or the crafty management of a few individuals.

I know of few histories into which I have ever look'd, that have not furnished me with sufficient grounds to confirm me in my opinion; and when I have read the accounts, which the history of most countries has produced of the barbarities, the enormous lust, the sottish and pusillanimous indolence, or the mistaken and destructive ambition, the wanton cruelties of tyrants; the perfidiousness, the rapaciousness, the insolence of their creatures and ministers: I have had, as I thought, reason to be astonished at the insensibility of those who suffered them, who seem'd to forget they were men, and could so long delay doing that justice, they ow'd them-

themselves, their country, and the whole world.

Were I to look back into our own history, and that, perhaps, not very far, I should not want examples of the partiality people entertain towards those in the highest and most eminent stations, which has inclined them to acquiesce in the worst treatment, even when they have been most visibly sensible of it: but as instances of this kind may, to some, appear invidious, I will not particularize any here.

I shall therefore beg leave to consider a little the behaviour of the Romans, as they were more at liberty than most modern nations, to discover the propensity of their natural temper and sentiments, by their actions; and as they are look'd upon by many (tho' undeservedly) as delighting in discord and tumult, and always restless and seditious against their superiors. But whoever will, with accuracy and judgment, observe their conduct, will find, that though they were strenuous and violent in asserting their liberty, against a most oppressive, insolent, and tyrannical Nobility; yet, as their complaints were for the most part just, and their desires reasonable for a free and deserving people, they always shewed the greatest moderation in the use they made of any acquisition they gained from the Nobility in security of their liberty. Which makes *Livy* (though most evidently a favourer of the Patricians) say, on a very extraordinary example of this nature, *Hanc modestiam equitatemque & altitudinem animi, ubi nunc in uno invoeneris quæ tunc populi universi fuit?* after he had before confessed, that *Comitiarum eventus docuit, alios animas in contentione, libertatis & honoris alios secundum deposita certamina in incorrupto judicio fore.*

Nor could those tumults which happened at Rome (as *Machiavel* well observes) be reasonably called disorderly, and irregular, which produced so many examples of all sorts of virtue; and the success of which, whoever examines, will not find they occasioned any laws or violence to the prejudice of the com-

mon interest, but the contrary. Not could they be said to be bloody or seditious, who, in above three hundred years time; from the expulsion of their Kings, amongst all their heats and animosities, sent not above eight or ten persons into banishment, executed very few, and condemned not many to any pecuniary mulct. See *Machiav. on Livy, lib. 1. cap. 4.*

It was under the tyranny of their Kings, and afterwards in the abject state they were reduced to by their Emperors, that riot, licentiousness, and rapine flourished at Rome; and we are told by *Livy*, that the reason which induced the sons of *Brutus*, and other young men of quality, to attempt the readmission of the *Tarquins*, was their reluctance to submit to the wholesome restraint and just severity maintained in a well-regulated commonwealth.

Licentiousness is the constant effect of a corrupt, ill-conducted administration of government, tyrannical and wanton in power, but without authority. For a strict and due observance of laws can be no longer expected, than the reverence for them is retained; but whenever it happens that a people find themselves thoroughly miserable and oppress'd, when the dignity of laws is lost and prostituted, when men see those sacred ties multiplied to serve private views and to promote the interest of particular men, this must naturally introduce a contempt of such laws, and a hatred of those that govern: And as the bulk of mankind are not capable of making always the proper distinction, can we suppose otherwise than that hatred towards those in power, and contempt of particular laws, should, of course, introduce a contempt of magistracy and laws in general?

And what makes this unfortunate situation (whenever any people happen to be in it) the more irremediable, is, that governors, instead of enquiring into the true, the real source of the evil; instead of extending their care to the redressing, or, at least, alleviating the load of misery which has given the

unfortunate wretches, affected by it, too great reason for discontent, or, rather, despair: I say, instead of taking such methods of restoring publick satisfaction and ease, the groanings of a miserable people are said only to be the breathings of rebellious spirits; armies are thought necessary to awe their complaints and increase their poverty; they meet with a treatment from their publick parents (for such all rulers in society are, or ought to be) which the Scripture supposes absurd and impossible for them to receive from their natural ones: when they cry for bread, they are given a stone; when they ask for fish, they are given a serpent.

They are given to understand, as the *Israelites* were by *Reboam*, when they complained of the yoke that was put on them, which, if made lighter, and their oppressions remov'd, they promised to serve him with fidelity and satisfaction; they are told, I say, as those *Israelites* were, that their complaints are insolent, and proceed only from the too great ease they lived in, and the lenity and indulgence they had been treated with. *My father, says Reboam, chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with serpents.* And who could wonder the despairing *Israelites* should say, *What portion have we in David? neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse?*

But though I will venture to affirm, that licentiousness in a state, whether proceeding from a corruption of morals, a contempt of laws, or general discontent, has always had its foundation from the faults of those that govern; yet I am, at the same time, sensible, that when the minds of a people are thoroughly exasperated, their resentment will often exert itself indiscriminately in the most unjustifiable and unreasonable manner, even to a breach, or opposition of laws, perhaps, the most salutary to the commonwealth.

There is one thing will always make people pay a proper regard and obedience to laws and government; that is, if they see them not made use of to their disadvantage, and find themselves

easy and thriving under the influence of them. The lower rank of men, who form the bulk of a nation, are always directed in their opinions and sentiments of things from what they themselves feel; and that not absurdly. But if in this general way of judging they mistake in particulars, and are led into unwarrantable actions; yet every lover of mankind and his country must be touch'd with pity and commiseration, at the same time that he thinks their punishment necessary.

And here I cannot conclude, without touching first, which I do with sincere concern, on those unfortunate tumults and riots which have of late happen'd in several parts of this kingdom; which should awaken the attention of every lover of his country, and demands the most serious, and highest regard of the legislature: and though every wise and good man must have the greatest detestation of these proceedings, yet it is a most melancholy reflection, to consider the innumerable train of publick calamities that, I fear, have been too evidently the sources of them. It would require more time than is here allow'd me, and, perhaps, a greater insight into things than falls to my share, to point out the various, though all-concurring causes of these misfortunes: Decay of trade and industry, the certain consequences of high taxes; universal corruption and profligacy in morals, too much encouraged and too much countenanc'd by higher examples, has brought that general poverty and dissoluteness into some parts of the kingdom, as has seduced numbers of the manufacturers to the state of desperate ruffians, and declared violators of the laws and peace of that society, of which they might have been the most industrious and useful members, and most flourishing support.

Therefore, compassion for so many destitute unhappy wretches, the security of the publick tranquility, the safety of every individual, the honour and continuance of the present happy establishment, nay, the very being of

liberty itself, all call aloud and demand some remedy; a remedy that will heal the sore from the bottom, by cleansing the foulness of the ulcer, and removing the causes of it.

This is not to be brought about by adding sanguinary and penal laws, and by the burdensome and ever destructive expedients of keeping up standing armies; but by easing the people of the load they groan under, disincumbering trade and industry, and healing their discontent; by discouraging idleness and licentiousness, by properly lessening their many incentives and harbours, though it should be attended with the diminution of a small annual income in an over-grown revenue.

Laws and penalties that will bind in chains liberty as well as licentiousness, will always be desired by designing ministers, who often make those very calamities in which their ill-conduct has involved a nation, and which ought to turn to their own confusion, serve as a pretext to increase their power of oppressing, and of adding impunity to their worst designs. And this artifice ought therefore to be the more guarded against, because weak, though well-meaning men, are often drawn in by the dread of these popular disorders, to contribute to the establishment of the most mischievous powers. But as even a confus'd state is better than a servile one, so national peace and tranquility, founded only on the ruins of liberty, is no better than the peace the devil allowed the child in the gospel, it rent him fore and left him for dead.

WEEKLY MISCELLANY, May 12.

Some Observations upon the Conduct of Mr. WHITEFIELD, &c.

Mr. Hooker,

IN my last I just mentioned this extraordinary *Itinerant Preacher's* method of procedure, and the success of it with the illiterate vulgar. With your leave I purpose to give you my thoughts, more at large, upon him and his followers. I am a good deal more at a

loss to excuse this Gentleman than the *Mountebank*; and there is also less to be said in favour of those who either out of real admiration, or wanton curiosity, attend his enthusiastick ravings. Those *Quacks* are usually persons of mean extraction, narrow education, as narrow circumstances, and a low way of thinking, the usual consequence of the other disadvantages. It is less extraordinary and less criminal if such a one should not have the nicest notions of decency and modesty, or should not be very scrupulous as to the regularity of the means of acquiring a subsistence. But this Gentleman has had the advantages of a liberal education, been accustomed to discipline in the university, receiv'd a regular ordination in an *Episcopal Church*, and has declar'd his approbation of the Church of *England*, where his ordination supposed him to be going to exercise his function; and yet, immediately after his ordination to the *Priesthood*, without a licence from any *Bishop*, contrary to all the rules of the Christian Church, contrary to the canons and constitution of our own Church which so lately gave him his orders, contrary to the laws of the land, he goes strolling about the kingdom, shewing the greatest contempt for our excellent liturgy and all forms of prayer, and using extemporary effusions, preaching doctrines different from those which he subscribed before the Bishop, with an unparalleled degree of vanity and vain-glory extolling himself, with the most indecent freedom undervaluing, with the most unchristian spirit of censoriousness blaming the *established Clergy*. I should be pleas'd if I could be his advocate while I am his accuser, and make some apology for the man, while I condemn his faults. But what can candour suggest, what can charity suppose that will give us a favourable opinion of him? For the sake of giving him the benefit of *sincerity*, though greatly to the discredit of his *understanding*, I would willingly suppose that he really thinks himself commission'd in an *extraordi-*

nary manner from Heaven to preach thus irregularly and illegally, and qualified for this high office by as extraordinary an inspiration and assistance from the Holy Spirit. Nothing short of this divine authority can justify his violation of the established laws of Church and State, and his attempting to invade the property of the established Clergy, to whom the care of their particular flocks is committed by the Bishop, and who have as good a title to their pulpits from the Civil Power as any man has to his estate; and nothing less than a supernatural light can enable this young man, without having used, or having had the opportunity of using, the natural and ordinary means of acquiring such knowledge, to understand the Scriptures, and explain all the doctrines and duties of Christianity, much beyond those who have taken a great deal of pains, and had the necessary assistance of books and the conversation of learned men, for a course of many years. I will imagine him to be as ignorant as I possibly can, that I may acquit him, in some measure, of a much greater crime than that of ignorance. But how is it possible for him to be so ignorant as not to know that an Episcopal Clergyman is ordinarily bound to obey the rules of an Episcopal Church, and that a subject of England ought to submit to the laws of his country? Or, how can he avoid being convinced that no man can acquire any kind of knowledge without using the necessary means of attaining it? In order, therefore, to preserve to his character any sense of duty, any veneration for authority, any notion of sincerity, we must suppose him in good earnest to lay claim to a divine commission, which only can exempt him from the force of human laws, and to a divine inspiration, which only can make human literature and study useless, or make him a more able teacher without them, than the most able of the established Clergy are with the help of them.— But how shall we account for his being able, without any reason to persuade himself of the truth

of his divine commission and inspiration? It would be a reflection upon the honour of his college, the university, and the very worthy Prelate who ordained him, to suppose him so utterly unacquainted with the rudiments of those points of learning, as not to know that God never commissioned any persons in an extraordinary manner to reveal, or execute his will, without granting some external evidence of their being divinely appointed, or illuminated; and as this Preacher is daily expounding the Bible, he must have observed, that Moses and the Prophets, Christ and his Apostles, had, all, a power of working miracles, not only to satisfy the world, but themselves, of the divinity of their commission and doctrine. If we were to take every one's word that pretends to a commission, or a revelation, what delusions and confusion would there not arise? And, though God, no doubt, can so apply himself to our minds as to give us reasonable satisfaction without the external evidence of miracles; yet, if his wisdom had used only such internal means of conviction by the invisible operations of his power, unless he had revealed himself to every one, (and then there would be no need or use of any standing revelation, or ministry,) conceited and warm men would as often mistake their own fond imaginations, or the suggestions of evil spirits, for divine inspirations and impulses, as designing men would impose on others by lying pretences. Now, I never heard that Mr. Whitefield, the Mr. Westleys, or any other of these gifted Gentlemen, have as yet wrought, or pretended to a power of working miracles; though, very likely, they may soon arrive to that perfection of enthusiasm. However, as we can have no reason to believe them to be commissioned and inspired by the extraordinary appointment and illumination of the Holy Spirit; so, unless they be persuaded that they are really authorized by an extraordinary power, as Episcopal Clergymen they offend against the rules of the

Christian Church, by preaching not only without a *licence* from, but in opposition to the *opinion* and *inclinations* of the *Bishops*; as Clergymen of the *established* Church they offend against her ecclesiastical constitution; as subjects of this kingdom they offend against her laws, which absolutely forbid any one's praying, or preaching *publicly*, unless the person and place be licensed by the *Civil* magistrate, in case they put themselves upon the foot of the *Toleration*. The Mr. *Wesleys*, indeed, have not yet gone so far as Mr. *Whitefield*; but they are wilful transgressors against the authority of *God* and *Man*, against the orders of *Church* and *State*, by holding congregations in *unlicensed* places, and after an *unauthorised* manner; and every one that gives them any countenance by attending them, or who does not *discountenance* their proceedings, if they be in proper *authority*, is in some measure a partaker with them in their sins, and answerable for the mischievous consequences of them. I defy all mankind to justify such conduct upon any principles whatsoever: and the Mr. *Wesleys* are less justifiable, or rather more guilty than Mr. *Whitefield*, because they are men of more learning, better judgment, and cooler heads; consequently, it is difficult for *Christian* charity, though it *believeth* all things, to believe them *sincere*; though it *hopeth* all things, to expect any change of their behaviour after they have proceeded to such enormous irregularities; or any alteration of their sentiments, if they really believe all those wild opinions which they profess: and therefore it is to be hop'd, as well as wish'd, that men, who have conceived such a settled dislike of our excellent liturgy and all forms of prayer, who entertain such pernicious sentiments, who have openly insulted her authority, and been such a scandal to her communion, will never again be permitted to officiate in it: This would be a reproach to her discipline, and dangerous to her interest. Let them go over to their proper companions, their favourites, the

Dissenters, and utter their extemporary effusions in a *conventicle*, but not be suffer'd in our churches hypocritically to use our forms, which they despise. Let them carry their spirit of delusion, from among those who disclaim it, and obey its *instantaneous* and *irresistible* dictates, among their brethren, the *Quakers*. Let them preach up their *Electron* and *Reprobation* doctrines among the *Calvinists*, who maintain them; their *Solidian* tenets, among the *Antinomians*. Our articles which they must subscribe to, are of different sentiments. Let not such bold movers of sedition and ring-leaders of the rabble, to the disgrace of their order, be authoris'd by that Episcopal power which they have set at naught, or regularly admitted into those pulpits which they have taken with multitude and with tumult, or as ignominiously by stealth. Provided they maintain no doctrines destructive of religion in general, or of civil government; different as their sentiments can possibly be from those of the Church of *England*, wild and enthusiastical as they are in themselves; yet in the name of *God*, in the name of justice, as *Christians*, as *Englishmen*, as *Men*, let them enjoy the benefit of the *Toleration*, but let them intitle themselves to it by a proper licence from the *civil* power. That they should have the liberty of worshipping *God* in their own way, (tho' they have endeavour'd to interrupt us in our worship,) this is the voice of *God*, of reason, and of our laws: but that every man should be at liberty, when, and where, and how he pleases, without first subscribing to some articles of faith, and without any warrant from publick authority, to preach up whatever doctrines he shall think proper, abusing the establish'd religion and the establish'd Clergy, (as these Gentlemen have made it their business to do in their expounding meetings) this is a procedure destructive of all order and religion, and dangerous to the peace and safety of the state; and much more so in an age so fond of novelty, in times so full of discontent, in a coun-

try of such licentiousness, corrupted in their principles, and almost without any ties of conscience to restrain them from any wicked designs, or attempts. Those who are acquainted with the history of former times, and of other nations, know what monstrous absurdities in opinion, and what vile practices Enthusiasm will produce; from what small beginnings, and by what inconsiderable persons, as to parts and abilities, the greatest disturbances in Church and State have arisen. The last century furnishes us with a melancholy proof in our own country. Whoever will be at the trouble of comparing the first rise of those troubles which at last overturned the constitution, and ruin'd the nation, will see too great a similitude between them and the present risings of enthusiastick rant, not to apprehend great danger, that, unless proper precautions be taken in time, the remote consequences of them may be as fatal. Nay, I may venture to affirm, that the present *Enthusiasts* have made a much quicker progress since their first publick appearance than their predecessors did in the same compass of time, and that the nation is now more disposed to receive any ill impressions, to be fond of novelties, to despise authority, and to run into disorders of any kind, than it was at the beginning of those times of confusion. The daily papers inform us that a person was in imminent danger of suffering violence, only for expressing a dislike of Mr. *Whitefield's* conduct in *Moorfields*; and I have been credibly informed, that some of his followers have threatened to pull down churches because their master and his brethren were not suffered to preach in them. There is nothing that an *Enthusiast* cannot bring himself to believe, or undertake. Your modern ones do not come behind any of their predecessors for heat and boldness; and it is justly to be feared, they will not, if suffered to take their course, stop short of their madness and wickedness. The enemies of our religion are not less vigilant, artful, or industrious to mix

themselves in such company, and make use of them to serve their purposes, whatever the designs of these leaders may be. The *Jesuits* in disguise, to serve the cause of *Papery*, were the contrivers and fomenters of the divisions which ruin'd us before; and as they have now as fair an opportunity, there is no doubt but they will be as ready to improve it, to bring about the same destructive designs. Not to see danger from these growing evils, if the causes be slighted, betrays great weakness, or inattention; to slight them, shews great indolence and want of concern for religion and the publick good. I speak freely because I am sincerely affected. It is a matter of importance that will justify some warmth of expression. I speak it with the utmost deference, because I have the most respectful regard for my superiors; but with great plainness, proceeding from an honest zeal. If these *Enthusiasts*, when they first shew'd their excess of vanity and self-conceit by soliciting pulpits in so importunate and indecent a manner, had been prohibited preaching in the *Church of England* till licensed to some particular cure, it is not improbable that such a check in the infancy of their madness and folly might have put a stop to them. If the *civil magistrates* had interposed upon their first beginning to hold *illegal meetings* in private houses, I am apt to think, whatever Mr. *Whitefield* might have done, the rest of them would not at that time have left the *Church of England*, but would have submitted to her discipline, and have waited for some employment in a regular way. Now there seems to be no more reason to expect so much submission from them, than they have to expect any favour from her, till they have submitted themselves, and given sufficient proof of the sincerity of their repentance, and a change of their sentiments. If our *Christian* magistrates, as they most certainly may and should do, will oblige them to qualify themselves to preach in some certain licensed place, agree:

agreeably to the act of Toleration, or silence them if they refuse to comply with the laws, the number of their followers will soon be less'n'd, and their power of doing mischief greatly weakened. But if they are permitted to hold their *conventicles* at pleasure, and to ramble up and down, singing psalms, and preaching in the open streets, or in more open fields, wanton curiosity will carry thousands to see and hear such new things, hundreds of the ignorant multitude will innocently be corrupted, and the preacher's vanity and enthusiasm, if possible, will be still more inflamed, by a fond imagination, that that vast concourse of *bearers*, are all *admirers*, whereas most of them would as eagerly attend any other monster equally as strange as that of a *Clergyman* preaching in a *gown* and *cassock* on a common. *Tours, &c.*

N. B. Since I wrote my letter I heard the *Lord Mayor* has forbid Mr. *Whitefield's* erecting his stage in *London*; and the *Justices of the Peace* will act as the duty of their place requires, if they follow his *Lordship's* example.

A copy of a private conversation of Mr. Whitefield's, taken down in writing after his leaving the room, and brought to him by the Rev. Mr. T-ck-r, Minister of All-Saints in Bristol, author of the Queries, [p. 201. 202.] and at his request, sign'd by Mr. Whitefield himself.

BEFORE I went to the university, I led, as I thought, a very religious life; I constantly attended the publick service of the Church, received the Sacrament, gave Alms, fasted frequently six and thirty hours, and, in short, practis'd every Moral and Christian duty, inso-much that all that knew me look'd upon me as a saint. I then went to the university, where I began my studies in the usual manner, applying myself to the Mathematics, and Classical Learning; and as God had given me a fruitful genius, a ready wit, and great sagacity, the college conceived great hopes of my making a pretty scholar,

I also dedicated proper seasons to the reading of the sermons of our best Divines, *Sharp, South, Calamy*; and some of *Tillotson's* I have read since; Mr. *Wesley* has read him more: but his works I now look on only as a system of moral ethicks; but think he knew no more of true Christianity than *Ma-bonet*. During this time I knew nothing of true Christianity, nor was I informed what it was, till I had read a Book, intitled, *The Life of God in the Soul of Man*; a book worth its weight in gold. I now began to see the necessity of the new birth, and immediately changed my manner of life; and as I had before made the dry sciences the chief of my study, I now applied myself wholly to the Scriptures, and read other books only by the by. The college seeing my course of life thus changed, began to despair of me, as a person disordered in my senses. For two years I underwent a series of temptations, and continual buffetings of the devil; which have in a high degree qualified me for the Ministerial office, in that I have experimentally tried all things, and having suffered every sort of temptation, can suit my advice to the different states and conditions of other people's souls; not to mention my being better qualified than other people for the composing my sermons: for I never preached any thing but what I have experimentally felt; and whereas other people are forced to plod and rack their brains whole weeks in compiling a discourse, I am enabled to compile as fast as I can write.

Mr. *Whitefield* farther affirms, that the Holy Ghost first appeals to the understanding, then over-rules the will; that its experiences are not to be described to an unregenerate person, any more than colours to a man born blind.

G. WHITEFIELD.

A method of Confession drawn up for the use of the Women Methodists. Taken from the original.

THE design of our meeting together is to obey the command
of

of God;— Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for the other, that ye may be healed.— To this end we intend to meet twice a-week.— To some punctually at the hour appointed, without some extraordinary reason.— To begin (those of us who are present) exactly at the hour, with singing and prayer.— To speak each of us in order, plainly and freely, the true state of our hearts, with the faults of thought, word, and deed, and the temptations we have been in since our last meeting.

— To end every meeting with singing and prayer, suited to the state of each person present.—

— To desire some person among us to speak her own state first, and then to ask the next in order, as many and as searching questions as may be, concerning their state, sins, and temptations.

Some of these questions proposed to every one before she is admitted among us, may be to this effect—

Have you the witness of God's Spirit with your spirit, that you are a child of God?

Have you joy in the Holy Ghost?

Is the love of God shed abroad in your heart? If not,

Have you the forgiveness of your sins?

Has no sin, inward or outward, dominion over you?

Have you peace with God through Jesus Christ? If not,

Do you see yourself a lost sinner?

Do you know you deserve to be damn'd?

Do you despair of being sav'd, either by your own works, or by your own righteousness, and hope for forgiveness of sins and justification, only through a living faith in Christ Jesus?

Do you desire to be told of your faults?

Do you desire to be told of all your faults, and that plain and home?

Do you desire that we should tell you whatever we think, whatever we fear, whatever we hear concerning you?

Do you desire that in doing this, we should come as close as possible, that we should cut to the quick, and search your heart to the bottom?

Is it your desire and design to be so this and on all occasions entirely open, so as to speak every thing that is in your heart without exception, without disguise, and without reserve?

Are you in love?

Do you take more pleasure in any body than in God?

Whom do you love just now, better than any other person in the world?

Is not the person an idol? Does he not (especially in publick prayer) steal in between God and your soul?

Does any court you?

Is there any one whom you suspect to have any such design?

Is there any one who shews you more respect than to other women?

Are not you pleased with that?

How do you like him?

How do you feel yourself, when he comes, when he stays, when he goes away?

The last ten questions may be asked as often as occasion offers.

These four following at every meeting.

What known sin have you committed since our last meeting?

What have you said, thought, or done, of which you doubt whether it may be a sin?

What temptations have you felt? how was you delivered from them?

What comforts or communications have you had from God, since our last meeting?

UNIVERSAL SPECTATOR, *May 19.*

The PINCHBECK Age.

AS Ovid, almost two thousand years ago, took it into his head to divide the duration of the world into four successive ages, distinguished by the names of *Gold, Silver, Brass and Iron*, the learned seem to have taken his poetical flights for gospel, and fondly presume that the age of *Iron* has lasted ever since.

But, were we to leave the fable of school, where we found it, and examine the matter of fact, I fancy we should

Should soon discover reason to alter our opinions, and conclude that time has undergone as remarkable changes since the days of that poet, as ever it had done before: even he himself, had he had his wits about him, might have perceived that an age of *Flin* began to take place from the first disputes about the *Agrarian* law; that, almost, all sense of humanity was lost in the civil wars of *Marius* and *Sylla*; that before it was possible for mens hearts to soften again, the great contest between *Pompey* and *Cæsar* broke out, which, with very little intermission, was continued down to the death of *Anthony*; and however tender he might find the breast of *Julia*, he had abundant reason to be convinced that *Augustus*, her father, was a true son of *Deuallian* and *Pyrrho*; or, as *Shakespeare* has it, a very pebble, that neither *Tully's* irresistible oratory, nor his own enchanting numbers could mollify.

No body, I presume, will venture to assert, that mankind had less of the quarry in their composition, during the reigns of those most sacred and excellent Princes the successors of *Octavius*, down to *Constantine*; or that, even then, the *Christian religion* had taken away their hearts of stone, as the Scripture expresses it, and given them a heart of flesh. Witness the long and bloody wars between the *Orthodox* and *Arians*, and the innumerable persecutions and massacres that attended victory on either side; witness the expensive and destructive, tho' ridiculous expeditions to the *Holy Land*; and witness the astonishing quarrels between the Emperors and Popes for the right of investitures; in which so many millions perished, that the church might be rich and great.

But, this great point carried, the dreadful blade of religion, for a while, was sheathed; and, as Monks gave the law to Princes, 'tis no wonder that the times wore a new face, and from *Adamant* turned to *Lead*: weight of course they had, but it was like that of sleep, which oppresses the whole body, and renders every faculty useless. — Then it was that dulness was first deified,

and to be eminently stupid was the surest qualification for preferment: the very name of wit was forgot; and, if by accident, any little spark gleamed through the substantial darkness, which surrounded it, as if by instinct, it was treated as a common enemy, and extinguished without mercy. — In short, during this whole insipid interval, an universal numbness and lethargy seemed to have seized on all mankind; the Prince slumbered on the throne, his Nobles snored at his feet, the head never once dream'd of day-light, and the whole load of ecclesiastick dross was poured out upon them to press them down to the centre.

But at last, *Boccaccio* and others in *Italy*, and our own *Wickliff* and *Chancer*, a little uneasy with their burden, began to rouse first themselves, and then their country; to them succeeded *John Hus* and *Jerome of Prague*; *Erasmus*, *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Father Paul*, the great *Bacon*, and several other brave and free spirits, who purified the ages they lived in, improved them to a nobler temper, separated the dross, and brought every particle to the test of truth and common sense.

Should it be asked then, of what metal or consistence we are at present, thro' the benefit of their generous labours? to answer freely, Of no one metal purely and simply, but of as many as *Nebuchadnezzar* dream'd his image was composed of; a very little silver, less gold; much iron, more lead; some stone, and some clay; but all gilded, all shining, like the equestrian statue in *Grosvenor square*: the *Golden age* itself had scarce a fairer outside, nor that of *Flin* less of bowels within. In a word, we are upon the whole no better than *Pinchbeck*; and, however specious to the eye, can abide no test, nor boast ourselves to have any intrinsic value.

To make this appear yet plainer, and that, according to the proverb, *All is not gold that glitters*, there is not any one virtue or accomplishment to be nam'd that we have not a thousand pretenders to, and yet 'tis odds if one

in a thousand can make their pretensions good. — Go to the courtier, he that sollicit, or he that enjoys preferment, and he'll talk of loyalty, and rail at disaffection from morning to night, protest his whole soul to be devoted to his master's interest, and that he would gladly lay down his life in his defence: But convince him, in the middle of his ardour, that he is just disgraced, that his pension is stopt, or that even his enemy has got the start of him in the royal favour, his zeal will drop like a peacock's tail; nay, 'tis well, if he does not instantly turn the tables, complain that merit is slighted, and join with the discontented to rail at the times. — On the other hand, go to the patriot, he that speeches it loudest in defence of publick spirit, in arraignment of corruption, and seems most tenderly concerned for the calamities of his country; tell him he is wanted at court, that a knotty point has puzzled the whole council, and that the S—n himself has referred the decision to his sentence without appeal; tell him this, and see if his vanity will not get the better of his virtue, if he does not order his chariot immediately to the door, and drive as fast, as *Jesus* to a kingdom, to give his opinion; not according to the necessity of the case, but the humour he is already resolv'd to oblige, at the expence of his own honour and the publick good! — Go to the man who professes himself most a friend, or most a lover; try him to the quick; if he is constant in one character, or disinterested in the other; if demands upon his fortune will not weary him, or success with his mistress cloy him! — Go to the man of trade, who swears by his credit, and affects to found his honesty on his conscience; go trust him to make his own bargain, and leave your own interest wholly at his mercy; — Go to your attorney, and employ him against a man twice as rich, as litigious, and as over-reaching as yourself; let him into the strength and weaknesses of your cause, and treat him as if knavery was inconsistent with

his profession; — Go to the bigot, I should say *Methodist*, who would have you believe his *conversation is in heaven*; who hurries from mid change to go to prayers; who leaves his dinner and company, abruptly, to go to prayers; and who even disturbs his wife at midnight — to go to prayers; — Go to the salamander-coquet, who stands all trials to have it understood she is above temptation; — Go to the antiquated prude, who plumes herself on her virginity; the notable wife, who makes her yoke-fellow a martyr to her virtue; the disconsolate widow, who survives her husband only in compassion to her children: — In short, go through the world, city, town, or country, church, court, bar, and exchange; is not *Pinchbeck* to be found every where? — In one word, have not we *Pinchbeck* Players, *Pinchbeck* Orators, *Pinchbeck* Apostles, *Pinchbeck* Physicians, *Pinchbeck* Poets, *Pinchbeck* Politicians, *Pinchbeck* B——s, and all but *Pinchbeck* K——? To be quite impartial, I don't know but what I myself am of the same hypocritical mixture, and cast in pretty much the same mould: Sometimes, I perceive, I want colour, sometimes weight, always purity; often afraid of the touch-stone, but never of the fire, as hoping by what I lose in quantity, I shall improve in value. And having dealt thus freely with myself, I hope no one will be offended, if, with submission to *Ovid*, I venture to call this the *Pinchbeck Age*.

CRAFTSMAN, May 19.

The subject of PARLIAMENTS continued.

S I R,

ALL men and nations, before they are corrupted and debas'd, have ever sought after those forms of government which are most likely to preserve their liberty. The *Gatwick* seems to be the most excellent plan, as it established so many checks to the head of the state, and the executive power. — A Prince that could do no wrong; an hereditary state of Nobles, with power sufficient to restrain the enormities of the minister,

and wisdom to counsel the *Prince*; and an assembly of *real representatives of the People*, who could have no separate interest to serve, is not only a point in theory, but what experience hath shewn us to be the best form of government that we can wish or desire.— But the nature of all government is founded on *necessity and protection*; to correct, but not to eradicate all those motives of action in men, which set the whole world in motion; that the pursuit of *private interest* shall not be detrimental to the *publick-welfare*.— No government therefore can be perfect: It must be liable to what it was formed to correct.— The passions of men are the same.— Each endeavours to improve upon another, and surmount those obstacles, which the good of the whole community had raised for their general preservation: And as the power of *protecting, rewarding, and punishing*, (which is intirely in the *crowns*) the growing nature of *this power* must, by degrees, eat up the *other parts of the legislature*: nothing can preserve us, next to the divine providence, (which hath so often interposed in our favour,) unless an *house of Commons* be really the *representatives of the People*; unless *their interest* alone is their guidance; unless the avowed and plain motive of their actions are for the good of their *constituents*; and unless the *crowns* hath not the power of influencing them to the contrary.— This may preserve a *constitution*, which time hath almost worn out. The *forms and names* indeed remain; but were we to examine into the difference, it must be by tracing it backwards. In what a glorious light would our *present Nobles and Representatives* then appear?

The *revolution* made *annual sessions of parliament* necessary; but did not correct *those two abuses*, which arose from their constantly meeting in the reign of *Charles II.* that is, continuing too long the *same parliament*, and so much influenced by the *court*, as not to be esteemed the *true representatives of the People*.

The *nation*, and even the *parliament*, soon became sensible of this error, and the want of due care upon

which was an evil that was daily increasing, not only from the nature of the thing itself, but from the very means, that were necessary to support the resolution of a *free uninfluenced parliament*; which was the avowed cause and foundation of the *revolution*. This occasioned *great and unusual taxes*.— The management and collection of them added further power and influence to the *crowns*, diametrically opposite, in some measure, to the very end, for which they were raised.— Self-preservation made it necessary to begin, at last, to correct this growing evil, [See 3. 4. *W. and M. cap. 5.*] though very gently at first; for they only insisted penalties on *excise officers* who meddled in elections. The *Commons*, next year, attempted a *Place-bill*; which the *Lords* refused, but sent them a bill for *triennial parliaments*; which was agreed to by the *Commons*, and refused the *Royal Assent*.

We then got a step farther, towards preserving our *constitution*; for no *members*, except the Commissioners of the *Treasury, Customs, and Excise*, could be concerned in the management and collection of any tax then granted, or any that should be hereafter granted. A small progress was thus made to check this growing evil; but the next year we obtained, upon a valuable consideration, what was then thought would prove a full remedy; for which I shall quote *Bishop Burnet's* authority, who speaks thus, *vol. 2. p. 133.*

“ With the *Supply bills*, as the price or bargain for them, the *bill for frequent parliaments* went on; and to this the *Royal Assent* was given. It was received with great joy; many fancying that all their *other laws and liberties* were now the more secure, since this was pass'd into a law.— By these means, it was hoped that our *constitution*, especially that part of it, which related to the *house of Commons*, would again recover both its strength and reputation, which were now very much sunk; for *corruption* was so generally spread, that it was believed every thing was carried by *that method*.”

We have therefore, upon this point, the opinion of *one*, who cannot be thought prejudiced against *that reign*. From hence we see the state of affairs, and what was the general opinion of *those times*, with respect to the necessity of a *remedy*, as well as the means of procuring it; and it is probable that, in some measure, it answered the design, since we know that *triennial parliaments* were not such certain followers of a *minister*, in every thing, as they have been since the repeal of *that act*, which enlightned and enlarged the understanding of a *minister*, so as never to be in the wrong.

This law was more effectual than is generally imagined, though far from being sufficient to prevent the corrupt influence on the *members*. — The shortness of time to practise on them, and the quick returns to *new elections* are obvious. — But the frequent dissolutions of them, and their going so often contrary to the views of the court, are proofs of another nature. — It was not then thought, that to whomsoever the *purse* was given, they should so implicitly follow *that standard*, as they did in all *long parliaments*, both before and since. — A *new parliament* was then the certain consequence of a *new ministry*. — The majority on *each side* continued steady to *those principles*, which they thought were for the good of their country; and would serve only upon those views: for though *party prejudices* sometimes prevailed, to the detriment of the *whole*; yet the opinion of the *People* was generally represented by *those*, who were chosen for that purpose. *Neither side* durst go any great lengths against *liberty*; for *both sides* were sensible how much it would affect their future elections. *Corruption* was not then the single principle of government. The real, or mistaken means, of preserving the *constitution*, was the fundamental principle of *both parties*. — I shall not enter into the particular views of *those parties*, during the time of *triennial parliaments*. *Both* were sometimes in the wrong; but the majority of *both* were fixt to their principle, and uni-

ted against corruption in the *house of Commons*. The reason was obvious. It was destruction to *both parties*, who equally thought that they were pursuing the good of their country. It was visible that *real party differences* would be extinct. The *names* might remain as *court-tools*; but the *parliament*, in effect, would be only the *representatives* of its *pay-masters*, and be a *ministerial party* against the *whole nation*; for there can be no other, if *ministerial influence* should ever totally prevail. — The possession of power in the hands of a *few*, founded on *pecuniary methods*, and governing against the general opinion and interest of the *people*, is certainly a *faction*, in the strongest sense of the word; and *such a faction* there must be, whenever a *corrupt influence* prevails over all, under the direction and lash of a *single minister*, who knows by experience that all his *dependents* and *protectors* will forsake him, the moment he can feed them no longer. — But, to return to the design of these papers, which is to shew the increase of *this evil*; the ineffectual methods, which have been hitherto taken to remedy it; and consequently the necessity of an act of parliament for limiting the number of *officers* who shall sit in the *house of Commons*:

The act for *triennial parliaments* had not all the effect that could be wished. The change of a *minister* chang'd a *parliament*, and the corrupt influence of *places* gave *either party* the superiority; but their ill conduct, in opposition to the sense of the nation, made changes of *both*, which still the more evinc'd the necessity of putting an end to *this influence*. — The King loved *prerogative* too well, though he came hither to relieve us from it. What we purchased has been already shewn. He would not part with any *influencing power*, for his life, or the race of the *Stuarts*. But the *next family* was to restore and preserve us in our liberties better than the *revolution* had done; and the nation entred into a *new compact*, as the condition of receiving them into the throne. — An act was therefore passed

passed [12. 13. W. III. cap. 2.] for the farther limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject. — The preamble says:

“Whereas it is requisite and necessary that some farther provision be made for securing our religion, laws and liberties, &c.”

The act is chiefly founded upon the want of those securities, in his own reign. But I shall consider them as a renewal of our constitution. — It was a confirmation of all our former rights, and consisted of eight express articles besides.

1st, That the King shall be of our religion. — The religion of a Sovereign is certainly very material. It gave a bias to the politics of the two preceding reigns; and we had freed ourselves from it by effectual struggles and laws. But no laws will cure the corruption and immorality of the people, first introduced by Charles II. In short, nothing will do it but the example of a great and virtuous race of Princes.

By the 2^d article of this act, the nation was not to be engaged in any war for the defence of dominions, which do not belong to the crown of England; without the consent of parliament. — This was also a wise precaution, to prevent our becoming a money-province to foreign dominions; and every body knows how punctually it hath been observed; for nothing of this kind hath been done without the consent of parliament. — The affairs of Bremen, Verden, and Steinhors are beneath our notice.

By the 3^d article, the King was not to go out of the dominions of the crown, without consent of parliament; which was repealed in the first year of his late Majesty's reign. — This limitation was founded only upon the notion that our Princes might like their native dominions too well; and endeavour to make them, by new acquisitions, the seat of their future grandeur, as well as the touchstone of their politics, and drain away the money of this country.

By the 4th article it was ordain'd, that all things properly cognizable in the privy council, by the laws and customs of this

realm, shall be transacted there, and all resolutions taken there shall be signed by those who advised and consented to them.

— This article is likewise repealed, and a cabinet council substituted in its stead, upon all great affairs; which is, no doubt, an alteration very much to our advantage, since a cabinet council is esteem'd, in all our neighbouring nations, of much more dignity than a privy council. Bishop Burnet, [vol. 2. p. 434.] indeed, tells us; that it was repealed, because it was impracticable; since it was visible that no man would be a Privy-counsellor, on those terms. — Great advantages would certainly have arisen from such a practice, and we should have known who advised and consented to many of our past measures, especially the late convention; but it would indeed be very inconvenient to a minister, who will take no body's advice but his own. All Privy-counsellors may now say that they did not advise any measure, and even blame it afterwards; but the danger of signing their advice and consent might be sometimes impracticable with their tenure of the minister's favour, whilst he had the purse in his own hands.

By the 5th article of the same act it was decreed, that FOREIGNERS should have no employments, &c. — This was a very right one too, and therefore justly preserv'd; for why should foreigners take the bread out of our mouths?

By the 6th article, no person who hath an office, or place of profit under the King, or receives a pension from the crown, shall be capable of serving, as a member of the house of Commons. — If this had been preserv'd to us, the other parts, perhaps, had never been repealed. To prevent the corrupt influence of the crown had long been contended for by the lovers of their country. But here they obtained too much; for they could not expect that the law would be kept, whilst there were even triennial parliaments; since a subsequent parliament full enough of place-men, though probably not half so many as have since had seats there, were to be

incapacitated, when the *new succession* took place. Thus all united in the same interest.—It was, to be sure, right policy, not to make so many friends of the *succession* losers by its taking place. There was not, in any *parliament* before, a struggle equal to this; nor where the *influence of the crown* was more applied. The *journals of parliament* are some proof of it to this day.—I could enter into particulars, but am loth to disturb the ashes of the dead. I shall therefore only observe, that, in order to obtain the repeal of *this article*, they were forc'd to get an *expedient clause*, as it was always called, and soon to take effect, *that the seat of every member, who accepted of a place, should be vacated, but might be capable of being RE-ELECTED* [4. *Ann.*, c. 8.]—*This act* enumerated several *places*, more than were mentioned in the former laws, which a member of parliament was not capable of holding. No office was to have a greater number of *Commissioners* than before the first day of the meeting of that parliament. The *Clerks of offices*, in those days, were so low as not to be thought of as *representatives*, and therefore no provision was made against them in the *act*.

The receiving a *prison* from the crown, during pleasure, and the having any *new office, or place of profit*, created since the 25th of October 1705, made every man incapable of being a member. Were this to be strictly examined, there might possibly be found *some members*, who have sate in parliament, and made laws for us, under *these incapacities*.—The spirit and intention of *this law* was, to reduce the number of *place-men* even at that time in the house.—If *Commissioners* are not to be added, it is trifling with the nation to supply their number with *Clerks*. If no *new places* are intitled to *seats* there, it is imposing upon the common sense and understanding of mankind to say, that the house ought to be filled with the officers of the *army and navy*, besides *mean, low, and obscure men*, because their *places* happen to be somewhat older. At this rate, the band of

Pensioners and Beef-eaters are more honourable, and have a better right to sit in parliament.

By the 7th article of this *limitation act*; the commissions of the *Judges* are made to continue, *quoadvis se bene gesturint*, and removable only upon the address of parliament.—Every body understood that this was intended to make the *Judges for life*; but upon his present Majesty's accession to the throne, (I know not whether by *law* or *prerogative*) one *Judge* was turn'd out. All were in the same condition; and the other eleven were certainly glad to hold their commissions again.

The 8th article declares, *that no pardon under the Great Seal shall be pleadable to an impeachment*.—But this seems to be growing obsolete, and will probably be of no use; since bills are now so well methodised, and are a much surer method of proceeding with success against *great offenders*.

To conclude, I cannot help observing that the repeal of the *articles above mentioned* was procured by the *Whigs*, when they were in power, and that no body can think it was done from the influence of their *party-principle*.—It cannot be denied that *those ministers*, who have acted under the denomination and sanction of *that party*, without following the *principles* of it, have done more real and lasting mischief to their country than the *Tories* were ever capable of doing, in their fullest plenitude of power. The absurdity of their *party-principle*, carried to the height, fills their actions with contradictions. The *Whig-principle* being more for the interest and rights of the people, hath made it much more easy to betray us.—This sufficiently shews the errors on *both sides*, and the necessity of uniting in *one national party* against any *ministerial party*, by what name soever called; which, with its *places, persons, army, navy, law, and the mercenary part of the church*, besides all the other means of influencing, thinks itself more than a match for the whole people. I am, &c.

COMMON SENSE, May 26.

Defence of the City of LONDON.

I Don't know any thing that does more honour to the city of London, than the resolution passed in the court of Common Council on April the 17th.

A discovery being made of a combination relating to work to be done for the city, in which there were reasons to suspect that a member of the said Common Council was concerned, after passing some resolutions against those engaged in the combination, a bill was ordered to be brought in, by which that court excludes their own members from doing work for the city.

Such a self-denying bill must give the world a most advantageous idea of the publick spirit of the Common Council; and considering the great trust reposed in them by their fellow-citizens, if they did not establish in the minds of men a confidence of their integrity, the city would be filled with murmurs and discontents. — They are a little Parliament; they are elected by a great body of people, their equals. Such a body being too numerous to manage their own affairs, they have intrusted and impowred those few to act for the whole.

By this act they have shut their doors against corruption; they have not only forbid its entrance there, but they have taken care to clear that court from the very suspicion of being corrupt. — Such a reputation, once established, must produce all the effects which naturally flow from good government; and I look upon it to be the same thing as if the house of Commons should pass a law to exclude themselves from holding places of profit.

The reasons for the last are much stronger than for the other; but yet the Common Council have so much in their power, that this resolution cannot fail of giving universal satisfaction. They have the making of by-laws for the government of the city: The application and disposal of the city's money belongs to them: They are to take care that the fund designed for im-

proving their estate, repairing and adorning their publick buildings, should not be embezzled and sunk into private pockets: In fine, they are to be a check upon all its ministers and servants.

If corruption should once creep in amongst them, the court of Common Council would be like *Pandora's* box, from whence continual plagues would issue upon the city: You would see nothing but combinations and projects to squander away the publick stock: Expenses would be contriv'd, without the least appearance of publick use, merely for the sake of giving a good job to such and such members: The city would be ran in debt: It would be devour'd by procreation money and interest: Its publick stock would be divided by the verriest scoundrels in the city: All its officers would get estates, and the city itself be reduced to a state of bankruptcy.

If a point of universal concern should be brought before them, the private interest of two or three members of that court would carry it before that of the whole society without doors.

The city Chamberlain, for the great merit of being intrusted with the publick money, or being their Treasures, might find means of erecting himself into the master, or rather the tyrant, of the city: By venal cabals, and mercenary associations, a faction might be form'd in the Common Council, of which he might easily make himself the head, that might be strong enough to out-vote those who were attached to the true interest of the city: Truth and reason would be borne down, and be obliged to give way to the strength of numbers, and he that kept the money would direct and controul the resolutions of that court as absolutely as if they were his hired servants.

If this or that member should be found out in some corrupt practices, and should be accused; would his brethren condemn him, or so much as censure him, when a majority of themselves had been guilty of the like; when some of them, as well as their Treas-

frurer, had perhaps shared the booty with this very person? — In a neighbouring kingdom, a man of quality was lately condemned by his Peers for murder, (I mention it to their honour;) but does any body suppose, that if twelve, of the twenty three, that found him guilty, had committed murder themselves, that they would not have acquitted him? Most certainly they would. — When those that are to punish others, are themselves the greatest criminals, there is nothing dangerous in such a city except virtue and honour:

*Thieves have authority for their robberies
When judges steal themselves.*

What must become of that city which is to receive laws from a faction determined against truth and demonstration? what can it expect, but to see the good of the whole sacrificed to the private interest of a few? — Methinks I see their impudent leader giving them laws with a nod; presenting dark and unintelligible accounts, which are passed without examination; while the abused citizens without are told, with a sneer, it is not fit they should know what is done with the publick money, it being for secret service; for under that article might they continually rob the city.

The Chamberlain would be running the city into unnecessary and expensive law suits; then, not knowing how to manage or conduct them, make them up again by scandalous and more expensive compositions; the Common Council, all this while, giving him the thanks of that court for every blunder. — Thus would the faction behave every day; and when they retired to their private clubs and cabals, at night, they would applaud their own impudence, and laugh at the tameness of the citizens for suffering them to go on.

The Chamberlain would ingross all the beneficial offices and employments in the city to his own family, let them be never such worthless animals, as if the city was made for them alone. You

would see them loaded with its spoils and its wealth, while no body could get any thing but through them; you would see him, perhaps, build a palace for himself, while the city wanted a house for its Lord Mayor.

As such measures must occasion universal discontent, and raise a spirit against him, he might probably bid his enemies defiance, and tell them that, let them threaten as much as they pleased without doors, he feared nothing, for he was sure of his numbers within.

The members of this honest faction would tell those that complained of the ruin which this man's conduct had brought upon the affairs of the city, that they were a seditious rabble; that they were obliged to submit to whatever the majority of the Common Council should enact; that their electors had no right to call them to an account; that, though what was alleged against the Chamberlain was true, they were obliged to support him, and would support him; that if they did not quietly submit, they would be given to understand that the Chamberlain had the city militia of his side, and would make them submit.

You would see regular schemes carried on to introduce luxury and corrupt the morals of the citizens.

You would see an Alderman, that pretended to great credit in paying his bills, not ashamed at *Guild-hall* to plead for a corrupt dependency of the Common Council upon the Chamberlain; insisting upon it, that corruption there was absolutely necessary for the peace of the city.

You would see this shameless faction crowding to make him a levee in a morning, and hanging about his office for their wages when the Common Council was over. — I don't doubt but he would have the impudence to summon them every now and then in a publick manner, and give them orders what new laws should be made to increase his power, and what new jobs set on foot to increase his estate.

There would be an extreme harmo-

and agreement betwixt the members of such a hopeful faction, whenever the city was to be oppressed or robbed:— a job, indeed, might prove a bone of contention, and they might wrangle who should have the largest share; nothing else could occasion the least difference of opinion.

If ever the city of *London* should be reduced to such a deplorable situation, what could the honest part of the Common Council, or the few honest Aldermen do, when they could no longer be of use to the city, but, in justification of their own characters, separate themselves from such an abandoned crew, and shun *Guild-hall* as if the plague was there? This method of proceeding would open the eyes of the citizens, and perhaps raise such a spirit against the next election as might occasion the excluding such a gang of thieves.

If once, I say, corruption should creep into the Common Council, a Chamberlain might bring all this to pass without the least abilities. An inferior cunning would instruct him to give his troops their pay; and when he had greatly robbed, and greatly blundered, self-preservation would inform him that Freedom must not be left in that place, where it would certainly destroy him, if it was suffered to subsist; and so might the city of *London* be reduced to a state of petty slavery.

But we see a quite contrary spirit govern there. Their Chamberlain, tho' he is intrusted with the publick money, is still their servant; he keeps within his own province, and is honestly content with his own salary; he is not charged, or so much as suspected of jobs, nor is his family set astride upon the city, with reins in their hands, to ride with whip and spur; and of consequence their funds are neither anticipated, nor their estate mortgaged.

As private interest does not govern the resolutions of that court, their opinions and debates are free;— no man there waits for the wink or nod of a corrupt leader before he knows which side of a question he is to take; and their differing so frequently upon points

that come before them, is a proof that they are under no influence but that of conscience and reason:— their hands are strangers to the touch of the bribe; their way of maintaining their families is by methods that adds to the publick support; they are unacquainted with those kind of jobs which draw the wealth of cities into private pockets:— They have no notion of setting up some one corrupt fellow as an idol, and imitating the stupidity of the *Laplanders*, who frequently carve an ill-favoured figure out of the rotten stump of some old tree, and when they have done, kneel down and worship the work of their own hands.

Yet this is the city, and this the Common Council, that hath been lately abused and insulted by a false and scandalous list, printed and dispersed all over three kingdoms, representing them as a mean contemptible body of men: these are the people that are called *Rag-dyers*; a trade never heard of except in that list.

I will venture to promise that man who, for many years past, hath been the avowed enemy of this city and of this Common Council, that the *Rag-dyers* will not change colour; they have declared they will have this man down, and the *Rag-dyers* are men of their words.

CRAFTSMAN, May 26.

THE following letter fell accidentally into my hands: and though it contains a most formidable design against *myself* and *Common Sense*, as well as the *national party*, in which we are both engaged; yet, for the sake of *impartiality*, and the interest of the *poor Gentleman* who wrote it, I hope our friends will excuse the publication of it.

Cambridge, May 10. 1739.

To NICHOLAS P—N Esq; *Master-ma-ster General of all the ministerial forces.*

May it please your Honour,

Being entirely devoted to the *ministerial interest*, and hearing that your Honour hath the sole nomination

and

and direction of the *Scribes* in that service, I most humbly beg leave to make the following application to you.

I am a poor fellow of a college in this university, and in *holy orders*; but not being able to get any *spiritual preferment*, I shall be glad to serve my *King* and *country* (that is the *ad—on*) in a *political capacity*: which cannot be thought unbecoming *our function*, since many persons of the highest stations in the *church* have not been ashamed to list themselves in the same cause, to the great emolument of the nation.

I may say, without vanity, that I am reputed to be a man of some *learning*; and observe, with great grief of heart, that no one *man of letters* hath been yet engaged by you, in so glorious a cause, except a certain *backney Parson*. Of what *religion* or *university* he is, I know not; but I am sure his performances are beneath those of a *little country school-master*, or even a *school-boy*.—Then as to Sir A. B. C. the *bastard organist*, the *mean barister*, Mr. *Algernon Sidney*, and the rest of the *Gazetteer-writers*, I will undertake to *out-do* all their *out-doings*, not excepting even Capt. *Pistol*; who, as we are informed, hath lately engaged himself in your *Honour's* service, though he will, no doubt, be of great credit to *our party*, both on *his own*, and his *worthy father's* account.

I will be very ingenuous with your *Honour*; and therefore freely confess, that I have been heretofore esteemed a *Tory*, or *Jacobite*: but I hope that will be made no objection to my future services; since it is well known, in this part of the country, that the most considerable *Papists* did our *noble patron* very eminent service at the last election, though I am sorry to say without any effect.

In short, *Sir*, I shall be always ready to obey your *Honour's* whistle, upon any occasion, like your *other stipendiaries*; and will therefore give you a little cast of my art, in hopes of your favour.

We hear that the city and liberty of *Westminster* hath been lately infested with a most terrible *apparition*, or *ghost*,

which continually haunts the neighbourhood, and puts them under dreadful apprehensions.—It often frequents *Westminster-hall*, crying *Justice, Justice*; and hath sometimes the presumption to advance higher, crying *Money, Money, Money*.—It often talks, in a confused and unintelligible manner, of *Treaties, Preliminaries, Conventions, Standing Armies, Civil List, Secret Service, and Votes of Credit*, to the great astonishment of the inhabitants; who, not being the wisest men in the kingdom, are apt to be frighten'd with any *bug-bear*.—At other times he speaks very freely of *Kings, Ministers, Ambassadors, and Politicians* of all sorts.

Various are the conjectures about *this apparition*.—Some people suppose it to be the spirit of a *departed statesman*, by calling so loudly and earnestly for *money*; but by talking so freely of *Kings, Ministers, Ambassadors, and Politicians*, I take it to be the ghost of some *discontented patriot*, who still haunts the place, where he once resided, and continues to disturb it with his posthumous complaints.

I am credibly inform'd, that application hath been made to several *Right Reverend Prelates* to lay *this spirit* in the *Red Sea*; but they all desir'd to be excus'd from taking so long and expensive a journey, lest something might happen to their disadvantage, during their absence, by the death of their *brethren*.—They likewise represent'd, that their attendance in town was so absolutely necessary, for the *publick service*, that they had not even leisure to take proper care of *their own dioceses*, which had occasioned great reflections upon them by the *malcontents*.

Since therefore those *Venerable Gentlemen* are so much engag'd, I will undertake to lay *this troublesome spirit*, by the dint of my quill, so as never to molest us any more, if your *Honour* should be pleas'd to retain me in your service— I am

Your Honour's
most dutiful and
most obedient servant,

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR,

IT has been with much pleasure I, and all who wish well to SCOTLAND, have read several accounts of *Schemes, Proposals, &c.* for the enriching your country by a general increase and improvement in Agriculture, Planting, and every other part of Husbandry; and, which is almost necessarily consequent thereon, a large extension of your Trade and Manufactures, in the various branches capable of being rendered beneficial to the poor artificers, and advantageous to the whole land:— But, it happened, from what cause you may more probably know than I, that most, if not all your beneficial plans have terminated in speculation only, without producing so much as an attempt to put into practice what has evidently been calculated for the good of your country.— The reason of this may be well worth enquiring into; for some very formidable cause there must be, which can have frustrated the endeavours of so many persons of ingenuity and wisdom, of penetration and candour, from taking effect, in instances where no private views could bias, no self-interest could influence, and only a love for SCOTLAND could animate.

Your FISHERY is owned, by all men skill'd in that kind of business, to be capable of almost incredible improvement, and sufficient to spread a new face of prosperity over the whole kingdom: but with what slow advances is that best of gold mines cultivated among yourselves, while foreigners, at more than double the expence you need to be at on the same occasion, visit your seas, may your very coasts, to carry from you those treasures which nature had made your own?— What Scots man who deserves the name, can see these ravages without concern? who, possessed of a generous love of his own country, without vexation?— If the men among you who have fortunes capable of improving the Fish Trade with the vigour necessary to supply the foreign markets yourselves, are principally GENTLE-

MEN, it is from GENTLEMEN only, men of liberal education, and the open, generous sentiments resulting from thence, that the *possessing* such publick undertakings can alone be expected; since, surely, none will urge, that a capacity of *servicing* one's country, is a reason for not doing it:— for where Trade is essential to the *wealth* and *prosperity* of a nation, Kings themselves disdain not the name nor business of Merchants. And how far preferable is the name of PATRIOT to that of a man whose estate serves only to feed his own family, while, with additional advantage to himself, it might be made to support thousands in his own age, and to provide bread for succeeding generations!— One argument for this, which will not be easily confuted, is the extensive Trade and opulence of the city of LONDON, where some of the LARGEST FORTUNES in the whole British dominions are employed in Trade, by Gentlemen, who glory in the benefits they are thereby enabled to bring to their fellow-subjects; who, before an empty title, are wise enough to prefer real worth; and who, in the country and at court, in their own houses, and over half the globe, are esteemed the greatest friends to their country, while their own private fortunes are daily increasing, by the increase of the nation's wealth.— Without such men, how could our Trade be carried on? how could our Manufacturers be always employed, and always paid for their labour? Did our Knights think themselves above Trade, how would London suffer by the bestowing of a title? If a hundred thousand pounds raised every man above Traffick, what fatal decrease would be found in our most advantageous branches of Commerce!— But, so far are we here from despising a Gentleman for applying himself to Trade, that where a Peer and a Merchant happen to be in coaches following each other, watch the eyes of all they pass, and whatever staring may be at the coronet on the coach-door of the one, the other is viewed with more solid regard, more real esteem, by all who happen to

know him. Which is not difficult to account for, when it is considered, that, probably, while the former is supporting forty people in idleness and luxury, the latter is maintaining five or six hundred in useful, honest industry.

I am persuaded, from all the observations I have been able to make with regard to SCOTLAND, that these loose hints deserve serious attention from all who are friends to that nation; — and I may, perhaps, pursue this subject another opportunity, if this letter meets such a reception as demonstrates an attention to the welfare of your country; to which I am an earnest and

Sincere friend, though,

Westminster,
May 25.

AN ENGLISHMAN.

A faithful ABSTRACT OF ALL the REMARKABLE EVENTS, &c. contained in a book lately published, intitled, *A JOURNAL of the Squadron under the command of NICHOLAS HADDOCK, Esq; Rear Admiral of the Red, &c. from Spithead to Mahon. Introduced with impartial thoughts upon the past and present state of our affairs; and interspersed with cursory remarks. In a Letter to a Friend. By the Reverend Mr. GEORGE LUMLEY, of MERTON-COLLEGE, OXON, Chaplain to his Majesty's ship the Dragon. London; printed for the Author, and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. MDCCXXXIX.*

SIR,

ON Monday, the 22d of May 1738, WE SET SAIL, and on the 26th of the following month, — ANCHOR'D in the harbour of Mahon.

I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

GEORGE LUMLEY.

From on board his Majesty's ship the Dragon, in the harbour of Mahon, July 1. 1738.

To Mr. BROOKE, on his tragedy of GUSTAVUS VASA.

WHILE Athens glory'd in her free-Born race,

And scienc' flourish'd around her sav'rist place
The Muse, unfetter'd, trod the Grecian stage
Free were her pinions, unconfin'd, & her rays
Bold and secure she aim'd the pointed darts
And pour'd the precept poignant to the heart
Till dirt dominion stretch'd her lawless way
And Athens' sons were destin'd to obey.
Then first the stage a licens'd bondage knew
And tyrants quash'd the scene they fear'd to view;

Fair freedom's voice no more was heard
Charm,

Or liberty the Attick audience warm.

Then sud the Muse indignant from the shore,

Nor dign'd to dwell where freedom was a
more:

Vain thou, alas! she sought Britannia's gate
Charm'd with her voice; and choor'd us with
her fate.

If Gallick learn her generous sight restrain
And bind her captive with th' ignoble chain
Bold and unlicens'd, in ELIZA's days,
Free flow'd her numbers, flourish'd fair her
lays;

On Britain's stage, majestic; unconfin'd,
She tax'd her patriot lessons to mankind;
For mighty heroes ransack'd ev'ry age,
And bound'd them glorious in her SHAKESPEAR's page.

SHAKESPEAR no more — he was the
poet's name,

Till thou, my friend, my genius, sprang
same.

Lur'd by his laurel's never-fading bloom,
You boldly snatch'd the trophy from his tomb
Taught the declining Muse again to soar,
And to Britannia gave one foot more.

Plac'd in thy lays we see GUSTAVUS
love!

But, ah! GUSTAVUS, if thou can'st forgive
Britons more savage than the tyrant Dan
Beneath whose yoke you drew th' ignoble
chain;

Degenerate Britons, by thy worth dismay'd
Profane thy glories, and proscribe thy shade

Upon seeing M——— V———'s Picture.

When Goddesses appear, e'en Gods will love:
 If Venus tempt an almighty Jove.
 No wonder, then, if Sacharillo's charms
 Could tempt a mighty Monarch to her arms.
 What tho' we're taught to curb unwiseful fire?
 Forbidden fruit but animates desire.
 Who, when superior beauty charms the sight,
 And moves in all the majesty of light,
 Can look unconquer'd? or can say, I'm free
 From Love's soft, pleasing, powerful tyranny?
 Love, sure you'll own, is natural to all;
 And all obey its universal call:
 Where then's the crime, if Kings have felt its
 power?

(For Kings, no doubt, have their unguarded hour.)
 Know, ye, who rashly dare condemn the man,
 A God's his pattern, Nature is his plan.

EPIGRAM on Turpin. By a YORKSHIRE Gentleman.

FULL of the South has finer'd our Northern
 clime,
 And herse-foaling-bean vall'd a county-crime:
 But now no longer we will-bear such jokes;
 This rogue is there's, and we the honest folks.
 Of knaves and fools we don't say we-bare nei-
 ther,
 But knaves and fools are folden found together;
 Our purer Northern air's too sharp by half,
 A Yorkshire tyke has bit this Essex calf;
 This shall-bred rogue has found it in his cast,
 A-ith out of its element is lost.

ANSWER'D: by an ESSEX Gentleman.

When Turpin cruiz'd near home, splendid
 he roll'd
 In cash, and rings, and watches cas'd with gold;
 Lean Yorkshire * chang'd the scene, his trade
 fail'd there,
 In vain those roads he try'd above a year,
 Till poverty reduc'd him to small-beer.
 What could be do, in that dire starving case,
 But take the trade peculiar to the place?
 Turn Yorkshire tyke, and steal a horse or two,
 So hang at Tyburn, 'midst the jockey crew?
 For boldest lion, if with hunger stung,
 Will feed on carrion, mix'd with poison dung.

* Turpin fled from London to Yorkshire to screen himself, but was bit by a tyke, and died of the country-disease.

The ROSE-BUD: TO LAVINIA,
 at Fifteen.

Which this without ring leads,
 This sweet retreat for lovers
 made;
 Amidst the glitt'ring pearls of morn,
 That ev'ry leaf and spray adorn,
 How sweetly blooms this opening rose,
 How fresh its purple lustre flows!
 Soft odours round its beauties play,
 How fragrant in the cool of day!

Oh! bless'd with youth, and form'd
 for love,
 Lavinia, repent of the grove:
 Of sense polite, and innate taste,
 With rural innocence grac'd;
 That unaffected state of mind,
 Which few from books or breeding find,
 Alike from outward silence free,
 And loud, insipid, gaitty:
 Whose conduct almost so approve,
 That almost every, or must love!
 Ah! fatterer than the dewing rose,
 Whose cheeks a lowlier blush disclose;
 When soon, drawn forth to open day,
 You shine amidst the young and gay,
 Where flait'ry throws her gilded dart,
 Vice skulks beneath each modest art:
 May no mistaken excellence
 To folly teach your wig'rous sense;
 No coarthy airs, with honour's face,
 Refuse to gild each virgin grace:
 No taste from Italy or France
 Debauch your native elegance.
 May you, secure from the extremes
 Of scandal's blasts, or flattery's beams,
 Reserve for generous Strophon's arms,
 Your beauty's bloom, and virtue's
 charms.

SONG.

NO: Cælia that I'm more sincere,
 Or am less apt to rove,
 Do I a heart so faithful bear,
 So constant in its love.—
 I faith, my Cælia, like the rest,
 From fair to fair I'd range;
 But that it's more my interest,
 Still to love on that change.

All charms, which others recommend,
In thee alone I find;
Beauty and temper kindly blend
The handsome and the kind.

Then why should I inconstant prove?
Why other nymphs pursue? —
When here I have all I could love:
'Tis prudence to be true.

THE LADY OF MAY: A MADRIGAL. TO MYRA.

I.

Pretty wanton! come away,
Lover's month is always May;
Long have I (too long to say)
Said thee, wanton thing, to play;
But, alas and well-a-day,
When I see, you cry me nay.

To requite my ling'ring stay,
Pay me now — or never pay;
Nature smiles, and all is gay,
All is deck'd in best array:
Pretty wanton! come away,
Let us love the month of May.

II.

Little wanton! let us rove
Through the fragrant myrtle grove,
There to hear the turtle dove
Cooing sonnets to its love.
Ev'ry turtle equals Jove,
Tho' the God for beauty strove.

Let us then our time improve,
Sonnets may your scorn remove;
Coyness doth not thee bebove:
Wear the wreath a shepherd wove.
Little wanton! let us rove
Through the fragrant myrtle grove.

III.

Pr'ythee, wanton! come away,
Slight not love with cold delay;
Ev'ry field is green and gay,
Ev'ry hawthorn's crown'd with May,
Joyous birds on ev'ry spray
Warble out the live-long day:

Ev'ry swain in shepherd's gray
Tunes his faw'rite roundelay;
Tender lamkins sportive stay,
Blossom buds their sweets display.
Come, my wanton! come away,
And love all the month of May.

The Orders of his Excellency R — N —
Esq; Governor General of the Diversi
at BATH.

Some come here for pleasure, and others
health;
Some come here to squander, and some to get wealth
To these all our subjects, here merrily meeting,
We Governor N — do send out our greeting
Whereas it to us has been fully made known,
Some quere folks presume to have wills of th
own,

And think, when they come to such places as thes
They've unlimited licence to do as they please;
Whence frequent disorders do daily arise;
To prevent such abuses, what e'er in us lies,
We publish these rules, consider'd at leisure,
And expect due observance; for such is o
pleasure.

When you first come to Bath in whatever condition
Whether sick or in health, you must have a Ph
sician;

As they'll equally take inordinate fees,
You're at your own liberty; chuse whom you please
The Doctor will find there is absolute need,
That friend Jerry Pierce must be sent for to bleed
Next some drops or some pills prepar'd with due
care,

To prevent all infection from water or air;
Then drink at the pump, or bathe without fear.
When you first sally out there are different calls;
At Hayes's, or Lovelace's, money for balls;
As nothing in this world is done without bribe,
Leake, Sinnot, or Morgan, expect you'll subscribe;
When this part is over, then live at your ease;
Game, drink, or fornicate, just as you please:
When your money is spent, march off without
trouble,

Secure, who comes next will be just the same
bubble.

THE FALSE MORNING.

The morning rose bright, as any blooming bride
Flush'd with enjoyment, from her lover's side
So warm, (for winter) and so like the spring,
I thought to hear the foolish cuckoo sing!
But see how soon the blessing turn'd a curse,
The weather and the ways grew worse and worse
The clouds look fullen in the faithless skies,
And winds, like jealousy, in murmurs rise.
Sometimes a flatt'ring minute seem'd to smile,
But lasted but a very little while!
Such is the morning of a married list,
And such the dirty journey with a wife!

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR,

Notwithstanding the many objections which are made against the prodigious power of the Muses, and the danger of listening too attentively to their prevailing influence, I can by no means agree with some Gentlemen, who have lately gone so far, in *contemning the power of verse*, as to question, whether it has done most good or ill to mankind?—The effect I feel in my own breast on reading a well written poem, moves me to conclude the same must be experienced by others on the like occasion: And as no poem can be, in a true sense of the words, well written, where the subject is not *useful as well as entertaining*, the pleasure arising from the reading of such pieces, must be rational in itself, and of a general good tendency: for it will be denied by very few, but that the impression left upon the mind by the most refined prose, is much inferior to that made by the same thoughts when embellished and enforced by the *additional strength* of elegant verse.—And to the friends of the Muses it must yield much pleasure, to observe, that, among our *modern bards*, those who have been most distinguished by the smiles of the tuneful Nine, have most distinguished themselves by the happy choice of their subjects: for though there was once a time when the *best Poets* among our countrymen were detested by the virtuous for their disregard of religion and morality, of modesty, and even of decency itself; at present scarce a poetical essay appears that is worth reading, wherein the *doctrine is not as useful as the verse is entertaining*.—I was thrown upon these reflections by reading a poem intitled THE NORTHERN STAR, written by AARON HILL, Esq; several years ago, and lately republished, with large improvements throughout. It first appeared in the lifetime of the late Czar PETER the Great; and, several years after it was published, the author received a present from the Czarina, his consort and successor, in acknowledgment of her approbation.—I found so much pleasure in the perusal of it myself, that I could not withstand the temptation of sending

you the following extract from it; which I think well deserves to be recommended to all lovers of verse, for the *prodigious strength of imagination*, the *swelling fulness of each sentence*, the *harmony and variety of the numbers*, the *spotless virtue and unconfined generosity of sentiment*, which shine conspicuous through the whole.—I make no apology for the liberty of transmitting it again to the press without the author's leave; since a Gentleman who has written so much for the improvement and entertainment of mankind, without taking those profits from his writings which are frequently the *motives* of other authors writing at all, will be glad of seeing that contribute to the publick improvement, which is too finished a piece to be produced by any private views.

May, 1. I am, Yours, &c.

LYRICUS.

THE NORTHERN STAR.

Born in an age; when Virtue trails her face,
And bold Corruption turns the blush on Grace;
Where reptile genius winds, at pow'r's controul,
And Fortune's whebelmy tides engulf the soul;
Where sense by flattery, shame by want, is weigh'd,
And servile Poets make their art a trade:
Rise, generous Muse! out-sfar the venal views
For, praise is insult, where 'tis giv'n undue.
Tho' pension'd Fame can fawn, till fools are taught
To boast th' imputed wit, their brib'ry bought;
Yet, man, to man's respect is rais'd,—not born;
And dulness, dignify'd, but doubles scorn.
Ah, narrow hearts! that know not wisdom's weight;
But, impudently, call the proud, the great!
Spread the broad wings of truth, impartial Muse!
Dare a new theme—nor, now, let Fancy chuse.
Serious and sad, the faults of custom mend:
To friendless genius Fame's due succour lend.—
If, in some dusty corner, thou shalt find
A ragged fortune hide a noble mind,
Disperse the cloud; and be the labour thine,
To teach the shame-fac'd Virtus how to shine.

Or, shou'd some wealth-encumber'd churl
withhold

Th' enliv'ning use of unpartaken gold;
If, meanly proud, the wretch disdains to weigh
The wise-man's wants, against the treasure'd
clay:

With ceaseless satire goad his sneaking soul;
'Till his pride, suff'ring, gives his taste con-
troul.

Then, Muse! from life's low wrongs, in-
dignant, turn;

With loftier flames, for suff'ring nations, burn.
On flatter'd statesmen scowl a patriot eye;
Strip their badg'd poets, when they write to lie.
If, rais'd by chance, some tarnisher of sway,
Blund'ring thro' shifts, mistakes th' unwind-
ing way;

If, lumb'ring clogg'd, he drags, bewir'd, along;
Cow'rs, to be safe;—yet, injures, to be strong:
Tell him,—that hair-breadth 'scapes, and
life-long fear,

Buy pow'r, and pomp, and infamy—too dear.

Pass, pass these sulph'ry meteors, of a day;
Their blaze too dangerous! and too lost their
way!

On fens, not comets, fix thy eagle ken;
Touch the proud hearts of monarchs into men:
Thence, flows contagion:—light must
gen'rate light,

Or mimic millions catch the royal blite.
Kings, who are Kings, shade lustre o'er man-
kind:

But, dim-ey'd Princes make whole nations
blind.

—So, godlike CÆSAR rul'd ungrateful Rome,
And short-liv'd Virtue shot a blasted bloom:
But, when low'd NERO stain'd imperial
sway,

Vice, with a rapid stream, swept shame
away.

Let the low Muse, that strikes the venal
strings,

Tune her tame lyre, and swell the pomp of Kings.
Undreading, Thou, where-e'er the censure
falls,

Enter proud palaces imperious walls.
There,—good, or evil—seize th' unshadow'd
fact—

And call truth, truth, however Princes act.

Sublimely fir'd, I snatch the glorious aim!
'Twers great indeed—to give the royal, fame!
But, where, O spotless light of reason's eye!
Where, among Princes, wilt thou greatness
spy?

Shall BRITAIN'S boast o'erload my lab'ring
lines?

No—with known force domestick glory shines.
Flatt'ry were base: and needless the design
To say, (to angels)—Hear'n is all divin
Northward, departing Muse, extend th'
flight—

There, a New Sun inflames the land of night
There, arts and arms the world's fifth empire
raise:

There, dateless times shall hail my People
praise.

Thy line, Great CZAR! shall stretch the
shorten'd name,

To more than CÆSAR'S power, and all th'
fame.

Taught, by thy plans, to reign, victorious, still
And length'ning down, through time, th'
dearlest skill,

Legions, of Kings, shall wait their doomful word
As hosts, from Moses, watch'd th' inspiring
God!

Perish the pride, in poor distinction shown
That makes man blind to blessings not his own.
Briton and Russian differ but in name:

In nature's sense, all nations are the same!
One world, divided, distant brothers share.
And man is reason's subject—ev'rywhere!

So—does dark Nile's mysterious torrent
stray,

And easy wealth, in annual flood, convey;—
Memphias' rich plains imbibe th' impregnated
flow,

And pleas'd Egyptians see proud barvests
grow.

Yet, while on Egypt partial barvests smile
Egypt's glad sons engross not all their Nile
Egypt, and all the world, the river claim
Egypt, in influence; and the world, in fame!

So, Russia feels her CZAR'S intensest beat
But, the warm'd world his distant brightness
greet.

Ages, obscurely lost to slighted fame,
Robb'd the dim empire of its buried name!
One city's bounds usurp'd her Monarch's rights
And strunk his thousand states, to MUSCO
VITES!

Unmeasur'd realms lay bid, in noiseless reign
And RUSSIA cover'd half the world—
vain!

Till rising time this giant-genius sent;
Divinely fix'd—to suit his crown's extent
He breath'd prolific soul! inspir'd the land,
And call'd forth order, with directive hand
Then

Then, pow'r's whole energy, at once, spread,
 wide,
 And old obstruction sunk, beneath its tide:
 Then, shad' wing all, the dread dominion rose;
 Which, late, no hope, — and now, no danger,
 knows!
 Did not, O Prince! thy love of art's soft
 charms
 suspend the keener influence of thy arms;
 dismiss'd Europe, envious of thy sway;
 Must wink malignant, in thy stream of day!
 But, 'tis thy generous task, to steer thy reign
 'twixt the two wide extremes — of mean,
 and vain;
 To teach fierce conquerors all, that arts bestow:
 To bold back arms, till justice names the foe.
 Not so, of old, — when, stern in horrid arms,
 The needy North pour'd forth her Gothic
 swarms;
 Roughly, they warr'd, on arts they cou'd not
 taste;
 And, blindly, laid the tracts of learning waste.
 This, Heav'n remember'd, and, with kind
 command,
 Call'd for atonement from the barb'rous land.
 The Prince, disdainful of his country's crime,
 Guileless, springs forward, — to un-curse the
 crime:
 And, nobly just, has taught the nations more,
 Than the world's empire ruin'd, — lost, before.
 How vast the engine! and the force so great!
 What could so swiftly move such ponderous
 weight!
 Enormous boast of Kings! who, tho' his reign
 stretch'd empire's endless line from main to
 main,
 Counts not his greatness by his country's length,
 Nor, from dependent millions, steals his strength:
 But, to himself (like Heav'n) his effluence
 owes;
 And gives — not takes — what pow'r from
 number flows!
 Born, for eternal growth — and stor'd
 with schemes,
 For whit'ning time with ever-blooming
 themes,
 Wonders on wonders gild a glowing land,
 That, almost, ow'd distinction to his hand!
 From frozen climes, where nature, stiff with
 cold,
 Now ris'd no hope; and time in tears grew old:
 Warm'd by the Monarch's worth, we rising
 saw
 Springs of gay virtue — and ripe fruits of
 law!

Doubly supreme! — thy unrestrain'd controul
 Directs the body — and impow'rs the soul!
 While vulgar Kings their views supinely scan,
 And limit what they would, by what they can;
 Thy nobler pow'r, with more than mortal
 sway,
 Commands — and makes men able to obey!
 Transporting thought! let me indulge it long.
 Hence, realms grow mighty! and their in-
 fluence strong!
 Ah! why, by civil broils, should patriots bleed,
 For parts in pow'r, they nor enjoy, nor need?
 Less factious subjects happier freedom share;
 Mis-reckon'd slaves — in such a Sovereign's
 care.
 Slaves are blind bufflers, who, deceiv'd by
 names,
 Promote, unknowingly, their spoiler's aims:
 Who (told, sedition sets a nation free)
 Hug the new chain — and call it liberty.
 Then — walking gall'd, beneath th' incum-
 bent weight,
 Grind a curb'd curse — and bear th' impos'd
 deceit.
 If just Athenians, by a Theseus led,
 Their scatter'd country's strength-uniting head!
 To lasting praise configur'd his cherish'd fame,
 And, conscious of his bounty, bless'd his name;
 If hard Lycurgus, now, immortal grown,
 Sheds deathless glory round a realmless throne;
 If, Romulus! thy memory triumphs, still
 For teaching Rome to rob, with safer skill;
 For reining rapine in from private harms,
 To mightier mischief, in conferr'd arms:
 What praise, prodigious CZAR! shall dare
 to tread,
 In awful circles, near thy sacred head;
 To whom, not one small portion singly kneels,
 In thanks for separate benefits, it feels.
 But, nations, numberless as Libyan sands,
 Share the long bounties of thy reaching
 hands? —
 Thy hands! — to whom, delighted with thy
 praise,
 God gave not thrones, to reign — but, to raise!
 Thy catching lustre fires the North's wide
 soul,
 And throws the icy influence of the pole:
 The shaggy Samoid, shaking off his snow,
 Warms his cold breast, with new desire, to
 know;
 The rugged Tartar, from whose swart
 bands
 A gloom of horror us'd to shade thy lands,
 L 1 a Charm'd

Charm'd by thy gen'rous daring, checks his
own,
Assumes new nature,—and adorns thy throne.
Beams of young learning, active as the wind,
Radiant, flame out, and light up half man-
kind:

Stern superstition's misty cloud, dispell'd,
Quits her chief throne, thro' long, dark, ages,
beld:
And Russian arms a glitt'ring terror cast,
O'er realms, where scarce the Russian name
had past!

Edinburgb, May 1.

A FIT COMPANION. From ANACREON.

WHO o'er his bumper speaks of blood
and strife,
Only foment the galling cares of life:
Give me the man, who will our mirth im-
prove,
Who sings, laughs, dances, and tells tales
of love.

SYLVIO TO MAYA.

Fair lovely Maid, accept my humble lays,
The tribute which a captive bosom pays.
Won by thy charms, long I've endur'd Love's
smart,
And fed the cruel tort'rer in my heart.
You was the object of my infant cares;
From you were all my tender hopes and fears.
These lovely eyes did first my breast inspire,
Which now set all the Northern clime on fire.
Love's infant graces shew'd a glowing dawn,
Which spread full lustre ere the day began.
Your smiles and glances then were Cupid's
darts,
And promis'd torture to a thousand hearts.
Then would I watch the motions of your eye,
Smile when you smil'd, and with you sigh-
ing, sigh.
Whate'er I spoke or thought was all of you,
O fatal prelude to my future wo!
Yet this could ne'er that stinty bosom move,
Too cruel Maid, to frown on so much love.
The vital flame, which was so soon be-
gun,
Now spreads and blazes, like the mid-day sun;
By time increas'd, with warmer vigour glows,
And with my years and your enchantments
grows,
At length, dear Charmer pity Sylvio's fate;
That bright was ne'er design'd the seat of hate:

A hapless shepherd, faithful to his flame,
Long, spite of time and distance, still the same
Now begs the last decision of your charms,
To die beneath your feet, or live within your
arms.

AMYNTOR.

To a young Gentleman after an interview
with his Mistress. By the same hand.

THrice happy Damon! now complain no
more
Of Cupid's dart, or ANNABELLA's pow'r;
The lovely virgin feels an equal flame,
Or it is all enchantment, all a dream.
I saw the nymph in ev'ry charm excel,
I need not tell them, since you know so well
I saw love sparkle in your wond'ring eyes,
And dancing transports testify surprise.
I saw her glance and smile, you blis'd and
kiss;

'Twas death to be a witness of your bliss.
Good Damon, say, why lies the harp un-
strung?

Can such endearing sweetness pass unsung?
Such smiles, such words, such kisses might in-
spire

A WALLER's softness, and a DRYDEN's
fire.

'Twas thus, of late, divine CLARINDA
charm'd;
Such flowing sweets my panting bosom
warm'd:

Such were the looks my melting heart o'er came,
And just like Damon's was Amyntor's flame.
With passion fir'd, the infant Muse essay'd
To paint the fair, the kind, the lovely maid:
In spite of innate dulness, numbers chime,
I spoke in raptures, and I sigh'd in rhyme.

Ab cou'd Myrilla kindle up a lay,
When in the shady copse she run away?
Cou'd all that's ugly claim the Poet's song,
Deny'd to all that's charming, fair and young!
Cease to adorn an undeserving name;
Nature ne'er form'd her for the Poet's theme.
Let all these charms some hungry bean be-
witch,

Who says she's fair, because her father's rich.
To ANNABELLA tune your tender lays:
Who wou'd not, cou'd not ANNABELLA
praise!

Blest Nymph! for thee the Muses presents bring,
And teach a thousand various tongues to sing!
Whisk

*While wit can move, while beauty has
a charm,
And female graces youthful shepherds
warm;
While words, or smiles, or glances can
invite,
And reviv'd bosoms beat with fond de-
light;
While lovers pains are in soft sighs ex-
press'd,
Thy name, thy merit, and thy fame shall
last.*

AMYNTOR.

EDINBURGH, May 1739.

THE 10th of this month the General Assembly of this national Church met. The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Hyndford represented his Majesty, and was all along attended by the Nobility and other persons of distinction in the place. The Rev. Mr. James Bannatine, one of the Ministers of this city, was elected Moderator. His Grace presented his Majesty's most gracious letter, which was respectfully read, and is as follows:

GEORGE R.

Right Reverend and Welbeloved, We greet you well. The many instances which you have given in your former Assemblies, of your loyalty and affection to our person and government, as well as of your zeal for the advancement of true religion and piety, have engaged us most willingly to countenance your present meeting with our royal authority and approbation, and to renew to you, upon this occasion, the assurances of our constant resolution to support and maintain the Church of Scotland, established by law, in the full enjoyment of all its just rights and privileges.

As we make no doubt but you come together at this time with the same good dispositions and intentions, you may depend upon our protection and assistance in whatever may promote the prosperity of the Church of which you are members, and tend to the preventing the growth of Popery, and to the suppressing vice and

immorality: And as you must be sensible of the importance of a perfect agreement and union among yourselves, to the success of your councils and resolutions, we are fully persuaded your debates will be conducted with that prudence, wisdom and moderation as are becoming so venerable an Assembly, and which must above all things conduce to the attaining the good and desirable ends for which you are convened, wherein you may be assured of our concurrence and support.

We have made choice of our Right Trusty and entirely Beloved Cousin JOHN Earl of HYNDFORD to represent our Royal Person in this Assembly, whose abilities and zeal for our service, and affectionate concern for the prosperity of the Church of Scotland, will, we doubt not, make him very acceptable to you, and engage you to give him your best assistance in bringing this your meeting to a happy conclusion. And so we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our court at St. James's the 24th day of April 1739, in the twelfth year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command,
HOLIES NEWCASTLE.

To which the Assembly made the following answer.

May it please your Majesty,
Your gracious Letter to this Assembly was received with all the honour and respect that becomes loyal subjects greatly sensible of the happiness they enjoy under your good and wise government.

The notice your Majesty is pleased to take of the loyalty and good affection of our former Assemblies to your person and government, and their zeal for the advancement of true religion and piety, gives us the highest satisfaction, and cannot but animate us to persevere in our inviolable loyalty to your Majesty, and our most strenuous endeavours to promote the great interests you so warmly recommend to our care; to which we are encouraged by the countenance your Majesty is pleased to give to our present meeting with your royal authority and approbation, and the assurances of your constant resolution to support and maintain the Church

Church of Scotland, established by law, in the full enjoyment of all its just rights and privileges.

We should be unworthy of the confidence your Majesty is pleased to express of our coming together at this time with the same good dispositions and intentions, were we not firmly resolved to use our utmost endeavours for promoting the prosperity of this Church, for preventing the growth of Popery, and for suppressing vice and immorality, especially when we are so strongly encouraged by your royal assurances to depend upon your protection and assistance in whatever may tend to these valuable ends.

As we are sensible of the importance of a perfect agreement and union among ourselves, we are resolved, that through the good hand of our God upon us, our debates shall be conducted with the prudence, wisdom, and moderation becoming such an Assembly, and necessary to the attaining the good and desirable ends of our meeting: and it is the greatest satisfaction to us, to be assured of your royal concurrence and support.

The choice your Majesty has been pleased to make of the Earl of HYNDFORD to represent your Royal Person in this Assembly, is highly acceptable to us. His abilities and zeal for your Majesty's service, and his affectionate concern for our prosperity, and the great and good services done this Church by his pious ancestors, cannot but endear your Majesty's choice of him to us, and lay us under the highest obligations to give him all the assistance in our power in bringing this our meeting to a happy conclusion.

Your Majesty's donation, this year, for the reformation of the Highlands and Islands, we accept with all thankfulness, as a new instance of your Majesty's pious intention to propagate the knowledge of Jesus Christ in those parts. It shall be our great care so to dispose of this charitable fund, as shall best answer the purposes for which it is designed.

We beg leave to take this first opportunity, humbly to congratulate your Majesty upon the late increase of your Royal family; by which the divine providence has given these nations an additional security

of having the blessings of your Majesty's reign, and every thing dear to us as Men and Protestants, transmitted to posterity.

That God may eminently bless your Majesty with all spiritual blessings in Christ Jesus, and long preserve you to make us a happy people, and to be a defence to all the reformed Churches; that he may abundantly bless the Prince and Princess of Wales, and all the branches of your Royal family; and after a long and happy reign on earth, that you may inherit an immortal crown of glory in heaven, are the fervent prayers of,

May it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most faithful, most obedient, and most loyal subjects,
The Ministers and Elders met in
the National Assembly of the
Church of Scotland.

Signed in our name, in our presence,
and at our appointment, by

JAMES BANNATINE Moderator.

A motion being made, to read the minutes of the last commission, and to take the libel [*March Mag.* p. 135.] against the Seceders into consideration, a great many imagined it highly inexpedient at this juncture to insist on that charge; while others were as forward in persuading the Assembly, that they were now reduced to a necessity of exerting their authority, and of doing what was proper to preserve them from an universal contempt, which, they said, would be the consequence.

That our readers may have a summary view of this affair, we shall give a short abstract of the reasonings on both sides, in a committee of the whole house, which met twice on the affair.

The Gentlemen who thought forbearance necessary, opened the debate with several observations on the frequent mischiefs which violent measures had occasioned. An inflexibility of temper is the character which becomes no court. The Seceders, in some measure may be said to be useful; they edify many pious Christians; express a sincere regard for Presbyterian Church-government; and are men of a good

and moral conduct. 'Tis true, they are unhappy in differing from the judicatures establish'd by law, yet charity will teach us to impute that to an erroneous conscience, which can never be a ground of severe censure against men in other respects good and useful members of society. Severity can produce no good consequences; persecution never yet diminished a sect; it increases the flame, and gives the party an opportunity to triumph. Besides, is it not plain the schism is decreasing? The Seceders pursue such methods as must soon reduce them to universal contempt. Can the Church have ought to fear? Is she to be shaken or overturned by a set of men who have neither power nor interest to do her any considerable prejudice? Every society should propose some good end in their publick actions; but if any imagined that could be obtained by severity, it was a fatal mistake: It would only inflame the minds of the multitude, and tempt them to fly out into yet greater extravagancies. The Assembly ought to imitate the lenity of the State, which, far from punishing its avow'd calumniators, daily permitted the most scandalous pamphlets and libels to go without notice. It is hard to tell what turn the affairs of the nation may take; and, should it happen that we come to be involved in a foreign war, is it a time to create enemies at home? This would be an unkind return to a good and mild government, which always favoured us so much, &c.

On the other side it was said: It can't be refused, that when both divine and human laws vest a power in any society, it is obliged to exert it when the strongest necessity requires; which is undeniably the present case: for the matter now rests upon the principle of self-defence. The Church is mangled and rent by a perfidious set who had sworn to defend her: Why then do men call justice, severity, or so necessary a step, a hardship. If men allow such an association of ideas, reason, justice, and all order, will soon vanish. Let not therefore justice be branded

with the vile name of persecution, or acting agreeable to received laws, and all the known forms of discipline, be thought a hardship. What has been gained by a seven years forbearance? Have not these unhappy men been encouraged to continue the schism? Have not gentle measures been used? and with what success we all can tell. Slackness in punishing offenders like them had effected the ruin of the Church in the days of Cromwel, when inconsiderable sects, through a neglect at first, became powerful enough to overturn the whole establishment. But the practice of the Church shews her mind: In the case of Macmillan, Hepburn and Tailor, who were full as popular as the present Seceders, an Assembly, without fear of the numbers which followed them, proceeded to a sentence; which had such happy effects, that at this day we scarce see the remains of that schism. One of them bitterly lamented his conduct, and died full of a sincere repentance for being the instrument of division. Why should the Seceders characters be thus magnified? Wherein did their goodness and morality consist? If, to delude a mob, to inspire them with pride, envy, hatred, and all the sour and ill-natur'd passions, was moral or good, then they had a pretence to it. Nor could men who affected powers inconsistent with the very being of Presbytery, be well said to have a sincere regard to Presbyterian principles.

After these debates, a narrow majority carried the question, of sisting the Seceders at their bar, and proceeding upon the libel: On which they were called, and the whole of them appeared.

The Moderator, in the Assembly's name, exhorted them to consider of their disorderly courses, and submit to that Church to which they had vowed obedience. He told them, That though they were come there to answer a libel, the Assembly was now ready, upon their submission, to receive them with open arms; and beseech'd them to be no longer deaf to the calls of Reason and Scripture. But Mr. Mair, Moderator

of the Associate Presbytery, presented a paper, which, after hearing the libel, he read before the Assembly, intitled, *Act of the Associate Presbytery, finding and declaring, That the present judicatures of this national Church are not lawful nor right constitute courts of Christ; and declining all authority, power and jurisdiction that the said judicatures may claim to themselves over the said Presbytery, or any of the members thereof, or over any that are under their inspection; and particularly declining the authority of a General Assembly now met at Edinburgh the 10th day of May 1739.* In the preamble, after enumerating the good uses of provincial and national Synods, as well as classical Presbyteries, when duly constitute, they affirm, That there have been provincial and national Synods, so corrupt in their constitution, and so irregular in their procedure, that the keys of government and discipline have been perverted contrary to their original design; insomuch that error has been countenanced and encouraged, a lax and corrupt ministry have been supported, and such as endeavoured to be faithful have been born down and censured:—And therefore, in a consistency with the principles of the reformed and covenanted Church of Scotland, with their duty to Christ, the souls committed to their charge, and the Lord's heritage through the land; and, in a consistency with the engagements they came severally under when ordained to the ministry, they testify and declare, That the present judicatures of this national Church are not lawful nor right constitute courts of Christ; and consequently, that they cannot warrantably claim to themselves any power or authority over the members of this Presbytery, or their adherents.

This act is divided into three heads. The *first* asserts, That such Ministers as are imposed by mere church-authority, by presentations, or otherwise, upon dissenting and reclaiming congregations, have no warrant from Christ, and consequently, have no right to sit in his courts; and that the Christian peo-

ple may justly decline their jurisdiction. — That these courts are constitute of many such members as not only impose Ministers upon dissenting congregations, but even where the Presbytery of the bounds have likewise dissented;—of such as are not only silent in the publick cause of God, but dissenters of publick sins;—of such as scatter and drive away the flock of Christ, ruling them with force and cruelty, and who depart from the traditions of the Apostles; yet are not ashamed, but justify these practices;—of such as have been active in making the act of Assembly 1732 averse the election of Ministers to vacant congregations, the acts of Assembly 1733 against the protesting Ministers, and the Ministers of the Presbytery of Dunfermline;—and of such as not only refuse to purge out, but continue to support intruders.

In the *second* head they assert, That the present judicatures of this national Church are tolerating the erroneous, and supporting and countenancing error; as appears by their conduct in the cases of Mess. Simson, Campbell, and Withart.

In the *third* head they assert, That the present judicatures of this Church have subordinate themselves unto the civil powers in their ecclesiastical meetings, functions, and administrations;—that the crown-rights of the Redeemer have never been asserted, in opposition to the sinful encroachments made upon his spiritual kingdom by parliamentary acts, unlawful oaths, bonds, and tests, during the late times of tyranny and persecution;—that, as a just punishment of this their sin, the act averse Capt. Porteous, appointed to be read from the pulpits the first Sunday of every month for a year, is become a sad snare to Ministers and Judicatures;—and though all the judicatures of this Church, supreme and subordinate, have met since the passing and reading of the said act, yet the readers of it are not censured.

Upon the whole, they protested,

That whatever sentence should be pass'd by the Assembly, their pastoral relation should still subsist; and that whoever should exercise any part of the ministerial function in their congregations, should be held as intruders, &c.—And beseeching, in the bowels of Christ, their reverend, worthy and dear brethren and Elders, who regard our covenanted testimony for the Church of Scotland, to come out from the present judicatures, and from all ministerial communion with her, as they would not to be partakers of their sins;—to make use of the keys of government and discipline; and put to their hand to lift up the standard of a judicial testimony for the born-down truths of God, for our reformation-principles, and purging the house of God, after the example of our worthy progenitors.

After long reasoning, the Assembly divided on this question, *Proceed to a final sentence, or Not?* and it carried *Not* by a very few voices. This made the house agree to an overture, which they pass'd into an act; by which they had the libel proven against them, and *FRID AND DECLARE*, That the said defenders, for the offences so found relevant and proven, do justly merit the *highest censures* of this Church, and particularly that of *deposition*;—but forbear the same *yet another year*, in order to give them a further time to return to their duty, and to render them *still more inexcusable* if they should *persist* in their unwarrantable separation;—and this Assembly do *earnestly recommend* it to the next General Assembly to *insist* the *censure of deposition*, without further delay, upon such of the said defenders as shall not, betwixt and that time, either in presence of the Commission, or of the ensuing General Assembly, retract the said pretended act and declination, and return to their duty and submission to this Church;—and the General Assembly resolve, that their Commission do cite Mr. James Thomson Minister at Burntisland *de novo*, to answer to the next Assembly for the matters contained in the said libel given in by him and the other de-

fenders;—and ordain presbyteries and synods, if they cannot quickly reclaim such Ministers as may hereafter secede, to proceed against them, by way of libel, to the sentence of deposition; and to apply to the Commission for advice, as they shall see cause."

Upon a representation of the Synod of Angus and Mearns, of the tenor of some former applications of other Synods, the General Assembly did take off a sentence of deposition pass'd by the Commission, 12th March 1730, against Mr. John Glas, then Minister at Tealine, for Independent principles, and did restore him to the character and exercise of a Minister of the Gospel of Christ; but declaring, notwithstanding, that he is not to be esteemed as a Minister of the established Church of Scotland, or capable to be called and settled therein, until he shall renounce the principles embraced and avowed by him, that are inconsistent with the constitution of this Church.

As a Gentleman at Hawick, who has a tannage there, was removing his tan-holes, in which he had nine labourers employed, thinking the men were crowded in working, ordered six of them out of the house to work hard by; they had scarce retired, when by undermining the wall, the whole house came down upon the three labourers; and though the town's people came instantly to their relief, one of them was killed dead, another so crushed that he cannot recover, and the third much hurt.

L O N D O N.

A Noted cause was tried in the court of King's Bench, wherein his Majesty and the Parliament were plaintiffs, and Richard Whitehead, Esq; heir at law to Col. Richard Norton deceased, (who had left an estate of above *L. 6000 per annum*, and *L. 70,000* in money, &c. to the Parliament) defendant. It was tried on two issues; first, Whether the will of the said Richard Norton, Esq; was duly executed? and, Whether he was in his right senses when

the said will was made? After a hearing, which lasted till four o'clock on Sunday morning, the jury, being a special one of Gentlemen of the county of Hants, brought in for the defendant, being of opinion Mr. Norton was a lunatic at the time of making his will.

The Commons have order'd *L. 5000* to be paid to Solomon Merrit for the ship *Santa Isabella*, taken by the Spaniards in 1718.

The Lords, in the cause betwixt Geddes and the creditors of Roseberry, affirmed the decree in favour of the creditors.

The Lord Santry was lately tried at Dublin for the murder of Laughlin Murphy, one of his domesticks. The whole trial was carried on with a great deal of state. The Peers unanimously found him *guilty*; and he received sentence to be executed on the 23d June. Since that time great interest has been made at court in his behalf; and a reprieve is granted till the 18th day of August next.

The 31st instant ended the General Court Martial at Whitehall, on Lieut. Col. Cochran, and Capt. Mackay, both of General Oglethorpe's regiment in Georgia. And

General Oglethorpe, we hear, is *ordered home*.

According to a list taken in the years 1732 and 1733, there were in Ireland at that time 105,494 Protestant families, and 281,423 Popish families.

Advices from Jamaica give account of a smart engagement that lately happen'd between the Negroes and a party of soldiers commanded by Capt. Guteridge and Lieut. Sadler, in which several were killed and wounded; but the English overpowered them at last, and having pursued them to their town situated in the mountains, soon brought them to capitulate. They offered to clear the woods of deserted negroes, if they themselves might have the liberty of that town, and planting about it.

An extraordinary instance of conjugal affection lately happened in London. A boat on the Thames, in which

were six passengers, being overloaded with goods, sunk down; when a man suddenly took his wife, and a child about three years old, laid them cross his belly, and swim'd on his back to shore.

A duel was lately fought at Sligo in Ireland, between Quarter-Master Graham, and Quarter-Master Douglas, in which the latter was killed.

On the 23d inst. happen'd at Braintree in Essex, the greatest storm of rain and hail, attended with a high wind, thunder and lightning, that has been known in the memory of man. It has done a great deal of damage to the hops, beans, pease, and fruit, which are cut off as if cut by a knife. The water rose so high in the town, which stands upon an acclivity, that a boat might swim in the middle of the town.

The 19th inst. There was the most surprising storm of thunder, lightning, rain, and hail, at Bath, that can be remembered in this age.

The 24th inst. the new-born son of Count Stanburgh, Chief Minister for the affairs of Hanover, was baptiz'd by the name of *George*: Augustus Schutz, Esq; Privy-purse to his Majesty, stood Godfather, as Proxy for the King.

MARITIME AFFAIRS.

Capt. Otter, bound from Hull to Riga, was lost on the coast of Norway.

The *Succes*, Capt. Main, bound from Bourdeaux to Dublin, is lost near Wexford, and six of the passengers and sailors were drowned.

The *Providence*, Spencer, bound for Holland from Cape de Verd Islands was lost.

The *Trial*, Capt. Dolin, bound from Jamaica to Boston, was lost near Jamaica.

The *K. George*, Capt. Kelley, bound from Lisbon to the Western Islands, was lately lost near one of the said islands.

The East-India company's ship, the *Anglesia*, Capt. Studholm, bound for Bombay, was beat to pieces on the coast of Malabar, but the captain and crew were all saved, and the company's fil-

ver, which was afterwards taken from them by the Indians; and 'tis feared they at last fell into the hands of Angria the pyrate.

The Rio de Janeiro fleet is arrived at Lisbon with 19,000,000 crusadoes, besides diamonds, and other effects.

A Russian frigate is arrived in the river Thames, having on board several bales of rich china, tapestry hangings, &c. a present from the Czarina to his Majesty.

A Spanish frigate lately took several Moors from a vessel belonging to Gibraltar; but Admiral Haddock having writ to the Spanish Admiral at Carthagea, and sent Lord Augustus Fitzroy to demand satisfaction, the Moors, with all their effects, were immediately deliver'd up.

The crew of the ship from Norway, [*Mag. p. 187.*] came to Frazerburgh. The people there received them with the greatest kindness, and, besides the charity of private persons, they had a very generous publick collection in the church.

PREFERMENTS CIVIL.

THE Earl of Morton, — one of the sixteen Peers for Scotland.

The Earl of Hyndford, — Lord Lieutenant of the shire of Lanerk.

John Watson, Esq; — one of the Commissioners of the Excise in Scotland.

Simon Patrick, — Solicitor of his Majesty's Customs in Scotland.

The Earl of Effex, — his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the King of the Two Sicilies.

The Earl of Halifax, — Warden and Chief Ranger of Salcey forest, and Chief Ranger of Bushy park.

Lord Walpole, — Auditor of the Exchequer.

Edward Walpole, — Clerk of the Pells in the Exchequer.

Mr. Colson, — Professor of the Mathematicks in Cambridge.

Dr. Peters, — Physician General to the army.

James Mill, of Millfield, — Collector of the cels for Perthshire.

NAVAL.

Mr. Philipson, — one of the Commissioners of the navy.

MILITARY.

George Bodens, — Captain in the Coldstream regiment of foot-guards.

MARRIAGES.

William Moleworth, Esq; — to Mrs. Dalrymple, widow of Capt. Dalrymple, and niece of the Earl of Stair.

Mr. John Walcot, — to Miss Anne Thomson.

Mr. Groves, — to Miss Adams, daughter to Mr. Adams, one of the directors of the East-India company.

BIRTHS.

The Lady of Col. Murray, brother to the Earl of Dunmore, — of a son, at his house in Cavendish square.

The Lady of Baron Stambourg, chief Secretary of State for the affairs of Hanover, — of a son.

The Lady of the Viscount of Andover, — of a son.

The Countess of Drogheda, — of a daughter.

DEATHS.

John Middleton, Esq; Member of Parliament for Aberdeen, &c. Brigadier-General of his Majesty's forces, and Colonel of a regiment of foot.

Jean Countess of Moray, at Donibrise.

Sir Alexander Cockburn of Langton, Bart.

The Lady Frances Douglas, eldest daughter of James Earl of Morton, aged about six.

The Earl of Halifax, Auditor of the Exchequer, and Chief Ranger of Bushy park, aged 58.

John Hay of Balbithan.

Hugh Somerville of Innerteel, Esq; Writer to the Signet.

Mrs. Jean Murray, widow of Col. Cranston, who was killed at the battle of Ramillies.

The Lord Ramsay, son to the Earl of Dalhousie.

Mr. Wm. Baillie, Minister at Inverness. — Morise, Esq; an eminent banker, and partner to Sir Francis Child.

George Mackenzie, Esq; brother to the Laird of Gairloch.

Master John Gower, son to the Lord Gower, about nine months old.

Lady Anne Pierpont, sister to the Duke of Kingston.

Sir Cecil Wyche, Bart. his Majesty's Minister to the circle of Lower Saxony.

John Hollings, one of his Majesty's Physicians, and very eminent for the cure of a fistula.

The only son of the Lord Dillon.

Sir Roger Martin, Bart.

Lady Anne Langdale, widow of Sir William Langdale, Bart.

Major de Ladle, who had been in that station 60 years.

Jeremiah Dummer, brother to William Dummer, Esq; late Governor of New-England.

Mr. Thomson, an eminent Lisbon merchant, at Hackney.

John Newenton, in Suffex, said to be the greatest grazier in England, or perhaps in the world.

Capt. Hamilton, of the foot guards, a near relation of the Duke of Hamilton.

Provost John Campbel; aged 75. He was thrice Lord Provost of this city, and represented it in three successive parliaments.

On Monday, May 28. died at his house in Essex-court in the Strand, London, the reverend and learned JAMES ANDERSON, D. D. a member of the Church of Scotland, and native of this kingdom, author of the *Royal Genealogies*, and several other works; a Gentleman of uncommon abilities, and most facetious conversation: But, notwithstanding his great talents, and the useful application he made of them, being, by the prodigious expence attending the above mentioned work, reduced to slender circumstances, he has, for some years, been exposed to misfortunes, above which the encouragement due to his merit would have easily raised him.— But the remembrance of his qualifications, and the many hardships under which he was publicly known to labour, will serve to shew

succeeding generations, There was a time when Italian singers, by English contributions, were favoured with 5 or 6000 *l. per annum*, and a Gentleman who, by more than twenty years study, gave the world a book of inconceivable labour, and universal use, was suffered to fall a victim to his attempts to serve mankind!

Died within the walls of the city of Edinburgh, and buried in the Grayfriars church-yard, May 1739.

Men 19, women 19, children 55. In all, 93. Decreased this month, 15.

AGE.	N ^o .	DISEASES.	N ^o .		
Under —	2	25	Old age —	4	
Retiret	2 &	5	23	Consumption	33
	5 &	10	6	Fever —	8
	10 &	20	4	Small-pox	7
	20 &	30	4	Teething —	11
	30 &	40	5	Chin-cough	20
	40 &	50	9	Suddenly —	3
	50 &	60	7	Convulsion	2
	60 &	70	12	Apoplexy —	1
70 &	80	4	Strangury —	1	
			Gravel —	1	
			Child-bed —	1	
			Still-born —	1	

FOREIGN HISTORY.

Whether the seasons are less necessary to be observed in our time than in the days of our ancestors, in martial, as well as in affairs of another kind, seems at present, from the general face of affairs in Europe, to admit of serious enquiry: for though from history it appears February and March were, for ages, esteemed the proper months for taking the field; yet now July and August serve for the same purposes, with this very considerable advantage, That if our modern armies should not much approve of hostilities, the near approach of winter will furnish a very natural necessity for being obliged to march home without risking the uncertain fate of a battle: And as among the antients themselves caution was reckoned as valuable

as courage, it is to be presumed this age will reach posterity clear of the smallest imputation of rashness in military exploits, unless on account of the hasty expedition of the French into Italy in 1733; which yet ought to be excused in consideration of their making full as much haste back again.

The deposition of the late GRAND VIZIER Mehemed Jagia Bashaw, is confirmed from all parts; and it is certain he is succeeded in that high office by the Seraskier of Widdin; a man thoroughly acquainted with the interests of Europe, a good officer, and one who in all respects enjoys an amiable character. His elevation has given great joy to the Janissaries, who were much offended at the violence and vain-glory of his predecessor; who was certainly one of the most enterprising ministers the Porte has had for many years. By this change the Bashaw Count de Bonneval will be re-instated in full favour and reputation, he being a favourite of the new Grand Vizier, and always united to his interests.

Letters from Constantinople say, That Achmet Bashaw, who was sent to Naxos to take upon him the command of the Grand Seignior's troops in that province, is returned to that city, after having dispersed the rebels, and forced their commander, Sare-Bey-Oglou, to abandon the castle to which he had retired; and that the Grand Seignior, in reward for this service, had restored Achmet Bashaw to the post of Kiamaikan, or Governor of Constantinople, of which he had been deprived by the intrigues of the late Grand Vizer.

Accounts very much vary as to the Ottoman armies taking the field; tho' it seems most generally apprehended their main force will be assembled on the Niefter, from Choczim to Bender, from their marching great bodies on that side; and it is expected the new Grand Vizier will command them in person. Notwithstanding which, it is reported, with some circumstances of probability, that a peace is on the carpet, and near a conclusion, between the

Porte and his Imperial Majesty, by the influence of the mediating hand of France; as a proof of which, it is said, the Emperor has sent the Marquis de Villeneuve, the French Ambassador at Constantinople, a present of a very fine diamond, valued at 1000 Lewis-d'ors.

Some advices say the RUSSIAN army begins to assemble along the Nieper; but the expectation of a fleet in the Baltick may be supposed in a great measure to retard the motions of the Russian army on the side of Turkey; it being improbable, notwithstanding the boasted politeness of the French nation, that they would carry twenty or thirty ships of war into the Baltick, merely to pay her Czarian Majesty a visit. However, it is said that the inhabitants of Livonia, and of the other provinces conquered from Sweden, discover, on every occasion, their desire of remaining under the Russian government, being now in the full enjoyment of their ancient rights and privileges.

Whatever may be the intention of the French, her Czarian Majesty, who is no less remarkable for her politeness and complaisance, than for her numerous other qualifications, is making all necessary preparations for giving the French a suitable and very gallant reception; in order for which she is fitting out no less than one hundred strong galleys, seven large men of war, and providing 50,000 men in the neighbourhood of Petersburg to assist in the ceremony.

The conclusion of a peace between his IMPERIAL Majesty, and the King of France, calls the attention of several of the European courts, and gives new spirit to the last advices from Vienna, and may be supposed to widen the growing coldness and indifference visible between the Emperor and the Czarina; which will, in all probability, greatly facilitate a peace between the Porte and the court of Vienna, exclusive of any regard to Russia; for which the court of France has long laboured, by insisting that while the Em-

peror would agree upon no peace in which Russia was not included, none could be expected.

Count Wallis has, since his arrival in the neighbourhood of Belgrade, visited all the adjacent fortifications, and done every thing necessary to put that part of the country in a state of defence; to which his Imperial master has likewise contributed a little, by obliging some officers, who were so tenderly attach'd to his person as to appear in his court when he supposed them in the rough camp, upon pain of being cashier'd, to repair to their posts.

The military preparations in SWEDEN are continued with the utmost vigour since the arrival of Capt. in Sinclair at Stockholm from Constantinople, whither he had been dispatch'd on affairs of importance. The general diet of the kingdom is now dissolved, in which, though some warm disputes had occurred, every thing was at length concluded with a general approbation of all parties.

It is said the ministers of Sweden use their utmost endeavours to bring the King of Prussia into her interest, since his Danish Majesty, on whom she relied, has failed her. It is affirmed from Stockholm, that Mr. Finch, the British Ambassador there, in a conference with some of the Senators, had given them to understand, that his Britannick Majesty, being very well informed that France had resolved to send a Squadron into the Baltick, would not fail to have a sufficient fleet in readiness to preserve the trade and tranquility of the North:—and that Mr. Finch and the Russian minister are frequently together; and the Imperial Envoy often with the French minister.

While the French have any thing to do with the island of CORSICA, there is no probability of our being able to rely on one word of advice we receive from thence:—At present, tho' from several places confirmed accounts are received of the convoy lately sent to the Marquis de Mallebois being parted by a storm, and half the ships lost, yet the Paris A-la-main, with an air of

inconcern peculiar to that nation, assures us that every plank of them arrived safe; which had enabled the Marquis to mend the road to Casinea, &c. and to cut down all the Olive and other trees, upon the produce of which the nation is known principally to depend: A strong mark of affection for the island! In spite of which the Rebels, as the French modestly term them, have the assurance openly to convene in their own country, and prohibit communication with their enemies (tho' they came from France) on the severest penalties, and even death itself, having, in consequence thereof, posted three detachments to secure their passes. And, as an example of the unexpected success of the French arms, the same A-la-main asserts, that advices have been received from Calvi, That a party of *loyal Corsicans*, i. e. who had deserted the cause of their country to be vassals to France, had made an incursion towards Monte Maggiore; where, with very inconsiderable loss, they left dead upon the plain two MEN who were watching some cows, and brought off the cattle!

It is allowed on all hands, that the Baron de Drost, nephew to Baron Newhoff, is arrived in Corsica, and by the natives appointed Generalissimo of their forces till the arrival of his uncle, who is daily expected with powerful succours. But in the mean time the French court has secured the three Corsican hostages who had been some time at Toulon, in the castle of St. Nicholas, it being said at Paris that the conduct of the Corsicans has not at all answered his Christian Majesty's expectations!

The Genoese have so exhausted their publick treasure in the war with Corsica, that they are obliged to load the people with fresh taxes; at which the people loudly murmur, and labels have been fixed up in the most publick places in Genoa, with these words: *Our fathers have sinned, and we bear their iniquities! revenge thy people, O Lord!*—Letters from Corsica acquaint the republick,

publick, that several French officers and soldiers have been assassinated by the inhabitants of Corsica, and even in the town of Bastia; on which occasion some are apt to wish they had avoided so melancholy an end, by remaining in their own friendly clime.

Letters from MADRID make no mention of the conferences, in consequence of the late convention, being yet opened; but that it was thought the arrival of the galleons, which are richly laden this year, will enable the Spanish court to speak more plainly as to her present designs. Acquisitions of wealth, and the possession of treasure, belonging to a nation they have not lately taken much trouble to oblige, will not probably increase their disposition to an accommodation, however necessary any other power may find it.—The continuance of the British Squadron in the Mediterranean, is said to give the court of Madrid some uneasiness.

His Catholick Majesty has lately published an order to disabie all his great officers, &c. from holding more than *one place* at a time! A severe regulation, though certainly a rational one: for though *pluralities*, and *plural pluralities*, are wink'd at in the churches of several nations; a temporal Prince who expects any thing done for the salaries he allows, will find but few examples of any of his courtiers discovering such a turn for *industry* as to discharge, properly, the business of *three, four, five, or six*.

Cardinal Fleury continues in health at PARIS, and applies with surprising indefatigability to the publick affairs of France.

A tumult lately happened at Liege, on account of the exorbitant price of corn; but by hanging up four of the ring-leaders, matters are mightily reconciled, and the inhabitants of that city in a fair way of knowing what to expect if they do not dutifully submit to their superiors. And

At Bourdeaux a riot was occasioned by the insolence of some of the scholars of that town refusing to let some custom-house officers, or excisemen,

peep into a basket filled with ham, bread and butter, &c. for a party of pleasure: The secular arm was called in to assist the officers, and about half a dozen scholars were killed in the fray; to atone for which one of the inferior officers has been hanged, and every thing is now in perfect tranquility throughout that town.

By letters from WIDDAH, on the coast of Africa, we hear, that the adjacent country is in the utmost confusion, occasioned by the lawful King of that place (who had been driven from thence some years ago by a bold enterprising tyrant) having recovered his territories: in order to which he has been forced to destroy a great number of people, and to lay the country waste with fire and sword, which almost put an entire stop to all manner of trade there. However, the present King has assured the English, that he would always continue the good-will he had formerly shewn to Europeans, but particularly to the English; which nation, he said, he always loved better than any other; and that if they could make it appear they had suffered in this revolution, he was ready to make them ample satisfaction.

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A summary view of the Christian's legacy.

A partial enquiry into the right to chuse their own ministers; as a discovery of a right claim to; as a raftersticks of and of those bally most abu-

THE SCOTS MAGAZINE



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C O N T E N T S.

O *jections to Magazines, with answers* p. 243

WEEKLY ESSAYS.

<i>Hopes of the nation on the Hanover succession</i>	246
<i>Defect of the law against pensurers</i>	247
<i>Secret service money increas'd annually</i>	ib.
<i>Deficiency in the civil-list not to be accounted for</i>	249
<i>Bad consequences of a bribing ministry</i>	ib.
<i>The Quack's proposal for an alliance with Mr. Wb—f—d</i>	250
<i>Definition of a party, and of a faction</i>	253
<i>An arbitrary minister uneasy to his own creatures</i>	ib.
<i>Sir John Elliot's speech against the Duke of Buckingham</i>	254
<i>Uniting in one national party the only means of saving our liberty</i>	255
<i>Late measures inconsistent with Whiggism</i>	256
<i>Danger of confounding our enemies with our friends</i>	257
<i>Pride a hindrance to civility</i>	260
<i>Character of Eubulus, &c.</i>	ib.
<i>Eudocia's letter</i>	261
<i>Story of Sir Richard Steele</i>	ib.
<i>Proposal for a faculty of politicks at Oxford</i>	262

<i>Answer to the Queries sent to Mr. Whitefield</i>	p. 264
<i>Forbearance of the government to its inveterate enemies</i>	265
<i>Difference between the British and arbitrary government</i>	266
<i>Panegyrick on his Majesty's speech</i>	267
<i>Stephens's cure for the stone</i>	268
<i>A cure for the gout</i>	270
<i>The King's speech</i>	ib.

P O E T R Y.

<i>Remainder of the Northern Star</i>	271
<i>Ad D. N—m M—d ode</i>	273
<i>Albertus the second</i>	275
<i>A wish for a young lady going to the country</i>	ib.
<i>L-d V-f—t G-go's speech</i>	276

D O M E S T I C K H I S T O R Y.

<i>The Speaker's speech to his Majesty</i>	281
<i>Foreign History</i>	283
<i>Claims to Juliers and Bergues</i>	287
<i>Register of Books</i>	288

On the 24th of July *p. m.* there will be an eclipse of the sun, the beginning, duration, and end, as follows, calculated for the latitude of Edinburgh, from Sir Isaac Newton's Theory, by

JOHN CHAPMAN.

	<i>Apparent Time.</i>			<i>Mean Time.</i>		
	<i>H.</i>	<i>m.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>H.</i>	<i>m.</i>	<i>s.</i>
Beginning	2	52	38	2	58	05
Visible Conjunction	4	07	39	4	13	06
Ending	5	16	37	5	22	04
Duration	2	23	59			
Digits eclipsed	8°	18				

As we shall, pursuant to our promise, begin the Debates next month, we have deferred the *List of Voters for and against the Convention*, that it may be inserted in a proper place.

A letter was left for *L—* and *B—* some time ago at the place desired.

The SCOTS Magazine.

J U N E, 1739.

We hope the ingenious Author of the following Letter will not disapprove the method we have taken of replying to his Objections distinctly; for, by our Answers immediately succeeding the Objections to which they are made, both will be more easily conceived and attended to, than if the whole of his Letter was read, before we began our Defence.

To the Author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

S I R,

Edinb. June 4.

THOUGH in general I approve well enough of your design, there appear to me some *Objections* against such works, be they ever so well executed, and I must also be free to say, a few exceptions may be made to the particular execution of your Plan. — I am sensible of the reluctance with which most men receive correction of this kind; but be assured that, notwithstanding the pitiful practice at present, of Publick Writers, Editors, Collectors, Abridgers, &c. stifling every attempt to censure them, and foolishly publishing only such as extol themselves or their labours, if you are really possessed of the candour necessary in a servant of the publick, you will think it as much your duty to answer objections, as to receive applause.

First then, *By the publick papers, and especially by the Craftsmen and Common Sense, the English Magazines have been spoken of as Pyrates, or Invaders of the properties of others, who have supposed themselves the sole proprietors of what they first publish, and entitled to all profit which can arise from such essays, under any shape whatever.*

Answer. It must be owned that the *English Magazines* have by some Newspapers, and more frequently by the two above named, been treated as *Invaders* of their properties: But, surely very unjustly by them or any other *weekly* papers, who subsist for all their intelligence, foreign and domestick, upon the news, &c. purchased at a very dear rate by the papers which appear daily, who *buy all*, and can *borrow none*; and even *whose errors*, through hurry or wrong information, are every week copied verbatim, without so much as the necessary alterations which time, place, &c. require. — This alone is sufficient to silence the *weekly* collectors from offering to blame those who *every week* take the same freedom with them which they take with others *every day*. And as to the charge of injury to any, when traced to its first and most rational rise, it will be found to have no manner of foundation according to the necessary practice of mankind, and the nature and fitness of things. Every *chronicle*, nay, every *history of the times*, will include whatever is remarkable; against which, an account of a memorable accident or occurrence being first printed in such a paper would be but a

weak argument for having it wholly buried from posterity! And as to the state of our *Politics* and *Political Writings*, it will never be denied by any man of sagacity but that a view of the principal reasonings and arguments on both sides, must, for the generality of readers, be preferable to a collection of every single paper which any *accidental occasion*, or the *wish of a better*, might bring to light: it being well known, that writings of this kind are often unintelligible without their counter-parts; which renders a *monthly review* of the proceedings on both sides *necessary and useful*; in which *every writer* may appear in his *best colours*, without the incumbrance of the *trifling disputes* which sometimes appear in all papers of a political kind: And from these we have, *fully, as good a title to collect*, as from any other writings whose nature throws them into the hands of every *Annalist, Historian, &c.* and *collections of state tracts, letters and memorials*, whose treatises upon popular subjects, &c. &c. &c. which are in the highest reputation, may, with a greater *show of justice*, be accused of plagiarism, than any work where so much *judgment, care and accuracy* is wanted in the *choice and disposition* of materials, as render it, in fact, much more an original composition than many pieces whose authors are not so generous as to own to whom they are obliged. And beside all these, a *Magazine* published with proper attention, will be valuable to every man of *taste and curiosity*, on account of the many *little essays, &c.* of value, which sometimes straggle into papers of little repute, and, without the *friendly assistance* of such a repository, would probably be lost to mankind.

“Obj. II. *An argument of considerable weight against Magazines, is their preserving the prejudices of one set of Gentlemen against another, and spreading them through the hands of such readers as would otherwise never see them, or, if they did, would be sure soon to forget their tendency.*”

Ans. Partiality is certainly inexcusable in such designs; but if writings tending to explain and enforce the *nature of our constitution and privileges*, the *interest of our government*, and the dangers which threaten it, are written well enough to *deserve the publick attention* on their *first appearance*, they are also deserving of a place in a collection calculated as well for *posterity* as for the *present time*; since writings founded upon principles in themselves true, will ever have the *same witness* of their use and excellence; and, while *freedom exists*, can never be read out of *season*. — As to the *bad impressions* political writings may make, by *preserving prejudices, &c.* it is certainly the duty of every collector never to offer any *personal calumny, private reproach*, or the *evident effects of malice* on either side, without the defence of the persons attacked; whereby the reader will be able to use his own judgment, and to *approve or disapprove* as he sees convenient. — Where this is not done, the fault is not in the *nature* of such a design, but in the *execution* of it.

“Obj. III. *The Magazines have been complained of, I think with great reason, for ransacking new Books and Pamphlets, and too often palming pieces of old tracts upon their readers in the dress of new ones.*”

Ans. Extracts from new and curious books are a very useful part of a Magazine, when executed upon the plan of *literary intelligence* only, and not by inserting the whole by *piece-meal*, as too often practised. Accounts of good or remarkable books are of great service both to the readers of such articles, and the proprietors of such books; but to insert a whole tract without the request of the author, is no way warrantable, where there is a *possibility of injuring his interest* thereby. And as to the palming of old ones upon the world for new ones; that can only be done by such as are unfit to be concerned in any work of the nature of that in dispute, every reader of which ought.

to be supposed capable of detecting such an imposition.

“Obj. IV. *Your brethren of England are greatly blamed for engrossing so much of the publick attention about their own paltry disputes relating to property of what every one knows belongs to BOTH ALIKE; and, what adds greatly to the farce, is, their charging each other with the guilt of borrowing from each other's collection, while both live by borrowing only—as if their taking whatsoever they pleased from others, were an ample security from any daring to take from them!*”

Ans. This is so true, that we blush to insert it, and cannot offer to vindicate a practice so notoriously absurd; there being no such thing in nature as *robbing a Magazine!*

“Obj. V. *With respect to your own Magazine, it is thought, by several Gentlemen, to be prosecuted with a good deal of spirit; which, no doubt, is in great measure owing to the cheerful reception you have met with: but yet they think you deserve some blame on account of omitting two or three papers which were taken notice of by many as smart pieces.*”

Ans. It would be impossible to insert, *verbatim*, (the method we have hitherto almost constantly observed, and shall continue to pursue) every paper that comes out: though we flatter ourselves we have not yet omitted one remarkable for any *one* excellence, unless it related to some other tedious paper, *without which* it would have been unintelligible, and *with which* it would engross more room than was proportionable to the entertainment it could yield our readers; to which a strict regard is always necessary, preferably to any other consideration: and there is, especially in political essays, such a regard in pleasing of readers, and such a certainty of *displeasing* authors we ought not to disoblige, that we chuse to insert entire whatever we borrow from them; which not only prevents any just cause of complaint on account of their being curtailed, &c. but, if they really write for the publick information, and the

benefit of mankind, we *aid their intention* and *merit their regard*, by transmitting their labours to thousands who would otherwise never see, and consequently have no benefit from, them.

“Obj. VI. *I heard it suggested, on reading Mr. Toupee's letter in March, that you favoured the Cou—t: And many serious people think his letters in general of little use.*”

Ans. Nothing can be more certain than that Mr. Toupee is, both in mind and fortune, above any mean attachment whatever. If the behaviour of the author of a *play refused representation* appeared to him *ridiculous*, we are very sure the fear of being thought to *side with the Cou—t*, would be as far from *concoaling* his sentiment, as a desire of being thought to *oppose* it, would be unable to move his pen. This we know to be truth, he being remarkable for his freedom from engagements with any party, and his impartiality to all.—This much we think our duty to declare of a Gentleman who, we presume, deserves so much the esteem of the unbiassed, and to whom we are greatly obliged.—As to the *use* of his letters, they were only calculated for *entertainment*, and that chiefly of such as are so often in *London* as to partake frequently of the *polite diversions of that place*. To these they will yield an agreeable amusement, and to the *gay* part of our readers, in general, they will be always acceptable.—To the serious they will be sure to appear *useless*, as they will scarcely be *intelligible*: But our steady attention to subjects of a more weighty kind, we hope, makes ample recompence for the *small space* devoted to *diversion*.

“Obj. VII. *Among your poetry, you have inserted several pieces possessed of no shining excellence, and some that are little more than passable.*”

Ans. In our poetical articles we thought we had rather erred in being too curious, by giving much more attention to what we have inserted than

is commonly bestowed upon collections of that kind: for, tho' *perfect pieces* are *worthy* our *first regard*, the greatest use we hope to be of with respect to the Muses, is our being a means of transmitting little essays to the world which are not wholly destitute of merit, without the authors being oblig'd to suffer by the reception they meet with, be what it will; whereby a *young writer* will have an opportunity of hearing his beauties and blemishes remarked with a freedom he would scarcely ever meet with from any who knew him the author, and be thereby enabled to judge of his genius this way, and to correct whatever in his manner of writing stands in most need of amendment.—On this consideration, we hope any composition possessed of any one excellence, whether of *thought* or *distion*, will be allowed a full claim to a place among pieces *submitted* to the publick judgment and entertainment, and not to our own.—We have hitherto been very happy in our correspondents, and shall do our utmost to merit the continuance of their favour, by inserting, with all possible expedition, whatever is fit for the publick view; intreating, on behalf of our *younger poets*, that our readers will remember, when any thing appears *rough* and *unfinished*, That the greatest Bards must have a *beginning*.

“Obj. VIII. *From the date of your publication some are ready to conclude you are assisted by the Magazines of England in several particulars. This, perhaps, you cannot avoid; but the less cause you give for suppositions of this kind, it will be the better for your interest and credit.*—I have no ungenerous motive for the freedom I have here taken; but being a well-wisher to every thing that can prevent our being oblig'd to our neighbours, I was willing to acquaint you with these few objections that have occurred in my notice, in order either for your answering them, or avoiding the occasions of them for the future. I am,

S I R,

Your humble servant,

PROBUS.”

Ans. The date of our publication is unavoidable, if we execute the work properly; for, as we have always completed each respective month before we have published it, 'tis impossible our foreign news, &c. for the *last day* of one month, can arrive before the 6th, 7th, or 8th of the month following.—We are never afraid of a comparison with our brethren of London, and, when we are all considered as supplied with the *same materials*, we are very willing to submit the inspection of our *choice* and *method* of using them, to the closest scrutiny; being confident that, if our being *home-manufacturers* be no objection to our endeavours, we shall not suffer on any other account.—We hope, Sir, what we have here offered will appear as satisfactory as we wish it: For, such is our aversion to stunning our readers about *ourselves*, that only so genteel and kind a reproof could have drawn so much on this subject from,

S I R,

Your most obliged

humble servants.

CRAFTSMAN, June 2.

Modern Increase of the Publick Revenue, and its most probable Effects.

S I R,

MY last concluded with the *laws* that open'd the door of the *house of Commons*: for an army of *place-men*: I shall therefore now proceed to what hath happened since the inauguration of the *present royal family*.

The nation had great hopes given them, before their accession, that even the *POWER* of *future corruption* would be very much lessened under their reigns: for there was an *account* published, in which it was shewn how much the nation would be gainers by this *new succession*, even more than would answer the expence of the *late war*; since there would be so great a saving upon the *civil-list* alone.—It was likewise expected that the *army* and

and navy were to be managed with the utmost oeconomy, and the charges of them considerably reduced. — It was supposed, and made an argument by Mr. Addison, in the *Free-holder*, that the revenues of *Hanover* would be an ease and strength to us, instead of a burthen. — Indeed, the beginning of the *late reign*, and the transactions of *one year*, corresponded pretty well with these promises, and gave us the most pleasing prospect of having our just expectations fulfilled. The *ministry* even proposed a bill, [1 *Geo. cap. 56. sess. 1.*] which passed, for enforcing the law last mentioned against *penfioners* during pleasure sitting in the *house of Commons*. They carried it farther, and extended it against *penfions* for any number of years, inflicting a penalty of 20 *l.* a-day, to be paid to the *prosecutor*.

By both these *acts* it appears, at least, to be the design of the legislature, that our *laws* ought not to be made, nor the *measures of the ministry* to be servilely approved of, by *such creatures*.

I have already observed how the *crown*, or more properly the *minister*, (whenever we are cursed with a *base and corrupted one*) often turns those *very laws*, which are made for the preservation of the whole people, to their disadvantage and imminent destruction. — The defect of this law against *penfioners* hath since been very visible; for, such *high corruption* being always of a secret nature, who can prosecute and convict, but he who gives the *penfion*? The *penfion*, who receives it, without acquainting the *house*, sells himself for ever to his *corrupter*. There is no purgation on the *receiver*, nor any penalty on the *buyer*.

Lord Halifax did likewise reduce the expence of the *civil-list*, [see the *case of the sinking fund*, p. 75, 76, 77.] as low as the exigencies of the publick, at that time, would admit, and the honest service of the nation require; upon which account some Gentlemen then served for *honour*, and parted with their *increased Salaries*. — He was therefore soon worm'd out of power by ONE, who was much more liberal

of the *publick money*; by whom an addition of 100,000 *l.* a-year was obtained for the *crown*; who always pleaded for *avowed corruption*; who purchased favour by giving to all alike, and of consequence made the *round of corruption* constant and necessary for him.

That less than 700,000 *l.* a-year would have been sufficient for the *civil-list*, appears very plainly, not only from what it cost before so great a sum was given; (all the money issued the first year for the *civil-list*, being no more than 361,161 *l.*) but from what might be expected, when this *additional grant* passed, and to what purposes it would be applied; since a motion was made for an address to his Majesty, [*Pol. state*, vol. 9. p. 397.] “That he would be pleased to retrench all *unnecessary penfions*, and grant no more any such for the future. — Hereupon Mr. R——r W——r, with his usual eloquence, shewed that they ought not to stint the *King's beneficence*, nor debar his Majesty from the exercise of the *most glorious branch of his royal prerogative*, which is, to bestow his *favours* on such as distinguish themselves in his service.”

Here was a *glorious plan of power* laid down; which hath been too successfully pursued, for some particular ends; how beneficial to the *nation*, I need not say: but as this *most glorious branch of the royal prerogative* was to be without *stint*, it cannot be said that it hath been restrained ever since.

The reason therefore for giving so much constantly begets a reason for giving more, as well as the *power* of obtaining it; if it should ever happen that those, who grant it, are to share it, and nothing should be necessary but to gratify their demands.

This will appear more plainly, by observing that, during the first year of his late Majesty's reign, there was issued for *secret services* (a service that allows of no credit) but 7250 *l.* The next year, under a more *distributing minister*, 32,766 *l.* — For the *privy purse* the first year, nothing. The second year, 25,000 *l.* — The *penfions*, to the

amount of about 25,000 *l.* which occasioned such complaints the first year, were doubled in the second year.— To run through every article, as well as every year, would be too long for a correspondence of this nature. It is sufficient to observe, that *this influence* continued to increase. Corruption begets corruption, and multiplies itself under a minister, whose only skill consists in a lavish profusion of the publick treasure; giving money to every one who would take it, and looking upon every body that refused it, as an enemy to his and the royal family: for both men and women would, by such a minister, be thought marketable, like beasts. No virtue, or abilities would be recommendations to his favour. Corruption would be the only principle and foundation of his politicks. The honour of the nation, its trade and revenues, must be sacrificed to it; lest the money should be diverted into other channels, and not enough left to maintain himself in power, and enable him to purchase the biggest as well as the lowest tools.— May this nation never be punished with such a minister; or may he speedily meet with his just reward!— I hope we never shall: but are there no reasons to apprehend it, from what we have seen already, considering how small the sums before mentioned are, in comparison to what was issued for the same pious uses, from Lady-day 1721 to Lady-day 1725, for the privy purse, secret service, pensions, bounties, and monies without account, which amounted to so prodigious a sum as 2,728,759 *l.* which, upon an average for the four years, is 682,189 *l.* a-year?

There is likewise reason to suspect that some other advantages have been formerly taken of the people, by anticipating the money at the offices, and never accounting for it; since, notwithstanding his present Majesty's immense civil-list, the sum of 115,000 *l.* was demanded, as a pretended deficiency for the very first year: and though the ministry themselves made a motion to call for the accounts of that year's revenue; yet they would not even trust the pro-

per officers to make it up accordingly, but gave them private orders, under their hands, to do it in a quite different manner. It was then discovered by the opposition to that question, that the anticipations were not brought to account; by which means the publick was to pay double for them. However, the money must be had, at any rate; and therefore, when the pretence of a deficiency was discovered to be groundless, it was asked and granted as an arrear, with just as much reason, to be repaid upon his Majesty's demise. But as the civil-list is now three quarters in arrear, and may possibly be so again, upon that melancholy occasion, we have but very little hopes of being ever reimbursed.

It hath been already allowed by a very great and honourable personage, that 700,000 *l.* a-year, without account, is better than a revenue of 800,000 *l.* a-year, which is annually accounted for to parliament.— We see that the 800,000 *l.* a-year, which was then deemed fully sufficient to answer all the ends of the civil-list, is not thought enough at present; though it is estimated, by some persons, at about 950,000 *l.* a-year: since, though it was designed to make an honourable provision for ALL the royal family, it is drain'd so low, that, instead of 100,000 *l.* a-year, it can afford but 50,000 *l.* a-year to the Prince of Wales; instead of paying the Princess of Orange's fortune out of it, the nation hath given 80,000 *l.* with a pension of 5000 *l.* a-year during her life: and though it is now increased, by the demise of her late Majesty, 50,000 *l.* a-year, and 40,000 *l.* was saved last year in the expences of the household; this additional 90,000 *l.* a-year is so far from being sufficient to increase the Prince of Wales's allowance, though he hath already three children born, or to lay up any thing as a provision for the rest of the royal family, that 39,000 *l.* is this year granted in pensions for life, to the Duke and the young Princesses, without any accounts delivered in, or any examination whether the revenues were suffi-

sent for that purpose.—Nay, the *civil-list* is not able to purchase even Mrs. *Stevens's* receipt for curing the *stone*; but the *nation* must be at the charge of it, though the *crowns* used formerly to pay for those kinds of things, as his *late Majesty* did: but it cannot now afford a farthing towards any *publick use*, or *expence*.

When the *Gin-act* passed, which was but a few years ago, we were told, that his *Majesty's* prudent *economy* was a *worthy example* to all his *subjects*; and so no doubt it is. He then paid punctually, and was therefore served cheaper than any of his *predecessors*.—To what cause therefore can this *great deficiency* be owing? The *pensioners*, perhaps, may pretend that it is not their fault, and impute it to the *expences* of a *late journey*: but I am far from being of their opinion; for the purchase of the *post-office* at *Hanover*, valued at 4000 *l.* a-year, and the *bayliwick* of *Steinborst*, together with the *bishoprick* of *Osnaburg*, and something else, will make a tolerable provision for a *young Prince*.

They may likewise pretend that *this arrear* is occasioned by the *necessities* of the *m—r*, without his *master's* knowledge; and that they are supported only by a certain, stated, annual sum out of the *civil-list*, the *disposition* of all *places*, and some other private advantages, by the *modern method* of *accounting*.

But as none but *pensioners* can reason in this manner, it proves my argument *unanswerable*, of the great burthen they are upon the *subject*, and the *uses* for which they are paid; since they will not leave enough to support his *Majesty*, and the *royal family*, with the common *necessaries* of *life*, without running into *debt*, which the *nation* is no longer able to bear.

I shall conclude this paper with a few general remarks upon what hath been said.

Can it be supposed that any *minister*, who may hereafter raise and maintain himself in power, by the *sole expedient* before mentioned, will ever grow more *parsimonious* for the *publick*, or less ne-

cessitous to support his *ravenous crew*? What *approbations* must constantly follow such a boundless distribution of *publick money*?—Can a *minister*, in this condition, think of any thing else, but the *annual rotations* of it?—Tho' he should find the *nation* in flourishing circumstances at home, and *peace* with all *powers* abroad, he would be incapable of preserving us in it. The *greediness* of his *mercenary dependents*, and the possible views of the *crowns*, would drive him into every scheme of *expence*, for his own protection. The *bullying* of all *nations*, and even our *best friends*, at a vast and most ridiculous charge, would operate two ways; by making his *court*, and employing a multitude of *importunate solicitors*, who would be always hanging upon him. He could never think of correcting the *first false step*, but must go blundering on from year to year; till by the dint of absurd negotiations, he destroys the *balance* of *Europe*, and not only leaves his country without an *Ally* in the world, but makes every state either their *open* or *secret enemies*.

They may have military *raree-shows* and other *publick diversions*, as long as they please to pay for them; but *peace*, during his *Time*, would be the *invariable rule* of his *politicks*. *Rumours* of *wars* would be his harvest, by giving him a pretence for raising *money*, and getting provender for his *faction*. He would sooner destroy the *nation*, and all *Europe*, than hazard one year of his reign; which would certainly be his case, in a *war*, notwithstanding the common maxim, *That times of WAR are the most easy to an administration*. He would therefore be eternally ringing the changes upon the common school-boy's theme, *That PEACE is better than WAR*, as a full proof of the best measures. It would be impossible for any nation to maintain a *war*, however necessary it might be, under *such a minister*: for every power in *Europe* would soon find out the stretch of his *genius*, and the depth of all his *politicks*; which at most could arrive only at purchasing

a little intelligence; and, perhaps, when it is too late to make any solid use of it. A war, manag'd by *such an head*, would certainly be ridiculous; and, without a miracle, unsuccessful; especially if the nation, who carries it on, should become a laughing-stock, and a word of reproach amongst *all their neighbours*.

War would certainly be the ruin of a *minister*, who should ever employ all the sinews of it in a corrupt warfare against the *liberties and constitution of his country*.—The first and most visible fund, for carrying it on, with success, would be, the saving of what should be appropriated to the justification of *his measures*, and the pay of *his faction*, as well as a reduction upon all the heads of *services and management*; which might produce a vast annual sum.—But then what would become of the *government*? by which both the *minister* and the *people* would plainly perceive that he meant *himself*.—Why truly the *Prince* and the *nation* must be content to have men serve them, who have abilities to consider and pursue the interests of *both*; and who must be satisfied with the credit that would result only from the rectitude of their measures.—Those, who are masters of no arts but that of *corrupting*, cannot stand upon such ground. It is therefore destruction to *such men*; and they would ruin a *whole nation* rather than *themselves*. Whenever the measure of their iniquity is full, the *people* would not bear it any longer. All things have naturally their determined periods. Surely *corruption* cannot be the only exception.—A *mercenary*, indeed, might flatter himself that the contention is only who should be his *pay-master*; of such utility he takes himself to be, that he does not see when the *candle* is almost burnt out, though it should burn the fingers of *him* who holds it. But every *personer* ought to consider that he may give a *minister* so much power as to render himself useless, and so become a *felo de se*.

I am, &c.

UNIVERSAL SPECTATOR, June 2.

The celebrated Dr. R—K, to the more celebrated Apostle W—T—D.

Reverend greeting brother,

AS treaties are the mode of the times; and, to speak in the language of the vulgar, no one tub now cares to stand on its own bottom, even I, though so deservedly famous for the numberless and nameless cures that I have performed, though posted up at the corner of every street, lane and alley in this vast metropolis, and for so many years on record in every newspaper, that has appeared on either side of the grand question, I even condescend at last to propose an alliance between me and my laudable brethren, the Quacks, on one side, and you and your regenerated co-adjutors, the collectors of *Keenington-common**, on the other.—But, before we proceed any farther, as a hint to the politicians, let it be observed, that we are led to this motion by our natural interest; that our views of reciprocal advantage are apparent, and that we literally couple *like to like*: whereas they often prove themselves such blunderers, as to league with their enemies, and quarrel with their friends; nor are sensible of their folly, 'till they feel it in their misfortunes.

Si populus vult despi despitur: I don't know whether that is good *Latin* or no; but if not, I have learned of you, that human wisdom is no accomplishment, and of course, ignorance no reproach. However, as I take it, the meaning is, that *one fool makes many*; and I must needs say, that craft on our side is not sufficient, unless folly is on that of our auditory.—Let this then be the basis of our future confederacy: to discountenance knowledge, and cry up implicit faith in the Doctor; to effect which, I have observed, nothing is so infallible as mystery. When men talk

* The place where W—t—d used to preach, and collect. 

talk to be understood, the very vulgar themselves can examine their principles, can unravel their arguments, and plead their own reason to dissent from their conclusions: but when we wrap ourselves round with obscurity, talk, like what *St. Paul* heard when snatched up into the third heaven, things that no conception can attain to, who can expose? who can reprove? Beside, the herd love to wonder, and the *super-sublime*, both on the stage and in the pulpit, never fail'd of succeeding beyond the most sanguine expectations.

I was overjoy'd to read your incomprehensible journals, and hear your more incomprehensible orations. To experience warnings and inspirations; hear, see, taste and touch, as one may say, the breathings of divine love!—these were things that I foresaw could not fail of seducing our very good friends the mob: And then your journeyings by land and water! your preachings in the synagogues! your exercises in the fields! but, above all, this notable expedient of *collecting charities*, won my very heart!—I was then convinced you was one of us: I felt an irresistible sympathy attracting my affections towards you, and could hardly rest 'till I had made you an offer of my friendship and services.—Beside, I found there was the exactest similitude both in our callings, and in our measures to render those callings profitable.—If you set up for a copy of *St. Paul*, (as 'tis observed you do, even to the mimicking *Raphael's* picture of him at *Hampton-court*) I do the same by the old stager, *Hypocrites*, I think they call him; if you undertake to cleanse and purify the soul, I do the like by the body; if you are an enemy to the regular drones of your profession, I am as much to those of ours, if you profess to serve the publick for the sake of the publick, so do I: Do you pocket the fee when 'tis offered? I do the same: are the mob your customers? they are mine likewise: are you called a Quack in doctrinals? I bear the same reproach in practice: are you the scorn and jest of

men of sense? I want but very little of being as much their jest and scorn as you: In a word, if 'tis said that you turn the brains of your patients, 'tis affirmed, with equal truth, that I destroy the constitutions of mine.

From this parallel, Sir, of our character and conduct, which all the world must allow to be impartial, 'tis obvious that nothing can be more reasonable than the alliance above proposed, and, of course, that it should be embraced with open arms on both sides.—But, perhaps, you will affect to be ashamed of such an union, and may insinuate it will endanger your faintly reputation.—In answer to which, Sir, give me leave to say, that I have scruples on that head as well as you; such as, perhaps, are much better grounded than your's, and consequently are much more difficult to remove.—No body, I thank God, can upbraid me with devouring widows houses, leading captive silly women, ruining the peace, and confounding the substance of families; preaching up *Cbrist*, and playing the devil; blindly recommending charity, and at the same time guilty of the worst oppression, by squeezing out the last mite out of the pockets of the poor, robbing both them and the community of their time, and exulting the wholesome spirit of industry, to make room for that fiend *Enthusiasm*; blind, undistinguishing *Enthusiasm*! a fiend, that, from the experience of all past ages, never was let loose among the multitude but to do mischief; mischief that knew no bound or end! wild and furious as the sea, as treacherous and as destructive.—I say, Sir, no body can upbraid me with being the cause of so extensive a calamity.—And yet, Sir, these, and a thousand things of the like nature, are irreverently said of a certain person that shall be nameless, every hour of the day, I believe in every part of the kingdom.—Neither are they contented with gravely accusing this truly reverend personage of being a publick pest, an incendiary of the worst kind, and a deceiver of the people.

ple; but those that have wit and humour, make him the constant butt of both: when they hear of the prodigious quantities of brass he receives, they say he is paid in his own coin; when they are told that he apes the character of *St. Paul*, they say, if he was under the lash of the beadle, there might be some resemblance; when 'tis said he prophesies against the *great city*, like *Jenab*, and is as angry that *God* will not trust him with the issuing his judgments, they recommend him to be first thrown overboard to appease the storm of his own raising; when they hear of the crowds that follow him, they immediately take the hint, and calculate from thence the number of fools in *Britain*, and that as minutely and exactly as the *Jews* from a *state-history*.—To this they add a thousand humorous tales, of the knavery of hypocrisy, the extravagance of credulity, and the madness of superstition; all pointed and severe, all exposing the craft, and tending to ridicule both the *fox* that preaches, and the *geese* that make up his audience.

The proverb says, *A word to the wise is enough*; consequently, I have no need to apply what has been said: you see plainly now your reputation will run no hazard by uniting your interests with mine; but, on the contrary, if there's any danger of character on either side the question, 'tis on mine. I really have some conscience remaining; and, though, *God* knows, a very grievous sinner, can't help thinking myself much more innocent than a modern saint: but what have we to do with innocence?—Gain, I take it, is your godliness, as it is my publick spirit; for gain I practise, and you preach: let gain then, mutual gain, be the cement of our alliance! let us fairly divide the mob between us, as prize-fighters do the house; the fleece is large enough for both; neither need we in the least interfere in each other's trade. At the theatre, musick and a prologue introduce every new play, and keep the audience in good humour 'till the curtain is drawn up: this part of the en-

tertainment is all I desire for my *Andrew* and myself; and when you are ready to mount, we'll instantly resign; unless you insist on the afore said factious Gentleman's setting the psalm, or one of the *Rev. Mr. W——y's* or *Deacon S——d's* hymns in its stead. I can assure you, Sir, *Andrew* has an admirable talent that way; can twang it through the nose like a *Scots* organ, and put on a face that *Hugh Peters* himself would have been charm'd with. By this means one stage may do for both, and our miracles keep pace with each other. To which let me add, by way of hint as to private practice, that when I perceive my patients departing, I'll send them to you for spiritual consolation: converts are easily made in the last moments, and a will may be drawn as *methodical* as you please. On the other hand, as one good turn deserves another, when you find the spirit too strong for the flesh; or, in other words, zeal becomes madness, send your lunatics as fast as you make them to me; I can bleed, purge, shave and diet as well as *M——*, and you shall have a share of the profits into the bargain.

But perhaps, in answer to all this, you'll say, you are returning to the brethren in *America*, to enjoy the fruits of all your labours in the Lord. It may be so; but will not a new *Elisba* arise, with a double portion of your spirit, to collect in your room? I don't question but there will.—The itch of avarice and popularity works as strongly as inspiration itself; and as you have met with so plenteous a harvest, 'tis not to be questioned but others will be found who will be glad of the gleanings.—To them then let me have the honour to be join'd, if not to you: for, as I hinted above, our way lies through the same road, and the same set of patients serves for both. I am, with the most cordial affection,

Reverend brother,

Your fellow-labourer,

CRAFTSMAN, June 9.

Difference between a Party, and a Faction; the present state of Whiggism, &c.

S I R,

THE words PARTY and FACTION, by being often used as synonymous terms, the ideas properly annexed to each of them have been so much confounded, that it becomes necessary to explain them.

By *Party*, as I understand the sense of the word, and I think I could prove it from the *English* history; was always meant; A national division of opinions, concerning the *form* and *methods* of government; for the benefit of the *whole* community; according to the different judgments of men; that their conformity to *those* principles; as the motive of their respective actions, distinguished the *Party*; and that *by the fruit we might know the tree*: That from the moment this contention for the real service of their country was given up by men invested with *power*; and a *corrupt influence*, upon which only they united, they became a *Faction*: for I conceive a *faction* to be a set of men armed with *power*, and acting upon no one principle of *party*, or any notion of *publick good*, but to preserve and share the spoils amongst *themselves*, as their only cement; that they may be able to do every thing contrary to the interest of the *nation*, and the benefit of the *whole people*. — This is properly a *faction*; and though some persons may take it ill to be called *by that name*; yet it is doing them too much honour to give them even such a rank of distinction, which arises only from the politeness of the present age, in order to magnify each other's virtues; and lessen each other's crimes; by a softer denomination. — *Faction* is founded upon a share of *power*, as well as *plunder*. Many persons may partake of the *latter*: but if *one man* alone should ever engross the whole power and distribution of all *places*, *honours*, and *other court favours*; in order to create an absolute dependence upon *himself*, without suffering even his *Prince* to participate any power with him in *that respect*; what

would his *fellou-servants* be, however dignified by *birth*, *titles*, *employments*; or *abilities*, but the abject tools and partisans of *that man*, and his *illustrious house*?

Whenever a nation is reduced to such a wretched state, every man would see it, and feel it; the *corrupt*; as well as the *uncorrupt*. — *Taxes*, *oppression*, *poverty*; and *ill conduct* in every branch of government, would open the eyes of the *latter*; and the *former* must not only know it; but bear their testimony of it: for if ever *one man* should, for many years together, have the sole disposition of every thing in the *army*, the *navy*, the *law*, the *church*; and the *revenue*, without suffering any persons to share with him, even in their *proper departments*; would it not occasion murmurs and complaints from his *own creatures*, though he should have assumed to himself an *arbitrary power*; for a long course of years? — would not *those*, who bear the names of the *greatest posts of honour and trust*, when they are used only as ornaments of *advice*; and names of *power*, sometimes lament their *own condition*, and the *state of the nation*? — would they not complain that *one man* alone engrosses the whole management to himself; that *one man* alone advises, and no body else dares speak his genuine thoughts in a *certain place*, though it was never so necessary for the preservation of his country? — This is unavoidable: for give men the pay of *great places*, and their pride will be always reproaching them with the contempt, which their want of power creates; since they are even robbed of the *airs* of *significancy*, and reduced to the necessity of insinuating only that they either *advised*, or *opposed* any measure, being obliged to speak or vote for it in *publick*, and *privately* ask whether they came off tolerably well. — Would not the whole *well paid* and *disciplin'd party* be daily giving evidences of it? They would like the *pay*, but not the *measures*. They would willingly receive the *money*, and part with nothing for it. Reduction of *taxes*, *liberty*, and every thing else that is dear to mankind, would be very agreeable to them, provided they could

keep their *purchase-money*. They would still *sell*, and have something *worth selling*; the dangers of which they would often burst forth, and explain their *private opinions* directly contrary to their *publick ones*. — The *spirit of liberty* would force its way through all opposition, and give the soul a breathing, by the hopes of a better change. — The penance they do, and the sacrifices they make to the *Manes* of their country would be evidences against them. — But whenever they feel themselves actuated by *national motives*, they would be told in an insolent manner, *that they had not so much given them to feel THEMSELVES the very dangers to which they would be exposed, and the fear of being of no longer use*: for *corruption in practice*, can be carried only to a certain height, before it must be lost in *reformation of abuses, or arbitrary power*. — The more expensive a *minister* is, the more he destroys the *means of corruption*. — If the *more pay* created the more honour, how many are more honourable than a *smuggler*, and a *smuggler* more than a *common soldier*, who is obliged to fight for his country, at *six pence a-day*? yet we see that the *last*, from the effect of *good discipline and pay*, is ready to march upon the most desperate enterprizes, at the word of command. But if he happens to escape, he will complain to all the world of the rash and ill conduct of his *General*. This is exactly the case of every *mercenary band*: for though they are obliged to obey their *commander*, for the sake of their pay; yet when he puts them upon unnecessary and dangerous services, they will endeavour to justify themselves, by exposing his mismanagement, and can never love him afterwards.

What hath been already said is sufficient to point out the distinction between *Party and Faction*; but more especially between a *National Party*, and being the servile followers of *one man*, who can therefore be intitled, at most, to the denomination of the *Ministerial Party*. — Some things are best proved and illustrated, by putting them into opposite lights, and comparing *small things* with *great*. — As such may be

consider'd the administration and impeachment of the Duke of *Buckingham*, in the time of K. *Charles I.* From thence we may learn, that *places*, when once given, were looked upon as granted *quandiu se bene gesserint*; which is at length obtain'd for the *Judges*. The nature of the thing alone implies it; for, what is the intention of creating *places*, but to do the business of the publick, as long as they act according to justice and equity? Indeed, long before these times, the *Judges* had been made more useful to the *crown*, and detrimental to the *people*, by commissions during *pleasure*. But we find that all other *places* were look'd upon in another light at that time, from the very articles of *this impeachment*, by selling, and even buying *places* for himself. The article for selling the *Lord Treasurer's place* to the Earl of *Middlesex*, for 20,000 *l.* in the reign of K. *James I.* may seem very odd at present. *The KING can do no wrong*; and therefore it was laid upon the *MINISTER*: but history informs us that the *King* had the *money*, and sold the *place*. This is probably the first precedent of a *King's* selling his *Treasurer's place*. — I leave the reader to judge whether this hath not been finely improv'd since, to the great emolument of the *crown*, and ease of the subject.

This Treasurer being fallen into disgrace, could not then be removed but by an *accusation in parliament*. — It may be thought too great a digression to pursue this point any farther; and therefore, to shorten the whole, which would afford many observations, I will quote only that part of Sir *Jabu Ellison's* speech, in which he sums up the impeachment against the *Duke*.

“ I observe a wonder in policy and in nature, how *this man*, so notorious in evil, so dangerous to the state in his *immense greatness*, is able to subsist of himself and keep a being. — To this I answer, that the *Duke* hath us'd the help of *art* to prop him up. It is apparent that, by his *skill*, he hath raised a party in the *court*, a party in the *country*, and a main party in the *chief places of go-*

ernment in the kingdom; so that all the most deserving offices, which require abilities to discharge them, are fixed upon the Duke, his allies and kindred: and thus hath he drawn to himself, his family, and dependents, the power of justice, the power of honour, and the power of command; and, in effect, the whole power of the kingdom, both for peace and war, to strengthen his allies; and in setting himself up, hath set upon the kingdom's revenues, the fountain of supply, and the nerves of the land. — He intercepts, consumes, and exhausts the revenues of the crown, not only to satisfy his own lustful desires, but the luxury of others; and by emptying the veins, in which the blood should run, he hath cast the body of the kingdom into an high consumption." *Rusbro'wth's collection, anno 1626, p. 354.*

This was the language of parliament, at that time; and sufficiently shews to the nation, at present, that in such a situation all the under-actors, with their pay-master at their head, can be only called his party, nor ought to be treated in any other manner by the whole nation. — I do not mean to draw any parallel; for the Duke of Buckingham was but a novice in politicks, and had not learn'd the art of trafficking with all the three legislative states; which, though it is safer for a minister, destroys all hopes of relief to the people.

Our history, were we to trace it down farther, would fully shew the distinction between party, with regard to national opinions, as well as faction; and the party of ONE MAN against the whole. — The ministers of Charles II. were, according to these circumstances, sometimes called a Faction; and during one period of time, a CABAL, by a witticism alluding to their names. Lord Danby was a more absolute minister than any before him; and, as Bishop Burnet says, purchas'd numbers rather than heads. The particular situation of affairs at that time, with respect to religion and the court, occasioned the distinction of a Court and a Country Party. The names of Whig and Tory have fatally divided us ever since, and enough

hath been said upon that subject already. But it is impossible that the nation should preserve its liberties, or even its very being, whilst their laws and their wealth are given up for the subsistence of a ministerial party only. Nothing can make a stand against them, unless the whole people unite, when they feel the effects of it, in one national party; for a party founded upon corruption, which always extends prerogative, as we have seen in Buckingham's case, was the cause of the future miseries of the people, and the misfortune of the Prince. The necessary expences afterwards, in order to free ourselves from that load of prerogative, hath plac'd in the crown, or minister, another power of governing, which I need not mention. The desires of all people, as a body, should therefore be to preserve the nation free and flourishing, so as neither to be enslaved by Tory prerogative, or Whig corruption.

It is in vain to think that this nation can ever preserve itself from the excess of either of these means, especially of both united, as long as they continue a divided people, by idle names and absurd distinctions. The practices of their leaders have too often shewn, that the contention is only about different means of obtaining absolute power for themselves and their master. The good of the whole hath been often intirely neglected by the ministers of both denominations, and all their court made by increasing the power and riches of the crown. This ought at last to convince the whole nation, that our unhappy distinctions are the different means, as power prevails, by which a minister does whatever he pleases, and the cloak that disguises it to his own party. But nothing can possibly save our liberties at present, nor secure them for the future, but uniting in one national party, which must be for the publick benefit. In such a case, bad measures could never meet with approbation; nor would a party-name sanctify every action. Men, who keep the flames alive, as means of rising into power, and supporting themselves in it,

would certainly meet with present, or future disappointment; since numbers would no longer follow them in blind approbations of every thing they did, only because they did it. All those helps, which arise to bad men, from the party-animosities amongst the people, must be lost. Have we not sufficiently experienced and felt the misfortunes of our unhappy divisions? Can any thing else, but a *national unanimity*, preserve us from such a deluge of *corruption*? Have not all, who are not immersed in it, given the strongest proof of their endeavours to prevent it, and the best assurances that men can possibly give for their future actions? They have quitted the *place*, where *ambition* and *avarice* are supposed to be gratified. It is in vain for them to oppose any longer. Nothing can stem the torrent, but an utter abolition of all *former party distinctions*, and the whole people uniting for their own preservation. In such a case, a *reformation* must soon follow; and we should become *one people*, too powerful for any *ministerial party* whatsoever.

As there are still some honest, well-meaning men, amongst the *Whigs*, who cannot forsake their former notions, with relation to publick affairs; who think that because they were once call'd *Whigs*, they must always be *Whigs*, and that they now govern, because one actually governs, who was formerly esteem'd so; I shall endeavour to undeceive them in that point, which will farther prove what I have advanced.

To distinguish the *principle*, which governs, ought to be stated and clear.—Is it the principle of *Whiggism* that hath the ascendancy?—If it is, let it be shewn; and that any late measures are founded on, or consistent with *that principle*.—But does not the *MAN*, who governs, confess, avow, and boast that he governs by *corruption*, for the sake of *his party*?—Hath he not told us, by the mouth of one of his hirelings, “That if the profit of serving the publick in *places* be computed at any sum, and this be raised equally upon the *people*, *that party* which is admitted into trust,

will have more than a satisfaction; whilst the *other party* is like a *scale*, continually losing weight without any new accession to maintain the balance; so that in a certain process of time, the *losing party* must quite stumple to nothing, and the *prevailing party*, by continuing in *employments of profit*, must be capable to purchase ALL THE REINS IN THE KINGDOM?” *Case of the opposition stated*, p. 13.

As to *foreign affairs*, have they been conducted according to the principles of *Whiggism*, in any of our late transactions, by exciting *France*, and seducing the house of *Austria*; by keeping up a *noise* *standing away* at home, *votes of credit*, extending and multiplying *excise laws*? Are these, I say, the principles of *Whigs*? What an idea of *liberty* do they convey to us, when we see a *dirty excise officer*, in the stile of an *absolute Monarch*, permitting us to let the common conveniences of life enter within our doors? How grievous, how burthensome, and what a command have they over all the dealers under their inspection? For what have all these things been done? Not to influence *parliaments*, to be sure, or to prevent the *vote of the nation* being heard.—Does any *old Whig* retain those principles of his younger days, and ever give one vote, according to what was the fundamental principle of the *party*, and the touch-stone of *Whiggism*, but the loss of his employment immediately follows, and the person is *awhigg'd*?—Where is *Whiggism* now, but in the head and pockets of *one man*?—What became of *Whiggism*, for three years together, under the present royal family, when this man oppos'd every thing? Was it irretrievably lost, if it had not revived in *him*?—Does any body suffer, or lose his place, let his actions or character be ever so bad, if he sticks by *him*, by keeping in countenance his publick and private irregularities? But is any man forgiven who once votes according to his conscience?—To do him justice, he makes no secret of the principles and rule of his government.

DAILY GAZETTE, June 7.

Danger of confounding the Enemies with the Friends of the Constitution.

In order to support this scheme, are not all places given to members of parliament, which are possibly terrible with their sword? An dog cannot be killed for the publick, nor an old rope sold, but by members of parliament in those commissions which have the chief inspection. The King's Gardner, not to call it a new created place, the Porter of St. James's Gate, and the Letter-carrier of Hampton Court, are all very honourable employments, and fit only to be executed by members of parliament. The Secretaries of offices, and the lucrative Clerk under them, are to scribble for the publick, and vote for the minister.— The vast number of officers in the army and navy, who so honourably sell their lives for the defence of their country, are therefore undoubtedly the best law-givers and representatives of the people. Of what other use can they be, in times of peace. They ought not surely to receive their pay for nothing. There they may learn the first principles of good discipline, upon which their whole science depends; an implicit obedience to the orders of their superiors. They have there an opportunity of showing those parts, from which only they can expect to rise. There they may likewise discover such a weakness, as not to be fit any longer to be trusted; for who ought to command, that does not know how to obey orders, from the old General down to the young Cornet? It would be a pitiful fellow of a minister, (as was not long ago most sagaciously observ'd) who would suffer them to act as they think for themselves, and the publick, since it is so much out of their province; and therefore ought to be discarded as stirrers up of mutiny. It is certain that no member can possibly vote against the present minister, without having lost his understanding, and even the knowledge of his trade. He is therefore removed only for the defect of his intellects, which plainly shews that he can be of no farther service to the publick. I am,

S I R,

Your's, &c.

THE mean arts and miserable evasions of the drudges of the opposition have been so often exposed and confuted, in mere compassion to their less discerning readers, that, notwithstanding their undaunted courage and amazing effrontery, one can scarce avoid being surpris'd at the assurance with which they labour to have their dirty invectives against constitution and government, Prince and People, accepted as the result of an affection for our Sovereign, and a tender regard for the liberties and privileges of their fellow-subjects. With this view, they have endeavoured, with incredible application, to lose the name of the party they are employed by, and, with design of removing all distinctions which must bring upon them the certain disregard and contempt of all honest men, they would gladly mix themselves among the old and invariable friends of liberty.— Thus, with their usual modesty, they acquaint their readers, that the causes of the old division into WHIG and TORY have been long removed, and every wise man has agreed to lay aside the names of PARTY, since they have no longer any meaning. By which we are to understand (if the words have any meaning at all) that, in order to be wise, we must esteem all those friends to the interests of Great Britain, whose private views make them earnest to be thought so; and, that no objection may arise from their being known enemies to this land,— why, truly, we are to lay aside the name of Party, and confound the true and unshaken advocates of the Protestant religion and government, with men who have exerted their utmost talents to distress these realms, by sowing dissension among the people, and striving to render odious all who merit the gratitude of their country, and the esteem of the real friends of those realms.

It is certain, and with pleasure it must be acknowledged, by all who rejoice in the prosperity of Great Britain, that the

cause of the *old division* into *Whig* and *Tory* is happily removed: but *reason* declares, and *experience* confirms it, that there is, nevertheless, great cause to guard against the public enemies under every other distinction whatever; and, however desirable a *coalition of parties* may be, it will never, by the thinking part of mankind, be supposed to include men whose avowed principles tend to the subversion of our happy constitution, and whose conduct, from their first entrance into the world, has been one continued series of outrages upon whatever has tended to the establishment of a *Protestant Succession*.—No; though it is our *interest* to be reconciled, it is our *duty* to guard against the injuries that must threaten us from the pretences of men with whom to expect an *union* to any good purpose, would be highly *ridiculous*, as it would suppose those the *friends* of their country, who have long piqu'd themselves upon preferring the interests of any neighbouring power before our own, and whose *treachery* has been too often detected, their *perfidy* too frequently exposed, to leave room to suppose them sincere in any *alteration of sentiment* the constant *disappointment* they meet with in their *natural colours* may have obliged them to seek refuge in.—*Whig* and *Tory* may be forgotten with safety, but *friend* and *enemy* will never be confounded, where a necessary regard is had to the tranquility and prosperity of a people; it having been the misfortune of too many governments to fall sacrifices to their own *supposed security*: for when the enemies of a state can so far prevail as to have the *supposition of danger removed*, and themselves consider'd as the zealous friends of the people they seek to distress, their designs are in a great measure facilitated by those they are calculated to destroy; which sufficiently vindicates the caution taken by the present administration to distinguish the *friends of a Protestant government* from the *tools of a faction*, which, under the specious covering of being *Protestants* themselves, labour incessantly to promote the interests of *Popery*; it being a truth long ago purchas'd by fatal experience, That

the *name of Protestant*, where the *heart* is otherwise, has done more injury to the *Protestant cause*, than could have been accomplished by men destitute of that disguise.

Wherefore, as the *name of party* is so disagreeable to the malecontents, I know no way for them to avoid the odium cast upon the old *Tories*, but by proving themselves *unbiassed friends* to the *Protestant interest*; by pointing out the zeal they discovered when the constitution was in the most imminent danger, their opposition to such measures as tended to favour the designs of *France* and *Rome*, the instances of their joy on the happy establishment of the house of *Hanover*, the *assistance* they lent to free the nation from the bad consequences which threaten'd our liberties after the late *unnatural rebellion*; and, in fine, the pains they have taken to render the weight of government easy to his present *Majesty*, and his royal *father*, and to screen the measures of the administration from the knowledge of *foreign powers*.

When the Gentlemen who make the principal figure, and compose the greatest number in the opposition, shall make these things appear, they will have a very rational claim to be lightned of the stigmatized name of *Peisan Tory*: with which, in all probability, they must dispense, till *such proof* be produced; for, spite of all endeavours to *forget themselves*, they must know that their conduct has been irreconcilable with any one fundamental principle of the *Whigs*, who have always been consistent with themselves, and have never, in any one instance, stoop'd to the influence of the enemies of a Protestant establishment, have never sought *refuge* among *Papists*, nor ever asserted a *Protestant political body* could be in *perfect health* with a *Papist* at its head.

The calculation of *Protestants* and *Papists* in *Ireland*, lately published in the news-papers, though more favourable than any made before, serves strongly to enforce the necessity of union among *Protestants* throughout the *British dominions*, and the danger of consenting,

From a generous inclination to reconcile mankind, to countenance alike all religious differences, without distinction: For, tho' most sects among Protestants may claim the publick protection, on account of their exact conformity to our political establishments, the members of the church of Rome ought to be viewed in a very different light: for, while the former rejoice in the enjoyment of their civil and religious liberties, the latter receive the indulgence they meet with only as the return of part of their own ancient rights; whereby the very favours extended to them lose the nature of obligations, and, instead of disposing them to gratitude, and a dutiful inclination to support the government under which they enjoy privileges beyond what are granted to Protestants in any Popish country whatever, they esteem themselves as a people kept out of the possession of a country to which they ground a claim on its being once unhappily over-run by the errors they still profess, and from thence an air of resentment is visible in men of that community on occasions that would produce a contrary behaviour in any beside themselves.

As the Romish Priests think themselves, as they certainly are, the greatest losers by the reformation, it is not strange to find them use every little art to regain an influence so beneficial to their community.—Hence they have, for some years, been known, with the greatest application imaginable, to try, since the errors of their doctrines are so generally understood, and easily exploded, to spread a favourable opinion of their tenets, by insinuating the small difference, with regard to essentials, between the churches of Rome and England, and the great hardship of Papists being subject to any inconveniencies any other subjects are exempt from; which, with some well-disposed, unwary people, have so far prevailed, as to make them become the Echo of these designing incendiaries; and, by being known to be wholly disinterested, have innocently brought more people into approbation of the Romish doctrines, than any could

have done who were openly members of that church. And this dangerous practice has gathered much countenance from the scandalous behaviour of some Gentlemen, who, after being many years nominal Whigs, on some trifling disappointments, have openly joined with the avowed enemies of the Protestant constitution, the known friends of Popery, and abettors of every attempt to introduce arbitrary government into this island.—And those steps have been properly and very naturally supported by the writers employed to assist them; one of whom was remarkable for his fervency and zeal for the principles of the Whigs, and the other a notorious Popish incendiary; both of whom, by way of lesson to their readers, every week carefully enlarge upon the joint-labour and union of interests concluded between them; to prove, that, now they are reconciled, no difference whatever can be an objection to a reconciliation between others.—The effect of this is obvious: If they could succeed, every bar to the hopes of Rome would be removed; and Popery, and all her ghastly attendants, may be safely imported into this land on a Protestant bottom; and the friends of the reformation, in return for their civility, might, possibly, be allowed the liberty of leaving their country with the possession of their lives,—their properties would be wanted for other purposes.

UNIVERSAL SPECTATOR, June 16.

Difficulty of behaving well on an Advancement of Fortune.

Ut tu fortunam, sic nos te Cesse feremus.

TO possess the general esteem of mankind, is an ambition which most people are sensible of; yet from some odd turn in their temper, many, while they would gain a universal respect, are so unhappy as to excite only disapprobation and contempt. To court popularity with peculiar industry, is as strong a proof of an abject temper, as entirely to despise it is a demonstration of an imperious one; but there is a mediocrity of behaviour which gains us the good-will of all, which is, to be equally

qually complaisant to all, according to their different ranks in life. But the chief hinderance to such conduct is a foolish *pride*, which makes people look on their inferiors with a kind of contempt, and even entertain a very mean opinion of those who are on an equality with them. Persons of this cast of temper will always appear to the sensible part of mankind ridiculously affected, and are themselves as much the objects of contempt to others, as others may seem to be to them. Persons who are but a little touched with this humour, may have prudence enough in a great measure to conceal it, unless they are particularly affected with any accident which has a strong influence on their passions, and makes them sling off all restraint of their natural temper. It happens therefore frequently, that they who in one state of life appeared civil, courteous, humane and well-bred, will, on any acquisition of fortune, or promotion in the business of the world, shew that they had before deceived mankind, and that they in reality can neither feel humanity, nor practise good-manners.

What can be a stronger proof of this than the conduct of *Eubulus*; who, while he was a student at the *Temple*, of a moderate fortune, and little or no expectations of advancing it, but by his study of the law, and the figure he might make at the bar, possessed the sincere esteem of all who personally knew him; and had the reputation of a courteous good-natur'd Gentleman, among those who only were acquainted with his character by report? But how soon was this amiable opinion of him forfeited, when, by the almost sudden deaths of four or five relations, he came into the unexpected possession of two thousand pounds a-year? *Eubulus* with his fortune changed his manners; instead of that courteous affability, which is the characteristick of a man of sense and distinction, he behaved with a morose kind of reserved pride, which is the indication of a brutal temper or weak understanding: his former acquaintance he treated in such a ceremo-

nious manner, and with such quantities of ridiculous complaisance, that they looked with pity on the man, who, on a little elevation in life, should forget what was common sense and common complaisance. But with this new kind of pride he betrayed a servility, which before seemed averse to his nature; he immediately became an attendant on the lovers of men in power, and looked on a *Star* and *riband* with a veneration of bigotry. In short, when his change of fortune made him absolutely independent, he became a *Slave*; and lost the character of a Gentleman, when he had an opportunity of supporting it in the most exalted degree.

There is a pride in the heart of man which betrays itself on so many occasions, that we may observe that *Eubulus* is not of a disposition peculiar to himself. *Harry Modish* is the most intimately acquainted with you: He dines with you, drinks with you, sports with you; you are both of the same parties of pleasure, of the same party in politics, of the same set of acquaintances, are almost inseparable: He meets you to-day accidentally in the park; runs to you, caresses you, joins your conversation, makes remarks, laughs aloud, and makes every body take notice that you must be particular friends: To-morrow you see him in the Mall, he passes you without the least observation, he purposely averts his eyes for fear you should by a bow be known to be of his acquaintance. — What can be the occasion of this change? What can produce this sudden pride? — It is easily discerned: He is now dressed in his *lac'd chaubis*, and is walking with Sir *Timothy Tawdry*, *Lady Fanny Port*, and my Lord *Poppington*. — *Harry* as he is a *beau*, and therefore not of the most solid understanding, ought to have indulgence allowed him: But how can we defend the grave and reverend Dr. *Hemily*; who, while he is within the walls of the city, knows his chief parishioners, talks with them, laughs with them, dines with them, and receives their money: see him in *London*, and

Can he be more affable or complaisant; meet him near *St. James's*, he just gives a look, and moves his shining beaver: speak to him, he is all *reserve*, and in a hurry? — Whence proceeds this conduct? — Is he nominated to a *see*? — No. — Is he promis'd it? — No. — A *deputy* perhaps? — He has not the least expectation of one. — A prebendary? — Nor of that. — What can it be? — He dines at the *Chaplain's table*, and is to drink a dish of *coffee* in the afternoon with his *Diocesan*, my Lord of * * *. After having made my observations on these people, I am not at a loss to account why Mr. *Prim*, my hatter, talks to me with a more self-sufficient importance at one time than another: I can now tell whether he has carried home a military buckled hat, or ecclesiastick beaver; or whether he has waited on a merchant, or a young spark of the inns of court: for, according to the *scene* he has been last conversant in, he contracts a dignity of knowledge, which gives him a peculiar *pride* for the remaining part of the day.

But this folly of behaving with so different conduct, is not less observable among the female sex. I have known a new *Brussels head*, or a *gold watch*, have a strange effect on a woman's heart: she has walked with a more jantee air, and has been in such deep contemplation of being observed by others, that she has not been able to discern her chief acquaintance, till she has received the consolation of a very low courtesy. A new-fashion'd *mantua* has not a less efficacy on the mind of others. I could not the other *Sunday* but wonder why *Miss Fanny*, my landlady's daughter, who is a romping laughing girl, about fourteen, was all of a sudden grown so demure as an old maid of five and thirty; but my surprize ceased, on recollecting that was the first day of her appearing in a *mantua*. Tho' *Miss Fanny* is but fourteen, that in no way weakens the argument; for I have known the very same cause have the same effect on a woman of four and twenty. I could wish that not only the little

temporary appearance of an elevation in our rank of life would not have any effect on the conduct of my readers, but I earnestly recommend it to them, that on any real acquisition of fortune, they would behave with a prudential equality of mind as may make their fortune become them. — I cannot here forbear inserting a letter I some time ago received, and will subjoin my advice in a story, which, I hope, will be acceptable to all my readers.

S I R,

I Am a particular acquaintance of a lady whose husband has lately set up an equipage; though she is a woman of good-sense in every other respect, she has the weakness to be always intruding the mention of her chariot or her landau. Your reproof, I believe, would entirely cure this folly, and oblige

Your constant reader,

EUDOCIA.

The story I mentioned was this: An intimate acquaintance of the late Sir *Richard Steele* din'd with him one day after he had been lately married, and just then set up a *chariot*. His lady two or three times at dinner asked him if he used the *chariot* that afternoon: to which he only answered, *Oysters*. When the table-cloth was taken away, she said, *Well, my dear, I'll take the chariot*. To which he again reply'd, *Oysters, my dear*. — She dropt a courtesy, and confessed she was in an error, and stood reproved. — On her retiring, Sir *Richard's* friend thus addressed him: "Sir, as absurd as your answer might seem to others, I know your manner so well, that I am assured there is some moral instructions in your word *oysters*: as it must be some gentle, humorous reproof, do me the favour to let me into the secret of it." You know, says Sir *Richard*, we have just set up a *chariot*; and being apprehensive it might have such an effect on my wife's heart, and that she might inconsiderately talk of it too much, thereby betraying a weakness of mind I would have gladly prevented, I told her a story of a young fellow who

had lately set up an equipage, and had always the vanity to be talking of it;— which was as follows:

“*Ned Sparkish*, on the death of his elder brother, left the attorney, to whom he was clerk, set up an equipage, and commenced *Petit Maître*. He was so fond of his *chariot*, that he was seldom out of it, or making some mention of it. He was one day walking with some Gentlemen in the *Mall*, when one of them asked him to be of their party to dine at a famous eating-house at *Charing-cross*. — With all my heart, my dear, says *Ned*; I'll step to my servant and give some orders about my *chariot*— and be with you again in a moment. — On this, another Gentleman said, How can you ask that coxcomb to be with us? We shall hear of nothing but his *chariot*. I'll lay half a dozen of *French* wine he talks of it within ten minutes after he comes into the room. — As I think that impossible, says another, it is a bet. — *Ned* by this time joined them again, and they went to *Locket's*. They were scarce in the room, when the Gentleman who laid the wager, proposed having some *oysters* before dinner as a whet; but at the same time feared there were none fresh enough at that end of the town, and proposed to send to *Billinggate* for some. It was objected that would take too much time, otherwise they approved of his motion. — Nay, says *Sparkish*, let that be no objection; my *chariot* is at the door, and I'll dispatch *Tom* away with it immediately, and he may bring the *oysters* in half an hour at farthest. — You see, continues *Sir Richard*, the intent of this story, on how absurd a foundation soever it may be built: I told it my wife as a family-piece of instruction; and you see that she has good-sense enough, on the mention of *oysters*, to see and to confess her error.”

All the annotation I shall make on *Sir Richard's* tale, is, That I hope the lady of *Eudocia's* acquaintance, and all my other readers of both sexes, will, as they know how to apply the story, make as proper a use of it as *Sir Richard's* lady.

COMMON SENSE, June 16:

A proposal for the establishment of the Faculty of Politicks at OXFORD.

S I R,

Oxford, May 10.

YOUR Parody from *Makers* [see *Jen. Mag.* p. 30.] has given general satisfaction, and your ears cannot have been deaf to the applauses with which this representation has been received. We begin now to feel the wisdom of our governors in checking the liberty of the theatre, which did not appear at first to common understandings, or seem reconcilable with the principles of our boasted liberty, but to be one of those *arcana imperii* which the profane vulgar should contentedly admire. But behold! we now begin to discern the depth and importance of the law. — *Covent-garden*, or *Drury-lane*, was too narrow a scene of action to display any notable representation in order to effect any general reformation, and to spread wide enough any serviceable ridicule for the correction of folly and stupidity.

We of this place, who have few or no opportunities of seeing such instructive lessons, are particularly pleased with this wise restriction. For now the world will become the stage, and we shall see plays, 'tis to be hoped, in our own way, that of reading, which will thereby make not only a general, but lasting impression. *Pantalus* might have lived and died within the bills of mortality, had not this prohibition forced him upon the publick stage of the world. Thanks, therefore, to Mr. President, and the rest of the Doctors, for their sagacious provision.

I have been thinking, Sir, how this hint of your's may be made serviceable to the good of this place, as well as the honour of the nation, and a *School of Politicks* improv'd into an Academy for the same great purposes. And I'm encouraged to hope for the more success in such a project from the general turn of thought this way, which may be observ'd amongst certain professors and students of this place, who seem quite weary of the antiquated methods of

learning, and the knowledge so long cultivated, with great pains and little profit; by our predecessors and some few modern students.

I would propose, therefore, that a fourth faculty, that of *Politicks*, be added to our other three, whose quick growth and splendor would, I'm persuaded, in few years, eclipse and supersede the present useless professions, and recommend us to the esteem of our superiors at the helm, which we are at present so unhappy to be deprived of, and the admiration of all abroad. And in this case, I would allow a full liberty for all Doctors, for a time limited, to commute degrees. So that any Doctor of Divinity, Law, or Physick, may exchange those honours for a Doctor's degree in Politicks. Otherwise it would be hard upon the *rising generation*, who seem rightly disposed to proceed on the Politick line, to be postponed in the eye and notice of their superiors, by having proceeded unfortunately in professions, which they never had any real liking to, or knowledge of,—but have been obliged, for form, or precedence, or preferment's sake, to take degrees in them. And this scheme may be the more easily accomplished, inasmuch as no new endowment is required.

The Professor of Modern Languages would be the proper Professor and President upon this occasion, and might read Political lectures to all upon the Politick line, which, I hope, would be better attended than any lectures in this place,—Musick and Poetry not excepted.

Every projector is naturally fond of his own scheme, and big with the imaginary consequences which, he thinks, will certainly attend and follow the execution of it. This, probably, may be my case. For methinks I see already the figure we shall make in the world soon after this institution has taken place. Our Nobility, who now travel for education, will then come to us for instruction, and the university thereby recover its ancient splendor and esteem.

I can't help picturing to myself al-

ready the pomp of a publick act, the President in the chair, the Doctors Assistent around him, the Inceptors ready for creation, and *Pantabon* answering, according to the plan of modern politicks, amidst the applauses of a crowded theatre.

The eyes of all *Europe* will be upon us, and we shall soon become a wise and polite people. You will easily discover many more advantages which will accrue to the publick, and this place in particular, from this institution, which escape my penetration. But I must caution you, Sir, against making this project too publick, lest our rival sister, who is at present the greater favourite, and I fear the better skill'd in modern Politicks, may be before-hand with us in obtaining a charter for this purpose.

If you approve of this design, be pleased to favour us with your advice in making a proper statute concerning the time and exercises requisite for the degrees of a Batchelor and Doctor in Politicks, and likewise what habit these venerable sages ought to be distinguished by.

An encouragement just now granted to the sons of *Scots* and *Irish* Peers to come and study amongst us, may greatly contribute to the promotion of this scheme, and the advancement of this only useful learning. For, if modern politicks consist chiefly in the art of plundering and blundering, (as it seems to do, by your form of creation) the talents of these our neighbours in these different capacities and excellencies, being join'd and mix'd with our own, cannot fail of producing a perfect Modern Politician or Doctor in Politicks.

Let me only add, as a farther recommendation of this scheme, that some such provision is absolutely necessary, not only to the well-being, but the very being of this place. For there seems to be such a general disregard of the present learned professions, as they are called, on account of the unserviceableness of them to the uses and end of human life, and so general a contempt, amongst persons in whose gifts all pre-

sermons are placed, of such as mispend their time about them, that unless some such institution as is here recommended be erected upon the ruins and declining state of ancient learning, our names and lands may be taken from us as a generation of triflers no way serviceable to ourselves or the publick.

Your constant reader,

POLITICO-ACADEMICUS.

P. S. If it be necessary to distinguish the faculty by any arms, these learned worthies may justly claim the *Athenian Bird*.

General Evening Post, June 9.

An Answer to the *Queries sent to the Rev. Mr. WHITEFIELD, from the Rev. Mr. T—CK—R, Minister of All-Saints, Bristol; in a letter to the Querrist.* [See *May Mag.* p. 201, 202.]

S I R,

HAD not the *Bristol* queries been said to be written by the Rev. Mr. T—ck—r, I should have imagined, they had come from one who had no manner of notion of Divine Revelation; but, as you are a *Reverend Minister*, I must suppose you to be a Christian, though you have given great room to think, that you believe nothing of the operations of the Holy Spirit, by owning, that you do not perceive them in yourself, and are hitherto unacquainted with any extraordinary and supernatural light. You will not allow the Holy Spirit necessary, either to enlighten our minds, that we may know our duty, or to give us an assistance to perform it; and you seem to intimate, pretty strongly, that the operation of the Spirit, is inconsistent with the natural powers of the understanding, and freagency. The most arrant Deist could not have gone lower in his notions in this particular than you have, to the great dishonour of your ministerial character.

Though you do not argue expressly, against feeling the operations of the Spirit; yet, by putting that word in Italicks, you, no doubt, intended a *suave*

at Mr. W. who, you say, pretends to feel them experimentally. I remember the *weak Remarker* on Mr. W.'s *Journal* pretended to triumph much in his arguments against this feeling the Spirit, &c. and it is generally, I suppose, thought a mark of *Enthusiasm*, if any one say, he has a feeling, or an inward sensation or perception of the effect of the Spirit's operations in his soul. But some are so unhappy in their reasonings, as to attack the *Scriptures themselves*, in the very books they write, on purpose to defend them. When St. Paul said, *The God of peace fill you with all joy in believing*, surely he imagined, that by this they would feel the power of their faith, when by the grace of the Spirit of God it was productive of all joy in them. How many texts might be produced to the same purpose?

But let us come to your *Queries*; the first of which is, 1. "What are those principles, doctrines, articles of faith, &c. which this extraordinary light reveals; after what manner they come into the mind; and by what mark, or character you distinguish them from the delusions of fancy, or worse temptations?"

Ans. Those principles, doctrines, articles of faith, &c. we will suppose to be such as are contained in the Scripture, and such as are effectual to convey so much divine knowledge as is necessary to salvation. If you should object, That if these things are in the Scripture, what need is there of an extraordinary light to reveal them? I shall desire you to consider, that a man cannot have a right faith in any one doctrine of Christianity, but he must be beholden for it to the Spirit of God; No man can say that *Jesus is the Lord*, but by the Holy Ghost, 1 Cor. xii. 3. This extraordinary and supernatural light, which the Holy Spirit pours into our minds, appears to be absolutely necessary for us, from many other places of Scripture.

As to the manner these principles, doctrines, &c. come into the mind, you might have better said, the manner in

which we are enabled to discern, believe, and embrace them,) I answer, I know not: but will it follow, because we cannot explain the manner of any thing being done, that therefore it is not done? When you tell me after what manner a thought comes into the mind, I will undertake to tell you how these principles, &c. come into it. I recommend to your consideration *John* iii. 8.

If the mark or character, by which these principles, &c. are distinguish'd from the delusions of fancy, or worse temptations, is the WORD OF GOD, or their being contained in the Word of God, I hope you will have more prudence than to deny this to be a satisfactory and certain criterion.—Your next query, which is a very dark one, is,

2. "What are those particular duties you are enabled to perform, which all others must leave undone, till they obtain the same means of performing them, viz. an extraordinary intercourse with the Deity?"

Ans. The duties, I suppose, are not particular; they are general; the duties of every true regenerate Christian. A man unregenerate may do the external part of many duties, but still the right Christian principles upon which they are to be done, may be wanting in him; and consequently, in that respect, they may be left undone by him. The attainment of those principles supposes a spiritual intercourse with the Deity. I will suppose the word extraordinary to be of no signification to the intercourse you are speaking of; since, if there is an intercourse with the Deity, such as a Christian ought to have, we have no occasion to call it extraordinary. If you deny an intercourse with the Deity to be a thing necessary to the Christian life; I must pity that man's condition which has nothing to do with God, and in which God, in the way of salvation, has nothing to do with him. Is there not an intercourse, on man's part, with God, when man prays to him fervently, and exercises himself in humble devout acts of faith, hope and love towards him? and is there not an intercourse on God's part with man,

when God afflicts us in these holy exercises, when he draws our hearts to him, and confirms our faith and confidence in him? — I proceed to your last query, which is,

3. "If I am mistaken in my conjectures, That if it doth exist, it must exist for such ends and purposes, be so kind as to mention, in a particular or determinate manner, for what other uses it is given; to what purposes you apply it, or it applies you; and for what special ends desirable, which ends could not be attained without it."

Ans. Here again you express yourself very oddly: but it is no wonder for as you seem not to have a very clear head, much perspicuity cannot be expected from your diction. However, as this query is grounded on a supposition of your being mistaken in the two first, there seems no necessity, considering what has been said already to them, to make any reply to it.

If I have mistaken you, please to let me know it, and tell me both what you mean by the expressions, in which you oppose Mr. W.'s notions of supernatural light and assistance, and what your own notions are of these things.

I am, &c.

DAILY GAZETTEER, June 22.

The generous forbearance of the present administration, and the advantages arising from the British constitution, above what are known in nations the Writers in the opposition prefer to our own.

IT has greatly contributed to the tranquillity of these realms, that the rash attempts of our domestick enemies, instead of involving themselves and others in the punishment due to the malignity of their designs, have only given fresh occasion for warning the people against the mischiefs that threaten their concurring in measures tending only to their destruction, and of listening to men who use the pretence of regard for the publick, only to facilitate their own particular views; — and

It cannot be without pleasure the people of *Britain* must observe, that while in other, even the most polite among the *European* nations, the publication of a free thought is punished with banishment, the *Bastile*, &c. such is the confidence our government reposes in the open good tendency of the measures pursued in publick affairs, and such their reliance upon the calm impartiality of mankind, that against the base insinuations of men vainly ambitious, and the calumny suggested by the most distracted fallies of disappointed malice, (where the people are not likely to be injured) no other punishment is inflicted than the contempt which, from every generous breast, is certain to attend men who can, from motives evidently private, labour to engage the publick in their interest; and, with no other intention than gratifying their ambition, or satiating their spleen, strive to embroil a whole people, rather than see the nation in possession of tranquility they can neither boast of procuring, nor assist to preserve.

This is evident, beyond a possibility of contradiction; and, however the prejudices of some men may have perverted their reason, the generous forbearance of the government to its most inveterate, most notorious, and most unjustifiable enemies cannot be denied by any, not even by the most deluded in the opposition, or their most implicit adherents: and we have lately received such an instance of *candescension* and *tenderness* from the throne, as must convince every man, not wilfully blind, of the regard had to the happiness of this nation, prior to all other considerations, and demonstrate to every friend of the *Protestant* establishment the happy judgment of that immortal Prince, and those who concurred with him in settling the succession in the illustrious house that now, with such advantage to these kingdoms, fills the *British* throne: and it may, without the smallest impatiation of flattery, be said, that so far are the groundless jealousies of the enemies of our peace from bringing the dire effects for which they are calcula-

ted, that they serve only to produce fresh instances of the absurdity of their clamour, and repeated examples of the clemency and forgiveness of a Prince, who, while the whole tenor of his actions proclaim his steady attention to the welfare of his people, and the present and future interest of his dominions, makes no other use of the folly and rashness of some turbulent and misled subjects of his government, than to convince all who are not wilfully bent upon confusion, and designedly blind to their own happiness, and the peace and interest of their country, of the ingratitude and madness, the weakness and error, of those who, from an absurd pursuit of liberty, while in the full possession of every desirable instance of freedom, despise the real blessings they enjoy, by seeking a change, which, were it in their power to accomplish, would sufficiently correct their mistaken judgment; and punish in themselves, and in too many more, their neglect of solid benefits, for the airy hope of obtaining more honour to themselves at the expense of the publick welfare.

I have more than once mentioned the absurdity of some Gentlemen, who assume to themselves the name of *Advocates for Liberty*, taking every occasion, or rather framing occasions to extol the government of other nations, and to depreciate every thing relating to our own establishment; and pointing out, as a pattern for *Britain*, the management of publick affairs in nations where liberty is unknown, and no other freedom is visible but that of obeying the arbitrary decrees of their monarch; where the people, in every publick, as well as every private act of the government, are considered only as instruments of the grandeur of their sovereign; whose will is the only source of their laws, and, consequently, whose separate interest is ever preferred to the mutual advantage of Prince and people: and I know not a better opportunity of making such writers ashamed, if it be possible, of such manifest impositions upon the publick, than by desiring them

to compare part of his Majesty's last speech to his parliament, with the stile and behaviour of any neighbouring Prince. — The passage I mean is the following:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I am persuaded, it is unnecessary for me to recommend to your serious consideration, the fatal consequences that may threaten a nation divided within itself, inflamed, and misled by all the wicked arts and insinuations, that malice and falsehood can suggest. It is too obvious, what advantages our common enemies wait to take, from the heats and animosities, that, under groundless pretences, are industriously fomented, and spread throughout the kingdom. Let all, who profess themselves zealous asserters of the rights and privileges, laws and liberties of their country, and of the Protestant religion, under the present establishment, unite in the defence of these inestimable blessings. Let the honour, prosperity, and safety of the kingdom become one common cause, and reconcile all civil discords and divisions; that, by your unanimity, you may disappoint the only hopes, and vain expectations of our enemies.”

What *Briton* can read this without the most dutiful sentiments of gratitude; and who that has in any degree given occasion for such an instance of his Majesty's paternal affection for his people, without the utmost shame and confusion! To see a Prince whose conduct has so far sealed the lips of envy, as to drive his enemies to the necessity of pointing their malice against his immediate servants only, (lest truth should shine too conspicuous thro' their guilty attempts) condescend to recommend no other union among his people than what the *preservation of their own rights and privileges, laws and liberties*, require; and desire no other support for himself than is consistent with the preservation of the *Protestant religion*, and the *present establishment*, must yield a most sensible pleasure to all who consider the very different stile of some former reigns. — And, surely,

not a man sincerely attached to the prosperity of *Britain* can, without a generous warmth, hear his sovereign intreat that the *honour, prosperity, and safety* of the kingdom only, may become one common cause, and the *single motive* of reconciling all *civil discords and divisions*: nor can any who wish well to the nation refuse a compliance so necessary to the well-being of the whole land, so conducive to the honour of the crown, and of such power in rendering us formidable to foreign enemies, and raising us above the reach of domestick foes. — If, as has been often urged lately, with great truth, *to divide be the readiest method to destroy, to unite must necessarily be allowed the best means to preserve*; and where the *prosperity and safety* of the kingdom is the common cause, (which can only be in a land where freedom spreads her most extensive wings, and royalty is seated in the interest and welfare of the people,) those who refuse their aid, however inconsiderable, whatever pretence they make to an affection for their country, it is notoriously no more than pretence, and can be used by none but those whose designs are too dark to be seen without false colourings; it being obvious to all, that the true undisguised *cause of the country* can be no other than the *cause of the people*, and that where the *court* is so deeply interested in, and its *honour* and even its *support* so interwoven with the *good of the nation*, there is no possibility of serving the *one* without the other.

May the above cited caution and advice have its intended, proper effect; may a general sense of our duty and interest prevail over considerations of every *inferior* kind. And, as an opportunity is now offered for the Gentlemen who have been most active in condemning the measures of the present administration, to shew their loyalty to his Majesty, and their *affection for their country*, by exerting the utmost of their power to *reconcile the people*, and thereby give assistance to such measures as may be found necessary to protect the *commerce*,

merous, and to support the honour of these kingdoms; their compliance in so important an instance would be proving themselves, in some degree, what they are so zealous to appear: But if, in defiance of every obligation of duty and loyalty, and of that *restraint against our enemies*, which a heart attached to our country will always feel, they should continue to sport with the publick tranquility, to withhold their voices in the people's behalf, to recommend only what is impracticable, and to blame whatever is found expedient to the national good, to cry aloud for war in time of peace, and to enlarge upon the blessings of peace when the prospect of a war seems unavoidable; in this course while they persist, it will be in vain for them to hope to be mistaken for the friends of a country their whole endeavours are employed to distress, and of a people they labour to render diffident of their *own strength*, and to terrify with that of *other nations*; to lay open to the designs of foreign enemies, by spreading discord and confusion at home; and to make unhappy at home, by the encouragement given our rivals in power and commerce to insult us abroad.

On the contrary, the friends of *Britain*, when in authority, will, from the natural interest of their country; try every eligible means of continuing peace in these realms, while it is consistent with the honour and interest of the nation, and will always look upon war as our *last resource* for redress of whatever insults or injuries we may receive: and if at any time, after all *pacifick measures* have been used in vain, hostile expedients should become necessary for the general good of the land, the *caution* and *deliberation* with which they will be entered upon, as it will be a sufficient justification of their conduct, and an ample proof of their tender regard for the people; will not fail to engage every well-wisher to his country in a warm and cheerful concurrence in whatever is undertaken for the just punishment of past injuries, and the prevention of future insults.

From the London Gazette.

Whitehall, June 19. The following paper is published by order of the trustees named in an act of parliament, intitled, *An act for providing a reward to Joanna Stephens, upon a proper discovery to be made by her, for the use of the publick, of the medicines prepared by her for the cure of the Stone.*

A full discovery of the medicines given by me JOANNA STEPHENS, for the cure of the STONE and GRAVEL; and a particular account of my method of preparing and giving the same.

MY medicines are a powder, a decoction, and pills.

The powder consists of egg-shells and snails, both calcined.

The decoction is made by boiling some herbs (together with a ball which consists of soap, swines-creffes burnt to a blackness, and honey) in water.

The pills consist of snails calcined, wild carrot seeds, burdock seeds, ashen keys, hips and hawes, all burnt to a blackness, soap and honey.

The Powder is thus prepar'd:

Take hens egg-shells well drained from the whites, dry and clean; crush them small with the hands, and fill a crucible of the twelfth size (which contains nearly three pints) with them lightly; place it in the fire, and cover it with a tile; then heap coals over it, that it may be in the midst of a very strong clear fire till the egg-shells be calcined to a grayish white, and acquire an acrid salt taste: This will take up eight hours at least. After they are thus calcined, put them into a dry clean earthen pan, which must not be above three parts full, that there may be room for the swelling of the egg-shells in flaking. Let the pan stand uncover'd in a dry room for two months, and no longer. In this time the egg-shells will become of a milder taste, and that part which is sufficiently calcined, will fall into a powder of such a fineness as to pass through a common hair sieve; which is to be done accordingly.

In like manner, take garden-snails with their shells, cleaned from the dirt; fill a crucible of the same size with them whole; cover it, and place it in a fire, as before, till the snails have done smoaking, which will be in about an hour; taking care that they do not continue in the fire after that. They are then to be taken out of the crucible, and immediately rubbed in a mortar to a fine powder, which ought to be of a very dark gray colour.

Note, If pit-coal be made use of, it will be proper, in order that the fire may the sooner burn clear on the top, that large cinders, and not fresh coals, be placed upon the tiles which cover the crucibles.

These powders being thus prepared, take the egg-shell powder of six crucibles, and the snail powder of one, mix them together, rub them in a mortar, and pass them through a cypress sieve. This mixture is immediately to be put up into bottles, which must be close stopp'd and kept in a dry place for use. I have generally added a small quantity of swines-creffes burnt to a blackness, and rubbed fine; but this was only with a view to disguise it.

The egg-shells may be prepared at any time of the year, but it is best to do them in summer. The snails ought only to be prepared in *May, June, July, and August*; and I esteem those best which are done in the first of these months.

The Decoction is thus prepared:

Take four ounces and a half of the best *Alicant* soap, beat it in a mortar with a large spoonful of swines-creffes burnt to a blackness, and as much honey as will make the whole of the consistence of paste. Let this be formed into a ball.

Take this ball, and green chamomile or chamomile-flowers, sweet fennel, parsley and burdock leaves, of each one ounce. When there are not greens, take the same quantities of roots. Cut the herbs or roots, slice the ball, and boil them in two quarts of soft water half an hour, then strain it off, and sweeten it with honey.

The Pills are thus prepared:

Take equal quantities by measure, of snails calcined as before, of wild carrot seeds, burdock seeds, ash keys, hips and hawes; all burnt to a blackness, or, which is the same thing, till they have done smoaking; mix them together, rub them in a mortar, and pass them through a cypress sieve. Then take a large spoonful of this mixture, and four ounces of the best *Alicant* soap; and beat them in a mortar with as much honey as will make the whole of a proper consistence for pills. Sixty of which are to be made out of every ounce of the composition.

The method of giving these Medicines is as follows:

When there is a stone in the bladder or kidneys, the powder is to be taken three times a day, *viz.* In the morning after breakfast, in the afternoon about five or six, and at going to bed. The dose is a dram *Averdupois*, or fifty-six grains, which is to be mixed in a large tea-cup full of white-wine, cyder, or small punch; and half a pint of the decoction is to be drank, either cold or milk-warm, after every dose.

These medicines do frequently cause much pain at first; in which case it is proper to give an opiate, and repeat it as often as there is occasion.

If the person be costive during the use of them, let him take as much lenitive electuary, or other laxative medicine as may be sufficient to remove that complaint, but not more: for it must be a principal care at all times to prevent a looseness, which would carry off the medicines; and if this does happen, it will be proper to increase the quantity of the powder, which is astringent, or lessen that of the decoction, which is laxative, or take some other suitable means by the advice of physicians.

During the use of these medicines, the person ought to abstain from salt meats, red wines, and milk; drink few liquids, and use little exercise; that so the urine may be the more strongly impregnated with the medicines, and the longer retained in the bladder.

If the stomach will not bear the decoction, a sixth part of the ball made into pills must be taken after every dose of the powder.

Where the person is aged, of a weak constitution, or much reduced by loss of appetite, or pain, the powder must have a greater proportion of the calcined snails than according to the foregoing direction; and this proportion may be increased suitably to the nature of the case, till there be equal parts of the two ingredients. The quantity also of both powder and decoction may be lessened for the same reasons. But as soon as the person can bear it, he should take them in the above mentioned proportions and quantities.

Instead of the herbs and roots before mentioned, I have sometimes used others, as mallows, marsh-mallows, yarrow red and white, dandelion, water-creffes, and horse radish root, but do not know of any material difference.

This is my manner of giving the powder and decoction. As to the pills, their chief use is in fits of the gravel, attended with pain in the back and vomiting, and in suppressions of urine from a stoppage in the ureters. In these cases, the person is to take five pills every hour, day and night, when awake, till the complaints be removed. They will also prevent the formation of gravel and gravel-stones in constitutions subject to breed them, if ten or fifteen be taken every day.

June 16. 1739. J. STEPHENS.

A CURE for the GOUT.

By Thomas Sandford and Edward Gent,
both of the city of Kilkenny.

Half an ounce of hierapicra, and eight grains of cochineal, both in fine powder. Put both into a pint of the best red port; let it stand at least 24 hours; shake the bottle well and often during that time, but shake not the bottle for three or four hours before you draw off any of the tincture for use. Take of this half a quartern, to near a quartern, according as you find yourself strong or weak. You must continue taking of this every se-

cond, third, or fourth day, till you take the whole pint; and, if the gout returns, take another pint as before, and so do to every fit. This tincture, if taken in a fit of the gout, in a few hours dissolves all the particles in the blood which causes the pain; and, if pursued as before directed, will in time work them all out of the blood. It likewise carries off all new swellings soon, and all old swellings in time. You may use posset-drink with this as with other physick; yet, if you take nothing after it, it will work very well. The properest time of taking it is in the morning fasting, or at night, if you do not eat or drink for four or five hours before. Continue in bed from the time of taking it, till it purges you downwards by stool, which will be in about 12 hours time; but if you have not a stool in that time, take a large spoonful more.

If you have the rheumatism, or sciatica, take the tincture as before, but in a larger quantity.

We caution all people who take this, to have special care that they do not take cold; for it will cause many to sweat greatly for a time, and if they take cold, will be apt to be griped; which, if they are, a little mulled port wine, or a spoonful of the tincture, immediately eases them.

N. B. The hierapicra must be made according to Dr. Quincy's Dispensatory.

His Majesty's Speech, June 14.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE dispatch you have given to the publick business that has been under your consideration, makes it proper to put an end to this session of parliament, and to give you that recess, which the season of the year requires.

You have so fully declared your sentiments, as well with regard to the past conduct of Spain, as to the measures that might become necessary to be pursued, in consequence of any part which that court might afterwards take, and enabled me to act, in all events, as the honour and interest of my crown and kingdoms shall require, that no inconvenience can arise

wise from the immediate want of your further assistance, during the recess of parliament; and I shall so entirely rely upon the assurances you have given me, with so much zeal and unanimity, and upon your effectually supporting me in following the concurrent advice of both houses of parliament, that I will not be wanting in my endeavours to vindicate and maintain our undoubted rights, and to answer the just expectations of my people.

Gentlemen of the house of Commons,
I return you my thanks for the necessary provisions you have made for the service of the current year, in so ample a manner. The extraordinary supply which you have granted me, towards augmenting my forces by sea and land, is such a proof of your affection and confidence in me, and of your constant attention to the service of your country, that I cannot enough commend this reasonable care of the welfare and safety of the kingdom.

My Lords and Gentlemen,
I am persuaded, it is unnecessary for me to recommend to your serious consideration, the fatal consequences that may threaten a nation divided within itself, inflamed, and misled by all the wicked arts and insinuations, that malice and falsehood can suggest. It is too obvious, what advantages our common enemies wait to take, from the heats and animosities, that, under groundless pretences, are industriously fomented, and spread throughout the kingdom. Let all, who profess themselves zealous assertors of the rights and privileges, laws and liberties of their country, and of the Protestant religion, under the present establishment, unite in the defence of these inestimable blessings. Let the honour, prosperity, and safety of the kingdom become one common cause, and reconcile all civil discords and divisions; that, by your unanimity, you may disappoint the only hopes, and vain expectations of our enemies.

The request of many of our Readers, and the general approbation with which the former part was received, [p. 225.] determin'd us to insert the

Remainder of THE NORTHERN STAR.

Blast, ye boughed bards! of our degen'rate days,
Whom pension prostitutes to high-way praise;
Who fear it fruitless, for a Muse to roam,
Thence, poorly, pin your venal hearts at home!
The world's my country: born, no matter where—
Man is a denizen—of earth and air:
Native to truth, 'tis his all worth to show,
And love the hostile virtues of a foe.

Al! how too weak, my willing verse pursues,
And stags beneath new heights of opening views!
Touch my charm'd heart, thou! God! that didst in-
His force!—and let me feel th'impulsive fire. (Spire
Sunk, amid fens, in fortune's stagnate tract,
And, curs'd, myself, with want of pow'r to azz,
Let me, at least, describe, with conscious blaze;
And, from another's triumph, force some praise.

O! great, eternal Pow'r, that bounds our minds,
What circling darkness human foresight blinds!
Where are the lost effects of statesmen's dreams?
Whose erring envy spun such cobweb schemes!
Long,—each vain terror beat one devious road;
And sigh'd, at growing France, with false forebode:
While, unobserv'd, th' exulting Northern Bear
Grin'd o'er general empire rising, THERE.

Henceforth, let none the strength of states compares
Nor what they may be, judge from what they are.
Low the Lord's genius, all his realms the same:
The King's breast wid'ning, swells his throne to
Then, pow'r effulging, distanc'd equals find, (same,
That man's whole, boundless, diff'rence dwells in
MIND.

This truth,—dread dark'ner of each rival throne!
Well has thy life's long tract of wonders shown.
What sudden streets have shadow'd distant seas,
With flags, that start to pow'r, and scorn degrees!
Glooming at pleasure, ev'ry hostile shore,
Far-trembling nations; bear new thunder roar.
Th' intrepid Swede does fortune's change upbraid,
And sees th' assaulted enemy invade!
The Dane finds gratitude too weak for fear;
And hates his helper's strength, display'd too near.
The furrow'd Baltic a new Lord obeys;
And to strange keels reluctant homage pays.
The virgin Caspian be, bold lover! wooers
Nor vainly, for her envy'd favour sues:
Grass'd to his wish, she has her love confess'd—
And giv'n him leave to wander o'er her breast.

Perſia's beap'd wealth ſhall ber huge por-
tion be,
And India's Sovereigns give HER Lord the
knee.

From nameleſs outlets,—endleſs naval hoſts,
Black'ning, ſtill more, the ſable Euxine's
coaſts,
ſhall teach the PORTE's imperial walls to
ſhake,
And the fell Sultan's iron ſceptre break.

Grecia's liſt ſoul ſhall be reſtor'd by thee!
Great ſaver!—ſetting empire's genius free!
Then Helleſpont, whoſe ſtream indignant
glides,

And a ſubjected world's two bounds divides,
ſhall feel, while, reaching both, thy thunder
roars,

EUROPE and ASIA trembling to her ſhores!
Then, may thy floating empire's conqu'ring
ſweep

New-great waſt RUSSIA, round th' Atlan-
tick deep.

So ſpring the ſeeds of pow'r, when wiſely
ſown!

So pregnant genius plans the future throne!
Mean while, great founder! gath'ring
ſtrength from blows,

They ſpread thy glory, who thy arms oppoſe.
The ſelf-priz'd Lords of CHINA's boaiſful
land

Feel their pride ſhrink, beneath thy bord'ring
hand!

The trackleſs wilds, which both waſt ſtates
diſjoin,

Are, even when arm'd with ſhiv'ring win-
ter, thine.

O'er realms of ſnow thy fury ſquadrons fly,
And bring, at eaſe, the dreadful diſtance
nigh!

In vain oppos'd, th' enormous WALL they ſee:
Proclaim'd defiance can but quicken THEE!

Zemla's white cliffs,— eternal boards of
fiſt!

Where proud diſcov'ry has, ſo oft, been loſt!
Thro' ev'ry period of the world till now,

Have check'd all keels, that would thoſe
oceans plow:

Nature's laſt barrier! they, all ſearch with-
ſtand:

And bound ambition up,—in freezing blood!
Reſerv'd by Heav'n—and for thy reign de-
ſign'd,

Thy piercing eye ſhall that dark PASSAGE
ſind;

Or, Eaſt's and Weſt's embracing confound
ſhown,

Joint two emerging worlds—and both thy own.
Stop, headlong Miſe!— ab! whither
wouldſt thou go?

Look down, with caution, on the deep below
Proſpects too waſt the raſh preſumer fright;
And, dazeling, wound an uncollected ſight.

Congratulate, a while, our Church's gain;
And, mingling joy, relax thy wonder's ſtrain

ſhall then, at laſt, beneath propitious ſkies
The croſs, triumphant, o'er the crescent riſe!
ſhall we behold earth's long ſuſtain'd di-
grace

Reveh'd, in arms, on Oſman's hangby rack
ſhall Chriſtian Greece ſhake off a captiv'd
ſhame?

And look, unbluſhing, at her Pagan ſame?
'Twill be.—Prophetick Delphos claims her
own;

Hails her new Cæſars—on the Ruſſian throne
Athens ſhall teach once more! once more
aſpire!

And Spartan breſts re-glow with martial
fire?

Still, ſtill, Byzantium's bright'ning dome
ſhall ſhine,

And rear the ruin'd name of CONSTANTINE!
Traſcending Prince!—how happy muſt
thou be!

What canſt thou look upon, unbleſs'd by thee?
What inward peace muſt that calm beſow
know,

Whence conſcious virtue does ſo ſtrongly ſhoot?
Each ſame of ages paſt in ruin lies:

How timely therefore does thy greatness riſe!
To fire forgetful thrones with thiſt of praiſe,
And build example for theſe feeble days!

Such are the Kings who make God's image
ſhine,

Nor bluſh to dare aſſert their right divins!
No earth-born bias warps their climbing
will;

No pride their power,—no cov'rice wets
their ſkill.

They poſe each hope which bids the wiſe obey,
And ſhed broad bleſſings from their wid'ning
ſky:

To raiſe th' afflicted, ſtretch the healing hand;
Drive cruſh'd oppreſſion from each reſcu'd
land:

Bold in alternate right, or ſheaths or draws
The ſword of conqueſt,—or the ſword of law:
Spars,

care, what resists not; what opposes, bend;
and govern, cool, what they with warmth defend.
How blest were man, would Heav'n, here-
after, please

That all earth princes should be form'd like these!
Wish is, O Muse! — howe'er the wish be vain;
It gives some joy to hope th' unlikelyst gain.

Adieu — dread Fame! that bids the pole outshine
The torrid-brightness of the burning line!

Drawn by thy beamy force, I still would gaze;
But my eyes ake, beneath th' oppressive blaze.
Descend, ye Gods! — 'tis decent, to retire:

Thy fall were dang'rous, if thy flight were higher.
Thou, too great Prince! forbear th' ador'd excess!
Lest — for thy life, and make thy glory less.

Heav'n must reclaim thee — nor thy absence bear —
When earth yields no new wonder worth thy care.
Mourn'd the near prospect! — yet, not mourn'd

by ALL!

There are — whose bumbler glory waits thy fall
When thou, great sun of royalty! shalt set,
And pay sad nature's last, and surest debt;

Then earth's low Lords may boast their poor designs,
And ev'ry upstart twinkler think — he shines!
Then, when no more thy wonders wake mankind,
But dying envy Isaroes deliv'rs behind,

Here, while thy steps admiring ages trace,
Where shall amazement, first, encomium place!
Arduous decision! which most honour won!

Thy actions, — or the speed with which they're done!
When ROME, that glitt'ring, that immortal
name!

Aspir'd to rule, and pant'd after fame,
Age copying age, spun lengths of patient will,
And th' d' th' oft-breaking thread, with lab'ring
skill:

Nor, till seven hundred bard press'd years were
The late-propitious fortune smil'd, at last. [past,
Not such slow rise, O Prince, thy RUSSIA fears:
Thou dragg'st not glory from such depth of years.

At once resolv'd, at once the column rise,
Which lift thy dreadful fabrick to the skies!
Form, and degrees, let bounded spirits need:

Thy soul, eccentric, moves with in-bred speed!
Makes nature shake! and raises, in a day,
What, with less ease, in ages shall decay!

So, when young TIME its first great birth-day
And budded Nature, yet, in chaos slept; [kept,
Th' eternal WORD, to set distinction free,
But spake th' almighty Fiat, — LET THERE BE:

Millions of ways the starting atoms flew;
Like clung to like, — and sudden Order grew:
Straggling in clouds, a while, confusion lay —

Then dy'd at once, and left itself in day.

Bara, March 1739.

Ad amicum longe charissimum D.
N. — M. M. — D., Ecclesiae quae
dicitur Sanctae Mariae Pastorem
vigilantissimum, Ode.

HEi mihi! quantos patior dolores
Dum procul specto jugiter beata;
Dum serae Barrae steriles arenas
Solut obrero.

Ingemo, indignor, crucior quod inter
Barbaros Thulen lateam colentes;
Torpeo languens, morior sepultus
Carcere caeco.

Ala, si duplex misero daretur,
Dædalus quales fabricavit; 6 si! 10
Sæpe tranarem pelagi minucis.

Antra profunda;
Sæpius carâ patriâ potiter;
Sæpius Sanctae Mariae sacellum
Viserem, tanquam peregrinus ergo 15

Religionis:
Pectoris grati tibi thus daretur
Duke; te solum venerarer, abnam
Virginem omittens. Requiescat illa
Pace profundâ. 20

Tum tuo, prob! quam placido liceret
Perfrui vultu! mihi (juro) vultus
Ille subsuscus rutilo videtur
Pulchrior auro.

Tabidum curis recrearet atris 25
Tum mihi pectus, salibas jocisque
Admodum urbanis, animæ meæ pars
Dimidiata.

O maris sævi tumidae procellæ!
Cur bono tanto spoliatis, ah! me? 30
Cur precor culpâ vacuo negatis
Effe beato?

Hunc juvat succus generosus uvæ
Præcoci, spumans paterâ tumaci,
Quo procul sædos removet capulus 35
Pectoris ægri.

Ille sæstatur teneram puellam,
Perpetim spectat nitidos ocellos,
Turgidas palpat manibus papillas,
Oscula raptat. 40

Hæret infixus facie venusta,
Vel premit collam niveum triumphans,
Vel caput molli gremio reclinat,
Carmina cantans.

Iste pruritu stimulatæ æris 45
Sordido lucri studio fenescit;
Et, licet saccos repleat capaces,
Plus cupit ultra.
Incubat

*Incubat nunquam velut ales ovis,
Et fovet ne quid subeat pericli ; 50
Esuat curis miseris, suamque
Pallet ad umbram.*

*Alterum raptae popularis aura ;
Alterum aularum strepitus inanes ;
Alterum laudis cruciat libido 55*

*Ambitiosa.
Ista percellant impem populum,
Ista contractos animos titillent ;
Ista ego temno, pedibusque calco
Jure superbus. 60*

*Aulicis pompas, cupidis amores,
Vina vesanis, avidisque lacrimam,
Parvulis plausum populi relinquo :*

*Quam procul abfint !
Me jurvat bombus sonitusque magna 65
Tibia, parvae & tenuis susurrus ;
Maque sacundi capiunt lepores*

*Comis amici.
Quid dedit, quid dat genitor benignus
Gentis humanae soboli caeduce 70
Dulcius blando socio, graviusque*

*Quid magis gratum ?
Prosperas ornat, levat & severas
Res, necat curas animum coquentes
Anxium, fidis monitis reprendit 75*

*Turpia facta.
Ingeni dotes alit ; atque cordis
Impetus pravos faciliis retundit ;
Dura depellit pretio, manique,
Consilioque. 80*

*Plura quid frustra cumulare curem ?
Ausser è vita generosum amicum,
Salis è mundo geniale lumen*

*Illicet ausfers.
Calitum Rector, Pater almae, proli 85
Da tuae tali socio frui, da ;
Sin minus, mentem mala ferre doctam,
Fincere doctam.*

*Pectus elatum patiens inique
Sortis inspira mihi. Solitudo 90
Gignit ærumnas homini ferendas
Haud mediocri.*

*Torqueor prob, prob ! sine fine, solus
Cellulam obscuram peream quod intra ;
Parce confesso Deus. Ista me res 95*

*Angit & urit.
Interim, fat tua, Rex, voluntas ;
Eriger sursum, quoties subit spes
Certa migrandi Solyman supernam
Numinis aulam. 100*

*© diem letum ! loca quo relinquam
Fanda ; quo turbam fugiam hanc, solentis*

*Corporis vinculis, animo volabo
Præpete pennâ*

*Ad Dei thronum, fluvii perennes
Quem moest circum laticum beatorum,
Ambit & visum superans cornucopia
Gloria pennis.*

*Vita tum demum vocitanda vita est ;
Tum licet gratos socios habere
Seraphim, & sanctos Triadem venerandam
Concelebrantes.*

NOTES, by the Author.

Vers. 2. The *juga ter beata* are the hills of the isle of Sky, which were in my view at the time of writing this ode.

Vers. 6. *Bara* I compare to the *ultima Thule*, because it is the most Western isle in Scotland. *St. Kilda* excepted.

Vers. 14. Mr. *M—d's* church is dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*.

Vers. 37. & seqq. The Clergy may quarrel these soft sentiments. To such Iqueamish Gentlemen I would return the answer of Mr. *Dryden* to a like objection :

*If love be folly, the powers divine
Has felt that folly, tho' he censures mine ;
Alas what I write, and propagates in grace
The holy offspring of a priestly race.*

Vers. 69. & seqq. I have had *Cicero* in his dialogue *de Amicitia* all the way in my eye.

COMMON SENSE, June 30.

S I R, April 6:

AS I take you to be a true lover and honest asserter of British liberty, consistent with our laws and constitution, I therefore apply for your assistance in exposing a certain worthless wretch, who, being in the commission of the peace in a country town, imposes his despotick will on the humble simple people for law ; of which the following is a late instance. Under the pretence of making inquisition for murder, he became a scandalous trespasser against the laws of the land, the common liberty of the subject, and all decency and modesty. For which heinous offence, since the innocent abused objects of his insolence have not yet punished him by law, I have, in their behalf, lash'd the petty tyrant ; which, by your conveyance to the publick, he may hear both in town and country. I am, &c.

ALBERTUS the Second; or, The curious Justice.

A Sift me a rustic, O Muse, to indite
A story that's true, in a manner polite;
Thou shalt the sage JUSTICE attend to my songs;
'Tis garland that does to his Worship belong.

Derry down, &c.

A village there is, with a river, whose streams
Near Hampton, but opposite, mix with the Thames;
Here lately a float a poor infant was found,
New-born, and suppos'd by its mother was drown'd.

Derry, &c.

Oh cruel the fwain, to betray thus the fair
To sin against nature, when urg'd by despair!
Was the nymph, or the fwain, which the guiltier was?
The murdered, 'tis true; but his vice was the cause.

Derry, &c.

This tragedy soon reach'd the JUSTICE's ear,
Who resolv'd to the bottom he'd search the affair:
His warrant went forth to maid, widow and whore,
That straight they should come all his Worship before.

Derry, &c.

Obedient, they went, all but one, who stood out;
The merits a † husband, for being so stout:
Record her, my song, as a heroine brave,
For she scorn'd to submit to a search, like a slave.

Derry, &c.

The rest, as I said, to the JUSTICE repair,
Who sits all tremendous within his arm'd-chair,
Some law lay before him, suppose Nelson's treatise,
And learned ALBERTUS's book, DE SECRETIS.

Derry, &c.

In aid of his fight, thro' an optic he looks,
Alternately poring on each of the books:
To one to instruct him stands by him his brother,
And gravely a midwife expounds him the other.

Derry, &c.

At length, after all this great potber was o'er,
He could not a maid from a mother explore:
Too hard it was for him (as SOLOMON said)
To find out the way of a man with a maid.

Derry, &c.

But here stops the Muse, lest his Worship should take
The fancy likewise in her secrets to rake;
And perhaps he might find, should she say any more,
Who dar'd this, her offspring, to lay at his door.

Derry down, &c.

* Sevus amor docuit natorum sanguine matrem
Commaculare manus; crudelis tu quoque, ma-
ter:

Crudelis mater magis, an puer improbus ille?
Improbus ille puer, crudelis tu quoque, mater.

Virg.

† Una de multis face nuptiali digna, &c. Flor.

A WISH for a young Lady going
to the country. Tune, Pinky-bouffe.

YE Western climes where PEGGY
Ye blest retreats of love! [goes!
Your sweetness all to her disclose;
Like Eden round her prove.

Ye Zephyrs, breathe your fanning gales
Where-e'er her steps do guide,
O'er verdant meads, and fragrant
Deck'd in rich flow'ry pride. [valets,

Ye gay poetick tribes, that sing
Among the blooming sprays!
Make ev'ry grove with musick ring,
And charm her with your lays.
Her morning and her evening hours,
Ye nightingales still glad!
Regale her in your shady bow'rs,
With mirth and serenade.

Let babbling Echo-nymphs, that dwell
The hollow caves among,
Their notes and measures answer ring tell,
And lengthen out the song.
Ye watchful Pow'rs! (I pass your
When she to slumber goes, [names)
Becalm her soul with pleasing dreams,
And sweeten her repose.

When Phoebus climbs a clearer sky,
And blames o'er the pole,
Drinking the crystal currents dry
Among the meads that roll;
Ye sylvan nymphs, if she repair
Unto the cooling streams,
In shining bands attend the fair,
And shade her from his beams.

Her golden locks with diamonds eye,
Her waist with care unlace;
And loudly cry if danger's nigh,
Whilst she's in her undress.
Defend my dearest self from death,
When on the deep she lies:
If ought should sink her down beneath,
With her her lover dies.

O may the sun ride posting down!
And time no measure know,
'Till she return, our bliss to crown,
And make our joys o'erflow.
May happiness and ev'ry bliss
That lovely she attend:
I crave nae mair; in PEGGY fair
My song and wishes end.

Lord Vescov's Speech against the Convention with Spain.

SIR,

As incapable as I am of entering into a debate of this nature, I can't with that duty I think I owe to my country, and those I have the honour to represent, sit still and only give a negative to the question before us: for I look on this address, that is propos'd to be made his Majesty, to be no more than a vote of approbation of the measures taken by the administration, and of thanks for the blessing the nation has obtained by this convention with Spain; of which I once said before, had a messenger with proper instructions been sent over in a fisher-boat, he would have brought us back a better, than that we have got.

As to any compliments that are to be paid his Majesty, no one is more ready to join in them than myself; but as by the laws of this land, the King can do no wrong, so I look on this convention as the work of the minister, and as such I shall speak of it: and that it is so, is clear; for every body, let him be never so dim-sighted (that has not had dust thrown into his eyes,) must see, that this glorious convention, that has cost the nation not above half a million of money, is more a ministerial expedient to get over this session of parliament, than a thing calculated either for the dignity of the crown, the satisfaction of the merchants, or reparation for the repeated insults on the honour of the nation.

When I first read the convention, I was surpris'd to find, that our indisputable right to free navigation, and no search at any distance from land, was to be referred to Plenipotentiaries at a future congress: the referring an indisputable right, in a manner weakening the title; not that I apprehend, that any minister at home or abroad will ever dare give up this right of ours.

But why is this to be discuss'd in a future treaty? why, after the resolutions the parliament last year came into, was not this the first article in the convention, *scilicet* *non*, as to any treaty with Spain? Can there be any one weak e-

nough to imagine, that Plenipotentiaries, sitting at a round table, with pen, ink and paper before them, can procure for this nation, what our fleet could not have done last year, with cannon, powder and ball?

Besides, by having deferred doing ourselves justice, England may have lost a very lucky juncture: France and Spain was not then on so good terms, as I am afraid they are at present. Had the Spaniards been attack'd last year in New-Spain, we should have found them unprovided, their garrisons without money, and their fortifications out of repair. But this they have taken care to remedy for the future, by the great number of troops they have since sent thither, and by working day and night at their fortifications.

But, as on the one hand they are grown stronger, so we on the other are grown weaker and poorer: we, Sir, last year threw away a vast sum of money to no purpose, but to be laugh'd at by all nations; and they, by our leave, are bringing home, in their galleons, vast sums of money to be employ'd against us.

What have we been doing for these last twenty years, but negotiating to no purpose? what is there in this treaty more than in all former ones? did not Spain by the treaty of Madrid, in the year 1721, which treaty was confirm'd by another in the same year, call'd the *triple alliance*, stipulate that all former treaties should be confirm'd, and expressly promised that all goods, merchandizes, money, ships, and other effects, which have been seiz'd as well in Spain as the Indies, should be speedily restored in the same kind, or according to the just and true value of them, at the time they were seiz'd? Has there been a tittle of this perform'd? have our merchants ever had any satisfaction made them for their ships, their effects and money, they were plunder'd of? Why, no.

But yet every man, that at that time did not believe they should, was look'd upon as a Jacobite, a man disaffected to his Majesty, or at least to his minister, which was as bad, if not worse. So far

were the Spaniards from performing one article of this treaty, that they used us worse than ever, and so continued doing till the merchants came with fresh complaints, which they laid again before the house of Commons, where I can't say they were very civilly used by some; however, they made out very clear the allegations of the petition, and proved their losses beyond contradiction.

Upon this, vigorous resolutions were again enter'd into by the house of Commons, to obtain justice and satisfaction for the merchants; and in order to obtain it, our then and present ministers, finding that they had not succeeded in any one treaty they had yet made, enter'd into another, called the treaty of *Seville*, sign'd in the year 1729.

By the first article of this treaty, all former treaties of peace, friendship and commerce, are again renewed and confirmed: and Spain expressly promis'd not to do any thing, nor suffer any thing to be done, that might be contrary thereto, directly or indirectly.

In the 4th article of this treaty it is particularly agreed, that the commerce of the English nation in America, should be exercised as heretofore: and that orders should be dispatched without any delay to the Indies for that purpose.

By the 6th article of it, Commissaries were to be named, who were to settle the limits, and pretensions of the merchants; and Spain promised to execute punctually and exactly, within six months, what should be decided by the said Commissaries, who were to make their report in 3 years; but there being nothing done in the first 3 years, the term was renewed for 3 years more, in order to do nothing — which succeeded accordingly.

And I remember very well, that an Hon. Gentleman on the floor * opposite to me, did at the time of making this treaty often say, that he was sure, if the government would give the merchants the money that was to be allowed the Commissaries, they would get more by that, than from the treaty; which, I think, has proved but too true: for

those Gentlemen for themselves, have not received less than 20,000 l. whereas the merchants have not received 20 d.

But yet at that time, this Hon. Gentleman, as well as myself, and all those who thought as we did, were look'd upon as a set of disaffected people, as they are now, who don't like this convention, and expect no more good from it, than from all the former treaties.

And, as for my part, I own, I expect no good from it, but apprehend much hurt; our right to free navigation, and no search, not being inserted in it, but left to Commissaries.

I find also, by what I call the preliminary article, the King of Spain's protest, that the S. S. company's Assiento contract will be annulled, by the company's having refused (a few days ago, in a full court) to pay the 68,000 l. the King of Spain demands of them by that protest delivered to Mr. Keene. (See p. 80.) What authority Mr. Keene could have, to make this bargain for the S. S. company, and give up a property they are entitled to, by virtue of treaties and acts of parliament, I can't apprehend; And tho' their loss may be no national point; yet, so great a body of Englishmen, whose property is concerned; deserves at least the protection of parliament.

The next thing, that I have good reason to believe will be given up, or at least taken from us, is Georgia, though hitherto supported by great sums of money given by parliament, and granted by a royal charter to the present trustees: for you'll find by the 2d article of this convention, that the poor people, who, under the protection of this government, have transported themselves thither, are to be left naked and defenceless, exposed to the mercy of the Spaniards, whenever they please to attack them, by being restrained from the means of self-preservation. For, by that article it is agreed, that neither the Spaniards, nor they, should raise any fortifications.

Now, Sir, I can see but one reason, why this was stipulated in the manner I have mentioned, for it regards only

us (we demanding no part of the King of Spain's territories) and that is this; Our ministers finding that Spain did not much like our settlement at Georgia, and they not daring, by a solemn treaty to yield it up, they might whisper the Spanish ministers, and tell them, We are sorry we don't dare give it you up, but we will agree it shall be left defenceless, and then you may easily take it, and we not called to an account for it. This is not at all improbable, when we consider how industrious our ministers have been to find out expedients to be well with Spain, for the good of their country.

Now I have been shewing you, what I apprehend we shall lose; let us see a little, what it is we have a prospect of getting. That of no search, free navigation, and satisfaction to our merchants, I am sure it won't be, for the reasons I have mention'd before, as well as from what fell from the Hon. Gentleman that spoke last: For it is not to be supposed, but what, as far as fair means would go, every method has been already try'd: and he just now as good as told us, we could proceed by no other, for that we had neither money to go to war with, nor friend, nor ally in the world to support us; and he must know, who has been our grand negotiator for these last twenty years: A pretty account, I must own, he has given us, of the success of his negotiations, as well as prudent declaration from one in his post!

But by this treaty he tells us, there is to be ample satisfaction given to our merchants. How far they are satisfied with the convention, the house may judge, from what they have heard them declare at the bar.

He says, they are to receive 155,000 l. which will be in full satisfaction of their losses; though by the by, their demands on Spain were for 340,000 l. but our Commissary, by a stroke of his pen, reduced them to 200,000 l. being, as he thought, full enough for our merchants; and then, to induce Spain to prompt payment, 45,000 l. more was struck off, which brings it to the sum the Hon.

Gentleman has mention'd, Spain is certainly to pay us: and upon this point, I find, he chiefly seems to extol the goodness of the convention, and the ability of the ministers, in bringing Spain to this condescension; for that Spain paying the money was owning her fault, and declaring the illegality of her proceedings. In answer to this, in the first place, I don't believe Spain will ever pay us a farthing of the money; and, in the next place, suppose the money mentioned should be paid the merchants, let us see how much Spain is to pay us of it.

Why, in the first place, towards making up the 155,000 l. for the satisfaction of the merchants, Spain insists on England allowing her 60,000 l. as the remaining part of a debt due to her for having destroyed her fleet in the year 1718. Very gracious indeed, that they did not carry her demands as far back as Q. Elizabeth's reign, for the fleet then destroyed!

But as strange as this demand of Spain may seem from her, it is much more so in those who have agreed to it; for it has been already once satisfy'd, as appears by those papers on your table, which are copies of the instructions sent to our ministers in Spain at the treaty of Seville, wherein is mentioned as follows: "In case Spain shall make any further demands of you for the loss of their fleet, destroyed by Sir George Byng, afterwards Lord Torrington, you are to tell the Spanish ministers, that Spain has been already amply satisfy'd, and you are not to enter into any further discussion with them on that head."

Another time Spain paid themselves this demand by seizing the S. S. company's effects, Spain at that time declaring, that they were seized and kept on that account: but what does it signify, if, for the sake of obtaining this most advantageous convention, we should pay it her a third time? and then it reduces what Spain is to pay us, to 95,000 l.

In the next place, towards paying the 95,000 l. the King of Spain insists, by his

This protest, as I mentioned before, that the S.S. company shall immediately pay him 68,000 l. being a debt due to him from the company, on one head of accounts; though at the same time, on other heads of accounts, his Majesty is indebted to the company a million over and above, as appears on your table, for which they are to stay his time.

Now these two sums make 128,000 l. that I think England is to pay our merchants instead of Spain, (if ever paid) so there remains but 27,000 l. for Spain to pay, of which 27,000 l. she has taken care to be excused from paying one farthing, as appears by the stipulations by way of draw-back, inserted in the fourth article of the convention, and the second separate article.

For by those articles, Spain is to deduct out of the money she is to pay, whatever she may have already given in satisfaction for any of our ships that have been taken. And England is also to allow Spain the value of the St. Theresa, a ship of theirs that had been seized in the port of Dublin in the year 1735. Also this is to be settled by our Plenipotentiaries, and I think we shall come off well, if on the balance of accounts, instead of receiving the 27,000 l. we shan't be obliged to pay an overplus to Spain. Here ends, Sir, a short narrative of the ample satisfaction England is to receive from Spain for the 340,000 l. due to her merchants. A most glorious convention I must own, and such a master-piece in politicks, that I dare say none of the Machiavilians of the age, but our own at the head of affairs, could have thought of!

But yet, after all this, we shall be told, I dare say, that this thorough dislike to the convention, and flame the nation is in, is raised only by a parcel of merchants, and discontented people, who only want to turn out the ministers.

No, Sir, this is not the case; for it is not the ministers, but their measures, that has kindled this flame: facts will always speak for themselves, and merchants will always know their own interest.

But when the continued depredations on our merchants, the repeated insults on the honour of the nation, the cruelties and barbarities exercised on our sailors, our countrymen thrown into dungeons, and chained like slaves; I say, when this is considered, and no more prospect of redress from this convention, than a piece of waste paper, no wonder, that the heart of every *Englishman* should be inflamed.

I beg pardon, Sir, for having taken up so much of your time, but shall be against this address to his Majesty, because I look on this convention as disadvantageous to the merchants, dishonourable to the King, and ignominious to the nation.

EDINBURGH, *June 1739.*

THE High Court of Justiciary, in the trial of James Ratcliff, who was indicted for house-breaking, and found guilty, have sentenc'd him to be hanged in the Grass-market on the first day of August next.

P. S. July 6. The court of Session, in a complaint by George and Margaret Cochrans, against John Bar Mason, and William Spence late Deputy Town-clerk of Rutherglen, find it proven, That the minutes of the Magistrates of Rutherglen upon a criminal complaint at the instance of the Procurator Fiscal, against the said John Bar, in the year 1730, were falsified, by counterfeiting the name of David Pinkerton then Baillie there, and part of the surname of Andrew Leitch then Provost there, to defend the said John Bar in another criminal prosecution before the Sheriff-court of Lanerkshire, *anno 1738*; and that the minute was made use of before the Sheriff-court in judgment, and sworn to by the said William as a true and authentick minute; and that the said John Bar and William Spence are guilty art and part of these facts; and that, in order to prevent a legal trial into the said forgery, &c. the said John Bar and William Spence, in December

last, endeavour'd to seduce James Hamilton Writer in Hamilton, to deliver up to them the said falsified minute, and other writings, then made part of the record of the said court of Lanerk; and that, not succeeding in that wicked attempt, they did violently seize and take the said minute from James Hamilton, and burnt the same; as also, that John Barr and William Spence have been guilty of gross falshood and prevarication, in presence of the Lords, by obstinately denying all the above facts: And therefore they find the said John Bar and William Spence liable, conjunctly and severally, to the complain-ers, in damages and expences, which the Lords modify to the sum of 80 l. Sterl. and decern therefore. And further they ordain the said John Bar and William Spence to be carried to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, to remain there to the sixth day of October next, and thereafter till the said sum is paid, in case it be not paid against that time. And ordain the Magistrates of Edinburgh, so soon thereafter as it shall be proved to them that the said sum is paid, to dismiss the said John Bar and William Spence out of prison. And further, the Lords do banish the said John Bar and William Spence out of Scotland, from and after the space of ten days from the day they shall be dismissed out of prison, during all the days of their life; and do order them, to depart out of Scotland, on or before as aforesaid, never again to return into it; and, in case of their return, they order and require all officers of the law within whose jurisdiction they shall be found, to apprehend and incarcerate them, or either of them, in the prison of the county where they shall be so apprehended; and ordain such Sheriff, and those interjacent, to transmit them, or either of them, to the tolbooth of Edinburgh; from thence to be carried, on the first market-day thereafter, and to be whipt through the town by the hands of the common hangman, and then to be returned to the said prison, to remain there till an opportunity offer of transporting them

to his Majesty's plantations in America. And the Lords ordain and empower the Magistrates of Edinburgh to deliver them over to any ship-master, &c. finding 100 l. Sterl. security for each of them, to land them as aforesaid: And, in case of their return again, ordain them to be imprisoned in the tolbooth of Edinburgh during life. And further, the Lords do declare the said John Bar and William Spence infamous in all time coming, incapable of bearing any publick trust, or of being witnesses in any cause or action, or passing upon any assize. And ordain the sentence to be recorded for the terror of others in time coming.

July 9. The Magistrates of this city have regulated the assize of bread.

The six-penny loaf of the finest kind, 4 lb. 3 oz. 8 dr. of the wheaten, 6 lb. 5 oz. 4 dr. of the household, 8 lb. 7 oz. averdupoise weight, and so in proportion for greater or lesser loaves. The bread to be marked thus: 1. The initial letters of the baker's name, 2. an F, W, or H, ascertaining the quality, and 3. the N^o I, II, &c. ascertaining the price of the bread.

A riot happen'd, July 1st. at Lialithgow, as General Barrel's regiment was marching through that place. One of the corporals got drunk, and wounded several persons. He was committed to jail; but in the night-time some of the soldiers set fire to the prison-door, and cut the iron hasp that bolted it, by which he made his escape. The Royal Burrows have made a representation of the matter to Brigadier Guist, who promises to use his utmost endeavours to discover the criminals, and deliver them up to justice.— One of the persons, 'tis thought, is mortally wounded, and two of the soldiers have deserted.

The regiments of Col. Descurry, Col. Guise, and Col. Charles Howard, are landed in the West from Ireland.

LONDON, June 1739.

ON the arrival of some dispatches from Madrid, the beginning of this month, with an account that the

conferences in pursuance of the convention were likely to be unsuccessful; and because the Spaniards had eluded the payment of the L. 95,000 stipulated for the merchants, the government seem'd determin'd to do the nation justice by force. Accordingly 14 men of war and 3 bomb-vessels were put in commission, for the speedy manning of which there was a vigorous press, and an embargo laid on all vessels in the kingdom; a proclamation was publish'd promising six months pay certain to those who should voluntarily enter themselves aboard, and another recalling our seamen from foreign service; new levies also were begun for the land-forces, and several regiments ordered hither from Ireland; the S. S. Company were advised by a Secretary of State how to act in the present conjuncture, and the merchants sent to their correspondents in Spain on the same head. In short, a war was generally thought unavoidable, but we hear yet of no hostilities; and the stocks, which were fallen very low, are again upon the rise.

The King went to the house of Peers; and the Commons being sent for up, and attending, his Majesty gave the royal assent to, An act for granting to his Majesty the sum of 500,000 l. out of the sinking fund, for the service of the year 1739, and for enabling his Majesty to raise the further sum of 500,000 l. out of the growing produce of the said fund; and for further appropriating the supplies granted in this session of parliament; and for giving time for the payment of duties omitted to be paid for the indentures and contracts of clerks and apprentices.—An act to enable his Majesty to settle an annuity of 15,000 l. on the Duke of Cumberland; and the heirs of his body; and also one other annuity of 24,000 l. on the four Princesses.—An act for taking off the duties upon woolen and bay yarn imported from Ireland to England, and to prevent the exportation of wool.—An act for granting liberty to carry sugars from any of his Majesty's plantations directly to foreign

parts.—An act against deceitful gaming.—An act to prevent frauds in gold and silver wares.—An act prohibiting the importation of books reprinted abroad.—To the curriers and shoe-makers bill.—An act to regulate the price and assay of bread.—An act for providing a reward (5000 l.) for Joanna Stephens, for the discovery of her medicine for dissolving the stone.—To Westminster-bridge bill.—To Bath-hospital bill, &c.

The Speaker of the house of Commons made the following speech to the King, upon presenting the bills for the royal assent; viz. "Your faithful Commons have pass'd the bill to enable your Majesty to take such measures as the necessity of affairs may require: The repeated insults your subjects have so long born from the Spaniards, loudly call for satisfaction; and are now grown to such a pitch, that it is become the unanimous sentiment of your people, that words will no longer prevail; no! some other expedient must be found out. And should your Majesty be oblig'd to take such measures, God grant your Majesty's arms that success which the justice of your cause deserves."

No less than 700,000 yards of linen were imported in one week this month from Ireland.

Great quantities of stores are shipped off for Gibraltar, Portmahon, Jamaica, and Georgia.

Capt. Boscawen is sailed in the Shoreham for the Mediterranean and the West Indies, with orders to the several British Governors in those seas.

And the Tartar man of war has received orders to be in readiness to sail at a moment's warning, to carry fresh instructions to the Governors in America.

Orders are sent by his Majesty to the Commissioners of the Customs, not to enter any goods for Spain.

The Lord-Mayor hath granted 200 warrants for impressing seamen within the bounds of the city.

All the officers of the garrisons, both at home and abroad, are ordered to their respective posts.

The foot-guards are ordered to hold themselves in readiness to appear at the sendzyous of alarm at an hour's warning.

A court of lieutenancy lately held at Guildhall, have resolv'd to oblige all house-keepers to keep a good musket, a cartouch-box, and a broad cutting sword.

MARITIME AFFAIRS.

The Drake sloop has carried into Jamaica a French sloop which was condemned, and a tartane with Spaniards, who were sentenced as pyrates, and hanged in chains.

The Margaret, Capt. Mitchel, bound from Sta. Cruz in Barbary with Moors and Moorish effects to Algiers, is taken by a Spanish cruizer, and carried into Ivica.

The Fanny, Capt. Mohun, bound from Liverpool to Barbadoes, was lost near that island.

The John and Sarah, Capt. Williams, bound from London for the Baltick, was lost on the coast of Jutland.

A boat overfet near Frasersburgh, going to the wreck of the Felton, belonging to Ipswich, lately lost on that coast, and six people were drowned.

PREFERMENTS CIVIL.

THE Earl of Morton, — one of the Lords of the bed-chamber to his Majesty.

The Earl of Berkley, — Knight of the order of the thistle.

The Hon. John Maule, Esq; — Member of parliament for Aberdeen; Montrose, Bervie, and Brechin.

George Jackson, Esq; — Consul at Genoa.

Henry Medley, Esq; — Governor of Newfoundland.

MILITARY.

The Earl of Crawford, — Adjutant-General to the army, and Colonel of the regiment of foot late Brigadier Middleton's.

The Duke of Marlborough, — Governor of the town and garrison of Kingston upon Hull.

The Lord Viscount Shannon, and the Marquis of Montandre, — Field Marshals.

General Evans, and General Wade, — Generals of the horse.

The Major-Generals are promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Generals, the Brigadeers to be Major-Generals, and most of the old Colonels are made Brigadeers.

The Lieutenant-Generals Whetham, Sabine and Wills, are made Generals of the foot.

William Ducket, Esq; — Colonel of the regiment late Col. Lanoe's.

Brigadeer Elliot, — Lieutenant-Colonel of the second troop of horse grenadier guards.

Capt. Brereton, — Brigadeer, in the room of Lt. Col. Elliot.

Major Haley, — Lieutenant-Colonel of Lord James Cavendish's regiment of foot.

Col. Jeffers, — Governor of Cork.

George-William Harvey, son to John Lord Harvey, — Ensign in the Duke of Marlborough's regiment of foot.

William Cuninghame, Esq; — Cornet of the royal regiment of horse in Ireland.

William Bower, Esq; — Lieutenant in the royal regiment of English fusileers.

Mr. Congreve, — Cornet of Col. Legonier's regiment of horse.

NAVAL.

Sir Tancred Robertson, Bart. late Lord Mayor of York, — Rear-Admiral of the Blue.

Mr. Whitney and Mr. Falkland, — Captains of the Namure.

Capt. Smith, — Commander of the Lyon.

Capt. Dennison, — of the Ruffel.

Capt. Lingen, — of the Argyle.

Capt. Wyndham, — of the Greenwich.

Capt. Stanley, — of the Tyger.

Capt. Norris, — of the Adventure.

Capt. Davis, — of the Prs. of Orange.

Capt. Hilderley, — of the Lyon.

Capt. Trefusus, — of the Weymouth.

Capt. Compton, — of the Oxford.

Capt. Wynnel, — of the Jersey.

Capt. Williams, — of the Assistance.

MARRIAGES.

The Marquis of Beaumont, son to his Grace the Duke of Roxburgh,—to Miss Essex Moynton.
 The Earl of Uxbridge,—to Mrs. Baget.
 The Lord Bruce, eldest son to the Earl of Aylebury,—to Miss Campbel, daughter to Col. Campbel, a near relation to the Duke of Argyle.
 Mr. Winchester,—to Miss Grant, daughter to Mr. Grant a Common-council man in London.

DEATHS.

Robert Letice Hooper, Esq; Lord Chief Justice of the province of New-York.
 Arthur Bettsworth, Bookseller.
 Capt. Thomas Phillips, of the royal regiment of dragoons.
 Dr. Hutchinson, Bishop of Down and Connor.
 George Blake, a West India Merchant.
 Dr. Samuel Dale, F. R. S. author of many curious treatises.
 Mrs. Helen Gibson, Spouse to John Davidson of Whitehouse, Esq;
 Mr. Mackenzie of Rosend.
 Robert Robertson, Provost of Perth.
 The Lady Dowager Glenegles.
 The Lady of David Drummond of Pitkellony, Esq;
 In St. Margaret's work-house, Westminster, in the 138th year of her age, Margaret Paton, born near Paisly.
 Mr. Jo. Spark, Minister at Currie, unfortunately perished in the water of Leith.

Died within the walls of the city of Edinburgh, and buried in the Grayfriars church-yard, June 1739.

Men 21, women 21, children 44. In all, 86. Decreased this month, 7.

AGE.	Nº.	DISEASES.	Nº.
Under —	2	Consumption	28
2 & 5	14	Chin-cough	16
5 & 10	4	Fever —	14
10 & 20	4	Old age —	3
20 & 30	9	Small-pox	5
30 & 40	8	Suddenly —	4
40 & 50	7	Teething —	9
50 & 60	4	Palsy —	1
60 & 70	6	Dropsy —	1
70 & 80	2	Still-born —	5
80 & 90	2		

Review

FOREIGN HISTORY.

Extract of a letter from Ispahan:

August 30. 1738.

T Hamas Kouli Kan is thought to be aiming at the conquest of Indostan; for, after the victories he gained over the Turks, and making peace with them, he returned to Ispahan, the capital of Persia, where, after a short stay to settle the kingdom to his mind, he set out with a very numerous army for Candahar, a frontier town belonging to the Mogul, which by these people was thought impregnable, 'tis the place where Merriweys, that plundered Ispahan about twelve years ago, carried the riches of Persia) but the Schach Nadir took it at one assault, razed all the fortifications, and built a new wall round it, and strong forts, and calls it Nadirabad. He has since taken Cabull, another very strong place, and the only one that can hinder his march to Delhi, where the Mogul keeps his court. He has not yet taken the castle of Cabull; but we expect to hear the news of its surrender daily, for he is making preparations for the march of his army to the province of Multan, which is the road to Delhi. Notwithstanding these great successes, the Mogul does not seem inclinable to meet him himself, nor send any of his Generals with an army to oppose him, though he certainly can raise a multitude of people, Moors and Tartars only, besides the forces of the Gentoo Rajahs, who are tributary to him, and four or five of them capable of sending him 200,000 men each. But such is the case, the kingdom for several years past has been in a distracted state, occasioned first by the Omrahs jealousies of each other's greatness, which led them to indulge the Mogul with women, and every thing that tended to luxury, to give them an opportunity the better to pursue their separate interests; which management of the courtiers

tiers in a short time encouraged the *Genoo* Pirates to play their game in turn, and sometimes one, sometimes another disputed paying their tributes, which has given a deal of trouble to the *Mogul* to keep them in tolerable order; and 'tis believed, if they take it in their heads to oppose *Thamas Kouli Kan*, by the time they could all agree to unite their forces, he would reach *Dellai*; and if so, his judgment in war so far exceeds the best of the *Mogul's* Generals, and his men being so much superior in courage and strength to any in those parts, 'tis more than probable he'd shortly have it in his option to sit on the throne of *Indostan* or *Persia*."

The face of affairs at *CONSTANTINOPLE* is much altered since the elevation of the present *Grand Vizier*, whose affability and politeness seems at present to be far more acceptable to the subjects of the *Porte*, than the jealous and imperious conduct of his predecessor.

The sudden death of the *Persian Ambassador* on the road to *Constantinople*, has given occasion to a report of his being poisoned: but however that be, it is generally agreed that his dispatches, instructions, &c. have been seized by order of court; and that, to the great surprize of the *Porte*, among them was found an order to declare war against the *Grand Seignior*.

The last advices from *Turkey* contain melancholy accounts of the effects of scarcity of provisions throughout the whole *Ottoman empire*; and 130,000 persons are said to have died of the plague in *Constantinople* in five months.

The *CZARINA* has lately given such attention to the designs of *France*, and the warlike preparations of *Sweden*, that the armies intended to act against the *Turks* have proceeded with the utmost deliberation; and in case of an attack on the side of *Finland*, it is said *Veldt Marshal Count Munich* will be called from the *Ukraine* to command there; and that upon the first news of hostilities being begun by the *Swedes*, *Veldt Marshal Lacy* will embark, with 20,000 men, on board some galleys; and attempt a descent upon *Sweden*. So that,

probably, little will be done on the side of *Turky* this year, unless by the *Russians Tartar allies*: Of whom, *Donduc Ombo*, in the beginning of the spring, sent one of his Generals, with a great body of troops, against the *Czercassians* of *Trevuge*, who live beyond the river *Cuban*; he immediately destroy'd their habitations, and hearing the *Cuban Tartars* were posted in great numbers on the river of *Changouse*, he hasten'd his march, surprized them, and put them to flight, after killing a large number, and many more were drowned in passing the river in their retreat, and took several thousand of oxen and beeves, 100,000 sheep, and 3000 prisoners.

The *British Resident* at *PETERSBURG*, being lately in frequent conferences with *Count Osterma*, prime minister to the *Czarina*; and that *Nobleman's* brother-in-law, the *Prince Tcherbatow*, being appointed her *Imperial Majesty's Plenipotentiary* to the court of *Great Britain*, gives room to believe the two crowns are carrying on designs of importance to the affairs of *Europe*.

On the 7th of this month died, at *Ralf-hagen*, the seat of his *Great Chamberlain*, in the 40th year of his age, his *Royal Highness Charles Frederick Ulrick*, *Duke of HOLSTEIN GOTTORP*, son of *Hediviga Sophia*, eldest sister of *Charles XII.* late *King of Sweden*. He succeeded his father in 1702, and took the government of his dominions upon him in 1717. In 1721 he went to the court of *Petersburg*, where he was in high favour during the reign of the late *Czarina*, whose daughter, by the *Czar Peter the Great*, (the *Princess Anne Petrowna*) he married in 1725, by whom he had one son, *Charles Peter Ulrick*, born the 21st of *February* 1728, the *Princess* dying on the 15th of *May* the same year. In 1723, the deceased *Duke* had the title of *Royal Highness* conferred on him, and in 1734 an annual subsidy of about 5000 l. was given him by the states of *Sweden*; to which kingdom, in case their *Swedish Majesty* had died without issue, he was presumptive

Scriptive his. — Christian I. King of Sweden and Norway, was the Prince that got Holstein erected into a duchy; and from Frederick I. who established the Augsburg Confession in his dominions in 1523, the present branch of Holstein Gottorp, and the Royal Family of Denmark, are descended. The late Duke by will, has intrusted the guardianship of his son and successor to the Duke of Holstein Eutin, Bishop of Lubeck; who immediately repaired to Kiel, a town of good traffick on the Baltick, and assumed the government, by the title of Duke-administrator.

Advices from VIENNA are filled with nothing but the mention of treaties of one kind or other: Much time, and many couriers, have been employed about the admitting K. Stanislaus as the high and principal contractor in the present *definitive treaty* of peace, (a new term in the art of negotiation.) — A treaty between the Porte and his Imperial Majesty is still talked of, being one day *in the point of conclusion*, and the next *expected to be soon begun*. And the difficulty made by her Czarian Majesty to furnish the troops she is by treaty obliged to lend the Emperor, gives opportunity for the Emperor to express some disinclination to continue a war, begun principally upon the instigation of Russia. One post brings preparations made for, and frigates, Admirals, &c. hastening to the siege of Widin; the next, proposals for a suspension of arms. However, it is certain that General Wallis is arrived at Belgrade, and that the grand army of his Imperial Majesty is forming in that neighbourhood; which, it is said, will consist of 150,000 men; and, according to the disposition now talk'd of, will have Belgrade in front, with its right wing extending to the Sava, and its left towards Salanhemen on the Danube, where there is a bridge to communicate with the body under General de Neuperg in the Banate of Tamiswær. So that if the Grand Vicer should march towards Servia and the Sava, General Neuperg's body will join the grand army near the bridge of Salanhemen; and if, on the other

hand, the Turks should cross the Danube, to enter the Banate of Tamiswær, General Wallis will likewise pass that river, and the Prince of Saxe-Hilburghausen will, in that case, command a separate body for the security of Schwoma. — If the new regulations for payment of the Imperial forces be put in execution, by having 800,000 florins remitted to the army every month, should they enter upon action, more may be expected from them, than when the want of proper support turned their heads more upon marauding than conquest.

Nothing remarkable has lately happen'd to PRUSSIA, except his Prussian Majesty's Ambassador to the States-General's having cut his throat from ear to ear; of which, 'tis thought, he will recover. His intimacy with the minister of France at the Hague, is thought to have driven him upon these desperate means, to end a life he found not to have been of that service to his master which his station required. — Probably this was occasioned by nothing more than a secret negotiation; the effect of which, some people do not scruple to say, has been no less than the *French wife* to the Baltick.

The attention of the court of MADRID has lately been much taken up with the regulation of the affairs depending between the crowns and subjects of Spain and Great Britain. The conferences stipulated by the late Convention have been begun indeed; but, from what has yet appeared, to very little effect: the 68,000 l. said to be due to the King of Spain from the English South-sea company, having been refused to be accepted as part of the 95,000 l. agreed to be due from Spain to Great Britain, the conferences were discontinued for some days. It is said, that the King of Spain's right of *estrange* foreign ships, and his pretensions to Georgia and Carolina, have been upon the carpet. — But the last accounts we received from Madrid inform us, that upon his Catholick Majesty's declaration to Mr. Keene, that if the South-

sea company persisted in their refusal to pay the above 68,000 l. he would be obliged to revoke their privilege of commerce held by the African contracts and, in consequence of that revocation, to seize upon the company's effects in several parts of Mexico; Mr. Keene dispatched a courier to his court, the return of whom he waited with impatience, it being expected he will from the answers he then receives, be enabled to execute the principal points of the expected treaty, or, by throwing up the conferences at once, leave room for more formidable means of obtaining redress of grievances; — the fleet under the command of Admiral Haddock not being yet recalled.

The Spaniards of St. Augustine, near Georgia, have issued a proclamation, giving freedom to all white servants and Negro or Indian slaves belonging to Carolina, Purisburgh, or Georgia, that will go over to them; and have allotted them land near St. Augustine; where above 700 have been received, to the great injury of the planters, who are subjects to his Britannick Majesty.

The Affairs of Corsica seem near a crisis; the King of Spain having, in the treaty with France and the Empire, assumed the title of *King of Corsica*; and a considerable number of troops are said to be ready to embark at Alicant for that island. Notwithstanding which, the French papers give us repeated accounts of the exploits of their brave Marquis de Mallebois, who has, with surprising dexterity, disarmed the inhabitants of Bastia, by the admirable invention of erecting gibbets in every street, and hanging up all who dared to resist; the most effectual method, certainly, that could have been taken to convince these lovers of their country of the strength of his Most Christian Majesty's affection for their interests, and the confidence the Marquis reposes in his labours to serve them! — It is said the campaign in that island will soon be opened in the province of Bajagna; but some think it will be ceded to Don Philip, Infant of Spain, in consequence of his marriage with the el-

dest Madam of France. — In such case 'tis very probable the joint power of France and Spain will be able to reduce that valiant people under the yoke of which of those crowns they please. — Where is the interest of Genoa all this time! — Baron de Drost, nephew to Baron de Neuhoff, has been made Generalissimo of the island, and continues to make all possible preparations for preserving and defending the natives from the attacks of their enemies.

The naval and military preparations of SWEDEN do not appear so formidable as was at first apprehended; tho' his DANISH Majesty has on that occasion augmented his troops, and put several ships of war into commission.

The treaty concluded between the Emperor and the Empire, the King of France, his Catholick Majesty, &c. has been published at PARIS in 150 pages, in 4to, Latin and French. — The treaty is strictly only between the Empire, the Emperor, and France, the acts of the King of Spain, &c. being subjoined to the several articles. — The first article establishes a perpetual and universal peace, a true friendship, and a strict union, between the Empire, the Emperor, and the King of France, their kingdoms, dominions, vassals and subjects. — The second relates to the oblivion of hostilities, and the redemption of prisoners on both sides, without ransom. — The third establishes the treaties of Westphalia, Nimuega, Ryfwick, Baden, and the Quadruple Alliance, as the basis of the present treaty. — The fourth, the ratification of a Convention in 1735 at Vienna. — In the fifth, the Emperor renounces the duchy of Castro and the county of Ronciglione. — The sixth admits the Czarina and Augustus III. as the chief contractors for the affairs of Poland. — In the eighth, the Emperor renounces Novarose, the Tortone, &c. — In the ninth, the Duke of Lorraine yields up his dominions. — The eleventh relates to the discharge of imposts and contributions, the demolition of forts built during the war, &c. —

The separate article relates to the titles which are not recognized on either side.

In the present critical situation of affairs, with regard to most of the European powers, the STATES-GENERAL have hitherto preserved such an exact neutrality, as gives great room to believe, that should any other trading nation be involved in war, the Dutch would be at leisure to improve each opportunity to supplant them in every branch of commerce their martial engagements might render them incapable of attending to.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

S I R,

THE affair of the dutchies of Juliers and Bergues having lately made a great noise in Europe, and 'tis much fear'd may be the occasion of a bloody war in Germany, upon the death of the present Elector-Palatine, I have made a short sketch from a German history, which may be an agreeable anecdote to some of your curious readers.

John-William, Duke of Cleves, Juliers and Bergues, about the year 1640, deceased without issue, although he had married two wives; the first, a Princess of the house of Baden; and the second, a Princess of the house of Vaudemont, a branch of the house of Savoy. He had four sisters,

Mary-Eleanor, the eldest sister, was married to Albert-Frederick Duke of Prussia; who died without issue-male, but left four daughters:

1. Anne, the eldest, married to John-Sigismund Duke of Brandenburg, Elector, and ancestor of the present King of Prussia;

2. ——— married to the Old Elector; (Who is meant by that, I can't tell, except it is that Elector who was deposed, and degraded by the Emperor Ferdinand III. and the electorate given to his younger brother, ancestor of the present King of Poland.)

N. B. From that Prince, so degraded upon account of his being a Protestant, and joining with Gustavus Adolphus King of Sweden, are descended the present house of Saxe-Gotha,

to whom we owe her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

3. ——— married to the Duke of Courland;

4. ——— married to John-George, Brother to the Elector of Saxony.

Anne, the second sister of John-William, was married in the year 1574 to Philip-Lewis Duke of Newburg, and had Wolfgang-William, who kept court at Duffeldorp, and died in April 1653. He was ancestor of the present Elector-Palatine.

Magdalen, the third sister of John-William, was married to the Duke of Deux-Ponts; from whence came Charles X. King of Sweden, upon the resignation of his cousin Queen Christina, daughter of Gustavus Adolphus.

Sibill, the fourth sister of John-William, was married to Charles Archduke of Austria, but died without children.

Therefore, upon the death of John-William, John-Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, claimed by virtue of his marriage with Anne the eldest daughter of Mary-Eleanor, the eldest sister of John-William. In this he was opposed by Wolfgang-William Duke of Newburg, the son of Anne second sister of John-William, she being alive at the death of her brother. The Elector of Saxony, the Dukes of Nevers and Deux-Ponts, and several others, put in their pretensions.

Upon which the Emperor Rodolphus, as lord of the fief, summoned all parties to Prague in Bohemia, to make out their titles: and in the mean while endeavour'd to sequester the dutchies, and to that end dispatch'd the Archduke Leopold Bishop of Strasburg, who made himself master of Juliers.

The two first contending parties, *viz.* the Elector of Brandenburg, and the Duke of Newburg, not caring to have their rights contested before the Emperor, made an agreement between themselves, That the Elector of Brandenburg should have the dutchy of Cleves, and the Duke of Newburg the dutchies of Juliers and Bergues; but upon this express condition, That when an heir-male of either house should fail, the whole

whole should revert to the other house: and of this they make the King of France guaranty; which gives the French a handle to meddle in this affair.—*N. B.* The Prince of Sultzbach, presumptive heir to the Elector-Palatine, is his great nephew by his sister only. *Year's, &c.*

A. B.

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JULY, 1739.

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Of whom may be had the *Magazines* for the preceding months,

C O N T E N T S.

Proceedings of the Political Club.		<i>Their concern for the publick welfare</i> p. 322
I Introduction	P. [289]	<i>Their wisdom extoll'd</i> ib.
Account of the club	ib.	<i>Description of a voyage to Vaux-hall</i> 322
L. Percival's <i>Speech of an address</i>	[290]	<i>Quotation from Ben Jonson</i> 324
M. Giganus Macerinus's amendment, and speech in favour of it	289	<i>Observations upon it</i> 326
Cn. Domitius Laevinus's speech against it	296	Poetry.
L. Pigi's in favour of it	303	<i>On the prospect of war</i> 326
C. Helvius's against it	306	<i>The Arbour</i> 327
L. Emilius Scaevola's against it	308	<i>On the Duke of Argyle</i> ib.
<i>Ans. to the query relating to the success</i>	ib.	<i>On a young man disappointed in love. To Sylvia. Song</i> 328
<i>List of voters for the convention</i>	309	Domestick History.
<i>against it</i>	314	<i>Sentence against James Adie and his wife</i> 329
<i>List of those who were absent</i>	316	<i>The order of the privy-council relating to letters of marque</i> 330
<i>Sums of the members, &c.</i>	317	<i>Preferments, Deaths, &c.</i> 331
<i>Queries with regard to influence, &c.</i>	ib.	<i>Price of Stocks</i> 333
<i>Danger of a corrupt influence</i>	318	<i>A cure for the dropfy</i> ib.
<i>Bad ministers to be guarded against</i>	ib.	<i>Foreign History</i> ib.
<i>A place-bill prov'd necessary from the arguments brought against it</i>	319	<i>Register of Books</i> 336
<i>Placemen a dangerous militia</i>	320	
<i>Defence of the administration</i>	ib.	
<i>Their disinterestedness</i>	ib.	

The beginning of the eclipse, July 24. answered within half a minute to Mr Chapman's computation given in our former. The digits eclipsed, and the end, could not be observed because of the clouds.

The following Books, lately published at London, are to be sold by W. Monro and W. Drummond in the Parliament Close, Edinburgh.

- C**URIOUS Relations; or, The Entertaining Correspondent, 2 voll. 8°.
 The Laboratory; or, The School of Arts, 8°.
 A Collection of Novels, by Mrs Penelope Aubin, 3 voll. 12°.
 Rollin's Ancient History, vol. 12. and 13. 8°, which complete the book, and may be had separately to make up sets.
 [There is also an edition of this much approved book in 12°, whereof four volumes are only come to hand; but it will go on to be published by two volumes at a time, till the whole is finished.]
 Bradley's Philosophical account of the works of Nature, 8°.
 Nature delineated; being a new translation of the celebrated philosophical conversations, intitled, *Spectacle de la Nature.* 4 voll. 12°.
 [The fourth volume of the same book, translated by Mr Humphreys, 8° may be had separately, to complete sets.]
 Trowell's new treatise of Husbandry, Gardening, and other curious matters relating to country affairs.

happened in the beginning of the present year, which are thus introduced by the Secretary in a letter to the publisher of the London Magazine.

S I R,

AT one of our meetings in February last, it was resolved, that we should suppose our Club to be the Higher House of Parliament; and that, as such, we should consider, what sort of address it would be proper for us to make, upon his Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne, [see p. 32.] Upon this occasion *L. Percius* proposed that the address should be in the following terms, *viz.*

1. That we should return his Majesty our humble thanks for his most gracious speech from the throne.

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

3. To declare, that the gracious regard which his Majesty was pleased to express for the resolutions and advice of his parliament, was a great instance of his royal goodness: And that though his Majesty's constant desire, out of tenderness to his people, to avoid involving these kingdoms in the manifold inconveniencies of war, must have inclined him to approve the beginning with more moderate measures; yet we never entertained the least doubt, but that the true greatness and fortitude, which inspired his royal breast, would have induced him to exert his utmost power, in vindicating

and protecting our undoubted privileges of navigation and commerce, and in doing justice to himself and his subjects, if the conduct of the court of Spain had made such measures necessary.

4. To beg leave, on this occasion, to offer to his Majesty our unfeigned thanks for his great goodness and condescension, in acquainting us from the throne, that a convention was concluded and ratified, between his Majesty and the K. of Spain, whereby reparation was agreed to be made to his subjects for their losses, by a certain stipulated payment; that Plenipotentiaries were appointed for regulating, within a limited time, all those grievances and abuses which had hitherto interrupted our commerce and navigation in the American seas; and that his Majesty would be pleased to order the convention and separate articles to be laid before us.

5. To declare, that we should fall short of those warm impressions of gratitude, which we felt in ourselves, as well as be wanting in our duty, if we did not return his Majesty our most thankful acknowledgments for his royal care, in making use of the confidence reposed in him, with no other view, but the general and lasting benefit of his kingdoms. That reparation for past injuries and losses, and effectual security for the future, founded in justice, and warranted by treaties, had been the great views of his Majesty, and his parliament, in that national and important affair; and if those purposes could be attained, without plunging the nation into a war, it must give the truest satisfaction to all his faithful subjects, who could not but be as desirous to preserve the peace, as they were able and ready to defend and vindicate their rights, against the encroachments of all aggressors.

6. And lastly, to declare, that we were deeply sensible, how unbecoming and pernicious it would be, at any time, to suffer either prejudices or animosities to mix themselves with parliamentary deliberations; and that his Majesty's gracious recommendation to us, particularly to avoid them at this important juncture, could not fail to awaken in us

It more than ordinary caution on that head. That G. Britain hath but one common interest, consisting in the security of his Majesty's person and government, and the welfare and happiness of his people; and that when his Majesty was pleased to exhort us to unanimity, it was only calling upon us to unite for our own preservation: therefore, to beseech his Majesty, to accept the strongest and most affectionate assurances, that we will zealously and cheerfully concur in all such measures, as shall be most conducive to those great and desirable ends.

As soon as this proposition was read to the club, *M. Giganius Macerinus* stood up, and proposed an amendment; which was, To take only the first and last paragraphs of the address proposed, and consequently, to leave out the four intermediate paragraphs; whereupon a question was stated and debated in the club, Whether or no this amendment ought to be approved of?

The argument in favour of the amendment was in effect thus.

My Lords,

In ancient times, and I may even say, till of late years, the addresses of this house, by way of return to the King's speech from the throne, consisted but of a very few sentences. They contained only our thanks to his Majesty for his most gracious speech from the throne, and a general acknowledgment of our affection and duty; but that method has been entirely altered since the revolution, and we have now fallen into a way of echoing back the speech from the throne, paragraph by paragraph, I may almost say, word for word. This modern method I have always thought inconsistent with the dignity of this house. In my opinion, it looks more like the fulsome address of the states of a province in France, to their absolute and arbitrary monarch, than like the address of either house of a free and independent British parliament. And, for this reason, I cannot but wish, that your Lordships would return to your ancient method, which I am sure is more consistent with your dignity, and which can neither up-

on the present occasion, nor upon any future, be attended with the least bad consequence.

The modern method has, 'tis true, my Lords, been practised for several years: The speech from the throne has for too many sessions, been punctually echoed back from the house in every particular circumstance; and great compliments have generally of late years been made to the King, upon the measures pursued by the administration: but if this be a bad custom, it can from no time derive a right to our future approbation. And that it is so, must, I think, appear at first view, to every one that considers it in its proper light: for from the nature of our government, it is impossible for the majority of this house, to have, at the very beginning of a session, any proper knowledge of what has been lately transacted; we can have no such knowledge, till it has been communicated to us by the crown, and deliberately examined by every Lord that is present, which cannot possibly be done the very first day of the session: therefore, when in our address of thanks for his Majesty's speech from the throne, we say any thing that may look like an encomium upon what has been lately transacted, our compliments cannot so much as be supposed to signify any thing: Nay, it is always allowed, even by those that propose them, that they are not meant to signify any thing; which, in my opinion, is a tacit acknowledgment that no such compliments ought to be made for in private life, to make such compliments, is no argument either of the sincerity of him that makes them, or of his respect for the person to whom they are made: and if we should afterwards, upon an enquiry, censure those measures we had before in our address approved, or but seemed to approve, I am sure it would be no argument for shewing the consistency of our proceedings. Therefore, if we have a due regard to the dignity of this house, we ought to avoid entering into any particulars, or making use of any expressions in our address, that may seem to approve of measures, which we may,

perhaps in the same session, find good reason to censure.

This caution, my Lords, is, I think, necessary at all times; but upon the present occasion, I think it is more necessary than it ever was upon any former; for we have had nothing yet laid before us, that can give us the least glimpse of light into the measures which the address now proposed seems to approve of. We cannot pretend to have the least parliamentary knowledge of our late transactions; and, I believe, there are but few, very few of your Lordships, that can in any capacity pretend to a thorough knowledge of them. We must therefore now judge by appearances only; and if we judge from what is publickly known, I cannot think we have from thence any great reason to run out in encomiums upon our late management. It is publickly known, not only in this kingdom, but through all Europe, which I am sorry to say, that the nation has for some years been insulted, our negotiators trifled with, and our fellow-subjects not only plundered, but barbarously used; and can any of your Lordships pretend to say, from any thing that has been laid before you, or from what has been communicated by our publick gazettes, that proper measures have been taken for vindicating the honour, repairing the losses, or securing the trade of the nation? These great ends may, for what I know, be all fully answered by the convention, which, as his Majesty has told us, has been lately concluded between him and the crown of Spain: I hope they will appear so, when that treaty, or rather preliminary, comes to be laid before us. I hope proper care has been taken by that convention, to have condign punishment inflicted upon such of the subjects of Spain, as have plundered or abused the subjects of this nation, contrary to the faith of former treaties; for without such punishment, I will be bold to say, that no reparation can be made for our injured honour, nor any security given for our future safety. I hope the stipulated payment, as it is called, will appear to be suffici-

ent for answering fully the losses of our plundered merchants and seamen; and, I hope, there is a feasible plan laid down for having all our rights acknowledged by a definitive treaty, or at least such of them as have been lately contested. These things, I say, my Lords, I hope, are all fully provided for by the costly convention, which we are soon to have the pleasure of having laid before us; but as I yet know nothing of that convention, and I believe most of your Lordships know as little of it as I do, I cannot, even in the most general terms, approve of our having tamely submitted to so many injuries, for the sake of obtaining a thing called a *convention*; before I know what it is.

As speeches from the throne, my Lords, are always considered in this house as speeches from the minister, so I cannot but look upon the addresses made in return to those speeches, as addresses, in some measure, made to the minister; and, when such an address contains an approbation of what has been done, tho' couched in the most general terms, I shall always look upon it as an approbation of the conduct of the administration. In this light, I must consider the address now proposed, and therefore, I shall treat it with the more freedom; because, in this light, his Majesty can be no way concerned, nor can his sacred character be in the least affected, by any thing I can say against our late publick transactions.

Suppose then, my Lords, that the word *minister*, or *ministers*, were properly inserted in all those parts of the address, which seem to contain an approbation of our late conduct; suppose we were to say, *That amongst the many convincing proofs, which your Majesty's ministers have given of their unwearied care of the rights of your people*: would any of your Lordships agree to make such a compliment, till some of those convincing proofs had been laid before you? Or can we say, that we have the firmest dependence on their zeal and vigilance, for the security and preservation of those rights, which have been of late so often invaded by Spain, before

we have seen what care they have taken of them, by this last convention? When we consider what insults the nation has of late met with, and how long, how patiently, those insults have been submitted to; can we make any compliments to our ministers upon their fortitude, till it appears from their negotiations, and from the issue of those negotiations, that their courage has been restrained by their prudence and foresight? For, I am sure, if full satisfaction is not stipulated by the convention they have accepted, we may applaud their fortitude in patiently suffering insults and indignities, but we can say nothing of their fortitude in vindicating and protecting our undoubted privileges of navigation and commerce. Reparation for past injuries and losses, and effectual security for the future, are what this nation ought, what we must insist on: But, can we say, that these have been the great views of our ministers, before we know a word of the convention, by which that reparation and security ought to have been stipulated? I hope, my Lords, when the convention comes to be laid before us, it will from thence appear, that they well deserve all these compliments; but, till we have seen and examined the convention, I must think it a little premature to make any such.

If I were entirely ignorant, my Lords, not only of our late negotiations, but of all our negotiations and treaties for these 17 or 18 years past, I might, perhaps, put a little confidence in what our ministers and their friends have been pleased to tell us privately of this last convention; I might, perhaps, believe, that we have obtained all we can wish or desire, as has been confidently reported by some persons without doors: but tho' I am ignorant of our late negotiations, and of the terms of the treaty or convention in which they have terminated; yet, I am not entirely ignorant of our preceding negotiations and treaties, nor of the success with which they have been attended: and, the knowledge I have of them is so far from furnishing me with any argument for blindly ap-

proving of what has been lately done, that it renders me suspicious both of the convention, and of the measures that were taken for bringing it to a conclusion. I can hardly believe that the conduct of those who have been so long amused with negotiations, and so often bamboozled with treaties, will appear to be without a flaw in this last step, which they are pleased to represent as the master-piece of their politicks.

Let us, my Lords, but take a view of the many negotiations we have carried on, and the many treaties we have concluded, within these last 20 years; and, from them; I believe, we shall find but little encouragement to expect any great matters from what has been lately done. In the year 1721, we put an end to our war with Spain, by a treaty of peace, in which we acted a most generous part: We gave up to them all the advantages we had made by the war, I mean, the few ships we had taken from them; and that without being obliged so to do, by any sort of bad success in the war: And tho' Spain had, upon the war's breaking out, seized British ships and effects in her dominions, to a great value, contrary to the faith of former treaties, by which the subjects of both kingdoms respectively were, in case of a war, to have had six months to retire with their effects; yet we contented ourselves with stipulating only a simple restitution. These were terms extremely favourable for Spain; and yet, it is well known, they never made good the restitution they had promised; nor did they observe the former treaties, which, by that treaty, were confirmed and ratified; but continued, under various pretences, to infest our trade in the bay of Campeachy, and other parts of the American seas, as they had done for some time before: and tho' we had it always in our power, to enforce the performance as well as observance of treaties, yet we trusted entirely to negotiation; and negotiated at the court of Spain for a free enjoyment of our rights in America, and for full satisfaction to our S. S. company, and other injured merchants, for four years, with-

out any success; for, as we had a minister there, I must suppose he had instructions to take some care of our merchants, and of our trade and navigation: and our bad success in these negotiations was the more inexcusable, because, if we had accepted of the sole mediation of all the differences then subsisting between the Emperor and Spain, which was offered us during that interval, we might have easily accommodated all our differences with the court of Spain, and might have established the affairs of Europe upon such a footing, as would have greatly contributed to the security of the balance of power in Europe, and to the interest and glory of this nation.

About four years afterwards, my Lords, our ministers got by chance an account of a treaty concluded at Vienna between the Emperor and Spain; and tho' a conjunction and firm friendship between these two powers, is what this nation ought to desire and cultivate as much as possible, yet I do not know by what information, or rather by what fatality, our ministers took it into their heads that this treaty was designed against us; which induced them to enter into that most extraordinary treaty or alliance concluded at Hanover in the year 1725: and tho' that treaty appears to be only a defensive alliance, yet we immediately took from thence an occasion to fit out powerful squadrons, and to send them in a hostile manner, tho', as has since appeared, with peaceful instructions, to the coasts of Spain, both in Europe and America, before they had made the least attempt against us, or any of our allies. As Spain was still owing great sums to our S. S. company and other merchants, by virtue of the treaty I have mention'd in 1721, and as they had been for several years contesting some of our most valuable rights and privileges in America, one might have expected that these squadrons, since we had fitted them out, would have been made use of for compelling the court of Spain to make full satisfaction to our merchants, and to acknowledge our rights in America: but these, it seems,

our ministers thought were trifles not worth contending for; and as they thought, that our sending such squadrons to the coasts of Spain, was no infringement of the peace subsisting between us and that nation, they gave no orders to these squadrons, either to begin hostilities, or to attempt to compel the Spaniards to do any thing, for fear of breeding a rupture between the two nations. But Spain looked upon our sending them such unwelcome guests in a very different light: They considered it as an open rupture; therefore they immediately seized all our merchants ships and effects, both in Spain and America, and began hostilities against us both by sea and land. This, one would have thought, afforded us an excellent opportunity for beginning hostilities in our turn, by which, if they had been carried on in a vigorous manner, we might soon have forced Spain, then without any one ally that could hurt us, to make full atonement both for the breach of treaty she had then committed in seizing our merchant effects, and for the non-performance, as well as non-observance of the treaty in 1721. But, tho' we had put ourselves to great expence in procuring the accession of several Princes and States to the treaty of Hanover, and in augmenting our forces both by sea and land; yet, instead of beginning to fight, we began to negotiate: and, by our dexterity in that way, some preliminary articles were, in about *two* years, settled and agreed on between the Emperor and the allies of Hanover; which begot a new negotiation, in order to obtain the accession of Spain; and that negotiation, in about a *year* more, brought forth the convention between Spain and us, sign'd at the Pardo, in March 1728: This again begot a new negotiation, which, in about a *year and a half*, ended in the famous treaty of Seville, by which we not only re-united the crowns of France and Spain in a close friendship, but joined with them in a sort of alliance against the Emperor; and all this, without having asked the least reimbursement for the charges we had put our-

elves to, and without obtaining any satisfaction for our merchants, or any explicit acknowledgment of such of our rights or privileges in America as had been contested by Spain.

'Tis true, my Lords, by this famous treaty of Seville, all former treaties were renew'd and confirm'd; by which, I remember, it was at the time of that treaty pretended, that all our rights and privileges were acknowledg'd: but from the example of the treaty in 1721, we might have seen how precarious such general acknowledgment would prove: and our experience, since that time, has confirm'd what we had then good reason to suspect; for, since the conclusion of the treaty of Seville, the Spaniards have been more daring in their insults, and more frequent in their depredations, than ever they were before that time; which was, indeed, foreseen by almost every man in the kingdom, except the friends of those who negotiated that treaty: and I may prophesy that, if ever we make a new treaty, without having the privileges of our navigation and commerce expressly and particularly declared and acknowledged, our possession of them will become more precarious than ever it was heretofore; nay, I do not know but the Spanish encroachments and depredations may be multiplied in America, and at last extended to Europe.

I shall likewise grant, my Lords, that by this treaty, the effects of the S. S. company, and of our other merchants, which had been seized by the Spaniards in their dominions, when they thought fit to begin hostilities against us, were stipulated to be restor'd; and Commissaries were to be appointed for examining and deciding all pretensions upon either side: but the treaty in 1721 ought, likewise in this case, to have been a warning to us not to trust much to the performance of such stipulations; and experience has since shewn, that we ought to have taken that treaty as a warning: for, tho' the Spaniards themselves admit, that there is about 300,000 l. due by them to the S. S. company, and upon a fair account, I have some reason to believe, the com-

pany could make it appear to be treble that sum; yet the court of Spain is now, after nine years forbearance, so far from offering to pay any part of that sum, that, we are told, they insist upon the company's paying a sum of 68,000 l. as a debt which they pretend to be due from the company to them. Now, if this be the case of our S. S. company, we may easily imagine, how far short our other merchants have come of having those effects restor'd to them which were so unjustly seiz'd by the Spaniards upon their beginning hostilities against us in the year 1726, or upon our beginning hostilities against them in the year 1718. And as to such of our merchants as had been plundered by their guarda costas in America, before the treaty of Seville, few or none of them can be supposed to have met with any restitution; since the Spaniards took care that the Commissaries should never come to any settlement or decision with regard to any of the pretensions that were referred to them.

And now, my Lords, I have mentioned Commissaries, I must observe, that from that very article in the treaty of Seville which regulates the appointing of Commissaries, it appears to me, that those who drew up that article, either design'd that the Commissaries should never be able to decide any thing, or otherwise that our Commissaries should give up a point which, indeed, seems to be given up by that article; but it is such a one as, I hope, no British subject will ever dare to give up in express terms. In that article it is said, *That the Commissaries shall likewise examine and decide, according to the treaties, the respective pretensions which relate to the abuses that are supposed to have been committed in commerce, as well in the Indies as in Europe, and all the other respective pretensions in America, founded on treaties, (after which follows this remarkable sentence) whether with respect to the limits, or otherwise.* Now, my Lords, I do not remember that, ever since the year 1670, till within these five or six years, there has been the least dispute between the Spaniards and us about limits

mits at land in America: and if there was then no dispute between us about limits at land, I am surpris'd how our negotiators came to allow such a word to be foisted into any treaty; because the Spaniards may from thence pretend, that we have acknowledged the being of such a thing at sea, which I hope no British subject will ever admit of; and yet, if there was at that time no dispute between us about limits at land, I do not know how we could get over this acknowledgment any other way than by saying, that this sentence was foisted into this treaty by the artfulness of the negotiators for Spain, and the ignorance or carelessness of those that were employ'd on the part of England.

Thus, my Lords, I have gone thro' several of those negotiations and treaties we have lately been engaged in or concluded; and, from the few remarks I have cursorily made, I believe it will appear, that we have no great reason to approve blindly of any treaty that has been, or can be made by those who had the chief concern in negotiating or concluding any of the treaties I have mentioned. By the treaty in 1721 we made some concessions, which, I think, we ought not to have made; and trusted to promises which ought to have been stipulated by preliminaries, and which we ought to have seen performed before we concluded a definitive treaty: but, as we had then little or no experience of the conduct of the court of Spain, the confidence we put in their promises was a little excusable; and our concessions might likewise have been excus'd, if we could have thereby restor'd a perfect harmony between Spain and the Emperor, as well as between Spain and ourselves. But I cannot say so much for our future conduct: During the congress at Cambray, we let slip, in my opinion, an excellent opportunity for restoring the ancient amity between the Empire and Spain, and for rekindling that animosity and jealousy which so long subsisted between Spain and France; by our treaty of Hanover, and the measures we took in consequence of that treaty, we in a manner declared

war, as I still think, without the least cause, against the two powers of Europe whose friendship we ought most to cultivate; and by the treaty of Seville without obtaining the least advantage for this nation, we restor'd a close friendship between France and Spain, and thereby laid the foundation of that war which they afterwards, jointly with Sardinia, carried on against the Emperor.

I shall say nothing, my Lords, of our behaviour during that war, or of the obligations we lay under by the treaty we concluded at Vienna in the year 1734; but this I will say, that as we had by our former measures united France and Spain, while that union subsisted it was in some measure necessary for us to keep up a close alliance and friendship with the court of Vienna: and if by our inactivity in that war; for I shall never call making treaties, or augmenting our forces by sea and land, activity; I say, if by our inactivity in that war, we lost the friendship and confidence of our ancient ally the Emperor, we thereby gave the French and the Spaniards an opportunity of triumphing first over him, that they might afterwards have an opportunity of triumphing over us in our turn: so that if France and Spain are now united against this nation, and we destitute of every ally, or of such an alliance as may make the balance equal, which I hope is not the case, it may be alledg'd, that our unlucky situation is chiefly owing to our late treaties and negotiations.

If this be our case, can we from hence suppose, my Lords, that an implicit faith ought to be plac'd in the conduct of those who have treated and negotiated us into such circumstances? If we can neither with honour continue in peace, nor with any prospect of success engage in a war, can we suppose that any treaty we make, can be an honourable or an advantageous treaty? I hope, my Lords, we are not as yet reduced to such a dilemma: but if we are not, I am convinc'd it is more owing to the good opinion some of our neighbours have of our natural strength, than to the wisdom of our own conduct; and therefore, I cannot agree to pass any

impliments upon our late conduct, or on the convention now concluded with Spain, till I am fully convinced, by perusal and enquiry, that it is an honorable, safe, and advantageous treaty. And even suppose it were so; suppose, my Lords, that from some private information I knew it to be so; yet I should be against our making use of any expressions in our address that might look like an approbation of it, not only because of the bad precedent, but because it has the misfortune to labour under a very bad character without doors. We had some pretended articles of it published in our news-papers: I hope they are far from being truly the articles; but whether true or false, the world has from thence conceiv'd a most specifiable opinion of the treaty; and therefore, tho' from some private information I were convinced that there was no ground for such an opinion, yet I should be against approving it till the world could have an opportunity of being undeceived, by its being printed and publish'd at full length: For I shall never be for our doing any thing that may hurt the character of this house in the opinion of the generality of the people without doors. At present, most people think that the payment stipulated by this convention is not near sufficient for making good the losses of our merchants; and that even the small sum that is stipulated, is stipulated in such a way, that it must be all paid by ourselves. We must pay, they say, with one hand, and receive with the other; and this, they say, is all that is stipulated; for every thing else, they say, is referred to Plenipotentiaries, whose negotiations, every one supposes, will end in nothing, as those of our Commissioners formerly did. From hence, most men take the liberty to say, that this convention, this treaty of peace, which has cost the nation so much money, is nothing but a scrap of paper, a paper peace, that will be of no signification, nor put any stop to those hostilities which Spain has been carrying on against us for so many years.

This, my Lords, is at present the ge-

neral opinion among the people, of the convention lately concluded, and therefore, out of regard to the dignity of this house, and to the character we ought carefully to preserve among those without doors, we ought to say nothing in praise of the convention; or of the conduct of those who have brought it about, till the people can be undeceived by a perusal. For this reason, I shall beg leave to propose, by way of amendment, to take only the first and last paragraphs of the address moved for by the Noble Duke, and to leave out the four intermediate paragraphs.

Even the last paragraph, my Lords, I cannot say, I entirely approve of; because I think that paragraph in his Majesty's speech, to which it relates, might have been as well left out. When I say so, my Lords, I consider the speech, as such speeches are always considered in this house. I consider it as the speech of the minister; and I do not think it right in any minister to recommend to this house, or to either house of parliament, not to suffer any prejudices or animosities to have a share in their deliberations; because it may be thought without doors, to bear an ugly insinuation. Some people may from thence conclude, that there is some danger of our allowing prejudices or animosities to have a share in our deliberations; which is a conclusion, that no person without doors ought to be by any means induced or encouraged to make. It is, indeed, a conclusion that a wicked minister may be fond of having made; because he will always endeavour to make people believe, that the opposition that is, or may be made to any of his measures, can proceed from nothing but prejudices or animosities: but this is an opinion that is, I am sure, as much against the true interest of the King to encourage, as it is injurious to either house of parliament to entertain. For this reason, I do not know but there has been a time when the answer to such a paragraph in the speech, would have been an address from both houses of parliament, to know who advised it. However, I shall at present take no further notice of it, nor oppose making

making such an answer to it as has been moved for.

To this it was answered in substance as follows, viz.

My Lords,

Whatever was the method of addressing in ancient times, or whether it was more general, or more succinct than that now practised, I do not think the dignity of this house any way concerned in the question. As long as the address of this house, is supposed to mean no more than a compliment to the King upon his speech from the throne, and a testimony of our affection, duty, and esteem for him, it is but a matter of mere complaisance; and the form or method of shewing our complaisance, alters both in publick and private life, like the fashion of our cloaths, with times, seasons, and countries. In all such cases, a man of a genteel education, who has no whimsical turn, will express himself in that manner, which is most fashionable among those of the better sort. If he exaggerates very much in his compliments, and greatly exceeds the usual method in which men express themselves upon such occasions, I shall grant, it is no argument, either of his sincerity, or of his respect for the person he compliments in such a manner: on the contrary, it may be a token of his contempt; for panegyrick, when carried too high, is supposed to be meant in an ironical way, and then it becomes satyr. But on the other hand, if a man speaks more bluntly than is usual in the times, or in the country, in which he lives, I hope it will be granted, that it is an argument, either of the speaker's want of breeding, or of his want of respect for the person he addresses himself to.

In this light, my Lords, let us consider the present question; and if the fashion has altered within these 20 or 30 years, if the form or method of shewing our complaisance to our Sovereign has altered from what it was in ancient times, do not let us shew either our want of good manners, or want of respect for him, by addressing ourselves to him up-

on this solemn occasion, in a manner more blunt than has been usual for so many years. I shall grant, that his Majesty's speech from the throne, is always in this house considered as the speech of his ministers; but I cannot admit that the address of this house, in return to that speech, ought ever to be look'd on as an address to the ministers. If, indeed, it contained an express approbation of all the publick measures transacted during the preceding recess of parliament, it might be supposed to be an address drawn up by the ministers, and it would be inconsistent with the dignity of this house to agree to it, both because of the persons that might be supposed to have drawn it up, and because of the approbation it contained. But the Noble Duke has, in my opinion, been extremely careful in drawing up what he has been pleas'd to offer upon this occasion. He has, I think, taken particular care not to insert, in what he has propos'd, any words or expressions that can, by any sort of interpretation, be taken as an approbation of any of the measures lately pursued by the administration: It contains only general compliments to his Majesty, upon what he has been pleas'd to communicate to us by his speech; and upon some of those good qualities, which every Lord in this house must allow his Majesty to be endued with as an eminent degree. Therefore, my Lords, as his Majesty has made a most gracious speech from the throne; as he has been pleas'd to acquaint us, that a convention has been concluded between him and Spain, and to impart to us the substance of that convention; and as he has been pleas'd to tell us, that he will order the convention itself, and the separate articles, to be laid before us; I think we can do no less than return him such an answer, by way of address, as the Noble Duke has been pleas'd to propose.

But, my Lords, that your Lordships may the more clearly see, that there is nothing in the address propos'd, which can be understood to mean an approbation of any late publick measures, I shall beg leave to go through and exam-

mine it, paragraph by paragraph. As to the first, I need say nothing to it; and as to the second, I do not see how it can be supposed to relate to our ministers, or to any part of their conduct. It is, as it ought to be, wholly addressed to his Majesty; and, whatever his ministers may have done, it is certain, that he has given many convincing proofs of his paternal and unwearied care of the rights of his people; and, I am confident, no man in the kingdom has a more sincere and affectionate concern for the hardships and injuries our traders have suffered in America; no man would or could venture further for redressing or preventing them. His Majesty has given so many indubitable testimonies of his having equally at heart the honour of his crown, and the interest of his people, as is well known to all these who have the honour to be near his person, that no man can doubt of his zeal, and his zeal must make him vigilant, for the real security and preservation both of the one, and of the other. This is all, my Lords, that is in the second paragraph. They are properly no compliments; they are declarations of what, I believe, must be the real sentiments of every Lord that hears me: but, supposing they were, they are directed to his Majesty only, and cannot be presumed to be directed or meant to all or any one of his ministers.

Then, my Lords, as to the third paragraph, his Majesty has in his speech said, he has a due regard to the advice of his parliament; and here, by way of return, we allow this expression to be a great instance of his royal goodness. Has his ministers any thing to do with this? Can it relate to any part of their conduct? We do not say, that even his Majesty has had a regard to the resolutions and advice of his parliament; we only say, that his expressing such a regard, is an instance of his goodness. Can any thing be more generally or more cautiously expressed? The other part of this paragraph, as it is worded, can be supposed to relate only to his Majesty's inclinations; it cannot be supposed to relate to any thing that has

been done, or that has been left undone. His Majesty's tenderness for his people is well known: It is that only which has preserved this nation in peace for so many years; for, if his Majesty had allowed himself to be directed by his natural courage and fortitude, it is certain, he would have immediately resented, in the highest manner, the very first insult put upon us: and, we only say, that we never entertained the least doubt, but that his Majesty will allow himself to be directed by these qualities, as soon as he finds that the interests of his people can be no other way preserved.

As to the fourth paragraph, my Lords, it only repeats what his Majesty has been pleased to communicate from the throne, and returns our thanks for what he has been pleased so to communicate. This, I think, is the least we can say, by way of return; and, as there is not the least word or expression, that can be supposed to signify our approbation of any thing his Majesty has communicated, I can see no reason why we should not agree to it.

Then, as to the fifth, my Lords, his Majesty has told us, in his speech, that it hath been his principal care, to make use of the confidence reposed in him by parliament, with no other view, but the general and lasting benefit of his kingdoms; and, for this, we here return him our thankful acknowledgments. We do not say, nor so much as insinuate, that his ministers have had no other views. If they have had any sinister views, we are at full liberty, upon an enquiry, to censure them; notwithstanding any thing proposed to be said in this paragraph. But, as to his Majesty, I believe, no man will or can suppose, that he could have any other view, than what he has been pleased to declare in his speech from the throne; and, if he had, or if it were possible to suppose such a thing, it will not be pretended, I am sure, by any Lord in this house, that we have a power to enquire into, or censure the views of our Sovereign.

And, as to the last paragraph of the address proposed, as the Noble Lord who

proposed the amendment, was pleased to admit that the last paragraph should stand part of our address, I have no occasion to say much about it; but, as to the criticism that has been made upon it, I must say, that I can see no foundation for such criticism. I hope no prejudices or animosities will ever mix themselves with parliamentary deliberations, I believe they seldom or never do; but, it cannot be said, that the thing is impossible; and therefore, his Majesty can be thought only to shew his regard for the publick good, by recommending to us, not to suffer any such to have a share in our deliberations, at this important conjuncture. It is not because there is now greater danger than at other times, of our allowing prejudices and animosities to have a share in our deliberations, that his Majesty thought this recommendation necessary; but, because the present conjuncture is of greater importance than most others. When the nation is upon the brink, perhaps, of a heavy war; when it is in danger of being engaged in war against one at least, if not two powerful neighbours, unanimity amongst ourselves is more necessary, domestick prejudices and animosities are more dangerous to the publick, than they can be upon other occasions: and therefore, it is to be hoped, no person without doors will draw any wrong conclusions from the prudent and necessary advice his Majesty has thought fit to give us.

Thus, my Lords, I have shewn, that from what is proposed in the address, we have no occasion to form any judgment at all of the convention just concluded with Spain, or of any of our late measures; because we are now neither to approve nor condemn all or either of them. We have, at present, no business to trouble our heads about the conduct of our publick affairs for these 17 or 18 years past, or for any longer or shorter term. We are now only to address his Majesty, as has always been customary, by way of return to his most gracious speech from the throne: and, if the address proposed, had been more particular than it is; if it had contained

even some sort of approbation of those measures which his Majesty has mentioned in his speech, our addressing in such a manner might have been justified; for, we are to suppose every thing to be as mentioned in his Majesty's speech, till the contrary appears upon enquiry. By such a supposition, we are no way precluded from enquiring into the facts afterwards, or from censuring what shall then appear to be amiss; because nothing that is said in the address, can be made use of against the opinion of any Lord, or against any resolution we can come to, upon an enquiry. Nay, my Lords, if the proposition had gone farther, if it had been proposed to congratulate his Majesty upon the conclusion of this convention, it would not have been without precedent; for, if I rightly remember, we congratulated his Majesty upon the conclusion of the treaty of Seville, before the treaty, or any thing relating to it was laid before the house, except what his Majesty had said of it in his speech at the opening of the session. But as no such approbation or congratulation is intended, or can be drawn from any words in the address now proposed; as it contains nothing, in my opinion, but what ought in common decency to be said, by way of return to his Majesty's speech from the throne, I can see no reason for our disagreeing to any one of the paragraphs proposed.

I should not, I believe, my Lords, have troubled you farther upon the present question, if so much had not been said against the management of our publick affairs, for almost these 20 years past; but as it has been found so much fault with, I hope your Lordships will indulge me with the liberty of saying a few words in its vindication. To answer every particular objection, that has been made to the several negotiations and treaties we have been engaged in for these 17 or 18 years past, would take up too much of your Lordships time; much more than I think necessary at present, especially as I have already shewn, that no part of our past conduct can any way relate to the question now before

before us; but as to all of them in general, so far as I have had any share in them, I can for my own part say, that whatever art may have been wanting in the method of conducting them, they were all undertaken and carried on with a sincere heart, and a strong desire of doing service to my native country; and as to all the other persons concerned, I have the charity to think, that, if any faults were committed, they were not owing to design or carelessness, but to such mistakes and oversights, as the wisest of men may sometimes be guilty of. With a treaty or negotiation, it is the same as with a fine poem; it is easy for a willing or splenetick mind to criticize, and find fault with the best that was ever made or carried on. No nation can in every treaty get all they can desire: they must get as much as they can, and leave the rest to the next favourable opportunity; therefore, every treaty may be said to be a good treaty, when upon an impartial examination, it appears to be the best that the then conjuncture of affairs would admit of. But the misfortune is, that those who want to find fault, generally misrepresent the then situation of affairs, and at the same time they endeavour to extenuate the advantages that were obtained, and to exalt the value of those which were not; even though they themselves were perhaps, the cause, that some of those advantages could not be obtained.

If in this light, my Lords, we examine the treaties now complained of, and the objections made to them, we shall, I believe, find, that most of the objections are either groundless or frivolous; and all the treaties have this argument in their favour, they were every one approved of by both houses of parliament; which shews, that they were all thought to be good treaties at the time they were made, whatever objections may have since arisen against them, from alterations in the affairs of Europe, which either could not be foreseen, or could not be guarded against. As for the treaty in 1721, I need not say much in its favour; because the Noble Lord who found fault with it, has himself answer-

ed the two objections he made against it. But, I must add, that it was owing to this very treaty, that Spain made us the offer of being sole mediator at the treaty of Cambray, of all differences between her and the Emperor; so that, if any honour or advantage could have been got by our accepting of that offer, it must have been entirely ascribed to our treaty with Spain, in the year 1721. However, as our accepting of that offer might have involved us in a bloody and expensive war, in which we could not otherwise have had any concern, and from which we could propose to reap no advantage; therefore I am still of opinion, that it was more prudent in us, to refuse the offer at that time made us by Spain.

Then, my Lords, with regard to the treaty of Hanover, I know it has been strongly insisted on, that no secret articles were agreed on by the treaty of Vienna, in the year 1725, between the Emperor and Spain, which were any way prejudicial to this kingdom; but we have his late Majesty's express declaration, that there were some such articles in that treaty, which, I think, is a better authority for believing, than any authority we have for disbelieving, that there were such articles. But supposing there were no such articles, the very treaty itself shews, that it was designed for supporting the Ostend-East-India company; and as both the Dutch and we were resolved to destroy that company, it was evident that the Vienna treaty would have produced a war, if we had not prevented it by the treaty of Hanover, and the measures we took in pursuance of that treaty, for preventing the court of Spain's being in a condition to begin a war, or to assist the Emperor, in case he should. By the squadrons we sent out to the coasts of Spain, in Europe and America, we prevented the return of their plate-fleets from America, which rendered all the projects of the courts of Vienna and Madrid abortive, and soon after induced the Emperor to give up his favourite Ostend company. But as those squadrons were designed only to prevent a war, therefore it would have been ridiculous to

have given them any orders to begin a war, by attacking Spain; and after the conclusion of the preliminary articles with the Emperor, we could send no such orders, because we were every day in expectation of coming to a final settlement of all differences with Spain as well as the Emperor, and thereby establishing the tranquillity of Europe upon a solid and lasting foundation.

But, my Lords, as this settlement, so much to be wished for, was like to be much retarded, if not entirely disappointed, by some new differences that arose between Spain and the Emperor; and as the peace between us and Spain then stood upon an uncertain and precarious foundation, which could not but be a great prejudice to our trade; therefore we found it necessary to conclude a particular treaty with Spain, at Seville, in the year 1720. Which leads me to consider the objections that have been made against that treaty. It has been said, that after the experience we had learned by the treaty with Spain in the year 1721, we ought not in that new treaty to have trusted to a general renewal of former treaties, or to any promises Spain could make: We ought to have had all our rights and privileges in America, at least such of them as had been contested, particularly acknowledged; and we ought to have had all promises performed, before we had agreed to a definitive treaty. My Lords, at this rate no two nations in the world, after being once at war, could ever agree upon a peace, till one of them had entirely vanquished the other. We know how much averse princes are to the making of any particular acknowledgments: Generally, nothing but the utmost distress can bring them to it; and therefore, in all treaties of peace, it has been found necessary to put an end to most disputes, by general words, or by a general renewal of former treaties; and where the words of former treaties are clear, this general renewal will always be found as effectual, as the most particular acknowledgments. A Prince that breaks through or evades a general article, will do the same by the most particular article that can be fra-

med, as soon as he finds an opportunity; and a Prince that will not perform a promise made by a definitive treaty, will much less perform a promise made by a preliminary. In either case, there is no remedy but a new rupture; and this must at last be the consequence, if Spain cannot be brought to a more strict observance and performance of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns; but both as a christian and a trading nation, we are obliged to try first all peaceable means, and if such means should be found altogether ineffectual, we must then, and we ought not till then, to have recourse to the *ultima ratio regum*.

As to our having united Spain and France, or created a breach between Spain and the Emperor, by the treaty of Seville, I cannot see, my Lords, how that treaty can be charged with any such thing. There were no differences then subsisting between France and Spain which were reconciled, nor any just cause of offence given to the Emperor, by that treaty. My Lords, the union between France and Spain, and the enmity or difference between Spain and the Emperor, proceed from no treaties or negotiations of ours: They proceed from the natural course of things: When Spain has any differences with France, she must unite with the Emperor; and when she has any differences with the Emperor, she must unite with France: The views she has upon Italy, while they continue, must always create differences between her and the Emperor, and while she entertains such views, she must necessarily unite with France; but as such views are inconsistent with the true interest of Spain, as they proceed from a foreign temporary cause; a few Years may, in all probability, put an end to them.

In the mean time, my Lords, I shall readily admit, that it is our interest to keep up a close correspondence with the Emperor; I shall even admit, that we ought, in the mean time, to cultivate this correspondence by all possible ways and means; but we must not for this end become the slaves and servants of the court of Vienna. We are not, for fear

fear of an alliance between France and Spain against us, to support the court of Vienna in all the claims, and in every war, which their particular interests may persuade, or their unbounded ambition suggest. In this case we may properly be said to be between Scylla and Charybdis, there is no safety but in a middle course; and that, I think, we have hitherto steadily steered. If we had not, if our ministers had appeared negligent or unskillful, and had steered too near, either the one side or the other, I make no doubt, but that this house would have taken notice of it, and would have turned that pilot from the helm, who had shewn that he was not fit for guiding our ship in the time of such danger. As no such attempt was ever made, as this house has approved of every step of our past conduct, it is with me a strong argument, that the conduct of our ministers, even for these last 17 or 18 years, has been blameless. Nay, I have such a regard for, and such a high opinion of the wisdom of this house, that I shall always be extremely diffident of my own opinion, when I find it differs from that which appears to be the opinion of this house.

Therefore, my Lords, if we have a due regard to what appears to have been the opinion of parliament, we ought to judge favourably of what is passed; and this may furnish us, I think, with a good reason for supposing that the convention, which is to be, and, I believe, in a very few days will be laid before us, is the best that the present conjuncture of affairs could admit of; for, in every negotiation we carry on, and every treaty we make, we must have a regard both to the situation of our own affairs, and to the situation of affairs amongst our neighbours. When both these situations happen to be lucky for us, we may then insist upon high terms; we may refuse to accept of any but such as may be thought in the highest degree satisfactory; but when the contrary happens to be the case, it is not surely a proper time for us to insist upon points of honour, or upon peremptory and express acknowledgments; we ought in prudence to accept of equal terms

rather than plunge ourselves into an unequal war.

With this view, my Lords, let us examine the present state of affairs both at home and abroad. At home we still labour under a heavy load of debt, and our people groan under a multitude of taxes, which are absolutely necessary, even in time of peace, for the discharge of that debt, and the support of our civil government. This renders our people uneasy; and there are many amongst ourselves, who are too apt to take advantage of that uneasiness, for increasing those animosities and divisions, which must always subsist in this country, because they naturally arise from those liberties and privileges our people have still the happiness to enjoy. Can we then say, that our domestick affairs are at present in a happy situation? Then, with regard to the affairs of Europe, do not we know that the Emperor is now engaged in a heavy and expensive war against the Turks? By the misfortunes of the two last campaigns, and the plague's raging in that country where he is obliged to keep his armies, he has lost many of his veteran troops. Therefore we cannot expect that he would join us in any war we can at present engage in; and if he did, we could expect from him but a feeble assistance, for he could send us few or none of those troops that contributed towards our gaining so many laurels during the last war. Our neighbours, the Dutch, are exactly in our own situation: They are loaded with debts, contracted as ours were, in defence of the liberties of Europe. Their people are more heavily loaded with taxes than the people of this kingdom; and all those taxes hardly sufficient to support their government in time of peace, and to pay the interest of their publick funds. Their naval force, which was once able to cope even with that of England, and which gave us so great assistance in the last war, is now almost reduced to nothing; and their land-army is now so much reduced, that they have scarcely troops sufficient for the many garrisons their large frontier obliges them to keep.

keep. To this let me add, that they are at present far from being united amongst themselves. As they are likewise a free people, they are always subject to intestine feuds and divisions, as much as we are in this kingdom; and these feuds and divisions have of late years seem'd to keep equal pace in both countries.

These, my Lords, are the two powers of Europe who are our most natural allies; these are the two, from whom, in case of need, we could expect the most effectual assistance, and from neither of them could we at present expect any assistance at all. On the other hand, let us consider the present condition of France, our great, our most dangerous rival in trade, as well as power. By the arbitrariness of their government they have got rid of all those debts which they were obliged, during the late war, to contract. They maintain, in time of peace, a much greater land-army than any other power in Europe, than most are able to maintain in time of war; they have always a formidable fleet ready to put to sea: and yet their publick revenue is more than sufficient for answering their publick expence, and might be greatly increased in case of a war. If they should join with Spain in a war against us, it is hardly to be expected that, in our present circumstances, we would be able, by ourselves alone, to support a war against these two powerful kingdoms. But in case of a war between Spain and us, suppose the French should remain neutral, which it is to be hoped they would, and the utmost we could expect; yet we ought to consider how much they have encroached upon several branches of our trade within these few years past; how closely they are watching all opportunities for making farther encroachments. For this purpose, a war between Spain and us, while they are in profound peace, would afford one of the best opportunities they could desire. The Mediterranean, the bay of Biscay, the African and American seas, perhaps our own coasts, would swarm with Spanish privateers, or at least with privateers un-

der Spanish colours, by which our trade would be greatly interrupted, our merchants would be exposed to many dangers, to long delays, and vast charges, which the French merchant would be entirely free from. This would give them such an advantage at all foreign markets, that they would undersell us in almost every commodity we could carry thither; and if trade should once leave the British, and begin to run in the French channel, we would probably soon see a return of peace; we would be oblig'd to sue for it upon any terms; but I question if we should ever see a return of trade.

The present therefore, my Lords, must be allow'd to be a conjuncture that will not admit of our insisting upon so high terms, or so ample a satisfaction, as we may have good reason to insist on: and if it were, we should, even at the most favourable conjuncture, take care to persuade the world, that we ask nothing but what is just and reasonable; for if by insisting upon terms too high, or engaging too rashly in war, our neighbours should begin to imagine, that we were resolv'd to make use of our power for imposing laws upon any one of them, they would all take the alarm; every one would be afraid lest his own turn might be the next; and this might produce a confederacy against us as dangerous as that which was produced by the ambition of France against that kingdom towards the close of the last century.

I shall grant, my Lords, that we have of late years met with several insults and indignities from the Spanish guards costas in America, and that, under the pretence of guarding against what they call illicit trade, they have too frequently made unjust seizures, and committed great depredations upon our merchants and seamen, trading in that part of the world; but we are not the only people that have suffered by such pieces of injustice. We have, it is true, suffered more than any other nation, because we have a greater trade, and more trading ships in the American seas than any other; but both the Dutch and French have likewise had their share. We

We have heard both of Dutch and French vessels seized or plundered; and if news-papers and news-mongers were as numerous in France or Holland, as they are in Britain, or if they had the same liberty in those countries they have in this, we should probably have heard of a great many more. One French vessel we heard of lately, which appeared to have been seized and confiscated, as unjustly as ever any British ship was; and tho' it be now two or three years since the seizure, the ship and cargo are so far from having been restored, that I do not know if they have been reclaimed. Yet neither the Dutch nor the French have thought of declaring war against Spain, on account of such seizures; nor ought we, as long as there are any hopes left of obtaining redress by peaceable means: for the crimes of particular men ought not to be retaliated upon a whole nation, till the nation has made the guilt its own, by an obstinate denial of justice. And this we cannot pretend to say, if any satisfaction has been made for past injuries by the late convention, and a tolerable foundation laid for securing us against future, by a definitive treaty.

But, my Lords, as the convention is not yet laid before us, as it cannot, from any thing now proposed, be properly brought into our present debate, I shall say nothing in its justification. From what I have said in vindication of our past transactions, I hope it will appear, that we have no reason to condemn, or even to suspect what has lately happened, before we know what it is. When the convention comes to be laid before us, we may then judge reasonably and certainly of it: Till then, we ought to suspend our censures as well as applauses; the time will not be long. Perhaps the only reason why it was not this day laid before us, was, lest a pretence should be from thence taken for drawing it in to this day's debate: This was a prudent, and appears now to have been a necessary consideration; and as nothing is now proposed, that may in the least tend to justify the convention, or any of the measures that were taken for

bringing it to a conclusion, I shall therefore be for agreeing to the proposition without any amendment.

L. Pifo spoke in substance as follows.

My Lords, & of Chosborfield
THE esteem and affection I have for his Majesty, and the regard I have for every thing that may any way contribute towards establishing him in the hearts of his subjects, are so well known, that I need not trouble your Lordships with any professions on that head; and if there were nothing in the address now proposed, but expressions of duty towards him, and zeal for his service, I should be far from desiring or agreeing to any amendment; but the duty I owe to my King, the regard I have for the honour of this house, and the resentment every man ought to shew for the injuries his country has received, forbid my agreeing to the proposition as it now stands.

I shall agree, my Lords, that those expressions, which may be thought to relate to any part of our late conduct, are very general, more than ordinary care has been taken to make them so; but even this is an argument for the amendment proposed. So great caution is a sort of proof that matters are not all right; it shews a consciousness of some misbehaviour, which ought to give us suspicion; and that suspicion ought to make us avoid inserting any thing, tho' in the most general terms, that may relate to our late conduct. In the proposition, as it now stands, there are many paragraphs that, notwithstanding their being addressed to the King, must relate to the conduct of our ministers; for whatever is done, we must in this house suppose to be done by the ministers; and therefore, if we make use of any expressions that may look like compliments upon our late conduct, tho' they be addressed to the King only, they will without doors be looked on as an approbation of what has been done by the minister. They will be represented as such in a place, where, from this house, nothing should come that may in the least misguide.

The paragraphs that relate to our late transactions, are indeed so general, and the turn of expression so artfully and cautiously chosen, that upon any ordinary occasion, I should not perhaps have made an objection. But, my Lords, the present emergency is the most extraordinary, the most important, that has ever happened since I have had the honour to sit in this house. Our trade, our very being, is deeply concerned in every resolution we can come to during this session of parliament. The only profitable branch of our trade, I am afraid, the branch upon which all the other, and consequently the being of this nation, depends, is now at stake. It has been in danger for many years; but it is now upon the brink of perdition, and can be recovered from the precipice upon which it stands, only by the integrity, the wisdom, and the steadiness of this house.

I shall not pretend, my Lords, to know any thing of the convention we have lately, it seems, accepted of. I say, my Lords, I shall not pretend to know any thing more of it, than what his Majesty has been pleased to impart to us, by his speech from the throne; but from what he has told us of it, I must think it ought, I hope it will be censured. By his Majesty's speech he has told us positively, what is done; and negatively, what is not done. He has told us, we have got the promise of a stipulated sum; for he does not say that this sum is either paid, or secured to be paid: But he has likewise told us, that we have got nothing else; all the rest of our disputes with Spain are referred to Commissioners, who are now to be called Plenipotentiaries. They are to have a higher title than they had formerly; consequently, I suppose, they must have higher salaries; and this will of course make them draw their negotiations out to a greater length.

This, my Lords, makes the case very different from what it was with relation to the treaty of Seville. His Majesty, in his speech from the throne, after the conclusion of that treaty, told us nothing we could have the least pretence to find fault with. He then told us, we had got every thing we could wish for; and he certain-

ly thought so: but we soon found that he had been misinformed, and that we had been too rash. Now he is so far from having told us, we have got every thing we could wish for, that he expressly tells us, we have got what, I think, may properly be called nothing; what I am convinced will appear to be so. There is therefore no precedent for what is now proposed; and if there were, there are but few late precedents that can be much insisted on as good rules for our future conduct.

Reparation for the losses our merchants have sustained is, 'tis true, my Lords, an article which we ought to have insisted on; but it is the article of the least consequence, and the only article which could admit of a discussion before Commissioners or Plenipotentiaries, call them which you will. The other articles in dispute between us and Spain, are all of much greater consequence; and they are of such a nature, as cannot admit of a discussion; because they must be expressly granted, or peremptorily denied. Yet this article about reparation, his Majesty has told us, is the only article that is settled by this convention: so that what cannot admit of a reference, we have referred; and what could not in its own nature admit of a just and immediate determination, we have determined. But how, my Lords, is it determined? Not at all to the honour or advantage of G. Britain, if I am rightly informed. We have, it seems, made a lumping bargain of it. Our merchants claimed 430,000 l. they had really been robbed of by the Spaniards; without reckoning the loss they sustained by the interruption of their trade, by the high premiums they paid upon insurance, and many other losses that have been occasioned by these depredations. They claimed this sum as the value only of those ships, that had been actually sent out by them, and seized or plundered by the Spaniards: They claimed nothing for the ships they might, and would have sent out, if it had not been for the interruption they met with in their trade; nor did they claim any thing for the high insurance, and other extraordinary

many charges they were put to upon those ships that had the good luck to escape. A computation of this kind would have made their claim amount to double the sum; yet this great claim, it seems, we have lump'd with the Spaniards, and by this convention have accepted 155,000*l.* in full for the whole; and even this sum, notwithstanding this most extraordinary abatement, is not to be paid to our merchants by the Spaniards, but by ourselves. Is this, my Lords, to be called a reparation? and yet this reparation, such as it is, has cost us at least 4 or 500,000 *l.* extraordinary charges since last session of parliament. If this be a reparation, I hope we shall have no more such; two or three such reparations would undo us.

From hence your Lordships will see, we have no great reason to approve of what his Majesty has told us we have got. And now, with regard to what his Majesty has told us we have not got, are Plenipotentiaries to regulate the searching of our ships upon the high seas? I hope no British Plenipotentiary will dare to regulate, what this nation must never, nor in any shape admit. *No search*, my Lords, is the word with every man of common sense in the kingdom. It was the sense of both houses, last session of parliament; and in the resolution your Lordships then came to upon this very head, you have declared, that the searching of our ships, on the open seas, is a violation of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns. *No search* was therefore the chief article we ought to have insisted on in any new treaty, between the two crowns. Without this we can have no security, we can have no reparation for the insults and dishonour the British flag has met with. They have lately set up a pretence to search our ships upon the open seas: the very setting up of such a pretence, is an affront put upon us by them; but to conclude any treaty or convention with them afterwards, without an express disavowal of all pretences of that kind, is putting a new and a much greater affront upon ourselves. This we have done: his Majesty has told us we have

done it. Is it possible that such a step can escape the censure of parliament?

This, my Lords, is the case now before us. We are not to judge of, or condemn the convention, before we know what it is. His Majesty has in his speech told us what it is. He has told us that something is done, which ought not to be done. He has told us, that a point of the utmost consequence to our trade and navigation is referred to the regulation of Commissaries, which, in its own nature, can admit of no regulation. This is what every unprejudiced man in the nation must condemn. It is what your Lordships have already condemned by the resolutions you came to last session of parliament: And when from his Majesty's speech it appears, that something has been done, which you must, which you ought to condemn, as soon as you come to enquire into it; can you make use of any expressions in your address, which may look like an approbation of what has been done? can you mention such a measure without testifying your dislike?

I shall always, my Lords, be for shewing as much respect and esteem for his Majesty as we can express; I shall even be for shewing, upon all occasions, as much complaisance as is consistent with the dignity of this house. When I do so, I speak from the sincerity of my heart; but that very sincerity will always prevent my shewing such a complaisance as may mislead. When we approve, or but seem to approve of measures which ought to be censured, which almost every man without doors does censure, it is shewing no complaisance to our Sovereign; 'tis behaving with insincerity, I may say with infidelity, towards him, for the sake of shewing a mean complaisance to his minister. This is a behaviour, which no precedent, no custom can warrant. It is a behaviour which every man must in his conscience condemn. But what is this custom, which is now pleaded for such a fawning, such a false sort of behaviour? Why, my Lords, it is not much above 20 years standing. It is not much above that time since we first began to echo

back, paragraph by paragraph, in our address, the King's speech from the throne: It was a bad precedent at first, and therefore ought never to have been followed. But even this custom, bad as it is, neither ought, nor can be made a precedent upon the present occasion. Upon no former occasion can it be said, that even from the King's speech, something appeared to have been done, which ought not to have been done, and which this house could not but perceive, from what his Majesty told them of it in his speech, that they would be obliged to censure. This, my Lords, is the case at present: His Majesty in his speech has told us, that the searching of our ships upon the high seas is referred to be regulated by Commissaries. Can your Lordships approve of this? Can you mention it without a censure? Therefore the greatest regard, the greatest complaisance you can, upon the present occasion, show to his Majesty; nay the greatest complaisance you can in honour show to his minister, is not to mention it at all. For which reason, I hope your Lordships will, at least upon this occasion, resume the ancient method of addressing; and for that purpose agree to the amendment proposed.

The substance of C. Helvius's speech, against the amendment, was given in the general answer; however, I shall now add what follows.

My Lords,

L. Harvey

AS the proposition now made to you contains no direct approbation, neither of the convention, nor of any thing that has been lately transacted; as the expressions are so general that, in my opinion, they do not so much as insinuate, that you do approve, or that you will approve of any part of our late conduct, I cannot think that your agreeing to what is proposed will meet with any censure without doors: I am sure it can meet with no just censure.

My Lords, the wisest, the most necessary resolutions we can come to, may be misinterpreted or misrepresented by some seditious or ill-designing men with-

out doors; but, to such misinterpretations or misrepresentations we ought never to show the least regard, unless we be to punish the authors, as often as they can be detected and apprehended. In all cases that come before us, we ought to consider and regard only our duty as members of this house; and, as I think there is nothing in the address proposed that can be look'd on in any other light than as expressions of our duty and affection to our Sovereign, I must think it my duty, as a member of this house, obliges me to agree to it without an amendment. Our agreeing to the amendment proposed would, in my opinion, look as if we had, at present, some secret and extraordinary reason, for limiting and setting bounds to those expressions of respect and esteem for our Sovereign, which are usual upon such occasions; and, as no part of his Majesty's late conduct can furnish us with the least shadow of reason for doing so, I shall be against our agreeing to any thing, that may make the people without doors imagine or suspect that we have any such reason.

With regard, my Lords, to the convention lately concluded between his Majesty and the K. of Spain, as it is not yet laid before us, it cannot properly be brought into this debate. Both within doors and without, it ought to be judged favourably of, till some proof to the contrary appears; but if we agree to this amendment, it will at least make the people without doors judge very unfavourably of the convention: and I do not think we ought, without good grounds, to raise a suspicion of the conduct, even of the administration. When I am convinced that our ministers have done any thing that is wrong, I shall be as ready to disapprove, I shall be as ready to censure as any Lord in this house; but as it is for the publick good, that our people should have a confidence in those that govern them, when they deserve it, I shall never be for agreeing to any thing that may lessen that confidence, till I am fully convinced that they deserve no confidence; which, I think, none of your Lordships can be, from any thing men-

soned in his Majesty's speech. There is nothing in his Majesty's speech that can make us judge amidst of the convention, or of any of the measures made use of for bringing it to a conclusion. The searching of our ships upon the high seas, is not referred to our Plenipotentiaries, nor is to be regulated by them, or by any other minister whatever. I do not know that the Spaniards ever directly pretended to any such right. They pretended, and they have a right to pretend, that some of our ships ought to carry on an illicit trade with their plantations. We pretend the same with regard to our plantations; and we have a mutual right to prevent this illicit trade, by all those means that are allowed by the law of nations; but the Spaniards have lately made use of such means, as are not allowed by the law of nations, such as are inconsistent with the freedom of our trade and navigation.

This, my Lords, is what we complain of; this is what we justly complain of; this is the present chief dispute between us and Spain; and this is not only a point that admits of a discussion, but a point that cannot be settled without a discussion. We must concert together what means they may make use of, what means we may allow them to make use of, for preventing an illicit trade between the subjects of the two nations. This is not to be settled at once, nor is the question to be answered by a *Yes* or a *No*. They must, on their part, take care, that no back-door is left open for carrying on a contraband or illicit trade, under the pretence of a free and uninterrupted navigation; and we, on our part, must take great care, that no pretence shall be given to the Spanish guarda costas for interrupting our lawful trade in the American seas, by any measure they may think necessary for guarding their coasts against a contraband and unlawful trade. Your Lordships must see that this is a point which requires great deliberation; and this only is what is, by the present convention, referred to be regulated within a limited time by Plenipotentiaries.

In this, my Lords, there is nothing

dishonourable, there is nothing disadvantageous to the nation. If the Spaniards should insist upon making use of such methods, for preventing an illicit trade on their coasts, as are contrary to the law of nations, and inconsistent with the freedom or safety of our navigation in the American seas; our Plenipotentiaries may, and certainly will refuse to agree to them: and, if they propose no methods but what we may safely admit of, without exposing our navigation or commerce to any danger; surely your Lordships will all be of opinion, that we ought to agree to their making use of such methods rather than go to war; and those methods must be settled and regulated by a treaty between the two nations. If this should appear to be the case, we would have no pretence for declaring war against them: Such a war would certainly be unjust upon our part; because it would be; and by all Europe would be considered as a war for supporting the smuggling trade, that may be carried on by our subjects in the Spanish West-Indies. It would be the same thing as if Holland or France should say to us, You shall not take the proper and necessary methods for preventing the running of wool out of the islands of G. Britain or Ireland; if you do, we shall declare war against you.

There is nothing therefore, my Lords, in his Majesty's speech, that can induce us to think, that we must censure the convention lately concluded; and therefore, nothing that can prevent our agreeing to the proposition now made to us. It was last session the opinion of parliament, it is the opinion of every man of sense in the kingdom; that all peaceable methods ought to be tried for obtaining satisfaction and security, before we have recourse to force of arms. This cannot be done but by way of negotiation; and in this negotiation, the King of Spain has shewn that he is sensibly inclined to do us justice, by his having already, by way of preliminary, agreed to give us satisfaction for what is past. We could not desire a more substantial proof of his being inclined

to give us security against future injuries, as soon as such a security can be contrived as may be consistent with the security of his own dominions in America.

This security, my Lords, is to be granted, and all the other disputes between us settled, within a limited time; so that the negotiation can be of no long continuance. A few months will determine, whether we are to have peace or war; and if we should at last be obliged to go to war, we shall be able to justify it to the whole world. People may call the convention a paper peace, or by what other name they please; but if ever we make peace, we must trust to paper, or we can trust to nothing. Negotiations may be supported or enforced by military preparations, but they must be carried on in paper; and if we should go to war, 'tis to be hoped we should not always continue in that dangerous and troublesome state. The end of war is peace; and that peace must be preceded by a negotiation, and confirmed by a treaty; both which must be in paper. I have often heard of a paper war, and there are some amongst ourselves who seem to be fond of it; therefore I am surpris'd to hear them condemn paper negotiations, or a paper peace. With respect to war, the term may be just; but, since paper was invented, I never heard of a peace that was concluded without paper; and therefore every treaty, and every convention, may be called a paper peace, as well as the present. There can be no other sort of peace; and that which is now begun between Spain and us, I hope, will not only be soon concluded, but that it will be a safe, honourable, and lasting one.

However, my Lords, as neither the convention, nor any thing relating to it, can now come properly under your consideration, I need say nothing more of it at present. I hope I have shewn, there is nothing in his Majesty's speech can make us suspect that the convention is either dishonourable, or disadvantageous for this nation. When it is laid before us, we may judge of it with some certainty; and as there is nothing in

the proposition now made to you, that can preclude any of your Lordships from giving your sentiments freely about the convention, when you see it, I think your Lordships are, in duty to his Majesty, bound to agree to what is proposed without any amendment.

L. Amellius Paullus spoke last in this debate, in substance as follows.

My Lords, S. of Argyll

IN this debate I have heard many things which I highly approve of, particularly some things that have been mentioned by the two Noble Lords sitting over against me. As for that treaty, that thing they call a *convention*, I know it is a little irregular to say any thing of it, till it is laid before us; but I know so much of it already, that I can now say, I shall not approve of one article of it.

However, my Lords, as there is nothing in the address proposed that can, in my opinion, be look'd on as an approbation of that treaty; as it contains nothing but a compliment to his Majesty, and even that compliment more carefully expressed, than has of late been usual upon such occasions; and as I think it necessary upon the present occasion, and in our present circumstances, to shew the greatest unanimity amongst ourselves, and the utmost regard and affection for the person of our Sovereign, therefore I shall be for agreeing to what is proposed without any amendment.

[This Journal to be continued.]

In the Daily Gazetteer, the 10th query subjoined to the following list, is answered by putting another, (which we shall fill up this page with) viz. Whether this unparallel'd and unprecedented method of withdrawing from debate, at this critical conjuncture, was not evidently done with this single view, To apprise the enemies of G. Britain that our divisions were carried to a greater height than ever was known before; and, by this base and wicked artifice, to bring the nation into contempt, and prevent Spain from coming to any agreement with us?

an exact LIST of the Members of the House of Commons, who voted for and against the CONVENTION with Spain.

N. B. The under written List shews how large a sum of money is VISIBLY paid yearly to Members of the House of Commons, besides what *secret favours* may be conferred on them, their relations, and friends; which, in a less virtuous House of Commons than this, would indanger the Constitution, and give an ambitious Minister an opportunity of gaining to himself a faction therein, which, contrary to common sense, and their own self-conviction, would support him and his pernicious measures, to the ruin of their country: And must render the attendance of those Members that wish well to it, useless.

Teller for the Convention,

Salaries, *per ann.*

Thomas Winnington, Esq; *Droitwich*, Lord of the Treasury 1600

A Bertromby, Ja. *Banffsb.* Capt. of F. King's Painter in Scotland, and Dep. Gov. of Stirling castle 600

A Court, Pierre, *Heytesbury*, two brothers in the guards

Alston, Sir Rowland, *Bedfordsb.*

Archer, Tho. *Warwick*, } Trustees for Archer, Hen. *Warwick*, } Georgia

Arskine, Char. *Dumfriessb.* Ld Advocate for Scotland 1000

Arundell, Hon. Richard, *Knaresborough*, Master-worker of the mint 1500

Athe, Jos. Windham, *Downton*

Ashburnham, Sir Will. *Hastings*, Commissioner of the Alienation-office and Chamberlain of the Tally-court 800

Baker, Hercules, *Hybe*, Treasurer of Greenwich hospital 500

Balle, Thomas, *Exeter*

Beaghan, Edm. Hungate, *Winchelsea*

Beaucherk, Ld Vere, *Windsor*, Lord of the Admiralty 1000

Beaucherk, Ld Sidney, *Windsor*, brother to Ld Vere and D. of St Alban's, obtain'd a reversionary grant of crown-lands after a short term

Bertie, Hon. Albemarle, *Boston*

Bevan, Arthur, *Carmarthen*

Bisse, Steph. *Romney*, Commissioner for victualling the navy, Clerk of the crown 1000

Bladen, Martin, *Malden*, Commissioner of Trade, and Commissary for settling the trade in the Netherlands 2500

Bladen, Thomas, *Abburton*

Bockland, Maurice, *Lymington*, Col. of the Foot-guards 500

Bond, John, *Corfe-castle*, his brother Letter-carrier to Hampton-court

Bowles, Brig. Phineas, *Bowdley*, Col. of a regim. of dragoons in Ireland, and Brig. on the Irish establishment 2000

Boyne, Ld Visc. *Newport*, Commissioner of the Revenue in Ireland 1000

Boyton, S. Fr. *Heydon*, his son in the army

Bradshaigh, Sir Roger, *Wigan*, his sons in the army and at court

Bradshaw, Elerker, *Beverley*

Brassay, Nathaniel, *Heriford*

Brereton, Tho. *Liverpool*, Commif. of the Victualling-office, his son in the Lottery-office 500

Bridges, Geo. *Winchester*

Bristow, John, *Bereafston*, Dep. Gov. of the S. S. company

Bristow, Robert, *Winchelsea*

Brodie, Alex. *Elginb.* Lyeen King at Arms, &c. 800

Brodie, Alex. *Nairnb.* his brother a company in New-York

Bromley, Hen. *Cambridgeb.* Lieutenant of the county of Cambridge

Brown, Sir Robert, *Iskchester*

Brudenell, Hon. James, *Chichester*, Commif. of Trade, Groom of the bed-chamber, and Gentleman of the horse to his Majesty 2000

Burchet, Josiah, *Sandwich*, Secretary of the Admiralty 1200

Burrell, Peter, *Hastmere*, Sub-Gov. of the S. S. company

Butler, James, *Suffex*

Byng, Rob. *Plymouth*, Commif. of the Navy, & since Gov. of Barbadoes 500

Campbell, Brig. James, *Airsh.* Col. of the reg. of Grey dragoons, Groom of the bed-chamber, and Gov. of Edinburgh castle 3800

Campbell, Col. John, *Dumbartonshires*, Groom of the bed-chamber, and Col. of a reg. of F. and his daughter Keeper of Somerset-house 1400

Campbell, John, <i>Rembrick</i> , Lt. of the Admiralty, with lodging, fire and candle 1300	Donah, Gen. <i>Agler</i> , Comptroller of the lotteries 500
Carmichael, H. James, <i>Lanark, &c.</i> brother to the E. of Hyndford, a Lt. of the Police, and Com ^r to the G. Assembly	Dodington, Geo. <i>Bridgewater</i> , Lt. of the Treasury, and Clerk of the Pells in Ireland 3100
Cary, Walter, <i>Dartmouth</i> , Clerk of the Green Cloth, and of the Council 1500	<i>Doublington, George, Weymouth</i>
Cuswall, Sir Geo. <i>Leominster</i>	Douglas, Hon. Rob. <i>Orkney and Zeland</i> , Capt. of a comp. of F. 250
Cavendish, Philip, <i>Porfsmouth</i> , Admiral of the Blue, and Porter of St James's palace 600	Downing, Sir Geo. <i>Darwich</i> , K. B.
Champion, Sir George, <i>Aylesbury</i> , B. B.	Drummond, John, <i>Dunder, &c.</i> Com-missary for settling the trade in the Netherlands, and his nephew Secretary to the order of the Thistle 1500
Eholmondelay, Hon. James, <i>Caustford</i> , Lieut. Gov. of Chester castle, and Lieut. Col. of the Horse-guards 1000	Duckett, Col. William, <i>Cater, Lt. Col.</i> in the Horse-grenadier guards 500
Churchill, Chas. <i>Castlebrise</i> , Maj. Gen. Groves of the bed-chamber to his Majesty, Col. of a reg. of D. and Gov. of Plymouth, &c. and his son a place in the customs-house, in all 4800	Dummer, Tho. <i>Southampton</i> , his father and self places in the Great Ward-robe 1200
Chuse, Anthony, <i>Yarmouth in Islands</i>	Duncombe, Anthony, <i>Downton</i>
Clavering, John, <i>Bury</i> , Groves of the bed-chamber to his Majesty 500	Earle, Giles, <i>Mahesbury</i> , Lord of the Treasury 1600
Clayton, Sir Wm, <i>Blebbingby</i> , seventeen of his relations in place	Earle, William Bawlinson, <i>Mahesbury</i> , Clerk of deliveries in the Ordnance office 600
Clayton, Kenrick, <i>Blebbingby</i> , son to Sir William	Edgecumbe, Rich. <i>Leffwithiel</i> , Joint Treasurer of Ireland 4000
Clutterbuck, Tho. <i>Phympton</i> , Lord of the Admiralty 1000	Easton, Earl, <i>Coventry</i> , son to the Lord Chamberlain
Conolly, Wm, <i>Abthorough in Suffolk</i>	Evans, Rich. <i>Quenborough</i> , Capt. of D. & Dep. Gov. of Shereffness, &c. 600
Cope, Brig. Gen. John, <i>Oxford</i> , Col. of a reg. of D. in Ireland 1500	<i>Everfield, Charles, Horsham</i>
Cope, Sir John, <i>Lymington</i> , his son a place at court, &c.	Eyles, Sir Joseph, <i>Devizes</i> , brother to the Post-master General, and Remitter for the crown 2500
Copleston, Tho. <i>Millington</i> , Clerk of the Quit Rents and Forfeiture-office in Ireland 600	Eyles, Capt. Francis, <i>Devizes</i> , Com ^r for victualling the navy 500
Corbet, Wm, <i>Montgomery</i> , his father a Com ^r of the customs	<i>Falconer, John, Kincauldine</i>
Corbet, Tho. <i>Sakabsh</i> , Under Sec ^r to the Adm ^t and Sec ^r to Greenw. hosp ^r and to the widows charity 800	<i>Fall, James, Furburgh, &c.</i> a lease in Holy Island
Cornwall, James, <i>Wobley</i> , Capt. of a man of war 400	Fane, Fr. <i>Taunton</i> , King's Council, and Council to the board of Trade 800
Cornwallis, Hon. Steph. <i>Bye</i> , Col. of a reg. of F. in England 1200	Finch, Hon. Hen. <i>Malton</i> , Receiver General and Collector of the revenues in Minorca 500
<i>Cornwallis, Hon. John, Eye</i>	Fitzroy, Charles, <i>Thetford</i> , Master of his Majesty's Tennis-courts, and Cornet of horse 400
Crowle, Geo. <i>Kingston upon Hull</i> , Com-mis ^r of the Navy 500	Fox, Stephen, <i>Shaftsbury</i> , since made Joint Secretary of the Treasury
<i>Curwen, Edw. Cockermouth</i>	Fox, Hen. <i>Hindes</i> , Surveyor-General of his Majesty's works 1000
<i>Dawcers, Joseph, Fenne's</i>	Frankland, Sir Tho. <i>Thistle</i> , Lord of the Admiralty, with lodging, fire and candle 1300
Darcy, Six Conyers, <i>Richmond</i> , Com-proller of the household 1000	<i>Frank-</i>

<i>Frankland, Fred. Flitche</i> , his brother	Herbert, Hon. Wm. <i>Walton</i> , Col. in
<i>Frederick, Tho. Shewbath</i> , Trustee for	the F. Guards 500
Georgia	Herbert, Hen. Arthur, <i>Latham</i> , Lieut.
<i>Gage, Sir William, Seaford</i> , K. B.	of the county of Salop
<i>Galway, Ld. Viscount, Pontefract</i> , Com ^r	<i>Hurat, Patrick, Kironabright</i> , his son &
of the revenue in Ireland 1000	company in Georgia
<i>Gibson, Tho. Furness in Flants</i> , Com ^r	Hervey, Hon. Tho. <i>St Edmundsbury</i> ,
revenue to Sir R. Walpole, and	Surveyor of his Majesty's Gardens
Cashier to the Pay-office	and Water-works 500
<i>Gillart, Richard, Liverpool</i> , his eldest	Hinman, Jos. <i>Christchurch</i> , Woodward
son Rec. Gen. of the land-tax for	and Keeper of New Forest, &c. 500
the county of Lancaster, and two of	<i>Hoby, Sir Tho. Great-Marlow</i>
his other sons provided for, &c.	Hogben, Sir Hen. <i>Prigun</i> , Judge Adv.
<i>Glensorchy, Ld. Viscount, Saltah</i> , K. B.	vocate 800
<i>Gough, Sir Henry, Brimbar</i>	Holden, Sam. <i>Eastlow</i> , Dir ^t of the Bank
<i>Gough, Capt. Brimbar</i> , Director of the	Howard, Hon. Cha. <i>Curry</i> , Col. of a
East India company	reg. of F. in Ireland, and Dep. Gov.
<i>Grant, Sir James, Inverness</i> , a grant	of Carlisle castle 1000
of duties in Scotland, his eldest son	How, John, <i>Wicham</i>
Com ^r of Police, his second son Capt.	<i>Howard, Sir Humphrey, Rutlandshire</i>
in the army, and his brother Capt.	Hucks, Wm. <i>Wallingford</i> , The King's
of an independent company	Brewer
<i>Gregory, Geo. Broughton</i> , Store-	<i>Hucks, Rob. Abingdon</i> , his son, Trustee
keeper of the ordnance 500	for Georgia
<i>Grey, Hen. Riding</i>	Hudley, George, <i>Newport in Hants</i> ,
<i>Graffich, John, Carnarvon</i> , Capt. of	Commissary of the Musters 800
foot 250	Jenkinson, Ralph, <i>Northumberland</i> , Mas-
<i>Grove, Gray James, Bridgewater</i>	ter of the Buck Hounds 2000
<i>Gulston, Jos. Tring</i> , Dir ^t of the S. S. &c ^t	Jewkes, John, <i>Edborough in Yorkshire</i>
<i>Hales, Sir Tho. Caustonbury</i>	Ingram, Hon. Cha. <i>Morham</i> , Col. of
<i>Hales, Tho. Grantham</i> , his son, Clerk	the F. Guards 500
of the board of Green Cloth 1000	Kent, Sam. <i>Islewich</i> , Distiller to the court
<i>Hallett, Peter, Brentford</i> , Sr. Capt.	<i>Kinaston, Wm, Shrewsbury</i> , his brother
of foot 250	Solicitor of the customs
<i>Hampden, Jo. Wandor</i> , Commissary	Knight, Rob. <i>Grimsby</i> , son to the late
of the stores at Gibraltar 500	Cashier of the S. S. company
<i>Hanbury-Wm, Co. Montgomery</i> , Heir-ex-	Langdon, Hen. <i>Durham</i>
pectant to the late Ld Ranelagh's estate	Laroche, Jo. <i>Domin</i> , Trustee for Georgia
<i>Hansford, Brig. Gen. Harington</i> , Col. of a	<i>Laurie, Sir Robert, Dumfries</i> , &c. 600
reg. of F. and Gov. of F. Philip 2500	in law to the Ld Adv. for Scotland
<i>Harris, John, Halifax</i> , Treasurer to the	<i>Leiston, John, Newcastle under Lyme</i>
board of Works 600	Leathes, Carteret, <i>Harwich</i>
<i>Harvey, John, Rygate</i>	<i>Lebrun, Isaac, Killyington</i> , brother in law
<i>Hay, William, Seaford</i> , Commissioner	to Hor. Walpole, and sent formerly
of the Victualling-office 500	Minister to Germany, and his bro-
<i>Hawcote, Sir Ja. Biddis</i> , Trustee for	thers and relations provided for
Georgia	<i>Lewis, Tho. Radnor</i> , several relations
<i>Hedworth, John, Durham</i>	in the customs, &c.
<i>Henley, Henry Holt, Lyme-Regis</i> , Clerk	Liddell, Sir Hen. <i>Morpeth</i>
of the Pipe 500	<i>Liddell, George, Berwick</i> , Director for
<i>Herbert, Hon. Tho. Newport Caswall</i> ,	Greenwich hospital of Lord Der-
Col. in the F. G. and Paymaster to	wentwater's estates
Gibraltar 1200	<i>Lindsay, Pat. Edinburgh</i> , his brother
<i>Herbert, Hon. Rob. Wilson</i> , Commis-	in law Receiver-General in Scotland
sioner of Trade 1000	

- Lloyd, Richard, Cardigan*
Lloyd, Walter, Cardigansh. Attorney-General in Wales 300
Lockyer, Charles, Footchester
Longueville, Charles, Eastlow, Auditor to the late Queen, besides his other employment 800
Loutber, Sir William, Pontefract, his brother a place in the customs
Lytleton, Sir Tho. Camelford, Lord of the Admiralty, with lodging, fire and candle 1300
Maister, Henry, Kingston upon Hull
Martin, Mat. Cokchester, Director of the East-India company
Maule, Wm. Forfarsh. Capt. of F. and his brother Reg^t of safines in Scotl. 250
Medlicott, Tho. Milbourn-Port
Middlesex, Earl, East-Grinstead, son to the Lord Steward
Middleton, Sir Wm, Northumberland
Middleton, Brig. Jo. Montrose, &c. Col. of a reg. of F. Gov. of Holy-Island, and Purveyor of coal and candle for the guard-room in Canongate 1400
Mill, Sir Richard, Penryn
Monson, Cha. Lincoln, Deputy Paymaster of the army 1000
Montagu, Ld Rob. Huntingdon, Vice-chamberlain to her late Majesty 500
Mordaunt, Jo. Nettinghamsh. husband to a Lady of the bed-chamber to the late Queen 500
Mordaunt, John, Whitechurch, Col. in the F. G. and Equerry to the King 800
Morden, William, Dunwich
Morgan, Tho. Monmouthsh. Lieutenant of the county of Monmouth
Muore, Sir Robert, Dingwall, &c. his brother an independent company
Murray, Ld John, Perthsh. Col. in the F. Guards 500
Nasmyth, Sir Ja. Peeblessh. his brother Clerk to the admission of Notaries in Scotland
Norris, Sir John, Rye, Vice-Admiral of Engl. Admiral of the Red 1200
Norton, Tho. St Edmundsbury, Lieut. Gov. of Chelsea-college 600
Olmius, John, Weymouth
Onslow, Rt Hon. Arth. Surrey, Speaker of the House of Commons, Chancellor to the late Queen, and Treasurer of the navy 5000
Onslow, Ric. Guildford, Col. of a reg. of F. and Adjutant-General 1600
Osbaldeston, William, Scarborough
Owen, Wm, Pembroke, his two brothers Captains of dragoons, and his third brother Lieut. in the guards
Owen, Jo. Westlow, second brother to Wm Owen, Capt. of a company of dragoons 300
Palmerston, Lord Visc. Boffery, Chief Remembrancer in the court of Exchequer in Ireland 1000
Papillon, David, Dover, his son a place
Parsons, Henry, Malden, Purveyor of Chelsea-college, and Com^r for victualling the navy, &c. &c. 2000
Pearse, Tho. Weymouth, Commissioner of the navy 500
Pearse, Henry, Northampton
Pelham, Rt Hon. Henry, Suffolk, Paymaster of the forces, &c. 5000
Pelham, Ja. Newark, Secretary to the Ld Chamberlain, &c. 600
Pelham, Tho. Hastings, Sec^r to the embassy at the court of France 600
Pennington, Sir Jos. Camberland, his son (by his surrender) Comptroller of the excise-cash
Penton, Henry, Tregony
Phillipson, Jo. Shrewsbam, Chief Clerk in the navy-office, since made Com^r of the navy, and re-chose 500
Pierz, Wm, Wells, his son in the army
Pigot, Robert, Huntingdonsh.
Plumer, Rich. St Marcus, Commissioner of trade 1000
Plumptre, John, Nettingham, Treasurer to the ordnance 1000
Polhill, David, Rochester, Keeper of the records in the Tower 500
Pollen, John, Andover
Penlet, Hon. Peregrine, Boffery, brother to a Lord of the bed-chamber to his Majesty
Powlett, Lord Harry, Hampshire, Lord of the Admiralty, and his son an Esign in the guards 1300
Purvis, Geo. Alborough, Comptroller of the navy 500
Read, Sir Tho. Cricklade, Clerk of the board of Green Cloth 1000
Revell, Thomas, Dover, Commis. for victualling the navy, and Contraster for Gibraltar 2000
Rich,

Rich, Sir Rob. <i>St Ives</i> , Groom of the bed-chamber, and Col. of a reg. of D. and his son a Cornet of D. 2800	Trefusis, Tho. <i>Grampound</i> , Capt. of a man of war 400
Robinson, Nich. <i>Watton-Basset</i> , Capt. of a sloop to prevent smuggling 500	Trenchard, George, <i>Pool</i>
<i>Rose, Hugh, Rossb.</i> his uncle Lieut. Col. of dragoons	Trevor, John Morley, <i>Lewis</i>
Ryder, Dudley, <i>Triverton</i> , Attorney-General 1500	<i>Tucker, John, Weymouth</i> , his father a grant of the quarries in Portland
Sackville, Ld John, <i>Tamworth</i> , son to the Ld Steward, Capt. of foot 250	<i>Turner, Sir Charles, Lynn</i> , many of his relations in places
St Clair, James, <i>Sutherlandb.</i> Col. of a reg. of F. of two battalions 2000	Turner, Cholmley, <i>York</i>
St John, Pawlett, <i>Winchester</i>	Turner, Wm, <i>Horshamden, Maidstone</i>
Scrope, Hon. John, <i>Lyme-Regis</i> , Secretary to the Treasury 3000	Tyrconnel, Ld Visc. <i>Grantbam</i> , Trustee for Georgia
Selwyn, John, sen. <i>Glocester</i> , late Receiver-Gen. of the Customs, and surrender'd it to his brother, Treasurer to the late Queen 4600	Tyrrel, Ja. <i>Boroughbridge</i> , Maj. Gen. Col. of a reg. of F. and Gov. of Tilbury fort, &c. 1800
Selwyn, Jo. jun. <i>Whitchurch</i> , Treasurer to the Duke & Princesses, & the reversion of two places in the W. Indies 800	Urquhart, Duncan, <i>Forrest, &c.</i> Lieut. in the Foot-guards, his father Receiver of the Bishops rents 200
<i>Shelley, Sir John, Arundell</i> , brother-in-law to the D. of Newcastle, his brother a Commis. of the Stamp-duty	Vere, Thomas, <i>Norwich</i>
Sloper, William, <i>Great Bedwin</i> , Dep. Cofferer 1000	Wade, Geo. <i>Bath</i> , General of the forces in Scotland, Col. of a reg. of H. and Gov. of Fort William 4000
Smelt, Leonard, <i>Northalerton</i> , Clerk of the Ordnance 700	Wager, Sir Charles, <i>Westminster</i> , First Lord of the Admiralty, and Admiral of the White, &c. 3600
Stert, Arthur, <i>Phymouth</i> , Commissary for settling the merchants losses by the Spaniards ever since the 1728 1000	Walker, Tho. <i>Phympton</i> , Surveyor-Gen. of the crown-lands, &c. 1500
Stewart, Hon. James, <i>Wigton, &c.</i> Col. in the Guards 500	Wallingford, Lord Visc. <i>Banbury</i> , Major in the Horse-guards 500
Stewart, Will. <i>Banff, &c.</i> Pay-master of foreign pensions, Overseer of the K.'s swans, and principal K.'s Remembrancer for the Exchequer in Scotl. 1400	Walpole, Sir Rob. <i>Lynn</i> , Chancellor and Under Treas. of the Exchequer, Commis. of the Treasury, &c. &c. &c. 8000
Strange, Jo. <i>Westlow</i> , Sollicit.-Gen. 1000	Walpole, Hor. <i>Norwich</i> , Ambass. Extr. and Plenipo. to the States-General, Cofferer to the K. and Auditor-Gen. to the Plantations, &c. &c. 11000
Sundon, Lord, <i>Westminster</i> , Lord of the Treasury 1600	Walpole, Edw. <i>Great-Yarmouth</i> , Sec ^r to the Treasury of England, and Sec ^r to the Ld Lieut. of Ireland 4000
Talbot, Hon. John, <i>Brecon</i>	<i>Wardour, William, Fowey</i> , his brother Lieut. Col. in the Horse-guards
Thompson, Edward, <i>York</i> , Commissioner of the Revenue in Ireland 1000	White, Jo. <i>Ratford</i> , Trustee for Georgia
Thompson, Will. <i>Scarborough</i> , Commis. for victualling the navy 500	Whitworth, Fran. <i>Minehead</i> , Surveyor-Gen. of his Majesty's forests 1000
Tower, Tho. <i>Wallingford</i> , Trustee for Georgia	Williams, S. Nic. <i>Caermarthenb.</i> Lieut. of the county of Caermarthen, and Keeper of the court-leets 500
Townshend, Hon. Tho. <i>Cambridge University</i> . Teller of the Exchequer 2000	Wills, Sir Cha. <i>Totness</i> , Col. of the first reg. of Foot-guards, and Lieut. Gen. of Foot and Ordnance, 4000
Tracey, Robert, <i>Tewksbury</i> , Trustee for Georgia	<i>Wilmer, William, Northampton</i>
Treby, Geo. <i>Dartmouth</i> , Master of the Household 1000	<i>Wilkinson, Andrew, Aldborough Yorkb.</i>
	<i>Wollaston, Wil. Ipswich, Tr. for Georgia</i>
	<i>Wyndham, Tho. Pool</i>
	<i>Wynne,</i>

Wynn, Sir Geo. Flint, a grant from the crown of the mines in Flintshire for 32 years

Wynn, Tho. Carmarvon, Clerk of the Green Cloth 1000

Yonge, Sir William, Hounston, Secretary at war 2500

Yorke, John, Richmond

Of the foregoing voted for the Excheq 141

Against it 13

Absent 7

Chose sides 101

262

Teller against the Convention,

Sir John Rushout, Bar, *Essexham*,

A Bdy, Sir Robert, *Essex*

Ailcock, Gilbert, *Cambridge-town*

Aitkine, William, *Rippon*, Auditor of of the Imprest for life 2000

Andover, Lord Viscount, *Cambridgeshire*

Archer, William, *Berk*

Ashby, Thomas, *St Albans*

Ashley, Solomon, *Bristol*, lock'd out — next day voted against it

Astley, Sir John, *Suff*

Aston, Sir Thomas, *St Albans*

Bacon, Sir Edmund, *Norfolk*

Bagot, Sir Walt. Wagstaff, *Stafford*

Baltimore, Lord, *St Germaine*, Gent. of the bed-chamber to the Prince 600

Bampfylde, John, *Devon*

Bance, John, *Westbury*, Dir' of the Bank

Banks, John, *Caris-castle*

Barnard, Sir John, *London*

Barrymore, Earl, *Wigan*

Bathurst, Hon. Benjamin, *Gloucestersh.*

Bathurst, Benjamin, *Gloucester*

Bathurst, Hon. Henry, *Cirencester*

Bathurst, Peter, *New Sarum*

Bayley, Nicholas, *Amble*

Bayntun-Rolt, Edw. *Chippenham*

Berkeley, Hon. Geo. *Haydon*, Master of St Katherine's hosp. Lond. for life 400

Berkeley, Hon. John, *Stockbridge*

Blackett, Walter, *Newcastle upon Tyne*

Bold, Peter, *Lancash.*

Boon, Daniel, *Lutterball*

Bootle, Thomas, *Midhurst*

Bowes, George, *Durham*

Bramston, Thomas, *Essex*

Browne, John, *Dorchester*, King's Council

against the Convention.

Browne, Robert, *Dorchester*

Backworth, Sir John, *Wendy*

Burgoyne, Sir Roger, *Buckingham*

Butler, Dr Edward, *Oxford University*

Cesar, Charles, *Stafford*

Campbell, Brig. Peter, *Staff.* Lieut. Gov. of Portsmouth 500

Campbell, Chas. *Staff.* Capt. of F. 250

Campbell, Will. *Renfrew*, Sec. Equary to the Duke, and Chamber of H. 300

Carew, Sir William, *Corwall*

Carew, Thomas, *Gloucester*

Carnarvon, Marquis, *Stroming*, Gent. of the bed-chamber to the Prince 600

Cartwright, Thomas, *Northampton*

Chafin, George, *Dorset*

Chamberlayne, George, *Buckingham*

Chester, Thomas, *Gloucestersh.*

Chetwynd, Lt Vice. *Stafford*

Chetwynd, William, *Stafford*

Child, Sir Francis, *Middlesex*

Chichester, Sir John, *Barnstaple*

Cholmondeley, Charles, *Gloucester*

Clifton, Sir Robert, K. B. *Stafford*

Codrington, John, *Bath*

Compton, Hon. George, *Northampton*

Cornbury, Lt Vice. *Oxford University*

Cornwall, Velters, *Hertsford*

Cotter, Thomas, *Bristol*

Cotes, Dr Charles, *Taverne*

Cotton, Sir Jo. Hynck, *Cambridge-town*

Courtenay, Sir William, *Hounston*

Courtenay, Kethond, *Truro*

Crawley, John, *Marlborough*

Crewe, John, *Cheshire*

Cunningham, Alexander, *Stafford*

Curzon, Sir Nathaniel, *Dorset*

Dairymple, Hon. Wm, *Wigan*

Davers, Sir Jermy, *Suffolk*

Dawkins, James, *Worcester*

Delme, Peter, *Lutterball*

Dering, Sir Edward, *Kent*

Devereux, Hon. Price, *Monmouth*

Digby, Hon. Edward, *Warwick*, Treasurer for Georgia

Drax, Henry, *Worcester*

Duncombe, Thomas, *Rippon*

Eliot, Richard, *Leighard*, Receiver-Gen. to the Prince 500

Elton, Sir Abraham, *Bristol*

Erskine, Hon. James, *Clackmannan*, Secretary to the Prince for Scots Affairs

Evans, Hon. George, *Walsley*

Evelyn, John, <i>Bishop, Groom of the bed-chamber to the Prince</i>	400	Ilham, Sir Edm. <i>Northamptonsh. Judge-Marshal, and Ld High Adm.'s Adv.</i>	
Fagg, Sir Robert, <i>Stowmy</i>		Kay, Sir John Lister, <i>York</i>	
Fazakerley, Nicholas, <i>Presb.</i>		Kynaston, Corbet, <i>Sabp.</i>	
Fenwick, Robert, <i>Lancaster, Attorney-Gen. and King's Serjeant in the duchy of Lancaster</i>		Kynaston, Edward, <i>Bishop's-castle</i>	
Fenwick, Nicholas, <i>Newcastleupon Tyne</i>		Knight, Thomas, <i>Canterbury</i>	
Finch, Hon. William, <i>Cochormouth</i>		Lechmere, Edmund, <i>Worcestersh.</i>	
Finch, Hon. John, <i>Higham-ferrers, K.'s Council</i>		Lee, Sir Thomas, <i>Bucks</i>	
Finch, Hon. John, <i>Maidstone</i>		Lee, Dr George, <i>Brackley</i>	
Foley, Edward, <i>Droitwich</i>		Leslie, Hon. Tho. <i>Dyset, &c. a Lieut. of dragoons, half-pay</i>	50
Forbes, Sir Arthur, <i>Aberdeensh.</i>		Levinz, William, <i>Nottinghamsh.</i>	
Forbes, Theophilus, <i>Barnstable</i>		Limerick, Ld Visct. <i>Wendroer, Trustee for Georgia</i>	
Fox, George, <i>Hindon</i>		Lisle, Edward, <i>Hampsh.</i>	
Furness, Henry, <i>Morpeth</i>		Lister, Thomas, <i>Glithoroe</i>	
Fyddell, Richard, <i>Boston</i>		Lockwood, Richard, <i>Worcester</i>	
Gage, Ld Visct. <i>Tewkesbury</i>		Long, Sir Robert, <i>Faton-hassett</i>	
Gibson, Edward, <i>Petersfield</i>		Long, Richard, <i>Chippensham</i>	
Gilmour, Sir Charles, <i>Edinburghsh.</i>		Lowther, Hon. Anthony, <i>Westmoreland</i>	
Gore, Thomas, <i>Armondsburn</i>		Lyttleton, George, <i>Oakbampton, Secretary to the Prince</i>	866 : 13 : 4
Gower, Hon. W. Lovelock, <i>Staffordsh.</i>		MacKworth, Herbert, <i>Cardiffe</i>	
Gower, Hon. Bap. Lovelock, <i>Newcastle under Dine.</i>		Manners, Ld William, <i>Newark</i>	
Greenwill, Richard, <i>Buckingham</i>		Marshall, Henry, <i>Armondsburn</i>	
Grey, Lord, <i>Leicestersh.</i>		Master, Thomas, <i>Cirencester</i>	
Grosvener, Sir Robert, <i>Chester</i>		Master, Legh, <i>Newton</i>	
Gudott, William, <i>Audover</i>		Meadows, Sidney, <i>Tarvisock</i>	
Gybon, Phillips, <i>Rye</i>		Methuen, Sir Paul, <i>Brackley</i>	
Hamilton, Ld Arch. <i>Greenborough, Conferer to the Prince, and Surveyor-Gen. of Cornwall for the Prince</i>	1200	Moleworth, Sir John, <i>Newport</i>	
Hamilton, Sir James, <i>Llanerks.</i>		Mopoux, Sir Humphry, <i>Stockbridge</i>	
Harley, Edward, <i>Herefordsh.</i>		Montagu, Edward, <i>Photingdon</i>	
Harley, Robert, <i>Leominster</i>		Mordaunt, Sir Charles, <i>Warwicksh.</i>	
Harvey, Michael, <i>Milbourn-Port</i>		Morgan, Sir John, <i>Hereford</i>	
Heathcote, Sir William, <i>Southernampton, Trustee for Georgia</i>		Morrice, Sir William, <i>Launceston</i>	
Heathcote, George, <i>Southernark, Trustee for Georgia</i>		Mostyn, Sir Thomas, <i>Flinsh.</i>	
Herbert, James, <i>Oxford City</i>		Murray, John, <i>Selkirksh.</i>	
Hill, Sir Rowland, <i>Litchfield</i>		Myddleton, John, <i>Denbigh</i>	
Holmes, Thomas, <i>Newtown</i>		Nedham, Robert, <i>Old Sarum</i>	
Hooper, Edward, <i>Christ-church</i>		Newton, Sir Michael, <i>Grantburn</i>	
Horner, T. Strangeways, <i>Somersetsh.</i>		Newland, George, <i>Gatton</i>	
Houblon, Jacob, <i>Colchester</i>		Noel, Hon. James, <i>Rutlandsh.</i>	
Hume-Campbell, H. Alex. <i>Berkwicksh.</i>		Noel, Thomas, <i>Rutlandsh.</i>	
Hungerford, Walter, <i>Calne</i>		Noel, Wm, <i>Stamford, King's Council</i>	
Hylton, John, <i>Carlisle</i>		Ongley, Samuel, <i>Bedford</i>	
Jefferys, John, <i>Braconsh.</i>		Ord, Robert, <i>St Michaels</i>	
Inwin, Thomas, <i>Southernark</i>		Oxenden, Sir George, <i>Sandwich</i>	
Itby, Sir William, <i>Launceston, Chamberlain to the Princess</i>	500	Packer, Winchcomb, <i>Berks</i>	
		Packington, Sir Herbert, <i>Worcestersh.</i>	
		Parker, Armited, <i>Peterborough</i>	
		Parsons, Humphrey, <i>London</i>	
		Peachey, Sir John, <i>Midhurst</i>	
		Perry, Micaiah, <i>Ld Mayor, London</i>	
		Pitt,	

Pitt, John, <i>Wareham</i>	Waller, Harry, <i>Chipping-wicomb</i>
Pitt, Thomas, <i>Oakhampton</i> , a Pay- master for the coinage of tin 300	Warren, Borlace, <i>Nottingham</i>
Pitt, William, <i>Old Sarum</i> , Groom of the bed-chamber to the Prince 400	Whitmore, Thomas, <i>Bridgenorth</i>
Playdell, Edm. Morton, <i>Dorsetsh.</i>	Wigley, James, <i>Leicester</i>
Polwarth, Lord, <i>Berwick</i>	Willimott, Robert, <i>London</i>
Popham, Edward, <i>Great Bedwin</i>	Wodehouse, Armine, <i>Norfolk</i>
Portman, Henry William, <i>Taunton</i>	Worsley, James, <i>Newtown</i>
Powel, Sir Christopher, <i>Kent</i>	Wortley, Edward, <i>Peterborough</i>
Powys, Richard, <i>Orford</i>	Wrighte, George, <i>Leicester</i>
Praed, Wm Mackworth, <i>St Ives</i>	Wyndham, Sir William, <i>Somersest.</i>
Price, Richard, <i>Sudbury</i>	Wyndham, Charles, <i>Bridgewater</i>
Proby, John, <i>Stamford</i>	Wynn, Watkin Williams, <i>Denbigh.</i>
Pulteney, William, <i>Middlesex</i>	Yates, Thomas, <i>Chichester</i>
Ramfden, Sir John, <i>Apulby</i>	
Rastleigh, Jonathan, <i>Fowey</i>	<i>Of these were for the Excise</i> 1
Rowney, Thomas, <i>Oxford</i>	<i>Against it</i> 10
Rutherford, John, <i>Roxburghsh.</i>	<i>Absent at the Excise</i>
St Aubin, Sir John, <i>Cornwall</i>	<i>Chose since</i> 11
Sambrooke, Sir Jeremy, <i>Bedford</i>	
Sandys, Samuel, <i>Worcester</i>	
Saunderson, Sir Thom. <i>Lincast.</i> Treas- urer to the Prince 1200	
Scawn, Thomas, <i>Surrey</i>	
Seymour, Francis, <i>Marlborough</i>	
Shafto, John, <i>Durham</i>	
Shepherd, Samuel, <i>Cambridgesh.</i>	
Shippen, William, <i>Newton</i>	
Shuttleworth, Richard, <i>Lancast.</i>	
Sibthorp, Coningsby, <i>Lincoln</i>	
Slingby, Sir Henry, <i>Knareboroughsh.</i>	
Smith, Edward, <i>Leicestersh.</i>	
Somerfet, Lord Noel, <i>Monmouth</i>	
Spencer, Hon. John, <i>Woodstock</i>	
Stanhope, Hon. Sir Wm, <i>Bucks</i>	
Stanhope, Hon. John, <i>Derby</i>	
Stanhope, Charles, <i>Harwich</i>	
Stapleton, Sir William, <i>Oxfordsh.</i>	
Stapylton, Sir Miles, <i>Yorksh.</i>	
Stephenson, Edward, <i>Sudbury</i>	
Stewart, Admiral Charles, <i>Portsmouth,</i> Vice-Admiral of the White 400	
Talbot, John Ivory, <i>Wiltsh.</i>	
Taylor, William, <i>Evesham</i>	
Townshend, Hon. Roger, <i>Great Yar-</i> <i>mouth,</i> Capt. of Horse 500	
Trefusis, Robert, <i>Truro</i>	
Vane, Hon. Henry, <i>St Marcus</i>	
Vaughan, William, <i>Merionethsh.</i>	
Vernon, Sir Charles, <i>Chipping-wicomb</i>	
Vernon, Geo. Venables, <i>Lichfield</i>	
Vyner, Robert, <i>Lincolns.</i>	
Waller, Edmund, <i>Great-marlow</i>	
	<i>The NAMES of those who were absent.</i>
	A nstruther, Sir Jo. <i>Fife.</i> Master of the K.'s works in Scotland 400
	Anstruther, Brig. Philip, <i>Pettenham,</i> Esq. a Col. of a reg. of F. and Lieut. Gov. of Minorca 3000
	Arcot, Arthur, <i>Tiverton</i>
	Ash, Edw. <i>Heytesbury,</i> Com ^r of Trade (absent with Charles Pelham) 1000
	Austen, Sir Robert, <i>Ramsey</i>
	Bennett, Philip, <i>Shaftsbury</i>
	Bowles, William, <i>Bridport</i>
	Bulkeley, Ld Visc. <i>Beaumaris</i>
	Bunbury, Sir Charles, <i>Chester</i>
	Campbell, Sir James, <i>Stirlingsh.</i> Ma- ster-master Gen. in Scotland 800
	Cavendish, Ld Charles, <i>Derbigh.</i> bro- ther to the Duke of Devonshire
	Cavendish, Ld James, <i>Derby,</i> uncle to the Duke of Devonshire
	Clarke, Sir Thomas, <i>Hertford</i>
	Cocks, James, <i>Ryeport</i>
	Cokburne, John, <i>Haddingtonsh.</i>
	Conyers, Edward, <i>East-Grinstead</i>
	Corbett, Sir Richard, <i>Shrewsbury</i>
	Crosse, Sir John, <i>Leffwithsh.</i>
	Curzon, William, <i>Clitheroe</i>
	Docminique, Charles, <i>Gatton</i>
	Drake, Sir Francis, <i>Berealston</i>
	Fane, Hon. Cha. <i>Tewkesb.</i> (absent with Mr-Mansel) Envoy to the court of Florence 1800
	Finch, Hon. Edw. <i>Cambridge Univer-</i> <i>sity,</i>

fy, Envoy and Plenipotentiary in Sweden 2300	Northcote, Sir Henry, <i>Exeter</i>
Fitzroy, Lord Augustus, <i>Thetford</i> , Capt. of a man of war 400	Oglethorpe, Ja. <i>Hastemere</i> , General and Commander of his Majesty's forces in Georgia, and Col. of a reg. 1200
Firebrace, Sir Cordell, <i>Suffolk</i>	Onslow, Hon. Rich. <i>Guilford</i> , son to Ld Onslow Teller of the Exchequer
Foley, Thomas, <i>Hereford</i>	Pelham, Char. <i>Beverley</i> , (absent with Edward Ash)
Forester, William, <i>Wenlock</i>	Pelham, Tho. <i>Lewis</i> , Commissioner of trade 1000
Forester, Brook, <i>Wenlock</i> , his son	Perrot, Henry, <i>Oxfordsh.</i>
Glanville, Wm, <i>Hythe</i> , Com' of the revenue in Ireland, lock'd out 1000	Philips, Sir Erasmus, <i>Haverfordwest</i>
Gore, William, <i>Cricklade</i>	Plumer, William, <i>Hertfordsh.</i>
Haddock, Nic. <i>Rocheſter</i> , Admiral and Commander of a fleet 2000	Plumer, Walter, <i>Apulby</i>
Hamilton, Alex. <i>Linlithgowsh.</i>	Pottinger, Richard, <i>Reading</i> , Welch Judge 500
Herbert, Richard, <i>Ludlow</i>	Rolle, Henry, <i>Devonsh.</i>
Hoare, Henry, <i>New-Sarum</i>	Speke, George, <i>Wells</i>
Holford, Sir William, <i>Petersfield</i>	Stuart, Col. James, <i>Air, &c.</i> a Col. in the F. Guards, Gent. Usher and Daily Waiter, &c. 650
Lowther, Sir Thomas, <i>Lancaster</i>	Sutton, Sir Robert, <i>Grimshy</i>
Lowther, Sir James, <i>Cumberland</i>	Tower, Christ', <i>Aylesbury</i> , Trustee for Georgia
Lumley, Hon. John, <i>Arundell</i> , Groom of the bed-chamber to the Prince, and Col. in the Guards 900	Tuckfield, Roger, <i>Abburton</i>
Mansel, Hon. Bussy, <i>Glamorgansh.</i> (absent with Mr. Fane)	Watts, Thomas, <i>St Michael</i>
Montagu, Ch. <i>St Germans</i> , Auditor to the Prince & county of Cornwall 500	Wentworth, Sir Wm, <i>Malton</i> , his brother a Col. of a reg. of F.
More, Robert, <i>Bishops-castle</i>	Wilson, Daniel, <i>Westmoreland</i>
Neale, John, <i>Coventry</i> , his wife dresser to the late Queen 300	

The Pro's, Contra's, and Absents, with the number of Members, Placemen, lucrative Employments, and yearly Salaries.

SCOTS.				ENGLISH.				TOTAL.			
M.	P.	E.	Sal.	M.	P.	E.	Sal.	M.	P.	E.	Sal.
26	15	24	15850	236	118	156	167600	262	133	180	183450
13	4	5	940	222	14	15	9866	235	18	20	10806
6	4	7	4850	55	12	15	12900	61	16	22	17750
45	23	36	21640	513	144	186	190366	558	167	222	212006

Quere, Whether to this visible influence many secret ones may not be added?

2. Why the civil list, amounting to upwards of 900,000 l. per ann. is at present in debt?

2. Whether any placeman, civil or military, voting against the dictates of the ministry, is not turned out?

2. Whether the reality, as well as the form of our constitution, does not consist in three separate independent states?

2. Whether the corrupt influencing either, or both houses of parliament, is not subverting those parts of the legislature, and destroying our constitution?

2. Whether frequent attempts have not been made to prevent this growing evil, and to no purpose; since, notwithstanding these attempts, there never were so many placemen in parliament at one time as there are now?

2. Whether the application of this influence may not at any time defeat the endeavours of those out of employment, to vindicate the honour, and protect the trade of the nation?

2. Whether, in case this influence should be applied to any question; it would not be imposing on mankind to debate it?

2. Whether those who saw it in this light would not have been *criminal* if they had omitted to inform the nation of their apprehensions on so important a point?

2. Whether they could by any other method than *withdrawing from debate* have apprised their constituents of their despair of serving them by farther attendance?

2. Whether it is not the duty of every elector in *Great Britain*, in order to preserve his own rights and those of his posterity, to require the concurrence of his respective representatives effectually to promote a *proper place-bill* in parliament?

2. Whether, if this be refused *now*, it is not easy and necessary to stipulate for it at the next election of a parliament?

COMMON SENSE, July 28.

Danger of Placemen sitting in Parliament.

I Believe there is no man in this kingdom, except a placeman or a pensioner, but will allow, that the liberties of this country must soon be at an end, whenever the ministry have the means and power put into their hands by a pecuniary influence to corrupt the representative body of the people. — It may be answered, indeed, That a virtuous and a wise minister will not make use of it, or will have no occasion to make use of it, though he had the means. Allowing this to be true, we are no longer safe than while the minister is wise and virtuous: this is so precarious a security, that none but men out of their senses would trust to. — It is therefore an honest part to warn the people of their danger; that they may instruct their representatives to make such laws as may render the nation safe from these dreadful apprehensions. — Those who would oppose such laws, may as well say, that a man who lives near some rapid flood, ought not to raise banks to secure himself against an inundation; — that we ought not to take precautions against the spreading of fire, or give ourselves the least trouble to prevent the plague.

But it would be very hard, indeed, if a man could not, with safety, so much as speak or write against a corrupt attachment of representatives of a free people to a minister, while others may not only have a free liberty, but may be employed, hired, and rewarded, to publish the most slavish arguments in favour of every thing base, corrupt and villainous, that can enter into the exercise of government.

While the liberty of the press remains, it cannot be better employed than in labouring this one point; and if ever we should by the strong hand of power be awed, and intimidated from meddling with it, there must be then *summa ratio ten in the state of Denmark*. — We have already taken the liberty to represent the slavish condition the nation must be reduced to, if every thing should come to be venal in parliament: it is a subject that must not be dropp'd; if we should suffer for it, we cannot suffer in a better cause.

A small security will make the motion easy in this point. It is true, a kind of terror hath seized the people, because of the great number of placemen which at present fill a certain assembly: but if it must be evident to all the world, that a particular interest which brings men under the influence of the minister, is inconsistent with the trust of a representative, who ought to be a free agent, no doubt but for their own honour our representatives will enact a law to remove all fears on that account.

The parliament is the guardian of the people's liberties: Against whom are they to guard them? Most certainly, against the designs of bad ministers; whose ambition, whose avarice, or whose crimes may be so enormous that they cannot be safe, without destroying them. — Are men who are link'd to the minister by engagements of interest fit for such a post? It is nonsense to say they are; especially if we should live to see the day, that a man in power should publicly avow corruption; and, with a front that knows no shame, declare, That he should think him a pitiful fellow, who would

not turn every man out of his employment that would not stand by him and his measures: which is telling them in plain English, That he thinks them a pack of rascals; and it is proclaiming to the world upon what motives they act with him.

In one of the ancient commonwealths of Greece, for a great while, there was no law against parricide; for a virtuous people thought a law unnecessary to punish a crime which they supposed no man was wicked enough to commit. But when they became vicious and corrupt, it was time to provide against it; and they did so.

There was a time that such a law as we now argue for, might appear altogether unnecessary; that is to say, when the number of placemen in parliament, and, indeed, in the whole nation, were few, and no undue influence was made use of in elections: but when there are above 200 placemen in one house, and when the corrupt practices made use of in the elections of all boroughs are almost publick, the people must lie under some infatuation if they don't think of some legal methods for their own security against the greatest evil that can possibly fall upon a nation.

It can be proved, that a great number of places can do more than *Socrates* or *Seneca*, or all the philosophers of antiquity were able to do: it can bring a multitude of men to be of the same mind; it can make their opinions exactly of the same height, and length, and breadth.— If a parliament should consist of a majority of men of this kind, they would meet for nothing else, but to give away the people's money, and defend the minister's crimes; they would stand as a screen betwixt him and the resentment of the people, and the world would consider them no otherwise than as his *guard du corps*.

Those who are hired to write upon the mercenary side, have produced an argument against such a law, which proves that liberty cannot be safe without it.— It is the misfortune of these ignorant devils to ruin their own cause, by every thing they urge to defend it.

They tell us, That if the employments corrupt and influence some men, the want of those employments corrupt and influence others.— So that, according to their arguments, there is every reason in the world for the people to insist upon a law against placemen sitting in that house; for if both sides are corrupted by the places, it is a demonstration that the nation is undone if its liberties depend upon those who are struggling for places.

If there are hundreds of employments of no use but to increase the power of the minister, let them be suppress'd; and it will be followed by two very good effects; the salaries will be saved to the publick, and the corruption occasioned by possessing them on one side, and by being disappointed of them on the other, will be at an end.

If there was such a self-denying bill, I mean an act to oblige all members of parliament to resign their employments, I should expect in a little time after, that half a million a-year might be saved to the publick in useless employments.— How strange a thing must it appear to foreigners, to say, that a nation that is fifty-million in debt shall have employments of 5000, 6000, nay 7000 l. a-year salary; that a deputy shall be paid another great salary for doing the very little business which belongs to the office, that the principal may have no other fatigue but that of spending so many thousand pounds every year of publick money?— They would think, I suppose, that such a nation was in a fair way of being ruined.

I hope we are not so far gone in madness or corruption as to think that the nation and the people were made for the use of the persons at the helm. If so, Dr. *Morro* [Physician of *Bedlam*] is the only minister that can help us.— Let us leave ignorant men to be confounded by their own tricks and expedients; and let us not, for fear of disconcerting a great man, neglect the main chance. The generality of the people expect no employments; they neither struggle nor push for them, nor so much as arm at

them: but they think they ought not to be undone by those that possess them. — The placemen are become a dangerous and formidable militia: if they are to be supported at all events, I am afraid it will look as if the whole nation was divided into wolves and sheep; and I need not tell the reader that a thousand sheep may be destroyed to feed every wolf.

CRAFTSMAN, July 21.

Panegyrick on the management of our Publick Affairs for the last twenty years.

THE prosperity or adversity, the happiness or misery of nations, have, in all ages, very much depended upon the predominant inclinations or passions, as well as upon the prudent conduct of the *people*; but more especially of the leading men or rulers among them. Whoever is at all acquainted with history will be satisfied of the truth of this assertion.

When an *ambitious spirit*, and a desire of making *unjust conquests*, have possessed a *Prince* or *people*, then violent measures and cruel wars, which have often proved pernicious to the *conquerors*, as well as destructive to the *conquered*, have been entred into.—When a fordid spirit of *avarice*, or when *profligacy* and *voluptuousness* have prevailed, then *integrity* hath generally been at a very low ebb, *feeble councils* have been pursued, and a most scandalous disregard to what concerned the publick has been the consequence.—But when men have esteemed no pleasure equal to that of *servicing their country*; no rewards comparable to the publick praise attending *such services*, except the satisfaction in their *own minds* of doing their duty, and benefiting mankind; then the councils of such a people have generally been wise and steady, the execution of them vigorous, and the common-wealth hath made a glorious figure, and enjoyed the highest pitch of human felicity.

It may be expected, on this occasion, that I should give some instances, from former times, of people, (perhaps *Greeks*

or *Romans*) who being actuated by so amiable a temper, have reaped such great benefits from it.—There are, I confess, some instances to be met with both in the *Greek* and *Roman history*, which might illustrate and evince what I have advanced; but I am much better pleased with a proof from our *own history*, which will one day, I doubt not, as much eclipse the splendor of any transactions among the *Greeks* or *Romans* as our heroes outshine theirs. I mean the history of our nation for the *last twenty years*, and a true character of the *great men* who have been the principal actors in the glorious scene. If the cotemporaries of *these persons*, whose desert has been so eminent, should fail of bestowing on them such rewards as their services have richly merited, (which it is great pity they should) yet posterity will undoubtedly do ample justice to their memories.

When there is so large a field for panegyrick, it is, I confess, somewhat difficult to know where to begin; but as *disinterestedness* in those, who have the management of a nation's concerns, is a most excellent virtue, absolutely necessary to complete a *publick character*, and highly beneficial to a kingdom, this seems to claim the first rank. *The few pensions*, or *lucrative places*, enjoyed by those, who have so eminently serv'd their country; the few they have bestowed on their *friends*, *dependents* or *relations*, sufficiently set forth their title to this *virtue*, and evidently demonstrate that they esteem the satisfaction attending the doing so much good to the publick, preferable to all other rewards. As the example of *great men* always influences those of a lower degree, one cannot, without the greatest satisfaction, observe how this spirit of *disinterestedness* has been of late, and is at present, diffused through the nation. *Corruption* has indeed been branded with such odious marks, and is become so unfashionable, that we may justly presume that none, worth corrupting, will now take a *bribe*. In short, we may truly say, that this *pernicious* and *odious vice* is

now practised only by the refuse, the very outcasts of the people.

The next virtue remarkable in our times, which we shall take notice of, is a *concern for the publick welfare*. This appears very eminently in the oeconomy of all *publick affairs*; particularly in the great frugality with which our *publick treasure* is managed; the avoiding all *unnecessary expences*; and in the paying off so great a part of the *national debt*; without which, as our most *potent neighbour*, and heretofore our *dangerous enemy*, is not only in a manner out of debt, but in all respects much stronger than ever, we must have been in the most dangerous circumstances imaginable.

On this head, we ought not to forget the *dignity*, with which all national affairs of consequence are treated; the *temper, impartiality* and *candour*, with which all such subjects are debated, and the inexpressible readines in hearkening to such advice, and following such councils as are for the publick benefit.

To our *disinterestedness* and *concern for the publick welfare*, we may doubtless ascribe our making use of no *little artifices*, or *corrupt means*, to influence particular persons, or societies; of paying no *salaries* to those, who are not actually employed and fit for their posts; no *pensions* to those, who do not deserve them, or are not real objects of compassion; and the great encouragement given to the most expert and able persons. This management does not only save large sums of money to the nation, but is the principal cause that all our *publick business* is dispatched with the utmost expedition, and performed with all the care and success imaginable. — Indeed, when men have no *by-ends of their own* to serve; no *dirty jobs* to perform; nothing but the *good of their country* in view; they can have no manner of occasion for *expedients*; or to form a party by *unjust methods*.

We come next to the *wisdom* of our times, without which our *disinterestedness, integrity*, or *concern for the publick welfare*, however laudable, would have operated very feebly to the advantage of the nation.

Our *wisdom* then has been wonderfully displayed, *first*, in our *negotiations, treaties, alliances* and *conventions*. These have been so wisely contrived, that they have (as was formerly said of some other most excellent treaties) *generally executed themselves*.

Secondly, In our employing persons of the greatest abilities in all eminent stations; especially as *Ambassadors* and *publick ministers*. This was the more necessary, not only as the *honour of a nation* is greatly concerned in the behaviour and management of those in such stations, but the *welfare of the publick* frequently depends very much on their prudent conduct. Indeed, the choice of *such excellent personages* to manage publick affairs is not only a proof of our *wisdom*, but also of our *integrity*; for *weak or dishonest ministers* are always apprehensive of employing *wise and good men*, lest they should supplant their *superiors*, or detect their *vile practices*.

Thirdly, Our *national wisdom* has appeared in *foreseeing events*, in a most surprising manner, and preparing so judiciously for them, that we have very rarely been put to any difficulties *ourselves*, or been disconcerted in any of our designs upon *others*.

Fourthly, In knowing perfectly the *interests of the several states of Europe*, properly applying to them, and maintaining a *just balance of power*.

Fifthly, In supporting the reputation of our country to such a pitch, as it has seldom arrived at. In this particular, we may justly challenge history to shew any period of time, in which this nation has made so extraordinary a figure as *at present*, and during the *last twenty years*.

Sixthly, In encouraging all the most useful branches of *commerce*, and taking especial care that *trade* is neither unnecessarily burdened, nor obstructed.

Seventhly, In maintaining the *navy* in most excellent order, and using such proper and effectual methods to *man it*, as cause as little hindrance to our *navigatim* as inhumanity to our *seamen*.

Eighthly, As the *militia* of a nation

is its natural strength, and must be even our *dernier resort* if any considerable number of enemies should ever land here; our wisdom in managing it, in the manner we do, can never be sufficiently admired; for, without *this defence*, we must have kept on foot such a *standing army* as would have been extremely burdensome and dangerous to this island. Though it may probably contain *two millions of men* able to bear arms, yet it may undoubtedly be conquer'd by *thirty thousand men*, or even by a much smaller number, landed in *Great Britain*.

Ninthly, and *lastly*, Our consummate prudence is in nothing more apparent than in securing the *affections of the people to the government*. This has been effected partly by demanding no money of them but what was absolutely necessary for the *real service of the publick*; shewing plainly, that the *nation's treasure* was only expended for the *nation's benefit*, asserting and defending the *people's rights*; and demonstrating to them, that there are no designs, either by *force or fraud*, by *armies or corruption*, to deprive them of their *liberties*.

It would have been very easy greatly to increase the number of items on this head of *wisdom*, as well as on the others of *disinterestedness*, *integrity* and *concern for the publick welfare*; but the steadiness of our conduct at *this time*, as well as for the *last twenty years*, and the present happy circumstances we feel ourselves in, are much more effectual proofs of all these than any words that can be used. The only doubt that can remain is, whether our *disinterestedness and integrity*, our *generous concern for the publick welfare*, or our *great and consummate wisdom* in the direction of our national affairs, are most to be admired. And if it should be found necessary to enter into a *war*, I doubt not but *these*, and our *other publick virtues* will shine out in their full lustre; that all the world will then see our management in *war* will be as remarkable as our behaviour in *peace*, and that we shall even *out-do our usual out-doings*.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE,

AN EVENING at VAUX-HALL.

S I R,

London, May 21.

WE find so much difficulty, at present, to render this season of the year tolerable, in point of pleasure and entertainment, that there is some difficulty in accounting for that cheerfulness which we meet with in the writings of our forefathers on the *approach of spring*, and the *evening breezes of June and July*: for, so far are the *beau monde* from prizing the charms which nature has so long disclosed, without *any variation*, that the *simple woods and groves*, the *meads and sparkling streams*, have lost the power to please: And the additions made to these, to render them more capable of yielding delight, are such, as for many centuries were judged *ridiculous* in themselves, and *irreconcilable* with our genius and clime: but thanks to the assistance of some kind visitors from *other nations*, we have surmounted the difficulties nature and custom laid in our way, and *Italian ridotto's* have been seen amongst us, spite of the inclemency of *evening damps* or *British rusticity*.

The annual improvements in *Vaux-Hall gardens*, and the great resort of personages of the first rank, have, for the five last years, drawn a multitude of people together every fine evening during the entertainment of those honoured walks; and the practice of having tickets for the season, to admit two persons every night, does not a little add to the number of the company, by putting it in a Gentleman's power, for so small a charge, to oblige his friends with so generally approved an amusement. The price of admittance, without a ticket, is one shilling for each person; from which last article alone it is computed, that, one night with another, not less than *one thousand shillings* are received each evening of performance during the season.

Your distance from a kind of entertainment so new amongst us, and so much approved, especially by the Ladies, may

make an account of it acceptable to each of your readers as have a taste for polite amusements:—Wherefore, in order to give a more perfect idea of the time spent in this fashionable diversion, the most natural method I can think of, will be to divide the three hours, usually bestowed on a visit to this melodious grove, into separate articles, and under each to give the truest description I can of the manner in which it is employed.— It will not be amiss to apprise you of its lying on the other side of the river from London and Westminster, about a mile from the first mentioned city.— The three hours are those from seven till ten.

The First Hour.

ABOUT Westminster and Whitehall stairs, barges with six or four oars each, attend (hired, most of them, at ten shillings for the barge, and a crown each oar for the evening) till the Ladies have done tea: by the help of coaches, chairs, &c. about seven they arrive at the water-side; and with many expressions, and some apprehension of danger, they are, by the aid of the Gentlemen who accompany them, and the watermens assistance, got on board; and Tom, who generally can blow the French horn, is placed exactly with his back against his Lady's shoulders. The putting off the barge from shore occasions several Ob's! and gives opportunity for any kind fair-one to distinguish her favourite by a close cling to his side, and a pinch in the arm.— After repeated cautions to the watermen to take care, the vessel leaves the shore; and the air proves sharp enough to oblige the Ladies to veil their necks by the envious cloud of a handkerchief, tied with such a designed carelessness, as gives even a grace to that impertinent screen of beauty.— Tom plays an air from the last new Opera; and the company regale themselves with a glass of citron or plague-water, or ratafia; and Miss Kitty, by mamma's command, sings the last song her master, Sig. C.—I taught her, with the applause of all present; her papa being engaged elsewhere for the e-

vening.— Several boats with young Gentlemen only, approach within oar-length, and ogle the Ladies; who, with a pleas'd disdain, correct their freedom; and both agreeably part, in hope of a second interview in the gardens.

At Somerset (the place to take water from Covent-Garden) and the Temple stairs, a number of young fellows are hurrying into boats; who, though they set out by themselves, seldom return without female companions.

At all the stairs from the Temple down to the Bridge the watermen are busily employed in taking their company on board; which consists of various degrees. Sir John, from Fenchurch-street, with his Lady and whole family of children, is attended by a footman, with a hand-basket well cramm'd with provisions for the voyage. The boat sallies a little at setting off; but the Knight laughs at the fear of his spouse and the young Ladies his daughters, declaring, the danger that scares them to be nothing, compared with what he came through in his last voyage from Qporto. Misses give an entertaining account of dress and choice of partners at the last city-ball; which, tho' mamma smiles at, Sir John corrects, with doubting whether they give equal attention to the sermons they hear; which his youngest daughter answers prettily enough, by assuring him, for her sisters and self, that they do not take more notice of people in any place whatever than at church.—My Lady grows sick; a glass of wine and drops (no water being in the boat) is instantly given her; and on her recovery, eldest Miss cuts the cake, and distributes it among the company, and a glass of wine is drank round.

At the next stairs, Mr. William, an apprentice in Cheap-side, by the contrivance of her confident, who accompanies them, is taking water with Miss Suckey, his master's daughter, who is supposed to be gone next door to drink tea, and he to meet an uncle coming out of the country. The thought of having deceived the old people makes them

them laugh immoderately along the street, and almost totter over the boat instead of getting into it. They are no sooner seated, and got from shore, with hearty wishes that they may meet no body that knows them, than the Ladies find, one of them through hurry had forgotten her handkerchief, and the other her snuff-box. The subject that employs them the whole passage is the admirable thought and contrivance that brought them out with such secrecy.—The watermen beg leave to stop to drink, which is denied, on account of their not having seen the gardens this year, and being obliged, at all events, to reach home by ten.

An honest old mechanick and his spouse come next. He assures her his Royal Highness himself favours *Vaux-Hall* with his presence almost every week; and that it is said to be so much improved since he was a young man, that he was resolv'd to see what new-fangled notions they had got now-a-days, to exceed what were in fashion then. He gives the watermen some drink, asks their names, whether they are married or single, how many children they have alive, &c. which, with the frequent interruption of observations on the companies that overtake them, and descriptions of the barges they pass by, fills up the time of their voyage.

Being all landed, they proceed in cavalcade, through a lane of watermen, to the entrance of the gardens; where, (no dogs being admitted) after *Chloë* is huff'd by one passage-keeper, *Pug* beat by another, and *Pompey* scar'd by a third, they are all trusted to the care of their several watermen; and after shewing tickets, or paying money, the Ladies and Gentlemen walk in, survey the coop made to keep the footmen in, just at the door, take a hasty circuit round the walks, the paintings not being yet let down, take a view of *Handel's* bust, curiously carved on a fine block of marble, and plac'd on one side of the garden, striking his lyre:—but before they have observed half its beauties, the musick striking up, the whole com-

pany crowd from every part of the gardens toward the orchestra and organ; which gives a fair opportunity of meeting one's acquaintance, and remarking what beaux, bells, and beauties are present; a part of the diversion as agreeable as any to,

Sir, your humble servant,

S. TOUPRE.

COMMON SENSE, July 14.

There is a quarrelling scene in one of *Ben Johnson's* comedies, that is work'd up with a great deal of humour, and puts a coward in so ridiculous a light, that I fancy it will be no disagreeable entertainment to our readers, and therefore we shall give it to them.

The persons of this scene are *Daphin*, *Truewit*, *Sir John Daw*, and *Sir Amorous la Fool*; it must be observed, that the two first foment the quarrel, only to make themselves mediators.

Truew. *Sir Amorous.*

Sir A. Master *Truewit*.

Tru. Whither were you going?

Sir A. Down into the court.

Tru. You must not, as you value your life.

Sir A. Why, what is the matter?

Tru. Do,—ask questions till your throat be cut,—do, play the fool till this enraged devil finds you.

Sir A. Who? what?

Tru. *Sir John Daw*. Turn back, as you value your life.

Sir A. I, I, I will turn;—but what's the matter?

Dau. Nay, if he had been cool enough to have told us that, there might have been some hopes to have pacified him;—but he is so implacably enrag'd, there is no speaking to him.

Sir A. Well, let him rage,—I can hide myself.

Dau. Do, good *Sir Amorous*;—but what have you done to him that has enrag'd him to this degree?—You have broke, some jest upon him.

Sir A. Not I; upon my honour, Gentlemen, I never broke a jest upon any man in my life:—The bride was praising

praising *Dauphin*, and he went away in snuff:— I never broke a jest upon any man;— may be, he took offence at me in his drink.

Tru. That may be, — you have certainly hit it; — he walks up and down through every room in the house, with a towel in his hand, crying out, Where is this *la Fool*? — who saw *la Fool*? And when *Dauphin* and I demanded the cause, we could draw no answer from him, but, *Orevenge, how sweet art thou! I will strangle him with this towel.*

Sir A. Well, I'll stay here till his anger be blown over.

Dau. A good becoming resolution, if you can but put it in execution immediately.

Sir A. Or else I'll steal into the country presently.

Tru. How can you get out? — he knows you are in the house; he'll watch this week for you, or he'll have you; he'll out-wait a Bailiff for you.

Sir A. Then I must hide in the house.

Tru. But think how to victual yourself for a week or two.

Sir A. Sweet Mr. *Truewit*, intreat my cousin *Otter* to send me a cold venison pasty, and a few bottles of wine.

Tru. Is that all?

Sir A. And a pallet to ly upon.

Tru. I would not advise you to sleep by any means.

Sir A. Would you not? — why then I won't.

Tru. But there is another fear.

Sir A. What is it, dear Mr. *Truewit*?

Tru. Hold, I hope he cannot break open this door with his foot.

Sir A. I'll set my back against it, — I have a strong back.

Tru. But if he should batter it?

Sir A. If he should, I'll have an action of battery against him.

Tru. He has sent for gun-powder, — what he intends to do with it I can't tell, perhaps blow up the corner of the house where you are. — Hark, he's coming; — hide, *Sir Amorous*. [*Sir Amorous* hides, and *Truewit* talks as if *Sir John Daw* was present.] I protest, *Sir John*, he is not here; you may take my word for it. [*Speaks to Sir Amorous,*

who is hid.] *Sir Amorous*, there's no holding out; he has made a petard of an old brass pan to force the door: — think on some terms to satisfy him.

Sir A. I'll give him any terms, any terms.

Tru. Will you leave it to *Dauphin* and to me?

Sir A. Yes, yes; tell him I dare give him any satisfaction, except fighting.

Tru. You appoint us your mediators, and will stand to the conditions?

Sir A. Any conditions except war.

[The mediators withdraw, and, after some time, return again.]

Sir A. Well, what news, what good news, Gentlemen?

Tru. We have labour'd hard for you; — we told him, as you were a true Knight, and a man of valour, you knew that fortitude consisted *magis patiendò quam faciendo, magis ferendò quam feriendo.*

Sir A. Very well, Gentlemen; these are my own thoughts.

Tru. All this we told him; yet, in my opinion, he demanded at first too much.

Sir A. What was it, Gentlemen?

Tru. Your ears, and six of your fore-teeth.

Sir A. It is unreasonable.

Dau. So we told him; so after a great deal of arguing we brought him down to your ears, and your two broad teeth; and these he will have.

Sir A. Did you so? why then he must have them.

Dau. But he shall not, Sir, by your leave; we have taken more care of you than that: — So, because all animosities are to be forgot, and you are to be very good friends hereafter, he is to come and give you five kicks; and, because he shall not brag of it, he is to do it in disguise. He is likewise to take your sword from you, and to lock you up during pleasure. — It shall not be long; leave it to us to get you released.

Sir A. You are the best friends I ever met with in my life: — five kicks, you say, — why he shall have six rather than differ; — tell him so.

Tru. He shall not have one more than five; — you shall not yield too much.

Sir A. I say, Sir, rather than not be friends.

Tru. He shall be friends, and upon five kicks too, or he shall have us for his enemies.

Sir A. Why, six kicks; it is nothing at all to one that has read *Seneca*.

Tru. I say, he shall not take one more than five.

Sir A. No more than five kicks; it is nothing at all: — I say again, I have taken an hundred in my time. [*Dauphin* comes forth and kicks him.]

Tru. One, two, three, four, five; hold, Sir.

Das. I must give him another.

Tru. Not one more, as I am a mediator. — Retire, Sir *John*. [*Dauphin* retires.] Here, Sir, he has left you your sword.

Sir A. I'll receive no sword; I have nothing to do with a sword.

Tru. It is his will that you fasten it to a wall, and break your head in some places against the hilt.

Sir A. I will not; — tell him roundly, I cannot bear to see my own blood.

Tru. How, Sir, will you not?

Sir A. No: I'll beat my head against a flat wall, and bruise it a little, if that will satisfy him; but I do not love to see my own blood.

Tru. Have a care, Sir, you must not start back from the terms, when another treats for you. — I have offered him another condition, which you must stand to.

Sir A. What is that?

Tru. That you will consent to be beaten in private.

Sir A. I consent.

Tru. Then you must submit to be blinded, and to be led by him to a proper place, where you will receive some strokes of a cudgel, and tweaks by the nose *sans nombre*.

Sir A. I am content; but why must I be blinded?

Tru. Oh, it is all for your good, — because if he should grow insolent upon it, and boast how he has treated you, you may swear and protest he never beat you to your knowledge.

Sir A. Excellent contrivance! you are the best friends I ever met with in

my life: — Well, I consent to all. [Here he is led blindfold, exposed to the whole company, and laugh'd at as a poltroon and a fool.]

Here a quarrel is begun, and artfully fomented betwixt two silly fellows, by some who propose to make their own advantage by putting them together by the ears: which has often been the case betwixt nations. — One of them submits to the mediation of the very persons who are playing upon him: this has also happened in great affairs. — He is led by the nose, blindfold, by his very mediators: just so it has happened to a nation. — He is kick'd by his mediator: so has a nation been. — He loses his cats and his fore-teeth: a kingdom may sometimes be said to have lost its ears and its teeth. — He beats his head against the handle of his own sword: Here, indeed, the similitude does not seem to run upon all-fours, unless the keeping up a standing army during a long peace, that never was employ'd against an enemy, may, by a proper figure, be called bruising its head against its own sword.

THE PROSPECT OF WAR, 1739.

A Wake, Britannia's guardian Power,
Each rising danger wisely view;
Britons thy wonted aid implore,
And boldly seek support from you.

When threatening dangers must appear,
How oft are firmest treaties broke!
When no restraints there are to fear,
To keep those treaties — 'tis a joke.

But cease, and view you ancient walls,
Those floating butcharks on the main;
Then fear, thou too aspiring Gaul,
Thendread, thou hang'st by coward Spain.

No more upbraid the watchful Pow's,
Nor dign to drop one single tear!
She still protests, this happy hour,
Nor has — you, Britons, ought to fear.

'Tis true, a while she seem'd to sleep,
Whence barb'rous foes might better
know,

That still Britannia wakes the sleep,
Nor fears-walked force her foe.

THE ARBOUR. An Ode.

EVer grateful conscious grove,
The seat of innocence and love,
Where tender nymphs resort,
And all the graces sport,
Say, what becoming rural lay
Shall I for all thy service pay?

In thee, what love-sick words have been!
What soft endowments hast thou seen!
How many many woes
Were sigh'd at below thy boughs!
What corner's in thy bosom found,
Where lovers have not press'd the ground?

On the green seat beneath thy shade,
How many charming days I've had!
Sweet did my minutes pass
By Daphne on the grass.
Oh shall I ever think of this,
And not thy bounteous covert bless!

May blossoms on thy sprigs appear
Through all the changes of the year;
Let neither summer's heat,
Nor winter's fury threaten,
Thy blooming verdant charms deface,
Nor rob thee of thy vernal grace.

May birds of musick and of love
Among thy branches ever move;
And thro' their tender throats
Express melodious notes,
Such as become the sacred dome, [come.
Where love-sick nymphs and sleepers

Around let breathing Zephyrs fly,
Resembling lovers as they sigh;
And, while they sweep the meads,
The parks and verdant beds,
From lilies, rhymes, and sweetest flow'rs,
Bring odours to perfume thy bow'rs.

May Cupid ever deign to dwell
With youth and mirth within thy cell,
There spread his golden darts,
And play with tender hearts;
Teach nymphs to smile with lovely grace,
And live the Genius of the place.

[Edinburgh.] AMYNTOR.

To the author of the Scots Magazine.

SIR,
THE fine Latin ode in your April Magazine, which, at the same time it celebrates the most illustrious character, has such beauties as

make it universally admired, induced me to offer you the following imitation of it. Yours, &c.

On the Duke of ARGYLE.

Heroick Muse! so wont to sound th' alarms
Of martial campaigns, and the deeds of arms.
Now sing the hope, the boast of Britain's isle,
In strains exalted as the hero's toil,
CAMPBELL! victorious in his country's rights,
In council wise, and godlike in the fight.
What glorious warmth the hero's bosom fill'd!
When he the hostile sons of Gaul beheld,
With waving ensigns in dread order join'd,
Presaging death, or chains, to half mankind;
Tremendous bands! who, fucell'd with martial pride,
That arm, by which they were to fall, desy'd
Fir'd with a flame above the love of life,
Thus the great leader urg'd the noble strife:
"Britons! at last the happy day appears
To avenge mankind, and crown Britannia's wars;
The day which peace and freedom shall restore,
And dreadful Lewis shake the world no more:
Behold in martial files the hostile Gaul;
Attack, and rise immortal by his fall."

This said, thro' woody wilds, a pathless way,
Where thousand dangers in dark ambush lay,
Where the loud cannon all her vengeance pour'd,
And missive deaths in flaming volleys shower'd,
Dauntless thro' flames and storms of death to go,
He bears his squadrons on the guarded foe.
In vain the thunders of dire engines rage,
And martial Gauls the mortal battle wage;
In vain high forts and triple ramparts rise;
Both forts and ramparts Britain's Chief despises:
O'er prostrate foes, red slaughter spreading round,
He mounts his standard on the hostile mound.
Gallia's bold sons, the flower of Lewis' host,
The dread of nations and their country's boast,
New to defeats, to victory inur'd,
Now fall confounded by his conqu'ring sword.

The horrors of the day what muse can tell?
What numbers perish'd, or what heroes fell?
But CAMPBELL lives! — see how he darts along
And pours his vengeance on the hostile throng.
True SCOTTISH valour now at length appears,
While armies tremble, and awe their fears.

But, arm'd with resolution and despair,
Th' undaunted Gaul; onours his batt'rd war;
His sinking powers with fresh supplies supports,
And on the victors death for death retorts;
On every side he spreads the fresh alarm,
Belge and German fall beneath his arm.
The Britons now (so late his terror) yield
To mortal swords, and slaughter bears the field
Till

Till godlike CAMPBELL! kindled at the fight,
 Reviv'd his troops, and rusht to the fight:
 "Turn, warriors, turn; your wanted arduous cause;
 Fall on, and cut a passage thro' your foes."

And now the front of battle fresh around
 Invades the skies, the martial trumpets sound;
 The warlike noise shakes all the trembling wood,
 And all prepare for havoc, death and blood:
 Now Justice, pregnant with the tyrant's fall,
 Aims all her thunder at the perjur'd Gaul;
 While Liberty the gen'rous Briton warms,
 To pant for glory, and to rush to arms.

Thro' storms of ball, thro' rowling sheets of smoke,
 Firm and unshaken, like the sea-beat rock,
 Britannia's Chief, of slow'ry, fear or guilt
 Unconscious, hastens to the dire assault.
 Freedom innate his beating bosom fir'd,
 Vict'ry, or death by glorious wounds acquir'd.
 Where'er he turns, the fainting battle glows,
 And darts its vengeance on a thousand foes;
 Dire slaughter rages o'er the guilty plain,
 Fresh streams the blood, and mountains rise of slain:
 He presses thro' the wide extended files,
 Urges the battle, and renews the toils;
 Till, fail'd the foe, their bands and squadrons broke,
 By force superior in the horrid shock,
 Daxted to face the terror of the fight,
 The bass'd Gauls their safety seek in flight.
 Villars, brave Villars! drench'd in his own blood,
 No longer now the dire encounter stood;
 Nor fondly strives unequal war to wage,
 But flies for shelter from the victor's rage.
 The conqu'ring hero, dread in arms, pursues;
 To death and chains the flying foe subdues;
 With penal rage still lifts the mortal stroke,
 The scourge of slighted faith and promise broke,
 Dire in revenge! till Lewis, 'midst his state,
 Desponds, and trembles for his Paris' fate.

On a young Gentleman oft disappointed in love.

BOB oft complains, that he in vain
 Try'd many fair-ones love to gain;
 Though powder'd well, and dress'd gay,
 Was still deny'd, he knows not why;
 And now, grown peevish, often says,
 That he with Swift agreed always,
 "That women, like unto the wind,
 As oft's it turns, do change their mind."
 Crase, Bob, to call the Fair a riddle,
 Nor with such jewels dare to meddle;
 But look into your glass, you'll find
 The reason why the Fair's unkind;
 Which needsels here were to recite it;
 No more advance but where invited.

[Dalkeith.]

SCOTICUS.

To SYLVIA.

WHy, Sylvia, all this needless pain
 To be thought more than common?
 Indeed, fair maid, 'tis all in vain;
 In spite of all, 'tis very plain,
 You are a very woman.

Whoever hears your short-breath'd sigh,
 Or sees your bosom pant;
 Who marks the languish of your eye,
 Or the warm blushes as they rise,
 Must see what 'tis you want.

Then, prithee, as a nat'ral part:
 No longer spoil your charms;
 Throw off this thin disguise of art;
 Fresh in smiles confess your heart,
 And take me to your arms.

SONG. Tune, Critical minute.

AS once, reclining on the beech,
 The gentle Thirus stood;
 He fetch'd a sigh, and thus address'd
 The Deity of the Flood:

The briny surge tempestuous may
 With giddy horror roll;
 And, urg'd by Boreas' fierce rage,
 Rear on from pole to pole.

With philosophick unconcern,
 Thy threatening billows I [breath]
 Can view, when most they rage, and
 The fury of the sky.

In some slight stiff then let me prove
 The dangers of the main:
 The merc'less seas me less can move
 Than CHLOE's cold disdain.

Oft toss'd in Love's tempestuous tide,
 With various fortune, I
 The am'rous storm have weather'd out
 Yet now for CHLOE sigh.

In vain I languish, pant, and burn
 My tender suit I move.
 Can no fond vow, sincerely breath'd,
 Make CHLOE melt to love?

'Tis all in vain!—What, no relief?
 But from the craggy steep
 The milder ocean I essay,
 And found the gloomy deep.

Then plunging in the flood, he cries
 If on my CHLOE's breast
 No bliss I feel, perhaps I may
 In Thetis' bosom rest.

Edm

EDINBURGH, July 1739.

JAMES Ædie having pursued Mary Ruffel (his brother-in-law's widow) for payment of a 6000 merks bond, said to have been granted by her deceas'd husband to his sister Marion Schaw, wife of said Ædie, an improbation was raised, and a complaint of forgery exhibited against Ædie and his wife. From the proof there appeared a continued tract of villanies; *inter alia*, That Ædie had writ several letters in his brother-in-law John Schaw's name, and thereupon got credit from a merchant in Glasgow; in which having been detected, he acknowledged the crime; — That having been refused a scroll of a bond from one Hamilton, (who suspected his bad intentions) notwithstanding that he offered him an exorbitant reward, he afterwards imposed upon another writer, by assuming the name of John Schaw, to draw the bond in question and another paper. It likewise appeared he had endeavoured to suborn witnesses, particularly, that he offered a poor man 1000 merks to swear he saw the bond delivered to him, and, as a salvo to the perjury, proposed to let him see one, whose name was really John Schaw, deliver him the bond. He was unsuccessful with the poor man; but a *conscientious woman*, that could neither read nor write, deponed, that having seen the bond in a chest, she knew it to be stamped paper by the grist, and prevailed upon Ædie to read it to her. However, it appearing that the evidence of most of the defenders witnesses carried along with it manifest marks of perjury and subornation, the Lords "found Ædie and his wife guilty art and part of forging the bond, and of knowingly using the same in judgment; ordained the bond to be cancelled in their presence; decerned the defenders in 100 *l. Sterl.* to the complainer; declared them infamous; adjudged them to be tied to a cart, upon the first Wednesday of September next, and Ædie to be whipt through the streets of Edinburgh, and to be whipt in like manner through the streets of Glasgow upon the third Wednesday of said month; and

afterwards to be transported to one of his Majesty's plantations; never to return to Scotland, under the penalty of their being ten years imprisoned, and whipt once every quarter. And it is provided, that the not payment of the 100 *l. Sterl.* shall be no stop to their transportation."

In the trial of Robert Thomson, Smith in Aberlady, for the murder of George Forester land-labourer in Haddington, the pannel pleaded *non compos mentis*. The Lords found the libel relevant to infer the pains of law; but allowed the pannel to prove his defence; reserving to the Court to determine on the import of such proof after the return of the jury's verdict. The jury found the libel proven as to the murder, and no furyosity proven previous to the murder. When the court met in order to pronounce sentence, it was pled for the pannel, That as his trial began on the 11th June, and was not finished before the 21st of July, he ought to be assilized by the act appointing all criminal trials to be finish'd within 40 days. To which it was answered, That there were exceptions in the act, *viz.* if any delay made was at the suit of the pannel, or for his behoof; and, That the 40 days must be *free days*. Parties are appointed to inform betwixt and the second Monday of November.

James Ratcliffe, who was sentenced to be executed the first of August, found means, with the assistance of one Clarkson, another rogue confin'd in a separate room, to saw off his fetters, and the bolts off the room-door. They both placed themselves at the back of the outer-door till it was open'd to let a Gentlewoman pass home, and then rush'd out and got clear off. The Magistrates made a strict search in the city, and sent expresses to several parts of the country; and an advertisement is published, whereby the Magistrates promise 50 *l. Sterl.* and the Keeper of the prison 20 *l.* to any person who shall apprehend Ratcliffe within three months.

The prospect of a war with Spain gives general satisfaction in this city and kingdom, and great numbers have

voluntarily enlisted both for the sea and land service.

The Marquis of Graham, attended only by a single servant, who happened to be at some distance behind, was attack'd near Bagshot in Surrey by two highwaymen; one of whom his Lordship shot dead on the spot, and the other with difficulty made his escape.

LONDON.

THE beginning of this month the preparations for war were carried on with great vigour. The embargo was continued, and all the coasters who got protections entred into a bond for 2000 l. not to put into any port but that they were consign'd to; great numbers of seamen were impressed for the navy; and the following order of the privy-council was published in the London gazette.

WHEREAS many and repeated depredations have been committed, and many unjust seizures have been made in the West-Indies and elsewhere, by Spanish Guarda Costas, and ships acting under the commissions of the King of Spain or his Governours, contrary to the laws of nations, and in violation of the treaties subsisting between the crown of Great Britain and Spain, whereby his Majesty's trading subjects have not only sustained great losses, but have also suffered in their persons by the cruelties and barbarities which have been exercised by the said Spanish Guarda Costas; And whereas his Majesty has caused repeated instances and representations to be made from time to time at the court of Spain, in order to obtain redress and satisfaction for such injurious treatment and unjust practices, and to prevent the like violence for the future; And whereas as a convention for making reparation to his Majesty's subjects for their losses by the said depredations and seizures, was concluded between his Majesty and the King of Spain on the fourteenth day of January last N. S. by which convention it was stipulated, that a certain sum of money should be paid at London within a term in the said convention specified, as a balance admitted to be due on the part of Spain to

the crown and subjects of Great Britain, which term did expire on the 25th day of May last; and the payment of the said stipulated sum, as agreed by the above mentioned convention, has not been made; by which means the said convention has been violated and broke on the part of the crown of Spain, and his Majesty's subjects remain without any reparation or satisfaction for their many great and grievous losses; His Majesty hath therefore taken this injurious proceeding of the crown of Spain into his serious consideration; and his Majesty having determined to take such measures as are necessary for vindicating the honour of his crown, and for procuring reparation and satisfaction to his injured subjects, is pleased, by and with the advice of his privy-council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, That general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of the King of Spain, so that as well his Majesty's fleet and ships, as also other ships and vessels that shall be commissioned by letters of marque or general reprisals, or otherwise, by his Majesty's Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of G. Britain, shall and may lawfully seize all ships, vessels and goods belonging to the King of Spain or his subjects, or others inhabiting within any the territories of the King of Spain, and bring the same to judgment in any of the courts of Admiralty within his Majesty's dominions; and to that end his Majesty's Advocate-general with the Advocate of the Admiralty, are forthwith to prepare the draught of a commission, and present the same to his Majesty at this board, authorizing the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral, to issue forth and grant letters of marque and reprisal to any of his Majesty's subjects, or others whom the said Commissioners shall deem fitly qualified in that behalf; for the apprehending, seizing and taking the ships, vessels and goods belonging to Spain, and the vassals and subjects of the King of Spain, or any inhabiting within his countries, territories or dominions; and that such powers and clauses be inserted in the said commission as have been usual, and are according to former precedents: And his Majesty's said Advocate-general with

Advocates of the Admiralty, are also wish to prepare the draught of a commission, and present the same to his Majesty at this board, authorizing the said commissioners for executing the office of High Admiral, to will and require the High Court of Admiralty of Great Britain, and the Lieutenant and Judge of the Admiralty, as also the several courts of Admiralty within his Majesty's dominions, to be cognizance of, and judicially proceed in all and all manner of captures, seizures, prizes, and reprisals of all ships and goods that are or shall be taken, and hear and determine the same, and according to the course of Admiralty, and the laws of nations, to adjudge and condemn such ships, vessels and goods as shall be taken to Spain, or the vassals and subjects of the King of Spain, or to any others inhabiting within any of his countries, territories and dominions; and that such orders and clauses be inserted in the said commission as have been usual, and are according to former precedents: And they are likewise to prepare and lay before his Majesty at this board, a draught of such instructions as may be proper to be sent to the courts of Admiralty in his Majesty's foreign governments and plantations, for their guidance therein; as also another draught of instructions for such ships as shall be commissioned for the purposes aforementioned. From the Council-chamber at Whitehall; the tenth day of July, 1739.

Mr. Cant	Holles Newcastle.
Mr. Ebor	Cholmondeley.
Mr. Wilmington, P.	Torrington.
Mr. Dolphin, C. P. S.	Ar. Onslow.
Mr. Dorset.	

Accordingly, the Commissioners of the Admiralty having given notice that, in pursuance of his Majesty's commission, letters of marque were ready to be issued, several merchants of London, &c. have applied, and obtained letters of marque, to take, burn, sink or destroy all ships belonging to Spain. Orders have been sent to all British ships in the parts of Spain to leave that kingdom directly, and to stop all ships they meet with bound for Spain; and to the merchants to secure their effects. Several

young Noblemen and Gentlemen on their travels are writ for home. They are busy at the Tower in delivering ammunition for the fleet and army. Tho' 106 ships of war are in commission, several others are order'd to be rebuilt; and the time allowed seamen to enlist voluntarily, in order to their being intitled to the benefit of the late proclamation, is prorogued to the 24th of August.—But the embargo is now taken off, and the unable seamen are ordered to be discharged.

PREFERMENTS CIVIL.

Allan Whiteford, Esq; — Receiver-General in Scotland for the Prince of Wales.

Mess. Ja. Graham of Airth, Jo. Macleod, Hugh Murray-Kynnymound, Alex. Boinel, Hugh Forbes, and Ja. Erskine jun. — his Royal Highness's Advocates.

Mess. Hugh Craufurd, — his R. Highness's Writer, and Tho. Eliot, Agent.

Henry Hamilton, Esq; — Surveyor-General of the Excise in Dublin.

MILITARY.

Lieutenants General. George Preston, Albert Borgard, Francis Columbine, Richard Francks, Charles Churchill, William Barrel, Jasper Clayton, Pioroy Kirke, Geravis Parker, James Tyrrell, Edmund Fielding, John Peter Desbordes, William Kerr, E. of Hartford, Sir Rob. Rich, David Montosieu Baron de St Hyppolite, E. of Dunmore, E. of Scarborough, Duke of Montague, Lord Molefworth, Lord Harrington.

Majors General. John Cavalier, Balthazar Rivas de Foissac, Sir Daniel Carroll, James Douglas, James Campbell, Clement Nevill, Sir John Arnot, William Hargrave, Henry Cornwall, Henry Harrison, Thomas Howard, John Cope, John Ligoniere, Peter Campbell, John Orfeur, James Scott, John Jones, Richard Philips, Roger Handafyd, Henry Hawley, John Armstrong, Lord Tyrrawley, Joshua Guest, Lord Cathcart, Charles Otway, Phineas Bowles, Lord Cadogan, Philip Anstruther.

Brigadiers General. John Follicot, A-

dam Williamson, James St Clair, Thomas Wentworth, Duke of Richmond, John Guise, Earl of Albemarle, George Reade, Stephen Cornwallis, Archibald Hamilton, Earl of Rothes, Earl of Esfingham, Thomas Paget.

Lt General Clayton,—Commander in Chief of the forces in Scotland.

General Wade,—Commander in Chief of the forces in the West of England.

Henry Pulteney, Esq;—Col. of the regiment late Middleton's, *formerly said to be given to the E. of Crawford.*

Earl of Berkeley,—Col. of a company in the Guards.

John Hufke,—First Major of the 2d regiment of F. Guards.

George Churchill, Esq;—Second Major in the said regiment.

Francis Godolphin, Esq;—Lieutenant Governor of the islands of Scilly.

Mr Rich,—Capt. Lieutenant in the 2d regiment of Guards.

Alexander Grant of Balindalloch, Esq;—Capt. in Brigadier St Clair's royal regiment of Scots foot.

Pierce A'Court,—Equerry to his Majesty.

Musgrave Davison,—Cornet in Lord Mark Ker's dragoons.

Lt Oliphant,—Capt. of a company in the Scots Fusiliers.

John Maitland and ——— Wearg,—Captains in the Earl of Rothes's regiment of foot.

Lt Bruce,—Capt. Lieutenant in D°.

Ensign Steven,—Lieutenant in D°.

Patrick Lundin,—Ensign in D°.

William Barkley Lyon,—Ensign in the 3d regiment of Guards.

NAVAL.

Edward Vernon, Esq;—Vice-Admiral of the Blue.

Sir Chaloner Ogle,—Rear-Admiral of the Blue.

Sir Tancred Robinson,—Rear-Admiral of the White.

Ld Geo. Graham, 2d son of the D. of Montrose,—Capt. of the Mercury.

Sir Ro. Henley,—of the Eleanor.

Mr Mofyn,—of the Duke.

Mr Watson,—of the Strafford.

Mr Symmons,—of the Colchester.

John Hemmington,—of the Boyns.

James Cornwall,—of the St Alban.

Alexander Mitchell,—Lieutenant in the Namure.

ECCLESIASTICAL.

Mr Tho. Tullidaff, Professor of Divinity in St Andrews,—Principal of St Leonard's college there.

Mr Andrew Schaw, Minister at St Madois,—Professor of Divinity in the University of St Andrews.

Mr Robert Rolton, Dean of Carlisle,—Bishop of Down and Connor.

Dr Thomas Tennison,—Dean of Bath and Wells.

Dr Zachary Pearce,—Dean of Winchester.

DEATHS.

James Cuninghame, Esq; brother to the Earl of Glencairn.

George Hay, Capt. of a company in Gen. Armstrong's regiment of foot.

George Home of Whitefield, Esq;

Ld Alton, nephew to the Duke of Norfolk, at Paris.

George Monson, Esq; brother to the Lord Monson.

Lady Jean Compton, eldest daughter of the Earl of Northampton.

Col. Oliver Brooke in the Guards.

John Pemberton Bookseller, London.

Alderman John Porter, of Dublin.

Mrs Christiana Davis, who for several years served as a dragoon, and behaved with great resolution in many engagements.

Died within the walls of the city of Edinburgh, and buried in the Grayfriars church-yard, July 1739.

Men 15, women 13, children 34. In all, 62. Decreased this month, 24.

	AGE.	N°.	DISEASES.	N°.	
	Under	2	25	Consumption	20
Bewixt	2 &	5	8	Chin-cough	5
	5 &	10	1	Fever	9
	10 &	20	1	Old age	1
	20 &	30	4	Iliac-passion	1
	30 &	40	8	Suddenly	8
	40 &	50	3	Teething	15
	50 &	60	6	Palsy	1
60 &	70	5	Child-bed	1	
70 &	80	1	Still-born	1	

P. S. LONDON, August 4.

'Tis well assured the Affligues ships are arrived at Cadiz, and have on board for the King's account 897,797 pesos, and 56,657 quintals of copper; for private persons, in coin'd silver, 3,932,339 pesos, in coin'd gold, 5604 pesos, in wrought silver 6187 mark, 2697 serons of cochineal, 297,700 bannilles, 4272 robes of indigo, 683 serons of cochineal silvestris, 3827 prepared hides, 78 chests with presents, 118 chests of drugs, and 10 chests of Jesuits bark.

Yesterday 600 iron ordnance, and divers warlike stores, were shipt hence for Dunkirk.

S. S. trading stock, 92, 1 4th without the dividend. Ditto Old annuities, 108. Ditto new, 106, 1 8th. Bank stock, 136, 3 4th. India ditto, 152, 3 4th. Three per cent. annuities, 99. Milbon bank, 115. Royal assurance, No price. London assurance, 10, 7 8th. Mine adventure shares, 5 l. English copper, 3 l. 5 s. Welch ditto, 15 s. African, 13, 1 half. Seven per cent. Emperor's loan, 105. Five per cent. ditto, 89. Bank circulation, 3 l. 5 s. prem. Three per cent. S. S. bonds, 16 s. India ditto, 2 l. 9 s. prem. Three 1 half per cent. Exchequer orders, 1 discount. Three per cent. ditto, 5, 1 4th discount. Salt tallies, 1 half a 1 1 half prem. Lottery tickets, 5 l. 3 s. 6 d. a 4 s.

A Cure for the DROPSY.

TAKE sixteen large nutmegs, eleven spoonfuls of broom-ashes, dried and burnt in an oven, an ounce and half of mustard seed bruised, an handful of horse-radish scraped; all to be put in a gallon of strong mountain wine, and stand three or four days: then a gill or half a pint to be drank fasting every morning, and to fast an hour or two after it.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

THE following is an authentick translation from the Persian of Thamas KOULI-KAN, now called the Schach Nadir, his manifesto or declaration against the Great Mogul.

"My will tends to remain in peace; but the divine will allots a war in these parts; by which I see myself engaged in great confusion and alarms.

In the wide sea of this perishable world, I seem, as it were, mounted on the back of an alligator, from which I am not without fear of being overfet, and going down to the bottom."

This, by the Indians, is called a *destroying humility*.

The following is the best account yet come to hand of the proceedings of the Schach Nadir, since publication of the said manifesto:

Schach Nadir, having subdued two great cities, one called Cabull, and the other Jullabad, and since passed the river Catat, has approached the city Pishawr, and there pitched his camp: where he had an encounter with a very powerful army from the G. Mogul, which he defeated; whereupon he, and his great men at Delly, are much alarmed; and he has since ordered, that Nafsa Moll Molla, his Vizier, do summon in the Nobility, with 300,000 horse, to meet Schach Nadir; and advices since received say, that before this army can reach Schach Nadir, he may take another city, called Lahore: and other letters say he is already at Delly.

The PORTER has at last seen the entire reduction of Sare-Bey-Oglou, by the good conduct of the Bashaw sent against him, who harrassed and starved his adherents that followed him to the mountains of the territory of Ephesus, till two thirds of them deserted him, and himself and the few that could escape with him, fled to Degaisi, the place of his birth; where being unable to rally his troops, he was obliged to fly farther; whither, according to advice from several places, he was pursued, taken, and his head sent to Constantinople. — A speedy end to the fortunes of a man whose success, within these few months, seemed to threaten the Grand Seignior himself!

We are informed, that the Seraskier Gentzi Alli Bashaw had passed the Neister the 28th of June, with a great number of troops, and was going to be join-

ed by some hordes of Tartars; and that as Count Munich was resolved to attack Chocim, and this Seraskier had instructions to give him battle, there was room every day to expect an account of some important action from that side of the country.

The armies of her CZARIAN Majesty, as in some measure appears from what is said of Count Munich above, have taken the field with a seeming resolution of performing some enterprize of moment; and the march of the Russian troops through the Polish territories, against the remonstrance of the republic, raised a general expectation of something of moment being intended; but the sudden advance of the Turkish forces to meet them, may, perhaps, have frustrated their schemes. — Notwithstanding the apprehensions that the Turks would attempt something on the side of Asoph, we have not yet heard of any thing being attempted upon that fortress.

On the 3d of July, the Princess Anne of Mecklenburg was married at Petersburg, with all possible splendor, to Prince Anthony Ulrich of Brunswick-Lunenbourg Wolfenbuttel.

The apprehensions of the Swedes attempting something on the side of Finland, seem daily to dissipate, notwithstanding the arrival of the French squadron at Stockholm; the whole number of troops assembled on the side of Finland being too small to effect any thing to the prejudice of her Czarian Majesty's dominions.

Advices from the IMPERIAL army under the command of Marshal Wallis say, That on the 17th of July the army marched to a new camp at Wisniza, all but nine battalions, which remained in the camp of Merova. The same day General Neiperger, with the forces he commands, was to encamp at Jaboka, and the said nine battalions left in the camp were ordered to join him. On the 18th we received advice, that the whole Turkish army was arrived at Rawna, and designed to pass the Merava; upon which Marshal Wallis came immediately to a resolution to order the

body under the command of Gen. Neiperger, to join the main army. The 21st we learn'd that the Turks had a considerable body encamped at Semendria; and a strong detachment at Kroska, which they were continually reinforcing: whereupon it was resolved in a council of war, at which the Generals Neiperger and Sehr, the Prince of Hildburghausen and Gen. Steyrum assisted, not to wait for the body commanded by C. Neiperger, but to attack the enemy before they had fortified themselves at Kroska, which is a very advantageous post. Pursuant thereto, Marshal Wallis marched the same evening without beat of drum, or sound of trumpet, with 14 regiments of horse, and 18 companies of Grenadiers, being himself at their head, accompanied by Gen. Sehr; leaving orders for Prince Hildburghausen to follow him with all the infantry; Gen. Neiperger promising to hasten his troops to Wisniza. The 22d at day-break Marshal Wallis arrived at Kroska with his detachment; and immediately push'd the enemy on all sides, notwithstanding the approaches to Kroska were very difficult, because there was no coming at the enemy but through defiles. The regiment of Hohenzollern, which had behaved extremely well, having advanced too far, was attack'd afresh, and forced to abandon all the advantages it had gained; which unfortunately prevented the Marshal's design, and obliged him to retreat to the mountains, at the very time that Prince Hildburghausen arrived with the infantry. The Prince immediately made himself master of a post at the right, on the maintaining which post the retreat entirely depended; there the enemy attack'd him several times, but were always repulsed. The Turks have never been seen to make so continual and obstinate a fire as they did during the whole day, and part of the night. Prince Charles of Lorraine and Prince Waldeck maintained their posts several hours against them. In the night we retired into our old camp, but cannot remain long there for want of forage. Among the killed and

General Larissa, Count Cassin, the young

young Prince of Waldeck, and (as is supposed) the Prince of Hesse Rhinfels; amongst the wounded are the Prince of Waldeck and Count Daun.

Notwithstanding the many reports that the affairs of the great Count Sckendorf would be speedily adjusted to his honour, there is now little probability of his surviving his confinement, his distempers increasing upon him daily; and his mind is now so far removed from a hope of seeing himself at liberty, that he has written farewell-letters to most of his acquaintance, resigning himself wholly to the hardships that have overtaken him, and confiding in his innocence for support under whatever he may farther have to suffer during the short time he expects to live.

— The Emperor has allowed him a *Præceptorum* to attend him. — A favour indeed!

From ROME we have accounts of the Chevalier de St George being at present engaged in more business than usual, and various are the conjectures of the politicians on this occasion.

The affairs of CORSIKA promise more success to the designs of the French than was at first expected: which is said to be owing, in a great measure, to the extraordinary abilities of the Marquis de Mallebois, who has favoured the natives with the sight of a *new torture* among them, *viz.* that of *the wheel*; a burgher of Bastia having been broke alive on that cruel instrument, and left for a spectacle to his fellow-citizens, for daring to kill a French officer he surprised in some extraordinary civilities with his wife: An excellent lesson for content among all other Corsicans in the same circumstances! — The advices from thence are swelled with accounts of the cheerfulness with which the natives resign their arms to the French General; and with such rapidity do the French possess themselves of the island, that they have not yet so much as leisure to name the Genoese, who, by the help of these kind strangers, are freed from the trouble of reducing to obedience a people who were too stubborn to the principles of liberty; ever calu-

to submit to the yoke of a state so far inferior to themselves in strength and native riches. — It must, at the same time, be still remembered, that the advices we receive come chiefly by the way of France.

The designs of SWEDEN remain yet secret, though the French Squadron has anchored in the road of Stockholm, and strict orders have been published to use the sailors with all possible civility and complaisance. — It is very probable, that the (perhaps unexpected) situation of affairs elsewhere may have, in a great measure, retarded the schemes concerted between the two crowns.

The present state of affairs in SPAIN — we must defer till next month; as we are unwilling to amuse our readers with reports, which with every mail vary too much to bear repeating.

FRANCE is engaged so much by the situation of her allies, her own views, and the mediating temper which has prevailed in her councils of late, that there is at present no certain judgment to be formed of what part she will act in case of a rupture between G. Britain and Spain; though the former has little room to rely upon her, whatever conduct she may find convenient.

The parliament of Paris, and the other superior courts of France, have, on every opportunity, fresh instances of the disregard had to their authority by his Most Christian Majesty, who executes every act of power to which their concurrence used to be esteemed necessary, without offering to consult them: and their remonstrance draws no more than a declaration that the same will be done for the future. — So that the last traces of the Gallick liberty seem now to have lost even their *form*, as they had long ago done their *power*.

The STATES GENERAL have acted with the utmost caution in the present crisis of the affairs of Europe, and by their doubtful conduct drew a declaration from the French King, That provided they took any step disagreeable to the court of France; he would immediately march 60,000 men to the gates of Breda; whereupon it has been

said to be judged necessary by the republick to declare they will submit their conduct wholly to the regulation of his Most Christian Majesty. — Which yields no very pleasing prospect to Britain!

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T H E

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 L. Æmilius Paulus, Duke of Argyle.
 L. Junius Brutus, Samuel Sandys, Esq;
 M. Tullius Cicero, Sir Robert Walpole.
 M. Cato, William Pulteney, Esq;
 M. Valerius Corvus, Sir John Barnard.

To be continued every week

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CONTAINING,

POLITICAL Debates. Speeches of *L. Junius Brutus*, *M. Tullius Cicero*, and *M. Cato*, upon a question relating to instructions, memorials, &c. proposed to be addressed for; The Speech of *M. Valerius Corvus*, upon the question, Whether the petitioners against the convention should be allowed to be heard by their counsel? And the Speech of *J-n H-we*, Esq; in answer to *Ld Visc. Gage's* speech against the convention.

POETICAL Essays. The Earl of *C--l--le's* advice to his son; An epistle to *Mrs Masters*, and her Answer; The Fanatick Preacher; On lying in the *B. of Rochester's* bed;

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An evening at **VAUX-HALL**; the second hour.

WEEKLY Essays. The fate of *Zun-chin* Emperor of China; Remarks upon *Tacitus*; *Prudentia's* letter to the *Spektor*.

A cure for the **MURRAIN** in cattle.

DOMESTICK History. Deaths, Preferences, &c.

FOREIGN History. The march of the Russian army; The battle of *Krozka*, &c.

Register of Books.

EDINBURGH: Printed by *W. SANDS*, *A. BRYMER*, *A. MURRAY* and *J. COCHRAN*. Sold by the Booksellers in Town and Country, and at the Printing-house in *Burnet's* Close. MDCCLXXXIX.

Of whom may be had the *Magazines* for the preceding months,

Proceedings of the Political Club.

A Motion for two addresses, That copies (1.) of all instructions sent to the British Governors in America, &c. and (2.) of all representations made to the K. of Spain, be laid before parliament p.	339
L. J. Brutus's reasons for the 1 st His reasons for the 2 ^d	ib. 341
M. F. Cicero's speech against the address	342
Dangerous to reveal secrets of state, especially when relating to a transaction not concluded	343
Private, as well as publick instructions	344
The addresses might raise a contest between the royal wisdom and goodness	345
M. Cato's speech for the addresses	346
The word minister ought to be used instead of Majesty	ib.
Objection of revealing secrets of state answered	347
Reasons for the addresses	349
Harmony betwixt the King and parliament sometimes a misfortune	351
The merchants petition against the convocation	352
M. V. Corvus's speech for allowing them to be heard by counsel	353
The petitioners and the ministers ought to be considered as parties	ib.
Lawyers necessary for explaining ambiguous terms	355
And for examining witnesses	356
P O E T R Y.	
The E. of C--l--le's advice to his son	356
Epistle to Mrs Masters, and answer To Celia. To a young Lady	357 358
On a young Lady's illness. Four rural beauties. Horace, book 4. ode 7. imitated	359

The fanatick Preacher. To Miss F--ny. A Hint. On lying in the E. of Rochester's bed.	360
Thoughts on our sabbery, &c.	361
The Dublin society recommended to be considered	362
The second hour at Vaux-hall	363

WEEKLY ESSAYS.

Bad ministers fatal to their masters	364
Illustrated by the fate of Zambin Emperor of China	365
His advice to the usurper	ib.
Case of Prudentia	366
Tragical history of Thrasea Patru	367
The tribunitial power the guard of the Roman liberties	369
But at last reduced to a mere form	ib.
In a corrupted government a man of virtue should not meddle at all	370
J--n H--c's speech in the house of Commons	ib.
A cure for the Murrain in Cattle	373

DOMESTICK HISTORY.

Deaths, &c.	374
-------------	-----

FOREIGN HISTORY.

The Grand Seignior's Equerry's letter to the Consuls, relating to the overthrow of Sare-Bey-Oglou	376
Empress of Russia's declaration relating to the murder of the Baron St Clair	ib.
The march of the Russian army	377
The Tartars devastations in Poland	ib.
Full account of the battle at Kronka	378
— of the action on the Danube	380
Advances of the Turks in the siege of Belgrade	381
Affairs of Spain	383
Letter from the Hague	ib.
Register of Books	384

ON the 17th day of October next, the usual Colleges on all the branches of **PHYSICK** begin at *Edinburgh*.

Gentlemen in town may have the *Magazines* sent to their lodgings, or those in the country, to their carriers quarters, as soon as they are published.

The SCOTS Magazine.

AUGUST, 1739.

PROCEEDINGS of the *Political Club*; continued from p. 308.

SOON after the beginning of last session of parliament, the Gentlemen of our club foresaw, that some question relating to the convention, which had just before been concluded with Spain, would probably come before parliament, and consequently would become the subject of a debate at some of our future meetings; our conversation therefore turned, at a meeting we had, the 6th of February last, upon, what papers were necessary to be seen, in order to give Gentlemen a thorough light into that grand affair: upon which occasion, several things were proposed, which were unanimously approved of; but *L. Junius Brutus* said, that if he were a member, he would move for the two following resolutions, *viz.* *That an humble address should be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give directions for laying before parliament, copies of all letters written, and instructions given by the Secretaries of State, or Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of G. Britain, to any of the Governors of the British plantations in America, or any Commander in chief, or Captains of his Majesty's ships of war, or his Majesty's minister at the court of Spain, or any of his Majesty's Consuls in Europe, since the treaty of Seville, relating to any losses sustained by his Majesty's subjects, by means of depredations committed by the subjects of the King of Spain, in Europe or America, which had not before been laid before parliament.* And,

That an humble address should be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give directions for laying before parliament, copies of such memori-

als or representations, as had been made either to the King of Spain or his ministers, since the treaty of Seville, relating to losses sustained by his Majesty's subjects, by means of depredations committed by the subjects of the King of Spain, in Europe or America, which had not before been laid before parliament.

As several Gentlemen thought that these two questions might admit of some debate, it was resolved to make this the question of the day; whereupon *L. Junius Brutus* stood up, and spoke in favour of the resolutions he had proposed, to the effect as follows, *viz.*

Mr. President Samuel Sandys Esq.

AS his Majesty, in his speech from the throne, acquainted us, that the treaty or convention lately concluded with Spain, would be laid before us in this session of parliament, and as we must presume, that when it is laid before us and taken into consideration, some sort of proposition or motion will be made, either for approving or disapproving of that treaty, we ought therefore to have every thing laid before us that may any way relate to it, or to the long negotiation that was carried on for bringing it about. When I say so, Sir, I do not mean that we are either to approve or disapprove of any thing that has been done by his Majesty: In all such cases we are to look upon what has been done, as done by his Majesty's ministers; and their doings we may censure, we may condemn, we have often too good reason to condemn. What may be the fate of this convention, or what fate it may deserve to meet with in this house, I shall not now pretend to deter-

mine; but that we may neither justify nor condemn, applaud nor censure, without a good reason, I think it is absolutely necessary for us to know, how matters stand, at present, between us and Spain; what are the chief causes of the disputes that have so long subsisted between the two nations; and what measures have been taken for clearing up or putting an end to those disputes.

For this purpose, Sir, it is certainly as necessary for us to see the letters and instructions sent to the Governors of our plantations, or to any Commander in chief, or Captains of his Majesty's ships of war, especially such of them as have been stationed in the West-Indies, relating to the Spanish depredations, as it is for us to see the letters received from them: and as you have already resolved to address for the latter, if you act consistently, you must resolve to address for the former likewise; for it will be impossible to understand or comprehend fully the meaning of those letters that have been received from them, without having at the same time before you, the letters and instructions sent to them, relating to the depredations committed by the Spaniards. Nay, it must be allowed, that it is more necessary for us to see the letters and instructions that have been sent, than to see the letters that have been received; for it is not the conduct of our Governors or Commanders, it is the conduct of our Ministers that must, upon the present occasion, be the subject of our enquiry; and their conduct can appear only from the letters and instructions they have sent.

As the Spaniards, Sir, have of late years set up several unjust claims against us; as they have under colour of those claims, for several years, without intermission, committed great depredations upon our merchants; and as our ministers could not but foresee, that in their way of negotiating, it would be a long time before the disputes between the two nations could be adjusted by treaty: it was incumbent upon them to send, in the mean time, such instructions to our Governors and Commanders in the West-Indies, as were most proper for

preventing any new depredation; but cause every new depredation that was committed, was not only a new insult put upon the crown of G. Britain, and a new loss to our merchants, but it was also a new difficulty thrown in the way of their negotiation; for surely they were not so short-sighted as not to foresee, that the higher our demands rose, the more difficult they would find it to obtain redress by peaceable method. It was therefore their duty to send such instructions to the Governors of our plantations, and to the chief Commanders or Captains of his Majesty's ships of war, stationed in those parts, as might prevent any of our merchant-ships falling into the hands of the Spanish guards costas; but whether they have performed, or failed in their duty, in this respect, can be known only by seeing the letters or instructions they have sent: we can get no proper insight into it, from any of the letters they have received.

Then, Sir, as to the letters and instructions given to his Majesty's minister at the court of Spain, and Consuls in Europe, relating to any losses sustained by his Majesty's subjects, by depredations committed by the Spaniards, in Europe or America, we have already resolved to address for the letters received from them upon that subject; which shews that we think it necessary for us to see those letters upon this occasion; but I should be glad to know, what use we can make of the letters received from them, unless we have at the same time before us, the letters and instructions sent to them: The former must necessarily relate to the latter, and therefore it is impossible to understand, or make any thing of the former, without seeing the latter. For my own part, I shall not be at the pains to peruse, or so much as look into any of the letters we have resolved to address for, unless I have at the same time an opportunity of seeing the letters and instructions now proposed to be addressed for; and I must suspect that those who are against the resolutions now proposed, are conscious that some false step, or wrong measure will appear from a full view of this

correspondence, and that therefore they have a mind to baffle the effect of the resolutions we have come to, by getting a negative put upon those resolutions, which 'tis now proposed we should come to.

As our ministers abroad, Sir, act only by the orders and instructions they receive from hence, their conduct cannot come properly under our consideration, till we have examined into the conduct of those that gave them their orders or instructions, unless it should be said that they had exceeded their instructions, or not fulfilled, or disobeyed, the orders they received. Our first business must therefore be, to examine into the conduct of those, who gave them their orders or instructions; and this we cannot do without seeing those orders and instructions. Even if it should be said, that they had exceeded or acted contrary to their instructions, it is what we cannot enquire into, nor form any judgment of, without seeing those instructions; and therefore, I must think, that in either case, it is more necessary for us, upon the present occasion, to have laid before us the letters and instructions sent to his Majesty's minister in Spain, and Consuls in Europe, than to have laid before us the letters that have been received from them: for which reason, I cannot but be surpris'd, that any Gentleman who agreed to our addressing for the latter, should oppose our addressing for the former.

Sir, the indignities that have been put upon the crown and flag of G. Britain, the insults that have been put upon the nation, and the injuries that have been done to our merchants and seamen, have been so great, so frequent, and so long continued, that I am amazed how the affair could continue so long in the shape of a negotiation. Considering the treatment some of his Majesty's subjects had met with, and the dangers our trade lay expos'd to, it became absolutely necessary for us to make remonstrances to the court of Spain in the strongest terms, and to insist upon a speedy and categorical answer. If we had done so, it is hardly possible the

affair could have remained so long in the shape of a negotiation; it must, long before now, have come to an open rupture, or a real, and not a sham definitive treaty: and therefore, I am apt to suspect, that the letters and instructions sent to our ministers abroad, have not been such as they ought to have been. This, with some Gentlemen, may be a good reason for not having those letters and instructions made publick; but with me, it is a strong, an unanswerable reason, for having all those letters and instructions laid before this house.

These, Sir, are my reasons for the first resolution I have taken the liberty to propose; and as for the other, it is of such a nature, that I am surpris'd how any Gentleman can think, that we can know any thing of the convention that is to be laid before us, or of the negotiation that has been carried on for bringing it about, without seeing the memorials and representations that have been made to the King of Spain or his ministers, relating to the Spanish depositions. I hope, that, upon our part at least, there are no secrets between our ministers and the court of Spain, but what may be divulged to this house, or even to the whole nation: I hope the memorials and representations drawn up and sent to Spain by our ministers, contain nothing but a plain representation of our rights, and of the injuries we have suffered, and an honest, tho' peremptory demand of satisfaction, reparation, and security. If this be the case, the laying them before this house, can be attended with no bad consequence: it can no way interrupt the course of our negotiations, nor can it bring a censure upon any man that was concerned in drawing them up. If I had moved for the memorials, representations, or answers, that had been delivered to his Majesty, or any of his ministers, in the name, and by order of the King of Spain, it might perhaps have been laid, that the laying of such papers before this house, would interrupt the course, and might prevent the effect of our peaceable negotiations; because the court of Spain might from thence draw a pre-

tence, for refusing to correspond or treat any longer with those, who could conceal nothing that was wrote or said to them. Tho' I do not think there is much in this argument, and tho' I am of opinion, that we ought, upon this occasion, to see even the memorials, representations, or answers, delivered by the court of Spain; yet I purposely avoided including them in my motion, that there might be no pretence for making an objection against it: for I am sure, the court of Spain can have no pretence for taking it amiss, that a British parliament should be allowed to see those memorials and representations that have been drawn up by British ministers.

It is not so much as pretended, Sir, that the treaty or convention to be laid before us is a definitive treaty. His Majesty, in his speech from the throne, has told us, that it is not a definitive treaty: he has told us, that those grievances and abuses, which have hitherto interrupted our commerce and navigation in the American seas, and all other disputes between the two nations, except that of reparation to our fellow-subjects for their losses, remain yet to be regulated and settled by Plenipotentiaries. I wish the only article that is settled, may not appear to have been settled to our disadvantage. But this is not the only thing we are to enquire into, when we come to examine this convention. If the court of Spain appeared to be in an humour to give us full satisfaction, with respect to all the other matters which they have been allowed of late years to dispute with us, our agreeing to such a preliminary convention, and even our yielding a little with respect to the article that is settled, may perhaps be justified: but if, on the contrary, the court of Spain appeared to be in no humour to give us a proper satisfaction, with respect to any one of the matters now in dispute between us; considering the danger our trade and navigation lies exposed to, by the unjust, and hitherto unheard of claim they have set up, of searching our ships in the open seas, it was ridiculous in us to agree to any preliminaries, without having that point first settled to our satisf-

faction, and still more ridiculous to accept of any partial reparation for the losses our merchants and seamen have already sustained by their depredations. Therefore, when we come to examine into this convention, the chief point that will come under our consideration must be, to know what humour the court of Spain seems to be in, and what we may expect by the delay which this preliminary convention must occasion: and I should be glad to know, how we can form any judgment as to this point, without seeing at least those memorials and representations which our ministers have thought fit to make to the King of Spain and his ministers: for, from what his Majesty has told us of the convention, I am sure we can form no judgment, as to this point, from any article in the convention itself.

I do not know, Sir, what some Gentlemen may think his Majesty means by ordering the convention to be laid before us. Perhaps they may think, that we ought only to read it over, and thereupon present a polite address in the modern way, applauding the wisdom of his Majesty's measures; that is to say, the wisdom of those who advised him to take such measures. But, I must think, his Majesty does not mean any such thing. He means, I am sure, that we should not only read it, but examine it thoroughly; and that, after we have examined the whole affair to the bottom, we should give him our honest and sincere opinion. This, I am convinced, is what his Majesty means by ordering the convention to be laid before us; and this we cannot comply with, till at least all the papers now moved for be laid before us: therefore in duty to his Majesty, as well as out of regard to our own honour, we ought to agree to the two resolutions I have taken the liberty to propose. *Sir. W. Wilpole*

M. Tullius Cicero *spoke next upon this occasion to the following effect, viz.*

Mr. President,

I Believe no Gentleman who has the honour to be a member of this house supposes, that we are not to examine into the

the nature of the convention lately concluded with Spain, or that his Majesty intends we should not. I am sure I do not suppose any such thing: on the contrary, I hope, that when it is laid before us, we shall not only examine thoroughly every article of it, but also that we shall examine into the present circumstances of affairs both at home and abroad; which we must do before we can form a right judgment of the convention his Majesty has agreed to. When the several articles are particularly examin'd, and all circumstances duly considered, we ought then to give our most sincere opinion and advice to his Majesty: and, from the view I have of our present circumstances, and what I have heard or know of that convention, I believe the opinion of this house will be, that the concluding and ratifying the convention was one of the wisest measures his Majesty could take; and our advice, I doubt not, will be, that his Majesty should proceed upon the foundation laid by that convention, and endeavour by peaceable methods to put an end, by a definitive treaty, to all the disputes now subsisting between the two nations.

I shall grant, Sir, that in order to examine thoroughly into the nature of the convention, and into the circumstances of our affairs both at home and abroad, it will be necessary for us to have a great many papers laid before us. But in calling or addressing for papers of any kind, we ought at all times to be extremely cautious, especially in calling for papers relating to any transaction which is not then finally concluded; for no man will pretend to say, that it is consistent with good politicks to lay secrets of state, or papers that contain any such secrets, before such a numerous assembly. If there were none present but such as have a right to be here, perhaps the danger might not be so great. A secret of great importance might, perhaps, remain a secret, notwithstanding its being communicated to this house; because, I am persuaded, there is no Gentleman who has the honour of having a seat in this house, that would reveal any thing he thought might tend to the prejudice of

his country: But as there is always a great number of persons present that have no right to be here, some of them, perhaps, unknown to any member of this house, we cannot suppose, that any of our proceedings, or any thing that has been once laid before us, can be kept secret from foreign courts, especially from those whose business it is to discover every thing that passes amongst us.

Let us therefore consider, Sir, that by addressing for papers relating to an affair then under negotiation between us and a foreign court, we may lay his Majesty under a very great difficulty: We may either lay him under the necessity of refusing his parliament what they ask for, which I am sure he would be loth to do, which he has never yet done; or we may lay him under the necessity of divulging secrets, which must necessarily disturb the negotiation he is carrying on, if not entirely prevent its effect. For this reason, when we find ourselves obliged to take an affair into our consideration, before it is brought to a final conclusion, I do not think it would be a bad politick in this house, to lay it down as an establish'd maxim, never to address for any papers upon such occasions, but to leave it entirely to his Majesty, to order such papers to be laid before us, as he might think necessary for giving us a proper light into the affair, and such as he knew might be safely communicated.

To apply what I have said to the case now before us: It must be allow'd, Sir, that the convention lately concluded with Spain relates to an affair not yet finally ended. It relates to an affair now under negotiation between the two courts; for I shall readily agree, that the articles of the convention can at best be called but a sort of preliminary articles, which are to be further explained and perfected by a definitive treaty: and if a satisfactory treaty may be obtain'd by peaceable means, and in consequence of these preliminary articles, which no man can say is impossible, it would be wrong in us to do any thing, or to call for any paper, which, by being made

publick, might disappoint so good an effect. Now, as this convention was, as every preliminary agreement must be, preceded by a negotiation, some things may have passed during that negotiation, which the court of Spain would not desire to be made publick, which they would even look on as a high affront, in case they should be made publick. We know how jealous Princes are even of what is called the punctilio of honour; we know how jealous they must always be in this respect; and therefore we must know, that it is always dangerous to publish the transactions of a negotiation till some time after it has been concluded. While such transactions remain secret, many things may be said and done by both parties without much notice, which either party would think himself in honour obliged to resent in the highest manner, in case they should be made publick. Therefore, with regard to those memorials and representations that have been sent to the court of Spain, and must consequently be already known to that court, it would not perhaps, at present, be very prudent to publish them; because it might alter the present good humour which that court seems to be in, and might render it impossible for us to obtain either satisfaction, reparation, or security, any other way but by force of arms.

This, I say, Sir, might be the effect of publishing some of those papers which the court of Spain has already seen; but with respect to those papers they have not, nor can be supposed to have seen, such as the instructions and letters sent to our minister in Spain, and Consuls in Europe, or any Commander in chief, or Captains of his Majesty's ships of war, it would certainly be extremely imprudent to publish them at present. As the disputes between Spain and us, were come very near to an open rupture, before their agreeing to this convention, we do not know but that there were instructions or letters sent to the Commanders in chief, or Captains of his Majesty's ships of war, relating to some design against some one part or other of

the Spanish dominions, that was to have been executed, in case they had not agreed to the terms proposed; and if there were any such letters or instructions sent, the communicating them to this house, and consequently making them known to the court of Spain, might not only be the cause of their breaking off all further conferences with us, but at the same time it would put them up on their guard, and instruct them how to provide against any such design in the future.

Then, Sir, with regard to the instructions or letters sent to our minister in Spain, or Consuls in Europe, if we reflect upon what is usual in all cases of negotiation, we cannot so much as desire his Majesty to lay all such letters and instructions before us: for every one knows, that in all negotiations there are private, as well as publick letters and instructions, sent to those who are employed in carrying on the negotiation. There are letters or instructions sent them, which they are to communicate to those with whom they are negotiating; and by these, they are generally ordered to make high demands, and few concessions: But these letters and instructions are generally qualified by others of a private nature, which they are to conceal from those with whom they negotiate; and by these they are instructed to pass from some demands, or make some concessions, according to the humour they find the court in, to which they are sent, and according to the propositions that may be made by that court. In short, these private letters and instructions generally contain the utmost their court or Prince will do for the sake of peace; and to make such letters or instructions publick, before the negotiation's being broke off, or concluded by a definitive treaty, would be doing the greatest injury to that court and nation from which such letters or instructions had been sent.

This, I say, Sir, we know to be the case with regard to almost every negotiation that has ever happen'd, or that can ever happen; therefore we must presume, that it is the case with regard-

to those instructions or letters that have been lately sent to our ministers or Consuls in Spain: and as the negotiation between us and the court of Spain is far from being concluded; as I hope, and every Gentleman as well as I, must wish that it may not be broke off till it is brought to a happy conclusion; we cannot desire his Majesty to order all the letters and instructions that have been lately sent to our ministers or Consuls in Spain, to be laid before this house.

I shall grant, Sir, that in order to know how matters stand at present between us and Spain, the causes of our present disputes, and the measures his Majesty has taken to put an end to them, it would be proper for us to see all the papers that have been mentioned, and a great many more than have been now moved for. We cannot propose to acquire a full and perfect knowledge of these matters, and of the circumstances of affairs at home and abroad, without having a compleat knowledge of all the negotiations that have been lately carried on, or are now carrying on, not only between us and Spain, but between us and every other Power in Europe; but this is a knowledge, which every one must admit, his Majesty neither can nor ought to communicate to parliament. I have shewn, that the communicating all those papers that are now mov'd for, might be of the most dangerous consequence; and even the Hon. Gent. himself who mov'd for those papers, allows, that we ought not to desire all the memorials, representations, and answers, received from the court of Spain, to be laid before us; because our rendring the contents of some of them publick, might put a stop to our negotiations, and make the court of Spain refuse to treat any longer with us. Are not we, Sir, to apprehend the same consequence, from our rendring publick the memorials and representations that have been made to the King of Spain or his ministers? For the memorials and representations that have been made by us, must relate to, and may probably recite a great part, if not the whole substance of those we have received.

What are we then to do in such a case, Sir? We cannot desire a full and perfect knowledge of all such affairs. We must content ourselves with such a knowledge as may be safely communicated to us, without injuring the publick affairs of the nation: and we must leave it to his Majesty to judge, what may be safely communicated. We may depend upon his goodness, and the regard he has for his parliament, that he will, upon this occasion, communicate to us every paper, and every transaction, relating to the Spanish depredations, that can be safely communicated: but his wisdom, and the regard he has for the honour and interest of his kingdoms, must prevent his communicating to us any thing that ought not, that cannot be safely made publick; and we ought not, by an unreasonable address, to raise a contest in his royal breast, between his goodness and wisdom, or between the regard he has for his parliament, and the regard he has for the honour and interest of his kingdoms.

The resolutions we have already come to, I did not, 'tis true, oppose: but it was not, Sir, because I entirely approved of them. It was, because I did not see any thing in them, but what his Majesty, I thought, might comply with: I did not apprehend that by any of them, there were papers called for that might not be safely made publick. But with regard to the two last resolutions, the Hon. Gent. has been pleased to propose, the case is very different. At first view I see, that by each of them there are papers called for, which it may not be safe to make publick: Some of those papers, I think, may probably be such, as would disclose the secrets of our government, or interrupt, if not put a full stop to the course of our negotiations: Therefore I must look upon the addresses proposed by those resolutions, to be of such a nature, that there is the highest probability of his Majesty's not being able to comply with them; and whilst I have the honour to have a seat in this house, I shall always be ready to give my testimony against our resolving to desire any thing of his Majesty by an address, which

I think he cannot, consistently with the honour of his crown, or the interest of his kingdoms, fully comply with.

From what I have said, Sir, I hope every Gentleman will see, that there is a great difference between the addresses we have agreed to, and the two addresses now proposed. By the former, we desire nothing of his Majesty, at least so far as we can comprehend, but what he may comply with, without promulgating the secrets of his government, or running the risk of defeating those negotiations he is carrying on, for securing the trade and navigation of his kingdoms. By the latter we are to desire of his Majesty, what I think I have shewn he cannot, in all probability, safely comply with. This is the proper distinction between the addresses we have agreed to, and the addresses now proposed; and every Gentleman that makes this distinction, may easily see a good reason for his giving a negative to the latter, notwithstanding his having given his assent to the former; for all those who think there is any thing desired by the addresses now proposed, which his Majesty cannot safely comply with, must, I think, in duty to their Sovereign, give their negative to the question.

I shall conclude with observing, Sir, that it would be highly imprudent in us at present, to present any address that his Majesty could not fully comply with. For if foreign courts, and particularly the court of Spain, should be informed, that the parliament had begun to present addresses which the King could not comply with; if they should hear that his Majesty had, in the least article, refused to comply with the request of his parliament: they would immediately begin to presume, that a breach was to ensue between King and parliament. They would then begin to believe, that there is some truth in what they have so often been told, by the libels spread about in this kingdom; that the people of this kingdom are a divided people; that they are disaffected to their Sovereign; and that the parliament have now begun to do, what they have often done, what I hope they will always do, when there is

a just occasion, which I am sure is far from being the case at present; I mean, that the parliament had begun to espouse the cause of the people, against the King and his ministers. This presumption, Sir, would make not only the court of Spain, but every court we have any difference with, less pliable, or more unreasonable than they are at present; and at the same time, it would give the other courts of Europe such a contemptible opinion of us, as would of course prevent their joining in any alliance with us; by which means, we would render it not only impracticable to obtain satisfaction from the court of Spain by fair means, but impossible to obtain it by force of arms: and as this would be one of the most unfortunate situations this nation could be reduced to, I am sure every Gentleman that has a regard for his native country, and views the question now before us in this light, will join with me in putting the negative upon it.

The only other speech I shall give you upon this subject, is that of M. Cato, who spoke in substance thus.

Mr. President, Wm Pulteney

I With his Majesty's name were not so much made use of in this house, as it usually is. Some Gentlemen seem to affect talking in his Majesty's name, of every publick measure that happens to be mentioned in this house, tho' they know that when we enquire into any publick measure, or into the management of any publick transaction, we enquire into it, and we pass our judgment upon it, as a thing done, not by his Majesty, but by his ministers. Therefore, I wish they would alter a little their manner of talking, and instead of the word *Majesty*, make use of the word *ministers*, or, if they please, *minister*. If they should say now, for example, in the present case, that we ought never to desire any thing of the minister, which we think he cannot safely comply with; it would be a more proper manner of expressing themselves, and more conformable to the rules of proceeding in parliament, than to say, that we ought never to desire any thing of his Majesty, which we think

think he cannot safely comply with: and I must leave it to Gentlemen to consider, what sort of a parliamentary maxim it would be, to resolve, that when we find ourselves obliged, when the unfortunate state the nation is in makes it necessary for us, to take an affair into consideration before it is finally concluded, we ought never to call for any papers upon such an occasion, but to leave it entirely to the minister, to lay, or order such papers to be laid before us, as he knew he might safely communicate to those whose business it is to enquire into his conduct. This, I confess, would be a maxim extremely convenient for ministers, and therefore I am not at all surpris'd to hear it come from the corner from whence it does.

But, Sir, to be serious upon the subject now before us; for, considering the unfortunate situation the affairs not only of this nation, but of Europe, are in at present, it is a subject of as serious a nature, as ever came before a British parliament: I must observe, that when this house resolves to take any particular and extraordinary affair into consideration, it is impossible for his Majesty to know what papers, or other things may be necessary for giving us a proper light into the affair. His ministers may perhaps know; but in former ages, ministers have been known to conceal industriously from their Sovereign, many things they knew, and such as they ought in duty to have acquainted him with; and therefore our parliaments never trusted to the King's ministers for giving him information in this particular. They considered themselves, the affair which was to come before them; they considered what papers, or other things, would be necessary for giving them a proper light into the affair; and if those papers were such as must be communicated by the crown, they address'd his Majesty, that he would be pleas'd to give directions for laying such or such papers before them. It is therefore from the addresses of this house only, that his Majesty can know what papers may be necessary to be laid before us upon any such occasion; and, when his

Majesty sees what we address for, he may then judge, whether the papers call'd for, or any of them, be such as ought not to be made publick.

I say, Sir, his Majesty may, upon seeing our address, judge whether any of the papers we call for be such as ought not to be made publick; but, suppose his Majesty judges that some of them are of such a nature, this is no reason for not laying them before parliament, if they be such as either house thinks necessary for giving them a proper light into the affair under their consideration. Upon such occasions, his Majesty may order such papers as contain no secrets, to be laid before the house; and he may at the same time acquaint them, that there are others which ought not to be made publick: in which case, the house may, if it pleases, appoint a secret committee, and desire that those papers that ought not to be made publick, may be laid before their committee; which committee extracts from those papers such things only as are necessary for the information of the house, with relation to the affair then under consideration, without mentioning or divulging any of those things that ought to be kept secret. By this means, Sir, the house may have full information with respect to any affair they are to pass judgment upon, or give their opinion of, without the least danger of exposing the secrets of the government; for no strangers are ever allowed to be present in any secret committee, not even members of the house unless they are of the committee: and, I hope it will not be said, that there may not be found at all times in this house, a set of Gentlemen that are as capable of keeping a secret, and as incapable of betraying the secrets of their country, as any of his Majesty's ministers; nor do I think it would be any reproach to our present ministers, if I should say, that every Gentleman in this house has a great regard for his native country, and as great a concern for its prosperity, as they have.

If the Hon. Gent.'s maxim were to be admitted as an established maxim for our conduct in this house, we could ne-

ver address for papers relating to any publick affair that had been transacted within the same century; for there is no publick affair but what may have, but what may probably have some papers belonging to it that ought not to be made publick. Even suppose the affair we are to enquire into, were an affair finally concluded; yet there may be papers belonging to that affair, if it be such a one as has lately happened, which relate to some affairs then upon the anvil, and which therefore ought not then to be made publick. At this rate, Sir, we must always leave it entirely to his Majesty, that is to say, to his Majesty's ministers, to lay no papers before us but such as they think may be safely communicated to parliament: in which case, every one must see, that we could never enquire into the conduct of any minister, while he continues a favourite of the crown; for no minister will ever think it safe to lay any paper before parliament, that may lay a foundation for, or may any way support an accusation against himself; and, upon this maxim, he would always have an excuse for not laying such papers before parliament, by saying, that they contain secrets relating to some affair in agitation, which must not be discovered till that affair is brought to a conclusion.

This shews, Sir, how ridiculous it would be to establish such a maxim, and therefore, I hope we shall continue to follow the ancient maxim of this house, which has always been, to call for all such papers as we thought might contribute towards giving us a full and perfect knowledge of the affair we were to enquire into, without regarding whether or no the papers we thought necessary for this purpose were such as might probably contain some secrets of state. If any of them are of such a nature, we may appoint a secret committee for examining into them, and reporting such parts of them as are necessary for our information; but, till his Majesty has acquainted us that some of them are of such a nature, we have no occasion for appointing such a committee. This therefore can be no objecti-

on against our addressing for all or any of the papers now proposed to be addressed for: but, for my own part, I cannot so much as imagine, that there are any important secrets, I mean such as the honour or interest of the nation is concerned in keeping secret; I say, I cannot imagine, that there are any such in our late negotiations with Spain, or in any of our late transactions relating to the Spanish depositions. I am sure they have made no secret of the claims they have lately set up against us, nor of the insults they have put upon us: on the contrary, they seem to be fond of publishing them, that the world may know how contemptuously they have used us. I do not know but that there may be some secrets that ought to be discovered, secrets, in the discovering of which, both the honour and interest of the nation may be deeply concerned; but this surely can be no argument against our calling for papers by which such a discovery may be made: and, if any of the papers now called for can be supposed to contain secrets of such a nature, it is a strong argument for agreeing to the motion; for, without such an address, we can hardly expect to have them laid before us.

If a presumption, that the papers to be called for were such as ought not to be made publick, should be allowed to be an objection of any weight against the resolutions now proposed, it must be allowed, Sir, that it was an objection of equal weight against every resolution we have agreed to. If the Governors of our plantations, or any Commander in chief, or Captains of his Majesty's ships of war, had any instructions about a design that was to have been executed against the Spaniards, in case they had not agreed to this convention; may not we as reasonably suppose, that in some of the letters received from them, those instructions are referred to, or recited, as we can suppose that the memorials, representations, or answers of the court of Spain, are referred to, or recited, in those which we sent to that court? And, if those letters bear any such reference or recital, will not the laying them be-
fore

fore this house discover our designs to the Spanish court, as much as if the instructions themselves were laid before us? If our negotiators at the court of Spain had private as well as publick instructions, must not the letters received from them relate to their private as well as publick instructions? and will not the laying those letters before us, as much discover their private instructions, as if those private instructions themselves were laid before us? Therefore, if we were never to address for any papers, but such as, we are certain, may be safely made publick, we ought not to have addressed for those papers we have already resolved to address for; but this can be no reason against our addressing for papers of any kind: there can be no reason against our addressing for all papers that are necessary for discovering to the bottom any affair we have resolved to enquire into, except that of the risk some people may run by a sincere and thorough enquiry.

As the late convention with Spain, Sir, was intended, or ought to have been intended, for obtaining a proper satisfaction for the insults we have met with, full reparation for the losses our injured merchants and seamen have suffered, and effectual security for our trade and navigation in time to come, it is impossible for us to form any right or mature judgment of that convention, without seeing all papers that any way relate to the Spanish depredations. Can we determine what may be thought a proper satisfaction for the insults we have met with, without knowing what those insults are? can we determine what may be thought a full reparation for the losses our merchants and seamen have sustained, without knowing what those losses are? or can we determine what may be thought an effectual security for our trade and navigation in time to come, without knowing all the pretences the Spaniards have set up for disturbing them, and what foundation they have for all or any of these pretences? and, can we come at a sufficient knowledge in either of these respects, without perusing and examining all the pa-

pers upon the subject? Therefore, if we have a mind to go to the bottom of this affair, which it is highly necessary we should; if we have a mind to do any thing more than read over, and blindly approve of this convention, we must have laid before us all the papers we have already resolved to address for, together with those now proposed to be addressed for; and, when we have seen them, we may from thence find it necessary to address for some others; but, in order to judge of the convention, it cannot be necessary for us to enquire into all the negotiations we have lately had with every other power in Europe.

Indeed, if upon enquiry it should appear, that this convention is both dishonourable and disadvantageous for this nation; if it should appear, that we have thereby got no satisfaction, nor so much as the promise of satisfaction for any one insult that has been put upon us; if it should appear, that we have not got a full reparation, nor so much as the promise of a full reparation, for the losses our merchants and seamen have sustained; if it should appear, that we have got no security, nor so much as the promise of any security, for our trade and navigation in time to come: it would then, Sir, be incumbent upon us, to appoint a day for resolving into a committee to take the state of the nation into our consideration; and, in that case, I shall grant, that it would be necessary for us to address his Majesty, that he would be pleased to give directions for laying before a secret committee to be appointed for that purpose, a full and exact account of all our late negotiations; in order that we might have a full view of the circumstances the nation is in, not only with respect to its domestick affairs, but also with respect to foreign affairs. Without such a view, it would be impossible for this house to come to any proper resolutions, or to give his Majesty any proper advice. If the nation has been brought into such distress, as to be obliged to accept of such a dishonourable and disadvantageous treaty, rather than attempt to vindicate our honour and

our rights by force of arms, we cannot expect that those who brought us into such distress will ever be able to relieve us. If any relief be possible, it must come from parliament; and it is not the first time the parliament has relieved this nation from the utmost distress. But, in such cases, we must have a full view of our affairs; we must not shew such a complaisance for our ministers, as to deny ourselves any necessary information, for fear of bringing them into difficulties.

From what I have said, Sir, I hope it will appear, that there is nothing in either of the addresses now proposed, but what his Majesty may comply with, but what he certainly will comply with. If there be any of the papers now proposed to be called for, of such a nature as ought to be kept extremely secret; his Majesty may tell us so, and we may then appoint a secret committee for inspecting them, and reporting such parts of them as may be safely communicated. This may perhaps be the case, with regard to some of the papers we have already resolved to address for: There is as great a probability, that this may be the case with regard to some of them, as there is of its being the case with regard to some of the papers now proposed to be addressed for; but if there were not, it would be no reason for our not calling for a sight of papers that are absolutely necessary for our information, in a case that is to come before us, a case in which both the honour and interest, I may say the very being of this nation, make it necessary for us to be fully informed.

In all parliamentary enquiries, Sir, the Sovereign of these kingdoms can never be led, by motives founded upon the honour of his crown, or the interest of his kingdoms, to refuse his parliament any thing they think necessary for their information, with respect to the affair they have resolved to enquire into: He may be led so to do, by the advice of bad ministers, who never give him such advice, but for the sake of screening themselves from that national vengeance that is ready to fall upon

them. But his present Majesty has too much wisdom and goodness to follow any such pernicious advice: He knows, that the following of such advice, has sometimes proved fatal even to the crown itself; and has never as yet, thank God! long preserved the guilty criminal. His Majesty's goodness will in all cases induce him to give the utmost satisfaction to his people; and from his wisdom we must presume he knows, that in giving satisfaction to his people, consists the security of his crown, and the happiness of his kingdoms.

Therefore, Sir, what his Majesty may, or may not comply with, is a question that cannot enter into the present debate. The only question that can enter into the present debate is, What papers may, or may not be necessary for our information, with regard to the affair that is soon to come before us? for whatever papers we may think necessary for that purpose, his Majesty will, upon our request, signified to him in the usual manner, certainly order to be laid before us.

For this reason, Sir, the only question now under our consideration is, Whether the papers now proposed to be addressed for, are such as are necessary for giving us such a light into the present circumstances of our affairs, with regard to Spain, as may enable us to form a right judgment of the convention that is, I hope, soon to be laid before us? And with respect to this question, Sir, the Hon. Gent. who spoke first in this debate, has fully shewn, that the papers now proposed to be addressed for, are not only necessary, but more necessary upon the present occasion, than the papers we have already resolved to address for. Nay, it is a question that seems not to be disputed, even by those who have spoke against the resolutions now proposed: for they have grounded the whole of their reasoning upon a supposition, that some of the papers now proposed to be addressed for, may be such as ought not to be made publick: and as I have shewn that this can be no argument against our addressing for them, I am persuaded every Gentleman

man who has a real design that we should examine thoroughly into the nature of the convention that is to be laid before us, or that we should be able to form any judgment of it, will be as ready to give his assent to the resolutions now proposed, as he was to give his assent to those we have already agreed to.

As there is nothing, Sir, in either of the resolutions proposed, but what his Majesty may comply with; as there is nothing but what he will certainly comply with: therefore, from our agreeing to these resolutions, no foreign court can presume, that a breach is like to ensue between his Majesty and his parliament; nor can they from thence be induced to believe, what the Hon. Gent. says has been told them by some libels lately published in this kingdom. For my part, I know of no such libels: I do not know that it has been asserted in any libel lately published, that the people of this kingdom are generally disaffected to his Majesty and his family. I am persuaded no such arrogant lie has been asserted in any libel lately published, unless it be in some of those lately published in favour of keeping up numerous armies in time of peace. But suppose such a lie to have been published in some such libel, I do not believe that foreign courts are such minute politicians as to build any hopes upon, or give any credit to what is asserted in such infamous libels. They build upon a better foundation, because they generally send such ministers here, as can give them a true information of the disposition of the people; and from them they know, that the people are generally well affected towards his Majesty and his family, however much they may be dissatisfied with some of his Majesty's ministers.

This, thank God! Sir, is as yet the disposition of our people. But if they should long continue under the insults they have met with; if they should be long amused with tedious and fruitless negotiations, or sham treaties; and if they should find the parliament supporting and applauding such measures, God knows where they may fly for relief.

They may then, indeed, become generally disaffected, as well as dissatisfied: and this, perhaps, is what some foreign courts are striving at; but it is to be hoped they will, by the wisdom and integrity of this house, be disappointed in their aim. If they are not, the most perfect harmony between King and parliament, would add but little weight to our negotiations at any foreign court; for it is upon the affections of the people, that the weight and credit of our government must always depend.

From hence we may see, Sir, that we may happen to be in such circumstances, that a harmony between King and parliament would be a misfortune, instead of being a blessing to the nation; for, if our people should ever become generally dissatisfied with an administration, the happiest thing that could befall this nation, would be the parliament's espousing the cause of the people, not against the King, but for the King, and against his ministers: for, the cause of the King and people must always be the same; but that cause and the cause of a minister may often be different, may sometimes be in direct opposition. Therefore, if this nation should ever happen to be so unfortunate as to be under an administration generally disliked by the people, the wisest thing the parliament could do, would be to advise, or even render it necessary for the King, to make a thorough change, as to the persons employed in the administration. Such a breach as this would be, upon such an occasion, the only means that could effectually restore the influence and the character of the nation at all foreign courts; because they would then expect to see, in this nation, a new set of ministers, and new measures. They would expect to see a ministry chosen, and measures concerted, by the advice of a free and independent parliament, and with the approbation of a brave and a free people; and from such a ministry, and such measures, this nation has always reaped great honour, and great advantage.

I shall conclude, Sir, with supposing the worst that can be supposed from our

agreeing to these resolutions; suppose that his Majesty should be induced by bad counsel to refuse so reasonable a request in his parliament. This, indeed, is hardly to be supposed; but, if it should unfortunately happen to be the case, it would be a full proof that there are some bad counsellors about his Majesty: and this discovery would be a great advantage to the nation; for it would then become our business and our duty to find out those bad counsellors, and to remove them from his Majesty's councils. Could the removing of bad counsellors from about the person of our King, any way derogate from the weight or influence of his negotiations at foreign courts? No, Sir, it would give great satisfaction to his whole people, and new vigour to all his councils, and consequently would greatly add to the weight of his negotiations at every court in Europe. So that in the worst light in which we can put the question now before us, we must allow, that our agreeing to it is not only necessary, but that it will be attended with great advantages to his Majesty in particular, and to the nation in general; and, as this plainly appears to be the case, I therefore hope it will be unanimously agreed to.

THE next debate I shall give you an account of, related likewise to the late famous convention with Spain; and was occasion'd by our having seen the several petitions that were presented to parliament against that convention: for upon seeing them, a question was started and debated in our club, *Whether the petitioners ought to be admitted to be heard by their counsel against that convention?*

But as your readers may be curious to see the petitions that were presented against this convention, I shall refer them to your February Magazine, p. 91, 92. for that presented by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Common-council of the city of London; and give you the substance of another, presented by the merchants, planters, and others, trading to, and interested in the British plantations

in America, in behalf of themselves and many others, as follows, *viz.*

*That the petitioners had last session made their humble application to parliament, setting forth the continued depredations committed by the Spaniards on the high seas of America, upon the British shipping and property; their barbarous and inhumane treatment of the British sailors on the taking of their ships, and their carrying them afterwards into slavery in Old Spain, (the Spaniards making it their constant practice to attack and board all British merchant-ships they met with in the American seas, under pretence of searching for goods which they deemed contraband, according to their arbitrary will and pleasure, contrary to the law of nations, and in manifest violation of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns,) and that by these unjust and violent proceedings of the Spaniards, the trade and navigation to and from America was rendered very unsafe and precarious, insomuch that the insurances had greatly risen on these accounts only; and that the petitioners having been heard by their counsel, did, as they apprehend, fully make out in proof, every one of the allegations of their said petition, to the entire and unanimous satisfaction of parliament; upon which application, the following resolutions were agreed on, *viz.**

[Here the petitioners recited the resolutions of the preceding session, for declaring the natural right of British subjects to a free navigation, &c. and for addressing his Majesty to use his endeavours for the preservation of those rights; and then they went on as follows, *viz.*]

That a convention had since been entered into between the crowns of G. Britain and Spain, which his Majesty has been most graciously pleased to order to be laid before parliament; and the same having been published by authority, the petitioners observe with the utmost concern, that the Spaniards are so far from giving up their groundless and unjustifiable practice of visiting and searching British ships sailing to and from the British plantations, that they appear to have claimed the power of doing it as a right, by having insisted that the differences which have arisen concerning it should be referred to Permanent

not, to be dismissed by them, without even agreeing to abstain from such visitation and search during the time that the decision of this affair may last; that the petitioners are under the greatest apprehensions, since Spain has contended, that a point so incontestably clear, both by the laws of nations, and all the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, should come under debate, that the Spanish Plenipotentiaries will be instructed not to give it up; and that, if the freedom of our navigation and commerce to and from our own colonies should be left in suspense, and in a precarious situation, it must be attended with the most fatal and pernicious consequences to the petitioners, whose persons and fortunes will thereby be in the power of the Spanish guarda costas, without any prospect of relief, the petitioners having already too severely experienced the justice of the Spanish courts and Governors, to consider them as any security; and therefore praying, that the petitioners may have an opportunity of being heard, and that they may be allowed to represent to parliament the great importance of our trade to and from our own plantations in America, the clear and indisputable right which we have to enjoy it, without being stopped, visited or searched by the Spaniards, on any pretence whatsoever; and the certain and inevitable destruction of all the riches and strength derived to this kingdom from that trade, if a search of British ships, sailing to and from the British plantations, be tolerated upon any pretext, or under any restrictions or limitations, or even if the freedom of this navigation should continue much longer in this state of uncertainty.

There were many other petitions presented upon this subject, particularly, from the Master, Wardens, Assistants, and Commonalty of the society of merchants adventurers within the city of Bristol; from the merchants trading from the port of Liverpoole to his Majesty's plantations in America; from the merchant-company of the city of Edinburgh; from the merchants of Glasgow trading to the British plantations in America, &c. which being all much to the same effect, it is not necessary to give the substance of any more

of them; and there were likewise petitions presented from the trustees of Georgia, and from the owners of several ships that had been seized and confiscated by the Spaniards, representing each their particular case, [See p. 80.] and complaining of the convention, which you, I know, cannot spare room for; and therefore, I shall only observe, that as the petition from the merchants and planters pray'd to be heard upon several articles set forth in their petition, a question was started and debated in our club, *Whether they should be admitted to be heard by their counsel?* In which debate, the first that spoke in favour of the question was *M. Valerius Corvus*; whose speech was in substance as follows, *viz.*

Mr. President, Sir John Barnard

FROM the number of petitions that are now ready, or preparing to be presented to us, against our late convention with Spain; from the rank and character of the several petitioners; and from the allegations set forth in the petition that is now before us, we have great reason, I think, to conclude, that our convention is far from being such a one as it ought to be. From the great and considerable bodies of merchants that have petition'd, or are preparing to petition against it, and from our seeing not so much as one petition in its favour, we must conclude, that the whole body of our merchants think it a most dishonourable, disadvantageous, and dangerous treaty. On the other hand, Sir, we ought in charity to believe, that our ministers who negotiated this convention, and our ministers who advised his Majesty to ratify it, thought it either a good one, or at least the best that our present circumstances would permit us to insist on. Therefore, when this convention comes to be examined in this house, we ought to consider ourselves as judges in an affair in which the whole body of our merchants, planters, and sailors, are plaintiffs, and our ministers and negotiators, defendants; and, in an affair of such importance, an affair in which the parties concerned are of so great consequence, surely it will be allowed,

lowed, that it behoves us not only to have the best information, both as to matters of right and matters of fact, but also to have all the proofs and arguments that can be brought upon either side of the question, stated and laid before us in the most methodical, the fullest, and the clearest light.

For this reason, Sir, it is, I think, absolutely necessary for us, not only to refer this petition to the committee who are to consider of the convention, which I am confident no Gentleman will oppose; but I likewise think it absolutely necessary, to allow the petitioners to be heard before that committee, either by themselves or counsel, with regard to this convention, which they so heavily, and, I am afraid, so reasonably complain of: and, if our ministers and negotiators have a mind to justify their proceedings, they may move, or get one to move for them, that counsel may at the same time be heard in favour of this child of theirs, which, like other monstrous births, is in some danger of being smothered upon its first appearance in the world. As I have no intimate correspondence with them, nor with any one of them, I cannot pretend to guess at what they may, in this case, resolve on; but, as I have always had a good correspondence with our merchants and planters, I may venture to say, that such of them as are now supplicants at our bar, will be glad of being admitted to be heard by their counsel upon this occasion; and will be far from grudging any expence, that may be necessary for giving us a full and clear view of the important affair that is soon to come before us: therefore, I shall conclude what I am to say upon the present occasion with a motion to this effect, That the petition now presented to us be referred to the consideration of the committee of the whole house, who are to consider of the convention between G. Britain and Spain, concluded at the Pardo, Jan. 14. 1739: N. S. and the separate articles belonging thereunto, with the several ratifications thereof; and, that the petitioners, if they think fit, be heard upon their petition,

either by themselves or counsel, before the said committee.

This, Sir, I take to be so reasonable a proposition, that I hope no Gentleman will oppose it: however, before I make my motion, I shall beg leave to observe, that in all trials at law, even in criminal trials, where by the common method of proceeding, counsel are not admitted to be heard, where-ever a point of right or law comes to be disputed, counsel are always admitted to speak, as to such points, for the better information of the judges; and yet, I hope, I may be allowed to presume, that our judges, especially of late years, are as much masters of the laws of their country, as the several members of this house can be supposed to be of the law of nations, and of the several rights and privileges which are founded upon that law, or upon the particular treaties now subsisting between us and Spain. Therefore, when any such right or privilege comes to be disputed before us, there is at least as great a necessity for admitting counsel to be heard upon such points for our information, as there can be for admitting counsel to be heard upon any point of law for the information of our judges.

If we attend, Sir, to the petition now upon our table, we shall from thence see, that when the convention comes to be taken into consideration, there are several matters of right that must be enquired into, and some of them may, perhaps, be disputed even by some Gentlemen in this house. We know that the Spaniards have lately pretended to a right to visit and search British ships, sailing to and from the British plantations: this is a right which, I believe, no Gentleman in this house will pretend to justify; however, as the Spaniards do pretend to justify it, or at least have exercised it, it is a point of right, which ought to be fully enquired into, before we can judge of the convention. But there is another point of right or law that will, I believe, be disputed even in this house; and that is, Whether this right of visiting and searching our ships in the open seas, which the Spaniards lay claim to, is not

in some degree admitted by us, by our agreeing to refer this pretension of theirs to the future regulation of Plenipotentiaries? for if there is the least ground, even for the Spaniards to alledge, that we have, by such reference, in any degree admitted of this pretension, surely every Gentleman who has a regard for the honour and happiness of his country, will condemn a treaty which gives the Spaniards any ground to say so. And whether they may not from this treaty have, or pretend to have, some ground for saying so, is a point of right, which the petitioners seem to apprehend, and which several Gentlemen in this house, as well as I, think we have reason to apprehend, tho' our apprehensions will certainly be said to be groundless, by all those who are favourers of the convention. But as this is a point which will, and must be judged of by foreigners as well as by us, we ought to have it fully argued, before we pass any judgement upon it.

As this point in particular, Sir, depends upon the law of nations, and upon the construction that is usually put upon preliminary articles or conventions, we cannot suppose that the petitioners are capable of giving us any light into this affair; and therefore, if it were but for the sake of this point only, we ought to allow them to be heard by their counsel upon this occasion. There may be other points of right, which ought to be enquired into: I believe there are several others, which we ought to insist on, as the undoubted rights and privileges of this nation; and yet the general reference contained in this convention, may hereafter give Spain a pretence to say, that even we ourselves admitted them to be such as were disputable. For this reason, Sir, before we pass any judgment in an affair of so great consequence to the honour, trade, and navigation of this kingdom, we ought strictly to examine into the import and meaning of those words in the first article, by which it is agreed, "That the Plenipotentiaries respectively named by their Britannick and Catholick Majesties, shall confer, and finally regulate the respective pretensions of the two crowns, as well with relation to the

trade and navigation in America and Europe, and to the limits of Florida and of Carolina, as concerning other points, which remain likewise to be adjusted." I say, Sir, we ought strictly to examine into the import and meaning of this unlimited reference, before we pass any judgment; and as the import and meaning of these words must entirely depend upon the law of nations, and the nature of preliminary conventions, we cannot expect full satisfaction, as to this point, from the petitioners; we can no way expect full satisfaction, but by hearing learned Gentlemen argue upon it, who have made such points their particular study.

I believe, Sir, it will be admitted by every Gentleman, both within doors and without, that a definitive treaty, containing a full and express acknowledgment of all our rights and privileges, would have been much better than this preliminary convention: considering the vigorous resolutions of both houses of parliament last session, considering the spirit which at present prevails among all ranks and degrees of men in this kingdom, and considering the great expence the nation was put to last summer, I believe it was what most men expected: yet notwithstanding, if none of our undoubted rights or privileges are rendered doubtful, or any way invalidated, by this preparatory way of treating, we may excuse our negotiators for agreeing to such preliminaries for the sake of peace, provided it appears, they had good reason to hope that those preliminaries would be soon followed by a sincere and satisfactory treaty; but, I hope, Sir, this nation is not yet brought so low, nor are we so fond of peace, as to give up any of our rights, or agree to any thing, for present ease, that may lay a foundation for contesting some of our most valuable rights in time to come. Such an unlucky situation, I hope, I am convinced, the nation is not yet reduced to, whatever some Gentlemen may be, who perhaps consider their own immediate ease, more than they consider either the honour, or the interest of their country.

But suppose, Sir, there were no matters of law or right to be explained to us, suppose it were no way necessary to have the law of nations, or the nature of preliminary conventions explained to us; yet the facts that are to be laid before us upon the present occasion, are so numerous, and of such various kinds, that it is not possible to have them methodically and regularly summed up, without the assistance of counsel. We must see that it will be necessary for us, to examine a great many witnesses, with regard to those depredations that have been committed by the Spaniards, both before and since the treaty of Seville; with regard to the importance of our trade to and from our plantations in America; with regard to the dangers that trade may be exposed to, if a search of British ships, sailing to and from the British plantations, should be tolerated upon any pretext, or under any restrictions; and with regard to several other points I could mention: Every one of these witnesses may be able to give us an account of some of the facts he knows; but from daily experience we may suppose, that even those accounts will be but lamely and indistinctly given, unless we have counsel at our bar, who know how to put the proper questions to them. And when all the witnesses have been examined, we cannot suppose that any of the petitioners will be able to sum up the evidence, to digest all their testimonies under their proper heads, and to make such remarks upon each point of evidence, as may be necessary for putting it in the clearest and strongest light; for when a subject is very copious, and a great many facts of divers kinds to be related, it is not possible for any Gentleman, not exercised in the art of speaking, or not accustomed to speak before a numerous assembly, let his qualifications otherwise be never so great, to give a regular, distinct, and full account of the whole.

From what I have said, Sir, I think it must appear, that it will be extremely proper for us, to have the assistance of counsel upon this important occasion. Nay, it is what, I think, those Gentle-

men must be fond of, who are the greatest friends to the convention; for if it any way deserves those high encomiums that have been made upon it, by some Gentlemen without doors, the more clearly, the more distinctly, and the more fully, this whole affair is laid before the house, the more we shall be sensible of the great honour and advantage the nation may reap by this preliminary treaty; the more easy will it be for them to answer any objection that may be made against it: For this reason, I cannot suppose, that the motion I am to make will meet with any opposition; and therefore I shall add no more, but conclude with moving, That the petitioners may be heard by themselves or counsel, as I have before mentioned.

[This Journal to be continued.]

The late Earl of C—l—k's advice to his son, the present B. of C—l—k. Written a few hours before his death.

To my son the Lord M—p—th.

I*F in these* lawns and woods thus forth
If in these shady walks advanc'd,
Thou takest some delight;
Let him who did perform the same,
Who peace of mind preferr'd to fame,
Stand present to thy fight.
To the long labours, to the care
And thoughts of thee who art his heir,
Some thanks perchance are due:
If then his wish thou wou'dst fulfil,
If thou wou'dst execute his will,
The like design pursue.
His care for thee in this he shows,
He recommends the list he chose,
Where health and peace abound;
He did from long experience find
That true content, a quiet mind,
Seldom in courts are found.
Fly then from thence, the city leave;
Thy very friends will thee deceive;
Virtue does there offend:
In this retreat safe shalt thou be,
From all those certain mischiefs free
That do on courts attend.*

* Alluding to a famous seat in the county of York.

Nor think that in this lonely shade,
 For ease, for quiet chiefly made,
 Inactive thou must be :
 Occasions often will present,
 Wheroby vile deeds thou may'st prevent ;
 Justice will call on thee.
 The bold oppressor thou shalt awe,
 The violator of the law
 Shall feel thy heavy band :
 To the distress'd and needy poor,
 Thy ready charitable door
 Shall ever open stand.
 A glorious kindness thou must show,
 Favours and bounties still bestow,
 On them who most deserve :
 The innocent thou shalt protect,
 The neediest thou shalt not neglect ;
 In safety all preserve.
 If thus thy time thou dost employ,
 True peace of mind thou shalt enjoy,
 The acts are good and just :
 The poor man's pray'r will thee attend,
 The rich will much thy worth commend ;
 In thee they'll put their trust.
 Then think on those who are to come,
 Think on thy darling blooming son,
 Thus for his good provide ;
 Show him the life that thou hast led,
 Instruct him in those paths to tread ;
 Be thou his faithful guide.
 If virtuous thoughts his soul endue,
 If this advice he will pursue,
 Sure happiness he'll find ; (leave,
 Nor canst thou, if great wealth thou
 Which often does the world deceive,
 To him be half so kind.
 Thus for thy own and for his sake,
 That his abode be there may make,
 New works for him prepare ;
 What then for thee thy father's done,
 Do thou the like for thy dear son,
 For him shew equal care.
 The times will come, nought can prevent,
 From these green shades thou shalt be sent,
 To darker far below ;
 On you green hill a dome does stand,
 Erected by thy father's hand,
 Where thou and I must go.
 To thee what comfort then 'twill be ?
 The like also 'twill be to me
 When our last breath we yield,
 That some good deeds we here have done,
 A fruitless course we have not run,
 When thus we quit the field.

An Epistle to Mrs MASTERS.
 By a friend, on the death of his father.

Struck with the cares which life is doom'd to
 know,
 To changes prone, and nothing sure but—woe ;
 With mien disconsolate I lonely rove,
 I haunt the field and melancholy grove
 To find composure ; but 'tis all in vain,
 Each field and grove a doleful shade contain.
 There blackest images their horrors spread,
 And ev'ry object speaks a father dead :
 Still in each place his present form appears,
 And ev'ry dying groan assaults my ears :
 I feel the stroke! the last, the fatal blow,
 For which my never-ceasing tears shall flow.
 Oh faithful virgin ! O thou tender maid !
 Thou soul of friendship, now afford thy aid ;
 Now call the tuneful Nine, which oft attend
 Thy solemn page, and help thy mourning friend.
 O summons quickly every calming thought,
 With sympathy and truest reason fraught ;
 Instruct an orphan how he may retrieve
 The doleful loss, or tell him how to live,
 Divest of counsel pertinent and good,
 From him, who counsel wisely understood.
 In human knowledge, or in things divine,
 His solid judgment did distinguish'd shine.
 O join with me a parent's loss to mourn,
 For he is gone, ah ! never to return !
 You who his counsel happily enjoy'd,
 Confess how much of counsel you are woid.
 Ye jarring friends, who found the hapless breach
 Repair'd and heal'd by his pacifick speech ;
 Think what high pleasure in his bosom rose,
 When with kind pains he did your strife compose.
 Ten thousand virtues yet untold remain,
 Which I attempt, but still attempt in vain :
 Help me, dear maid, with thy pathetic tongue,
 Black desperation disappoints my song ;
 Heart-rending sighs declare my ponderous woe,
 And filial tears my dark'ning eyes o'erflow.

Her ANSWER.

O Thou! whose strains a father's death bewail,
 And bidst my muse assist the tragic tale,
 Thy mingling sorrows are not ill address'd,
 Since softest pity melts the female breast.
 With just regard I read thy mournful strains,
 And, sympathizing, feel the mourner's pains ;
 My secret soul approves thy pious sighs,
 And loves the tear that flows from filial eyes :
 'Tis sacred grief, 'tis beautiful distress ;
 Yet think, my friend, there's error in excess.

When death at first, in all his dread array,
Divides the panting soul from lifeless clay;
When a lov'd parent feels the parting blow,
'Tis height of anguish, and the rage of woe;
Not all the arts of language unconfin'd
Can then appease the deep afflicted mind:
But this is nature's triumph for a day,
The interval when Reason quits her sway;
She, mild returning, wisely does impart
Serenity to the tortur'd heart;
And kindly would afford a calm relief,
Did we not shun it, and caress our grief.
This thou hast done, devoted to despair,
Forsook society, and sooth'd thy care;
Wander'd alone, and sought the gloomy grove,
Refuge of misery, and retreat of love;
Where sighs may breathe, and tears may freely flow,
For solitude's the truest nurse of woe:
In silent shades sad melancholy reigns,
But too indulgent to the moaner's pains;
Reflection there brings direful scenes in view,
And keeps the fatal vision ever new.
Fly these lone haunts, to cheerful dunes repair,
And social converse shall divert thy care:
But if this moving image of distress,
A father's loss, thy rising soul depress;
Revoke the virtues which he once possess,
And think those virtues now have made him blest.
But chiefly let my friendly care persuade,
Which bids thee call religion to thy aid:
In that alone you'll ev'ry comfort find,
The soft composure of the tortur'd mind;
Her dictates shall thy ev'ry loss repair,
The friendly counsel, and paternal care;
For soft-united in the pious breast,
Wisdom shall dwell, and sweet contentment rest.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

S I R, Coldstream,

THE following lines were writ by a Gentleman of 15, a school-boy here; of whom I have some translations from Horace, which I may send you afterwards, being a well-wisher and encourager, as far as I can, to any of the performances of our countrymen.

Your's, &c.

J. K.

To CELIA.

WHEN the bright day's effulgent light
Shows my fair CELIA to my sight,
Hot scorching flames invade my heart,
And pointed pains strike ev'ry part;
A shiv'ring o'er my limbs does fly,
I rage, I burn, I faint, I dy;

I wish for sable night again,
To staunch my wounds, to ease my pain:
But when the lonely silent night
Sheds o'er the earth its feeble light,
Snatching away the brighter blaze
Of the fair sun's pure golden rays;
Than all his golden rays more bright,
More glorious, snatches from my sight
The charming CELIA, more than day;
Again I wish the night away;
The sable night, which binders me
My joy my soul's delight to see:
I curse, I d-mn, mad with my pain,
And wish my fair and morn again.
Such is the woe, such is the smart
That Cupid's shafts breed in my heart.
Or to my arms my CELIA give,
Ye Gods! or let me cease to live.

ODE. To a young Lady.

Fair maid, accept a bleeding heart,
And to the dying, life impart:
It is the present Cupid gives;
But take it, and the owner loves.

The fire that rages in my breast
Hath been in ev'ry look express; (woe,
When words have wanted pow'r to
My eyes declar'd how much I love.

So much by thee I am engross,
All reason's in the bustle lost:
My thoughts no other theme pursue;
My tongue must cease, or speak of you.

All day I greedily survey
Thy charms, and on each beauty stay;
These lovely looks enchain my eyes,
Till secret love my soul surpris.

But yet, alas! while thus I gaze,
I but augment my own disease;
Like misers, who look on their store,
And, looking, still desire the more.

At night I on thy image dwell,
And thus my growing passion swell;
I please myself to think you nigh,
And on your downy bosom die.

But when soft sleep begins to sway,
And weary nature must give way,
I close my heavy eyes with pain,
And gladly would the thought retain;

The sweet tormenting thought! but then
It straight resumes its place again,

*And what is still my waking theme,
Also becomes my sleeping dream.*

*O did those shades of night which blind
My eyes, but likewise screen my mind,
Then might I get a short repose,
And for a while forget my woes.*

AMYNTOR.

SONG. Occasion'd by a young Lady's
illness. Tune, Cowden Knows.

I Neither woo the sacred Nine,
Nor court a poet's praise:
Let love conduct the dear design,
And she approve my lays.

*Can I but grieve when CELIA lies,
Depriv'd of peace and ease?
The sun may then forget to rise,
And beauty cease to please.*

*If fate shall cut life's slender twine,
And call my charmer hence;
More fit to grace the choirs divine,
Than live in scenes of sense:*

*Like mourning widow turtle I
Will seek the lonely shade,
And coo away the joyless day,
In praises of the dead.*

*The passing winds, the purling stream,
And poets of the grove,
In chorus join'd, shall sigh the name,
And sing the nymph I love.*

*Grant her, ye Pow'rs! a kind reprieve!
Or call me to the sky:*

*If CELIA lives, I'll gladly live;
If CELIA dies, I dy.*

Bl-Drum^d.

A. B.

S I R,

Fife, June 14.

IN the following lines you have a
faint description of four rural
beauties, whose merit is sufficient to
recommend them to a place in your
Magazine, though you should deny
the favour of inserting them to

Your constant reader, ARISTUS.

BELINDA's modest virtues scorn
The foreign helps of art;
And FLAVIA seems a virgin horn
To fire a Monarch's heart:
Assiduous EUCHARIS the fair
Shall shine in after days;
And PHILOMEL's melodious air
Inspire poetick lays.

Imitation of the 7th ode of the 4th book of
Horace. TO CLITANDER.

THE boary snows are gone, the verdant fields
Are cover'd o'er with smiling green;
The spreading trees unfold their tender leaves,
And form the muse-inspiring shade;
How chang'd the lands! while, in their banks con-
The peaceful gliding rivers flow. [fin'd,
The graceful shepherdess securely bears
Her snowy bosom to the gale,
Nor fears to lead the moon-light dance, and press
With ivory feet, the velvet turf.
See how the periods of the fleeting year,
And every flying hour of time,
Contracting still the narrow span of life,
Proclaim that man's of mortal race.
Just now the vernal zephyrs breath dispels
To distant climes the piercing colds;
The scorching beams of summer then succeed,
With sultry heat the balmy spring;
Till autumn, loaded with his golden stores,
His riches pours with bounteous hand;
And then again, with hyperborean frosts,
In storm and tempest, winter comes.
Thus the revolving course of time restores
The seasons, and their grateful change.
But if that shadow of a bubble, man,
Once to th' infernal coasts descends,
Where ev'n the pious, wealthy, and the great,
Together undistinguish'd go,
There's no return; and here the anxious hours
We spend in an uncertain fate,
If heaven propitious will our days prolong,
Or if this moment be our last.
Haste then, Clitander! haste to live; be quick
The rapid minute to enjoy;
Away with every narrow, boarding thought,
Bid every stream of bounty flow:
Shall virtue fair, in indigence complain,
And sorrow droop th' afflicted head,
While with Clitander there remains the bliss,
The heavenly bliss of doing good,
Of comforting th' afflictions of distress,
And making poverty rejoice?
When once death's leaden bands has clos'd your eyes,
And the last awful sentence pass,
Not all the glories of thy splendid race,
Nor eloquence with all its power,
Nor sanctity of manners can restore
Again, the fleeting tide of life:
But god-like deeds, as these, shall never die,
Or perish with your mould'ring dust;
These shall immortalize your sacred name
To heaven exalted, on the wings of deathless fame.

THE FANATICK PREACHER.

Translated from Mr BOURN'S Latin.

THE rhybrum grave he mounts, and scours
his throat,

His pipes to clear, and thrill a louder note.
Down go the gloyes, and upwards to the skies
His listad hands ascend, and rubites of eyes.
His boly eye-lids clus'd, his bearing breast
Groans deep, and murmurs bellow from his chest.
Out breaks—a word—and then another flies,
With decent pause between, and mingled sighs.
Now recollected he improves his rage,
To last emphatical a guilty age.
He starts, he bounds, on tip-toe mounts, to feel
What strength of lungs will bear and ribs of steel.
Of sweat a deluge trickles from his pores,
When loud as Sarcitor, or as Mars, he roars.
The pale-fac'd auditors faint with threaten'd doom,
And a fanatick tempest shakes the room.

So Boreas first essays a gentle breeze,
And softly whispers thro' the rustling trees:
Rude; and more rude, forgetting accent moak,
He passs a stronger blast from either cheek;
A louder tumult thro' the groves he spreads,
And bumbled forests bow their ancient heads:
Frantic at last his hideous roars resound,
Ruin, and rooted trees, bestrow the ground.

Verses inscrib'd to Miss J—NY —

Fair lovely maid, when absent from thy sight,
I lothe the day, and hate th' unpleasant light;
The lonesome night, in sable mantle dress'd,
In darkness wraps't my much more welcome guest;
For when thy eyes with drowsy sleep agree,
My cares are drown'd in pleasant dreams of thee.
Last night methought I wander'd thro' a grove,
Fresh as thy beauties, springing as my love,
Where, stretch'd at ease, beneath a grateful shade,
On mossy turf, I spy'd thee, lovely maid;
The sparkling streams did a soft murmur keep,
And gently lull'd you to a quiet sleep;
Numbers of little birds fill'd every tree,
And ward'd forth their songs of liberty;
Your arms, your neck, and breast were almost bare,
Loose were your garments, careless was your hair;
Around your face the graces unconfin'd
Charm'd without art, and pleas'd the undesign'd:
In rapture lost, I gaz'd your beauties o'er;
The more I gaz'd, your charms increas'd the more.
But when I wak'd, and cast my eyes around,
No grove, no shade, no lovely maid I found;
My mind was seiz'd with its old tyrant Care,
I wish to shake off, I fram'd this ardent prayer:

“ Almighty Heav'n! since thine the
gift you give,
Grant me at least that I may wish to
live,
A beautiful body, and an equal mind,
My fortune moderate, and my fair-
me
kind,
The friend I trust in, liberty and peace,
By day what's needful, and at night
soft ease.”

ARMANDO

A HINT. [Edin.]

Few girls can claim the joint pre-
tence

To beauty, goodness, wit, and sense;
These charms but rarely meet:
Yet are they in Liberia join'd;
Adorn her person, and her mind,
In harmony complete.

But, let Liberia have a care;
For wit, like wine, by too much air
To vinegar may turn;
And, in the sun, who fear too high,
Thro' heat'st volatility,
May chance their wings to burn.

Perhaps it may not be amiss,
She think a little upon this,
Though THINKING gives her

TROUBLE;

For pity's reverse, shou'd, after all
Both Venus and Minerva fall
To Mercury, a bubble.

On lying in the Earl of Rochester's bed
at ATTERBURY.

With no postick orders fir'd,
I press the bed where WIL-
MOT lay;

That here he liv'd, or here expir'd,
Begets no numbers grave or gay.
But 'neath thy roof, ARGYLE, are bred
Such thoughts, as prompt the brave
to lie,

Stretch'd forth in honour's nobler bed,
Beneath a nobler roof, the shy.

Such flames, as high in patriots burn,
Yet stoop to bless a child or wife:
And such as wicked Kings may mourn,
When freedom is more dear than life.

* Atterbury house formerly belong'd
to the witty E. of Rochester, but is now
a country-seat belonging to the D. of
Argyle.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

S I R, Westminster, July 9.

YOUR countrymen cannot be too frequently reminded of the importance of an increase in their attention to Trade, and especially those branches for which your climate and situation are more peculiarly fitted; in which respect the improvement of your Fishery in general, which I just mentioned in my last [p. 221.], deserves the consideration of every man who would rejoice at the increase of the wealth and prosperity of SCOTLAND. If the soil in some parts of your country be not so fertile as what your neighbours enjoy, nature has, for the most part, supplied the defect, by an opportunity of making that wealth abound near the most barren cliffs, which more inland countries can never hope for; and the most neglected shore in the worst part of your country is fitter for the purposes of curing and drying fish, net-making, &c. than any the Dutch have to boast of; who yet, by the help of indefatigable industry, supply every deficiency of their country, and upon ice, and in boats contrived for that purpose, execute the greatest part of their business in preparations, &c. for their Fisheries; and in their vessels are glad, under numerous difficulties, to cure most, and even dry some of their fish; while your shores would answer all those ends, and many more; and one boy might, with great ease, turn and attend more fish upon the side of a sea-bank, than by the help of six men could be done in the same time on board a ship. — Salt, so essential an article in this business, you have an opportunity of making in several parts of your coast, at the smallest expence; and labour is so cheap in the places fittest for carrying on an extensive fishery, as to render reasonable a prospect of pursuing that beneficial branch of commerce, at a more moderate expence than has yet been any where practised, or, indeed, than can be done in any other country. Particular instructions for the execution of this useful work, this easy, plain road to riches, I shall not, at present, offer you; in hope that some of the Gentlemen who

are most nearly interested in the success of such undertakings, will assist the publick with the necessary computations, and whatever else relates to so general a benefit: for in a case of so publick a nature, where all must reap a proportion of the advantage, all ought to consider themselves equally interested in so desirable an improvement; so that to withhold any assistance from such a design, would be denying your country that endeavour to serve her which every man owes the place of his birth. — And as an affair of such moment will bear, and in some measure requires repetition; you may, I believe, without danger of disobliging your readers, insert whatever you receive upon a subject in which they must see themselves so nearly concerned.

The increase, and improvement (upon which the former is probably consequent) lately made in the Linen manufacture of Scotland, has afforded the most solid satisfaction to every friend of the interest of Great Britain. And the quantities of fine cloth that have been sent hither of late, hath very much altered the judgment of people here; who, from the large parcels of slight goods you have hitherto sent us, were apt to conclude you incapable of furnishing linen of any considerable fineness; but from what we have now seen, there is room to conceive hopes of seeing you match the productions of your rivals of Ireland; and, by your joint endeavours, enable us to keep the large sums at home that annually creep out of these kingdoms, to supply us with half the cloth used amongst us, to the great advantage of our neighbours, and shame of ourselves. This can only be hoped for from an earnest and vigilant application to this branch of your manufacture, in which there is now great probability of your meeting with success; and the generous proceedings of the DUBLIN SOCIETY, established without any view beside that of serving their country, by INSTRUCTING and ASSISTING the natives in the improvement of the different parts of their country to the purposes most capable of rewarding their industry, have set YOUR COUNTRYMEN an example well worthy

their imitation; it being obvious that a society of Gentlemen, turning their thoughts wholly to the cultivation of land, the fitting each part of manufacture to the places nature has best adapted to bring it to perfection, and the instruction of countrymen in the knowledge of agriculture, &c. may be of the most extraordinary service to others, at a very small expence to themselves: and where such generous instructions are given for the general good of a nation, and the more particular benefit of all immediately concerned; the man who by indolence, or a want of due attention to his own interest and that of his posterity, neglects to embrace an opportunity with so much disinterested zeal for his advantage put into his hands, must not merit the name of a friend to himself or the commonweal, nor deserve the enjoyment of privileges that are the proper right only of those who to their power are useful members of the publick community.— I will not offer to dictate to the Gentlemen who are sincere friends to Scotland, what would be steps most expedient to the prosperity of that kingdom; but would recommend to them to consider, after an attentive perusal of the DESIGN and INSTITUTION of the DUBLIN SOCIETY, and of the very useful papers published by them, whether an ASSOCIATION upon the same principles in EDINBURGH would not, probably, be attended with much advantage to SCOTLAND; since the ingenious would thereby not only be put upon enquiries tending to the publick good, but, by having a channel open'd for communicating them to all whom they may directly affect, the pleasure that would arise to a beneficent breast, on seeing his labours applied to the benefit of his countrymen, would yield an agreeable reward for the pains he had taken, and inspire new desires of searching after farther discoveries for the publick use. And you must allow me to say, from what I have been able to judge of the present state of Scotland, it appears to stand in much need of every assistance her sons can lend her, to balance the many inconveniences she labours under, by lying so remote from the

seat of the British empire, and the at least annual absence of those from whom she would otherwise receive her principal support.— Yet it is confessed on all hands, that the country throughout is capable of considerable improvements, even enough to change the face of the land much to the advantage of the inhabitants: and as this is the ALONE EXPEDIENT left to retrieve your content at home, and your character among your neighbours; to neglect the only means of your recovery at a time it is so much in your power, would be suffering yourselves to sink, without laying hold of a certain help to save you from drowning.— Your prosperity is plainly in your own power: embrace it then, and amidst the many disadvantages you are known to labour under, let not your own indolence be included; but, by a diligent application of your faculties to every possible method of enriching your country, convince mankind that only your situation prevents you from equalling, in every respect, the most flourishing of your neighbours; and that SCOTLAND wanted only an opportunity of growing a flourishing, opulent country, to make her so. I am,

SIR, *A hearty well-wisher to Scotland,*
and your most humble servant,

AN ENGLISHMAN.

P. S. I need not, I presume, hint, that if any set of Gentlemen should form themselves into a Society for discovery and communication of what may tend to the interest of Scotland, the nature of the office you have assumed, and your duty to the nation you have undertaken to serve, will demand a place for whatever they may judge proper for communicating, provided your Magazine should be pitched upon for the conveyance of such essays: for you will not, I hope, forget, that however men in their publick undertakings may be biased by views of private interest, the publick have a just claim to a regard prior to all other considerations; which is one cause of the freedom used by every man who intends the publick improvement, to which more entertainment or speculation ought always to give place.

By the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

AN EVENING AT VAUX-HALL.

[Continued from p. 324.]

The Second Hour.

S I R, London, June 28.

After the piece of musick is finish'd, a silence ensues, of a length sufficient to allow the company time to take a circuit of the gardens before another begins; which is the same before each piece; and those intervals are chiefly employed in visiting the walks, remarking the company, and viewing the paintings, which have been put up the last spring to protect the Ladies, while sitting in the arbours, from catching cold in their necks by the inclemency of the evening-breezes.—These paintings forming something like three parts of a square, the Prince's pavilion (so called in honour of his Royal Highness, who always honours that place with his presence when he visits these gardens) and the house belonging to the manager, form the fourth. In the middle of this square, which takes up about a fourth part of the gardens, stands a beautiful orchestra for the band of musick, which consists of the best hands upon every instrument in modern use: and from that a little bridge of four or five yards reaches to an elegant edifice, wherein is placed an excellent organ; which has lately been fitted to several new pieces of entertainment, particularly a *symphony of singing-birds*, which never fails to meet with the loud applauses of all present. Many little novelties are contrived to yield a greater variety to the audience on the other instruments; and a *set of small bells* have been introduced in a tune which meets with a very favourable reception.—The walks leading close by the front of the arbours, (each of which is large enough to entertain ten or twelve persons to supper) the paintings at the back of every arbour afford a very entertaining view; especially when the Ladies, as ought ever to be contrived, sit with their heads against them. And, what adds not a little to the pleasure of these pictures, they give an unexcepti-

onable opportunity of gazing on any pleasing fair-one, without any other pretence than the credit of a fine taste for the piece behind her.—To preserve these pieces from the weather, they are fixed so as to be in cases, contrived on purpose, from the close of the entertainment every night, to the fifth tune of the evening following; after which, in an instant, they all fall down; and, from an open rural view, the eye is relieved by the agreeable surprize of some of the most favourite fancies of our poets in the most remarkable scenes of our comedies, some of the celebrated dancers, &c. in their most remarkable attitudes, several of the childish diversions, and other whims that are well enough liked by most people at a time they are *disposed to smile*, and every thing of a light kind, and tending to *unbend the thoughts*, has an effect desired before it is felt.

By the time the next piece is begun, the gardens being pretty full, the company crowd round the musick; and, by being forced to stand close, have an opportunity of taking a strict observation of every face near, and, as it frequently happens, of picking out companions for the remaining part of the evening.—Sir *John Trot* points out to his Lady, who has not before crossed the water for twenty years, the motion of the Gentleman who beats time, the manly strokes of the Kettle-drummer, and the wonderful strength of lungs with which Mr S—— sounds the trumpet. The *Petit Maitres*, at the beginning of a solo on the last mention'd instrument, fixing their toes in a proper position, pull out their snuff-boxes; and, after an emphatical nod at setting off, take a pinch in exact time; till the martial notes raising, by *slow degrees*, their untir'd courage, they discharge the whole force of their valour upon the eyes of the Ladies who stand next them; who, generally, receive their fire with great resolution, and make a defence often fatal to the assailants.—Mrs *Flimsy* finds in the *softer musick* something so like the ravishing softness of the *Italian opera's*, that, in an extasy of pleasure at the be-

switching notes, she is upon the point of falling, when the young Lord *Sbal-low*, with a complaisance hereditary in his family, interposing his kind hand, startles her with an agreeable surprize, and occasions as many *apologies for the freedom* on one hand, and *acknowledgments for the obligation* on the other, as, by a mutual display of the most engaging rhetoric, lay the foundation of an acquaintance that lasts, perhaps, for some hours.—Gentlemen who come alone are open to the overtures of any amiable companion, and Ladies who venture without a masculine guide, are not, generally speaking, averse to the company of a polite protector.—The musick again ceasing, and dusk approaching, the green walks are filled; at the termination of which stands a man in the posture of a Constable, to protect the Ladies from any insult, &c. and at the bottom of the grand walks, by the help of a ha-ha wall, the top of which, standing in a trench, is on a level with the ground, the prospect is open to the country, and a hideous figure of *Aurora* on a pedestal *interrupts*, I cannot say *terminates* the view. Soft whispers begin now to murmur thro' the trees; and, the shade of evening favouring the Ladies with a convenience of blushing without being perceived, or of avoiding any hard thought for omitting that pleasing mark of innocence on occasions when it may happen to be expected, the lofty trees, which form a grove that must be called *delightful*, and every fanning breeze, by waving the garments of the sylvan Deities (the only ones we know) yield a double delight, and resemble, as much as we can guess at this distance of time, the most delightful scenes of old *Arcadia*: And when the musick plays at a distance, so as to be heard thro' the leaves in *one connected sound*, without any distinction of one instrument from another, the enchanting harmony produces a pleasure scarce to be equalled by nature, not easy to be conceived in imagination;—and I cannot help confessing that, according to what I can judge from my own experience, the breast must be a stranger to the soft

passion that feels not a *tender bias* to love, and a *powerful one* indeed if any *object of affection* chance to be near; for every return of the artful symphony thro' any chance vacancy of the grove, fresh fans the glowing flame, and irresistibly increases the influence of the fair-one, who yet has more charms added by every melting effect the melody has on her mind and gesture. In this situation, if *soft ideas* prevail more than elsewhere, those only will wonder at it whose minds are proof against *Cupid's* painful delight, and whose ears are deaf to the power of harmony, and arm'd against all the accidental motives to love that are apt to prevail upon a mind bent on *pleasure*.—A few turns round the shades make the Ladies glad to think of sitting down to rest themselves; and the Gentlemen assiduously seek the most agreeable arbours to regale them with a repast suitable in elegance to the elevation of their ideas; which usually happening about nine o'clock, the description thereof will naturally fall into the next letter you receive from,

SIR, Your humble servant,
S. TOUPEE.

COMMON SENSE, August 4.

The fate of Zunchin, Emperor of China.

EVERY man that hath been conversant in courts, must have seen that all the little cunning which they are masters of, is employed to conceal the state of affairs from the master, and to palliate and disguise the rogueries of the servants. He is like a man cursed with a bad wife; he who is principally concerned in the infamy of her course of life, is the only person that is not acquainted with it. In the mean time, you shall see these people carry it with a high hand: when the nation calls loud for justice against them, they treat the whole nation as a faction, and call their very blunders and robberies his Majesty's measures. Thus it sometimes goes on till the people can bear no more, till at last, perhaps, the Prince himself suffers

suffers for the crimes of his perfidious servants.

Among the many fatal examples of this kind, there is one which is very affecting; it is of that unfortunate Emperor of *China*, whose race is now extinct, and who lost both his life and dominions, I may say, by the villany of his own servants. I shall present the readers with the short account of it from the history of *China*.

"*Zunchin*, the last Emperor of *China*, though in himself the best, was the most unfortunate Prince that ever govern'd that vast empire. He had all the dispositions to incline him to govern mildly; yet we cannot call him a wise man, who was so injudicious in the choice of his ministers and officers. These creatures made use of his authority to gratify their own passions, and extend their ambition; the consequence was, that the people were made uneasy. But their grievances and complaints never reached the ears of their Emperor: the ministers had filled the court with their tools and creatures, and stopp'd all passages of complaint to the *Prince*. Thus they went on to abuse his good dispositions, and may be said to have sold both the empire and their master.

What avails the good inclinations of the Prince, if those who are in employment under him, if those who ought to set him right, and advise him faithfully, are the conspirators themselves, and ruin him with his people? Discontents encourage rebellions; and where the ability and fidelity of the ministers, which should give awe and terror, are in contempt, rebels will rise that will become a terror to the Prince.

A rebellion was begun by *Ly* and *Chum*, who had both been Generals in his army, and had been ill used by the ministers; probably for no other reason but because they would not be slaves to their power: these people therefore thought of rewarding themselves, and of revenging themselves of their enemies; being resolv'd to let the courtiers know, that men of service are of more consequence to a state, than those drones about a court, whose only em-

ployment there is to whisper villainous falsehoods in the ears of the Prince.

There never will be a rebellion but where there is some occasion given for it; but where universal discontents are occasioned, the government is no longer safe than while there is no man of figure or consequence that has spirit enough to begin, and put things in motion.

What did the rebels do? They knew they should not be opposed by the common people, who would not fight to keep scoundrels in the administration of the government and make them more insolent. As to those who had the guard of the Emperor's person, and the government of the state, *Ly* the rebel was sure he could gain them over, at any time; and, accordingly, when the officers and magistrates put in by these bad ministers saw the rebellion look a little formidable, they entered into a conspiracy for securing themselves. *Ly* sent some of his people, disguised as traders, to treat with those fellows; and traders they were. — When the city was delivered up, and the unhappy Emperor retired within his palace, he first with his own hand put to death his only daughter, then he and his Empress hang'd themselves. — Before he dispatched himself he writ with his own blood what follows; which, no doubt, he designed to be read by the usurper.

The Mandarins are traitors, they have perfidiously betrayed their Prince, and all of them deserve to be hang'd. It will be laudable to execute this piece of justice upon them. It is fit they should all suffer death, that those who succeed them may be instructed, by their example, to acquit themselves with fidelity of their trust. — As for the people, they are not criminal, and deserve not to be punished; and therefore, to use them ill will be injustice. — I have lost that great empire, which descended to me by inheritance from my ancestors, by the treachery of the Mandarins. In me is finished the royal line, which so many Kings, my progenitors, continued down to me with all the grandeur and fame suitable to their dignity: I will therefore

for ever close my eyes, that I may not see this empire, descended to me from so many generations, thus ruin'd and ruled by a tyrant. I will go and deprive myself of that life, for which I can never suffer myself to be indebted to the basest and vilest of my subjects. I have not the confidence to appear before them, who, being born my subjects, are become my enemies and traitors. It is fit the Prince should die, since his whole state is now expiring; and how can I endeavour to live, having seen the loss and destruction of that which was dearer to me than life?

Thus died the monarch of a kingdom as large as all Europe; he who commanded a hundred millions of subjects was reduced to destroy himself and his family, all brought upon him by the villainy of his ministers at 32 years of age.

Tho' the ruin of this great empire was executed in so short a time, yet several years before the rebellion broke out, the symptoms of a mortal distemper manifested themselves in the body-politick of this state, and the dangerous disease was known sufficiently to cause a general dread of the consequences; but no care was taken to provide any remedy. This strange and impudent negligence could not hide the weakness of the state. The state of *Cbina* resembled a sick person, who feels an illness, fears the effects, but neglects the cure; and it may be said to have been struck with death before any thing was offered for its cure. Here, tho' the distemper was manifest by the effects, no cure was offered; it was not lost by an incurable distemper, but no remedy was applied.

Men who have never conversed with courts, and know not the tricks and artifices of wicked men in power, will wonder that the Prince should be the person the most ignorant in the whole kingdom of the true state of the kingdom. All the subordinate tools, upon these occasions, are silent; because they consider, if the minister robs and plunders, he robs and plunders for them as well as for himself; and it is but reasonable, they say, he should have the largest share, since it is done with his hands. If they speak at all, it is to dis-

guise, palliate, and conceal the crimes of those above them. And thus the ruin of the Prince comes so sudden upon him, that he is sometimes undone before he has time to look about him."

UNIVERSAL SPECTATOR, Aug. 18.

S I R,

Aug. 9. 1739.

I Have often heard it aver'd, that it is as necessary, on any application for advice, to give a plain, true, and impartial state of the mind; as, when we send for a physician, to reveal the true state of the body: therefore, without any artful preamble, I shall tell you my case, and desire your instructions on it.

I am a young woman of a very good family; by a good family I mean, I am the daughter of parents, genteel in their rank of life, and virtuous in the conduct of it: but, notwithstanding such a descent, I have the unhappiness, thro' family-misfortunes, to have little or no prospect of living much longer according to my birth and education; for the handsome figure which I at present make in life, depends chiefly on the income of two places, which an infirm, consumptive father holds under the government: In short, I am young, with a tolerable share of beauty, and little or no fortune.

Now, Mr Spectator, beauty without a fortune is but of small service to a woman who has a true sense of honour and virtue. I am sure I find it so; for tho' I have lovers and admirers enow, none of them are honourable enough to marry me for the sake of my person only: as soon as they are inform'd that I have no fortune, my honourable lovers immediately become gallants, and make overtures, that with joy they could accept me as a mistress, tho' their circumstances prevented them to make me their wife. All such hints I have rejected with the contempt and detestation they deserved; and I begin now to think that I must never flatter myself of meeting with a young Gentleman of fortune, of my own age, and to whom my own choice, if indulged, might incline me, who will make me happy

by marriage: I am therefore determined to follow my mother's advice, if you should give me any encouragement to pursue it. My mother strongly persuades me to deny the access of any young Gentleman, but to be as reserved as possible, and by putting on very grave looks, and having none but very grave acquaintance, to try whether I could not engage the heart of a certain rich, old Gentleman. This old Gentleman I have often seen at visits; he is an old bachelor, very infirm, very peevish, but very rich. My mother says, with a little female art and management the thing would be practicable, and that she would answer for the success if I would give my approbation of the project. After due consideration, I find I have so much philosophy in my heart, that I could make him a kind and virtuous wife, and in return for his advancing my fortune, I would study to make him happy. What I desire of you, is, to inform me whether I may not deceive myself, and think I shall behave in a manner which I shall not after I am married: in short, is there a possibility for a young woman to like an old man? I would not, by endeavouring to make my life agreeable, make it wretched. If you think such a match can possibly be in the least agreeable, let me know as soon as possible; and at the same time give me a few hints how I shall behave in our courtship, and what kind of conduct will be necessary to conduce to our mutual felicity. By this, Sir, you will infinitely oblige
Your anxious correspondent,

PRUDENTIA.

COMMON SENSE, August 18.

Anecdotes from TACITUS.

Whenever I meet with a fine passage in history, concerning those who have acted successfully, or suffer'd bravely, for liberty, I take a pleasure in recommending their example to my countrymen. — I would have this paper, and that of my fellow-labourer the Craftsman, be a compleat collection of all can be found, or suggested, to animate a free people in defence of their

rights, or to give them just abhorrence of corruption, and of arbitrary power: — let them see how patriots have behaved themselves in the best, and worst of times; when Rome was disinterested and free, and when she was venal and inflav'd. To this purpose Tacitus will be as useful as Livy: he will teach us how to act under a Tigellinus, if so corrupt, and shameless a minister, should ever lord it over the senate of England.

I shall need no farther preface for a short translation of part of the 15th annual of that instructive historian, which struck me very much in reading it, and will deserve my readers attention.

“ After murdering so many illustrious men (says my author) Nero desired at last to cut off virtue itself by putting to death *Thrasea Pætus*” — The chief crime objected to him was, “ That he, who had ever been so assiduous, and unwearied in his attendance; he who, even in the ordinary business of the senate, had been used to distinguish himself on one side or the other, now, for three years, had not come into the house. — That this was a secession, a party formed against the government, and, if numbers should dare to engage in it, would be open rebellion. — That, in the provinces, and armies, the journals of the Roman people were read more eagerly than ever, only to know, what those proceedings were in which *Thrasea* would not take any part.”

To this charge were added some other proofs of the malignity of his spirit; as, “ That he did not believe in the divinity of *Poppæa*, the deceas'd Empress, whom the senate had deified.”

The conclusion was, “ That he and his followers pretended a zeal for liberty that they might overturn the government; and when they had gain'd that point, their next attack would be upon liberty itself.”

The Emperor himself made a speech by the mouth of his *Questor*, in which he accused the Senators of deserting their functions; and he added, “ it was no wonder if those from remote provinces failed to attend, when many who had

borne the highest offices in the state withdrew from the senate, and went to divert themselves in their gardens."

Marcellus, one of the hired orators for the court, declaim'd with great vehemence, "That the whole safety of the state was concern'd.—By the contumacy of subjects the lenity of the government was abused and wearied out.—The senate had been too mild in suffering so long the revolt of *Tbrasea* from his obedience; that of his son-in-law *Helvidius*, who was his accomplice in rebellion; that of *Paconius Agrippinus*, who had a hereditary hatred to the present government, and *Curtius Montanus*, the detestable author of libellous poems, to escape with impunity.—He requir'd the presence of *Tbrasea* in the senate, unless he had renounced the constitution, and the forms established by their ancestors, and openly declared himself a traitor and avow'd enemy to the state. Let him come, (cried the orator) he who was wont to be so active a senator, and so forward in defending those who had libell'd the Emperor; let him resume his place, and offer his sentiments what he would have corrected, or changed. It would be much more easy to endure his railing at particular measures, than by his silence condemning the whole administration at once.—What is it offends him? Is it the general peace? and our triumphs gain'd without the loss of a man? No—Let us by no means suffer one who grieves at the publick felicities; one who looks upon our publick assemblies as desarts not fit for him to inhabit; one who is continually threating us with a voluntary exile, to attain the ends of his malignant ambition. To him our decrees are null, our offices void; we are not senators, we are not magistrates; this city is no longer Rome. Let him therefore cut himself off intirely from that common-wealth, which he has long since ceas'd to love, and now cannot bear even to see."

Thus was the retreat of this great and good man misrepresented by the prostitute tools of court-defamation:—thus was he censur'd, because he would not fit in a senate where such as they had a

certain majority; because he disdain'd mingle with the slaves of *Tigellinus*, who, in the name of *Nero*, govern'd there with absolute sway. And for this offence they condemn'd him to death, being ready to execute any villany their master commanded.

Thus all the iniquities, all the tyranny of those times had the authority of the senate, and the sanction of law. Thus, as bad as *Nero* was, the Roman people suffer'd still more by the forms of their republick being kept up when the spirit was lost, than they would have done had the government been purely monarchical. For *Tigellinus* and the Emperor durst not have acted so tyrannically alone, as they ventured to do with the concurrence, and under the name of the senate.—*Tbrasea* scrupled to give that concurrence, and to lend that name to impose on his country: He therefore retired; and, in his retreat from the senate, was much more than those who continued there, a true Roman senator.

What indeed could he go thither for, except to offer himself to sale?—But such a traffick was beneath his spirit and character.

I shall conclude this paper with his dying words.—When his veins were open'd, he called the *Questor* up to him, and sprinkling the ground with his blood, "Let us (said he) make this libation to *Jupiter the Deliverer*. Behold, young man; and may the Gods avert the omen from you: But you are born to times in which it may be fit for you to fortify your mind with examples of constancy."

COMMON SENSE, August 25.

Continuation of the Remarks upon Tacitus.

THE manly freedom with which Mr Gordon has written Remarks upon Tacitus, and the eminent protection he has been honoured with from a present great minister, encouraged me in my last paper to comment a little, tho' with a spirit and stile much inferior, on that excellent author; and I shall continue to do so in this, as far as I am able.

able, in emulation of him, — but I declare, without any expectations of either subscription, pension, place, or any other favour from the *Knight*, than his approbation and countenance; which he can't in justice refuse me after giving it Mr *Gordon*; for I do not intend to declaim with half so much pomp against bad ministers, nor to speak half so irreverently of corruption, as he does in his notes upon *Tacitus*. I shall only translate a small part more of the story of *Thrasea*, which made the subject of my last week's *Journal*, and throw out a few plain observations, which will naturally arise from it, to the consideration of my countrymen.

While *Thrasea Patus* was expecting his condemnation from the senate, and his friends were consulting with him what it was fit for him to do, "there assisted in the consultation *Rufficus Arulenus*, a young man of great fire, who, from a desire of glory, offered to oppose the decrees of the senate; which, being *Tribune of the people*, he had authority to do. But *Thrasea* check'd his spirit, and would not let him attempt a vain opposition, useless to him in his danger, and which would certainly prove destructive to the *Tribune* himself."

It is impossible, from this passage, for the reader not to observe, how very useful it is to the good of a state, that maxims and forms should be kept up, when realities are gone. The *tribunitial* power was the great guard of the *Roman* liberties. — Did the *Consuls*, did the *senate* exceed their bounds, and encroach upon freedom? They were stopped by the opposition of the *Tribunes*, and the rights of the people were saved. After the usurpation of the *Cæsars*, the same office remained, the same power was lodged in it, the same duty annexed to it, and the same outward veneration pay'd to the person who bore it. How happen'd this? — The reader may ask, How was this compatible with absolute power? — My brother *Gordon* will tell you in his 7th discourse upon *Tacitus*, when he gives the reason why the senate of *Rome*, and the ancient magistracies subsisted under the

tyranny of the Emperors: "They found (says he) their account sufficiently in breaking the power, and spirit of the *senate*, in reducing it to a skeleton, a name, and in exercising under that name all their own violences and exorbitancies."

Thus it was with the *tribunitial* power: Had any good been proposed by the senate against the liking of the Emperor, he would have ordered the *Tribune* to interpose with his negative; and if the senate had complained of it, they would have been told, *it was the ancient constitution; it was the right of the people; it was sacred, and they who opposed it subverted the laws*. But when the same power was to be exercised for the good of the publick, then the mask was pull'd off, and *Cæsar* declared the laws were *his*, and he would bear no controul.

This would have happened in the case of *Arulenus*. *Nero* was willing that the senate should condemn *Thrasea Patus*, and cloke his murder under the form of law, rather than destroy him by an act of his own absolute power: But had the *Tribune* of the people interposed against that decree, he would have had recourse to his absolute power, and murder'd them both. He did not regard the *senatorial*, more than the *tribunitial* authority; but he allowed both to be exercised as far as served to his purposes, and neither so far as to thwart them for the sake of justice, law, or the publick.

It was therefore an act of humanity in *Thrasea* not to suffer his friend to expose himself to certain destruction by a useless attempt: and yet what *Arulenus* offered was no more than his duty, no more than a just, honest man was bound to, in the office he held. For can there be any thing more shameful, than to have a legal authority to stop injustice, and not use that authority? Is it not breaking the trust reposed by the state in those magistrates who were originally designed to be checks upon absolute power? *Arulenus* then had good reason to say, "I am *Tribune* of the people; I am therefore obliged to hinder the *senate* from destroying an innocent man." But

But what availed it that it was his right, and his duty, since the power of acting agreeably to that right and duty was lost? The result of all this is, *That, in so corrupted a government, a man of virtue should not meddle at all.*

They who consider the magistracies, and the legislature itself, of their country, not as trusts from the publick, but only as steps to power, and wealth, may be fond of attaining them under any conditions; nay, they may like them the better when they are most defiled with corruption, as the dirtiest soil is the fattest, and yields most to the owner:— But honest men should resolve *not to come into publick employments, nor accept any trusts from the commonwealth* at a time when it is become impracticable to execute them to the ends for which they were given: much less should they accept them when the uses of them are so strangely perverted, as that, instead of being the checks, which they were intended to be, they are made the instruments and screens of male-administration.

In such a circumstance it is not sufficient to say, “What would you have me do? I can only ruin myself, I cannot serve my country by doing what my duty requires.” If you cannot serve your country, do not serve yourself at her cost: If you cannot serve your country, at least do not impose upon her. Do not call yourself a *Tribune*, or a *Judge*, or a *Senator*, when you are reduced to be nothing but the tool of a court: Do not make the people fancy they have a protector in you, when you know you cannot protect them; when you know your office itself is only kept up to oppress them under a fairer appearance. For it is this out-side of liberty which secures and perpetuates tyranny. If the honest part of those who are capable of publick employments, would agree to refuse them till they are brought back to their due independency, and till they may be executed as they ought; it would go a great way towards the reforming and restoring of the most corrupted state in the world: For it would oblige those who govern either to break through all

forms, throw off all appearances, and change the whole frame of the government, which is a difficulty next to impossible, as all history shews; or the people, seeing the abuses, would endur them no longer, and the spirit of the constitution would by that means be revived. If no man of character would ever come into the senate, till the votes there were free, and the hostile party of corruption, either it would be to purged, or that expedient of governing in the form of a free senate must be wholly thrown off. And it would have very much embarrassed *Julius Cæsar* himself, if he had been obliged to govern the late free people of *Rome* with as bare fac'd a despotick power as the *Kings of Persia* did the slaves of the East. But with the specious names of a *Senator*, *Consul*, *Tribune*, &c. not only *be*, as *Augustus*, and *Tiberius*, who were men of ability; but such idiots as *Claudius* and such mad-men as *Caligula*, and scoundrels as *Tigellinus*, and such jade as *Poppæa*, were able to rule, insult and plunder a nation proud of its liberties.

Reply to the speech of *Ld. Viscount Gage*.
[see p. 279.] by J—n H—we, Esq.
member for *Wiltshire*.

S I R,

I Ask the Noble Lord's pardon who spoke last, for not having taken my share in the agreeable entertainment he has given the house: but indeed I am so struck with concern, at finding, that the point in question, is, Whether we shall immediately rush into a war, or endeavour, consistently with the preservation of our rights, to continue in peace? that I am utterly incapable of any degree of mirth. I imagine what Gentlemen proposed to themselves by examining the convention, was to observe, indeed, and point out any mistakes that might be in it; but with this intention only, that they might thereby assist and enable (as is our duty) those who have the conduct of affairs, to bring them to the happy issue, of establishing by peaceable means, all our several rights and

and more particularly that of a free navigation, subject to *no search*: In which it is highly incumbent on every *Englishman*, not only to wish them success, but to contribute all they can to their success; determined at the same time, if amicable means fail, to defend our rights by the strongest methods. But it seems I am mistaken, for the intent of some Gentlemen proves to be, to lay aside all endeavours for peace, and to enter immediately upon war; but I must be excused from joining with them in that, and shall continue my view of preserving and securing, by amicable means, all our rights, agreeable to the advice we ourselves gave his Majesty.—I do not think, Sir, the consideration of the convention itself, to be of so extensive a nature, as it may at first appear: I will therefore confine myself very closely to it, that I may not trespass too long upon the indulgence of the house, which I have so often experienc'd, and of which I shall always retain a most grateful sense; and as it is a point entirely national, I will exclude all considerations, but what are national: neither friendship, nor, what is yet more powerful, its contrary, nor any of the narrow views of party, shall find the least admittance. The opinion I shall deliver you, will be that of a plain country Gentleman, who lives upon his rents, and, being satisfied his rents depend on the trade of the nation, will be careful no way to injure that trade, upon which his own revenue depends: and as that is to be the case of all landed men, we ought to be very cautious in our proceedings, to avoid every thing that may any way obstruct that good success in this negotiation, which it is so particularly our duty to further and advance, and to which any rash or unadvised step may prove very detrimental; for all foreign courts give great attention to our parliamentary proceedings, especially those who are at variance with us, and perhaps much more to the proceedings of the lesser, than of the greater number. But upon this head, and that of treaties in general, I shall only repeat the words of Sir Wm Temple, a person well versed in negotiation, who, writing of a circumstance of time, much

resembling ours, says, "It will be always labour in vain, to make treaties and carry on negotiations abroad, unless there is at home an union to support them."

Sir, I last year gave my poor consent to this measure for peace, to which the house advised his Majesty: But if I had not, yet as it is, by the advice of parliament, and, by the crown's pursuing that advice, become the measure of my country, I shou'd now have thought it indispensably my duty to contribute to my country's success in it. Such was the maxim of that people, who shew'd the most publick spirit, and who kept their liberty the longest. They, after the warmest disputes in the senate, always concluded, unanimously, with that candid and generous expression, *Quod bene veritas reipublice*: and as all nations agree in that maxim, I hope we shall now put it in execution.—

But, Sir, not to waste more of your time, I will proceed to the convention itself, but will take it up no higher than the last session of parliament, which gave birth to it, and will avoid bewildering myself, either in the labyrinth of treaties, or accounts.

In the last session of parliament, the moving relations which the merchants gave you of their losses, the compassionate sense you express'd of them, and the just indignation that arose in every man's breast, induced this house to address his Majesty, That he wou'd endeavour, by amicable means, to procure reparations of their losses, and security for their future trade; and that, if those measures shou'd fail, we wou'd support him in such as he shou'd then find necessary. Here, Sir, give me leave to observe, that we assured him of our support in the former measure, as well as in the latter; and not only so, but in the former, preferably to the latter; which assurance I hope we shall make good.

In consequence of this our advice, negotiations were entred into, and a convention or agreement signed, by which a certain sum was stipulated for reparation of our losses, and a certain time limited (a circumstance not to be overlook'd) in which all other matters in dispute are to

be discussed, and settled according to the treaties now in being, and all power of treating to determine at that time. This I think to be the state of the convention, and do think the convention to be agreeable to our advice: what is positive in it, is unquestionably right; what is undetermin'd, and left to be discussed by the Plenipotentiaries, no one can speak of with certainty. All therefore that I shall say on that subject, is, that I most heartily wish the event may be the procuring us security for all our rights, and particularly for that of an uninterrupted navigation, *free from all search*; but as the event is in the breast of time, which no one can fathom, and as I ought to hope the best, I can by no means give myself leave to think of making so rash, so desperate a step, as at once to break through all measures for peace, taken by our own advice: Nor can any thing be more unwarrantable, than to refuse to let those measures, so advised by ourselves, be tried to the end of the no long time to which they are confined; and, instead of that, to plunge immediately into a war, which is the tendency of all the arguments on the other side of the question. And now, Sir, that I have mention'd war, I cannot but beg Gentlemen to reflect, that if our rights can be preserved without war (and no one can take on himself to say that is impossible) what a load of blood will he draw on his own head who shall engage his country in an unnecessary war! Now, the convention standing thus, it agrees perfectly with the advice we gave the crown, and does fully warrant the address we are moved to make: and in which I could not but imagine we should all have united; since by it our right of free navigation, without search, which some were jealous was to be given up, is so fully asserted and secured.

Here I would willingly conclude; but then, Sir, I should seem not to give due attention to the arguments and objections of Gentlemen of the contrary opinion: I must therefore beg your patience, whilst I acquaint you, why I cannot surrender myself to their reasons.

The first and greatest objection made to the convention, is, That the ministers have not begun with the proper article, nor in a proper manner. I think, Sir, that that method must be undoubtedly the best, which leads most readily and safely to the desired end; and to me it does plainly appear, that the method which some Gentlemen think ought to have been taken, would have entirely disappointed and defeated it. The Gentlemen on the other side are pleased to say, that the negotiations ought to have begun with the point of *search*; and with declaring to Spain, that if she would not, at once, instantly give up that point to us, tho' it is the principal one in dispute between us; we would not treat at all with them. Surely, Sir, such an abrupt and arbitrary proceeding could have had no other effect, but that of putting an end, at once, to all thoughts of peaceable measures; such a method as that, no one, even in private life, would have submitted to: that, Sir, would have been acting the Spaniards indeed, and too much in their stile; nor could any thing but confusion have attended it. But now what disadvantage can come to us by permitting our right to be debated? which is the objection. Why, it is said, that by suffering it to be debated, it is weaken'd, and brought in doubt. Surely, no, Sir; but, on the contrary, it is thereby strengthened, and freed from all doubt: a good title always receives advantage from examination; none but a bad one flies the light; and had we refused to let ours be examined, would not that have shewn a doubt of it, even in ourselves? But further, as to subjecting our right to examination, do not the Spaniards, by subjecting likewise their pretensions, equally weaken them? They certainly do. What advantage do they then get by it? None at all. But we do get a manifest advantage by it; for whoever considers the clause in the address proposed, relating to freedom from search, must agree, that our Plenipotentiaries cannot now give that up: we have then this advantage by permitting our title to be examined, that our right cannot

cannot suffer any diminution, but may receive a confirmation by it. Thus, Sir, it appears plainly, that the method some Gentlemen think ought to have been taken, would have been successful; and undeniably plain it is likewise, that the method pursued has been attended, not only with the success of procuring restitution for our losses, but at the same time, and thro' that, with the further advantage of drawing from the Spaniard, at least an imply'd admission of our right; and they who deny that, and treat it with the utmost slight, cannot however dispute, but that it furnishes us with a new argument, and does open and make plain the way to a more formal recognition: it therefore appears to me to have been evidently the more preferable method.

The next objection, which has any show of weight in it, is, That a great sum of money in fitting out a fleet, and a great deal of time have been wasted, and had no effect. As to the one, the effect of the fleet, I desire the Gentlemen to consider, how little Spain is (according to their own accounts) disposed to do us the least justice, and then I leave it to them to determine, what influence our fleet must have had. And as to the time supposed to have been wasted, I must observe that less time will serve indeed to do a wrong, than to do a right thing: the ministers had time enough to plunge us into an unnecessary war; but as to what time is required to adjust and settle the numerous and jarring interests of two great nations, who have possessions in all parts of the world, they who are least masters of such affairs, will be most apt to think it an easy task, and to require but little time. But further, as to the time, I must observe, that, besides the restitution of our losses, and the, at least imply'd, admission of our right to be free from all search, more has been done in the time, than does at first appear; for in considering of the several things, in order to make this convention, most of the points in dispute must necessarily have received such a degree of discussion, as will prepare them for a more easy

determination. I cannot therefore think, that either the time or the money has been so mispent. In the light therefore that I see the convention, and the objections made to it, I cannot but think the address proposed (which is the point in debate) to be a very proper one. It gives me, Sir, infinite pleasure, as, I conceive, it will the kingdom great satisfaction, by the declaration in it *against all search*. The people have been blown up into an imagination, that their right of navigation free from all search, was to be given up and sacrificed; and a very great ferment has been raised in the nation by it; which I hope will subside, when they see, by our address, how little foundation such a report had; and that they will now rest assured, that if we cannot succeed in our well intention'd endeavours, of saving them from that increase of taxes which a war must unavoidably lay upon them, and that a war shall prove unavoidable, their rights will, in case of a war, be defended with that resolution which always attends sedateness of counsel, and is never found to accompany rash measures. Indeed, Sir, I think that, in the present circumstance of things, no other resolution can reasonably be taken by the house but that contain'd in the address. I can have no interest to injure my country; and did I not think this address tended to advance the good of my country, my own, as well as the publick interest, would discipline me to it: But as I do most sincerely think it for the good of my country, it must have my approbation.

An approved of receipt for the cure or prevention of the Murrain in cattle.

TAKE of Sallad oil, one quart; anniseed or angelica water, one quart; London treacle, one pound; common treacle, one pint; fennagreek, eight ounces; bole armoniac, six ounces; turmeric, four ounces; madder, four ounces; saffron, a quarter of an ounce; aloes, six or seven ounces. The six last articles must be finely powder'd; then mix all together with four gallons and a half, or five, of strong ale, which will be sufficient for forty beasts, giving to each at least a pint.

LONDON, *August 1739.*

THE apprehension of an immediate war with Spain is now stronger than ever. We have the most considerable fleet at sea which was perhaps ever known, and the impress for seamen is again revived. Several ships are sailed with letters of marque to make reprisals on Spain. The Commissioners of the Admiralty have directed all the Lieutenants of the navy in half-pay to send immediate notice of their respective places of abode; and an order of the like nature is issued for those in half-pay belonging to the army. The Commissioners of the navy have contracted with ship-builders for building 10 galleys, with the utmost expedition, to carry 20 guns each, to be employed in his Majesty's service against the Spanish privateers. All the officers belonging to the regiments at Gibraltar and Port-mahon are ordered to their respective posts, under pain of being cashier'd; and orders are given to add 10 men to each troop of the four regiments of horse and eight of dragoons in G. Britain, but no additional officers.

P. S. *London, Sept. 4.* There is certain account from Lisbon, that Mess. Keene and Castres are arrived there in their way to England, having set out from Madrid the 20th past. And Sir Thomas Geraldino, having receiv'd his Master's orders of revocation, and passports from this court, is preparing to set out for Madrid.

We see just publish'd here, his *Catholic Majesty's Manifesto*, dated at Se Ildefonso, August 20; and *The reasons by which he justifies his not paying the 95,000 l. stipulated in the convention*; the whole consisting of 53 pages, French and English. In the *Manifesto* he gives some instances of condescension on the part of Spain towards G. Britain, and affirms, that Spain fulfilled her engagements stipulated in the convention; but that G. Britain did not fulfil her's by recalling Adm. Haddock's squadron, &c. on the contrary, that she published letters of reprisal, and proceeded to the execution of them in divers parts, which had been made appear by the deposi-

tions of those who experienced them: And that his Catholic Majesty's forbearance being thus provok'd, he had determin'd that the like reprisals should be used by his subjects against those of G. Britain. — *The Reasons* condescend on seven breaches of the convention made by G. Britain: 1. In revoking the order given to Adm. Haddock to return to England. 2. In not having dispatched the necessary orders specified in the convention to Georgia and Carolina. 3. In the S. S. company's not paying the 68,000 l. mentioned in M. de la Quadra's previous declaration. 4. In the British Plenipotentiaries desiring to have it declared, that the King of Spain has not power to suspend the Assiento contract. 5. In demanding the restitution of an English ship taken since the ratification of the convention. 6. In retarding the opening of the conferences. 7. In demanding a free navigation as the undoubted right of the British nation, notwithstanding the first article of the convention says, that the respective pretensions thereunto should be regulated in the future conferences, according to the treaties subsisting between the two crowns. This last article is insisted on at great length.

The Marquis de St Gilles, the Spanish Ambassador at the Hague, has distributed copies of the above mention'd Manifesto, &c. to the members of the government there.

S. S. trading-stock, 92, 5 8^{ths}. Ditto Old annuities, 108. Ditto New, 106. Bank stock; 137, 1 half. India ditto, 152, 1 4^{ths}. Three per cent. annuities, 99, 1 half. Million bank, 114, 1 half. Royal assurance, 89. London assurance, 11, 1 8th. Mine adventure shares, 5 l. English copper, 3 l. 8 s. Welch ditto, 15 s. African, 13, 1 half. Seven per cent. Emperor's loan, 105. Five per cent. ditto, 88, 7 4ths. Bank circulation, 3 l. 12 s. 6 d. prem. Three per cent. S. S. bonds, 18 s. prem. India ditto, 2 l. 5 s. prem. Three 1 half per cent. Exchequer orders, 1 half discount. Three per cent. ditto, 5 discount. Salt tallies, 1 half a 1 1 half, prem. Lottery tickets, 5 l. 9 s. *ogle*

DEATHS.

- F**rancis de Rochefaucaut, Marquis de Montandre, a Field-Marshal, Master of the ordnance in Ireland, Governor of Guernsey, &c.
- Lt Gen. Gore, Colonel of the King's royal regiment of dragoons, and Governor of Kinsale in Ireland.
- Col. Cremer, Major in the 3d regiment of guards.
- Lt Col. Gilbert Primrose, on the Irish establishment.
- Col. Manly, formerly Lieut. Col. of horse, red.
- Cornet Marcelli, of Moleworth's dragoons.
- Lieut. Gervace Parker, of the British fusiliers, Fort-Major of Kinsale.
- Col. Guthrie, in Jamaica.
- William Mills, Esq; Chief Justice in one of the courts in that island.
- Capt. Bonfoy, of an independent company in Jamaica.
- Capt. Soleguard, Capt. of the Berwick man of war.
- William Lord Craven.
- Ld Charles Fitzroy, 3d son to the D. of Grafton, at Milan.
- Ld Higham; son to the E. of Malton.
- Mr Bradshaw, Door-keeper of the house of Lords.
- Dr Henschman, Chancellor of the diocesses of London and Westminster, fam'd for his eloquent pleadings in defence of Dr Sacheverel.
- William Shirley, Captain of a marching regiment.
- Matthew Buckinger, in Ireland, aged 65, born without legs or arms, whose performances are well known in the world.
- Mr Bull, Linnen-draper, London.
- My Lady Seafort, in her way home to Brahan castle in Ross-shire, from France.
- The Lady of Robert Colvil of Ochiltree, Esq;
- Miss Campbell, eldest daughter of Lord Monzie.
- My Lady Elliot (dowager) of Stobs.
- Mr John Lesly, Rector of the school of Dalkeith.
- Mr John Schaw, one of the Ministers of South Leith.

PREFERMENTS MILITARY.

- Sir Charles Wills, First General of foot, — a Field-Marshal.
- Major Gen. Cope, — Governor of Londonderry.
- Brig. Gen. Bowles, — Governor of Dimerick.
- Col. Onslow, — Colonel of the regiment late Lanoe's.
- Col. Dalaway, — Colonel of Col. Onslow's regiment.
- Edward Pole, — Lt Col. of Brig. Gen. Bowles's regiment of dragoons.
- Capt. Waite in the Welsh fusiliers, — Major in the said regiment.
- William Wentworth, Esq; — Capt. in Gen. Gore's dragoons.
- Capt. Robert Rich, in the foot-guards, — Aid-de-camp to Gen. Wills.
- Archibald Douglas, Surgeon in Rich's dragoons, — Cornet in said regiment.

NAVAL.

- Capt. Richard Baker, — Commander of the Dunkirk.
- Capt. Bing of the Portland, — of the Sunderland.
- Capt. Hooke, — of the Portland.
- Capt. Tho. Fox, — of the Newcastle.
- Capt. Russel of the Kinsale, — of the Ruby.
- Capt. Rich. Lestock of the Grafton, — of the Boyne.
- Capt. Tho. Davers, — of the Grafton.
- Capt. Forbes, — of the Severn.
- Capt. Townshend, — of the Berwick.
- Sir Roger Butler, — of the Plymouth.
- Capt. Cooper, — of the Chester.
- Lt Dandy Kidd, — of the Trial sloop.
- Lt Elliot Smith, — of the Fly sloop.
- Sir Fr. Holbourne — of the Swift sloop.
- Capt. John Hemmington, — of the Princess Amelia.
- Capt. Ja. Stuart, — of the Cumberland.
- Capt. Tho. Graves, — of the Norfolk.
- Capt John Trevor, — of the Desiance.
- Capt. Humph. Orme, — of the Rippon.
- Capt. John Gascoigne, — of the York.
- Capt. Rob. Long, — of the Tilbury.
- Capt. John Towry, — of the Litchfield.
- Capt. Wm Chambers, — of the Bristol.
- Capt. Cor. Mitchel, — of the Rochester.
- Capt. John Crawford, — of the Ludlow castle.

Capt.

Capt. Ja. Lloyd, — of the Winchester.
 Capt. Lushington, — of the Solebay.
 Mr Swift, — First Lieutenant of the
 Dunkirk.

MARRIAGES.

Capt. Arthur Forbes of Pittencrief, —
 to Miss Katharine Couper, daughter
 to David Couper of Couper-Grange.
 Alex. Hepburn, brother to — Hep-
 burn of Keith, Esq; — to Mrs —
 Drummond, Widow of Lt Home.

*Died within the walls of the city of Edin-
 burgh, and buried in the Gray-friars
 church-yard, August 1739.*

Men 12, women 15, children 32. In
 all, 59. Decreased this month, 3.

	AGE.	N ^o .	DISEASES.	N ^o .	
Betwixt	Under	2	17	Consumption	19
	2 &	5	13	Chin-cough	5
	5 &	10	2	Fever	11
	10 &	20	3	Old age	2
	20 &	30	2	Suddenly	4
	30 &	40	2	Teething	10
	40 &	50	5	Still-born	1
	50 &	60	4	Small-pox	5
	60 &	70	8	Tympany	1
70 &	80	2	Rheumatism	1	
80 &	90	1			

FOREIGN HISTORY.

IT has lately been reported from several places, that the famous KOULIKAN, who has by his various successes struck the Eastern world with terror, was lately slain by the hands of the Great Mogul, when each of those Monarchs was heading his forces, in a general engagement between the two armies. But it will be necessary to refer the confirmation of so remarkable an event to subsequent advices.

The overthrow of Sare-Bey-Oglou is confirmed; his head having been sent to CONSTANTINOPLE, and fix'd on a pole before the great seraglio, where prodigious numbers of people flock'd to see it. The following translation of a letter written upon that occasion to the Consuls of foreign nations, by the Grand Seignior's Equerry, will probably be agreeable to many of our readers.

*To our most esteemed and most sincere friends,
 the Procurators and Consuls.*

AFTER our hearty greeting, as induty bound, we sincerely acquaint you by this letter, that on the 19th of the month Sesser in this year, [*which answers to our 27th of May*] the infidel chief the wicked and cursed Sare-Bey-Oglou, who in all things behaved very wickedly both to the Mussulmen and their towns, was by God's assistance, and by the prosperity of our glorious master the Grand Seignior, totally destroyed with his cursed company and his accomplices, in which number Cara Oglou was kill'd, and the cursed Secher Oglou taken alive, then chain'd, and carried prisoner to the castel of Guisselisar, in order there to be punished, as well as all the rest, for examples to all the world. As therefore the unfortunate Sare-Bey-Oglou was beheaded, 'tis positively given out here, that his cursed head is carried to our glorious and excellent Vizier Bassa, and that all the world is thereby delivered from the ill designs of this rebel; for which the Lord be praised. This good news will be matter of joy to every one, particularly to you who are friends of the sublime and happy Porte, and who ought to rejoice at it, and to set your hearts at rest. Knowing moreover, that you desired to be delivered from the uneasiness which that villain gave you, I could not fail giving you the satisfaction of this present letter, which, if it please God, may be productive of the good news to me, that you have not banished me from your remembrance.

Her CZARIAN Majesty very warmly resents the report of Baron St Clair, who was carrying dispatches from Constantinople to Stockholm, being murder'd by two officers in Russian pay; and the following is the

*Extract of an order from the Czarina,
 dated July 3. O. S. and sent to her
 ministers at foreign courts.*

WE are very much surpriz'd to hear of the rumour at Berlin, concerning the murder of one St Clair, a
 Swe-

Swedish officer, as if it had been committed by two of our officers.

We have thought fit to order all our ministers at foreign courts to declare in our name, that, so far from having any hand or any sort of concern in so base an action, if it was really committed in the manner as 'tis reported, we have an abhorrence for a crime so detestable.

And as it must have been committed on the limits of Silesia and Lusatia, we have thought necessary to request the Emperor and the King of Poland, that they would please to order diligent search to be made after those malefactors, in order to punish them.

Though we cannot imagine that any of our subjects have so far forgot themselves as to commit such an enormous crime; yet we declare, that we will use all endeavours imaginable to discover those criminals, and to give them exemplary punishment, in order to discover to the whole world how much we abhor such actions, equally base and abominable: it being our firm intention carefully to cultivate good harmony and friendship with Sweden.

The following is the best account yet publish'd of the march of the Russians.

Warsaw, Aug. 4. The army under the Velt-Marshal C. Munich passed the Niester on the 19th and 20th of July, O. S. near Grodeck, Sienkow, and Coladrubla, while Lt Gen. Baron Lowendahl stay'd behind to cover his passage; as did also several thousand Cossacks, in order to disturb the Tartars, who were encamp'd near Caminieck. By means of these dispositions the Russian army has happily passed the Niester, without the least obstruction from the enemy; for the Tartars knew nothing of it till some days after, when a Cossack officer, that was taken prisoner, and carried before the Sultan of Bialagrod, told him, that the army was on the 20th got over the Niester, and that Gen. Munich had left only some thousand Cossacks behind, the better to conceal his design. This news put the Tartars into such a rage, that they went sword in hand to their Sultan, and upbraided him for his negligence in missing the opportunity of attacking the Russians, and expressing their uneasy ap-

prehensions, that their wives, children, and effects on the other side of the river were in danger of falling a prey to the enemy. These Tartars were so exasperated, that some of them left the Sultan without hearing what he had to say. We are since inform'd, that he has pass'd the Niester with his Tartars, and that the Turks have done the same, in order to pursue Gen. Munich's army. The 12,000 men commanded by Lt Gen. Lowendahl, and which remain'd on the other side of the river, are likewise pass'd over, as are also the Cossacks; so that the whole Russian army is now in Moldavia. The detachments of Tartars that are likewise in Podolia have pass'd the Niester near Zwanitz, Bielowka and Usciez, and since that there has not been one of them seen in that palatinate; where their absence is look'd upon as a great happiness, though the Tartars and Turks together have by their long stay there scarce left them any other comfort in the world. The march of the Russians into Moldavia spreads a consternation throughout that province and Walachia, where the inhabitants are flying from all parts towards the Niester, which river they are continually passing day and night, in order to take refuge in the Polish territory. 'Tis believ'd, that the Bashaw of Bender and two other Bashaws, who are assembling the Turkish troops on the other side of the Niester, have a design to cut off the Russian army in its march towards Hungary.

POLAND has severely suffer'd for this, as appears by the following account from

Caminieck, Aug. 2. "The damage done by the Tartars during the 10 or 12 days that they staid upon the Polish territory, is computed at several millions of florins. There is no corn nor fruit in the country, no houses nor churches left standing in the villages. They have carried away all the horses and cattle that they could find; and what furniture and other effects they could not take with them, they have destroyed. The sacrileges committed in churches, their outrages upon persons of all ages and both sexes; in short, the cruelties and barba-

cities of those monsters, have made this country a most melancholy scene. But they already begin to smart for it: for having neglected to dispute the Russian passage of the Niefter, they are now under a necessity of plundering their own country, burning up all their forage and corn, and destroying all the habitations, that the Russian army may have no subsistence on that side of the river. This army consists of 277 squadrons of regular troops, *viz.* 3 squadrons of the guards, 6 of hussars, 170 of dragoons, 90 of the Cossacks of the Ukraine, and 8 of Cossacks upon the foot of regular troops, 6000 Cossacks of Maloros, 1000 of the Field Cossacks, 4000 of the Don, 2000 of Saporog, 3 battalions of the guards, 40 of the infantry of the country, 21 companies of grenadiers, 3000 men belonging to the train of artillery, and 4000 waggons."

As the success or defeat of the forces of his IMPERIAL MAJESTY more immediately affects the prosperity of Europe, we shall generally include the account of the war with the Turks in Hungary and elsewhere in the affairs of the Empire. — In these accounts we shall, pursuant to our declaration at the commencement of this work, be as full as the nature and importance of the several actions require; being persuaded that, to the generality of readers, a full and circumstantial relation of what is remarkable in the motions and conduct, as well as the bravery of the troops at present engag'd in war, will be prefer'd to any of the essays and disputes with which we are always amply supplied, the present actions of the Turks and Imperialists having not been equalled for several years. — And these accounts will, at least, be of so much service to such as read them, as to give *some idea* of the fatigues, devastations, &c. attending the execution of a war, while they have not the misfortune of the scene before their eyes; and will furnish them with some useful knowledge in case they ever should.

The following is the best account yet published of the battle of Krozka, or Crocza, mentioned in our last, p. 334.

Vienna, July 18. O. S. Yesterday an express came to court from the army in Hungary, with the following particulars of an engagement which has happen'd betwixt that army and the Turks.

"On the 7th inst. word was brought to the Imperial camp at Wisniza, that the enemy's army was advanced as far as the fort of Rawna, and making the necessary preparations to pass the Morave; whereupon the Velt-Marshal de Wallis resolv'd immediately to march against the Turks, and sent for the Count de Neuperg to come and join him with the body under his command.

On the 9th, the army quitted Wisniza, and went and encamp'd at Schlikan. The Major Gen. de Bernclau was detached with some thousand men, among whom were several hundreds of volunteers, to go and take a view of the enemy's situation. He found, that the greatest part of their forces had already pass'd the Morave. The Turks attack'd his detachment no less than three times successively, and oblig'd it to give way; when the General retreated in as good order as possible to the camp, and made his report to the Count de Wallis. In this skirmish there were but 12 men killed, and 20 wounded on the part of the Imperialists. As the enemy's flotilla was gone up the Danube as far as Krozka, the Admiral Pallavicini, who commanded the Emperor's flotilla, received orders to attack it; in doing which he immediately sunk three of their saicks, and cannonaded the camp which the Turks had just formed near Krozka: but the ships of the latter returning in a greater number, surrounded the Imperial flotilla on all sides; and how it got off, we are not yet inform'd.

On the 10th, we were inform'd that the enemy's body, which was advanc'd to Krozka, had received a considerable reinforcement, and was likewise assembling in a great number at Semendria. The body under the Count de Neuperg being not yet come up, a resolution was taken not to wait for it, but to go and attack the Turks before they had time to entrench themselves.

The next night the Velt-Marshal de Wallis

Wallis and the Baron de Seher march'd with 14 regiments of horse and 18 companies of grenadiers, the former having order'd the Prince of Saxe Hildburghausen to follow him next morning at day-break with the rest of the foot, and not doubting but the General de Neuperg would join him without delay. M. Wallis, in order to come at the Turks, was forced to clear his way through desles, bramble-bushes, and vineyard-plots, which however he accomplished with very great order; but the regiment of Hohenzollern, which formed the vanguard, advancing too forward, was hemmed in by the Turks, and cut to pieces. The Turks, improving this advantage, fell upon the rest of the forces with incredible fury; which, though they made a very brave defence, were put into confusion, and oblig'd to retire; and just as they had recover'd the hill, the Prince of Saxe Hildburghausen arrived with the infantry, and favour'd his retreat. To do this the better, the Prince posted himself on the right, where the Turks fired briskly upon him, but were not able to break his ranks. But after all, there was some disorder in his retreat, which extended even to the baggage; and it would have been still greater, had not the Count de Neuperg come up speedily with his body consisting of 13,000 men; for whose greater dispatch he left his baggage behind, and made the men leave their coats. The Marshal de Wallis, upon the arrival of this reinforcement, renew'd the engagement with the enemy, which was continued on both sides with very great obstinacy and firing, that lasted without interruption till night, so that it proved a bloody action both to the Imperialists and the Turks. The Marshal de Wallis return'd afterwards with his army to his camp at Wisniza, under the cannon of Belgrado.

The Turks fought upon this occasion like desperadoes; and, far from being discouraged at the loss of their men, which must certainly be very considerable, they returned to the charge with the more obstinacy, and most hideous outcries. The names of the chief offi-

cers who were killed or wounded, are, the Lieutenant-Field-Marshal Baron Wittorf; the Majors-General the Prince of Hesse-Rhinfels, Count Caraffa, and M. Lerschner; the Colonels Count Berthold, Minquitzburg, the Prince of Waldeck; the Lieutenant-Colonels Plida, and the Marquis Litta; the Majors Count Lanthieri, and M. Palude, *killed*. The Lieutenant-Field-Marshal the Prince of Waldeck; the Majors-General the Prince of Birckenfeld, Count Daun, Count Geisfruch, and M. Grune; the Colonels Dungen, Dernthal, Wetzell, Villanova; the Lieutenant-Colonels Count Wurmbbrand, Sonnau, the Prince of Baden-Durlach, Radicati, the Count de Collovrat; the Majors Uhlfeld, Levrier, Kleinholtz, and Sebottendorf, *wounded*. The Earl of Crawford, a volunteer, *wounded*."

The Turks, since the above mentioned action, being posted along the rivulet of Krozka, which is but two or three leagues from Belgrade, we long impatiently for the next advices from Hungary, to know what is Count Wallis's resolution.

We learn, by a particular letter from the camp, that the detachment under Gen. Bernclau was in great danger of being entirely cut to pieces, if he had not made use of the following stratagem, which succeeded very happily: He ordered all his trumpeters to retire and take post behind a hill in a wood near the enemy, where they sounded a march; which made the Turks believe that fresh troops were coming up to support our men, and so alarmed the enemy, that they retired with the utmost precipitation towards Krozka; so that Gen. Bernclau had time to rejoin the army with his detachment and some horses that he had taken from the Turks.

From on board the Imperial galleys on the Danube, July 25. N. S.

"The Marquis Pallavicini, General of the Imperial ships and vessels on the Danube, having received advice, that 40 of the enemy's saicks in the form of galleys, were to come up to Krozka at the same time that the vanguard of their army

army was to arrive there, he fell down the river on board the Commodore-ship the Triton, which has two decks, and was built at Vienna in 1737, and four prames or large galleys built at Vienna also, this present year, and arrived at Krozka half an hour before the said Turkish vanguard, consisting of 4000 horse, which drew up on the side of a hill towards the river. He caused his vessels to move near to the shore, and fir'd 30 cannon-shot at the enemy, which did such execution upon them, as obliged them to retire precipitately over that hill, to avoid being exposed to the artillery of our flotilla. The General finding he could do them no more damage, proceeded down the river the same day to meet the saicks, having intelligence that they were advancing; and, forming a line with his vessels before an island at a little distance from Krozka, he proposed by that situation to hinder the enemy from passing, and to cover the said island. Half an hour after appeared the 40 Turkish saicks making towards that island; but seeing how our vessels were ranged, they retired to Semendria, where was the enemy's camp. Of all this the General gave information to Velt-Marshal Wallis, and sent to him the Bailiff of Krozka, who assured him that the enemy's whole army was on their march thither. On the 21st at day-break, the Turkish galleys or saicks advanced as though they would attack our flotilla; but before they came within cannon-shot they stop'd: at which time the van of the Turkish army came in view, and was followed orderly by all the rest, with their baggage and artillery, and posted themselves at Krozka; of which Gen. Pallavicini sent advice to Velt-Marshal Wallis. The 22d in the morning Gen. Pallavicini descried two batteries, which the enemy had made in the night on the bank of the river in a place that was covered with large trees, and he ordered his vessels to fire at those batteries; but seeing he could do them no considerable damage, he retired to a point of the island, which covered his vessels. From that point he had a view of the Turkish land-army, formed into two lines, and

marching towards the top of the hills; from the foot of which the Imperial troops were to advance against them: and soon after he saw, with regret, an attack made; and the enemy's fire carried forwards; from which he observed that they fought with advantage, and that our troops could not beat them back and possess themselves of Krozka, according to the resolution which had been taken, and which had been communicated to him by Velt-Marshal Wallis. Then Gen. Pallavicini resolved to retire, without giving the enemy time to make other batteries, which they were actually beginning in 3 different places, and which might have rendered his return the more difficult. When he had taken this resolution, and was in motion to pass up the river, the Turkish galleys advanced: one of them, which exposed itself the most, in hopes to pass between the Triton and the river-side, was presently sunk by the cannon of that Commodore-ship; and four others, which followed that gally, were so gauled by the guns of the other Imperial vessels, that their rowers fled to land, leaving them to float with the stream. The rest of the enemy's galleys kept out of the reach of our cannon, and took the opportunity of the darkness of the night to get to a place of security. The 23d, at day-break, Gen. Pallavicini with his vessels was before Krozka, where he saw the Turkish galleys lying under the protection of the enemy's camp. The Triton in passing up the river having lost three hours by one of the prames running foul of her prow, was obliged to abide the fire of five batteries, which fired from heavy cannon iron bullets of 36 pound, and from haubitzes stone balls of 50 pound weight, besides the shot from lesser cannon. By the slowness of making way up the river, our flotilla lay exposed for nine hours to that fire: and of 443 cannon-shot, almost all of them were aimed at the Triton, aboard of which Gen. Pallavicini had always his station: above 40 shot struck the ship; but not one of them endangered her or did her any considerable damage: nor were more than three officers on board

board her wounded; among them Lt Col. Count Lilliers dangerously in the thigh, by a piece of a stone bullet that broke in the ship; and but 3 men were killed and 12 wounded, tho' we passed in sight of the whole Turkish army; which by the extent of ground on which they encamped appeared to be very numerous. At noon sprung up a favourable gale of wind, which enabled our vessels to use their sails; and in the evening we came up over against the Imperial army, and kept coasting by them till they entered the lines of Belgrade. In our passage we fired continually at the Turkish army, where we judged our guns would bear upon them, putting us close to the shore as we could. Our vessels fired in all about 500 cannon-shot, of which the Triton alone 171. Gen. Pallavicini was honourably received by Velt-Marshal Wallis, who publicly declared, that he was satisfied with his conduct."

Belgrade, July 14. O. S. The Marquis de Pallavicini's engagement with the enemy's flotilla, has justified the notion we had entertain'd of that Admiral's capacity; who, tho' surrounded by near 100 saicks, from whence the Turks made a terrible fire with their cannon and small arms, has however brought off the Imperial flotilla safe to this city. 'Tis natural to suppose that he must have suffer'd some loss; but what the enemy has suffer'd must be vastly greater; for he sunk 30 of their saicks, killed many of their men, and so well secured his retreat, that they could not hinder it. We are assur'd that the Grand Vizier, who is arrived at Semendria, with the chief Bashaws of the Ottoman army, has the Count de Bonneval with him; and that the Count is the man who has regulated all the operations of the Turks.

From the Imperial camp near Jaboka, in the bannat of Temeswar, 3 leagues from Belgrade, July 18. O. S.

"On the 14th in the evening our heavy baggage was sent to the other side of the Save, and as soon as it was night the army began to file off, one part thro'

the town of Belgrade, and the other part by two bridges which we had laid over the Danube. By day-break the whole army was passed over that river; only some of the baggage-waggons remained behind, which not having been able to pass before the troops had filed off, were obliged to stay before the gate of Belgrade. The Turks perceiving our retreat, attempted to fall upon those waggons; but were prevented by the cannon of the place, and of the men of war, and by some troops that were posted in the country-houses, which made a continual fire upon the enemy, till all the baggage was got safe into the town.

On the 15th our army went and encamped near the village of Ponza, on the other side of the Danube, a league from Belgrade, and after we had set up our tents, we saw the enemy enter into the camp which we had quitted. Their right wing extends to the Danube, and their left stretches towards the Save; so that by the space of ground they take up, 'tis reckoned their army is very numerous. Immediately after their arrival they began to fire in good earnest, from several pieces of cannon, upon the men of war, and one of the bridges which we had upon the Danube, and which we were therefore obliged to remove higher up the river.

The next day the Turks erected a battery against the town, which they cannonaded with great fury, and threw several bombs into it, but without any effect. There are 13 battalions in garrison, and we have such a free communication with Belgrade, that we can throw succours into it whenever they are wanted.

On the 16th, towards the evening, while we were at the camp near Ponza, an account was brought, that 20,000 Turks were come to take post near Panczova; whereupon Count Wallis resolved to decamp, and march in quest of them. Accordingly, that same night the army passed the marshes over bridges, and arrived the 17th, at day-break, near the Temes. Two bridges being laid with all speed over that river, the army happily passed it; whereupon

4000 spahis, or Turkish horse, that were on the other side, retired at the approach of our hussars, who for a while pursued them. It was the afternoon before the whole army had passed, and the infantry being much fatigu'd, it was not thought proper to proceed any farther."

On the 19th of July was a smart skirmish at Panczova, in which, though the accounts greatly vary, it appears the Germans had the advantage.

M. Wallis, before he pass'd the Danube, reinforced Belgrade with 12 regiments: which place the Turks continue to cannonade from several batteries, and the army engaged in that siege is said to consist of 100,000 men.

Vienna, Aug. 12. N. S. The last letters from Pr. Lobkowitz advise, that this General having march'd out of Transylvania into the bannat of Temeswaer, the Turks took advantage of his absence, and made an attack, with 8000 men and five pieces of cannon, upon the castle of Perichan, which is the only post that the Imperialists yet hold in Walachia. They made several unsuccessful assaults. The garrison being aided by the militia of the country, behav'd with so much bravery, that the Turks were obliged to retire with the loss of their artillery and baggage, and many of their people. The preservation of this post was owing to the good conduct of Count Piccolomini and the Baron de Hagenbach, who command there.

Belgrade, Aug. 5. This is the 11th day of the siege of this place; and tho' the enemy have never ceased firing upon it from their batteries of cannon and mortars, they have done no other mischief than damaged some streets. The Governor does every thing to put himself in a condition of making a long and vigorous defence. He has order'd three pair of galleys to be erected in different parts of the city, and at the same time caused it to be published, *That whoever shall have the cowardice to dare to talk of a capitulation, or of surrendering the place, shall be hanged without other form of process.* Count Wallis has quitted the camp of Jaboka, and is marched with

the army up the Temes, in order to encamp near Temeswaer. The young Count Khevenhuller this day going to give orders upon the works of the place, had his head shot off.

Belgrade, August 12. About 15,000 Turks presenting themselves, the 8th in the evening, before the fort of Sabatich, work'd all night in erecting batteries, and began the next day very furiously to batter the place; but the fire of the garrison upon the enemy was so sharp, that yesterday they thought fit to raise this sort of siege, and rejoin their grand army. Tho' the Grand Vizier continues the siege of this place, he has not opened the trenches yet. Some spies report, that they are at work upon mines, in order to blow up some of our works, and at the same time to give a general assault in two or three several places. It is said, that on one side the want of provisions and forage, and on the other, the strong instances of the Janissaries to be led on to an assault, has fixed the Grand Vizier in this resolution.—The day before yesterday advice was received, that three of our galleys, which were at anchor in the mouth of the Temes, having been suddenly attack'd by more than sixty Turkish saicks, the Knight of Malta who commanded the galleys, having defended himself several hours with great bravery, and despairing to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, caused them to be blown up, having first put their crews on board some shallops, which are since safely arrived here.—Every thing is happily disposed to give the Turks a warm reception; for our garrison consists of 12,000 men; we have 13,000 quintals of gun-powder, 500 brass cannon, 150 mortars, 8000 bombs, with bullets in proportion to the powder; and we think we have nothing at all to fear as long as we can keep the communication free with Semlin.

General Succow, who commands in Belgrade, being indisposed, Count Wallis requested his Imperial Majesty to send the Baron de Schmettau to command in his room; to which the Emperor readily agreeing, the Baron set out Aug.

August 17. from Vienna for Belgrade.

Count Bonneval has been at Constantinople to give the Grand Seignor an account of the affairs in Hungary, and is returned to the Ottoman army. The great improvement in the Turks manner of fighting is chiefly attributed to that renegade, and the great number of French engineers, &c. who serve under the Grand Vizier.

MADRID, Aug. 5. O. S. Great encomiums are given to the conduct of Admiral Pizarro, who brought the Assogue ships safe into the port of St Andero on the coast of Galicia. Since advice came hither of the King of G. Britain's order to his subjects to use reprisals against the Spaniards, several councils have been held at the castle of St Ildefonso, where, after a careful examination of the said order, it appeared, that the terms of it are very strong, and that the permissions granted to English ships are very extensive; and thereupon it was resolved to dispatch the like letters of reprisal to the subjects of this monarchy. The camp formed by the King's forces near Ferrol is lately augmented to 20,000 men. They write from the Groyne, that they are hard at work in placing the chain which is designed to bar the entrance of that port to foreign vessels. Admiral Haddock having about three weeks ago sent his compliments to the Conde de Clavijo Commodore of the Spanish Squadron, by the Captain of a French ship, whom he charged to tell the Commodore, that he was impatient to see him; the Commodore, being resolved to convince the Admiral that he understood good-manners as well as he, has likewise sent his compliments to the Admiral by the Captain of an English ship that lately came to Cadiz to desire provisions. He bid him tell the Admiral at the same time, that he was sorry he could not yet satisfy his impatience; that he hoped he should soon have an opportunity for it; and that in the mean while the English ships had best not come too near to the bay of Cadiz.

Gibraltar, July 26. Admiral Haddock having sent a ship to Cadiz some days ago to desire leave to purchase

some provisions there, the Commandant of the fort of Matagorda returned answer, That he thought it a very odd request; that it was not usual to furnish ships with provisions that came on the footing of enemies; and that if any such vessel came within the bay, he would sink it. 'Tis certain the Spaniards are drawing down a great many troops towards this place; and the inhabitants are still securing their effects.

PARIS, Aug. 17. O. S. On the 12th the Marquis de la Mina, the Ambassador of Spain, made his publick entry at Versailles, and had audience of the King and Queen; wherein he demanded the Princess in marriage for the Infante. After which he went to the Dauphin's apartment, and to the Princess's, to whom he made his compliment in the Spanish tongue, and assured her at the same time, that he had received letters of the 6th O. S. from Madrid, which say, that the Infanta Donna Maria Theresa was much better. On the 13th the King received the compliments of the whole court on the demand made by the Marquis. On the 14th was perform'd the ceremony of betrothing: and on the 15th, the Duke of Orleans married her by proxy for Don Philip the Infante of Spain. The 20th or 21st instant she is to set out for Spain.

Extract of a letter from the HAGUE.

"Some of the members of the government have openly declared, that the present system of the States General, and the situation which the republick is actually in, did not permit them to take part in the approaching war between G. Britain and Spain, alledging, that the subject thereof did not particularly interest them, nor, to judge of it from its present appearances, would it greatly influence the affairs of Europe in general: wherefore, so long as the court of Spain, in case of a war with G. Britain, should prosecute it alone, and without the assistance of any of her allies, the States General could be no other than spectators and mediators, in an affair which only related to the people of England, and for the support of whose right the forces of the King of G. Britain

Britain is sufficiently able to make head against those of his Catholick Majesty, and to do them justice for the wrongs they pretend to have suffered; but if, contrary to all expectation, it should happen that any enterprize should be attempted, which might in any degree tend to subvert the present establishment in G. Britain, the States General would then not only furnish the King of G. Britain with the forces reciprocally stipulated by treaties subsisting between the two nations, but would, moreover, grant him all the succours that his Britannick Majesty might expect from good and faithful allies. Their High Mightinesses are well satisfied that the British nation has nothing to apprehend from Spain singly, drawing this conclusion from the present tame behaviour of the Spaniards; who, tho' they some time ago boastingly gave out, that the number of their men of war ready to put to sea was greatly superior to that of the British squadron, yet have for more than a month past suffered this latter, without shewing any resentment, to cruize before their ports, and to visit every ship that goes in or comes out from thence. People naturally, upon this occasion, ask the following question: *How could the crown of Spain be so vain as to pretend to visit all ships in an open sea, which is not in a condition of hindering ships from being visited even upon its own coast?*"

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Of whom may be had the *Magazines* for the preceding months.

C O N T E N T S.

Proceedings of the Political Club.	
S peech of S. Priscus against allowing the merchants to be heard by counsel	P. 387
Because not a question concerning private right	389
Speech of F. Camillus for allowing counsel	390
Because equally necessary in a question of a private as of a publick nature	391
The merchants property concerned in the present question	395
Speech of Q. Capitolinus against allowing counsel	397
Because necessary only when points of law occur	398
Speech of L. Flaccus on the number of land forces for this year	399
Reasons for the same number as last year	400
Speech of Q. Cincinnatus for reducing the army	402
Reasons for it	403
Speech of Mæcenas	405
Defence of the liberty of the press	406
The reasons for keeping up so great a land army answered	407
Mal-practices of sea-officers	408
An evening at Vaux-ball concluded	409
Dialogue betwixt Charon, Mercury and a Lawyer's ghost	411
———— a Courtier's ghost	ib.
———— a Prude's ghost	412
———— a Methodist's ghost	P. 413
———— a Gentleman's ghost	415
A Manifesto commonly the forerunner of a declaration of war	ib.
Causes of the present bad state of our affairs	416
The convention not understood by the contracting parties	ib.
The manifesto ill translated	418
P O E T I C A L E S S A Y S :	
Verses under a print of his Majesty	418
To Mrs Elizabeth Townsend	419
The discontented ape	ib.
The third chapter of Job	420
On a calm sea. To Sylvia	421
D O M E S T I C K H I S T O R Y.	
Births, Deaths, and Preferments	423
Mortality Bill	424
F O R E I G N H I S T O R Y.	
Kouli Kan's progress against the G. Mogul	424
Account of the Russian armies under the Marshals Munich and Lacy	ib.
Account of the Imperial army, and of the siege of Belgrade	426
Articles of the peace between the Emperor and the Porte	428
The Emperor's declaration on publication of the peace	429
Register of Books	432

The following, with a good variety of other Books in **PHYSICK**, are sold by **W. MONRO** and **W. DRUMMOND**, in the *Parliament-close*, *Edinburgh*.

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The SCOTS Magazine.

SEPTEMBER, 1739.

PROCEEDINGS of the *Political Club*, continued from p. 356.

Servilius Priscus's speech, in the debate begun in our last, was to this effect:

Mr President, H. Pelham Esq

ALTHO' I am as fond as any Gentleman in this house can be, of receiving all possible information relating to the convention we have lately concluded with Spain, tho' I shall be glad to have that information laid before us in the most full and methodical manner; yet I cannot altogether approve of what the Hon. Gent. has been pleased to propose. And, indeed, it is because I am for having all proper information relating to that affair, and for having that information laid before us in the most natural, clear, and succinct manner, that I shall be against agreeing to some part of his proposition. I shall willingly concur with him, in ordering the petition now presented to us, to be referred to the committee who are to consider of the convention: I shall likewise concur with him, in allowing the petitioners to be heard by themselves before that committee; but, I cannot concur with him, in giving them leave to be heard by themselves or counsel; because, in the case now before us, I do not think it proper to admit either those who have already petitioned, or any of those who may hereafter petition, to be heard by counsel; and, my reasons for being of this opinion, I must beg leave to lay before you.

I have a great respect, Sir, for the learned Gentlemen of the law, and shall always be glad to hear them hold forth at our bar upon every proper occasion; but I hope they will excuse me if I say, that I do not think their manner of stating a

case, or relating facts, the most natural: I hope they will pardon me, even if I should say, that it may sometimes serve to confound, instead of instructing their hearers. Nay, as it is the custom among them to be ready to take a fee upon either side of any question, that may occur either in this house or any other court of judicature, they must make it their business to learn how to dress up a bad cause in such fine trappings, as to make it pass for a good one. Therefore, in cases where no matter of private right or property is to be disputed, I shall always be against exposing myself, or any other Gentleman in this house, to the danger of being confounded or imposed on by flowers of oratory, or by an artful manner of stating the case, either on the one side or the other; because, I can say, for my own part at least, that I am afraid, lest I should, by such means, be persuaded to think that a good cause which is really a bad one, or that a bad cause which is really a good one; and my fears, in this respect, always increase in proportion to the importance of the case in which I am to give my judgment.

After having thus shewn, Sir, the danger of admitting counsel to be heard before us, in any case where it is not absolutely necessary, I must observe, that with regard to facts, we can, in no case, suppose that counsel can give us any information, but such as they are instructed to give by those that employ them. In the present case, it is the petitioners that must instruct them what facts they are to insist on, what witnesses they are to call for proving those facts, and what may be the proper questions to be put to each witness; and, if we suppose the petitioners capable of in-

frustrating their council in all these particulars, we must suppose them capable, by themselves, of instructing this house, and of giving us all the information, as to facts, that we could expect from their council. I say, we must not only suppose them capable of doing it, but I am convinced they will do it, in a more natural and succinct manner, than the learned barristers usually do. Facts, Sir, are plain things; they may be disguised, but they cannot be clear'd up by eloquence: therefore, in all cases where nothing but facts are to be enquir'd into, the more numerous the assembly is that is to judge of them, the more danger there is in allowing them to be stated or summed up by those whose profession it is to be eloquent; and, for this reason, I think we ought, in the present case, to have all those facts, that may be necessary to be laid before us, stated in the most plain and natural dress, which we may expect from the petitioners themselves, but cannot from their counsils.

Then, Sir, as to points of right or law, I do not think it possible that any such can arise with regard to the convention. As to those the Hon. Gent. has been pleas'd to mention, I do not think that any one of them will be disputed in this house. Surely, no Gentleman in this house will say, that the Spaniards have a right to search any British ship upon the high seas: Nor do I believe that any Gentleman in this house will deny the importance of our plantation trade, or that it will be expos'd to great dangers and inconveniencies, in case the Spaniards should be allowed to search our ships sailing on the high seas, upon any pretext, or under any restrictions. And, as to the point, Whether we can be supposed to have admitted, in any degree, of such a search, by referring all matters in dispute between the two nations to be regulated by Plenipotentiaries? it is a point, in which, I think, there can be no question: I am sure no Gentleman in this house will say, that from such a reference any such thing can be supposed. If a man should claim 1000 l. of me, may not I submit to hear his reasons, and examine his vouchers, tho' I know I owe

him nothing? Does this submission show any acknowledgment in me, that that sum, or any other sum, is really due? So far otherwise, Sir, that I should think myself bound in charity to confer with him upon the subject, to the end that I might have an opportunity to convince him of the unreasonableness of his demand, or falshood of his vouchers, and thereby prevent his being induc'd to ruin himself, by commencing an unjust law-suit against me. This, I say, I should think myself bound in charity to do, especially if that neighbour and I were in such circumstances as made it our mutual interest to cultivate a mutual friendship; and that this is the case between Spain and us, I believe no Gentleman will deny. This, Sir, is all we have done, with regard to the present disputes between Spain and us: we have agreed to hear what they have to say, for no other end but to convince them that there is not the least foundation for the claims they have lately set up; and this we have done out of charity to them, as well as out of regard to our own interest, in order to prevent an open rupture between two nations, whose mutual interest it is to live in mutual friendship. By the reference we have agreed to, we cannot be supposed to have given up, or in the least invalidated, any of our rights or privileges. We cannot be supposed to have admitted, in any degree, of any of their claims: at least no such supposition can be made by any, but those who have a mind to suppose so, only for the sake of finding fault with the convention.

This nation, thank God! Sir, is far from being in any unfortunate situation. I hope it never will be reduced to the fatal necessity of giving up any of its valuable rights or privileges, for the sake of peace. I hope no man has any influence in his Majesty's councils, that for any selfish consideration would advise him to do so. I am sure his Majesty would reject such advice with the utmost disdain; and therefore, no man, if he were wicked enough, will be bold enough, to give it. But there are some persons in the nation, tho' none in this house, who are enemies to his Majesty and his family; and as such

Such persons place all their hopes in insurrections and invasions, they endeavour to make the world believe, that this nation is reduced to the lowest and most contemptible condition: by which they hope to serve a double purpose; for, at the same time, that it contributes towards rendering our own people dissatisfied, they think it will encourage foreigners to invade us, or to provoke us to war, by refusing to do us justice. This may have some effect upon some ignorant and unthinking people, but no man of sense can be so imposed on; and it is now, I hope it will always be, in our power, as soon as we think it necessary, to make our enemies sensible, that our forbearance proceeded from our wisdom, and not from our weakness or pusillanimity.

From what I have said, Sir, it will appear, that none of those points of right that have been mentioned can come to be disputed in this house; and surely, we have no occasion to hear counsel as to points of right which no man will contest. But now, suppose they were all to be contested, even in that case, we could have no occasion to take up our time with hearing counsel. All the points that have been mention'd, and all the points of right that can come before us upon the present occasion, are of a publick nature; and, with respect to matters of publick right, there are many Gentlemen in this house that understand them better, and can explain them more fully and clearly than any lawyer, whose time is chiefly employ'd in studying the municipal laws of his country. I believe there is not a Gentleman in this house but would chuse, I am sure I would chuse to hear the Hon. Gent. himself upon such a subject, rather than any lawyer in the kingdom. It is in matters of private right or property only, where the hearing of counsel can be of any advantage to us; because, as such matters are generally more perplexed than matters of a publick concern, Gentlemen who do not make it their particular study, cannot be supposed to know all the laws and customs that may relate to them, or the precedents

by which they ought to be regulated.

In such cases, Sir, in all cases where the private right or property of any man in the kingdom is to be affected, by any thing that is to pass in this house, I know it is usual to admit the petitioners to be heard by their counsel; but I know no instance where counsel have been admitted, in any case, where national rights or privileges only could be said to be affected. I am far from thinking that any national right or privilege can be in the least affected by our late convention with Spain; but, if this were that case, I think it would be a bad precedent to admit counsel to be heard upon such an occasion. I know the subject has a right to petition, even upon such occasions: I shall always be, not only for preserving that right, but for encouraging the practice. But, in all cases, we have a right to hear them or not, as we see cause; and, in matters of a publick concern, we seldom hear them even by themselves. In money bills we never do: in such bills it is almost a general rule, not so much as to receive petitions against such bills; and it would be extremely inconvenient to introduce the practice of hearing counsel, in cases of a publick nature. If such a practice should become frequent, our sessions of parliament would become not only annual, but continual. We would be obliged to sit from one year's end to the other; in which case, it would become necessary to revive the ancient custom of paying wages to our parliament men; and, as money is now of much less value than it was when that custom prevailed, it would likewise become necessary to increase those wages, which would be a new and heavy charge upon all the counties, cities, and boroughs in the kingdom.

Whoever therefore may be the parties, plaintiff and defendant, when we come to take this convention into our consideration, it must, I think, Sir, appear to be a precedent of a very dangerous nature, to admit the petitioners against it, to be heard by their counsel. For my own part, I am far from think-

ing, that the whole body of our merchants, planters, and seamen, will appear as plaintiffs against it. What means may have been used for spiriting up petitions against it, I shall not pretend to determine; but, I believe, if any means had been made use of for spiriting up petitions in its favour, we should have had as many petitions of the one side as of the other; for, I cannot but think, that the greatest part of our merchants, planters, and seamen, will always be for preserving peace, if possible. And as to those who were concerned in negotiating this treaty, I believe they think it stands in no need of counsel for its justification: I believe, they think it will speak sufficiently for itself; therefore, I believe, they will not desire to have it recommended by the arts of eloquence: And, as I think the admitting of counsel to be heard against it, is not only unnecessary, but in several respects dangerous; as I think it would be taking up a great deal of our time to very little purpose: I shall therefore conclude, with moving for an amendment to the Hon. Gent.'s motion; which is, That the word *either*, and the words *or counsel*, may be left out of the question.

Sir William N. the Ham
The speech of M. Furius Camillus was in substance thus.

Mr President,

I Am glad to find that the Hon. Gent. who spoke last is for shewing some sort of regard to the petition now before us. I confess, I had some apprehensions that this petition would have been treated as the petition of the city of London against the late famous excise scheme was treated, that you would only have ordered it to lie upon the table; because, I am convinc'd the petitioners, if they are allowed to be heard, either by themselves or counsel, will be able to make out all they have alledged, and more than they have alledged in their petition. For this reason, I say, I was afraid that some Gentlemen would have been as much against any person's being heard against this scheme of a peace, as they were against any person's being heard against this

scheme of an excise: and, as this would have been shewing such a disregard to the merchants and trade of our country, as would, in my opinion, have been inconsistent with the honour of this house; therefore, for the sake of the honour and character of this parliament, I am glad to find, we are like to shew a greater regard to the petition of our merchants against the scheme now before us, than was shewed by the last parliament to the petition of the city of London against the scheme I have mentioned: and, for the same reason, since the Hon. Gent. is willing to shew some regard to the petitioners upon this occasion, I hope he will, at last, agree, that we should shew them all possible regard, by allowing them to be heard either by themselves or counsel.

But, for my own part, Sir, I must say, that I am quite indifferent whether you admit them to be heard by their counsel or no. I should be extremely easy, even if you should refuse to hear them either by themselves or counsel; for, with respect to this scheme of peace, this convention which is now before us, I do not think I stand in need of any information the petitioners can give, for assisting me to form a right opinion of it. As treaty-making could never be said to be the talent of this nation, we have made many treaties that have afterwards been found to be disadvantageous; but, upon the very face of this convention, and at first view, it appears to me to be not only the most disadvantageous, but the most dishonourable treaty we ever made. Nothing, I think, can in the least excuse our agreeing to it, but our being in the most unfortunate, the most contemptible situation an independent nation was ever in; and this, I am sure, the petitioners cannot shew. If we are in such a situation, which God forbid, it is those only who made this treaty that can shew it; but, if they should tell us that this was their reason for advising his Majesty to ratify such a treaty, it is far from being an argument for our approving it. Unlucky circumstances, either at home or abroad, may be a reason for suspending our resentment; but

It can never be a sufficient reason for our agreeing to a dishonourable treaty: and, if we are in such circumstances, it is the duty of this house to enquire into the conduct of those who have brought us into such circumstances, and to punish them for their wickedness or folly; for this nation can never be brought into such circumstances, but by the extreme wickedness or folly of those who have been intrusted with the administration of our publick affairs.

This, I say, Sir, is the opinion I have already form'd: It cannot be made worse by any thing the petitioners or their counsel can say against, and I do not believe it will be made better by any thing that can be said in favour of this convention. But as some Gentlemen may not yet look upon this new treaty, or rather preliminary to a treaty, in the same light I do, and as I think it necessary we should be as unanimous as possible in an affair of so great importance, I shall be for giving as much fair play as possible both to our merchants, and to those whom I must, upon this occasion, look on as their antagonists, I mean our negotiators, and others who were concerned in cooking up this whetting morsel, which they seem to have contrived on purpose for sharpening our appetites, in order to make us digest any treaty Spain, in all her haughtiness, shall please to vouchsafe. I say, Sir, I shall be for giving both these parties as much fair play as they can desire, and therefore, I shall be for allowing the petitioners to be heard by themselves or counsel. When we have given them this liberty, they may then chuse which they think best, and as they know their own abilities, and the several matters they have to lay before us, much better than we can pretend to, they are certainly better judges than this house can be, whether it will be necessary for them to have counsel; for unless they think it absolutely necessary for them to employ counsel, we may depend on't they'll save themselves the expense.

I am sorry to find, Sir, that those who are against this question, should think it necessary, upon this occasion, to throw

out any thing that may look like a reflection upon the learned Gentlemen at the bar. As they are not to set themselves up as judges in any case they are employed in, it is their business, it is even their duty, where no palpable fraud appears, to state their client's case in the fairest light they can; and if, upon one side of the question the case be design'dly put in a confused, or in a false or deceitful light, or if any sophistical arguments be made use of, it is the business of those who are employed on the other side to state the case in a clear light, to expose the falshood or deceit, and to shew the sophistry of the arguments made use of by their antagonists. This renders it almost impossible for the judges, or indeed for any hearer, to be deceived or imposed on by the art of the speaker, upon either side of the questions because the speakers upon both are supposed to be, and generally are, pretty equally masters of their business: and therefore, the admitting of counsel to be heard in any case, either of a publick or private nature, can never be of the least dangerous consequence; but on the contrary, must always be of great use for giving the judges a clear and distinct notion of the case in which they are to give judgment, and of the arguments that may be made use of on both sides of the question.

Sir, if the argument the Hon. Gents. has been pleased to make use of against hearing counsel upon this occasion, were of any weight, it would be an argument against hearing counsel upon any occasion whatsoever, or in any case, either of a publick or private nature; for we ought certainly to be as cautious of allowing ourselves to be imposed on or artfully misled in the latter as in the former. Even the judges of our courts of law and equity ought to be afraid of hearing counsel in any case that comes before them. In short, we ought to treat barristers at law as we do conjurers: We ought to make it penal for any man to study or profess that art, which we call the art of elocution. In this case what would be the consequence? Every man must necessarily plead his

own cause: and if none but parties were to be heard, they would be often unequally matched; for as one man may be naturally more eloquent than another, and more accustomed to speak before a publick assembly, not only this house, but every court in the kingdom, would be more liable to be imposed on, by hearing parties by themselves only, than by hearing them by their counsel; because there might be a great deal of natural eloquence, and perhaps assurance, of one side, and nothing but confusion and bashfulness on the other. Therefore, in every case of importance, whether of a publick or private nature, it seems to be absolutely necessary to admit parties to be heard, rather by their counsel than by themselves.

As the Gentlemen at the bar, Sir, are never, in any case which they plead, to give their judgment or their vote, they may therefore lawfully, honestly, and honourably take a fee for pleading any cause they undertake; but where a man is to give his judgment or his vote, I am sure every Gentleman in this house will agree with me, that it is neither honourable, honest, nor lawful to take a fee, or any other reward, either for speaking or voting. He ought not so much as to accept of a favour, or a present, from either of the parties concern'd in the case in which he is to give his vote or judgment. Nay, in such cases, if a man has any particular attachment to one side more than the other, he ought not to look upon himself as an impartial judge in that affair; for which reason, he ought to avoid giving his opinion. In all cases therefore, where there are two parties concerned, Gentlemen ought to examine themselves strictly before they venture to give their judgment or their vote upon either side of the question; for tho' the heart cannot perhaps be corrupted, the judgment may be misled, by favours received, or by personal attachments.

Having thus shewn, Sir, that the Gentlemen, called Barristers at law, are neither useless nor dangerous, and that they may be admitted to be heard in every case that comes before us, without our

running the least risk of being imposed on by their eloquence; I must now take some notice of the other arguments made use of against admitting them to be heard, in the case now before us. As to facts, Sir, I shall allow they are plain things; more plain perhaps than some people desire. They are so plain, that I do not find they can be disguised by all the mercenary eloquence in the kingdom. But, as plain as they are, it requires some art, some practice, to state them in their proper light, especially where they are numerous and of various kinds. With respect to facts, we know that true eloquence consists in relating what are necessary, and no more than what are necessary; therefore, for saving time, we ought to admit the petitioners to be heard rather by their counsel than by themselves: for as some of them are practised in the art of speaking, they may forget, or omit, to give us an account of some of the most material facts, and dwell upon others that are nothing to the purpose; so that a great deal of our time may be taken up in hearing a prolix account of facts that are of no great signification, and yet at the end we may have but a very lame account of those facts which are the most material. Counsel 'tis true, must have instructions from those that employ them: they must, from their clients, have an account of the facts that may be proved, and of the witnesses that can prove them; but in the course of the examination some material facts may be hinted at, which the petitioners did not before know of. If counsel were present at the bar, they would immediately lay hold of such hints, and by putting proper questions might have them fully explained: whereas, otherwise, such hints may probably pass unobserved, and by that means some of the most material facts may remain in obscurity. From whence we may see, that it is not always from the client that the counsel are to learn what may be the proper questions to be put to each witness. The client may in general say, that such a witness is to be examined as to such a point; but it is the counsel that must think

think of the proper questions to be put to him, in order to make him give an account of all he knows relating to that point; and those questions cannot so much as be thought of, but in the course of the examination; which no man can be supposed so capable of, as those who are daily conversant in such affairs.

Thus, Sir, it appears that, with regard to facts, if we admit the petitioners to be heard by themselves only, we may probably have a great deal more of our time taken up, than if we were to admit them to be heard by their counsel; and that we cannot expect so full and distinct an account of all the material facts, as we ought to have in an assembly of so great importance. As we shall probably have a great many petitions besides this now before us; as every one of those petitions may complain of some particular point that affects them only, the examination of witnesses will last for several days, and must relate to points of a very different nature. In such a case, can we suppose that any Gentleman, who has never made it his business, will be able to sum up the evidence? Let every Gentleman of this house apply the case to himself: Let him lay his hand upon his heart and declare, whether he thinks he would be able to sum up the evidence, notwithstanding his being acquainted with, and perhaps accustomed to speak in this assembly. What then can he expect from any Gentleman that never was of this house, nor ever before perhaps spoke before any publick assembly?

Now, Sir, as to matters of right or property, the Hon. Gent. endeavoured first to shew, that no such matter could come to be disputed before us. Sir, I believe the rights of this nation, that have been lately disputed by Spain, will not be in the least controverted before us. No man will dare to stand up in this assembly, and deny any one of those rights, that Spain has been lately allowed to dispute with us. It was inconsistent with the honour of the nation to allow them to be disputed in any negotiation. That of a free navigation upon the open seas, is a right so plain and e-

vident, and of such consequence, that we ought to have broke off all manner of negotiation, as soon as the Spaniards pretended to deny it; and since they had pretended to set up a claim that was inconsistent with this right, we ought never to have renewed our negotiations with them, till they had previously relinquished that unjust claim, and expressly acknowledged our right. Whereas it now appears, that we have not only negotiated, but have treated without any such relinquishment or acknowledgment: nay, we have expressly by this treaty, referred it, amongst others, to be regulated.

What the meaning of this reference may be, Sir, what interpretation may be put upon it, is a matter of right that must be enquired into, before we approve of this treaty. It is not what meaning may be put upon it by this house, or by any Gentleman in this house, that we are to enquire into; It is what meaning may be put upon it by Spain, or by foreigners; for if the court of Spain, or any foreign court whatever, can suppose, that by this reference we have in any degree admitted of those claims the Spaniards have lately set up against us, it will with them bring the nation into contempt; and surely the parliament of G. Britain is not to approve of a treaty that will bring G. Britain into contempt, at any court in Europe. It is not, Sir, because I have a mind to find fault with this treaty, that I suppose this reference will be interpreted as an admission of the most dangerous claim Spain has set up against us; it is because I think such a reference cannot be otherwise interpreted, that I must find fault with this treaty. Spain pretends to a right to search our ships upon the open seas, and to confiscate the ship and cargo, if one shilling's worth of any goods be found on board, which they may please to call the produce or manufacture of their plantations. This right, among the rest, we have referred to be regulated. Is not this acknowledging the right? Is it possible to regulate a right that never was in being? Let us put the case the other way. We pretend, and

most justly pretend, to a free navigation in the open seas. Formerly we pretended to a dominion over the seas; but now we are reduced to pretend only to what every independent state has a right to by the law of nations; and even this right we have, by this treaty, referred to be regulated by Spanish Plenipotentiaries. Is not this the greatest indignity that ever an independent nation submitted to? Shall we allow Spain to prescribe rules to the freedom of our navigation in the open seas? If we should now say we cannot admit of any such thing, Spain may justly reply, You have already admitted it by your preliminary articles; the only thing the Plenipotentiaries have to do, is, to settle and agree upon those rules which we are to prescribe.

If any man should claim of me, Sir, 1000 l. which I knew he had not the least pretence for, I should, perhaps, out of charity, vouchsafe to hear what he could say in justification of his claim; but I should think myself a madman, if, to avoid a law-suit, I should submit such a claim to arbitration. We have heard the reasons alledged by Spain, for every one of the unjust claims they have lately set up against us. We have had the patience to hear them over and over again, during the long course of our negotiations. We ought, I am sure we could, and I hope we have shewn them, that there is no weight in any of the reasons they have alledged, nor the least foundation for any one of the claims they have set up. This we might have done for once, without doing ourselves any notable injury; but we negotiated too long, and now at last, by this treaty, we have submitted all the unjust claims they have set up against us to arbitration. They must have been convinced long before now, that they had no reasonable pretence for refusing to do us justice; but, if they were not, can we hope that they will be more tractable, or less obstinate, in conferring, than we have already found them in negotiating? Can we expect that the arguments of Mr Keene the Plenipotentiary, will have greater weight

than the same arguments had when urged by Mr Keene the Envoy? No, Sir; they will not now admit him to say, You have no right to search our ships upon the open seas, under any pretence whatsoever: They will tell him, You have already, by the preliminary convention, admitted our right; your only business now is, to propose to our Plenipotentiaries such regulations as may make our right of searching as little hurtful to your trade as possible. That is what I am convinced the Spaniards will say; and whether or no they may have a right, from the words of that treaty, to say so, is a question of right, which we ought to hear argued by counsel, before we pass judgment upon that convention. If there be the least pretence for their saying so, they have already got a great advantage over us, by his Majesty's ratification; but they will get a much greater, by the parliament's approbation of that treaty, which furnished them with such a pretence.

I am glad to hear, Sir, from the Hon. Gent. that the nation is far from being in any unfortunate situation; because, he ought to know, and I am convinced he never speaks contrary to what he thinks: but, whatever we may think, or say within doors, I'm afraid a very different opinion generally prevails without doors. The people do not judge from what they hear, but from what they see and feel. They have felt themselves insulted, plundered, and even cruelly used, by the Spaniards: They have, as yet, felt no reparation, nor do they know of any vengeance that has been taken. On the contrary, it is well known, both abroad and at home, that we have tamely submitted to repeated insults and depredations for many years. We have submitted so long, that the Spaniards seem to think they have acquired a right by prescription, to plunder our merchants, and abuse our seamen, as often as they have a mind. From our suffering such injuries and indignities to pass unpunished, not only our own people, but every foreigner that hears of it, may have some reason to conclude, that the nation is in

weak and contemptible condition, or that some of those, that have an influence in our councils, are swayed by motives inconsistent with the honour and interest of their country. It is not from the reports of his Majesty's enemies, but from the conduct of his Majesty's ministers, that people form their judgment; and therefore, if there be any one, either at home or abroad, that supposes this nation to be in an unfortunate situation, it must be imputed to his Majesty's ministers, who, in this respect might, indeed, be justly called his Majesty's greatest and most dangerous enemies.

In the case now before us, Sir, we ought to consider rather what the people without doors may think, or what foreign nations may think, than what any particular Gentleman of this house may think of our present situation. From our past conduct, I am afraid, foreign nations have already begun to form a very unfavourable opinion of our circumstances; but, if they should see a treaty approved of by parliament, containing any words that can be interpreted as an admission of a right, which no independent nation ever submitted to, they must form a most contemptible opinion of us, and certainly will treat us accordingly. Therefore, I think, it is absolutely necessary for us to hear counsel, upon what may be thought to be the import of that general reference, which seems to be the chief article of this treaty.

I do not question, Sir, but that there are several Gentlemen in this house, who are pretty well acquainted with the law of nations, and the nature of treaties: I have one in my eye, who must be allowed to be a great master in this way; for tho' he never made it his profession, he is well known to have had great practice; and, I make no doubt of our having his assistance, when this treaty comes to be explained. But no Gentleman, who never made this study his profession, can be supposed to be so well acquainted with it, as those that do. In one of our courts of justice, I mean our court of admiralty, we know that the

barristers or advocates are obliged to make this study their particular profession; and as our other barristers may happen to be employed in appeals from that court, most of them are obliged to make themselves thorough masters of the law of nature and nations, especially with regard to maritime affairs. Therefore, when an important question of any such nature is like to come before us, it must always be of great use to hear counsel before we give our opinion upon the question.

In any such case, Sir, our admitting counsel to be heard, can never be a dangerous precedent. If it were established as a general rule, it could be attended with no bad consequence; because such cases but rarely occur. But, if they were much more frequent, it would be no argument against our doing our duty, which is, in all cases, to endeavour to be thoroughly informed, before we give our opinion. If this should prolong our sessions of parliament, and if the length of our sessions should make it necessary to revive the ancient custom of paying wages to our parliament men, I cannot think that either would be a loss to the nation, or an innovation of our constitution. The last would certainly be an advantage, because it would make our little boroughs do as many of them have formerly done: it would make them petition for being freed from the burthen of sending burgesses to parliament; and if no little borough in the kingdom sent a member to this house, it would, in my opinion, be an advantage to the nation, and an improvement of our constitution; because the people would be much more equally represented.

But now, Sir, suppose it were allowed to be an established rule in our proceedings, never to admit counsel to be heard in any case, where no private right or property is concerned; yet this could be no argument against our admitting counsel to be heard with regard to this convention: for, if we are ever to admit counsel to be heard in any case, that may relate to matters of private right or property, they ought to be admitted to be heard in this; because it

must

must be granted, that the private property of great numbers of his Majesty's subjects is deeply concerned. The claims of our merchants, the property they have been robb'd of, amounts to above 400,000 l. The very petitioners now before us have a great share in this property; and shall we say, their private property is no way concerned, when that whole claim is to be given up for 95,000 l. ? Can a man's private property be said to be no way concerned, when he finds himself in danger of being obliged, by authority of parliament, to accept of less than 5 s. in the pound, from a debtor who does not so much as pretend to be a bankrupt or insolvent ?

The people of Georgia and Carolina, Sir, have a property in the lands they possess, founded upon what ought to be held one of the most sacred rights in the world, the King's grant, and their own industry; and can their property be said to be no way concerned, when limits are to be settled, by which some of them must, and, for what they or we know, all of them may be stript of their possessions. I say, Sir, some of them must, and all of them may; for if we happen to be infected with the same complainant humour, when we conclude the definitive treaty, with which we seem to have been infected when we concluded the preliminary articles, I do not know but the whole, or a great part of South Carolina may be made a present of, for keeping the Spaniards in good humour. At least, some of the southern parts of Georgia, must be given up; for it would have been ridiculous in us to refer the limits between the Spaniards and us in Florida to be settled by Plenipotentiaries, if at the same time we had been resolv'd not to part with an inch of what we then pretended to.

The S. S. company, Sir, have a right and property in the Asiento contract; a property that would have been of great value to them, as well as to the nation, if we had taken care to resent, in a proper manner, every invasion that was made upon it. Can it then be said, that the private property of the S. S. company is no way concerned in a treaty,

when, by the fundamental article of that treaty, I mean the King of Spain's declaration, agreed upon with reciprocal access, we have, in some measure, acknowledged his right to suspend the Asiento contract, unless that company subjects herself to pay, within a short term, a large sum of money, which he has no good right to demand, and which, tho' he had, he ought to allow in part payment of a much greater sum due by him to them ?

Sir, the private property of the S. S. company must be so deeply concerned in any question that can come before us relating to this convention, and has, in my opinion, been so greatly injured by our receiving or agreeing to this declaration, that I am surpris'd they were not the first to petition against the convention. I know of no means that have been made use of, either publick or private, for spiriting up petitions against it, except that of its being printed and published: I believe there was no occasion for making use of any other means. But, if the S. S. company do not petition against it, I shall be convinc'd that some underhand means have been made use of for preventing such petitions; and from thence I shall be apt to suspect, that if it had been possible to procure any one petition in its favour, no proper means would have been wanting.

But, Sir, whatever means may have been made use of for spiriting up petitions, either for or against this convention, I think I have made it appear, that the private property of a great many of his Majesty's subjects must be concerned in any question that can come before us relating to it: I think it is evident, that the private property of those, whose petition we have now before us, must be deeply concerned; and therefore, if counsil are ever to be heard in any case, where private property is concerned, they ought to be heard without we come to take this convention into our consideration. For which reason, I shall be for agreeing to the motion without any amendment.

The next speech was that of T. Quintin Capitulinus, to the effect as follows.

Mr President, *L. Talbot*

THO' I am far from thinking it dangerous to hear counsel upon any case whatever, yet I cannot think it is always necessary; and in parliamentary affairs, when it is not absolutely necessary, I must think it ought not to be allowed; because, by so doing, we take up a great deal of our time, and lay those who have business before us under a temptation, at least, of putting themselves to expence to no purpose. This, Sir, is far from being a new opinion, or a new way of thinking; for, however necessary we may now think it, to hear counsel in every case that comes before parliament, or before our courts of justice, it was not thought so of old: so far otherwise, that by the common law of England, neither the plaintiff nor defendant, in any of our courts of justice, could appear by his attorney, without the King's special licence signified to the court, by his writ or letters patent: every man of old was obliged both to prosecute and defend his suit in his own person; and, on this custom, the learned Coke observes, that it made law-suits less frequent, which I believe was no loss to the kingdom in general, whatever inconvenience it might be to particular persons.

However, Sir, whether the modern practice of admitting every man that pleases to appear by his attorney, and hearing counsel almost upon every case that occurs, be more for the benefit of the nation, I shall not now take upon me to determine. Only, so far, I think, I may say upon the present occasion, that it would be very unadvisable to introduce the custom of permitting every man to be heard by his counsel, that might think himself aggrieved by any regulation proposed in parliament for the public good. In some cases of an extraordinary nature, this perhaps has been allowed; but it cannot yet be said to be an established custom; and I hope it never will. In cases where the rights and properties of private men appear to be concerned, it may sometimes be necessa-

ry to hear counsel; but even with regard to such cases, the Hon. Gent. who have spoke upon the other side of the question, seem to be in a mistake. They seem to think, that in all such cases we ought to allow parties to be heard by themselves or counsel, which is far from being a rule, nor ought it ever to be admitted as a rule in our proceedings. Even in such cases, we ought to distinguish between those in which some nice point of law may probably arise, and those in which no such point of law can come to be canvassed before us. In those cases, where not only the property of private men appears to be concerned, but where some nice point of law relating to that property may come to be disputed, it becomes necessary for us to have that point argued by counsel learned in the laws of the kingdom; and for that reason we ought, in such cases, to admit the parties, or petitioners, to be heard by themselves or counsel: but in cases where no such point can be expected to arise, notwithstanding their being such as may affect the property of some private men, it is no way necessary, nor ought we to take up our time with hearing counsel as to facts, or clear points of law, which every Gentleman in the house may comprehend as readily, and as fully, as the most learned lawyer that can be brought to plead before us.

This, I believe, Sir, will be allowed to be the case, with regard to the convention, which we are soon to have under our consideration, and against which the petitioners, now before us, have been pleaded to bring their complaint. The right or property of some private men may perhaps be affected, by any resolution we can come to upon that occasion; but no one, I think, can expect, that any difficult point of law, relating to that right or property, can come to be disputed: at least, for my own part, I expect no such thing; and therefore I must think it quite unnecessary to take up our time with hearing counsel, either for or against the convention. But if I should find myself mistaken, if in the course of our examination some point of law should arise, which may be thought proper to have explained

plained by counsel, we may then order, that the petitioners shall be heard by themselves or counsel, as to that point only.

In this way, Sir, we may save ourselves a great deal of time and trouble, and may prevent the petitioners putting themselves to a needless expence: and if this method were established as a general rule in all our proceedings, even in cases where the right or property of private men may be affected, no man could say it would be any way inconsistent with our constitution; for in criminal cases of the highest nature, in cases of felony, the prisoner is not admitted to be heard by counsel, unless upon the trial some point of law arises, and then he is to be heard by counsel as to that point only; and even in cases of high treason our constitution was the same, till it was altered by a late statute: for where the law is plain, there is certainly no occasion for counsel in any case, either before parliament or any inferior court of judicature. And as to facts, they ought to be related and explained so as to make the truth appear, by the depositions of honest and sincere witnesses, and not by the glosses that may be put upon them by ingenious and artful pleaders.

Therefore, Sir, by the ancient form of our constitution, and by what I think, for the sake of dispatch, ought to be observed as a rule in our proceedings, we have no present occasion to order the petitioners to be heard by their counsel. Nay, they themselves seem to be conscious that it ought not to be done; for they have not petitioned to be heard by themselves or counsel, they have petitioned only in general to be heard. As I have said, if in the examination any difficult point of law should arise, we may then give them leave to be heard by counsel, as to that point: but I am convinced no such point will arise: I believe no difficult point of law can arise, relating to any private right or property, that can be affected by this convention; and if any question should arise relating to matters of publick right, or the meaning of words in this or any other treaty, we have the good fortune to have several Gentlemen amongst us, that can speak

on it as fully, and as learnedly, as any counsel the petitioners can employ; and, as an addition to our good fortune in this respect, I believe, those Gentlemen will not be all of one side: I even hope they will be of different opinions, in order that we may hear the point as fully argued in that case, as we usually do in other cases of the same nature. Then, as to managing or summing up the evidence, we have the same good fortune. We have Gentlemen amongst us, that are capable of putting proper questions to the witnesses, during the examination, and summing up the evidence after the examination is finished, as any lawyer that ever appeared at our bar; and as most of these Gentlemen may probably be of the same opinion with the petitioners, and some of a contrary opinion, we may expect to have the examination well managed, and the evidence fully summed up on both sides.

I am surpris'd, Sir, any Gentlemen can imagine, that less of our time will be taken up in hearing the petitioners both by themselves and their counsel, than in hearing them by themselves only; for this is really the case. If you order them to be heard by themselves or counsel, 'tis certain, I think, they will chuse to have counsel, not because it is necessary, but because, after the counsel have opened the subject-matter of their complaint, such of them as can say any thing upon the subject, will be called as witnesses, and may, in that shape, say as much, and take up as much of your time, as if they were to be heard by themselves only. By this means, they will have the advantage of having their case twice laid before you, and in a two-fold manner, first by their counsel, and then by themselves; and therefore, I think, it is certain, they will chuse to be heard by their counsel, in case you give them leave.

But there is another reason, Sir, why, I think, they will chuse to be heard by their counsel, which, in my opinion, ought to be a strong reason with us not to hear them by counsel. 'Tis certain we have not obtained so much by this convention as some sanguine people might

might expect: 'tis certain we never did obtain so much by any treaty we have made, nor ever shall by any treaty we can make. Wise men will always give up something of what they may have reason to expect, rather than risk the whole upon the doubtful event of a war; and what they do give up, will always be in proportion to the chance that is against you. To set this chance in its proper light, the power of your enemies and your own weakness must be truly represented, without magnifying either the one or the other; but as, it is, and always will be, unpopular to talk of the strength of your enemies, or of your own weakness, therefore the popular side of the question will always be against any treaty or convention you can make; and as there is always the greatest scope for eloquence upon the popular side of any question, the petitioners will certainly chuse to have as much eloquence upon their side as possible, and for that purpose will chuse to have counsel, if we give them the liberty: but with as this ought to be a reason for not admitting them to be heard by their counsel; because we are to consider, not what is most popular, but what appears, from the present circumstances of things, to be most for the publick good. As this is certainly the duty of every member of this house, I do not believe that any Gentleman, who has the honour of being a member, will allow himself to be influenced by the eloquence either of the petitioners or their counsel; and therefore, if there were none here present but members, I believe, neither side would attempt to take up our time with their eloquence; but as there is upon all occasions a great number of persons present, besides those that have a right to be here, I am afraid, if we admit counsel, they will consider rather what they may say to the audience, than what they ought to say to the judges; and that consequently a great part of our time will be unnecessarily taken up, in hearing florid harangues upon the riches and strength of the nation, upon the courage of our people, and upon our warlike exploits in former ages.

I hope I have now shewn, Sir, that it does not yet appear to us, that it will be any way necessary for us to hear counsel upon any thing relating to the convention; and that our hearing the petitioners by themselves and counsel, which, I have shewn, will be the case, if we order them to be heard by themselves or counsel, must necessarily take up a great deal more of our time, than if we hear them by themselves only; therefore, I hope I shall be excused, if I give my vote for the amendment proposed.

Soon after this, we had two long debates in our Club upon the convention; which I shall give you a full account of, after having first given you some of the speeches made Feb. 14. with regard to the number of land forces that ought to be kept up.

L. Valerius Flaccus *quæst. post. in substantia ut sequitur:*

Mr President, Sir *John Yonge*

AS it is the business of this committee, not only to provide for the army, but to determine the number of forces that is to be kept up for the service of the ensuing year, I think it my duty to propose to you the number which I think necessary for that purpose.

It is at present, Sir, so evident, that we are in a precarious situation with regard to our affairs abroad, and that there is still, to our misfortune, subsisting amongst us, a restless and disaffected faction at home, that I should not think it necessary to say any thing in favour of the motion I am to make, if great pains had not of late been taken to persuade people, that there is no difference between a numerous standing army, kept up within the kingdom in time of peace, without consent of parliament, which can never be kept up in such a manner, but with a view to destroy our liberties; and a proper number of regular forces kept up, from year to year, by authority of parliament, for no other purpose but to preserve the tranquillity of the nation, protect us against our foreign or domestick enemies, and assist

the civil magistrate in the due execution of the laws of the kingdom.

As to the present circumstances of our affairs abroad, Sir, particularly with regard to Spain, it may be properly said, we are as yet in a state of war. The number of land forces we have kept up, and the powerful squadrons we have from time to time fitted out, have, 'tis true, prevented that nation from coming to an open rupture with us; and have, at last, compelled them to agree to a reasonable convention, for settling all differences between the two nations in an amicable manner. But that convention can be said to be no more, than a preliminary towards a future definitive treaty of peace: The principal differences between the two nations remain, as yet, to be adjusted by a future treaty; and if we keep ourselves in a proper posture of defence, I do not doubt but that they will be adjusted to our satisfaction: but it was never yet heard, that either of the parties engaged in war, began to disband their armies, as soon as the preliminary articles for a treaty of peace were agreed on. In such a case, both parties rather increase than diminish their forces, in order to convince the other, that they are ready to continue or to recommence the war, in case the preliminaries should not, in due time, be carried into execution, by an equal and solid treaty of peace. Therefore, if we duly consider the present circumstances of our affairs abroad, we must resolve to keep up the same number of land forces we had last year.

Then, as to our affairs at home, Sir, can any one say that the number of the disaffected and seditious is less than it was last year? Can any one say that they are more quiet, or less apt to take the first opportunity for raising civil wars and commotions in their native country? Sir, the many virulent, false and seditious libels, that are daily published against his Majesty and his government, are sufficient testimonies, that the disaffected are neither less numerous, nor more inclined to remain quiet, and submit to that government, which protects them in the free enjoyment of what they

possess, or can earn by their industry than they were last year. It is amazing to think, what an infinite number of infamous libels are daily, weekly, monthly, and occasionally, printed and dispersed through the whole kingdom, highly reflecting upon his Majesty, and upon every man he is pleased to employ in conducting the publick affairs of the nation. When we reflect upon it, we cannot but admire the lenity of his Majesty's government, and the patience and good nature of almost every man that has any influence upon his council. With regard to printing and publishing, no man can say, that the disaffected and seditious amongst us, have of late years kept themselves within the bounds of decency; but if it were not for the number of land forces we keep up, we could not expect that they would keep themselves within the bounds of law. They would openly, and in defiance of the civil magistrate, transgress, in the most flagrant manner, the known laws of the kingdom; because it would be impossible for any civil magistrate to put the laws in execution against them; the consequence of which would certainly be anarchy and confusion; and this would as certainly end in a dissolution of our constitution, and an establishment of arbitrary power. Of this we have a recent example but in the last century, which ought to be a warning to us, not to leave our government destitute of those means, which are necessary for supporting it against the disaffected and seditious, as well as against those who are fond of changes, and of new-modelling our constitution. Therefore, whilst there is such a faction amongst us, we ought to keep up such a number of land forces, from year to year, by authority of parliament, as may be sufficient for keeping that faction, if not within the rules of decency, at least within the bounds of law; and as that faction cannot be said to be now less numerous, or less turbulent, than they were last year, we must resolve to keep up the same number of land forces for the year ensuing.

To this I must add, Sir, that as a re-
duction.

Reduction of our army would increase the hopes of the disaffected and seditious, and consequently make them more apt to raise publick disturbances, or to join with any foreign power for that purpose, it would of course derogate from the authority, and diminish the weight of our negotiations at foreign courts, and would make such of them, as had any disputes with us, more haughty in their behaviour towards us, and more obstinate in their demands; for we could expect no regard or esteem from our foreign enemies, if our government were in so weak a condition, as not to be able to keep its domestick in awe. They would insist upon high demands, and would make no compliances, because they would expect that our government would grant them any thing, rather than come to an open rupture; and because they would suppose that, if contrary to their expectations, we should come to an open rupture, they would be able to prevent us from doing them any mischief, by giving our government enough to do to defend itself against the disaffected party at home, encouraged by the weakness of our government to rebel, and supported by the supplies, which our foreign enemies might send from time to time to their assistance.

From hence, Sir, we may see the disadvantage we would be under, by not keeping up a sufficient body of regular troops, with regard to our enemies, or such foreign states as we may have any disputes with. And with regard to allies, we could not expect to have any: for as all alliances are established upon the mutual advantage or security of the two contracting parties, and can be no longer preserved, than while that advantage or security continues mutual; what advantage or security could any state in Europe expect from this nation, if our government, so far from having any regular troops, to send to their assistance, had not a sufficient number to protect itself against domestick enemies? In such a case, 'tis certain, no foreign nation could expect any advantage or security from an alliance with this nation, and consequently would neither stipulate to

give us any assistance, nor perform any of the stipulations they have already made for that purpose; which would be an additional encouragement for those that are now our enemies, or that may hereafter become our enemies, to insult us in every part of the world.

Thus, I think, Sir, it is plain, that we must necessarily keep up a sufficient number of land forces, at least for this ensuing year; and as our circumstances are now, in every respect, the same they were last year, no less number can be supposed to be sufficient for the ensuing year, than what was deemed necessary by last session of parliament, for the service of the year now near expired. Tho' we have made a step, and I hope it will be a successful one, towards establishing a solid and lasting peace, yet it must be acknowledged, that our affairs abroad are as yet in a very uncertain situation; and as to our affairs at home, we find the libels published against the government as numerous and as virulent, and mobs and riots among the people as frequent, as they were about the beginning of last session of parliament, or, indeed, as ever they were in this or any other nation, where there was a certain form of government regularly established.

But, Sir, whatever number of land forces you may think sufficient for the ensuing year, as long as they are kept up by authority of parliament, and from year to year only, they must be widely different from a standing army, kept up without any such authority. For, as the keeping up of a standing army in time of peace, but for one day, without the consent of parliament, is of itself an invasion upon our constitution; such an army can be kept up for no other purpose but to destroy our constitution, in order to secure those who have, by so doing, made an invasion upon it, against that punishment which is due to them for transgressing the most fundamental laws of their country: whereas a sufficient number of regular troops, kept up by authority of parliament, and from year to year only, can be kept up for no other end, but to preserve our constitution; because the parliament will never

we consent to the keeping up of a greater number than is sufficient for that purpose; nor will they consent to the keeping up of any number longer, than it appears absolutely necessary for preserving the constitution, and defending us against our foreign and domestick enemies.

For these reasons, Sir, I must think the least number we can propose to keep up for the ensuing year, for guards and garrisons in G. Britain, and for Guernsey and Jersey, must be (including 1819 invalids, and 555 men, which the six independent companies consist of for the service of the Highlands) 17,704 men, commission and non-commission officers included.

Wm Shippen Esq.
 E. Quintius Cincinnatus's speech, which I shall give you next, was to this purport.

Mr President,
 I must say, I am not a little surpris'd at the motion I have now heard made to you. When the preliminary convention between this nation and Spain was laid before us, I perus'd it with great attention, in order to see what advantages we had got by it; and when I could find no one advantage we had got, with regard to the disputes between the two nations, I concluded that our ministers had got some private assurances from Spain, that all would be set right in a short time, by a definitive treaty of peace, and that they had in the meantime agreed to this preliminary treaty, and a suspension of arms, with a view to save ourselves some expence by a reduction of our land forces.

Spain has, 'tis true, Sir, for many years, been in a state of war against this nation, tho' we have never actually committed any real hostility against them. But after the moving application that was made last year to parliament, after the strong resolutions both houses then came to, and after the expensive preparations we made last summer, I did imagine, that we were, at last, resolv'd to begin hostilities in our turn; and when I heard that a treaty was on foot, I concluded that Spain had been so wise as to apply to us for a suspension of hostilities, and

for that purpose, had propos'd to make such concessions, by preliminary articles, as might serve for the basis of a solid and honourable treaty of peace.

In treaty-making, Sir, it is usual to leave such articles as require a long discussion, to be settled afterwards by commissioners; but preliminaries to a treaty, between two contending nations, never concluded, at least, they are seldom formally and solemnly agreed on, except when one of the parties is afraid of suffering by an open rupture, or by a continuance of the war. When this is the case, the party in danger applies for having a suspension of arms upon certain preliminaries, and generally offers upon some pledge, as a security for their performance of such preliminaries as shall be agreed on. Most of us remember that the treaty of Utrecht was provided by preliminaries, and a suspension of arms between France and us; but then as we were in no danger by a continuance of the war, we would agree to nothing, till France put Dunkirk into our hands, as a pledge for her performance of the preliminaries. This, I say, is the method of treaty-making at the time of the treaty of Utrecht, and I live to leave, for all ages before that time; but what has been our method since that time, I cannot take upon me to say. So far, however, I may say, that what ever has been our method of treaty-making since that time, and God knows we have made snow of them, we have got nothing by it: for, if we have not serv'd ourselves in a sort of peace, we have made no advantage of that peace; our taxes are more numerous, and our publick debt as great, as it was at the end of the war; and, I believe, our trade is not near in such a flourishing condition as it was during the war.

Therefore, Sir, I cannot say that I am entirely depend'd upon our having observed the usual method of treaty-making; but for the sake of my country, I hoped we had: and as I could not suppose that we were in danger of being sufferers by an open rupture with Spain, I concluded, that by this preliminary convention I heard talk'd

if they had agreed to make some general concessions with regard to the disputes between us, and to put some pledge into our hands, as a demonstration of their sincerity, which, I am sure, we never had great cause to doubt of, for almost these 10 years past.

But when I saw this convention, how really was I disappointed! Instead of their making concessions to us, we have made, I think, most dangerous, I shall not say dishonourable, concessions to them, and have got nothing in return, not so much as a suspension of their real hostilities. Instead of their giving us a pledge, we have given one to them, by agreeing that things shall remain in Florida and Carolina in the situation they are in at present, without increasing the fortifications there, or making any new posts. In short, Sir, by this convention, Spain has not agreed to suspend hostilities, yet we have agreed not to provide for our defence; from whence it would seem as if we had fled to Spain for a suspension of arms upon any preliminaries they might think fit to prescribe: and yet I cannot think the nation had any reason to be afraid of an open rupture with Spain, whatever some persons amongst us may have; but, from our agreeing to such preliminaries, I must either think that there are some persons amongst us that are most awfully afraid of it, and are therefore willing to yield to any thing, rather than come to an open rupture with that nation; or I must think, as I have said, that our ministers had some private assurances of the court of Spain's being inclined to do us justice, in a short time, by a definitive treaty, and that they accepted of these preliminaries, with a view of saving something to the nation, by a reduction of our land forces for this ensuing year.

Now, Sir, as I always judge charitably, I supposed that this last was the case; and therefore, when the Hon. Gent. who made this motion, stood up, I expected an elegant panegyrick upon the wisdom of our late measures, and the great care that was taken to embrace every opportunity of saving our

penalty to the nation; for no man is more capable than he: and I expected that he would have concluded with a motion for no more than 12,000 men for the ensuing year, as an earnest of the benefits we are to reap by this new convention, and as a proof of the assurance the Hon. Gent.'s friends have of the just and good inclinations his Catholic Majesty has towards this nation. This, I say, was what I expected; but how much was I surpris'd, when I heard him begin to argue for the same number of land forces that were voted last year, at a time when every man, at least every man that was not in the secret, imagin'd we were upon the brink of a furious war!

If we have no dependence upon this treaty, Sir, why was it made? For 'tis impossible, since the time it was ratified, we could have had cause to alter our sentiments. If we have a dependence upon it, why not make the proper advantage of it, by lessening the publick expence? Every one knows that our land forces have no influence upon the councils of Spain: It is our naval force they are afraid of: That we have already reduc'd: and therefore, if it be said that Spain must be frighten'd into a performance, as well as they were frighten'd into the treaty, we have begun at the wrong end. But I cannot have such an opinion of such a wise administration: From the reduction of our naval force I must conclude, that they are assur'd of Spain's being inclined to do us justice by the definitive, tho' they have done us none by the preliminary treaty; and therefore, the circumstances of our affairs abroad can be no argument for our keeping up the same number of land forces we had last year; nor can it be said, our foreign affairs are in the same situation they were the beginning of last session of parliament: We had then no preliminary treaty, nor any assurance of a satisfactory definitive treaty: Now we have both, or otherwise the Hon. Gent.'s friends have transgress'd the rule he himself has laid down; for they have already begun to disband their armies, and these armies too which are the only effectual armies against Spain, I mean our

our squadrons of men of war. Let us then follow their example: The Hon. Gent. will, I hope, admit we cannot follow a better: Let us begin to reduce our land forces.

But suppose, Sir, we were still in a precarious situation with regard to our affairs abroad, can it be thought, that our influence at foreign courts depends on the number of land forces we keep in continual pay? No, Sir; our influence depends upon the riches and numbers of our people, and not upon the number of our regular regiments, or the appearance they make at a review. We have many thousands that would make as good an appearance in the day of battle, if their country were in danger, though they are not at present masters of all the punctilio proper only for a review. We have a navy which no nation in the world can equal, far less overcome, by which we may carry the dread of this nation into every country that is visited by the ocean: And we have money, notwithstanding the bad use we have made of a long peace, to hire as many foreign troops as we can have occasion for, and to support them as long as we can have any service for them. Therefore, while we are unanimous amongst ourselves, while our government possesses the hearts and affections of the people in general, which every virtuous and wise government must necessarily do, this nation must always have great influence upon the councils of every court in Europe, nay of every court in the world, where it is necessary for us to extend our influence.

From hence we may see, Sir, that in this nation we can never have occasion for keeping up a great number, or any number, of regular troops, in order to give weight to our negotiations; and, if any power in Europe should refuse to observe or perform the treaties they have made with us, we ought not to seek for redress by negotiation: We may make a demand, but it is beneath the dignity of a powerful people to sue for justice. Upon the first refusal, or affected delay, we ought to compel them; not by keeping an army at home, which

would be ridiculous; but by sending an irresistible fleet, with an army on board, to ravage their coasts; or by getting some of their neighbours, with our assistance, to attack them: both which will always be in the power of every government of this country, that preserves their influence abroad, by preserving the affections of the people at home; and that, without keeping any number of regular troops always in pay for whilst the spirit of liberty, which is the nursing mother of courage, is preserv'd amongst our people, we shall never want a great number of brave men of all degrees, amongst us, that will be ready to venture their lives in the defence of their country; and such men may in a few weeks, be sufficiently disciplined for action, though they might not, perhaps, observe all the punctilio so exactly as a parcel of idle mercenary fellows, who have had nothing perhaps to do for seven years together but to dance through their exercises.

The keeping up of a standing army, in this nation, can never therefore be necessary, either for preserving our influence amongst our neighbours, or for punishing such of them as shall offend us; and, with respect to our own defence, as we have no frontier but the ocean, while we preserve a superiority at sea, a popular government in this country can never be under the least necessity of keeping up any land forces, especially if they would take care to have our militia tolerably armed and disciplined; for as a nation will be mad enough to invade us while we are united among ourselves, with a handful of troops, who must either all die by the sword, or be made prisoners of war, because we could, by means of our navy, prevent their being able to return. And, if any of our foreign neighbours should prepare to invade us with a great fleet and a numerous army, we would not only have time to prepare for their reception, but we might lock them up in their ports, by means of our navy, or we might give them enough to do at home, by stirring up some of their neighbours upon the continent to invade them.

Thus, it appears, Sir, that no government in this island can ever have occasion for keeping up a standing army in time of peace, unless it be to subdue the liberties of the people. This, every man in the kingdom, whose judgment is not biased by his hopes or his fears, must be sensible of; and therefore, every government that does keep up a standing army in time of peace, whether with or without the consent of parliament, must forfeit the affections of the people. Then, indeed, a standing army becomes necessary for the support of that government, not against foreigners, but against their native country; but no army, even the greatest they can keep up, will give them an influence at foreign courts, or an authority among their own people. Abroad they will be despised, at home they may be dreaded, but they will be hated; and, in that case, a small handful of foreign troops, thrown into any corner of the island, might be of the most dangerous consequence to the government, because they would be joined by the whole people, and perhaps, by a great part of the army.

To pretend, Sir, that there is still a great disaffected party amongst us, is, I am sure, no compliment to his Majesty, or to his illustrious family; and therefore I wonder to hear any Gentleman, that has the honour to serve the crown, insist upon it. There are, 'tis true, many discontented, but few or none disaffected; and the discontents that are so general amongst us, proceed from our having so long kept up a numerous standing army, and from some other measures I could mention. Change but your measures, reduce your army, put a confidence in the people, and the discontents will soon vanish, your people will put a confidence in you, and will be a better safe-guard for the government, than any army that can be kept up. Your foreign enemies will then fear you, and your friends will respect you; because the former will be afraid of that vengeance which they know you are able to pour down upon them, and the latter will depend upon that assistance which they know you are capable to give. If

any of our allies should want land forces for their assistance, we can hire as many foreign troops for their service as they may stand in need of: if we could not hire such troops, we could soon raise a body of troops within our own dominions, tho' we had not a regular standing regiment in the kingdom; and we could transport them by our fleet, wherever our allies might stand most in need of them. By our alliances, I know, we sometimes engage to send a body of troops to the assistance of our allies; but I do not remember, we ever engaged, that those troops should be all subjects of G. Britain, or that they should be such as we had kept in pay for several years preceding. Therefore we may perform our engagements to our allies, and may afford them a proper support and assistance, without keeping a standing army always in pay.

I shall grant, Sir, that the keeping up of a numerous standing army in time of peace, by authority of parliament, is not contrary to law; but I will aver, that it is contrary to, and inconsistent with our constitution. If some future venal parliament should pass a law for enabling the King to impose taxes, and raise money by proclamation, the money so raised would not be raised contrary to law, but surely it would be contrary to our constitution. To tell us, that the parliament will never consent to the keeping up of a greater number of land forces, than is sufficient for preserving the constitution; or that they will never consent to keep up any number, longer than it appears necessary for defending us against foreign or domestic enemies, is to tell us what no man can answer for. Suppose there should be a majority in each house of parliament, consisting of officers of the army, and other instruments of an administration; can we suppose that such a parliament would have any regard to the preservation of the constitution, if it should appear to be inconsistent with the preservation of the minister upon whom they depended? And suppose we had the misfortune to have, at that time, a prime minister, contemned abroad,

and hated by every man at home, except those who were his immediate tools; can we suppose that such a parliament would not give their consent to keep up a standing army, not for preserving the constitution, but for preserving the minister, by destroying the constitution?

Sir, a numerous standing army, kept up by authority of parliament, is more dangerous to our liberties, than such an army kept up without any such authority; because in the latter case, the people would immediately see their liberties were struck at, and would therefore take the alarm; but in the former, they would probably, by the interposition of parliament, be lulled asleep, till their fetters were riveted. This I have long endeavoured to prevent: this, while I live, I shall always endeavour to prevent; and therefore I am now for reducing the army to 12,000 men; for even that number, I think greater than is altogether consistent with the safety of our constitution. The very resolution this house comes to yearly, with respect to the number of our land forces, shews that it is. By the words of that resolution, we ought to have no marching regiments quartered up and down the country, to the oppression of our innholders, victuallers, and other publick houses, and to the debauching of the morals of all ranks of people. We ought to have none but guards and garrisons. Our guards ought never to consist of above 4000 men; and I should be glad to know where the garrisons are in G. Britain, or in Guernsey or Jersey, that require no less a number than 8000. Therefore we ought to alter the words of our resolution, or we ought to reduce our army even below 12,000. However, as other Gentlemen seem willing to allow 12,000 for the service of this ensuing year, I shall not be against that number.

George Lyttelton Esq.
Mecænas's speech, with which I shall conclude this debate, was to this effect:

Mr President,

I Am really surpris'd at the silence on one side of the house.—Sure this question is of importance enough to deserve

a debate. How great an evil soever a standing army may be, this way of treating such a question is worse; it is the highest contempt of the constitution imaginable.—Sir, if we go on thus, will people be silent out of doors too? I wish they may; for if they talk of our proceedings, they will talk in a language that won't be much for the honour of the house.

Sir, as a good deal has been said about the abuse of the press, by one of the very few Gentlemen who have deign'd to speak in this debate, I beg to be indulg'd in a few words upon that article.—A free examination of all measures of government, and of the characters of ministers, so far as their characters are inseparable from their measures, is the life of a free state. It is what no good minister will ever call an abuse of the press: it is what no good minister would desire to restrain. But attacking the private character of a minister, or magistrate, his private defects or frailties, in which the publick is not concern'd; this indeed is libellous, and this cannot be justify'd. Nor can abuse thrown out upon private persons, be excus'd in those who are the dirty tools of calumny, or in the more dirty patrons who employ and pay such tools: this, Sir, is infamous, and this should be restrain'd. But how restrain'd? By contempt, by disregard of it, by a fair and safe appeal to the candid sense of mankind; or, in very flagrant cases, by the due course of justice and law: not by strains of authority, not by star-chamber work, not by the extraordinary exercise of discretionary powers, from which the guilty and the innocent may suffer alike. This should be carefully avoid'd in a country of freedom, not for the sake of these writers, but for the sake of the constitution, for the sake of liberty, and that the law of the land may be the rule and measure of all mens security. But for God's sake, Sir, how comes the abuse of the press to be a point insist'd on in the debate of to-day? What has that to do with 18,000 men? Are our draagoons to be licensers of the press? hope they are not.

As to the uncertain situation of a fair

fairs abroad, (that, I think, was the term used by the Hon. Gent. over the way) I will say but one word.—Why have we called home our fleets? To deprive ourselves of the only means we have of hurting our enemies, by recalling our fleets upon the presumption of a peace, and then to deprive ourselves of the fruits of a peace, by keeping up our army to the number of last year, is, I confess, a policy which I do not comprehend. Is this convention, which we have concluded, something or nothing? Sir, I think it worse than nothing: but, as there are some Gentlemen who speak very highly of it, if it deserves their encomiums, I should be glad to know for what this number is ask'd? Why, to support the peace, it seems.—To support it, Sir; against whom? Not against ourselves I hope, not against the nation. If the peace be what it ought to be, we shall have no enemies, and it will support itself; If it be bad and dishonourable, to have it supported by an army, is a sad resource indeed: It is such a support as despair only could want: It is such a support as I won't imagine possible.

But Gentlemen say, it will give weight to our measures abroad.—What weight has it given? I appeal to experience. Is not the period of our keeping up this number of men the most inglorious period of the English history? Has not every year been mark'd out by some new indignity, some new dishonour, some new proof of contempt? Have we been arm'd of late to any other purpose than to make our tameness appear more ridiculous? For my own part, Sir, I must say, that were I determin'd to suffer myself to be *robbed without any resistance*, I should think it was judging very ill, to travel with arms.

Sir, with regard to disorders at home, neither what has been said by the Hon. Gent. who spoke just now, nor by another Gentleman in my eye, who enlarged much upon them, has any weight in a question, whether 18,000 men or 12,000, should be the number kept up. For, surely, 12,000 men are force enough to quell these rioters. But from

what all those Gentlemen have said, I draw a further conclusion, that for disorders of this kind, an army is not, cannot be the proper remedy, since the evil increases under it, as experience proves.—The proper remedy is, giving authority to the law; and this can only be done by right measures of government. An army may give strength to a bad administration, but a good administration only can give strength to laws; and to that we must have recourse, or these disorders will continue, tho' we should augment our troops to 50,000 men. Confirm his Majesty in the affections of his subjects, and he will want no security in his own dominions. Sir, I have seen a proof of this.—I have lately had the satisfaction to see all sort of respect from all sorts of people, paid to *two of the royal family*, when they had no guards. They could not have been safer, they could not have been respected so much, if they had been attended, in the journey they made, with all the household troops of the King of France. Sir, I saw the people clinging to the wheels of their coach, out of affection to them, to the King, and to his family. I say, I saw them clinging to the wheels of their coach.—Had there been guards about it, they must have kept further off.

As I can see no good use that can be made of these troops, and as I won't suppose that any bad one is intended, I must conclude they are kept up for ostentation alone. But is it for his Majesty's honour, to put the lustre of his crown, to put his dignity upon that, in which he may be rival'd by every petty Prince of any little state in Germany? For, I believe, there are few of them now, that can't produce at a review, an army equal to ours, both in number and show. If the greatness of a state is to be measur'd by the number of its troops, the Elector of Hanover is as great as the King of England.—But a very different estimation ought to be made of our greatness: The strength of England is its wealth and its trade: Take care of them, you will be always formidable: Lose them, you are nothing, you are the last of mankind. Were there no

other reasons for reducing the army, it should be done upon the principle of economy alone. It is a melancholy thought to reflect how much we have spent, and to how little purpose, for these sixteen years past.

Sir, could it be said, We are, indeed, loaded with debt, but for that charge we have increased our reputation, our commerce flourishes, our navigation is safe, our flag is respected, our name honour'd abroad; could this be said, there is a spirit in the people of England, would make them cheerfully bear the heaviest burdens.— On the other side, could an opposite language be held; could it be said, We have, indeed, no victories, no glory to boast of, no eclat, no dignity; we have submitted to injuries, we have born affronts, we have been forced to curb the spirit of the nation; but by acting thus, we have restored our affairs, we have paid our debts, we have taken off our taxes, we have put it into the power of the King and parliament, to act hereafter with more vigour and weight; could this be said, this also might be satisfactory.— But to have fail'd in *both these points* at the same time, by a conduct equally *inglorious and expensive*; to have lost the advantages both of *war and peace*; to have brought disgrace and shame upon the present times, and national beggary upon ages to come, the consequence of which may be national slavery: such a management, if such a management can be supposed, must call down national vengeance upon the guilty authors of it, whoeover they be; and the longer it has been suspended, *the more heavy it will fall.*

Sir, I beg pardon for having troubled you so long now upon a question, on which I have so often given you my poor thoughts before: the multiplicity of matter carried me further than I designed, and I have a thousand thanks to return for the indulgence shewn me.

[*This Journal to be continued.*]

From COMMON SENSE, Sept. 22.
Of some mal-practices of Sea-officers.

MY military friends must forgive me when I say, that a numerous

standing army, in time of peace, is contrary to our constitution, and inconsistent with the liberties of a free people: However burdensome to the publick an expensive (I may say useless navy) has sometimes been, the same danger is not to be apprehended from it, which may be expected from a modelled army; yet, I hope, before the supplies for the sea service of next year are granted, we shall know to what good ends and purposes the immense sums expended this year have been employed; and I wish this consideration may produce an enquiry into the conduct of the sea officers, who were sent to Guinea, the West India, the coast of Ireland, &c. nor will, I hope, the ridiculous farce called a *court martial* held upon the offenders, prevent a proper enquiry elsewhere.

There is another thing loudly complain'd of in the navy officers, which is a very great hardship upon merchants trading to Africa, in particular, *viz.*

A man of war or two being sent yearly to the coast of Guinea for the protection of that trade, the Captains (who are generally favourites) not only load the King's ships with all sorts of goods fit for the coast (directly contrary to their instructions) but sometimes likewise hire another vessel for that purpose, which is victualled and manned out of the men of war: As these navy traders are neither at the expence of mens wages, or provisions, they are enabled to undersell all fair traders who come upon the coast; nor can any merchant sell an ounce of goods, unless to loss, till those Gentlemen have first disposed of their cargoes. Neither the grievance to the merchant, nor the abuse to the publick end here; for, as the ships of war are always ordered from the coast of Guinea to some of the West India islands, the Captains constantly carry from that coast a number of slaves; who have names given them, by which they are enter'd upon the ship's books, in the room of such men as may have died upon the voyage, (which are generally not a few) by which means the Captains get both wages and provisions for these slaves, and are thus enabled to undersell the fair trader.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

AN EVENING at VAUX-HALL.

[Continued from p. 364.]

The Last Hour.

S I R,

London, July 31.

THE chief part of the company having seated themselves in the arbours, five hundred separate suppers are served in an instant: and as a proper judgment of this entertainment cannot be fully formed without a knowledge of the expence attending it, it may be necessary to inform you, that the prices of provisions are printed, and fixed up in several parts of the gardens, to prevent the guests from being imposed upon by the waiters; each of whom has a number painted upon a small tin plate, and fastned to his breast, on the out-side of his coat, and a certain number of tables committed to his charge, being obliged to pay at the bar for every thing as he has it.—The price of a bottle of French claret is 5 s. of one cold chicken 2 s. 6 d. quart of cyder 1 s. quart of small-beer 4 d. slice of bread 2 d. of cheese 4 d. and every thing else in proportion, which raises an elegant collation to a high rate.—But that is not much thought of here; the musick plays, the Ladies look pleased, and the Gentlemen forget the expence, by having their minds busied upon thoughts more delightful.

Glass candlesticks with wax lights are mostly used; and, with the addition of the China dishes, plates, &c. in which every thing is served up, greatly increase the beauty and elegance of the cover'd tables.—I must confess when this custom of supping before the publick first came in fashion, I was far from approving it: but powerful use has familiarized it; and we are now no more surpris'd to behold a young Lady dissect a pigeon, or swallow a plate of ham before three thousand people, than to see her take a pinch of snuff at church. Tarts, custards, cheese-cakes, &c. are supplied the younger company in great perfection; and, with the power of a few glasses of wine, the men grow more

complaisant and not less amorous, the Ladies lose some of the constraint under which their eyes before laboured, and a cheerful freedom spreads itself through the place.

The night grows cold, and towards the close of the entertainment some of the best pieces of musick are performed with the utmost skill and care, in order to leave the stronger impression upon the audience of the elegance of the entertainment. The more considerate part of the company think of getting upon the water on their return home before the crowd at the water-side is too great. When the musick ceases for the evening, the chill of the night hurries the company to the water-side, through a lane of watermen, each waiting for his passengers, who generally call by name the men who brought them thither. The throng on the edge of the water is so great, that it is with much difficulty the Ladies can be handed to their seats; the boats, by pressing all to land at a time, (the place for stepping in being scarce big enough for ten to lie conveniently, though frequently more than four hundred attend) keep one another in a continual coggling motion, and often endanger overletting; though seldom any other mischief is done beside the breaking some watermens heads, and the bottoms of boats, poles, oars, &c.—In this hurry and confusion some miss of their boats, and others rush into such as are at hand without enquiry. On these occasions words often arise, and sometimes not without just cause: for you must acknowledge it highly provoking, between 10 and 11 o'clock, at such a distance from home, to see the boat one provided to return in, cram'd full of other people, who force the watermen to leave you, without a prospect of crossing the water all night, unless by chance, for most exorbitant hire, you get some boat to give you a cast to the other side; after which, many have a mile to trudge before a coach can be got to ease the fatigue of the journey.

But to return to the stairs at *Vaux-hall*: Most of the boats being hired, it is very common to see a polite Gentle-

man begging room for a Lady, or for himself: And some young fellows with a glass extraordinary in their heads, take a pleasure in following any Lady they affect to admire, into whatever boat she enters, and, sometimes, maintain their ground sword in hand: tho' I must confess, how gallant soever such actions may appear to the fair-sex, they are too rude to be calmly approved of; especially by Gentlemen to whom these insults are offer'd, who are under a necessity either of disputing with a stranger at the hazard of every life in the boat, or of sitting to be pester'd with his impertinence to the end of their little voyage, and thereby do a real service where a tofs over-board would be more critically just.

Most of the boats have a covering over them; and the silence of the night is interrupted by nothing but the sound of a few French horns, and the tedious groanings of the oars. The Ladies now earnestly desire to reach home, and the Gentlemen find enough to do in diverting them from giving too much attention to the cold that now very sensibly seizes their tender shoulders: A song is of some use here; though it is frequently succeeded by a yawning chorus.

The landing is attended with no danger nor trouble, unless at *Wolminster* or *Whitehall* stairs, where there is sometimes a little hurry: at the others people go on shore with great deliberation, when the nights are dark, and gladly stretch their legs, which are commonly benumm'd and crippled by the shallowness of the boats used on this river.

You see, Sir, our journey to *Vaux-hall* is a human enjoyment; having fatigue enough attending it to heighten the entertainment. I was going to recommend an imitation of it near *Edinburgb*: but, perhaps your evenings are too cold, and luxury within better bounds than with us; for tho' *Vaux-hall* certainly must please most men, yet I know not whether the money laid out upon it be of proportionable use to the publick. I am,

SIR, *Your very humble servant,*

S. TOUPER.

UNIVERSAL SPECTATOR, Sep. 1. 1739.

OF all the different species of *satire* which has been invented to expose and correct the vices and follies of mankind, I cannot but think that of *Lacine*, notwithstanding the objections which have been made to his writings, very agreeable and instructive. By giving a supposition to the *Elysian* fields of the ancients, and the notions they entertain'd of the converse and affections of the dead, there is a pleasant opportunity to censure the errors of the living. From this hint several modern authors have made use of the *Heathen* mythology, and have with much humour and raillery reprehended the foibles and passions of human nature. Nor have subjects of a serious kind been thought improper to be treated of in this manner: *Foutelle* and the Archbishop of *Cambray* have conveyed to the world many judicious reflections and observations under the form of dialogues of the dead; and the late pious Mrs *Roue* instructed and entertained the publick with letters from the dead to the living, and the living to the dead. After having mentioned such authority, I shall make no other apology for inserting the following dialogue which is the performance of a young Gentleman of *Oxford*.

CHARON and MERCURY: Or,
The ELYSIAN FERRYMAN.

A dialogue after the manner of Lacine, in which several others speak.

Mercury.

Holla! — *Charon* — *Charon*, holla! — What, are you quite tir'd with ferrying over your *Turks* and *Germans*, that you make so little haste to return? — Prithee set down to your oars, and pull lustily: don't you see that I have brought you another freight?

Charon. What are you in such a hurry for? — I see well enough what sort of a freight you have brought me; a poor motley herd of common *British* ghosts. — But where the devil are those sheals of *Spaniards* which you have so long kept me in expectation of? for the *Englishmen* on the other side of *Styx* were

by my heart out to know when they are to arrive.

Mer. Faith, *Charon*, I will no longer deceive you; their arrival depends on the *politicks* of a certain island, which are at present so strange and fluctuating, that I cannot venture to say that they will arrive at all. — But, good Mr *Ferryman*, trouble not your head about *politicks*, but take in your cargo and away.

Gba. [to the *ghosts*.] Heyday! whether are you all pressing to? — Stand off; stand off: not one of you shall enter, but civilly, and according to ancient usages and customs. — What a load of *worldly affairs* have you all got about you? — But, my good *ghosts*, you must leave them all behind; my boat is in too tatter'd a condition for such a cargo. — You are the master of the ceremonies, *Mercury*; it is your duty to acquaint them of this business, and compel them in case of necessity to a performance of it.

Mer. Be not out o' humour, *Charon*: put your boat back again; and not one shall enter but according to the ancient laws of the ferry.

Lawyer's ghost. Laws of the ferry? What d'ye mean, Sir? There are no laws of any ferry, but to pay the stated rate and fare. D'ye think I don't know the acts of parliament and statutes in that case enacted and provided?

Mer. No, good Counsellor *Puzzelcase*; you blunder as much here as you used to do in *Westminster-Hall*: by a statute we have, you must pull off that gown, and appear in *puris naturalibus*.

Law. gb. What, wou'd you strip me?

Gba. Ay, ay, of that, and every other impertinence you have about you. — Bless me! what a monstrous collection of absurdities were conceal'd beneath that same gown and full-bottom'd wig!

Mer. Come, Sir, away with your tricks and your quirks; your motions, pleas, replications, rejoinders and sur-rejoinders, with those demurrers, arrests of judgment, and writs of error.

Law. gb. For pity sake leave me my writs of error, dear *Mercury*; I shall be undone if I am divested of them.

Mer. Why? of what use do you think

they can be to you on the other side *Styx*?

Law. gb. Of the utmost service: for if Judge *Minos* and the rest of the bench should give judgment against me, I would bring a writ of error, and stay proceedings.

Mer. Ha! ha! ha! None of your quibbles will serve you now. What may be of real use to you, carry freely: Take your conscience, your integrity in your opinion, your regard for justice only in your pleadings, your modesty of speech, your uncorrupted hand, and your honest heart.

Law. gb. With humble submission, these are things which I never heard of in *Westminster-Hall*.

Gba. Nay, then turn him in naked as he is, and let him take his chance. — No contumacy; no dispute: fit down contented, unless you'd have a knock over the sconce with my oar. —

2d Ghost. Your servant, Mr *Mercury*. — Good Mr *Charon*, your humble servant.

Gba. This is some courtier's ghost by his complaisance. — But what does he take *Mercury* aside for?

2d Gb. Shall I beg the favour of your Godship of one word in private.

Mer. No, no; we have no secret transactions here, Mr *Bribe-well*.

2d Gb. Do you know me, then?

Mer. Know you? ay, sure: you are the famous Mr *Bribe-well* of the — *what d'ye call it* office, not far from *White-ball*, who have a long time been agent to — no matter mentioning names. — But, good Sir, forget your old habit of thinking nothing can succeed without corruption. You must now act on the principles of honour and honesty: you are now in another world.

2d Gb. So it is a sign. Upon my faith, *Mercury*, you are the first person that I have spoke to for some years, who has absolutely refused the overtures which I have made; and I have in my time had several conferences with *Dukes, Earls, Viscounts, Bishops, Barons, Knights and Commoners*.

Mer. O, Sir, I know you are a notable fellow at negotiations: but all such will prove entirely in vain here; therefore,

fore, without any more attempts at bribery, lay down those *Ex-^g-^r bills and tallies* which you have artfully concealed under your coat.—Come, come, strip, while I go on with other business.

2d Gb. Not so neither; if I cannot succeed one way, I may another.—Honest *Charon*; your *band*, old boy; I hope we shall have a safe passage over.

Cba. Never fear that.—But what have you put into my hand?—*gold!*

2d Gb. Harkye; a word in your ear: I'll make them *twenty* pieces a cool *bandred*.—I have those bits of *paper* and foolish pieces of *sticks* to slip under the benches of your boat.—You understand me?

Cba. And would you give me this *gold* to corrupt my *honour*?

2d Gb. Your *honour*! No, no, no, no. Far be it from me to attempt your *honour*. It is only, Sir, to buy some new *tackle* for your *boat*, and to get your *sail* mended.

Cba. Why you whorson, villanous, lying rascal, do you take me for some *fisherman* who has a *vote* in a *sea-port borough*? D'ye think to cajole me out of my *honesty*, by giving me a specious pretence for parting with it? There's your *guineas* about your ears; and had all your countrymen a spirit worthy of their nation, by serving such corrupters in the same manner, they would never lose their ancient *honour* and ancient *liberty*.

2d Gb. Who would have thought the *tatterdemalion* rascal would have refus'd *gold*, and when I came up to a price which a *returning officer* has not deny'd?

Cba. Come, come, lay aside your *papers*, *sticks* and *roguery*, and step into the boat; or it will be the worse for you.

2d Gb. Since it is so, I must comply; but it is with a melancholy reflection that I must fling this bundle down. How hard is the case of those great men who are vers'd in all the arts of bribery and corruption, and who so successfully practise them in the other *world*, when those intrigues can be of no service to them in *this*!—

Cba. Heyday! what have we here? *Mercury* struggling with a *Lady*.—So ho,

there! what is your *Godship* about?

Mer. I have got as troublesome a female as ever I met with; she will not part with that large *hoop-petticoat* and spreading *robe de chambre* on any account.

3d Gb. Why, thou *barbarian*, how could you think a woman of my *modesty* and *virtue* could think—*ugh!* shocking thought!—to—to appear without the least decent apparel?

Mer. Mistress *Prudella*, you may now lay aside all that affected regard for *modesty*, *virtue*, *honour*, and all that; for however you may have deceived the world, you cannot deceive us. You are now to appear in the undistinguished state of nature; and it cannot be shocking to you, when you see the rest of your sex in the same state.

3d Gb. O Lord! I cannot endure, I hate, detest, and abominate the reflection.

Mer. Come, Madam, it signifies nothing; if you will not pull off your *hoop*, I must.

3d Gb. O Gemini! What! meddle with my *petticoat*!—Insupportable impudence: I cannot bear it.

Mer. But you could bear it, and without all this reluctance, when Capt. *Carbine* meddled with it in a certain *green damask room*, near—

3d Gb. Ah! I am discover'd, ruin'd; my *virtue* and *honour* are lost. O my *character*, my *character*!

Mer. Now your *character* is known, why this delay? But you deceiv'd yourself in the other world: all knew the reason of that *monstrous hoop* and *robe de chambre*, and that it was to conceal the *obvious consequences* of a *scandalous amour*; though you flatter'd yourself that your formal censure on every other woman's conduct would conceal your own.

Cba. Ohoe! Is that the case! Pray, young woman don't be so very scrupulous; you will meet with several *ancient* and *modern prudas* who will keep you in countenance. There is a peculiar quarter on the other side the river allotted for them.

Mer. Where they still claim a superior excellence over the rest of their sex, and, like the living *prudes*, have nothing but

but *virtue* and *honour* on their *tongue*, and *hypocrisy* and *vice* in their *heart*.

3d Gb. Nay, then I am entirely easy. I shall not there be liable to scandalous *reproaches*; the fear of which broke my *heart*, and occasion'd my untimely death. — Pray, *Charon*, lend me your hand into your boat.

Mer. Such is the difference between a *hypocritical* *prude* and a truly *virtuous* *woman*: The first fears the common reflections of the world, and, if she can secretly err, feels no compunction at the crime; the latter, conscious of not erring at all, feels no pain at the common censure of the publick. —

Gba. Holla! *Mercury!* here is a strange fellow, with a rueful countenance, hollow eyes, and all the symptoms of melancholy, who would force himself into the boat without examination.

4th Gb. Examination! I want none! I have a sufficient passport, the *authority* of which none of ye dare refuse.

Mer. Pray, good positive Sir, *who* are you, and *what* is your *authority*?

4th Gb. I am, Sir, — I am — what they call a *Methodist*; and my *authority* is from Mr *Whitefield*.

Mer. A *Methodist*! — Pray what may that be?

4th Gb. Why, a *Methodist* is — is — nay, I cannot give any definition what it is; all I know is, that *we* have more *religion*, more *charity*, more *contempt* of the *world*, and more *divine inspiration*, than any other set of people whatsoever.

Mer. A very *charitable* way of judging of others truly. But how are you ascertain'd, that you thus exceed all the rest of mankind in works of *religion*, and are endued with a *greater share* of *divine inspiration*?

4th Gb. That we exceed them in religious works, is evident to the whole world: we sing *hymns* and *psalms* day and night; we pray without ceasing; we despise all worldly affairs; we shew our devotion on *commons*, *fields* and *highways*; and we travel abroad over the face of the earth to give testimony of our unfeigned godliness of heart: and that we are *divinely inspired* is undoubtedly *prov'd*.

Mer. As you are so extraordinary a people, I should be glad to hear a *proof* of that given.

4th Gb. O, Sir, — we are undoubtedly inspir'd — *because* — we are *inspir'd*.

Mer. A most unanswerable demonstration!

4th Gb. What other could you expect? How can we convey ideas to others of what *our* souls feel, when *their* souls have no *in-dwelling* of the *Spirit*? We believe an *inspiration*; we know it, we feel it.

Mer. Is it not madness rages in the breast?

For one inspir'd, ten thousand are possess'd.

4th Gb. I know not what you may call it; but I am sure my brother *George Whitefield* term'd it *inspiration*, and prov'd it was such after the same manner which I have done.

Mer. And after the manner that your countryman *George Fox*, and ten thousand other enthusiasts, ancient and modern, have done before you.

4th Gb. Is it possible that so *heavenly* a young man could err in so material a point?

Mer. As to his *divinityship*, (which he almost affects) it is no proof here of his *infallibility*; nor will his assertions, tho' they may be received by his followers as authentic doctrine, have any weight with us, unless they are founded on *truth*, and can consequently be defended by *reason*. We have had a sufficient number of *inspir'd* *devotees* arrive here, who upon a very little examination, instead of *Saints* and *Prophets*, prov'd downright *fools*, *madmen* or *hypocrites*.

4th Gb. What do you mean? I hope you will not charge any of those characters upon us.

Mer. Before I admit any of you into *Charon's* boat, I shall see how far they are applicable. — You, Sir, I think, was a very zealous and remarkable disciple.

4th Gb. I was so: I disposed of the greatest part of my worldly estate in acts of charity, settled the rest on my wife and children, and then forsook all the common concerns of life, as *wife*, *children* and *estate*, and accompanied my brother *Whitefield* in all his peregrinations.

Mer.

Mer. And pray what particular *satisfaction* might you reap from this extraordinary conduct?

4th Gb. *Satisfaction* unparalleled! the *satisfaction* of having the approbation of my dear, devout brother, Mr *Whitefield*; the *satisfaction* of being an instrument under him of reforming mankind, and being a shining example to the *laity* as he is to the *clergy*; the *satisfaction* of being particularly observ'd by *ten thousand* people at a time, and the *satisfaction* of being talk'd of by *ten thousand* more.

Mer. Well then, having laid aside all *worldly concerns* some time ago, you have not the least about you now?

4th Gb. Not the least.

Mer. Will you then do me the favour to give me that *manuscript* paper book which is conceal'd in your bosom?

4th Gb. That *paper book*!—But pray for what reason?

Mer. Only that I may *destroy* it entirely.

4th Gb. Destroy it! Not for the *universe*.

Mer. Is it so valuable? Pray what may the contents of it be?

4th Gb. 'Tis the *journal* of my *life*—of when I *sing* psalms, when I *pray*'d, when I was *sick*, when I was *well*, when I *went*, when I *came*, when I *ate*, when I *drank*, when I—*sleep*; what I *saw*, and who I *saw*, and when I *saw*; what I *said*, and *he* said, and *she* said, and *they* said,—and ten million other *important* and *instructive* actions of life, worthy publication for the enolument and reformation of the rest of my fellow creatures.

Mer. That notable *diary* you must deliver up, and also that *folly* and *vanity* which lurk in one un sanctified corner of your heart, and which are appendages to that same *journal*.

4th Gb. *Folly* and *vanity*!

Mer. Yes; or why should you think such an *historical rhapsody* worth publication? True *piety* wants not to be publicly avouched: they who are sincerely affected with *religion*, like those who are truly affected with *grief*, open their hearts in *privacy*, nor ever reveal

the *passions* of their *soul*. Besides, will the declaring the minute circumstances of your life reform that of others? If your life is *pious*, why would you yourself *publish* it to man? It is not in men to reward it. No; it is *abominable*, *ostentatious* *vanity*, and an uncommon proof of the *pride* of *human nature*.—Come, Sir, away with your *folly*, *vanity*, and *journal* together.

4th Gb. Well then, there they are.—Now I hope I may be allow'd my passage.

Mer. Stay a moment: that *manuscript* in your pocket you will have no manner of occasion for; that can be of no value.

4th Gb. O, Sir, I value it highly. There is a *letter* in it to a *clergyman*, a brother of mine, who is now in *high*: It is an answer to a letter of his, and I had it printed in the publick *newspapers*.

Mer. For what reason?

4th Gb. To shew the world how *righteous* I was though a *layman*, and how *unrighteous* he was though a *clergyman*; for though he is my own brother, I have openly charg'd him with a shameful *inhumanity*, and a spirit of *preference-bunting*, the scandal of our *whole clergy*.

Mer. But to have appear'd candid, ought you not to have printed his letter to which this was an answer? There may have been arguments in that which you have not refuted. Ah! Sir, how will *bigotry* to an opinion deprive man of his reason! Nothing but *madness* could have induced you to print such a letter of a private nature. You must part with it now, and with that severe *uncharitableness* which attends it.—Now, Sir, you may go into the ferry-boat whenever you please.

4th Gb. Why now, Sir, I am not *distinguished* from any other ghost. I thought some regard might have been paid me on my brother *Whitefield*'s account.

Mer. I should not have been more complaisant to your brother *Whitefield* himself, and perhaps, on examination, might have found more *worldly follies* and

and vanities which I should have made him have parted with.—

5th Ghost. Mr Mercury, if you have done with your faint, will you give me my passport?

Mer. Pray, good Sir, step in; for I don't perceive the least worldly care about you.—Charon, lend that Gentleman your hand.

4th Gb. Bless me! What do you mean? Do you suffer him to pass thus after such examination of me?

Mer. Him! Do you know him then?

4th Gb. Yes; a man,—indeed beneficient enough in his character, but never remarkably religious; who lived too elegant in the other world ever to think much of this; who often spent his time in the vain diversions of life instead of acts of penitence and self-denial; who had too much mirth to be devout, and too much wealth to have the in-dwelling of the Spirit.

Mer. With the inspiration which your sect pretends to, is it given them to know the secrets of the heart? Ridiculous men, who pay such veneration to the outward signs of sanctity, as to esteem those as reprobate who appear not in publick equally severe in their manners, and zealous in their devotion! This person, whom you look'd on in the other world with an arrogant pity for not coming up to your standard of righteousness, and for giving a relaxation to the common cares of life, by being amused sometimes with the innocent diversions of it; this person had as much love of religion, and as little love of the world and the vanities of it, as the pious leader of your sect. If he was not remarkably religious in publick, he was truly so in private: He lived according to that station of life in which he was placed, decent without prodigality, and charitable without affectation; his chearful mirth was not from his want of piety, but rather flow'd from an innocent and virtuous heart: He did not indeed think by inconsiderately parting with his wealth he should purchase the in-dwelling of the Spirit, but bestow'd it as an honest wise man would do, among his children and relations: In short, humbly

devout, agreeably chearful, humanely beneficient, he was a good man, a good parent, a good master, and a good friend: Far from being attached to the vanities of the world, he relinquish'd them all with joy; and such was his life, he fear'd not to die; such was his death, that he did not longer wish to live.— Now, Sir, you may go into the boat, and by experience learn, That man cannot enter into the heart of man; therefore, to condemn others for lukewarmness and want of piety, before death has brought them to an impartial examination, is an uncharitable pride, and an insolent affectation of Divinity itself.

The King of Spain's Manifesto, &c. being probably in the hands of most of our readers already, we shall not insert it. In the following essay reference is had to the English translation reprinted at Edinburgh in 16 pages 8°.

CRAFTSMAN, Sept. 15.

Observations occasioned by the Spanish MANIFESTO.

OUR affairs are at last brought to a crisis which hath long been expected; for a MANIFESTO is commonly the fore-runner of a DECLARATION OF WAR, and we have very few instances in history of matters being accommodated between sovereign Princes, after coming to such extremities, without force of arms.

This is a melancholy consideration, in our present circumstances, laden with an heavy debt, oppress'd with a multitude of grievous taxes, deprived of many valuable branches of foreign trade, and consequently declining in our manufactures at home; for notwithstanding what hath been advanced concerning the improvements of our TRADE, NAVIGATION, and MANUFACTURES, for TWENTY YEARS past, the contrary is demonstrably true, and discovers itself by its effects every day. When was there a greater appearance of poverty in all parts of the kingdom? When were rents worse paid, or more farms thrown up? When were there so many bankruptcies, insolvencies, or distresses in private

want families?—The imputing all this to a spirit of *luxury* is downright begging the question; for tho' *luxury* prevails too much in most of our *cities* and *great towns*, it hath not yet infected the generality of our *farmers, manufacturers, artificers, and mechanicks*, upon whom the *staple commodities* of this kingdom depend. It cannot be said that the poverty of *these industrious men* is brought upon them by their *luxury*, but by the severe pressure of such numberless taxes on the *necessaries and common conveniences of life*.

But the worst circumstance of all is, that the *balance of power in Europe* is, in a manner, totally destroyed, and hath rendered it almost impossible for us to recover that *alliance*, which not only enabled us to carry on the *last war* with so much glorious success, but even contributed very much to the accession of the *present royal family* to the throne, and will be the best support of it; for whilst there is an *equal division of power* amongst the Princes of *Europe*, there will be no occasion for a *numerous standing army*, which is always burthenfome, and too commonly breeds disaffection. — How much things are altered since that *happy period*, and to what causes that fatal alteration is owing, is so well known that it may seem impertinent to say any thing upon it. I will therefore be very short.

I wish we may not have reason to repent of our close conjunction with *France*, for several years, which aggrandized that *powerful neighbour* to a degree beyond what was ever known in any past period of time, and reduced the *Emperor* so low, that it obliged him to accept of a very *disadvantageous peace*, both to *himself* and all *Europe*. When we farther consider his *present deplorable circumstances*, we cannot expect any assistance from *him*, however disposed he might be to forget all that is past. I likewise wish that we may not soon feel the effects of conniving at the reparation of the port and harbour of *Dunkirk*, which was so seasonably complained of, on *one side*, and so industriously stifled on the *other*; for if *France* should take part with *Spain* in our present disputes, as

we have too much reason to apprehend, may it not prove as pestilent a nest of *privateers*, and thereby molest our *trade* as much, as it did in the *last war*? In this case, who will deserve the blessings, and who the curses of our *suffering merchants*? those, who were for putting a timely stop to the reparation of that *formidable place*, in pursuance of *treaties*; or those, who defeated their honest endeavours?

Had we made use of our fleet against *Spain*, nine or ten years ago, instead of employing it in her service, by conveying *Spanish troops into Italy*, for the settlement of *Don Charles*, of which we soon found reason to repent; or had we supported the *Emperor* when attack'd there, it is almost impossible to suppose that we could have failed of success. But it was always foretold, and is now pretty near come to pass, that our manifest dread of a *war*, and continual expedients to avoid it, were the most likely means to involve us in one at last, after we had exhausted ourselves in vast and fruitless expences to preserve an outward show of *peace*.

This leads me to the consideration of the *late convention with Spain*, and her *present manifesto*, which is the natural consequence of it; for as it could not be reasonably supposed that the *convention* would ever be executed on *our part*, so it was easy to foresee that *Spain* would not depart from a tittle of what she had obtained by it.

One of the ingenious and modest *Genettors* hath, indeed, given this affair a very pretty turn; for he observes that the *convention* was found to be so honorable and advantageous to *G. Britain*, that *Spain* would not put it in execution. But the court of *Spain* is so far from being of the same opinion, that the whole *manifesto* is founded upon our *non-execution* of it; and, having got the *treaty* mutually signed and executed, seems resolved to hold our nose to the grindstone, and does not care to have *its heels quite tript up*; (as the *translator* most elegantly phrases it, without any foundation in the *original*;) for the *Catholic King* asserts in his *manifesto*, (p. 15.) that notwithstanding

ing the pretended contraventions on the part of *England* neither of the *two parties* can free themselves from the obligations of the *convention*; because as it was formed by a *common consent*, there must be a *like consent* to dissolve it. But as the court of *Spain* insists that the *convention* is annulled on *our side*, by the *S. S. company's* refusal to pay their claim of 68,000 *l*; and since it is equally vacated, on *their side*, by refusing to pay us the 95,000 *l* stipulated for the losses of our *merchants*; it is to be hop'd that no *British minister* will ever suffer it to be mentioned again in any future negotiation; though it were to be wish'd that the *convention* had never been sign'd and ratified, because it may furnish the *Spaniards* with an handle for more chicanery and prevarication.

But how could it be expected that a *treaty* would be of any long duration, when the most material article of it is understood in a quite different sense by the *contracting parties*? Our *minister* asserted in a *publick assembly*, that the *declaration* and *protest* of the *Spanish court*, concerning the 68,000 *l*. to be paid by the *S. S. company*, had no more to do with the *convention* than with the *grand alliance*: whereas the court of *Spain* insists, and I am sorry to say with too much appearance of reason, from the words of the *convention*, (*p. 9.*) that this 68,000 *l*. was a SETTLED, STATED, EXECUTIVE DEBT, payable within a short time; that it was the BASIS and FOUNDATION of the *convention*; a condition not to be eluded, under the validity of which the signing was to be proceeded on, and NOT OTHERWISE. However, I cannot yet be induced to believe, as it is insinuated in the *manifesto*, (*p. 4.*) and said to be publickly declared by *Don Geraldino*, before his departure, that the first hint of demanding 68,000 *l*. from the *S. S. company*, arose from our own *minister* at home; because that would be a crime of the blackest dye, with regard to *England*; and I think it very ungenerous in *Spain* to drop the least intimation about it.

The *country party* are fully justified in their apprehensions about our transacti-

ons with *Spain*, for several years past; and having been always uniform in their speeches and writings upon that subject, are at liberty to proceed with the same honour and consistency. But how can the *other party* answer the *Spanish manifesto*, without tacking about, and borrowing their arguments from those, whom they have long endeavoured to represent as *enemies to their country*? What can THAT MAN say, in particular, who was pleased to congratulate us upon the *convention* as a treaty, which had obtained more for us than could be expected at the end of a SUCCESSFUL WAR; that the *Spaniards* were obliged to pay us *costs*; and that we have it now under the GREAT SEAL of *Spain*? These were all the mighty advantages obtained, in consequence of that memorable sentence, at the conclusion of the foregoing session: How shall I be ever able to shew my face again in THIS HOUSE, if I do not procure justice to the nation, and ample satisfaction to our injured merchants?

This Gentleman is certainly very much oblig'd to the author of a late address to the freeholders, &c. which happens to contain a full answer to the *manifesto*, before it came out, and is the best vindication of him from the repeated charge of unreasonable demands, want of confidence in the *Spanish court*, and backing the *S. S. company* in their refusal to pay the 68,000 *l*; whereas it appears in that pamphlet, from a deduction of facts, that no *minister* ever made more concessions and submissions, in order to avoid a rupture: and it is lately remarkable, that even the very *Assogue ships* arrived safe in port, though they were met at sea by almost every body, except those, who were appointed to look out for them. The *manifesto* itself very plainly intimates (*p. 7.*) that the *minister* was ready enough to execute every article of the *convention*, if he had not been compelled to alter his measures by the clamours of the PEOPLE, and the party in opposition to HIM, who were highly enraged at it. Thus it stands in the original, though the clamours of the PEOPLE are entirely left out of the translation,

tion, for reasons to be easily guess'd.

And here it will be proper to take notice that the *translation of this piece* is so wide from the *original*, in many places, and the language so abominably bad, throughout the whole, that it looks like the performance of some *backney Gasser*. The learned Mr *Algernon Sidney*, the facetious Mr *Raymond Lallibey*, or even the blundering *Ralph Froeman, Esq;* could not have done it worse. One would likewise be apt to think that the court of *Spain* had copied their reflections on our *merchants*, and their arguments against a free navigation in the *American seas* from the *same worthy writers*, who have furnished them with abundant matter upon this head, for several years past. *Thieves, robbers, buccaniers, and pyrats*, are the best names they could afford them; and they have even gone so far as to assert that the *English seamen* have been guilty of more inhumanity towards the *Spaniards*, than the *Spaniards* have been towards us.— But to return;

If the breach of the *convention* was really owing to the *party in opposition to the MINISTER*, the nation is very much oblig'd to them; for even a *war* is certainly preferable to a *peace*, upon such ignominious terms.

But pray let me ask what became of *another treaty*, negotiated with *Spain*, about a year ago, which may be supposed to have been much more advantageous to us for two reasons, *first*, as it was said to be signed by most of the members of what is commonly called the *cabinet council*; and *secondly*, because the court of *Spain* refused it? What authority had Mr *Keene* to lay aside *that treaty*, and substitute *another* in its room, signed by *himself only*? How came he to give up not only a *national treaty*, but the rights of a *company*, in whose service he had long been profitably employed? What a figure do we see him make, thus yielding up a point of such consequence, as *Minister-Plenipotentiary*; and then, as *Commissary-Plenipotentiary*, desiring to have it declared that the King of *Spain* had not a power to suspend the *Assiento contract*, as being a

national treaty? I will not take upon myself to say whether Mr *Keene* had any powers, or not; or indeed whether any body could legally give him any powers for such a procedure: but as the affair is at present very dark and mysterious, it is hoped it will be thoroughly sifted in a *proper place*, and the whole transaction fully explained to the world.

In former times it was always usual, upon such important occasions, to employ men of the *biggest rank and nobleness*; who, by their *dignity*, might add a weight to their *negotiations abroad*; and, by their *fortunes*, give a pledge to their *own country* for the integrity of their conduct. This was certainly a wise precaution; which ought always to be observed: for a man of *mean birth*, and *low fortune*, may be tempted to sacrifice the *publick interest* to *his own*; or, at least, become the subservient tool of a *minister*, by whose indulgent hand he was raised.

Thus far I judged it necessary to explain our *present situation*, and shew the publick to *whom only* it is owing: but since matters are now come to such an extremity, as appears by the *Spanish manifesto*; and since *those* who brought us into these disastrous circumstances, seem to be ashamed of their *former timidity*: It becomes every *Briton*, who hath a due regard for the honour and interest of his country, first to probe the wound to the bottom, and then unanimously join hand and heart in support of the *common cause*.

Written under a print of his Majesty ornamented with warlike trophies.

Humble, great GEORGE! the pillar
 ing Spaniard's pride,
 Or lay these useless ornaments aside:
 Remember Oudenarda's sanguine field,
 Where constant victory hover'd o'er thy
 shield:
 Trophies like these thy early youth have
 grac'd;
 O let not patriots say, — they're now mis-
 plac'd!
 Support our sinking trade, assert thy crown;
 And fight, to save our honour, and thy own.

To the Hon. Mrs Elizabeth Townsend, now Lady Cornwallis, on her picture, at Rainham.
By Dr Brown.

COMMON SENSE, Sept. 22.

The Discontented Ape. A Fable.

AH! cruel hand, that could such pow'r employ
To teach the pictur'd beauty to destroy!
Singly she charm'd before; but by his skill
The living beauty and her likeness kill:
Thus when in parts the broken mirrors fall,
A face in all is seen, and charms in all!
Think then, O fairest of the fairer race,
What fatal beauties arm thy heav'nly face,
Whose very shadow can such flames inspire;
We see 'tis paint, and yet we feel 'tis fire.

See! with false life the lovely image glows,
And ev'ry wond'rous grace transplanted flows;
Fataly fair the new creation reigns,
Charms in her shape, and multiplies our pains:
Hence the fond youth, that ease by absence found,
Views the dear form, and bleeds at ev'ry wound.
Thus the bright Venus, tho' to heav'n she soar'd,
Reign'd in her image, by the world ador'd.

O! wond'rous pow'r of mingled light and shades!
Where beauty with dumb eloquence persuades,
Where passions are beheld in picture wrought,
And animated colours look a thought.
Rare art! on whose command all nature waits!
It copies all omnipotence creates:
Here crown'd with mountains earth expanded lies,
There the proud seas with all their billows rise;
If life be drawn, responsive to the thought
The breathing figures live throughout the draught;
The mimic bird in skies fictitious moves,
Or fancy'd beasts in imitated groves:
Ev'n heav'n it climbs, and from the forming hands
An Angel here, and there a TOWNSHEND stands.

Yet, painter, yet, tho' art with nature strive,
Tho' ev'n the lovely phantom seem alive,
Submit thy vanquish'd art! and own the draught,
Tho' fair, defective, and a beauteous fault.
Charms, such as her's, inimitably great,
He only can express, that can create.
Couldst thou extract the whiteness of the snow,
Or of its colours rob the heav'nly bow;
Yet would her beauty triumph o'er thy skill,
Lovely in thee, herself more lovely still!

Thus in the limpid fountain we descry
The faint resemblance of the glitt'ring sky;
Another sun displays his lessen'd beams,
Another heav'n adorns th' enlighten'd streams:
But tho' the scene be fair, yet high above
Th' exalted skies in nobler beauties move;
There the true beavens eternal lamps display
A deluge of inimitable day.

I Own, 'tis true, my frugal board
Luxurious plenty never stor'd:
No pow'r have I thy throne to awe,
Proud Spain, or give thy frenzy law;
Ne'er did persuasion tip my tongue
With beauteous art, to lead along
A following crowd; nor e'er my wit
For polish'd ears was nicely fit.
I murmur not: plenty annoys
Sometimes, and, sure as want, destroys
Pow'r swells to madness; eloquence
May prove the bane of honest sense:
And wit men hate as well as fear;
Our wicked wit may cost us dear.

Our ev'ry lot's from God's own will;
'Twas always best, and must be still.
God's prudent hand well knows to give;
Happy, could man as well receive!
Why then repine? why ask for more?
'Tis hurtful, or 'twas your's before.
Ask nothing, but what all may find
Who truly seek — an honest mind.

“Five thousand acres (Phenio said)
Behold my bending barvests spread,
My deer along wide forests scud,
Tall row'd oaks imbrown the wood;
My side-board groans with massy plate,
Full twenty liv'ries round me wait,
Yet what, O what are these? can these
My nicer honour safely please,
Whilst Aulis must be brib'd to trace,
From Saxon Kings, my nameless race?
What can I do? from all your stores
One blessing grant, I ask no more.
Grant me, good heav'n, a noble wife
Thus shall fair fame adorn my life,
My son with glorious blood shall glow,
And the rich tide thro' ages flow.”
Heav'n tir'd the frequent fool to hear,
Unwilling grants at last his pray'r.
The day is come, th' illustrious bride
Deigns one short night to grace his side;
After ten months of mutual hate,
My lady must lie-in in state;
To light a puny creature's brought,
A thing by nine peers half begot.
The boy poor Phenio views, and spits
His Grace's nose, his Lordship's eyes;
Those lips the gentle Baron speak,
And the pale Viscount wann'd that
cheek.

He swears 'tis all Sir James's son,
And damps the features not his own.

Such are by ev' rice, pride oppress'd,
The world's own fools and lawful jest;
But all kinds feel the rage to rise,
The gay, the grave, the mad, the wise;
For pow'r each hour of ev'ry day,
Fancy's proud slaves devoutly pray.
Of all who ask, few can obtain;
Happy, who most must wish in vain.

My sable bear. Plac'd in a wood,
A country ape earn'd daily food;
Fond of his fancy'd parts, and blest,
His pears and nuts were thought the best,
But soon uneasy, weary grown
With the low business of his clown,
Restless, he fled their wile employ,
Their servile cares, and stupid joys:
His parts be thought too meanly far'd,
And honesty too much rever'd.

It chanc'd, his friends and be resort
To view the splendors of a court—
Pleas'd with its state, with dazling
pow'r,

Too much he dreads the wretched hour
Which warns him home — "O spare
me, Jove,

Nor bear me from the place I love;
I hate the wood's inglorious ease;
O let me act in scenes like these:
For some small place I'm surely fit,
All own my talents and my wit."

To plague the discontented beast,
Jove nodd'd to his fond request:
The wretch, by grandeur's charms be-
In quest of pow'r severely toil'd, [guil'd,
With crook'd design, with cunning sense,
And all the art of impudence;
In jealous hint, suspicion fly,
His doubtful tongue would mean a lye;
Yet no one with a bolder grace
Could bold out falsehood's naked face.

Above, below, around he plies,
By secret workings, where to rise:
Destruction waits each beast of worth,
To lead his meaner merit forth.

'Tis dang'rous if the leopard slays,
The generous horse is sent to graze;
The noble tiger's thought too proud,
The fox has art, the dog's too good;
The faithful dog can't long be in,
His plainness is too wile a sin.

'Twas thus he cozen'd friends and
And safe o'er ruin'd virtue rose. [See,

Behold him seize the royal ear,
And stalk a weighty minister!
The monarch's eyes decay'd are grown;
A gentle opiate seals 'em down:
Unaw'd, alone the realm he sways,
Oppression on its vitals preys;
By rapine sat, buoy'd up by crimes
In the mad storm of broken times,
He swells with mighty mischief great,
And boasts a pow'r to curse a state.

Base grandeur! yet how short, how vain!
The rousing forest feels her chain,
She roars aloud her injuries,
For justice join the growing cries;
His foes are warm, each friend forsakes,
Sharp conscience stings, with fear he quakes;
Like some old ill-built un-propt wall,
Behold him totter, nod, and fall.

An ant, in nature deeply read,
His rise and end observing, said;
Just, tho' severe, is folly's fate:
Belov'd of Jove, ourselves we hate.

The third chapter of JOB attempted in verse.

ACCURS'D for ever be the baleful morn,
When this abandon'd wretch myself was
When a male infant all expos'd I lay, [born,
My barriers broken to salute the day.

When'er that day recovers, no spark be found,
But pitchy darkness wail the world around.
Shut out from God's regard, let thickest night,
Enrob'd in horrors, hide the gates of light.
No sickly star to wink, to shoot its beam,
Or cheer the darkness with a transient gleam;
But gloom enwrap in gloom the globe array,
And damp the prospect of a moment's day.
O'er the faint twilight blackest clouds be drawn,
And let it wish, but never find the dawn.

In no fair annals let that day appear,
Nor with its guilty stain pollute the year.
Let never gladness with its voice invade,
And pierce the silence of the dreadful shade:
But sad Affliction's fons with me combine,
And mix their sorrows and their fears with mine;
Raise up the doleful cries of loud despair,
And with complainings wound the passive air;
Because it shut me not from human view,
Nor o'er the doors of life its sables drew.

When first I left the womb, expos'd to weat,
Ah! why did Death withhold the friendly blow?
Why did th' officious nurse prevent my doom,
And feed me from the breast for ills to come?
In Death's embraces I had found relief,
And, hull'd within his arms, forgot my grief.

'Tis peace and soft repose,—there all are blest,
'Tis one small slumber, one eternal rest.
There Kings and mighty men forego their state,
Are pleas'd with bondage, nor repine at Fate.
There haughty princes, rich with sparkling store,
Resign their grandeur, and insult no more.

As some dead infant, which an embryo lay,
And in the secret womb escap'd away,
Enjoys an endless sleep, nor knows the pains,
Nor knows the various ills which life sustains;
So Death had eas'd my care, and gently spread
His sable curtains round the downy bed.

There rigid tyrants drop th' insidious band,
Nor longer exercise their stern command.
The faint and weary, there at ease reclin'd,
Unload the burden, and relieve the mind.

The mournful captives find their bondage broke,
Nor feel th' oppressor's arm, nor dread the stroke.
In those dark regions all resign their pride,
The mean, the noble, all are near ally'd,
The servant slumbers by the master's side.

Why are we wretches doom'd to see the day,
And press'd with anguish, tread the painful way?
Which seek incessant a relief to gain,
And court the wanted guest, but court in vain?
Which, ravish'd with delight, their fate attend,
And, pleas'd with freedom, hug the ghostly friend?

Al! why must they be spar'd for mischief still,
To grief devoted, and besieg'd with ill?
For as the waves on waves impetuous ride,
And with an endless store increase the tide,
My briny sorrows in abundance flow,
And tear to tear succeeds, and woe to woe:
The fears which shook my soul, their rage have shed,
And burst in ruin on my destin'd head.

Disfracting terrors dash'd my days with gall,
And sad forebodings did my mind enthrall, [all.
And now the angry Fates have crown'd them

Wigtonshire, Aug. 1739.

Epigram on a CALM SEA. [Edinb.]

How smooth the surface of the silent main!
How sweet the prospect of the watry plain!
Thus raging beauty, when the storm is o'er,
Puts on new smiles, and charms us as before.

To SYLVIA.

You bid me write, and fain would I
Consent, were but the subject nam'd;
To praise your goodness I must lye,
And you would scold to be desam'd;
To call you fairest of your sex,
And see as handsome ev'ry day,
Instead of pleasing you, must vex:—
You would not mind a word I say.

For tho' an angel in my eyes,
I take your judgment to be better,
Than all your equals to despise,
On the bare credit of a letter.

No— spite of all you slyly hint,
Of poet's art, and flights of youth;
Whate'er for int' rest I may print,
In private rhimes I write the truth.

Then teach me safely to proceed:
My verse depends upon your act:
You need but do one gen'rous deed,
And I shall soon applaud the fact.

To let me live, from year to year, (ing,
Complaining, sighing, cringing, kneel-
'Tis plain you strive to be severe,
Or think a lover has no feeling.

I own, you sometimes can be seen,
And grant a kiss one day in ten:
But what this hanging on must mean,
Sure women know as well as men.

That ancient siege which Homer sings,
All but your heroes had forsaken:
Tentidious years for sixty Kings (taken.
Was long; but Troy at last was
Compare that siege, my dear, with
mine.—

Ten years the sturdy Greeks could hold:
I— let me see— 'tis more than nine;
And heroes are not— as of old.

Woman or town whoever seeks, (in;
Much shorter ways they now proceed
They seldom wait so many weeks,—
Read Marlb' rough's life, or Charles
of Sweden!

Those few remaining months deduct,
On better terms you may surrender;
Our pleasure nothing can obstruct,
While I am young, and you are tender.

But feeble age and wrinkles soon
Shall youth and tenderness displace:
At thirty life approaches noon, (pace.
And things go downward thence a-
Haste! now the willing parley beat,
Ere all our stores are quite exhausted;
Lest on the verge of death we treat,
Bereav'd, bewinter'd, and be-frosted.

Then you shall mourn the song neglected,
Which told you time was onward
creeping;
And I, the mighty prizes expected,
Dwindled to one not worth the keep-
ing!

EDINBURGH, September 1739.

Since the harvest began, we have had extreme bad weather. The high winds have done considerable damage, and the frequent rains a great deal more; so that in many places vast quantities of corn are spoiled.

LONDON.

THE nation still seems to be intent on an approaching war; and indeed the vast preparations which have been made leave little room to doubt but something will be attempted, unless a French mediation prevail. The Commissioners of the navy have taken care to put the fleet in exact good order, and contracted for the building eight more galleys for preserving our trade, and cruising on the Spaniards; and, in case of any sudden emergency, the office of ordnance have order'd 36 flat-bottom'd boats to be built, cover'd with tin, 21 foot long each, and 5 broad, for passing our armies over rivers.—The 30th of July, letters of marque were published by all the Governors of the Leeward islands. As in these parts the Spaniards are most easily hurt, and the inhabitants of a ready disposition to do themselves justice, we may expect good accounts from them.—His Majesty has caused a proclamation to be issued, offering a reward of two guineas, with all other bounties, and six months pay certain, to all seamen from 20 to 52 years of age, who shall voluntarily enlist themselves aboard of the navy, and thirty shillings to all able-bodied land-men of the same ages, who incline to serve as marines. The parliament is to meet on the 15th of November, pursuant to another proclamation. Mess. Keene and Castres, our Plenipotentiaries at Madrid, are arrived at London, and waited of his Majesty, who gave them a very gracious reception.

Prince Tzerbatow, Ambassador from the Empress of Russia to the British court, is arrived here.

This year has produced a very great crop of hops.

There has been a prodigious struggle in the election of a Lord Mayor for this

city. For many years past that office went by rotation always to the senior Aldermen, but the Liverymen of the city have, by their charter, a privilege of nominating and presenting two to the court of Aldermen. In consequence of this, they excluded Sir George Champion from their list, because he voted for the *convention*, and return'd Sir John Salter and Sir Robert Godschall. Sir George's friends, on this, demanded a poll, which was granted, but the vote coming out much to his disadvantage, he sent a message, and declin'd putting his fellow-citizens to any further trouble: on which the books were closed, and Sir John Salter was declared duly elected.

Extract of a letter from South Carolina.

"I have no publick intelligence to communicate, only that his Majesty has presented us with 75 pieces of cannon, and other warlike stores, just arrived under the convoy of a 20 gun ship, to the value of 6000 l. Sterl. an instance of the importance of this province to the crown of Gr. Britain.

P. S. London, Oct. 4. Orders are issued out from the war-office, for augmenting the regiments in Minorca and Gibraltar from 50 to 70 private men in each company; and the same augmentation in all the marching regiments throughout G. Britain.

S. S. trading-stock, 94. Ditto Old annuities, 109, 3 8^{ths} for the opening. Ditto New, 107, 1 qr. Bank stock, 139, 1 half for the opening. India ditto, 155, 1 half. Three per cent. annuities, 98, 2 1 qr. Million bank, 114. Royal assurance, 90. London assurance, 11, 3 8^{ths}. Mine adventure shares, 5 l. English copper, 3 l. 8 s. Welch ditto, 15 s. African, 13, 1 half. Seven per cent. Emperor's loan, 109 1 half. Five per cent. ditto, 94, 1 qr. Bank circulation, 2 l. prem. Three per cent. S. S. bonds, 1 l. prem. India ditto, 2 l. 19 s. 2 3 l. prem. Three 1 half per cent. Exchequer orders, 1 half discount. Three per cent. ditto, 5, 5 qrs. discount. Salt tallies, 1 half a 1 1 half, penn. Lottery tickets, 5 l. 8 s.

BIRTHS.

THE Dutchess of Bedford is delivered of a son and heir, Marquis of Tavistock. — The Dutchess of Portland, of a daughter. — The Lady of Countess Monk, of a son. — And the Lady of James Colquhoun, Esq; Lord Provost of Edinburgh, of a son.

DEATHS.

Sir Francis Boynton, Member for Heydon in Yorkshire. — Tho. Coster, Esq; Member for Bristol. — Col. George Audleigh in the 2d regiment of foot-guards. — Major Hotham, of Lt Gen. Kirk's regiment. — Capt. Hutchinson, Commander of the Nassau East India Ship. — Capt. John Schaw, an old sea-officer. — Capt. Gibbons, eldest Captain of Chelsea hospital. — Anthony Barnwell, son of Ld Trimlestown, killed at the battle of Krozka. — Mr Parrot Apothecary to Guy's hospital, Southwark. — Charles Hornby, Esq; Chief Clerk at the Pipe-office. — At Ghent, George Payne of Northumberland, Esq; F. R. S. member of the Royal Academy at Berlin, of the Noble Institute at Bologna, &c. — George Lillo, author of *George Barnwell*, &c. — John Dale, General-supervisor of excise in Scotland. — Sir John Mitchel of Westshore, Bart. — Robert Buchanan of Leny. — Mrs Boyd, Lady Craigintinnie. — At London, Simon Patrick, Esq; Solicitor of the customs in Scotland. — Lord Montagu Bertie, Lieutenant of the Gloucester man of war, being ordered by the Captain, with a number of hands into the long-boat, to board a Spanish barc-ongo on the Barbary coast, was killed, with several of the seamen, and the barc-ongo got clear off.

PREFERMENTS CIVIL.

Robert Jocelyn, Esq; Attorney-General in Ireland, *Lord Chancellor of that kingdom*. — Robert Trevor, Esq; *Envoy extraordinary to the States General*. — Sir John Norris, *one of his Majesty's privy-council*. — Mr Murphey, *Inward pur-keeper of the house of Commons*. — Ld Duncannon of the kingdom of Ireland, *an Earl of that kingdom, by the title of Earl of Besborow*. — John Oliver, Esq; *Comptroller of the customs in England*. —

Lewis Augustus Blondeau, *one of the Gentlemen Ushers to his Majesty*. — William Wrightson, Esq; *Chief Clerk in the Pipe office*. — Sir John Salter, *Knt. Lord Mayor*, Sir John Lequesne, *Knt.* and George Heathcote, Esq; *Sheriffs, of London*. — James Colquhoun, Esq; re-elected *Lord Provost*, Charles Hope, John Rothead, Robert Montgomery, and John Brown, elected *Bailies*, George Haliburton, re-elected *Dean of Gild*, and Alexander Sharp, re-elected, *Treasurer, of Edinburgh*. — William Chalmers, *Provost of Aberdeen*. — Andrew Aiton, re-elected *Provost of Glasgow*. — The Hon. James Erskine, *Provost of Stirling*. — John Donaldson, *Provost of Dundee*. — James Oswald of Dunnikeer, *Provost of Burntisland*. — Mr John Love, one of the Masters of the high school of Edinburgh, is made *Rector of the school of Dalkeith*, and is succeeded by Mr James Anderson.

MILITARY and NAVAL.

Gen. Armstrong, *Master of the ordnance in Ireland*. — Gen. Parker, *Governor of Kinsale*. — Gen. Hargrave, *Colonel of the English fusileers*. — The Duke of Marlborough, *Colonel of the royal regiment of dragoons, late Gen. Gore's*, Lt Col. Ligonier, *Lieut. Colonel of Gen. Ligonier's horse*. He is succeeded by Major Degennes; Major Degennes by Major Ellison; and Major Ellison by Capt. Degg. — Major Savage, *Lieut. Colonel of Col. Dalway's regiment*. He is succeeded by Capt. Drury. — Capt. Hartshorn, in Sir Rob. Rich's dragoons, *Major of said regiment*, in the room of Major Geary, who has resign'd. Capt. Hartshorn is succeeded by Lt Higginson. Capt. Hickman, *Major of the Welsh fusileers*. — Capt. Tennison, *Major of Brig. Otway's regiment*. He is succeeded by Capt. Codd. — Capt. Calderwood, *Major of Col. St George's regiment*. — Capt. Græme, *Major of Gen. Dabziel's regiment*. He is succeeded by Capt. Eeles. — Ld Ofullton, son of the E. of Tankerville, *a Captain in Brig. Wentworth's regiment*. — Capt. Henry Clements, *Fort Major of Kinsale*. — Lt Taylor, in the Welch fusileers, *Capt. Lieutenant in said regiment*. He is succeeded as eldest Lieutenant by Mr Rudd. — Mr Farmer,

2d son of the E. of Pomfret, *Ensign in the first regiment of guards.*—Lt Thomas Ruc, *Commander of the Salamander bomb-vessel*; Capt. Watton, *of the Depesford fire-ship*; Capt. Cleland, *of the Sea-horse.*

Died within the walls of the city of Edinburgh, and buried in the Grayfriars church-yard, September 1739.

Men 14, women 15, children 41. In all, 70. Increased this month, 11.

		AGE.	N ^o .	DISEASES.		N ^o .
Betwixt	Under	—	2	32	Consumption	18
		2 &	5	6	Chin-cough	6
		5 &	10	1	Fever	17
		10 &	20	2	Old age	2
		20 &	30	5	Suddenly	8
		30 &	40	7	Teething	9
		40 &	50	6	Still-born	4
		50 &	60	1	Small-pox	3
		60 &	70	8	Ague	1
		70 &	80	1	Child-bed	1
	80 &	90	1	Gravel	1	

FOREIGN HISTORY.

THE report of KOULI KAN's being killed in India, is contradicted from all parts: And the following is the best relation yet come to hand of his success against the Great Mogul.

“That conqueror having subdued Caboulistan, and some other provinces of the Great Mogul, march'd towards the river Detek, and attack'd one of that Monarch's Generals, who had a great body of troops under his command, and entirely defeated him, and made him prisoner. The news of this defeat struck the court of the Mogul with an inexpressible consternation. A council was thereupon summon'd: some advised to propose conditions of peace to Kouli Kan; others, imagining that he would insist upon exorbitant terms, having already made such vast conquests, thought it would be better to once more try the success of their arms. It was resolved to follow this last advice: In consequence whereof orders were given to immediately assemble an army of 300,000 men, to join to them 1500 pieces of cannon, and 500 ele-

phants. The Great Mogul, notwithstanding the number of his forces, seems to entertain great diffidence of them, having sent to the Emperor of China to propose an alliance with him against Kouli Kan.”

Petersburg, Aug. 18. Some days ago this court receiv'd an account from their Consul at Rash in Persia, that Schach Nadir had gained a great victory over the Grand Mogul, in the province of Caboul; and that afterwards the Grand Mogul was come into his camp, on certain conditions not yet known, where he delivered his crown to the Sophy, who generously returned it to him. As the Russian Minister at Ispahan has not mentioned this great event, every body doubts of the truth of it, tho' the said Russian Consul has sent, in the Persian language, a printed relation thereof.—The Russian fleet commanded by Rear-Admiral O Brion, consisting of seven men of war, is sailed from Cronstadt, in order to exercise the seamen. This week Prince Dolgorucky, who was formerly named to go to England, was sent back into banishment.

They write from PETERSBURG, that they had received advice from the Velt-Marshal Lacy, of the Turks and Tartars having abandoned Perecop at the approach of the Russian army under his command; and that his Excellency had advanc'd afterwards into the Crim, in order to waste it with fire and sword; that the Turkish fleet had been almost destroy'd by a furious storm, by which accident the Russian Admiral was in a condition to supply the Velt-Marshal Lacy with every thing he might want during the campaign.

Petersburg, Aug. 10. O. S. An engagement happened on the 2d inst. N. S. in Moldavia, between a body of Russians and another of Turks and Tartars, of which the Velt-Marshal Munich has sent an account to court in substance as follows, *viz.*

“Intelligence being brought on the 2d inst. of a great appearance of the enemy in a wood near Choczim, about a mile from our army, the usual signal was given, and three cannon fired to call

staff home the foragers; who being but half a mile from the enemy, could not well avoid being attack'd. The officer who commanded the detachment design'd to cover them, posted himself with his said detachment and a few small pieces of cannon in a valley, behind a parcel of waggons, from whence he defended himself till the arrival of the picquet-guard and the irregular forces. The fire on both sides was very brisk. M. Munich coming with the horse guards and some companies of grenadeers, caused the troops immediately to advance upon a hill, from whence they could plainly see the enemy, who fell with great fury upon our left wing. The hussars, and Cossacks of Grusin and the Tanais, who were in that wing, defended themselves with vigour, and made a continual fire with the small arms, being supported by the fire of the field-pieces. Lt Gen. Charles de Biron and Major Gen. Prince de Repnin, came instantly to their assistance with some battalions of foot, as did Lt Gen. Baron de Lewendahl with a detachment of horse grenadeers, and Count Gustavus de Biron with a battalion of guards and three battalions of foot. Upon this the enemy, whose fire was nevertheless very brisk, resolv'd to retire and leave the field of battle to us, and we remain'd there in a square battalion till they all went off the same way that they came, it being too late to pursue them. We had in this action 39 meh killed, and 112 wounded. In the number of the killed are Major Novati, an officer of the hussars, and two ensigns. In the number of the wounded are several Cossack officers, who fought in the middle of the enemy with very great bravery. Lt Col. Kieseling, whom the King of Poland had sent to M. Munich in quality of Adjutant, was killed by his side. A Bashaw with two tails, and several other Turkish officers, were found dead upon the field of battle; and it is reckon'd that the enemy's loss is otherwise very considerable. We took three pair of their colours, with three battoons of command, besides arms very finely wrought, harness, saddles, and the like. We took

prisoner a Murfa of Budziack named Ali, who once serv'd at the Danube and near Widdin, and by whom we learn, that in this action there were 6000 Turks commanded by the Bashaw of Choczim, and three other Bashaws; and that there were no less than 12 or 13,000 Tartars under the command of the Seraskier Sultan Islam Girey and the Sultan Nyed Girey. A party of above 1000 men, being the Cossacks of Tanais, hussars and Calmucks, which was sent into Wallachia, is return'd to our camp with a booty of 1500 black cattle, and 400 horses."

Warsaw, Sept. 8. Besides the two actions which happened between the Turks and Russians on the 20th and 21st of the last month, there has been a third on the 27th. An account of it has been receiv'd from the Governor of Kamienieck, who writes, That the Ottoman troops commanded by the Bashaw of Choczim, the Seraskier Bashaw of Bender, and the Dziengali Bashaw, quitted their camp, and retired behind an entrenchment upon which they had been working near a month, which was defended by four batteries. On the 27th, in the morning, the Russians march'd towards the retrenchment, and posting themselves between a lake and a morass, they rais'd two batteries. Their whole army being disposed of in order of battle, the fire began on both sides about nine in the morning, and lasted till two in the afternoon. The Russian army, under favour of their artillery, advanced very near the Turkish retrenchment. On the 28th they quitted their camp, and attack'd the left wing of the Turks with great fury, which they forced, and put the infidels to flight; who not only left their camp, but also their tents, cannon, mortars, &c. and the Russians encamp'd that night in the retrenchment made by the Turks. 'Tis said that a great number of Turks were killed in this action, and that the loss of the Russians was but small. The Seraskier Sultan, with his Tartars, is retired towards the Pruth; the Bashaw of Bender pass'd the night a league lower; the Bashaw of Choczim arriv'd

at day-break in the fortrefs of that name; but where the Dziengali Bashaw is retired, is not yet known.

Warsaw, Sept. 14. It appears by accounts sent from the frontiers, that the Turks and Tartars have carried 9660 Poles into slavery; that 600 more have been massacred; that they have carried off above 8000 oxen, 150,000 sheep, and about 6000 horses; and have burnt more than 4000 castles and houses: By the devastations they have made in Podolia, the lands will be rendred useless for some years. The Grand General of the crown has sent this account to the Bashaw of Bender, and to the Kan of the Tartars, and has demanded the liberty of the people carried into slavery, and twelve millions of roubles for reparation of damages. The victory gained by the Russian army near Choczim has been confirm'd, and is said to have been a most complete one, the Russians having taken all the artillery, baggage, &c. of the Turks; and the consequences thereof were so happy, that the day following Choczim surrender'd; and its whole garrison, as well as the greatest part of those who had escaped at the battle, were made prisoners: 200 pieces of brass cannon were found in the place, with a vast quantity of ammunition, &c. In order to draw the utmost advantage from this conquest, Prince Cantemir is gone to Jassi to be acknowledg'd Hospodar of Wallachia. This Prince is brother to Pr. Cantemir, Ambassador from Russia at the court of France. They are both sons of the Hospodar Cantemir, who took the part of the Czar Peter I. in his war with Charles XII. King of Sweden.

Warsaw, Sept. 18. 'Tis certain the Turks will do nothing this year on the side of Asoph; the Bashaw who was to have commanded the siege of that place is dangerously ill, and the army under his command is infected with a contagious distemper, which carries off great numbers. The inhabitants of the Crimea are reduced to great misery for want of provisions. They write from Choczim, that Gen. Biron is marched with 6000 men to guard the Seraskier

of that place, and other officers, now prisoners, to Kiovia. Some thousands of waggons, taken from the enemy, have been likewise sent into the Ukraine, amongst which 500 have been loaded with the treasure and effects of the Seraskier, and the other officers. M. Munich having provided for the security of the place, march'd the 3d inst. with the army towards Jassi, in order to complete the reduction of Moldavia. The Seraskier of Bender neglects nothing to put himself in a condition of defence against the Russians, which place, it is believed, will be reduced before the end of the campaign. Gen. Stockman, who was taken prisoner by the Turks at the action which happened the 20th of last month, having been conducted to Choczim, regained his liberty upon taking the place. Most of the Greeks and Christians in Moldavia have declared for Prince Cantemir.

Our last *Magazine* left BELGRADE besieged by the Turks, and in a good condition to make an effectual defence: we shall now insert accounts of the best authority as they came to hand, and leave the reader to form what judgment he thinks most natural upon the whole.

From the Imperial camp near Orisk Sabinina in Croatia, August 31.

“Count Herberstein having received intelligence from Carlstadt, that the Turks to the number of 1500 men, under the command of three Bashaws, viz. Ibrahim Bashaw of the Arnauts, Ali Bashaw of Scopia, and Mahomet Bashaw Kalinowich of Vacup, had formed a design to enter the bannat of Croatia, or to attack his camp, consisting of several thousand men, the Count thought proper to frustrate this design by a diversion. Accordingly he ordered Col. Joseph Depozi, a native of Croatia, who commanded at Licca and at Corbavia, to advance with 1000 men towards Bihatz; and the enemy not daring to stir out of that fortrefs, the Colonel turned with half of his men to Vacup, whence a number of the enemy issuing out to take a distant view of his troops, he intercepted them in their return to the place,

place, and killed ten Turks, among them an Aga of the Janissaries; he also burnt some villages of the neighbourhood, and carried off a booty of thirty black cattle and 2000 sheep. The enemy hearing of this, marched towards Corbavia, plundering and burning the country, and carrying with them the inhabitants prisoners all the way they went. Upon notice of this Gen. Herberstein sent to Col. Depozi to assemble all the militia he could that were about Corbavia, to enable him to make head against the enemy, because the succours which he was sending him from his camp near Orilo Sluinziza might arrive too late, considering the usual agility and swiftness of the Turks; and besides, there was a Bashaw near his said camp, observing it, which hinder'd him from sending a large detachment. Col. Depozi drew together with all diligence 1000 militia, and, with the troops he had before, attacked the enemy the 25th of August, at four in the morning; the action continued till two in the afternoon, at which time the succours sent him happily arriving, the Turks were broken, and took their flight several ways; one party of them fled into the Venetian Albania, forcing their way into the territories of the republick; the inhabitants in vain opposing their entrance. In this action above 1000 Turks were kill'd in the field of battle; 100 were made prisoners, among them Ali-Beg. There were taken 300 horses, the tents of three Bashaws, with all their baggage, 12 standards, a great number of arms, two small pieces of cannon, and considerable stores of ammunition and provisions; the prisoners the enemy had taken in the open country were restored to their liberty; and the enemy, whose design was to lay waste the frontiers, were dispersed. On the side of the Imperialists 80 men were killed, two Captains, one Ensign, and 15 soldiers wounded, and 20 horses lost.

A letter from Peterwaradin, Aug. 17.

“Since the Imperial army left the camp of Jaboka, it has been so closely followed by the Turks, that the place where it encamped one night, was made

use of by them the next. Tho' they were superior in number, the army marched in such good order, that they were able to undertake nothing more to its prejudice than giving a little disturbance to the rear guard. The army repass'd the Danube on the 15th, and encamped at Sardock, between Peterwaradin and Semlin, by means whereof it can preserve a communication with Belgrade, and the better oppose any attempts of the Turks to pass the Save. The Grand Vizier continues to prepare for a general assault, which does not, however, hinder him from employing his thoughts about a peace, having sent several messages upon this subject to Marshal Wallis. It is said that the Aga of the Janissaries approaching too near the bastion of St Charles, had his head shot off. M. Wallis is a little indisposed.”

Belgrade, Aug. 15. 'Twas this day month that the enemy invested this town on the side of Servia, and 'tis now just four weeks since they began to cannonade it; but they are not a jot more forward than they were upon the first day. Such of their batteries as are nearest to the fortifications are above 500 toises from it, and others much more; so that 'tis not surprising that they have as yet done no damage to the works, except to the bastion of St Elizabeth, where they have made a small breach. But were it even more considerable, the danger would not be the greater from it, considering the intrenchment that is made in the neck of the bastion, and the other works that are made behind the intrenchment to support it. In short, there are intrenchments of the like kind in every part where the enemy seems inclinable to make the greatest push; so that it may be affirm'd for certain, that the place is, after a month's siege, much stronger than it was before: and provisions are in great plenty, and so cheap, that the officers of the body commanded by the Prince of Saxe-Hilburghausen, on the other side of the Save, have their wine and part of their other provisions from the town. All the deserters from the enemy's army affirm, that the desertion continues, and that there is

such a mortality among the soldiers, that for some time past 2 or 300 have dy'd every day.

Extract of a letter from Belgrade, Aug. 20.

"The Turks continue to batter this place with vigour, which does not hinder the negotiations of peace from being carried on. The Count de Gros went the 13th, from M. Wallis's camp to the camp of the Gr. Vizier. The Turks, after his arrival, ceas'd from firing during nine hours. The Gr. Vizier received him with great politeness, and told him upon what conditions he was ready to sign the peace. As soon as C. Gros was returned to the Imperial camp, the fire of the Turks began with greater fury than before. In the evening, M. Wallis caused a fresh reinforcement of eight battalions to enter the place. The 14th, C. Gros was sent again to the Turkish camp with M. Wallis's answer to the Gr. Vizier's propositions, upon which the enemy suspended their fire for six hours, which they began again after the departure of C. Gros. On the 15th, this officer was sent again to the camp of the Gr. Vizier, who discontinued to play his batteries for four hours. The Count de Neuperg went to the Turkish army the 18th, and was received by the Gr. Vizier with extraordinary honours; he still continues there, where the Marquis de Villeneuve is expected. The enemy batter the gate of Sabacz, and have dismounted the battery of the bastion of St Elizabeth."

From the Imperial camp at Sarab, Aug. 22.

"The body of 30,000 Turks which followed the Imperial army into the banat, has advanced as far as Borcza, near the Danube, and 3000 of them have taken possession of an island near Belgrade, at the mouth of the Themes.

A courier is arrived here with letters from M. Munich, advising the Imperialists not to be too forward in concluding a peace, because he was in a condition of making a very advantageous diversion, and even of coming, in case of need, into the banat of Temeswaer. These letters were immediately sent to C. Neuperg, who was then at the camp of the Gr. Vizier; he communicated

the contents to that Prime Minister; who discover'd no uneasiness at the relation, but, however, thereupon held a divan, and fresh orders were sent to the Basha of Orsova, Widdin, &c."

Belgrade, Aug. 28. The Turks having made great shouts of joy on the 25th after sun-set throughout their camp, all their musick playing at the same time, Gen. Schmettau ordered all the trumpets and drums in Belgrade to repair on the morning of the 26th to the gate called the Imperial Gate, where they stood till nine o'clock, the enemy not firing one shot at the town; whereupon three shot were fired from the town; and then the enemy threw in 124 bombs one after another: As often as their bombs were fired, Gen. Schmettau answer'd with drums and trumpets instead of cannon. It is rumour'd among us, that the Imperialists will make a sally to-day upon the besiegers with the eight battalions that came last into the place. It is confirm'd daily, that provisions are very scarce, and extreme dear in the enemy's camp. All the officers who have been in Belgrade agree, that if the Turks do not attack it with much more vigour than they have done hitherto, and if our forces continue on the Save, the place cannot be taken this year: And as for the Turks making a general assault without first making breaches, as they have made none yet, 'tis what the garrison are not only prepar'd, but wish for.

Vienna, Sept. 12. Peace is at last concluded between the Emperor and the Porte, the conditions of which are as follow: It is agreed that the Emperor shall abandon Belgrade and Servia to the Gr. Seignior, as well as Orsova: That the Danube and the Save shall for the future form the limits of the two empires: That the banat of Temeswaer, and the town of that name, shall remain in the possession of his Imperial Majesty, with the territory thereupon dependent, comprehending therein Meadia: That Orsova shall continue in the condition it is in at present, but that the fortifications of Belgrade shall be demolish'd. 'Tis said that the treat-

ty of peace will be sign'd under the guarantee of France. It is agreed that the Emperor shall not only withdraw his troops from Belgrade, but likewise his artillery, ammunition, and provisions: That four days shall be granted to the inhabitants to carry off their effects: That until these things can be effected, one of the gates of the town shall be deliver'd to the Turks. Immediately after signing these articles, advice thereof was given to Gen. Succow, the Governor, who refused to deliver up a gate to the Turks, alledging, that he had his Imperial Majesty's command to defend it to the last extremity, which he would punctually obey, the place being in a condition of yet holding out a long time. Before he could be prevailed upon, M. Wallis was obliged to let him know, that he might safely do what was requir'd of him, for that a peace was concluded; whereupon 400 Janissaries took possession of the gate of Wirtemberg. Before C. Neuperg quitted the Turkish camp, the Gr. Vizier presented him with a fine horse, richly caparison'd. Soon after this, M. Wallis coming to the Turkish camp, went with the Gr. Vizier into Belgrade, when 5000 men of the garrison began to demolish the fortifications thereof. C. Neuperg used his utmost endeavours to have Russia comprehended in the peace. A Russian minister arrived at the Turkish camp on the same occasion; but the Gr. Vizier declared, that he had no orders to admit that power into the peace. Since signing the above articles, a considerable detachment of the Turkish army has been made to pass the Danube at Orsova and Widdis, in order to march with all expedition into Moldavia, to oblige the Russian army to repass the Niester. A courier has been dispatch'd to the Marquis de Botta, the Emperor's Ambassador in Russia, with orders to represent to that court the reasons that determin'd his Imperial Majesty to treat definitively with the Porte.

Belgrade, Sept. 4. Since signing the preliminary articles of peace, the Gr. Vizier came to view the condition the

place was in. The Turks come daily into the city either to gratify their curiosity, or to get provisions. We also visit their camp, where we receive much friendship. There are among them of all nations, and of all trades, Italians, French, and even English: and some Turks who were here in the year 1717, when Prince Eugene took Belgrade; it appears to them as a place unknown, as well on account of the many alterations made, as the new edifices raised in it.

HERE ENDS THE GREATEST LABOUR OF THE VALIANT EUGENE.

After an account had been publish'd, that articles of peace between the Emperor and the Grand Seignior had been agreed to by Count Neuperg and the Grand Vizier, on the 16th of September the Court of Vienna caused the following declaration to be printed and published.

“ The Imperial court will soon make known to the world what has happen'd respecting the preliminary articles of peace concluded with the Ottoman Porte; in the mean time his Imperial and Catholick Majesty has already written to the Empress of Russia, and has not only declared to the Russian Envoy at this court, in a particular audience given him for that purpose, his displeasure at what has been done without his knowledge, and contrary to his intention; but has likewise ordered all his ministers at foreign courts to declare, that C. Neuperg went to the Turkish camp without his knowledge, much less by his order; that as well in what relates to Belgrade, as in all and every one of the other articles, and particularly in the yielding to the strangely precipitate execution of them, the said Count has not only very much exceeded the limitations of the full powers entrusted to him, but even acted directly contrary to the orders therein contain'd: so that neither his said Imperial and Catholick Majesty, nor his minister, are in any fault, having had no part therein; for they had not the least information of what was transacted in the Turk-
ish

ish camp till after the thing was done; and after the precipitate execution: and consequently it being become impossible to apply any remedy, his Imperial and Catholick Majesty does on the one hand highly disapprove the preliminary articles so concluded, and will not fail at a proper time to do what justice requires; and on the other hand, pursuant to the ratifications which have already passed, he will sacredly fulfil, and firmly observe and keep what is agreed upon with the Ottoman Porte."

To this declaration was subjoined in the same print:

"It is reported, that the government of the bannat of Temeswaer, which had been provisionally granted to C. Neuperger, is by his Imperial Majesty conferred upon Baron Succow, in consideration of the brave defence he made in Belgrade."

Some advices by the way of Holland advise, that the houses of two considerable persons at Vienna have been insulted on account of the late preliminaries, particularly the house of General Schmettau, whose windows were broken; which so frightened his lady, that she miscarried and died: That a committee of the council of war is appointed to enquire into the conduct of C. Neuperger, who is returned to the camp of the Gr. Vizier to draw up in concert with the Marq. de Villeneuve the treaty of peace, or truce, in due form for being sign'd or ratified: That M. Wallis has justified his conduct as to the execution of the preliminaries, in a memorial which he has sent to court: That several Generals of the Imperial army have entred strong protests against the preliminaries relating to Belgrade: That when it was known in the Imperial camp that one of the gates was delivered up to the Turks, the soldiers cry'd out that they were ready to spill the last drop of their blood rather than it should be done, if any body would lead them out against the enemy; but their zeal was too warm for the then turn of affairs.

Belgrade, Sept. 10. On the 7th inst. 6 or 7000 Janissaries would have entred the town by force, and the Balhaw to

whom the Gr. Vizier had given the command of those Janissaries who had taken possession of the gate of Wirtemberg and the adjoining casernes, was oblig'd to order his men with their sabres to drive them away and draw up the bridges. The next day the Janissaries who are at the said gate attempted to enter the citadel; but the Imperial officer who commands in it having caused the cannon to be pointed against them, they were obliged to retire. The Gr. Vizier has offer'd several millions, provided the fortifications be let stand in the condition they are in; but his offer was rejected.

This is the very extraordinary face this peace, or cessation, bears at present: And, tho' the defeat of the Imperialists at Krozka, the sad state of the Emperor's military chest and finances, and the vigorous siege of Belgrade, &c. might afford reasons for his agreeing to a peace with the Ottomans upon terms so very disadvantageous: yet, it is hardly possible to view this transaction without discovering a degree of FRENCH POLITICKS in the whole of it.

'Twas reported, that on the 4th inst. N. S. War was declared at CADIZ against ENGLAND; and three days afterwards a proclamation was publish'd, ordering the subjects of Great Britain to depart the kingdom in eight days.

Madrid, Sept. 7. The news of the taking of an English ship coming from the Levant caused much joy here. Several English merchants at Alicant having neglected to depart from thence in the time prescrib'd by the court for that purpose, had been arrested by order of the King, and their effects sequester'd. It is also said, that two English ships returning from the coasts of Newfoundland which touch'd at Bilboa, have been stop'd there. It is still pretended, that the King of France will send a squadron to Cadiz to secure the departure and return of the ships employed in the American commerce. It is reported here, that many people on board the British squadron are sick. As the English which retire from Spain may possibly leave

leave effects in the hands of private persons, the governors of the ports have orders to require a declaration from every body upon oath that they are entrusted with no such effects. The Dutch Ambassador has wrote a letter to the Marquis de Villarias, to demand the liberty of a pilot and two sailors belonging to a Dutch vessel, the master of which having sent them in a shallop to sound the entrance of the bay of Cadiz, they were taken up on suspicion of being employed by the English. To which that minister has answered, that this affair should be determined as soon as the necessary informations thereupon could be obtained.

By the accounts which arrive every day, it is certain ten or twelve English ships have been seized at Malaga, and several more on the coasts of Spain.

The state of affairs in SWEDEN changes with every mail that arrives: sometimes all the forces in the kingdom are said to be marching toward Finland, and that Russia is under great apprehension on that account; and the next advices bring nothing but profound peace and a thorough good understanding between the two crowns. — These contradictions would give the politicians some surprize, were not the politicks of France at present in great repute in Sweden.

The affairs of ITALY seem not to be settled on a lasting basis, and it is reported that designs of consequence are yet on the carpet against Tuscany. — The Queen of Spain has a son unprovided for; Don Philip being yet without a kingdom, though possessed of the eldest daughter of France.

By some private letters from PARIS we are informed, that the Earl of Waldegrave, the British Ambassador there, has made fresh complaints to the court of France, of certain French ships which come from time to time to reconnoitre or sound the coasts of G. Britain; and hath declared, that if the court did not for the future prevent practices of the like nature, the British ships would be enjoined to sink all the barks, or other French vessels, which should appear upon the coasts of G. Bri-

tain. The ministry appears ignorant of these things, and even disavows them; notwithstanding which, some engineers and other officers from Britany, have been making their observations upon the coasts of Suffex. Several things have lately been done, at which the French ministry is nettled; and particularly at the advice that M. Courteille, Ambassador from France in Switzerland, has given, that he was thwarted by the court of London in the affair of renewing the alliance with the Helvetic body.

Extract of a letter from AMSTERDAM.

“ Though vast preparations are making both in G. Britain and Spain, letters of reprisal on both sides granted, and ministers reciprocally recalled; tho’ even the misunderstandings between the two nations are carried on to such a pitch, that there seems to be no difference between them and an open war, except the want of a declaration: yet many people here believe, that affairs will be accommodated before coming to an open rupture. It is certain, that the French Ambassador at the court of London has lately made much more favourable propositions there than could be expected from the declaration which M. Amelot made to the Earl of Waldegrave, in a conference which he had with him a while ago, wherein he said to that Ambassador, that the King, before having proposed his mediation, jointly with that of the States General, to accommodate matters between G. Britain and Spain, had sounded his Catholick Majesty upon that subject; and that this prince had appeared readily-dispos’d to accept of the good offices of his Most Christian Majesty and their H. Mightinesses; but that he had declar’d at the same time, that it must not be hoped that he would ever desist from the right of causing ships to be visited, because he was thoroughly assur’d that the English would never desist from carrying on a contraband commerce. M. Amelot made in this conference fresh complaints of the ships of Admiral Haddock’s squadron continuing to visit the French vessels; that one of these latter was detained

tained at Gibraltar, and that before being carried thither, several guns had been fired at her to oblige her to bring so. He added, that these things could not fail of giving the King discontent, and of obliging him to take such measures as should effectually protect the ships of his subjects from any future insult. The court of France, foreseeing that it may possibly be obliged to take part with Spain, continues to put itself in a condition of assisting, in case of need, that power; and 'tis with this view that it is equipping another squadron of 12 men of war at Brest, to be commanded by the Marquis de la Luzerne; to which will be added, 10 which are at Rochefort, without reckoning 12 more that are sitting out at Toulon."

The determination of the States General, as to the rupture between G. Britain and Spain,—we must refer to our next.

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Of whom may be had the *Magazines* for the preceeding months.

A Motion for an address of thanks upon the convocation	P. 435	— an Atheist's ghost	p. 463
Reasons for the address	436	— an honest countryman's ghost	ib.
Necessary to distinguish between a right and the enjoyment of a right	437.	The behaviour of the city of London in the late election justified	464
The question on both sides between G. Britain and Spain	438	A scheme towards supporting the expense of a war	466
Dispute about Carolina and Georgia	440	Extracts of a pamphlet published at the time of the Rump-parliament	467
The present circumstances of affairs	ib.	Q. Anne's Speech to parliament in 1702	469
The above reasons answered	442	A short comment upon it	470
To give weight to negotiations by military preparations, bad politicks	443	Thoughts on the declaration of war	472
Contraband, and prohibited goods, dissent	444	Dr Campbell's principles stated, with remarks upon them	474
The British laws against smuggling not detrimental to fair traders	446	Ode on his Majesty's birth-day	475
The case of ships hovering on the British, and on the American coasts, different	447	To the memory of a deceas'd Lady. Or the death of a young Lady. To a young Lady with the Fair Circum- sian	476
Usual to compliment the King on a treaty	449	To Neera	477
The compliments only to the ministers	450	Mr Glover's speech	ib.
The Spanish demands examined	451	Instructions to the members for London	478
The British demands examined	452	Declaration of war	479
What is agreed on by the convocation	453	The merchant-company's petition	480
A right useless unless enjoyed	455	Instructions to the members for Edinburgh and Airshire	483
Our right to Georgia and Carolina considered	457	Births, Deaths, Preferments	484
Present state of affairs considered	ib.	Mortality-bill	485
A translation from Buchanan	460	G. Munich's letter to the D. of Car- land	ib.
A difference between the two theatres	461	Memorial to the States General	486
Dialogue betwixt Mercury and a Poet's ghost	462	Their letter to the King of Britain	487
		Register of books.	488

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The SCOTS Magazine.

OCTOBER, 1739.

PROCEEDINGS of the *Political Club*, continued from p. 408.

I SHALL now give you the substance of some of the most remarkable speeches that were made in our club, upon the late convention with Spain; which affair, because of the importance of the subject, and because a great many members of our club had a mind to give their sentiments upon it, was twice debated, and each time fully argued, by different members.

The first day this affair was ordered to be debated, 'twas resolved, That the several members who were to speak, should suppose themselves members of the higher house of parliament; where, upon C. *Cicerejus* stood up and said, If he had the honour to be a member of that house, he would move, "That an humble address should be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of that house for laying the convention between his Majesty and the King of Spain, dated the 14th Day of January last, together with the separate articles, before that house: To declare, that they thought it their indispensable duty, on that occasion, to express their just sense of his Majesty's royal care of the true interest of his people, and to acknowledge his great prudence, in bringing the demands of his subjects for their past losses, which had been so long depending, to a final adjustment by the said convention, and procuring an express stipulation for a speedy payment; and in laying a foundation for accomplishing the great and desirable ends of obtaining future security, and preserving the peace between the two nations: To beg leave also to declare to his Majesty, their confidence and reliance on his royal wisdom and steady attention to the

honour of his crown, and the welfare of his kingdoms, and that in the treaty to be concluded in pursuance of that convention, proper provisions would be made for redress of the grievances so justly complain'd of; and particularly, that the freedom of navigation in the American seas, to which his Majesty's subjects were intitled by the law of nations, and by virtue of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, would be so effectually secur'd, that they might enjoy, unmolested, their undoubted right of navigating, and carrying on trade and commerce from one part of his Majesty dominions to any other part thereof, without being liable to be stopped, visited, or searched, on the open seas, or to any other violation or infraction of the said treaties; the mutual observance thereof, and a just regard to the privileges belonging to each other, being the only means of maintaining a good correspondence, and lasting friendship between the two nations: And to desire permission at the same time, in the most dutiful manner, to express their firm dependence, that in the treaty to be concluded in pursuance of the said convention, the utmost regard would be had to the rights belonging to his Majesty's crown and subjects, in adjusting and settling the limits of his Majesty's dominions in America; and to give his Majesty the strongest assurances, that in case his just expectations should not be answer'd, that house would heartily and zealously concur in all such measures as should be necessary to vindicate his Majesty's honour, and to preserve to his subjects, the full enjoyment of all those rights to which they were in-

titled by treaty, and the law of nations."

This proposition introduced the debate upon the convention, in which many excellent speeches were made both for and against it; but as the whole would take up a great deal of more room than you have to spare, I shall give you the substance only of some of the most remarkable.

The first I shall give you, by C. Plinius Cæcilius, was to this effect.

My Lords, &c. Chancellor

THe address now proposed to you, is so agreeable to the resolutions you came to last session of parliament, upon the depredations that had been committed by Spain; and it is so natural a consequence of the address you presented to his Majesty upon that occasion, and of the measures his Majesty has since taken in pursuance of that address, that when I first heard it proposed, I did not expect it would have met with the least opposition. By the resolutions you came to last session of parliament, you asserted the right which the people of this nation have to a free navigation in the open seas of America; and you declared, that many unjust seizures had been made, and great depredations committed, by the Spaniards, to the great loss and damage of the subjects of G. Britain trading to America, and in direct violation of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns. This was the sum of your resolutions, and in consequence of these resolutions, you addressed his Majesty to use his endeavours with his Catholick Majesty, to obtain effectual relief for his injured subjects, and security for our navigation and commerce in time to come; and at the same time you assured his Majesty, that in case his royal and friendly instances should not prevail, you would effectually support his Majesty in taking such measures, as honour and justice should render necessary.

From hence, my Lords, it appears to have been the opinion of this house last session of parliament, that we had then no occasion to come to an immediate rupture with Spain; but that his Majesty

should first try what he could do by peaceable means, for obtaining reparation for past injuries, and security against any such for the future. Accordingly his Majesty did, in pursuance of this advice from his parliament, renew his negotiations with the court of Spain; and to give his negotiations their proper weight, he fitted out such squadrons as were sufficient for protecting the trade, and vindicating the honour of this nation by force of arms, in case that court had refused, or unreasonably delayed hearkning to those friendly instances, that were made to them by his Majesty.

This, my Lords, we now find has had the desired effect. From the preparations that were made here at home, and the squadrons that were fitted out, Spain saw we were in earnest, that his Majesty was resolved not to be any longer trifled with, and therefore they began seriously to consider the consequences of an open rupture. These consequences they had reason to be afraid of, they were afraid of them, and by their fears they were induced, I may say compelled, to give ear to the friendly instances that were made to them, and to acknowledge the injuries they had done, by promising to make as ample a satisfaction as we could reasonably insist on. I say, my Lords, as ample a satisfaction as we could reasonably insist on; for surely, if we expected satisfaction from them, it was but reasonable that we should allow them satisfaction for all the just claims they had upon us. According to this, which is certainly the just, and the only reasonable way of reckoning, in every case where there are mutual demands, the stipulated payment, which they have agreed to make in four months after the ratification of the treaty, is a full reparation for all the demands we had to make upon them, allowing a reasonable discount for prompt payment. For even according to the account stated by our own Commissaries, the claim of our merchants did not, at a moderate computation, amount to above 200,000 l. and the claims they had upon us were allowed to amount at least to 60,000 l. which reduced the sum due by them to

to 140,000*l.* for the prompt payment of which we have allowed them 45,000*l.* which is but a reasonable allowance, considering the delays we might have met with, if we had accepted of assignments upon his Catholick Majesty's revenues in N. Spain: Allowing therefore of this discount, it reduces the 140,000*l.* which is all we could pretend to be due, to the sum of 95,000*l.* which sum they gave, by this convention, expressly promised to pay here at London, within four months after the ratification; and that without delaying the payment of the said sum, on account of any restitution that has been made, in consequence of his Catholick Majesty's orders, of the whole, or any part of the value of the ships mentioned in the 4th article.

Thus, my Lords, we may see, that by this convention his Majesty has obtained one of the chief things recommended to him by his parliament last session; and as this has been obtained without involving the nation in a war, we have the more reason to thank his Majesty for the tender regard he has had, not only for those of his subjects that have already suffered by the Spanish depredations, but for all his subjects; because it is certain they would all have greatly suffered, if he had rashly and unadvisedly involved the nation in a dangerous and expensive war. But with respect to our future security, as it depends upon disputes, which it was impossible to enquire into fully, and determine absolutely, without a very mature deliberation; therefore, from the very nature of the thing, we could not expect, nor could his Majesty with any shew of reason insist upon its being explicitly provided for by a preliminary convention: however, his Majesty has taken so great care of the future security of our navigation and commerce, that he has got the Spanish court to agree, by this convention, to submit all the disputes that now subsist between the two nations, to the discussion of Plenipotentiaries, to be named respectively by the two crowns; and that no chicaning delays may be made use of on the part of Spain, it is expressly provided, that the Plenipotentiaries so named shall begin

their conferences six weeks after the exchange of the ratifications, and shall finish them within the space of eight months.

This was, in my opinion, my Lords, all that it was possible to do by a preliminary convention, with regard to the other disputes that now subsist between us and Spain; but tho' the final determination of those disputes be deferred for a short time, tho' we have submitted them to the discussion of Plenipotentiaries, yet by such delay and submission, we are so far from having acknowledged any of our undoubted rights to be disputable, as has been groundlessly insinuated, that the Spaniards have, in some measure, given up that right which is the principal one in dispute between the two nations. They pretended to a right to search our ships in the seas of America, in order to see whether they had been concerned in an illicit trade, and to seize and confiscate ship and cargo, in case it appeared that they had been concerned in such a trade, by their having what they call contraband goods on board. They have by this convention agreed to make good to us the damages we have sustained by their exercise of such a pretended right; they have agreed to pay us costs: and is not this a direct acknowledgment that they have been in the wrong? This is at least a tacit acknowledgment, that they now think they had no just claim to the right they have so long pretended to; and this I think, is a certain sign, that by the definitive treaty, which is to be concluded, in pursuance of this preliminary convention, they will make no scruple to give it up in the most express terms we can desire.

But, my Lords, with regard to the present disputes between the Spaniards and us, I find people have generally fallen into a very great mistake, by not distinguishing properly between a right and the enjoyment of that right. We have a right to a free navigation in the American seas, and to carry on what commerce we think fit between our own colonies and G. Britain, or between any one of our own colonies and another:

This is a right which the Spaniards never pretended to dispute with us. On the other hand, they have a right to prevent the carrying on of any contraband trade with their settlements in America; which is a right we never pretended to dispute with them. The chief dispute between us is about the enjoyment of our respective rights. They do not dispute our right to a free navigation in the American seas; but the question between us is, How we shall enjoy that right, so as not to prejudice their right to prevent a contraband trade's being carried on with their settlements in that part of the world? nor do we dispute their right to prevent such a contraband trade; but the question is, How they shall enjoy that right, so as not to prejudice our right to a free navigation? This is the chief dispute now subsisting between the two nations; this must be regulated before peace and friendship can be fully restored; and this could not be done in a short time, or by a preliminary convention. The affair must be fully examined and maturely considered, in order to contrive and mutually settle such regulations as may not be prejudicial to either. For this reason it was referred by both to be enquired into and regulated by Plenipotentiaries. But what are these Plenipotentiaries to regulate? Not the rights of either nation; but only the methods by which each nation is to enjoy its respective right for the future.

My Lords, if we would but consider our own case, I am persuaded we would look upon this as an affair not quite so easy to be settled as some people imagine. We pretend to a right, and we certainly have a right, to prevent any goods from being clandestinely run into this island, or into any of our dominions. We pretend to a right, and we certainly have a right, to prevent the exportation of our wool. On the other hand, the Dutch, the French, and all other nations, have a right to sail with their ships along our coasts, and even through the British channel. As long as they give us the honour of the flag, and abstain from all clandestine and prohibited trade, we have no right to interrupt them; yet

every one knows, that our guard-ships and *custom-house* sloops often stop them in their voyage, in order to examine, whether they have been concerned in any clandestine trade, such as the exporting of wool, or running any prohibited or uncustomed goods. Nay, we have gone so far as to make laws against ships that shall be found hovering *within two leagues* of our coast; and particularly, by a law passed but very lately, it is enacted, That, where any vessel coming from foreign parts, and having on board 6 lb of tea, or any foreign brandy, or other spirits, in casks under 60 gallons, except 2 gallons for each seaman, shall be found at anchor, or hovering within the limits of any port of this kingdom, or *within two leagues* of the shore, and not proceeding on her voyage with the first opportunity; all such tea, foreign brandy, and spirits, together with the package, or the value thereof, shall be forfeited, and the same may be seized.

This, my Lords, I do not mention with a design to draw any parallel between our behaviour and the behaviour of the Spaniards. We have exercised our right in such a manner, that no foreign nation has the least reason to say we have done them an injury, or to complain of the regulations we have made for the preservation and exercise of our right. On the contrary, the Spaniards have exercised the right they have to prevent a contraband trade with their settlements in America, in such a manner, that not only we, but every nation in Europe that has any trade in that part of the world, have just reason to complain of them, and to insist upon their altering the regulations they have made for the preservation of their right. Therefore, I say, I do not mention this, in order to make a comparison between their conduct and ours; but I mention it to show that, where a nation has a right of any kind, they have a power to make such regulations, even with regard to foreigners, as they think necessary for the preservation and exercise of that right, provided those regulations be not inconsistent with the law of nations, nor prejudicial to the rights or privileges of their
neigh-

neighbours. This is the principal dispute at present between Spain and us. We ought in justice to allow them to make such regulations, as may be necessary for preventing the carrying on of any contraband trade with their settlements in America; and on the other hand, they ought in justice to give up, and depart from any regulations they have made, if upon examination they be found contrary to the law of nations, or if by experience they have been found prejudicial to the undoubted rights and privileges of this nation. We have a right to a free navigation in the American seas; but we ought not to insist upon that navigation's being so very free and unconfined, as to render it impossible for the Spaniards to prevent an illicit trade with their settlements in that part of the world. We would look upon it as the height of injustice, if the French or Dutch should insist upon such an unlimited navigation along our coasts, and through the British channel, as would render it impossible for us to prevent the exportation of our wool, or the running of prohibited and uncustomed goods in upon us. If your Lordships consider the affair in this light, I am convinced you will be all of my opinion: you will look upon it as an affair that could not be easily settled; and will therefore think, that the most his Majesty could do, was, to have it referred to Plenipotentiaries, in order that they might settle such regulations between Spain and us, as might be effectual for the enjoyment of the right of each nation respectively, without hurting the right of the other; and at the same time you will see, that the word, *regulate*, was the only proper term upon this occasion, and that it does not mean an acknowledgment of any unjust right pretended to by Spain, nor a giving up of any of the undoubted rights of this nation, as some people have endeavoured to represent.

It has been proved at your bar, my Lords, and every man who considers the situation of our islands, and the Spanish islands in the West-Indies, and the nature of the winds and tides in the American seas, must see, that the ships of

both nations must often and necessarily sail *within two leagues* of the coasts of one another: Our ships may even sometimes be obliged to hover upon their coasts; and it may, for what I know, be found absolutely necessary, to allow the Spaniards a liberty, under proper regulations, to examine such of our merchant ships, as they find hovering within a certain distance of any of their coasts in that part of the world. This liberty, I say, may, for what I know, be necessary for enabling them to prevent an illicit trade's being carried on between our subjects, and their settlements in the West-Indies. It is a liberty we ourselves take with the ships of all nations, that are found hovering *within two leagues* of our coasts. Nay, it is a liberty which seems to be granted to them, and established by the treaties subsisting between the two crowns; for by the 4th article of the treaty between Spain and us, in the year 1667, it is expressly stipulated, That if any ship belonging to the subjects and merchants of the one or other nation, entering into bays, or in the open sea, shall be encountered by the ships of war belonging to the other nation; such ship of war may examine such merchant ship, and if any prohibited goods be found on board such ship, the same may be taken out and confiscated. From whence it appears, that the Spanish ships of war have already a power to examine such of our merchant ships as they encounter in the open seas, whether in America, or Europe; for the article is without limitation: and if they have of late made an unjust or wrong use of that power, we ought to insist upon its being put under such regulations, as may prevent such a bad use being made of it in time to come: but as the contriving and settling such regulations, must require a consultation with those who are well acquainted with the trade and navigation in America, we cannot suppose they could be settled by a preliminary treaty; and therefore, the only measure that could be taken, was, to refer them to be settled by Plenipotentiaries, so as that they might afterwards be

made part of a definitive treaty between the two nations.

I must now, my Lords, beg leave to consider a little, the dispute between Spain and us relating to Carolina and Georgia. This, likewise, my Lords, cannot properly be called a dispute about any of the undoubted rights either of this nation or of Spain. They do not dispute, at least they have not lately disputed, our right to what was formerly called Carolina, of which Georgia is a part; nor do we dispute their right to the Southern parts of Florida: The only dispute between us, is about the limits between our respective possessions in that part of the world; and this dispute it was impossible to settle by a preliminary convention. Such disputes, we know, are seldom adjusted, even by a definitive treaty; for when any such dispute subsists between two nations, they often, I may say generally, conclude even a solemn and definitive treaty, and by that treaty they agree, that the limits between their respective territories shall be afterwards adjusted and settled by Commissaries or Plenipotentiaries, to be named and appointed by the two contracting parties respectively: and therefore, my Lords, I must say, I am surpris'd to hear the least objection made against this part of the convention now under our consideration.

'Tis true, my Lords, we have agreed, that during the time that the discussion of this affair, relating to the limits between Carolina and Florida, shall last, things shall remain in the aforesaid territories of Florida and Carolina, in the situation they are in at present, without increasing the fortifications there, or taking any new posts. This is a sort of suspension of the free enjoyment of our right: but this is a confirmation of the right itself; because it imports an acknowledgment from Spain, that we have a right to some territories in Florida or Carolina. And for this very reason, it would have been wrong in us to have admitted of any article or words in this treaty, for obliging the Spaniards to suspend searching our ships on the open seas of America, during the discussion

of that affair; because our having stipulated any such suspension, would have been an acknowledgment that they had some sort of right to do so; in which case, some Lords would have had much more reason than they have at present, to insinuate, that by this treaty we had given up, or rendered disputable, some of the most undoubted rights of this nation.

Having thus, my Lords, shewn, that no reasonable objection can be made to the treaty now before us, I must beg your Lordships to consider the present circumstances of Europe, the circumstances of this nation, and the relation we stand in to Spain. To all nations it must be granted that peace is a desirable thing. It must be allowed, that no nation ought to enter into a war against any neighbouring nation whatever, if they can obtain every thing they can justly demand by peaceable means. But with regard to this nation, we ought to be more cautious of entering into a war than most others. We are a trading nation: a great part of our people subsist by trade; and even our landed Gentlemen, who have no concern in trade, owe a great part of their yearly revenue to the commerce and manufactures we carry on; for if it were not for our trade and manufactures, our farms could not let at so high a rent as they do, nor could we have near so many houses in our towns and villages. Therefore, as war must always interrupt our trade, we ought to be extremely cautious of engaging in war: and more so with regard to Spain than most other nations in Europe; because, I believe, it will be allowed, that our trade with Spain is more profitable to the nation in general, than our trade with any other nation in Europe, except Portugal alone. But suppose we were under a sort of necessity to engage in war, yet unless that necessity were extremely urgent as well as unavoidable, we ought to put off engaging in war for some time, both on account of our own circumstances, and on account of the present circumstances of affairs in Europe. With regard to our own circumstances, it must

be confessed, that, considering the present heavy load of debt we labour under, and the many taxes we are obliged to raise for the payment of that debt, we are at present in no very good condition for engaging in a dangerous and expensive war; and with regard to the affairs of Europe, they were never in a more unlucky situation for us, than they are at this time. If we should immediately engage in a war with Spain, 'tis possible, I may say, 'tis probable, that the Spaniards will be assisted by France, and perhaps by some other powers of Europe we little dream of at present. On the other hand, as the Emperor is engaged in a war with the Turks, and has been most surprisngly unlucky in the prosecution of that war, we can expect no assistance from that quarter; and this will of course prevent any of the other powers upon the continent from giving us any assistance, because it will be impossible to form an army upon the continent, sufficient for protecting them against the united force of France and Spain, assisted, perhaps, by several of the other Princes and States in Europe.

I know, my Lords, it may be said, that as we have the good luck to be environed by the sea, and have a fleet superior to any that France and Spain, joined together, can bring against us, we may protect our own trade and dominions, and so much infect the trade and dominions of our enemies, as to make them at last glad to agree to reasonable terms: but, my Lords, if our enemies are, by their great land armies, absolute masters upon the continent, they may not only prevent our receiving assistance from any of the princes or states upon the continent; but they may induce or oblige them all to join against us; at least they may oblige them to deny us access to any of their ports or harbours, either for our men of war or merchant ships, which would at once put an entire stop to our trade, and would make it impossible or very dangerous to send our squadrons to any great distance from our own ports: for tho' they may be superior to any squadrons that can be fitted out

against them, they are not equal to winds and tempests. By these they may be scattered and dispersed, some of them perhaps swallowed up, and the rest left a prey to a pusillanimous foe, that might lie skulking in port, and watching for such an opportunity.

It must therefore be acknowledged, my Lords, that the present circumstances of our affairs both at home and abroad, are no way suitable for our engaging in an immediate war. I should have been far from saying so much of them if they had not been well and publicly known. And as every thing I have said is well known to every court in Europe, I think, that, instead of finding fault with the little we have obtained by this preliminary treaty, we have reason to be surpris'd, that his Majesty was able to obtain so much. If the treaty had been much less favourable for us, I should have been for approving it; because it would have prevented our being obliged to come to an immediate rupture. For though the circumstances of our affairs, both abroad and at home, be at present in a bad situation, they cannot long continue so: Our own circumstances, while we remain at peace, will be every day growing better: We shall every year be able to pay off some part of our debt, and thereby either diminish our taxes, or increase our sinking fund. And as to the circumstances of affairs in Europe, they cannot long remain in the present situation. It is the peculiar happiness of this island, that no one nation in the world can attack us; and if we do not rashly and unadvisedly attack them, if we will but have patience, we can seldom fail of meeting with a good opportunity, in every four or five years time, for making the proudest and the most powerful nation in Europe, heartily repent of having injur'd this nation; and that without exposing our own country to the least danger, or to any great expence. As there are a great many different interests upon the continent, as those different interests are every day creating disputes among the Princes and states thereof, and as several deaths may hap-

happen that must give the affairs of Europe a turn in our favour; it would be most imprudent in us to engage in a war at present, when the state of affairs in Europe is in a situation the most unfavourable for this nation that ever any age produced: and therefore, I must think, that the convention now before us, was one of the wisest steps that could be made, and that it highly deserves the thanks of every man who wishes well to his country.

To what I have said, my Lords, I must add, that in a few years we shall probably be more united among ourselves, than we are at present. It must be allowed, that we have at present a very numerous party amongst us, who would be ready to join any invader, against our establish'd government; some out of a real principle, some from the hopes of making or mending their own private fortunes by the change, and some from malice and an unjust resentment against those who are employed in our administration. The numbers of those who are from principle disaffected to our government, will be decreasing every day; because, as their disaffection proceeds from a wrong education in their youth, their children have had an opportunity of learning other principles, and of discovering the ridiculousness of those principles by which their parents were govern'd: so that nature itself must put an end to this disaffection, since it can meet with no considerable supply from the rising generation. As for those who hope for advantage by a change, their numbers will always depend upon the probability of success; and therefore must always be greater or less, according as the juncture of affairs abroad is unlucky or favourable for this nation. And as to those who are governed by malice and resentment, time itself must blunt the edge of their passions; and common prudence will prevent their engaging with the enemies of their country, when, from the state of affairs in Europe, they can have but little probability of success.

From all which considerations, my Lords, I must be of opinion, that if the

present convention had not been near so satisfactory as it is, it would have been more prudent in his Majesty to have accepted of it, than to have engaged the nation in an immediate war; but as I have shewn, that we have thereby obtain'd all we could reasonably desire, it must be allowed that his Majesty has closely, and with surprising success, follow'd the advice that was given him by his parliament last session: and therefore, I think, we can do nothing less than thank him in the terms proposed.

The next that spoke was M. Agrippa, whose speech was in substance thus:

My Lords, L. Carteret

AS I have before given you my opinion upon this question, which is not in the least altered by any thing the Noble Lord that spoke last has said, I rise up now only to take notice of some things that fell from that Noble Lord. In the first part of his discourse he endeavoured to shew, that the measures pursued since last session, and the convention that has been concluded, were agreeable to the resolutions and address of this house last session of parliament. My Lords, 'tis so far otherwise, that to any one who reads the resolutions we then came to, and the address we then presented, both the measures we have pursued, and the treaty we have concluded, must appear to be directly contrary to the advice we then gave. We advised peaceable measures, 'tis true; but we did not advise that the nation should, in the midst of peace, be put to the expences of war: We advised his Majesty, 'tis true, to endeavour to procure satisfaction and security by peaceable means; but we did not advise him to accept of a treaty which stipulates neither the one nor the other: on the contrary, we expressly recommended to his Majesty to insist not only upon *no search*, but upon *no contraband goods*; whereas, in the treaty his ministers have advised him to accept of, there is not so much as a stipulation against either the one or the other, though both have been, for several years, openly and expressly pretended to by the Spaniards, and many of our merchants

ants plundered and ruined under that retence.

My Lords, to pretend to give weight to negotiations, by raising armies and fitting out squadrons, is a very modern, and a very extraordinary piece of politicks: a sort of politicks that was never practised in any country but this, nor in this before the happy æra of our present administration. When a nation is actually engaged in war, it would, indeed, be imprudent to disband their armies, or lay up their squadrons, till a peace is fully settled; but in time of peace, it is ridiculous to put a nation to the trouble and expence of armaments, till a war is actually resolved on. As long as there are any hopes of obtaining satisfaction by peaceable means, no wise and frugal government ever put themselves to the expence of extraordinary military preparations. When all such hopes are vanished, they then, indeed, prepare for war; but it is always with a design to make a proper use of the preparations they make, unless their enemies, besides satisfaction for all former demands, agree to make good the expence which their obstinacy has occasioned. To raise armies, and fit out squadrons, under pretence of giving weight to negotiations, can serve no end, therefore, but that of ministers, who by such means get an opportunity of filling their own and the pockets of their friends; for there is no power we can negotiate with, but knows, that we can both raise armies, and fit out squadrons, in case our negotiations should prove unsuccessful: and our putting ourselves to such expence before we know the issue of our negotiations, must give those we negotiate with a bad opinion of our conduct, which will of course diminish the weight of our negotiations; because they will conclude, that those who do not know how to govern in time of peace, will much less know how to govern in time of war. This we may know from fatal experience; for this nation had never so little influence upon the councils of Europe, as since we began to pretend to give weight to our negotiations, by maintaining or increasing peaceable armies, or

fitting out harmless squadrons. We have by a long course of such politicks, I am afraid, brought the nation into such contempt, that our neighbours now as little regard our military preparations, as they do our pacifick negotiations; and we have of late years made so many counter treaties, that, I'm afraid, every nation in Europe despises our promises, as much as they condemn our threatenings.

If we consider what has been done since last session, and the great expence the nation has been put to; nay if we give credit to what has been insinuated by the Noble Lords who have spoke in favour of this convention, we cannot say his Majesty has obtained this treaty, insignificant as it is, by peaceable measures, but by warlike preparations; and if the obstinacy of the Spaniards made such preparations necessary, they, and not the people of this nation, ought to have been made to pay for their obstinacy. But with regard to the treaty itself, if we will but look upon the resolutions and address of last year, we must see that it is still more contrary to the advice we then gave. We advised and recommended in the strongest terms, that his Majesty should insist upon no search, and also upon no contraband goods: In this treaty there is not a word of either; and yet every one must allow, that we recommended, and that we had great reason to recommend, that the Spaniards should be obliged, either by peaceable means, or by force of arms, to pass from both these pretences in the most express terms. The Spaniards, my Lords, may, without our consent, make what regulations they please for preventing an illicit trade with their colonies in America, provided those regulations be not inconsistent with the law of nations, nor contrary to the treaties subsisting between the two crowns: but that of searching our ships on the open seas, is not only inconsistent with the law of nations, but expressly contrary to the treaties subsisting between the two crowns. The Noble Lord was pleased to repeat a part of the 14th article of the treaty 1667: I wish he had repeated the whole;

for by that article it is expressly stipulated, That if any ship belonging to the subjects and merchants of the one or the other nation, *entering into bays, or in the open sea, shall be encountered by the ships of war of the other; such ships of war, to prevent disorders, shall not come within cannon-shot, but shall send their long-boat, or pinnace, to the merchant ship, and only two or three men on board, to whom the master shall shew his passports and sea-letters, to which, entire faith and credit shall be given.* Nay, by the foregoing article it is provided, That if the ships belonging to the subjects of the one or other nation, be necessitated to anchor in the roads or bays of either, or even to enter into the ports of either, *they shall not be molested or visited; but that it shall be sufficient for them to shew their passports or sea-letters, which being seen by the respective officers of either King, the said ships shall return freely to sea without any molestation.* From hence we may see, how careful our administration was in the reign of Charles II. to guard against our merchant ships being exposed to the trouble and inconveniences of a search; and yet some people are as ready to censure every thing that was done in that reign, as they are ready to applaud every thing that has been done in the present.

This treaty of 1667, my Lords, as the Noble Lord that spoke last has observed before me, is a general and unlimited treaty: it relates to the seas of America, as well as to the seas of Europe; and as it has been renewed and confirmed by every treaty between the two crowns since that time, it plainly demonstrates, that the searching our ships in any part of the world, or under any pretence whatsoever, is contrary to treaty, as well as inconsistent with the law of nations. Therefore, as the Spaniards have lately set up a pretence to search our ships on the open seas of America, before we had submitted to treat with them about any regulations for rendering effectual the right they have to prevent an illicit trade with their settlements in that part of the world, we ought to have insisted upon

their passing from this pretence, in the most explicit terms that could be made use of.

Now, my Lords, with regard to contraband or prohibited goods, for we must take care to distinguish between the two. Because contraband goods are only arms, ammunition, and other utensils of war which are on board a ship bound to an enemy's port; therefore none of our ships either in the American seas, or any other seas, can have any goods on board, which the Spaniards can call contraband, unless she be bound to some of the ports of those who are at that very time in war with Spain. But suppose a Spanish ship of war should meet at sea a British ship, and that by her passports or sea-letters it should appear, that she is bound to a port then belonging to the enemies of Spain; for it can no other way appear but by her passports or sea-letters, as is evident from the 14th article of the treaty 1667, which I have already mentioned: yet even in that case the Spaniards are not to search the British ship at sea, nor are they to confiscate the ship and cargo for the sake of the contraband goods that appear to be on board. By the 23d article of the same treaty, it is expressly provided, That in case any contraband goods be found on board, *by the above said means, they shall be taken out and confiscated; but for this reason the ship, and the other free and allowed commodities which shall be found therein, shall in no wise be either seized or confiscated.* And to prevent all dispute about what may be deem'd contraband, the several sorts of goods to be deem'd contraband are particularly enumerated in the 24th article; and by the 25th article it is expressly stipulated, That wheat, rye, barley, or other grain, or pulse, fish, wine, oil, and generally whatsoever belongs to the sustaining and nourishing of life, shall not be deemed contraband, though designed to be carried to the towns or places of enemies, unless such towns or place be besieg'd, and block'd up, or surrounded: which shews, that if the Spaniards had the least regard for this nation, or for the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, they would never have

pretended to have seized a British ship in the American seas, on account of her having any contraband goods on board.

As to prohibited goods, my Lords, they are very different from those properly called *contraband*. Prohibited goods, which in Latin are called *merces prohibita*, without adding the words, *vulgo contrabandae*, are such goods as are prohibited to be imported, or such as are prohibited to be exported, by the laws of any particular country. Both in Spain and England there are goods which are prohibited to be exported, and as there is an intercourse of trade between the two nations in Europe, the subjects of England may be liable to be punished, if they should export from Spain any of the goods prohibited to be exported by the laws of that kingdom, as well as the subjects of Spain may be liable to be punished, if they should export from hence any of the goods prohibited to be exported by the laws of this kingdom. This, I say, may be the case with regard to our respective dominions in Europe; and therefore this case too was regulated by the treaty 1667: for by the 15th article of that treaty it is stipulated, That if any prohibited goods be exported from the territories of either of the said Kings, by the respective subjects of the one or the other, the prohibited goods shall be *only* confiscated, and *not* the other goods; neither shall the delinquent incur any other punishment, except he shall carry out from the dominions of the King of G. Britain, the proper coin, wool, or fullers earth of the said kingdoms; or shall carry out of the kingdoms or dominions of the said King of Spain, any gold or silver, wrought or unwrought; in either of which cases the laws of the respective countries are to take place.

But, my Lords, as there is no intercourse of trade between the subjects of G. Britain, and the Spanish settlements in America, or between the subjects of Spain and the British settlements in that part of the world; therefore there can be no goods on board any ships of the one nation trading in those seas, that can be called *prohibited* by the other. The

very trade itself is prohibited, and consequently every shilling's worth that any British ship can export from the Spanish settlements in America, let the goods be of whatever sort or kind, must be prohibited; and may be seized and confiscated, not because she has got prohibited or contraband goods on board, but because she has been concerned in an illicit trade.

From what I have said, my Lords, it must appear, that no British ship sailing in the American seas, can have any goods on board which the Spaniards can call prohibited or contraband goods; and as they have lately set up such a pretence, and have seized and confiscated a great many of our ships upon that account, therefore we ought to have insisted upon their waving that pretence, before we had submitted to treat with them upon any other article. But suppose the Spaniards should say, they do not seize our ships in the American seas on account of their having prohibited or contraband goods on board, but on account of their having goods on board which are the proper produce of their settlements in that part of the world, because they look upon their having such goods on board as an incontestable proof of such ships having been concerned in an illicit trade with their settlements; my Lords, it would be ridiculous in us to admit of this, and still more ridiculous to admit of their searching British ships on the open seas of America upon this pretence: for they would certainly soon after pretend to search every ship they met with in the European seas, and to confiscate ship and cargo, in case they should find any Spanish gold or silver on board; because they would say, that her having Spanish gold or silver on board, was an incontestable proof of her having exported it clandestinely from some part of Spain, and consequently that the laws of their country ought to take place, according to the 15th article of the treaty 1667: Whereas by that treaty, and by the custom ever since, no British ship can be searched on the open seas by any Spanish ship of war; and consequently even those goods which are prohibi-

ted to be exported from Spain, cannot be seized or confiscated, after they are loaded on board a British ship, and that ship fairly out at sea, unless it should appear by her passports or sea-letters, that they were exported from Spain; which is a case that can never happen: for it can never appear by a ship's passports or sea-letters, that such goods were exported from Spain; because, when they are exported from thence clandestinely, as they must be, no account of them can appear in the ship's passports or sea-letters: and such goods, when exported from any other country, cannot then be called prohibited goods by the Spaniards; because they appear then by the ship's passports or sea-letters, not to have been exported from Spain, and consequently can neither be seized nor confiscated by the Spaniards.

I shall allow, my Lords, that the Spaniards have as good a right to prevent an illicit trade with their settlements in America, as we have to prevent an illicit trade with ours. Between these two cases a parallel may be drawn, in order to see which of us takes the wisest and the justest methods for preserving our right. But I was surpris'd to hear a parallel attempted to be drawn between an illicit trade with the Spanish settlements in America, and a clandestine or unlawful trade upon the coasts of G. Britain and Ireland. In the former there is no intercourse of trade allowed to foreigners: no foreign ship can enter any of their ports, but in cases of the greatest necessity; therefore, it is easy to prevent an illicit trade, without any severe precautions: to which I must add, that as there is no convenience of land-carriage from the by-creeks and corners of their coast to any of their great towns, no illicit trade can be carried on, but at places near some of their great towns; and there it would be easy to prevent it, by proper officers and proper regulations at land: nay, even one of their own governors was of opinion, as appears by a letter of his, which was read at our bar, that it would be easy to prevent an illicit trade, by proper precautions at land, without employing one guarda costâ at sea:

Whereas in Britain and Ireland there is a free intercourse of trade allowed to all foreigners, and convenient land or water carriage from every by-creek and corner of our coasts, to many populous cities and villages; and therefore, it is so easy for foreigners, as well as our own subjects, to run prohibited or unwhommed goods in upon us, or to steal our wool or fullers earth away from us, that it is absolutely necessary for us to take precautions, both by sea and land, against such practices.

However, my Lords, notwithstanding the difficulty we labour under in this case, let us but consider the laws we have made against the exporting of our wool, and against smuggling, and we shall find that no foreign nation can have the least ground to complain of them, nor can any foreigner suffer by them, unless he is really guilty, or very much to blame. We have, 'tis true, very severe laws against the exportation of our wool, and we have guard-ships appointed on purpose, and instructed to seize all ships exporting that valuable commodity to foreign parts; but those guard-ships never pretend to search or seize any foreign vessel, unless they have a full proof, or very great cause of suspicion, that the wool on board, which was actually exported, or carried out to her, from some part of Britain or Ireland. And as to those laws that have been made against ships hovering within two leagues of our coasts, they are so limited, that it is hardly possible any foreigner can suffer, unless he has a real design to smuggle: for even by the last act that was made against such ships, which is the most severe, I mean the late famous Smuggling act, passed but about three years since, the vessel must have tea, or foreign spirits on board, and those spirits must be in casks under 60 gallons; and further, she must not only appear to be hovering, but also it must appear, that she did not proceed upon her voyage, wind and weather permitting, and without the master's being able to shew, that she was detained, or prevented from proceeding, by any necessary cause whatsoever.

But, my Lords, lest some of the Spa-

lish advocates in this country should from these laws pretend, that we may allow the Spaniards to make free with such of our ships as they find sailing within two leagues of their coasts in America, I must take notice of some very material differences between the British and the American seas. In the first place, I am sure no man that has a true British heart, will allow the Spaniards to usurp such a dominion over the American seas, as we have a just right to over the British. And in the next place, I must observe, that no foreign ship, not bound to any of our ports, can have the least occasion to come within two leagues of my part of our shore, and much less to hover within two leagues of our shore, unless she has some bad design; but on the contrary, as our coasts are flat, and full of sand-banks, every fair trader will endeavour to keep above two leagues from our shore: Whereas, there are none of our ships that come from Jamaica to Britain, or that are bound from thence to any of our colonies upon the continent of America, but must steer their course close in with the shore of the Spanish islands of Hispaniola or Cuba. The reason of this is, because the course from Jamaica, by the windward passage, is much safer than that by the gulf of Florida; therefore it is chosen by all ships coming from Jamaica, if they can possibly make it: but as the trade-winds are almost directly in their teeth, they are obliged to keep close in with the Cuba shore, because there is a land-breeze comes off from that island, which greatly assists them in their course, and without which it would be impossible for them to make the windward passage. And even when they find they cannot make the windward passage; when they find they must bear away for the gulf, they must, for many leagues together, sail along the Cuba shore. And as they are obliged, after they pass Cape St Antonio, upon the west end of the island of Cuba, to turn up against the trade-winds, they are under a necessity of keeping close in with the Cuba shore, in order to take the benefit of the land-breezes from that island; for otherwise they

would be in great danger of being forced by the trade-winds and the currents, either into the gulf of Mexico, or upon the Martieres: the danger of which has been confirmed by experience; for it was proved at our bar, that two ships were lost but last year, because they, in their course, kept farther from the shore of Cuba than usual, in order to avoid the guarda costas; by which means they were both drove upon the Martieres and lost. But this is not all; our ships must not only keep close in with the Cuba shore, but when they are endeavouring to make the windward passage, they are often obliged to hover near that shore, or the shore of Hispaniola, for two or three weeks, when the trade-winds blow hard, in order to wait for a calm, that they may thereby have an opportunity of making that passage.

This shews, my Lords, that we cannot allow the Spaniards to search our ships within any limits at sea, even tho' they should be found hovering upon their coasts; and they have made so bad an use of the power they have lately usurped, that we have, I am sure, no reason to give them a right to that power by treaty, under any limitations whatever. But further, it is a power they have no occasion for, unless it be to injure and interrupt our trade: for their coasts are not like ours in Britain and Ireland; they are not full of inhabitants, and fishing or trading villages at every creek: they have no inhabitants, but in, or near their great towns: therefore no illicit trade can be carried on but in their ports, or at some creek very near them; and there it is impossible to carry on any illicit trade, but by the connivance of the Spanish governor, which is generally purchased by illicit traders, in which case the Spanish guarda costas dare not touch them: so that these guarda costas can be of no real use, but to molest and plunder, or seize, under frivolous pretences, those foreign ships that have no design to carry on an illicit trade with the Spanish settlements, and therefore will not be at the expence of making presents to Spanish governors.

I hope, my Lords, I have now made

it appear, that no regulations can be settled between Spain and us, for preserving the right they have to exclude foreigners from carrying on any trade in their settlements in the West-Indies. They may lay what penalties and forfeitures they will, upon their own subjects in that part of the world; they may even lay what penalties and forfeitures they will, upon those British subjects that shall come within their territories contrary to the treaty 1670: but they can lay no penalty or forfeiture on, nor can they subject to their regulations, any British ship or subject that does not come within their territories in America, which we cannot allow them to extend beyond the limits of their ports, havens, and inhabited creeks, unless we have a mind to yield up to them the sovereignty of the American seas, which I hope no British minister will dare. Therefore I cannot comprehend what our Plenipotentiaries have to regulate, with relation to our trade and navigation, unless they are to regulate and restrain (for every regulation must be a restraint) our right to a free navigation in the American seas, or our right to carry in our ships, whatever goods or merchandize we please, from one part of his Majesty's dominions to another. From hence it is evident, that this convention is so far from being agreeable to the resolutions of this house last session, that it is directly contrary to them; for which reason, it ought certainly to be some way amended.

But to me, my Lords, no amendment can be of any signification. I shall be against the motion, however amended: the convention I cannot approve of in any shape, or in any words: I have shewn it to be a most dishonourable and destructive treaty; and therefore, if any motion had been made for censuring it, I should have most heartily concurred; but as no such motion is now before us, I shall satisfy myself with giving a negative to the present question. In this, I hope to have a happiness I have been for many years very little accustomed to: I hope to have the concurrence of a great majority of this house; for surely, no

Lord that hears me, can be under the least difficulty in joining with me upon this occasion. If the question had been for censuring this treaty, bad as it is, some Lords might have found themselves under difficulties: they might, perhaps, have been unwilling to censure what has been done by their friends; but no rule of friendship can lay them under a difficulty in giving their negative to the present question. It is only refusing to approve of what they think does not deserve their approbation; and to approve with our lips, of what we in our hearts despise, is the part of a flatterer, not of a friend.

E. of Arundel
Upon this C. Cicerejus stood up again, and made a short speech, the purport of which was as follows, viz.

My Lords,

AS I am far from having the least doubt of our right to a free navigation in the American seas, or of our right to carry in our ships what goods or merchandize we think proper, from one part of his Majesty's dominions to another, I very much approve of what the Noble Lord that spoke last has said in vindication of these our rights: but from his having been at the pains to say so much in their vindication, I am persuaded the Spaniards may have something to say against them, or at least that they may have some reasons to offer, why we should agree to their being laid under some regulations, in order to secure them against an illicit trade's being carried on by our people in their settlements; and this convinces me, that our disputes upon this subject were of such a nature as could not be fully settled by a preliminary treaty. It must require some time to convince the Spanish court, that these our rights can admit of no regulations, especially as it is the interest of the Spanish Governors and Captains of guarda costas in America to insist upon it that they may; and as there is nothing in the convention now before us that can in the least derogate from either of these rights, I am far from having such an opinion of it as some Noble Lords have been pleased to express. On the contrary, I think it

the most we could expect in so short a time; and therefore I thought the least I could do, was to move for an address in the terms I have taken the liberty to propose.

If this were a solemn and definitive treaty, my Lords, there might be some reason for saying that it did not come up to our resolutions and address of last session; but as it is only a preliminary convention, and as by this preliminary his Majesty has obtained, by peaceable measures, a part of what was recommended to him last session, I mean reparation for our losses, and has, in my opinion, laid a foundation for obtaining, by the same means, all that was recommended to him, I think he deserves thanks from every man who delights in peace, or wishes prosperity to the trade and navigation of G. Britain. From such, I say, he deserves thanks: and he deserves it the more on account of his having obtain'd those terms by peaceable measures; for tho' the fitting out of squadrons may be called warlike preparations, they cannot be called warlike measures; and whatever other Lords may think, I shall always be of opinion, that in time of peace, as well as in time of war, the courts we negotiate with will have the more regard to what we propose, when they know we are ready to back our proposals with a well-disciplin'd army, and a powerful fleet to convey that army where-ever we have a mind. We can, 'tis true, raise armies, and fit out squadrons whenever we please; but we can do neither in an instant: and when foreign powers know that we have none such ready, they will of course suppose, they may have time to prepare for their defence, before we can be in a condition to attack them; which will render them less pliable than they would be, if they knew that the immediate consequence of their refusal would be a powerful invasion from this kingdom, upon some part of their territories.

For these reasons, my Lords, I do not think the motion I have made stands much in need of any amendment: but if the Noble Lord that spoke last, or a-

ny other Lord, will please to propose an amendment, I shall willingly agree to it, unless it appear to be a very unreasonable one; for all that I propose, my Lords, is, that we should make such a compliment upon the present occasion to his Majesty, as has always been usual when any treaty, convention, or negotiation, has been laid before this house by the King's order. This, I think, is upon all such occasions necessary; but upon the present I must think it more necessary than upon most others; because his Majesty's success, with regard to the solemn and definitive treaty, which is to be concluded in pursuance of this preliminary convention, must entirely depend upon the respect shown to his Majesty by his parliament upon this occasion.

The next that spoke was L. Pilo, whose speech was in substance as follows, viz.

My Lords, O. of Chesterfield

I Very little mind the address propos'd, or any address that can be propos'd upon this occasion: nor am I under the least concern, whether you amend it or no; for I shall be against it, however amended. I think this convention the most inglorious, the most pernicious, that this nation ever made; and therefore I shall be against any thing that may seem to insinuate the approbation of this house. We are sworn to be faithful counsellors to his Majesty, and I think it would be deceiving him, it would be a breach of our honour, a breach of our oath, to present to his Majesty an address that may bear the most distant resemblance of an approbation of such a treaty. I do not know who were the authors of it; and therefore I cannot condemn the convention because of the authors, but I must condemn the authors, be who they will, because of the convention. But, my Lords, though I do not know who were the authors, I know who were not: I know his Majesty was not: I know he would never have approved of it, if matters had not been egregiously misrepresented to him. It is not, my Lords, to the King, we are to shew

show our respect by an address upon this occasion: it is to his ministers; for I must always look upon addresses that seem to emanate an approbation of publick measures, as addresses made to the ministers who advised and conducted those measures. It is not therefore to the King, but to his ministers, that we are to shew our respect upon this occasion; and the only method by which we can regain from foreign nations that respect which is due to this, and that which we have forfeited by our late conduct, especially by our agreeing to this convention, would be to shew no respect to those that made it, but to censure it, and then address his Majesty, to know who had advised it. This would be shewing a due respect to our Sovereign, and a due respect to our own honour. As for our success, with regard to the solemn and definitive treaty, that is to be concluded in pursuance of this preliminary convention, I hope we shall have none; I would disappoint it if possible; for I am sure it is impossible to obtain an honourable treaty, in pursuance of such a dishonourable preliminary.

Last session of parliament, my Lords, we strengthened the hands of the crown in a most extraordinary manner: We put it in the power of the crown to obtain satisfaction, reparation, and security, by force of arms, if they could not be obtained by peaceable means; but no proper use has been made of the extraordinary powers we then granted. Great fleets have, indeed, been fitted out; the nation has been put to great expence, our seamen harrass'd, and our trade interrupted: From these mighty preparations the nation expected great things; but the Spaniards knew better: they knew the instructions given to our formidable squadrons; or at least they judged of them from former experience. They knew our fleets were directed by the same counsels they have been for several years past, and therefore they concluded, they were furnished with the same harmless instructions. We had before sent a fleet to Carthagena, where it lay peaceably for several months, an overmatch for Spain, but an unequal

match for the worms and climate. We had before sent a fleet to Gibraltar, when it was actually besieged by the Spaniards; but that fleet was not to attack or annoy them: no, it was so civil as to open to right and left, and let provisions pass through for the enemy's besieging army: Nay, it seems, they had instructions not even to protect our trade; for some of our merchant ships were taken under their very nose.

Our fleets sent out last summer, my Lords, now appear to have had the same sort of instructions. We may judge of the instructions given to that sent to the West-Indies, from an accident that happened. One blunt English Captain that was sent out upon a cruise, imagining that his country was not put to the expence of sending out fleets to do nothing, happened to meet with a Spanish register ship, which he took and brought in to Jamaica, as a lawful prize; but the Commodore knew the secret: he knew we were not to take, but in the most humble manner to sue for satisfaction and justice; and therefore he ordered the Captain not only to set his prize at liberty, but to convoy her back, with great respect, to the latitude in which he took her. Our Squadron sent to the Mediterranean could have no warlike instructions; because they could do no harm to Spain, unless it had been to make prize of some of their fishing-boats, or coasting barks: They had no land forces on board, nor were provided with any thing proper for annoying any Spanish town or village upon the sea-coast. None of our fleets therefore could give the least weight to our negotiations: they could serve for nothing, but to confirm the Spaniards in the contemptible opinion they have long entertained of us; and the consequence we find is agreeable. We have obtained no satisfaction for the many indignities that have been put upon us: it does not appear that we ever asked for it. We have obtained no reparation for our losses, but what was before agreed to by Spain, or what one part of our own people must make to the other. And we have obtained no security for our trade or navigation: that we

we have left entirely to our Plenipotentiaries; and they are such Plenipotentiaries, as, I believe, no nation in the world would have trusted with an affair of such consequence; for I do not know that either of them has one shilling's worth estate in any part of his Majesty's dominions, to answer for any malversations or breaches of faith they may be guilty of.

I am surpris'd any Lord should imagine, we have got as ample satisfaction as we could insist on. My Lords, the word *satisfaction* ought not to be mentioned by any one that talks in favour of this convention: we have got none. Has Spain agreed to punish or deliver up any one of its Governors or Captains, that have so cruelly used our seamen? This alone can be called satisfaction; and this we were afraid to ask. We have not so much as got, by this convention, any reparation for our losses; and yet we have by this convention given the Spaniards a general release. My Lords, I shall shew that we have got no reparation, but what Spain had before agreed to give, or what one part of our own people must make to the other; and in order to do this, I must examine the just demands, which, 'tis said, Spain had upon us. The only demands I ever heard of are, that which relates to the ships we took from them in the Mediterranean in 1718; and that which relates to the ship they call the *Sta Theresa*, which was seized at Dublin in 1735. If there are any other, I wish the Noble Lords who talk so much in favour of the convention, would mention and explain them.

Now, my Lords, with regard to the ships we took from them in the 1718, I must insist upon it, that they were justly taken, and were lawful prize. But as we, by the treaty in 1721, agreed to restore them, let us examine the words of that treaty, in order to see whether we have not long since complied, as far as we were obliged, with the terms of that treaty. The words of the 5th article of that treaty are, That his Britannick Majesty shall cause to be restored to his Catholick Majesty, all the ships

of the Spanish fleet which were taken by that of England, in the naval battle fought in the seas of Sicily in 1718; with the guns and other equipage, *in the condition they are at present*; or else the value of those that may have been sold, *at the same price that the purchasers shall have given*. These are the words of the treaty; and in pursuance of this, his Catholick Majesty sent Commissaries to Port Mahon, where all these ships were, except one; for I never heard that any more of them were sold; and the ships were accordingly, by his Majesty's orders, offer'd to be delivered to these Commissaries, with their guns and other equipage, in the condition they were then in, which was all we were obliged to: but the Commissaries refused to accept of them, because they were in a decayed condition, and unfit for service. Therefore, if these ships were not restored, it was the King of Spain's own fault; for we performed all that was incumbent upon us by the treaty 1721; except as to what related to the ship that had been sold. And that ship having been sent to Spain by those that purchased her, after they had fitted her up for service, at a very great expence, the Spaniards thought fit to seize her: by which they gave us a claim upon them, instead of their having any upon us, on account of that ship; for we were obliged to account for her only at the price at which she was sold, whereas, when they seiz'd her, she was worth a great deal more.

From hence it appears, my Lords, that they could have no just demand upon us, on account of any obligation we laid ourselves under by the treaty 1721. And with respect to the ship they call the *Sta Theresa*, it is well known, that she was one of those many British ships that have been of late most unjustly seized and confiscated by the Spaniards; and as she happened to be sent upon a voyage to Dublin by some Spanish merchants, the former owner being there at the time, immediately discovered her to be his ship; and he having applied to the government there, and fully proved his property, we could

not refuse to do justice to our own people in our own ports; though we have for many years neglected to obtain justice for them from the Spaniards. But if we consider the convention, we shall find, that the value of this ship is not to be included in the 60,000 l. demand which they make upon us; for by the 2d separate article, this ship is to be referred to the Plenipotentiaries, and if they should give it against us, the value of her is still to be accounted for, or to be allowed in whole, or in part, as a compensation for the British ship called the *Success*, the restitution of which is stipulated by the same article.

I hope I have now shewn, that the Spaniards had no just demands upon us; and therefore, I cannot comprehend how any Lord can talk of the mutual demands that were between the two nations. My Lords, there were no mutual demands: The demands were all of our side: We had taken great care they should have no demands upon us; for, to our Christian patience and long-suffering, we added a Christian sort of revenge. We heaped coals of fire upon their heads, by returning them many good offices for many injuries receiv'd. But, whatever Christianity may teach with regard to private life, I am sure it inculcates no such doctrines with regard to the behaviour of nations or governments towards one another; and I have good reason to believe, that those who have been the chief authors of our political tameness and submission, were no way influenced by any Christian motives.

I shall now, my Lords, consider the demands we had upon Spain; and here I must observe, that the demands of our merchants for ships plundered or seized by the Spaniards, before our Commissaries return'd from Spain, which is three or four years since, amounted to above 400,000 l. which sum was reckoned as the value of what was taken or plundered at prime cost; for, if our merchants had valued it at what they might have sold the cargoes for at market, it would have amounted to above 500,000 l. besides the damages they suffer'd by the in-

terruption of their trade, raising the premiums upon insurance, and loss of ships, two of which we had an account of from the Gentlemen that were examined at our bar, besides many others that were never heard of, some of which there is great reason to suspect, were taken by Spanish guarda costas, and the ships, with every living soul on board, sent to the bottom of the sea, after those pirates had gutted them of all they thought fit for their purpose. Therefore, the amount of our real damages; and consequently of our real demands upon Spain, at the time our Commissaries left that kingdom, was at least 500,000 l. Sterling; and as the Spaniards have taken and plunder'd a great many of our ships since that time, our demands upon them for damages, without reckoning costs, must have amounted to a great deal above 500,000 l. at the time we began to negotiate this convention: for, if to this we should add our costs, I mean the extraordinary expence the nation has been put to by their obstinate refusal of justice, our demands upon them at that time, would amount, I believe, to at least a million Sterling, without one shilling's worth of a just demand upon their side; and this whole demand we have by this convention releas'd, for the sum of 27,000 l. which is less than the King of Spain himself had allowed (before this convention was thought of) to be justly due to us, as I shall presently make appear.

My Lords, the value put by our Commissaries on the demands of our merchants, is what I have not the least regard to. They seem to have been Spanish, and not English Commissaries. 'Tis true, they reduced the demands of our merchants to 200,000 l. but they had not the least reason for what they did. One of them that was examined at our bar, could not give the least shadow of reason for making any reduction, and much less for making such an extraordinary reduction. From what he said, we may judge how they lump'd things in favour of Spain. He told us, that for about 20 sloops, that even they

allowed to have been unjustly seized, they lumped them at 100 l. a-piece, though every one knows, that no sloop, proper for sailing on seas where tornado's, tempests, and hurricanes are frequent, can be built and fitted out for 100 l. without reckoning the seamen's cloaths, provisions, and other things, that must be on board. From hence we may see, they were resolved to reduce the demands of their countrymen as low as possible. From whom they could have instructions for this, I cannot imagine: I am sure it was not from his Majesty; and if they received such instructions from any of his ministers, they ought not to have complied with them: it was betraying his Majesty, and sacrificing the interest of his people, to the selfish views of some of his ministers.

But even this sum of 200,000 l. the court of Spain was resolved, it seems, not to make good; and as our ministers were, it seems, resolved to have a treaty at any rate, it became necessary for them to reduce this sum. For this purpose we have allowed of a demand of 60,000 l. which the Spaniards made upon us, though they had not, as I have shewn, the least pretence for making such a demand. This reduced the 200,000 l. to 140,000 l. Well, but even this sum of 140,000 l. the court of Spain refused to pay; therefore we allowed them to deduct 45,000 l. for prompt payment. Whatever other Lords may think, I must think, an allowance of near one third of the sum due, is a pretty extraordinary allowance for prompt payment; especially, when that which is called prompt payment, is only a promise to pay in four months. I have often, my Lords, heard of an allowance made for prompt payment, when money is paid before it is due by law or custom; but never heard that the creditor made an allowance for prompt payment, when he gave his debtor four months forbearance: The allowance is then generally from the other side. This was the case between Spain and us. The money was due, and immediately payable both by law and custom; therefore they should

have made us an allowance for forbearance, instead of our making them an allowance for prompt payment. What necessity, what obligation, could we lie under to accept of assignments upon his Catholick Majesty's revenues in New Spain? It would have been ridiculous to accept of any such; because we knew, by experience, they were good for nothing.

However, my Lords, every pretence was to be admitted, that could be made for diminishing the sum due to us from Spain: Therefore this allowance for prompt payment was admitted of, and this reduced the 140,000 l. to 95,000 l. But still this sum was too large: The court of Spain would not so much as promise to pay even this sum; therefore our negotiators allowed, for what I know, prompted them to set up, a most unjust claim of 68,000 l. against our S. S. company: and tho' the Spaniards are, by their own acknowledgment, indebted to our S. S. company in a much larger sum; yet it was agreed, that this 68,000 l. should be immediately paid by the company to the King of Spain: and this immediate payment was made the fundamental article of the convention; for the King of Spain's protestation, or declaration, I must, and, I am convinced, the court of Spain will, consider as a condition *sine qua non*. And our agreeing to accept of any treaty under such a condition, is the more extraordinary, for that it was done by one who was the company's servant, and at that very time intrusted with the management of their affairs at that court.

We may now see, my Lords, what reparation the King of Spain has, by this convention, agreed to make us. He has agreed to make a stipulated payment of 95,000 l. to us in four months, provided our S. S. company make an immediate present to him of 68,000 l. so that he is to pay to us but 27,000 l. out of his own pocket: which is a less sum than he had acknowledged to be due to us, before this convention was thought of; because, before this convention was thought of, he had acknowledged, that the five ships, mentioned in the 4th article,

ticle, were unjustly seized, and had actually sent orders to New Spain for their restitution: and the value of these few ships will, I am sure, amount to more than 27,000 l. Nay, if, in pursuance of these orders, they have been restored, which, indeed, I believe, we have no reason to apprehend, I do not know but we may be brought 4 or 5000 l. in debt; for by that article, the whole, or any part of them, that shall appear to have been restored, is to be repaid by us.

Let us now see, my Lords, what reparation we have obtained by this convention. Our plundered merchants are, indeed, to have 155,000 l. divided among them, the salaries, fees and perquisites of those who are to make the division, being first deducted; and this they are to have as a full satisfaction for their damages, which amount to more than 500,000 l. But how is this 155,000 l. to be raised? Why 60,000 l. of it, must be raised by a tax upon our own people, or by making a new encroachment upon our sinking fund; 68,000 l. another part of it, is to be raised by, or rather taken by violence from, our own S. S. company; and the remaining 27,000 l. is to be paid to us by the K. of Spain, which is a less sum than he had acknowledged to be due to us, before this convention was thought of. I beg pardon, my Lords, for detaining you so long upon this head; but as this treaty seems to have been artfully calculated for palming a sham reparation upon the nation, I was obliged to examine it to the bottom, in order to detect the artifices that have been made use of for covering the deceit.

Now, my Lords, with regard to our future security, we have been so negligent of it in this preliminary treaty, that we have not so much as obtained from the Spaniards a suspension of their wonted depredations. Where Spain is to be a gainer by a suspension, there it is expressly stipulated; but where we are to be gainers, it is entirely neglected. We have promised to suspend all fortifications and improvements in Georgia and Carolina; but Spain has not promised to suspend searching our ships,

and confiscating them upon frivolous pretences. For this neglect a learned Lord has found out a most ingenious excuse: he has told us, that if we had stipulated any such suspension, it would have imported an acknowledgment of their right to search and confiscate. How this may be in law, I do not know; but I do not think it agreeable to common sense. I cannot think, that my exacting a promise from a man to suspend doing me an injury, is the least acknowledgment, that he has a right to do me an injury. But if a suspension could be any way understood to be an acknowledgment of their right to search and confiscate our ships, the allowing them to continue the practice, must be a more direct, and, I am sure, a more hurtful sort of acknowledgment. Therefore, I must look upon this neglect in the preliminary convention, as a bad omen, with respect to the definitive treaty. The time, it is true, in which this definitive treaty is to be settled, is but eight months: they cannot, perhaps, do us any great injury in that time: but that term may be renewed, may be often renewed, I believe it will be renewed from time to time, as long as some people have any influence in our councils; for I do not believe it will ever be in their power to make the Spaniards give up any right they pretend to; and no British minister will ever dare to grant them, by a solemn treaty, a right to search British ships on the open seas, or a right to prescribe to his Majesty's subjects, what sort of goods they shall be allowed to carry in their ships from one part of his Majesty's dominions to another. For this reason, I do not know, but that our negotiations for a definitive treaty may last as long as our negotiations for this preliminary have continued, which I must look on to be at least ten years; for these renewals or continuations may be safely agreed to, because they will not be much taken notice of, or resented by the people; and during that whole time, the Spaniards are to continue to exercise a most unjust encroachment upon us, while we must continue to suspend the natural right

we have to fortify and improve our own dominions.

As for the pretence, my Lords, that the Spaniards have given up their right to search or confiscate our ships, and have acknowledged themselves in the wrong, by agreeing to pay us damages and costs, I have already shewn that they have not agreed, by this treaty, to pay us any damages but what they had before acknowledged to be due; and I was surpris'd to hear a learned Lord, who certainly understands what is meant by damages and costs, so far mistake the matter, as to say, the Spaniards have agreed to pay costs. Our costs are the expences the nation was put to in warlike preparations last summer, which the Spaniards have not agreed to pay me shilling of; for whether those preparations are to be called warlike measures or not, they certainly cost us a great deal of money; and in all nations but this, they look mighty like war: Even in this, till within these 20 years, they have generally been the certain harbinger of war; and will be so again, as soon as we begin to have a regard to our character abroad, or our oeconomy at home.

My Lords, I have this day, and upon this occasion, heard a distinction made by a learned Lord, between a right, and the enjoyment of a right. What the Noble Lord meant by his distinction, I cannot comprehend; for it is a distinction which, I confess, I do not understand. I am sure no right is good for any thing unless it be enjoy'd, nor farther than it is enjoy'd; and I must think, that whilst a man prevents my enjoying my right, he, for that time at least, takes from me the right itself. But after the Noble Lord had made this incomprehensible distinction, I was amaz'd to hear him say, there is no matter of right now in dispute between Spain and us. Do not they say, they have a right to search our ships on the open seas? It does not signify to us what frivolous pretence they found that right upon: They do pretend to it: They have enjoy'd it, by our tameness, for too many years. Do not they say, they have

a right to seize and confiscate our ships, if they find any gold, silver, logwood, cocoa, or other goods on board, which they are pleas'd to call the produce of their settlements in America? It signifies nothing to us, what reason they give for setting up such a claim: They do pretend to it, and have actually exercised this right, even since this treaty was first set on foot; for they seized Capt. Vaughan's ship on the 29th of June last, and have since condemn'd her, for no other reason, but because of her having some goods on board, which they said was the produce of their settlements, tho' it appear'd that he had taken them in at Jamaica. These, my Lords, are matters of right, which I hope our ministers dispute with them: I hope no British minister will ever dare to yield to them in either of these respects. And, on the other hand, do not we say, we have a right to a free navigation in the American seas? Do not the Spaniards deny we have any such right? do not they expressly say, we have no right to any navigation in those seas, but such as they have granted us by treaty? and that, they say, is only to and from our own colonies, whilst our ships steer a direct course; which they, as sovereigns of the American seas, are to be the only judges of. This is the meaning they put on the 8th article of the treaty 1670, which every man must be convinc'd of that has read Mr de la Quadra's letter to Mr Keene of the 10th of February was a twelvemonth. His words are, after having given an abstract of that article: — "That these words plainly shew the little grounds of the proposition you have advanced, That his Britannick Majesty's subjects have a right to a free commerce and navigation in the West-Indies; the only navigation that can be claimed by them being that to their islands and plantations, whilst they steer a due course; and their ships liable to seizure and confiscation, if it be prov'd that they have altered their route, without necessity, in order to draw near to the Spanish coasts." This, 'tis true, my Lords, is a most false and ridiculous interpretation of that article

but this they have been prompted to insist on by our tameness, and by our puzzling the case with our negotiations.

From hence we must see, my Lords, that there are rights of great importance in dispute between Spain and us. They pretend to rights which we can never admit of, as long as we possess a foot of ground, or have any trade, in the West-Indies; and they deny us a right that every free state in the world has a just title to by the laws of nature and nations: and I will venture to prophesy, that without a war they will never give up the former, nor acknowledge the latter. We may negotiate as long as we please: we may conclude sham treaties and conventions, as temporary expedients for amusing our own people; but from our late conduct they have conceived such a contemptible opinion of us, that we must now fight them before we can expect any justice or satisfaction from them. This must at last be the case; but when this happens, it will not be those who then advise a war, but those who by their pusillanimous conduct have made it necessary, that ought to be blamed for having led the nation into a war. If we had properly resented the first insult, and had peremptorily insisted upon full satisfaction, we might have obtained it by peaceable means; but now, I'm afraid, it is become impossible: we must go to war before we can expect either satisfaction or quiet. And when we do, I hope it will be conducted with wisdom and vigour: for if we shew the same irresolute conduct in war, we have lately done in peace, if we seem afraid of hurting the enemy too much; like a senseless and spiritless animal fallen into a mire, the longer we struggle, the deeper we shall sink, and may at last come to be suffocated in the mud: Whereas, by a bold and vigorous push at first, we might have got through the quag-mire, and thrown ourselves safe upon the opposite shore.

Having now shewn, that our right to a free navigation in the American seas, is one of those rights that is disputed by Spain, we must from thence conclude, it is one of those rights, that is by this convention to be regulated by Plenipo-

tentiaries; that is to say, my Lord, it is to be given up by our Plenipotentiaries: for if it be regulated, it must be destroyed: every regulation must be a restraint, and that which is put under a restraint, can in no sense be said to be free. The right Spain pretends to, of searching our ships in the open seas; and the right they pretend to, of prescribing to us what sort of goods we may carry in our ships, from one part of the British dominions to another, are rights which, I hope, are now in dispute between Spain and us; and are therefore rights that are referred to be regulated by our Plenipotentiaries. My Lords, if we agree to regulate them, we grant them; and if we grant them under any regulations, we can no longer pretend to a free navigation or commerce in the American seas: therefore, my Lords, I must look upon this article as an artful or indirect surrender (I shall not give it the name it deserves) of the most undoubted and the most valuable rights of the people of G. Britain. A learned Prelate who spoke some time ago [*Q. Sabauis Serra*], and a learned Lord who spoke since [*C. Plinius Cocillius*], have, indeed, upon this subject, shewn themselves excellent advocates for Spain: I hope the Spanish Plenipotentiaries will neither have so much eloquence, nor so many arguments; for, if they have, as I have no very great opinion of the capacity or qualifications of our own, I am afraid we shall come off with the worst. But their arguments in favour of Spain have been so fully answered by a Noble Duke [*L. Emilio Paulus*] that spoke after the Reverend Prelate, and a Noble Lord [*M. Arrippa*] that spoke last but one, that I need not, if I could, add any thing to the answers they have made; therefore, I shall only wish that our Plenipotentiaries had been here to have heard them, in order that they might have learned, how to defend the cause of their country, against the most artful arguments that can be made use of by its enemies.

The only other right now in dispute between Spain and us, that seems to have been taken the least notice of in our late negotiations, is our right to Georgia and Caro-

Carolina. This the Noble Lord who spoke last but two, has represented as a dispute about limits only; tho' every one knows the Spaniards have lately begun to dispute our right to Georgia, and even to a great part of Carolina, particularly our right to the former, which they so peremptorily deny, that they would not allow the name to be so much as mentioned in this convention: and as we have lately given that country the name of Georgia, not only by charter, but by authority of parliament; our accepting of an article about the regulation of limits, without mentioning our frontier province, will, I'm afraid, be considered by the Spaniards as a surrender of that province. We may, if we will, give up Georgia; we may give up South-Carolina, and yet say that the only dispute between Spain and us was about limits: because the Spaniards insisted, that the river Podie upon the borders of North-Carolina, was the proper limit between Florida and Carolina; whereas we insisted, that the river Alabama was the proper limit. This, I say, might be called a dispute only about limits; but if we should give up all the country lying between these two rivers, if we do not give up a right, I will say, we give up a very valuable possession.

I have now shewn, my Lords, that, by this convention, we have obtained no reparation; and that, so far from obtaining future security, we seem to have, in some measure, given up every thing, upon which our future security can be founded. What, then, could induce us to accept of such an unsatisfactory, such a dishonourable preliminary? Which is a question that leads me of course to consider the present circumstances of Europe in general, and of this nation in particular. This, my Lords, I confess, is a subject which I touch on with reluctance; because, I am sure, it can afford no great comfort, either to the speaker, or to the hearer. The state of our affairs, both at home and abroad, I shall grant, is dismal enough; but I am sorry to hear it made more dismal than it really is, for the sake of justifying an

inglorious treaty, or a dastardly submission to the most provoking insults. The affairs of Europe are, indeed, at present, in a situation not very favourable for this kingdom; but what is this owing to? It is owing, my Lords, to a ridiculous notion we took up about fifteen years ago, of the overgrown power of the house of Austria: a notion that could be instilled into us by nothing but French counsels; and who were the chief propagators of this pernicious notion, we may well remember. This notion produced the treaty of Hanover: a treaty calculated for dissolving an alliance, which we ought to have cultivated and strengthened with all our art; because it could be prejudicial to no state in Europe but France alone. And this treaty of Hanover drove us into that long chain of negotiations, treaties, and expence, by which we not only re-united the two branches of the house of Bourbon, but contributed at our own expence to aggrandize them. Our fleets were employed to give principalities to one of the branches of that house; and now we are told, you must not vindicate your rights or your honour against one of these branches, because it may be assisted by the other.

My Lords, if this argument proves any thing, it proves too much. If we dare not revenge the affronts that are put upon us, nor repel the most unjust encroachments, for fear of France, we have nothing to do but lie down and die. It signifies nothing to put it off by patchwork and expedients for eight months longer. But this, my Lords, has been our method for several years: like builders that build a house to last only for the term of their lease: they build of rotten materials; and if they can by patchwork keep it up while they are in it, they do not care if it tumbles upon, and crushes the landlord under its ruins. A minister that has no credit or character abroad, nor any authority or affection among the people at home, must have recourse to patchwork and expedients. He can have no materials but the rotten hearts of sycophants and time-servers; and these must be kept together,

gether, at a great expence, by temporary expedients. He neither can, nor will think of building a solid and lasting fabrick: but I hope the nation will never allow him to build for them; or if they should be so unwise as to allow him to erect a deceitful fabrick, that they will pull it about his ears, before he has time to inclose them; for if they should allow him to go on, he may so environ them with ruins, that it will hardly be possible for them to find their way out.

I cannot easily believe, my Lords, that France will assist Spain in putting a yolk upon us, that may afterwards serve as a precedent for putting the same yolk upon themselves. The court of France is seldom so short in its politicks. I am rather inclined to think, that the court of France will either endeavour to prevail on us to accept of sham treaties, and a precarious security; or, in case of a war, that they will endeavour to prevent our bringing it to a speedy issue by a vigorous prosecution. I hope we shall take care not to be directed or dup'd by French counsels in either of these cases; for both will be destructive to this nation, both will serve the ends of France: a precarious peace, or a languid war, will keep up a contention between Spain and us; and such a contention will contribute greatly to establish the trade of France upon the ruins of the trade of this nation. But suppose these two nations should unite against us, and that we have negotiated ourselves out of every alliance that can give us any assistance; yet still we must do the best we can. By a wise and vigorous conduct we might make both of them repent of their undertaking. They both depend greatly upon their trade and territories in the West-Indies, where we may be masters if we will; and though they have both of late got great additions of power by our blunders, yet they must not pretend to prescribe to all the powers of Europe. Such an attempt would bring back to us those allies whom we have detach'd by our late conduct; and in that case, a confederacy might soon be formed, that would be able to prescribe laws both to France and Spain, instead of receiving

laws from them. The present aspect of affairs in Europe is, 'tis true, dismal enough: but it is not yet so dismal as it was in the beginning of the year 1702; and every one knows the glorious success of the confederacy that was then formed against France and Spain. But before we can expect any success either in war, or in forming confederacies, we must take care to unite our people amongst themselves, and to establish amongst them a confidence in the conduct of those that govern them; which I am afraid cannot be done by those who have spread disunion and distrust not only amongst our allies abroad, but amongst our people at home.

Our trade with Spain, my Lords, was once a profitable trade to this nation; but as France has lately got much into that trade, it is not near so profitable to us as it was. If it were not for our plantations, I believe we should be no great gainers upon the balance. We shall manage the war but ill if we do not make more by a war with Spain, than we can do by a precarious and interrupted trade. But if it were otherwise, we cannot preserve our trade with that nation, or with any nation, but by preserving their esteem and their friendship; and these we must lose, if we submit tamely to their insults. These walks, my Lords, ought to put us in mind of the methods by which our ancestors preserved the trade, and vindicated the honour of the nation. These shew it was not by negotiation, nor by lumping away the just demands of their country. I do not know, if there are any historical looms now at work, but I'm afraid our Spithead and Carthagea expeditions would make as bad a figure in a piece of tapestry, as they will hereafter do in our histories.

But, I hope, my Lords, we have no such looms at work: It would be for the honour of the nation, if no memorandum could be preserved of some of our past transactions; for we must alter our measures, before we can transmit to posterity what they can reflect on with satisfaction or emulation. If we had taken example from the conduct of a mini-

Minister in a neighbouring country, our affairs both at home and abroad, would have been in a very different situation: by encouraging trade and manufactures, by parsimony in publick expence, by not engaging needlessly in any broils, and by vindicating the honour of his country with resolution when there was occasion, he has rendered his country happy and himself glorious. But we have followed contrary measures, and by so doing have brought ourselves into that distress, which is now made the chief argument for our agreeing to this inglorious convention.

However, my Lords, I think the state of our affairs not yet so desperate, as that it ought to be a prevailing argument upon this occasion. I hope I have shewn, that the state of affairs in Europe, is not so bad as it has been represented; and as to our domestick affairs, can they improve by submitting to daily insults, and to usurpations that must destroy our trade? In such circumstances can we pay off our debts, can we preserve our sinking fund? No, my Lords; by the decay of our trade, our people must every day become poorer and less numerous: This will diminish our consumption; and this again will of course diminish the annual produce of our taxes. We may, by a more rigorous collection, keep it up to its old value for some years; but it will soon begin to sink considerably every year; and this will at last annihilate our sinking fund. We cannot therefore propose to pay off our debt, unless we preserve our trade; nor can we pay any debt, if in time of peace we must be at the expence of war, which was our case last summer, and may probably be so for many summers to come: for if great armaments and military preparations were necessary to procure a preliminary convention, surely they will be as necessary for procuring a definitive treaty; therefore we must have a numerous army at land, and formidable squadrons, I mean, in show, my Lords, at sea, till this treaty be concluded and ratified, which, I am convinced, will not be very speedily. In the mean time, as we have stipula-

ted no suspension, our merchants will be plundered, and our seamen cruelly used by the Spanish guarda costas; which will of course render our people more and more discontented, and at last disaffected. Our people, 'tis true, may become more united; but it will be against our established government; and in that case, I hope, it will be allowed, that our domestick affairs would be in a worse condition than they are at present, and our government less able to carry on a foreign war, than our present government can be supposed to be.

Our domestick affairs may therefore, my Lords, grow worse, but they cannot grow better, by our continuing in such a warlike peace, as we have continued in for almost these twenty years; and we can expect no other sort of peace, till we retrieve our character, and establish our security, which, I think, can now be done no other way but by a vigorous and well conducted war. But suppose, my Lords, the state of affairs, both at home and abroad, were as dismal as it has been represented by those who have spoke in favour of this convention, could this be any reason for our suing for, or agreeing to such a treaty? We were in no danger of being attack'd by Spain: we were not so much as threatened with any such attack: we wanted only satisfaction and reparation for past injuries, and security against future; Therefore we had no shadow of reason for agreeing to any treaty that did not give us either the one or the other. By this we have obtained neither: We have absolutely released and given up the former; and we have rendered the latter more precarious than it was before. If we had made no treaty, no preliminary, Spain could only have continued to seize and confiscate such of our merchant ships as they could meet with and overcome; and this they may still do, notwithstanding this treaty. What would have been the consequence? Suppose the nation at present absolutely unable to vindicate its rights or its honour by force of arms, yet we might have waited with patience till an opportunity offered, without being expo-

fed to suffer, in the mean time, more than we are now exposed to, notwithstanding this treaty; and when an opportunity offered for vindicating our rights and our honour by force of arms, we could then have insisted upon full reparation for all losses, all damage, all expence; which we cannot now do, because by this treaty we have given a general release.

I shall agree, my Lords, that this nation can never long want an opportunity for revenge against any nation in Europe. This is our happiness: but this ought to have been an argument against our granting such a generous release as we have granted by this preliminary. Besides, my Lords, it is an argument some people ought to be ashamed to mention, if they could be ashamed of any thing. It is almost 20 years since Spain set up every claim against us they now pretend to: It is almost 20 years since they have been in a continued and uninterrupted course of insulting the nation, plundering our merchants, and maltreating our seamen; and 'tis strange, that in so long a time, we could find no opportunity for revenge, against a nation, which no man will say is by itself an equal match for this. My Lords, we have had many opportunities; but we have neglected them all, or have been prevail'd on by French counsels, or worse, to make use of none of them. We had one about seven years since, which, it is amazing, we neglected; and the fatal consequences of that neglect now begin to appear: but, I'm afraid, they do not yet all appear. If they are not prevented by a change of measures in this kingdom, they may prove fatal to Europe as well as England; and they cannot be prevented without an infinite expence to this nation, for which those who gave rise to them, ought, I hope they will be made to answer.

This shews, my Lords, that we ought not to have been so ready, I shall not say rash, in approving of treaties or negotiations, as we have been for several years past. We ought to approve of no treaty without maturely considering its

terms and its consequences, as also the necessity there was for agreeing to it; for as every treaty is a new national obligation, no treaty ought to be agreed to, without some necessity for so doing. And I am convinced that no man who maturely considers the treaty now before us, either in its terms, its consequences, or the necessity there was for our agreeing to it, will approve of it in any shape. An immediate war is not the necessary consequence of our refusing to approve of it, by putting a negative upon this motion. His Majesty may, nevertheless, wait for a more proper opportunity for declaring war. But if we should, in any shape, approve of this treaty, the demands which we may justly make, and fully obtain, in case of a successful war, will thereby be greatly diminished: therefore the motion which the Noble Lord has been pleas'd to make will, I hope, be disagree'd to.

[*This Journal to be continued.*]

A translation of the concluding verses of a poem, written originally in Latin, by *George Buchanan*, imitated.

MAJÆ CALENDE.

AS dreadful Boreas strips the fruitful plain
Of all its pride, and pours down snows
again;
Spails trees of leaves, and gardens of their
flowers,
And checks the flowing rivers in their
course:
So hoary hairs will change your youthful
years,
And horrid wrinkles on your face appear
Your skin being lax, your teeth will
fall
and grow;
Your sparkling eyes with burning red will
glow:
The flowing tongue will lose its pleasing
grace;
Life's winter hastens now with quick
pace!
Let old age therefore seize the spring of
time,
And youth its own, while youth is in its
prime.

Tweddellshire. Google W. H. 76

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR, London, Oct. 16.

THE winter has reached us, almost before our coffee-house politicians had finished the operations in Hungary, and before they had carried either of the Counts, Munich or Lacy, into winter-quarters: nay, I am mistaken if they had completely equipped our own fleet, and put our ships upon some enterprizes that were talk'd of in the spring. The Spaniards, indeed, they say, are at present before-hand with us, and will soon begin to think of laying up.—I am inaccountably led into *Politicks*, a science in which I could never boast any skill: but such is the prevalence of this subject at this time, that, if a man will not speak something upon it, he must, in most publick companies, be content to hold his tongue; and I, in mere conformity to this reigning taste, am in some danger of becoming an adept in the art of *Government*, and a proficient in the art of *War*, I only mean theoretically.—Besides, by mere dint of fitting under conversation which two years ago I could not endure, I have attain'd no small knowledge of *Geography*: Count Lacy's route has taught me that *Tartary* is larger than the county of *York*: Count Munich's march through *Poland*, and his successes toward *Cbooxim*, convince me that distance nor difficulty are at all formidable to some men: *Belgrade's* being surrender'd demonstrates that the *Mussulmen* are nearer neighbours than I with them: The designs said to have been lately concerted between *France* and *Sweden* teach me that alliances are not always the effect of the natural situation nor seeming interest of every country.

The Pope is said to be on the point of resigning the keys. What would you say to see the Cardinal Don Lewis of Spain succeed him in possession of the *Triple Crown*? What could his active mother then have to desire?—Nothing more, surely, in *Italy*.—But what have I to do with affairs of religion at *Rome*, who never was remarkably anxious about what we have in *England*?

It has often been observed, that as the

STAGE borrows all its charms from nature, and the state of mankind in general, it also affords, in several particulars, an exact likeness to the actions of mankind in the most important articles: *Russia*, *Turky*, the *Empire*, *Spain*, &c. have not lately been engaged in commotions more dangerous to their several interests, than our two theatres; and among the former treaties of peace and cessations of hostilities have not been more suddenly clapp'd up, and more unexpectedly agreed upon, than the latter have afforded within a few months past.—What will your admirers of our stage say, when you tell them that Mr CIBBER and Mrs CLIVE act in different houses! and that the town is running after the former to *Covent-garden*! a revolution fatal to some of the most shining scenes of our best comedies: for by the most earnest endeavours of those who succeed in the characters *new-cast* on this occasion, I fear the alteration will be sensibly felt at *Drury-lane*.—What will probably add to the advantage of the manager of *Covent-garden* theatre is, a prosecution carrying on against Mr *Cibber* by the director of that in *Drury-lane*: for I have often observed, that the publick are so earnest in their diversions, and resent with such certainty whatever is intended to interrupt them, that it is never safe for any man who expects favours from the people, to punish any who can add to their entertainment. This humour I will not offer to vindicate; but I am sure it has long prevail'd among us: and the attempt to seize *Cibber* one night when he was going to perform the very long part of *Bays* in the *Rebearfal* (in vindication of which Mr *Fl——d* only pleads he was doing it in form of law) will, I believe, be of great service to the stage he now belongs to.

I know not well how to account for it, but I am convinced, from a pretty long observation, that the taste for the stage very visibly decreases; and two houses only are not now so full as four or five usually were ten years ago.—You may think this an argument of our reformation of manners. I wish it were: but, as it was some years since observed

by a writer of great reputation. *If we trace history, we shall always find, that in every empire, monarchy, and republick, the stage was in most repute when the state was in its highest reputation.* I am, &c.

S. TOUPEE.

UNIVERSAL SPECTATOR, Octob. 20.

MERCURY: or,

The MASTER of the CEREMONIES.

Mercury.

Come, Gentlemen—I must dispose of you all according to your several professions. For you must know that every one in *Elysium* has the same pursuits that he had in the other world. *Cato* is still giving his little senate laws, and presiding over a band of patriots: In short, you have all some tincture of your former vices and virtues, and still chuse to act consistent with them.—Range yourselves in order.—Where are you going?—Stay Sir.

Poet's Ghost. Prithee, prithee, *Mercury*, give yourself no airs, nor any unnecessary trouble. I am very well acquainted with this place. I know all your districts, and your *Letbe*, your *Helicon*, *Parnassus*, and so forth. I am going to my brother *Homer*, and *Virgil*, and *Milton*, and the rest of them.

Mer. Your brother *Homer*! Why who are you?

P's Gb. Who am I? A Poet.

Mer. 'Faith I thought so. But do you think every rhyming coxcomb, who comes here, is admitted to the company of the worthy personages whom you mention'd?

P's Gb. Sir, I claim admission to *Parnassus* as the undoubted privilege of my profession.

Mer. But the case will be, whether the Gentlemen of *Parnassus* will allow you to be a Poet; for in this place they pay no deference to mere sound and name, nor regard the character a modest author may give of himself: his writings are the only proof of his merit; they therefore don't allow every one to be a Poet who lays claim to the title.

P's Gb. Faith, Sir, I don't know what they may allow; but this I think

is universally granted, that he who writes verses is a Poet.

Mer. You are mistaken: the ancients would have a fine time on't, if every *poetaster*, who could jingle dull prose into duller couplets, had the privilege to be admitted among them.

P's Gb. Why there it is now. The ancients! men who are valued above the present set of authors, only because they happen'd to live two or three thousand years before them. But, I gad, let me tell you, that we moderns think as well of ourselves as any ancients of them all.

Mer. Which is the reason all persons of sense think the worse of you. You cannot indeed be said to imitate them.

P's Gb. Imitate them! No, no. They might indeed have made a tolerable figure for the times they lived; but the present age has so refin'd a taste, that we have found out rules, and practise a new art of the *drama*.

Mer. What! more consonant to reason, and agreeable to nature, than theirs!

P's Gb. Reason and nature! Ha, ha, ha! They are more agreeable to the taste of the town; and that is the only thing an author is to study.

Mer. That is an error among you modern wits; for the author who regards nothing in his works but the taste of the generality of the people, must have but little concern for his writings. Let him always aim at perfection; and, if he attains it, the applause which his contemporaries may refuse, posterity will bestow.

P's Gb. *Posterity*! Very pretty doctrine, 'Faith. I thought you had known better, *Mercury*. Posterity cannot feed a Poet when living, though it may raise a monument for him when he is dead. No, no; posthumous applause, my dear, comes somewhat of the latest. No, no; we moderns never regard posterity.

Mer. Nor will posterity regard you. Come, Mr. *Modern*, I find what province I must allot you to. March down that avenue, and it leads to a numerous assembly of crambo-wits and ballad-mongers. You will find them complimenting one another on the sublimity of their parts.

P's Gb.

P; Gb. Crambo-wits and ballad-makers ! Zoons !

Mer. Nocontest.—Here, you officers, away with him.—

2d Gb. Pray, *Mercury*, let me go onward ; I want no conductor : why lo you think one is afraid of *Bugbears* and *Hobgoblins* ?

Mer. Who, and what are you ?

2d Gb. A great wit, who laugh at our serious farce here, as I laugh'd at ll the serious farce of the other world.

Mer. An Atheist ?

2d Gb. Something very like it.

Mer. And you fear nothing ?

2d Gb. nothing.

Mer. Then you have more courage than most of your great men who arrive in these dominions ; for your couriers and heroes, who have bully'd and slunder'd one half of mankind, and your religious wits, who deceived almost the other half, come hither the most timorous wretches you can imagine.

2d Gb. What can terrify them ?

Mer. Conscience.

2d Gb. How the wits in *London*, *Mercury*, would laugh could they hear you, who are a reputed wit, talk of conscience !

Mer. But how I shall laugh at those facetious Gentlemen, when on their arrival here they turn mere whining bipeds ; for your bully in religion, like your bully in courage, falls on his knees at the first approach of danger.—Come, sir, since you are so bold, turn down that walk on the left hand.

2d Gb. Ay, ay, with all my heart.—Tol lol lol de lol ; &c.—Help, help, or Heaven's fake help !—What do I see ?—Help !

Mer. Heydey ! my man of courage ; what's the matter ? why do your eyes roll, and your hairs stand on end, like quills upon the frighted porcupine ?

2d Gb. Defend me Heaven ! Such a monster assail'd me ; a thousand terrors on its aspects ; arm'd with a thousand corpions to destroy me ; sternly it glar'd and shook my very soul ! O *Mercury*, what could that monster be ?

Mer. A phantom that you are to be delivered up to ; it is *conscience*.

2d Gb. O teach me, teach me, how I may avoid it.

Mer. 'Tis impossible.

2d Gb. O, who can dare one moment to behold it !

Mer. You shall see.—Here is a poor simple countryman, who from his honesty of heart, and unfashionable sense of religion, neither wish'd death nor fear'd it, will have no such terrors.—Do you see that monster there this man complains of ?

3d Gb. I see a monstrous spectre ; but what's that to me ? It cannot hurt me ; I fear 'em not : I trust to a good heart and good conscience.

Mer. Then go, my friend, down that pleasant walk, and join among the virtuous men of all ranks and all ages.—You, Sir, must be deliver'd to that phantom you so long have ridicul'd.

2d Gb. Pray *Mercury*—

Mer. Away with him.—Are any of the rest of you over confident of your merit ?

Omnes. No.

Mer. Then I'll dispose of you according to your deserts, not according to the sentiments of merit which you may have entertain'd of yourselves in the other world ; for what is called *wit* by your *beaux esprits* of the age, is found here to be *folly*, and what they term *reason* is downright *madness* : Common-sense is most beneficial to mankind, and the practice of virtue the most certain road to happiness.

CRAFTSMAN, O^oob. 13.

Observations upon the late behaviour of the city of LONDON, &c.

THE city of *London* is so commodiously situated for *trade*, and hath long carried it on to so considerable an height, that it hath always been looked upon, not only as the *metropolis*, but the very *heart* of the kingdom, from whence the *blood* circulates through all parts of the *body-politick* ; and therefore it would be as ridiculous for the generality of the nation not to concur with the city of *London*, in all essential points of *trade*, as it was for the *limbs*, in the

table, to complain of the *belly's* receiving all the food and nourishment. As the late opposition in the *city* was not stirred up by any clandestine means, but visibly arose from the general sense of the *merchants*, upon the present unhappy state of affairs, I make no doubt that I shall soon have an opportunity of congratulating them upon seeing every trading town in *England* co-operate with them, and emulate their glorious spirit.

The provoking, cruel, and inhumane usage of our *merchants* and *seamen* abroad, as well as their repeated and fruitless applications at home, have been so often and so fully exposed in several *late pamphlets*, written upon this occasion, that I shall only just hint at them.

When the *merchants* found themselves in this unhappy condition both at home and abroad, after so many injuries and disappointments, what farther course had they to take? Ought they really to dispose of their *effects*, sell their *ships*, part with their *plantations*, and fly to *some other country* for protection, (as they declared in *parliament*) if they could not find it here? No; *omnia prius tentanda*, as our *ministerial writers* have observed with much less reason, in favour of the most *ignominious peace*, preferably to a *glorious and honourable war*, after so many unparallel'd condescensions on *one side*, and so many repeated provocations on the *other*.

Our *merchants* therefore had no other remedy left, without entirely giving up all their rights and interests, than by trying their *own strength*, when they found all hopes of relief from *other hands* defeated, and even rendered the subject of ridicule.

For this reason, it was very wisely and honestly resolved to fix a lasting brand of infamy upon ONE PERSON of their own body; who, in defiance of their known and declared sense of the late *fatal convention*, gave his vote for it, and thereby did all in his power to cram it down the throats of the nation; not without very strong suspicions (if we may give credit to general report) that he was influenced by the most *scandalous motives*. But although this very

imputation recommended him to the favour of all the *tools of power*, he was almost unanimously rejected by the *worthy Liverymen*, with as much spirit and vigour as the strictest regard to *order and decency* would permit.

This instance of *patriotism* (which amounts to a demonstration that there is really such a thing still left) was immediately followed by another, equally meritorious and worthy of notice: for when *this obnoxious man* was effectually set aside, a motion was immediately made by an *eminent merchant*, and seconded by loud acclamations from the *Liverymen in the hall*, for returning thanks to their *four worthy representatives*, for their vigorous opposition to the *late convention*; and earnestly requiring them, according to the ancient custom of instructing *their members*, to use their utmost endeavours to promote a bill for reducing and limiting the number of *place-men in the house of Commons*, as the only method to secure the *independency of parliament*, and consequently the prosperity of the whole kingdom. I doubt not that they are already preparing an *effectual bill* for this purpose; and I wish there may be as full an house as ever was known to support them in this great and necessary work.

But this affair did not drop here; for a *worthy Alderman* made another motion, for instructing their *present members* to obtain a repeal of that part of an *act*, commonly called the *city-act*, which gives the *court of ALDERMEN* a *NEGATIVE*; and for restoring the *court of COMMON-COUNCIL* to their ancient right. This motion from an *Alderman*, against the new power of the *court of Aldermen*, is an instance of uncommon impartiality; and must certainly be very acceptable to the *Common-council* and *best Liverymen of London*; who received it with great applause, and will, no doubt, make the *generous proposer* a suitable return.

These instances, which the citizens of *London* have given, in so remarkable a manner, of their resentment against *one man*, whose conduct they had just

reason to disapprove, a due regard to their *own rights*, and a very reasonable testimony of their dutiful attachment to the true interests of the *present Royal Family*, are sufficient proofs that the ancient spirit of this *great metropolis* is not yet lost, notwithstanding the indefatigable endeavours of *some men*, and the base prostitution of *others*. May the same spirit for ever prevail, as it hath done for several ages past; being one of the strongest barriers of the *liberties of the people* against any *unjust prerogatives of the crown*!

This glorious and exemplary conduct of the *city*, in defence of their *own rights and interests*, is likewise the strongest justification of those *Gentlemen*, who thought it their duty to withdraw themselves from *parliament*, upon the same account. — I beg pardon; for there may be yet a stronger; I mean, in case the *placemen* should be found strong enough to defeat a *bill*, for reducing and limiting their number, which would fully open the eyes of the *people*, and discover the secret springs of some *late transactions*.

A *bill* of this nature hath, indeed, sometimes miscarried in *another place*: but, for the honour of *that august assembly*, I cannot possibly think that it will be the case again; since it concerns only the *house of Commons*, and comes recommended to them, by the united voice of the *city*, as well as the *nation* in general.

I shall therefore conclude with a few general remarks upon the *convention*, which was the principal motive to the *late secession*, and the present proceedings in the *city*.

Though *this treaty*, or *piece of a treaty*, is now dissolved on *both sides*, and *we* have been put to a vast expence in preparations for carrying on a *vigorous war*; yet the *British fleet* hath been yet employed to no other purpose than in playing the little part of *privateering*; and the season of the year is now so far advanced, that we cannot well expect any *action of consequence* till the spring. It may, perhaps, be the design of *some persons*, after all this parade, to procure another *anniversary convention*, or something like it under a different name; ei-

ther by their *own wise negotiation*, or the friendly mediation of the *present great arbiter of Europe*. But we have lately seen so many glaring instances of the effects of *French mediation*, that it will hardly be relish'd, however *disguis'd*, by any *true Englishman*, who sincerely wishes well to his country; and since we are now sufficiently provided for any undertaking on our part, or any attack against us, either by *sea or land*, it seems to be generally expected that such a prodigious expence should not be entirely thrown away, without endeavouring to do ourselves justice by *force of arms*, against our *barbarous and insolent enemies*.

If we have *no allies* to assist us in the present undertaking, (as a *certain Honourable Gentleman* was lately pleas'd to assure us;) yet it may be some advantage to us, if we exert ourselves as we ought, that neither have we any *allies* to check us in the course of a *war*. We may pursue our designs where-ever our *interest*, or *just resentment* shall direct us. There is a part of the world, where *Spain* is particularly vulnerable, and we may be too hard for them, with *all their allies*. — But it is not the business of a *poor Journalist* to offer *schemes*, or *plans of operation*, though often call'd upon to do it by *those*, who would charge me with the highest degree of insolence, if I should accept their challenges, and presume to advise such eminent and consummate politicians as *their patrons*. I do not pretend to be in the *secrets of cabinets*; and solemnly declare, that I never look'd over either *Don BENJAMINO*, *Don HORATIO*, or *Don ROBERTO'S* shoulders, whilst they were concerting their *schemes*, or drawing up their *dispatches*. I will sum up my defence against this charge in a few words: I never was at the renown'd port of *LYNN* in my life, and therefore cannot be supposed to have any knowledge of the views and interests of *foreign courts*.

But though I am determin'd, for the sake of decency, to leave the *operations of a war* to those, whom it concerns, notwithstanding any solicitations; I will oblige *these importunate Gentlemen*

so far, as to throw in my poor mite of advice towards *ways and means*, for supporting the *expences* of it.

The first is so obvious to every body, in our present circumstances, that it may seem almost impertinent to mention it; for as the *country Gentlemen, Farmers, Traders, Manufacturers, and poor Labourers*, have been grievously loaded with taxes, during a long course of PEACE, it cannot be doubted that a large contribution will be cheerfully granted out of the CIVIL-LIST, towards the expences of a WAR. This was the case of the late K. WILLIAM and Q. ANNE: the former of whom had part of his settled revenue taken away by parliament, when the exigencies of the nation required it; and the latter voluntarily gave 100,000 *l.* a-year upon the same occasion. It would therefore be the greatest disrespect, and even a sort of disloyalty, to suppose that his present Majesty (whose civil-list is much larger, as his regard for his people is at least equal to either of those Princes) will not imitate the glorious example of his royal predecessors, in this particular, when he sees us almost overwhelmed with debt, and groaning under a multiplicity of burthensome taxes.

This will naturally pave the way to another resource: for those persons, who have grown rich by employments, whilst others have been exhausted by taxes, will certainly be ashamed not to follow the royal example, of their own accord, in case of their fellow-subjects; or they may be easily compell'd to do it. If we may give credit to some late lists, above 400,000 *l.* a-year is visibly distributed amongst two kinds of place-men only; besides other private gratuities. Half of this money, at least, might be easily sav'd, and ought to be sav'd, in times of distress. Some of these Gentlemen have amass'd immense estates from very low beginnings; and therefore they cannot decently refuse to serve their country, at such a time, without any profit, or at least a very moderate one. There are besides a multitude of unnecessary places, which ought to be entirely abolished, and the salaries of others considerably re-

duc'd. *M. de la Quadra* is said to have lately set a noble example of this kind to his fellow-ministers; and I hope it cannot be doubted that our unwearied statesmen will shew that they are not more voracious, at such a critical conjuncture, than our insulking enemies.

Another considerable aid, towards the support of a war, might be raised by the long-desired tax upon LUXURY; for it is a scandal to any free government, that whilst the poorer sort of the people are obliged to pay heavy duties for all the necessaries and conveniences of life, the rich should not pay in proportion for indulging themselves in pride, vanity, and riot. This would either raise a very great sum, or reduce that destructive vice, which would be equally advantageous to the nation. If any of the ministerial writers should be ordered to call upon me for a scheme to this purpose, I am ready to produce it, without any other reward than the merit of doing my utmost for the service of my country; a very rare instance of disinterestedness amongst our modern projectors!

But I must desire to have it observed, that I propose this tax upon luxury to be only annual, and not funded out, like most other taxes, which might destroy the very intent of it, by applying it to bad purposes; or if it should be thought proper to continue it, after the war, let it be given in lieu of other taxes, for the relief of the poor.

These, in my poor opinion, will be the most effectual means to support a vigorous war against our enemies abroad, and to unite us at home, in the common cause of our country; for whilst the people in general are under the apprehensions of being beggar'd, in order to support a few persons in pomp, luxury, and grandeur, it is ridiculous to expect that there will ever be such an union and harmony, as the present circumstances of the nation require.

COMMON SENSE, Octob. 20.

A Doctrine hath been vigorously pressed of late years, by all those on the mercenary side, whether place-men, pensioners, or hired scribblers, That

parliaments, once elected, are not accountable to those that chuse them for any thing they do; which, I conceive, is striking at the very fundamentals of all liberty.

This doctrine, though it slept for many years, is as old as the Rump parliament, (I am sorry to see it revived in our days;) I will shew the absurdity of it, by some extracts from a pamphlet, published in those times, intitled, *England's birthright against all arbitrary usurpation, whether regal or PARLIAMENTARY.*

“ If the King is entrusted with the militia, it is for the good and preservation of the republick, against foreign invasions and domestick rebellions; but, if he should employ it against the parliament or the commonwealth, so that there is certain appearance that they are employed to this purpose, he ought to be resisted, and the militia should refuse obedience to him; otherwise the law is a shell without a kernel, a shadow without a substance, a body without a soul.

When an army is committed to the command of a General, though it is not expressed in his commission or orders, that he is not to turn his cannon against his own country; yet, if he doth it, he ought to be resisted; and, *ipso facto*, the army is obliged to disobey him; unless we'll suppose, that men are obliged to cut their own throats: So that, though there is no express orders given to members of parliament, that they are not to oppress or pillage the people; yet, if they pretend they may do it by law, they then have tyranny conferred upon them legally; so the very ends of government, which is to set limits and restraints upon power, is, by law, overthrown: which is nonsense.

The parliament hath a power of making and repealing laws; but they themselves are bound by laws till they are repealed. It would be strange, indeed, if a King, doing wrong, may be resisted; and a parliament, doing wrong, may not be resisted.

If the electors of England should de-

clare to you, [*the author speaks to the parliament,*] You shall not make laws for us; we will do it for ourselves: will any man say, they may not do it? Takeaway this, where is *meum* and *tuum*, liberty and property? For if a parliament, once elected, are unlimited in power, there is an end of all. It cannot be imagined the people would give such a power to those to become their tyrants, whom they chuse for their servants: this is a power to destroy them, not to do them good.”

Here the author makes a bold exhortation to the people, calling upon them to rise up, as one man, against those that have betrayed their liberties and freedoms. Which paragraph we shall pass, and come on to the next.

“ Whether it is agreeable to justice, law, and equity, seeing, that by the 4th of Edward III. it is enacted, That there should be a parliament holden every year, or oftner if need require; and by the 36th of Edward III. it is enacted, That for the maintenance of the laws, and the redress of grievances which daily happen, a parliament shall be holden every year: that this present parliament hath sat four years, and many of the members betrayed their trusts, and those that remained ingross law-making, and also law-executing, into their own hands, contrary to reason and the true intent and meaning of the law, which saith, Delays in judgment in other courts shall be redressed in parliament, and also false judgments and difficult cases that shall happen shall be decided in parliament? — Read the 14th of Edward III.

By the manifest abusing the laws; oppressions, mischiefs and grievances are far more increased than they were before this parliament began; and, many times, by the powerful interest of a faction in the parliament, to save some of their undeserving members, they so violate the known unrepealed law of the land, yea, and their own votes and declarations, as if they had never made them: I say, all these things considered, ought not all the freemen of England, who have labour'd to preserve
this

this parliament, and their own native freedoms and birthrights, not only to chuse new members, but to enquire after the behaviour of those they have chosen?

If they find, since they came into the house, that they never made any motion for the publick good, nor for theirs that sent them, but do fit like so many minnies, and groles, that have no more wit in them than will reach from their noses to their mouths, as Doctor *Begwylk* said of them; or that they have been unfaithful, or unserviceable to the publick, those that chuse them may have liberty to chuse better, more faithful, and able men in their places; for standing water will corrupt, though it were never so pure at first."

I will now come to another part of this pamphlet, which particularly regards place-men.

"Whether it be not most agreeable to law, equity, and the nature of a parliament-man's place, that, during the time of his being a member, he should lay aside all employments of profit in the commonwealth, and attend only upon that function upon which he was chosen? If he be poor, or hath lost his estate, whether he might not, at present, be content with his master's wages; that is to say, with so much as the people, who chose him, by the law of the land, were obliged to pay him for his daily labour? which is expressed in the 33d of *Harry VIII.* to be four shillings a-day to every Knight, and, to every Citizen and Burgees, two shillings a-day.

Seeing by woful experience it is found, that the possessing employments breeds nothing but faction and base cowardice, and the sewing up mens lips, that they dare not speak freely for the commonwealth; nor displease such and such a faction, for fear of their being thrust out of their, unfit to be enjoy'd, offices: the commonwealth hath just cause to fear, they will set up an interest of their own, destructive to that common interest and freedom, whereof the poorest free-man in *England* ought to be possessor, and so make this present parliament an everlasting parliament; seeing parliament-

men and their officers have already secured and secured themselves with an ordinance, made the 26th of *June* 1645, that they shall not be called to an account by their masters, the people, for the commonwealth's money.

If an objection be made, and a question be ask'd, Would I have these parliament-men that had their places before the parliament sat, turned out? I answer, I would have Sir *Harry Vane*, Solicitor *St Johns*, and Mr *Holland* turned out of their places; since their enjoying them sews up their lips, and makes them they dare not speak, or do as they should. There is as much justice to turn them out, as to turn out Sir *Robert Harlow*, Sir *Walker Earl*, the Speaker, and all the Chancery judges; for it is the most unjust thing in the world, that the law-makers should be the law-executors.

All the executors of the law ought certainly to be persons that do not belong to the parliament, that they may not be able to make factions to save their lives and estates, when they do injustice; and I am confident there is never an honest hearted parliament-man, that means well, but is of this opinion, tho' it be never so contrary to his own particular interest."

In another place our author speaks as follows:

"I would fain know if, by the parliament's so eagerly pressing the covenant, they do not press the hast'ning of many of their own destruction; for, by the covenant, every man that takes it, is bound to maintain and preserve the fundamental laws of the kingdom, trodden under foot by the members of both houses arbitrary practices, not only towards cavaliers (for which they pretend some colour, pleading necessity) but also towards all other men, even some of their own party, that have more freely ventured their lives, to preserve the laws and liberties of the kingdom, than any of themselves. For justice and right have they done to no man that is a suiter to them; and, therefore, I here challenge all the members of both houses, from the first day of their sitting to this present

sent hour, to instance me that man in *England*; that is none of themselves, nor dependent upon themselves, that they have done effectual justice to, tho' they have had thousands of petitions and complaints for grand grievances before the parliament, some of which have spent themselves with prosecuting the business before them, and not one penny the better; and yet they have shared above 200,000 *l.* Of the commonwealth's money amongst themselves, as may be clearly particularised by their own newspapers, licensed by one of their own clerks. Was a parliament in *England* ever called for that purpose as to rob and poll the poor common people, and to force those that have scarce bread to put into their mouths to pay excise and other taxations, or else to rob and plunder them of all they have, and then share it amongst the members of both houses, as 1000 *l.* to one man, 2000 to another, and 3000 to a third, and this mostly to those that never hazarded their lives for the commonwealth, and never intended any good to the generality of the people, but that they should be as absolutely their vassals and slaves, and much more than ever they were to any of our Kings?

O thou righteous and powerful judge of heaven and earth, that, of all the base things in this world, hatest and abhorrest dissemblers and hypocrites, *Jer.* vii. 9, 10, 11, 12, to the 23. deal with these the greatest of dissemblers thyself, who, like so many bloody and cruel men, have engaged this poor kingdom in a war, pretendedly for the preservation of their laws and liberties, when, as God knows, by a constant series of actions, they never really and truly intended any such thing, but merely, by the blood and treasure of the people, to make themselves tyrannical lords and masters over them; so that, for my part, if I should take the covenant, I protest before the God of heaven and earth, without fear or dread of any man breathing, I should judge it my duty, in consequence, and by virtue of my oath, to do my utmost to prosecute even to death, with my sword in my hand, every mem-

ber of both houses that should visibly engage in the destruction of the fundamental laws and liberties of *England*; and prosecute them with as much zeal, as they prosecuted the King; for tyranny is tyranny by whomsoever executed, yea, tho' it be by members of parliament, as much as by a King. They themselves have taught us, by their declarations and practices, that tyranny is resistable; and therefore their arguments against the King, may well serve against themselves, if speedily they turn over a new leaf; for what is tyranny, but to admit no rule to govern but their own wills? It would be strange, that those who had practised resistance against a King, under pretence that he had abused the trust and power reposed in him, should pretend that parliaments are unaccountable, let them do what they will."

I shall make no observations upon these arguments, but leave it to the judgment of all those that shall peruse them, whether that can be esteem'd a free country, where those that are elected by the people, are not accountable for their behaviour to those from whom they deriv'd their power.

CRAFTSMAN, *Octob.* 27.

On the Art of supporting a War.

S I R,

I Think you have laid down a very honest and practicable scheme [*p.* 466.] towards the expences of a war with *Spain*. A parliamentary deduction, or a voluntary contribution, from the CIVIL-LIST, is fully justified in times of war, not only from reason and equity, but the two examples you mentioned in the reigns of K. WILLIAM and Q. ANNE.

As to the latter, it is confirmed by her Majesty's speech to both houses of parliament, on *Monday* the 30. of *March* 1702, at the beginning of her reign, as follows:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am very well pleased to have given my assent to the act for taking the publick accounts. Nothing is more reasonable than to give the kingdom the satisfaction

tisfaction of having those *great sums* accounted for, which were raised to carry on the *late war*; especially when it is necessary for our *own safety*, and the support of our *allies*, to continue *great taxes*.

Gentlemen of the house of Commons, I return you my kind and hearty thanks for continuing to me, for my life, the *same revenue* you had granted to the *King*. I will take great care it shall be managed to the *best advantage*; and while my subjects remain under the burden of *such great taxes*, I will straiten myself, in *my own expences*, rather than not contribute all I can to *their ease and relief*, with a just regard to the support of the honour and dignity of the crown.

It is probable the *revenue* may fall very short of what it hath formerly produced. However, I will give directions, that 100,000 *l.* be apply'd to the *publick service* in this year, out of the *revenues* you have so unanimously given me.

My Lords and Gentlemen, The present posture of affairs *abroad*, as well as the season of the year, obliges me to put you in mind of giving all possible dispatch to the *publick business*.

This speech breathes such a glorious spirit, and so warmly expresses the affections of the *mother of her country*, that it was receiv'd with great applause, at that time, and it would be injustice to her memory, at present, not to make a short comment upon it.

It is certainly true, (as *her Majesty* observes in the first paragraph) that nothing is more reasonable, at the commencement of a *new war*, which must be carried on by the continuance of *great taxes*, at the expence of *her people*, than that they should have a full and satisfactory account how the money raised for the support of any *former war* hath been disposed of. I cannot help adding, that *such an account* is certainly more reasonable, at the beginning of a *war*, after immense sums have been expended during a *long course of peace*; for that being a time, which requires no *extraordinary expences*, it is the interest of a *wise Prince*, and the duty of an *honest minister*, to lay hold of such an opportunity to heal up the wounds, which a *war*

hath occasioned, and to lay in a stock for a *new one*, when necessity requires it, by recruiting the *publick treasury*, and easing the *people*. Both of these may be easily done, during a long interval of *war*, by a little *good economy and good management*.

In the next paragraph of *this speech*, we find the *Queen* returning the *house of Commons* thanks, in the most grateful and affectionate manner, for continuing to her, during life, the *same revenue* they had granted to *K. William*. She likewise promises to take great care that it shall be managed to the *best advantage*. — It is proper to remark in this place, that *Q. Anne* was so far from desiring any increase of the *civil list*, that she was very thankful for the *same revenue* her predecessor enjoyed, though she came to the throne with a war upon her hands, which might have been made a pretence by *some Princes* to have ask'd for more. But her generous heart disdain'd any such unreasonable demands; and assur'd the parliament, that whilst *her subjects* remain'd under the burden of *such great taxes*, she would straiten herself in her *own expences*, rather than not contribute all she could to their *ease and relief*.

Bishop *Barnet* tells us, "That many seem'd to apprehend that so *great a revenue* might be apply'd to *uses*, not so profitable to the *publick*, in a reign that was like to be *frugal*, and probably would not be liable to *great accidents*."

However, these jealousies immediately vanish'd upon *her Majesty's speech*; which did not consist of *words* only: for though she expresses her apprehensions in the next paragraph, that the *revenue* would fall very short of what it formerly produced; yet she voluntarily promised to give directions that 100,000 *l.* should be apply'd towards the *publick expences of that year*; and, during the progress of the *war*, she gave up a considerable part of her revenue to the *same uses*, besides many other *munificent benefactions*, both of a *publick* and *private nature*.

All this was done by that *disinterested frugality*, which she promised the nation in her speech; for the *Dutchess of Marl-*

Marlborough assures us, upon the authority of the late Earl of Godolphin, Lord High Treasurer of England, "that from accidents in the customs, and lenity in the collection, her civil-list did not arise, one year with another, to more than 500,000 a-year." We have the same authority for saying, "that she never bought by one jewel during her whole reign; and that as to her robes, for nine years, she spent only 32,050 l. including the renovation expence."

The present state of the civil-list (by the liberal grant at the beginning of his reign, the savings in almost every branch of the expences of the royal household, the demise of her late Majesty, and several other exonerations of it) is so well known, and hath been so fully explained, that I shall not trouble you, or the reader with any recapitulation of the particulars.

Neither will I presume to offer my opinion what ought to be done upon the present extraordinary occasion, either by his Majesty, or the parliament. A war, so long desir'd by the nation, is now proclaimed in form against Spain, in his Majesty's name; and the parliament will soon meet by the same authority; when it cannot be doubted that the best measures will be devised for carrying on the war, not only with vigour and success, but likewise with all the ease to the people, which the present circumstances of affairs will admit.

But I must beg leave to take notice of one point, which deserves our particular consideration at this time.

All wise governments have kept a reserved stock, for the use of the publick, against extraordinary accidents, or emergencies, which was always look'd upon as inviolable, and not to be diverted to any other purposes.

The states of Greece had a sacred treasure, which was kept in the temple of Delos, and not to be alienated except in cases of the utmost extremity. This treasure was religiously preserv'd, according to its original institution, till the unhallow'd hands of Pericles seiz'd upon it, and at the same time upon the liberties of his country.

The ancient Romans had likewise a select treasure, call'd *aurum vicefararium*, which was laid up in the temple of Saturn, and not to be touch'd but in cases of the last necessity.

The modern Romans have a resource of the same kind in the castle of St Angelo, beside their great riches at Civita Vecchia, which are kept reserv'd against any great emergencies, or attacks upon the Holy See.

The sacred treasure of England consists, as Q. Elizabeth very wisely and honestly observ'd, in the purses of the people; for as whilst they are full, the royal coffers will never be empty; and for this reason she generously refunded a large sum of money to her people, when the service, for which it was granted her by parliament, did not require it.

We have, indeed, another treasure; formerly called *sacred and inviolable*; I mean the SINKING FUND, which was constituted for the payment of our national debts; but the very person, who had once the vanity to call it *his own child*, hath since manifestly discovered his want of natural affection, by diverting and sacrificing it to other purposes, for temporary expedients, and his own immediate interest. If this fund had been regularly and punctually applied, either to the payment of our debts, or the reduction of our taxes, for which it was originally designed, and most solemnly appropriated, the people's purses would have been enabled to supply very large sums toward the expences of a war. But since our affairs are very unhappily in another situation; it is to be wished, at least, that the sinking fund will not, upon any occasion, be funded out; which would be mortgaging our posterity, almost without redemption; but that whatever our necessities may require, will be raised within the year; by which it will be plainly perceiv'd whether the war is well or ill conducted, whatever may be the success of it. But I will conclude, as a late writer hath done, with this hearty prayer: GOD PROSPER THE ARMS OF GREAT BRITAIN!

I am, Sir, &c.

DAILY GAZETTEER, *Octob. 30.*

Free thoughts occasioned by the declaration of War against Spain.

Nothing will redound more to the honour of his Majesty's government, than the late declaration of war against Spain: for though involving a country in disputes founded only upon the ambition of a Prince, is always attended with consequences lamented by the people, (who are sure to share in the sufferings of such a war, tho' they reap not the advantages obtained by success;) yet no publick conduct can more merit the publick applause, than the proper exertion of a military force, when all pacifick means have been tried to no effect.

The blessings attending peace are so many, and so numerous are the dangers which accompany the most successful war, that as (especially to a trading nation) nothing is so desirable as the former, nothing ought to be entered upon with more precaution than the latter. In this respect the unwearied endeavours of his Majesty to prevent the interruption of such branches of commerce as will unavoidably be affected by a rupture with Spain, and the many expedients offered for adjusting amicably the differences that have so long subsisted between the two nations, must have sufficiently convinced the subjects of *G. Britain*, that our not obtaining, before now, a proper satisfaction for past injuries, and security from future insults, has not been owing to the want of a steady and tender regard for the interests of the people, nor of the greatest attention to the general prosperity of these realms.

With what joy then must every friend to *G. Britain* see a war declared, which is become necessary by the strictest laws of Reason and Humanity; a war which nothing but the voice of Justice has engaged us in, and which is founded only upon a claim to privileges which can never be invaded without violence; a war, which, as it is begun with a reluctance that is the sure result of an affection for the people, for their rights and

privileges, their lives and fortunes, will not fail to be executed with that vigour and resolution, that courage and conduct, which seldom fails to attend undertakings in themselves warrantable, and entered upon after suitable deliberation! Such a war cannot fail of success, as it cannot fail of a cheerful and necessary support; it being the honour of the crown, the *British navigation*, the trade and commerce of the three kingdoms, and all the dominions dependent thereon, that are now to be asserted and defended.

'Tis no vain pursuit of honour, no private ambition, no wild attempt to gain useless conquest, that has now roused the martial spirit of *G. Britain*; it is no scheme of giving crowns to foreign Princes, nor of lavishing English blood, that now beats to arms: 'tis the cause of *Britain* leads to the field, the honour of *England* that calls for our resentment; the interest of every subject of the crown summons our courage, and calls for our united endeavours to resent the insolent and ungenerous, the unjustifiable and cruel treatment, which our useful and greatly injured fellow-subjects have endured; and for which they can now hope no other restitution, than what is gained by the success of our arms. In such a cause, the heart that is not worn, cannot animate the breast of a *Briton*.

It was with the utmost pleasure I heard the cheerful and universal acclamations attending the publication of this declaration. In these the ancient voice of *Britain* speaks in its most powerful accents; and it must yield the utmost satisfaction to all lovers of their country, to see the whole people UNITED against the common enemy, in spite of the fruitless endeavours of a few men who have long laboured to DIVIDE us, as the most infallible means of effecting our destruction. But how impotent are the effects of their private malice, how black must appear their designs, who, while they have pleaded the service of the publick, the defence of our liberties, the preservation of our ancient rights, &c. have laboured only to expose us to the insults of our enemies, and to render us incapable of vindicating our national

tional rights and privileges against foreign violence, by fomenting groundless jealousies at home?

The whole people are now convinc'd of the truth of what has often been repeated in vindication of the measures pursued by the present administration, viz. That as the interest of the nation, the preservation of our commerce, and the prosperity of our manufactures, were thought sufficient motives for preferring peace while it could be enjoyed with the *advantages* which alone made it desirable; when *these reasons* for avoiding a rupture should cease, the same patriot care which prefer'd peace would exert itself in obtaining, by more vigorous measures, the *national advantages* which milder means were found ineffectual to preserve.

It must yield every friend to the *Protestant* interest, and to *G. Britain*, the most sensible pleasure to observe, that though a war has been long recommended by the mean tools of the malecontents, to promote their own seditious purposes, without any regard being paid their guilty clamours; yet, as soon as it was found necessary for the good of the land, it was entred upon with the same earnestness that had been exercis'd to avoid it; nothing being more evident, than that the motives of the present measures are truly *publick*, and founded upon such principles as cannot fail to convince all who are not deaf to conviction, that both our pacifick and hostile measures have been pursued from a steady regard to the good of *G. Britain*, to the trading interest of these realms, and the lives of the subjects of his Majesty's crown.

After such a conduct in the administration, a declaration of war must carry with it a demonstration, that nothing but the most notorious injustice could wrest it from a Prince who, whilst any hope remain'd of gaining restitution to his subjects, and of maintaining the honour of the crown by a continuance of the tranquillity he so tenaciously preserved, never betrayed an inclination of risking the people's lives and liberties, or of putting the nation to the charge

of a war, till it became necessary for the *good of the people*; who, as they must share in the expence, will be certain sharers in the advantages arising from the success of our arms. This being evidently the state of *G. Britain* at this time, there is no room to doubt but that the war which is now declared in the *people's behalf*, will be cheerfully supported by the *whole people*, as all are equally interested in its consequences; for as *national sufferings* have engaged us in it, nothing but *national advantages* can accrue from our success.

To the most thoughtful and considerate part of the nation, to those who are most terrified at the apprehensions of a war, and who form the most shocking ideas of the consequences of publick hostilities, where usage like what has been lately received from *Spain*, so loudly demands resentment, hostile measures will be view'd with serenity, when they are consider'd as the only means in our own hands to obtain the justice milder expedients have been unable to produce. The familiar old proverb of *desperate diseases requiring desperate remedies*, will vindicate the present conduct of the *British* government, to the satisfaction of the meanest subject who weighs the importance of a free navigation to the *British* dominions. The most timorous must own the *fitness* of martial expedients, now all others have failed, to obtain us the justice that is our right by the laws of nature, as well as the tenor of publick treaties.

If *Justice*, *Honour*, and a long forbearance, evidently proceeding from a desire to avoid the shedding of blood, can in any situation, or under any circumstances, hope for the blessing of heaven, there is now the strongest reason for expecting the favour of providence upon the arms of his Majesty; whose sword is now drawn to vindicate and defend his people, by correcting a nation which has rejected every honourable offer of peace, and violated the most solemn obligations, upon pretences too trifling, and too notoriously untrue, to bear mention;—a nation which, in defiance of the force of treaties, and of

the common laws of hospitality, has not only seized unjustly the effects of our trading fellow-subjects, but, with a cruelty for which they are remarkable through the annals of many ages, have used with barbarity the persons of those they have first depriv'd of their fortunes and liberties. That this is true, all Europe hath witnessed; and that the due punishment of these instances of cruelty and injustice may be as universally seen, is the earnest wish of ALG. SIDNEY.

The following letter well deserves a place, on account of the importance of the subject it treats of.—Such of our readers as do not approve the sentiments it contains, will not be displeas'd to find it inserted; since our impartiality obliges us to pay an equal regard to either side of a question, while candour and morality are not violated:—and we shall cheerfully transmit to the publick any defence of the Gentlemen principally aim'd at in the subsequent remarks.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

S I R,

Octob. 15.

EVERY man who hath nothing besides the interest of religion at heart, would be glad to find mankind, in all ages, convinc'd of the great truths of religion, though from very different principles; in this, as in other cases, one argument appearing conclusive to one person, another argument to another person. I cannot therefore approve of the practices of our modern divines, and defenders of revelation, who would rather have men reduced to atheism itself than not to allow of the necessity of their order and method of teaching. I am sorry to find the Reverend Dr Campbell, in his late book called *The necessity of Revelation, &c.* labouring the same design.

1. The Doctor endeavours to prove, "That the bulk of the ancient philosophers could not believe the immortality of the soul, because they did not infer it from right principles, viz. from its immateriality; whence modern philosophers (he says p. 132.) do, or can conclude its natural immortality."

2. The Doctor attempts to prove,

"That the said philosophers could not have any knowledge of an *infinite* mind, and of *morals* or *natural religion*, because of their great ignorance in natural philosophy; which (he says p. 381.) *she can teach us these things when left to ourselves.* The Doctor is certain, p. 346 that the being of God cannot be proved *a priori.*"

Now, Sir, having briefly stated the principles of the Doctor's elaborate piece, whence he would infer the necessity of revelation and a sacred institution of priests, the impartial will think that I do no ill service to the cause of religion in general, by shewing that the ancient were, at least, upon an equal footing with the modern philosophers, as to their proofs of these two fundamental articles of religion, the being of God, and a future state.

Every person, but a recluse philosopher who converses more with books than men, will find that there is something in the very human frame, which leads them more directly and certainly to the practice of their duty both to God and man, than any long train of reasoning from natural philosophy and tradition; all our knowledge of which is, at best, but uncertain and conjectural. And as to the bulk of mankind's belief of a God, we never find them doubt of his existence more than of the being of their neighbour. And, let the Doctor try it when he pleases, he will find less difficulty to prove the existence of God, in the way of philosophick reasoning, than that of our neighbour. Nay, further, it may be said in favour of *plumbers* and *spinsters*, (names which the Doctor repeats as if they included ignorance itself) that they arrive sooner at the knowledge of God from his works, than natural philosophers; who, hunting after second causes, drive the supreme and universal cause as much as possible out of the question; while the vulgar have, at first sight, just as good an idea of *consolation* as the best of them.

As to the *first* article which the Doctor would have the ancients more ignorant of than the moderns, viz. the immateriality of the soul; not to fill your paper with

ith quotations, a modern philosopher, ho has been at the most pains to prove immateriality, in his ingenious *Enquiry into the nature of the human soul*, arns us again and again, that its imateriality will not infer its *immortality*. nd further, one of the first metaphysicians of the age has shewn, by several ong arguments, that the above cited ttor's reasoning for the immateriality the soul is far from being *conclusive*. ence we may see, contrary to what Dr mpbell asserts, that the ancients as well the moderns might believe the imortality of the soul from more solid inciples than from its immateriality; ick is a thing so difficult to be prov'd, t I'm afraid the Doctor himself can't answer some quotations which he ings from the ancients against it.

Next, As to the being of an *infinite ind*, Dr Clarke, Mr Jackson, and several of the best modern divines and hilosophers, shew us; that from the *nite phenomena* of nature the existence f one, *infinite* being cannot be proved; nd our Doctor is certain, as I observ'd ove, that this can't be prov'd *a priori*. ay, Mr Colliber, a pretty acute meta- hysician, has written a book to prove at an infinite being is an *impossibility*. pon what better footing then are the odern than the ancient philosophers, to the proof of this prime principle f all religion?

Lastly, As for *tradition*, upon which e Doctor pretends to rest the whole latter, the Doctor knows that Deists elieve nothing of it; and therefore his tempt to weaken their principles of atural religion, and to throw them loofe om all such *obligations*, is most *unwar- antable*. The Doctor, the Deists will y, granting his traditions to be au- tentick, cannot pretend that *Moses* him- self believed any thing of the soul's *im- ortality* at all; as there is not the least mention of it in all his writings. And s to the existence of an *infinite mind*, e never thought of it; but talks al- ways of a topical God, or *tutelar God* of he *Jewish* nation, to whom he ascribes ot only human parts, but human pas- sions. Hence 'tis plain, will the Deists

add, that no Heathen ever had grosser notions of God than *Moses*, to whom you would send us to seek for right notions of religion.

May I therefore conclude, by beseech- ing the Doctor, and other defenders of Chri- stianity, that, for the sake of all that is sacred, they would leave it to its own *intrinsic evidences* (*If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God*) rather than offer at such defences of it as tends to overturn it altogether, by sapping its founda- tion, Natural religion, upon which it is built. For it is observ'd, that the numerous *Cures of Deism*, daily coming out, as if every author was sensible of another's *quackery*, have made more Deists among those who pretend to examination, than they have made Christians. I am, &c.

ODE on his Majesty's Birth-day.

Recitativo.

TWas on the glorious morn,
The festal date of Cæsar born,
When, radiant as the rising sun,
The smiling Monarch on his people shone.
Around in gradual order plac'd,
Their eyes upon his gracious eye to feast,
Stood every virtue from his source deriv'd;
While pining envy and mistaken zeal
(For such mistaken men may feel)
Are of the blessing by themselves depriv'd.

Air.

The happy crowd remote
With rapture gaze,
And strike the vocal note
To Cæsar's praise.
Assist, ye list'ning throng,
To hail the day;
Assist the grateful song
To Cæsar's sway.

Chorus.

The vaulted palace rings;
The joyous throng
To Albion's best of Kings
Sustain the song.
To GEORGE and Peace they sing
To Rome they vie,
Where never smil'd a King
On Liberty.

Recitativo.

Nor could, while subjects to themselves, their
A bliss like liberty convey. gle [sway
Am

*Ambition there in various forms prevail'd,
Now senates, consuls, people, rul'd and
sail'd.*

*As each were check'd in their contested cause,
New foreign wars, or old Agrarian laws
Became pretences, while swifter wars
With annual jars the general weal refuse.*

Air.

*Happy Britain, firm and free,
Queen of Isles and Liberty,
Keep thy Prince and senates one,
Fends like those shall ne'er be known;
Peace and plenty hand in hand,
Smiling o'er thy fertile land,
Still shall visit every fowin,
Each a King while George shall reign.*

Recitativo.

*Britons, these blessings of this gentle sway,
Let grateful hearts in unity repay.*

Air.

*If utmost views from conquer'd foes
Can be with thousands sav'd, acquir'd,
What happier state than Britain knows
Can by ambition be desir'd?
Rathless heroes pant for wars,
Their conquests are their own defeat;
Then most they triumph when they spare;
None but the just are truly great.*

Chorus.

*To distant isles the sound repeat,
None but the just are truly great.*

Verfes to the memory of a deceas'd Lady.

YE muses all, contribute to my woe,
And bid my lays in plaintive numbers
Oh, all ye graces, your assistance lend [slow;
To sing the kindest mother, dearest friend:
Come, all her friends, and to her mem'ry pay
What duty asks, or tend'rest love can say.
In each kind act the saint was all express'd;
No angry passion harbour'd in her breast:
No gloomy malice there did e'er remain;
No envious thought her spotless soul did stain.
Her tender heart did always learn to glow
For others good, and melt at others woe.
Oh! view her now; a breathless corse she lies,
Whom once ye knew so virtuous, and so wise.
Oh death! ere thou canst cut her fellow down,
Devouring time shall rob thee of thy crown.
Oh I could sit and weep the live long day!
Look on her grave, and sigh my soul away.—
But why this grief; since now she's fully blest,
While choirs of angels sing her to her rest?
Yet nature now returns, and now my song
In trembling accents falters on my tongue:

*To sing my grief, my fainting muse did fail:
Only my sighs can speak the tender tale.
But ah! no language can her worth express
And gushing tears must utter all the rest.*

Sept' 14.

ARMANDO

On the death of a young Lady.

Could I but soar aloft, and view yon
ry frame,
Heav'n's highest orb, where stands the Ho
LY NAME,

*Rever'd and worship'd, by the happy train,
In Hallelujahs of seraphick strain;
Sure then my tears to raptures wou'd
chang'd,*

*To see my Love thus, thus divinely ray'd,
In crowds of cherubs, tuning up her praise,
And praising God with her full heart's delight
No more wou'd I those pleasing times lament
And, languishing, count o'er the hours I spent*

*Charm'd by her sweetness, and her beauty
Arm'd with each grace that can adorn the
My soul would rather part to soar aloft, [fair
Pursue those paths in which she trod
Bid farewell to all transitory joys,
Ereforming life, and all things else but joy;
Lament no more the rigour of my fate;
Long to join issue in that happy state.*

Vivit post funera virtus.

To a young Lady, with the Fair Circe
sian, on her asking the poem.

WRapt up in artful phrase, and in
disguise
Of polish'd stile, the am'rous poison lies.
The luscious sweets of love are here convey'd
In softest numbers, to the gentle maid.
With sweetly-moving sounds be sent to her ear
And with a fair pretence* allays each fear
Thus, like the wily serpent, he deceives;
For in her race exist a thousand Evils.
Then read with caution, cautiously express
Our ears and hearts too soon are charm'd by her
Tb' insinuating tale allures like Circe's song
And oft betrays the innocent and young.

* The pretext I mean is in these lines.

“Hence the soft sex conveniently may find,
What pleasure flows from love with prudent
join'd;
How safe the joys that fill their circling arms
When men of sense are trusted with their
charms.”

HORACE, Epode 15.

To NEERA, on her breach of promise.

TWAS solemn midnight, and the moon
Among the stars serenely shone,
When soft you sigh'd, and vow'd by heaven,
To me your plighted faith was given:
You vow'd, but with intent to be
As false to heaven as to me.

O! in what tender words you swore,
Like you no woman lov'd before;
None, none of all the sex like you,
So fond, so artless, and so true;
Close as round oaks can ev'ry twine,
Your circling arms you clos'd in mine.

Long as the moon at night shall rise,
Long as the stars shall deck the skies;
While spring shall please, while summer
warms,

Autumn bring fruit, and winter storms;
While nature in her course shall move,
So long, you cry'd, shall last our love.

O false Neera, thou shalt mourn
My faithful love, thy faithless scorn;
For sure I have too great a soul
To be a perjur'd woman's tool,
And to my rival's arms resign
Those happy joys which should be mine.

No; I will find a nymph more true,
More worthy of my flame than you;
Nor will I e'er my hate remove,
Fix'd deeply as was once my love.
Your falshood scorn, your charms disdain,
Though these at first may give me pain.

But, rival, whoso'er you be,
More happy in her love than me;
Who now can such a conquest boast,
Triumphing o'er the spoils I lost;
Curb thy rash joy, mistaken youth,
And listen to a fatal truth.

Though you cou'd say an Indian mine,
Replete with golden oar, were thine;
Though you could boast a youthful grace
And form, excelling human race;
Though to that godlike form was join'd
The wisdom of a godlike mind:

In thee, though all perfections plac'd,
With wit, with wealth, with beauty
You to your cost will find that she (grac'd)
Proves false to you as once to me:

Then will I, laughing in my turn,
Give hate for hate, and scorn for scorn.

LONDON, October 1739.

THE general discontent occasion'd
by the late convention with Spain
hath now arisen to such a height, that
the most eminent cities and counties of
this kingdom have expressed themselves
with a great deal of warmth against it;
and, being justly apprehensive, that an
exorbitant number of placemen in the
house of Commons is one means by
which our valuable constitution may be
shaken, and our liberties lost, have of
late exerted themselves to promote a
bill for limiting their number: Accord-
ingly, at the meeting of the Liverymen
at Guildhall for the election of the
Lord Mayor, Mr Glover, an eminent
Hamburg merchant, made the follow-
ing motion, which he introduced with
this elegant speech to the Sheriffs.

Mr Ald. Heathcote and Sir J. Lequesne,

THE worthy Liverymen of this city
here assembled before you have now
set aside, in all probability irrevocably and
perpetually set aside, one candidate from
the honourable and powerful office of Lord
Mayor of this great metropolis. The rea-
sons of this proceeding must, to every im-
partial citizen, appear obvious and incon-
testable, being founded on that just indig-
nation which it becomes every true Eng-
lishman at this time to entertain, at the
many disgraces, barbarities and insults
which have been suffered to fall upon his
country, from a nation esteemed in all pre-
ceding times as the object of our contempt,
and whose insolence we have as often hum-
bled as we have exerted our power. But
still this proceeding, begun and pursu'd with
so much spirit, conducted with so much dis-
cretion and decency, where the peace and
good order of this great city have been con-
sulted with as much caution, as the prin-
cipal purpose itself has been supported with
resolution and vigour; I say, this very
proceeding, may still be liable to the cen-
sure of abruptness and inconsistency, if the
same motives which influenced our conduct

in the election of our Mayor, do not now create the same unanimity to pay our most grateful acknowledgments to our four worthy Representatives in parliament, for their steady and faithful adherence to all our rights, for their vigorous support of our trade in particular, and the honour of this kingdom in general, by their opposition in the house of Commons to the late convention with Spain. Our instructions should likewise accompany our thanks, that the tenor of our conduct may appear to be consistent and uniform throughout. For this purpose I have received this paper from several Gentlemen of the highest consideration and character in this city, who know that it was at their particular and most earnest intreaty, that I have taken upon me to make the following motion, the from the propriety of the thing itself, I hope I should otherwise stand excused: I therefore humbly move that this paper may be read; and if it obtains the approbation of this assembly, that you Gentlemen, our worthy Sheriffs, may be desired to present copies of it to our four Representatives in parliament.

To the R. H. Micajah Perry, Esq; L. Mayor,
Humphrey Parsons, Esq; Alderman,
Sir John Barnard, Kt, Alderman, and
Robert Willimot, Esq; Alderman,
Representatives of the city of LONDON
in this present Parliament.

WE the Liverymen of the city of London, in common-hall assembled in order to exert our undoubted right of electing two proper persons to be returned to the court of Aldermen for the mayoralty of this great city for the year ensuing, should be wanting both to you and ourselves, if, whilst we are shewing a just resentment, by setting aside one person, whose conduct we disapprove, and whom we judge unworthy of that high and honourable office, we did not take the same opportunity of returning you our sincere and hearty thanks for your general conduct in parliament, and in a more particular manner for your late endeavours to preserve us from the ruinous consequence we then too justly apprehended from the convention with Spain.

And though neither your endeavours at that time, nor the interposition of this city had the desired effect; yet every man in this

nation must be now fully convinced of the dishonour, as well as danger of this fatal treaty.

We are now made deeply sensible of the unhappy state of this kingdom from the imminent mischiefs, which seem to throw us from abroad; and it is with great grief we observe our excellent constitution acting in some instances at home: but with the true spirit and vigour of a British parliament shall exert itself, we promise ourselves that, with the divine assistance, we shall be equally preserved from both these dangers.

In a free and uncorrupted assembly of our representatives consists not only the dignity, but even the character and existence of a parliament. It is of the highest importance, that those whom we trust with an unrestrained power of making all laws, affecting our trade, properties, liberties, and lives, should be uninfluenced by any lucrative considerations; and yet, notwithstanding several good laws have been made to secure the independency of the house of commons, how insecure must that great blessing be from the number of placemen, who have already got footing there, and who may be augmented hereafter by many more!

It is therefore, as we apprehend, absolutely necessary that some new and more effectual provision should be made to reduce and limit their number; and we request and insist that you would use your most endeavours to promote a bill for that salutary purpose, in conjunction with such patriots as may be willing to join with you and assist you in this great and necessary work.

As the nation hath, on many occasions, found the happy effects of applying to their respective representatives, and giving them proper instructions in cases of great consequence, particularly with regard to the late pernicious excise scheme, which was calculated for the destruction of the liberties of this nation, which said attempt was by these means defeated; so we are unwilling to entertain the least doubt of meeting with the same success, upon this occasion: And as this is a point, on which the very being of parliaments, and the prosperity of this kingdom so absolutely depends

we once more earnestly require you to make a previous step to the passing of any money-bill whatsoever.

These instructions were unanimously approved of, and copies delivered by the sheriffs to the four city members.

Great Britain has been long carrying on military preparations, and has, at length, resolved to do herself justice: Accordingly, the following declaration of war was proclaimed, the 23d inst. in a very grand and solemn manner.

GEORGE R.

Whereas many unjust seizures have been made, and depredations carried on for several years in the West Indies, by Spanish guarda costas, and other ships, acting under the commission of the King of Spain, or his Governors, contrary to the treaties subsisting between us and the crown of Spain, and to the law of nations, to the great prejudice of the lawful trade and commerce of our subjects; and great cruelties and barbarities have been exercised on the persons of divers of our subjects, whose vessels have been so seized, and whose British colours have been insulted in the most ignominious manner: And whereas we have caused frequent complaints to be made to the King of Spain, of these violent and unjust proceedings, but no satisfaction or redress has been given for the same, notwithstanding the many promises made, and edicts issued, signed by the said King, and by his order, for that purpose: And whereas the evils above mention'd have been principally occasioned by an unarrantable claim and pretension, set upon the part of Spain, that the guarda costas, and other ships, authorized by the King of Spain, may stop, detain, and search the ships and vessels of our subjects navigating in the American seas, contrary to the liberty of navigation, to which our subjects have not only an equal right with those of the King of Spain, by the law of nations, but which we moreover expressly acknowledged and declared to belong to them by the most solemn treaties, and particularly by that concluded in the year 1670: And where-

as the said groundless claim and pretension, and the unjust practice of stopping, detaining, and searching ships and vessels navigating in the seas of America, is not only of the most dangerous and destructive consequence to the lawful commerce of our subjects, but also tends to interrupt and obstruct the free intercourse and correspondence between our dominions in Europe, and our colonies and plantations in America, and by means thereof to deprive us and our subjects of the benefit of those colonies and plantations; a consideration of the highest importance to us and our kingdoms; and a practice which must affect, in its consequence, all other princes and states of Europe, possessed of settlements in the West Indies, or whose subjects carry on any trade thither: And whereas, besides the notorious grounds of complaint above mentioned, many other infractions have been made on the part of Spain, of the several treaties and conventions subsisting between us and that crown; and particularly of that concluded in the year 1667, as well by the exorbitant duties and impositions laid upon the trade and commerce of our subjects, as by the breach of ancient and established privileges, stipulated for them by the said treaties; for the redress of which grievances, the strongest instances have been, from time to time, made by our several ministers residing in Spain, without any effect: And whereas a convention for making reparation to our subjects for the losses sustained by them, on account of the unjust seizures and depredations committed by the Spaniards in America, and in order to prevent for the future all the grievances and causes of complaint therein taken notice of, and to remove absolutely, and for ever, every thing which might give occasion thereto, was concluded between us, and the King of Spain, on the 14th day of January last, N. S. by which convention it was stipulated, that a certain sum of money should be paid at London, within a term therein specified, as a balance admitted to be due on the part of Spain, to the crown and subjects of Great Britain; which

which term expired on the 25th day of May last, and the payment of the said sum was not made, according to the stipulation for that purpose; by which means the convention above mentioned was manifestly violated and broken by the King of Spain, and our subjects remained without any satisfaction or reparation for the many grievous losses sustained by them; and the methods, agreed upon by the said convention, in order to the obtaining future security for the trade and navigation of our subjects, are, contrary to good faith, frustrated and defeated; in consequence of which, we found ourselves obliged, for vindicating the honour of our crown, and for procuring reparation, and satisfaction for our injured subjects, to order, that general reprisals should be granted against the said King of Spain, his vassals, and subjects, and their ships, goods and effects: And whereas the court of Spain has been induced to colour the open violation of the convention aforesaid, by reasons and pretences, which are void of all foundation; and, at the same time, has not only published an order, signed by the said King, for seizing the ships, goods, and effects, belonging to us, and our subjects, wherever they shall be met with, but has caused seizures to be actually made of the goods and effects of our subjects residing in his dominions, and has also ordered our said subjects to depart out of the Spanish dominions, within a short limited time, contrary to the express stipulations of the treaties between the two crowns, even in case of a war actually declared: We have taken into our royal and most serious consideration these injuries which have been offered to us, and our subjects, and the manifest violation of the several treaties subsisting between the two crowns, all which have been in many particulars eluded, or evaded by the unwarrantable behaviour of the court of Spain, and their officers, notwithstanding the repeated instances we have given of our desire to cultivate a good understanding with the King of Spain, and the essential proofs of our friendship and regard for him and

his family, which we have demonstrated to all the world; and being fully satisfied that the honour of our crown, the interest of our subjects, and that regard which ought to be had to the most solemn treaties, call upon us to make use of the power which God has given us, for vindicating our undoubted rights, and securing to our loving subjects the privileges of navigation and commerce to which they are justly entitled; we therefore, relying on the help of Almighty God, who knows the uprightness of our intentions, have thought fit to declare, and do hereby declare war against the said King of Spain; and we will, in pursuance of such declaration, vigorously prosecute the said war, being assured of the ready concurrence and assistance of all our loving subjects in so just a cause, wherein the honour of our crown, the maintenance of our solemn treaties, and the trade and navigation of our subjects (which are so essential to the welfare and prosperity of this nation, and which we are determined, at all times, with our utmost power to preserve and support) are so greatly concerned: And we do hereby will and require our Generals and Commanders of our forces, our Commissioners for executing the office of High Admiral of G. Britain, our Lieutenants of our several counties, Governors of our forts and garisons, and all other officers and soldiers under them, by sea and land, to do, and execute all acts of hostility in the prosecution of this war against the said King of Spain, his vassals, and subjects, and to oppose their attempts; and we do hereby command, as well our own subjects, as advertise all other persons, of what station soever, not to transport, or carry any soldiers, arms, powder, ammunition, or other contraband goods, to any of the territories, lands, plantations, or countries of the said King of Spain; declaring, that whatsoever ship or vessel shall be met withal transporting, or carrying any soldiers, arms, powder, ammunition, or other contraband goods, to any of the territories, lands, plantations, or countries of the said King of Spain, the same being taken,

ken, shall be condemned as good and lawful prize. Given at our court at Kensington the nineteenth day of October, 1739, in the thirteenth year of our reign. G O D save the KING.

Orders were likewise dispatched to all the different parts of the nation to seize all vessels, goods, or effects belonging to the King of Spain, or his subjects. In consequence of which, John Goodwin, Master-attendant of his Majesty's dock-yard at Deptford, seized two Spanish ships in the Pool, and delivered the two Captains, and sixteen sailors, to the care of the keeper of the Marshalsea prison. The government has been careful to furnish our garrisons and colonies broad with ammunition and warlike stores. The fortifications of Gibraltar are in such a condition as makes it almost impregnable; and 2000 thirteen-inch bomb-shells, 1000 muskets, 1000 bayonets, 1000 cartouches, 1000 shot-balls, 1000 pick-axes, and 10,000 sand-bags are sent to that place. Though there are 36 men of war in the West-Indies, and 12,000 fire-arms already sent thither, yet some more men of war, bomb vessels, fire-ships, and 8000 fire-arms are ordered to be got ready for the same purpose. The 14 twenty-gun ships, which are almost finished, are each to carry eight swivel guns, and 60 men, to cruise upon the Spaniards; and 26 men of war are ordered to be sent in commission.

Letters from Adm. Haddock to the Duke of Newcastle, give an account, that on the 23d of September a rich Spanish ship, called the St Joseph, bound from the Caraccas, and belonging to the Guipuscoan company, was taken off of Cadiz. She is since arrived in Portsmouth, under the convoy of the Chester, and 1900 lb wt. of silver, taken out of her, lodged in the bank of England, also 1,467,648 lb of cocoa, in the Excise warehouse. Her invoice consists of 10,000 fanegas of cocoa, each 110 lb wt. above 100,000 lb wt. of Varinas tobacco; and 30,000 pieces of eight, registred; which is valued at 100,000 l. besides silver and other effects not mention'd in the bill of lading. She is a-

bout 800 tons, has 44 guns mounted, but has ports for 60.

Capt. Harriot, of the Vigilance, came from Gibraltar the 8th instant, when a Spanish ship of 250 tons and 14 guns, belonging likewise to the Guipuscoan company, (bound from Maracaibo to Cadiz, but had touch'd at Porto Rico with the St Joseph) loaded with cocoa, tobacco, and some money, had been sent in there by Adm. Haddock. They write from Cadiz, that the cargoes of these two ships, registred and unregistred, were valued at 1,000,000 pieces of eight. They had fallen in, near the Western Islands, with a ship from Cork, who assured them, that all differences between the two crowns were accommodated, and that they might proceed for Cadiz with great safety. Adm. Ogle was arrived at Gibraltar, where about 14 Spanish lettees, tartanes, &c. had been sent in.

Besides the ships mentioned in our last, we have an account of the following taken by the Spaniards, *viz.* The Hanna and Izafrá, Goddard; William and Mary, Collinder; and Edinburgh Packet, Sutherland, carried into St Sebastian's; the Hannah, Hufsey, into Port St Louis; the Sarah, Barton, into Sayonah; the Jane of Lockendale, MacEcheran, into Barcelona; the Anne pink of Bristol, into the Havanna; the James and Lewis, Malcolm, into Carthagena; the Aurora, Maxwell, into St Ube's; the William and Mary, Damon, into Alicante; the Britannia, Bond, sunk as they were carrying her into St Sebastian's; the St Anthony, Bryan: also the Lemon, Lemon, taken off Cape St Angelo by a Maltese privateer with Spanish colours. The Anne and Mary, a man of war's tender, cruising off Scilly to impress seamen, came up with a Spanish ship, which, having no colours display'd, she took for a homeward bound merchant man, and was taken by the Spaniard. The Stubbington, Mauger, who had a letter of marque, was sunk by a Spanish ship, after she had fought several hours.

His Majesty's Royal Charter is passed the Great Seal, to incorporate Charles Duke of Richmond, and several other great

great officers and ministers of state, and their successors, into one body politick and corporate, by the name of *Governor and Guardians of the hospital for the maintenance and education of exposed and deserted young children*, with power to purchase lands, &c. in mortmain, not exceeding the yearly value of 4000 l.

The parliament of Ireland sat down the 9th instant.

P. S. London, Nov. 3. This afternoon South-Sea trading stock was 93. Ditto old annuities, 106, 3 4th. Ditto new, 106, 7 8th. Bank stock, 135, 1 half. India ditto, 153, 3 qrs. Three per cent. annuities, 97. Million bank, 111. Royal assurance, 88, 1 half. London assurance, 11, 1 8th. Mine adventure shares, no price. English copper, 3 l. 6 s. 6 d. Welch ditto, 15 s. African, 13, 1 half. Seven per cent. Emperor's loan, 108 3 qrs. Five per cent. ditto, 93. Bank circulation, 1 l. 7 s. 6 d. prem. Three per cent. S. S. bonds, 15 s. prem. India ditto, 2 l. 10 s. prem. Three 1 half per cent. Exchequer orders, 1 discount. Three per cent. ditto, 6, 1 qr. discount. Salt tallies, 1 half a 1 prem. Lottery tickets, 5 l. 6 s. 6 d.

EDINBURGH, October 1739.

THE example of the Liverymen of London was soon followed by the merchant company, and many of the corporations of this city, who have presented their petitions to the town-council, praying, that the representative of this city may be instructed to promote a bill for restricting the number of place-men in the house of Commons. The following is a copy of

The Merchant-Company's petition.

WE the said company are most sensibly affected with the dangerous state of this nation. We see it involved in all the expence of a consuming war, and our trade liable to the same interruptions and discouragements as in the time of a total war, and at the same time our enemies enjoying all the advantages of a profound peace.

When we consider and enquire into the

reasons and causes of this our unhappy state, we cannot help ascribing it in a great measure to the late convention made with Spain, and that again to the number of placemen who have seats in parliament, and who may have a different interest from that of the nation, who may find their account not by industry in their private capacities, nor by exerting themselves in parliament for the good of their country, but in the favour of a minister, whose schemes and projects they may be tempted to support, however ruinous they may be to their country. To this, in our apprehension, owes the late convention, and which, as at first it appeared dishonourable and dangerous to disinterested persons, so now its fatal consequences are felt by the whole nation.

In this view we apprehend it is absolutely necessary, that some new and more effectual provision should be made to reduce and limit the number of placemen, whether civil or military, in parliament, that our legislature may, as far as is possible, be freed from all other influence, than that of the publick interest, and the happiness of the nation.

And as this is the unanimous opinion of the MERCHANT-COMPANY, we thought it our indispensable duty to state the same to your Lordship, Magistrates and Council, that you may use the most effectual methods for obtaining this remedy to our present maladies, and particularly that you may give instructions to the representative of this city in this present parliament, that he would concur with the worthy patriots in parliament, to obtain such a law, as may reform our constitution, and by the divine blessing may remove the evils we feel, and fear us against those greater dangers that we have reason to fear, the total subversion of our liberties, which cannot outlive the constitution.

And more particularly, that you instruct and require him in the most earnest manner, and as he will answer to the trust reposed in him by this city, that he endeavour to make the obtaining such a law, a previous step to the passing of any money bill whatsoever.

And we persuade ourselves, the giving such instructions to the representatives of the nation in parliament, will be attended with

with the same happy success, as upon former occasions, where this method did happily disappoint the pernicious excise-scheme, which had the same tendency with the grievance that at present is so sensibly felt by the whole nation.

This, and the other petitions, were referred by the Council to a committee, who, after they had consulted lawyers, returned their opinion as follows:

THE committee to whom the petitions presented to the council were remitted, having had them under their serious consideration, are of opinion, That the subject of these petitions is of the highest consequence, and of the most delicate consideration, upon which no just judgment can be formed, unless the nature and extent of the limitations pointed at in general by the said petitions (but not therein express'd) were fully understood. And altho' the freedom of elections and debate in parliament have ever been held amongst the highest privileges of parliament, and essential parts of our present happy constitution; nevertheless the committee are of opinion the council should, on every proper occasion, show their willingness, as far as they legally and reasonably can, to concur in promoting any just measure proposed for preserving the liberty, freedom and independency of parliament from all possible encroachments: and therefore, if any bill be brought into parliament for limiting the number of members in the house of Commons, who may at the same time enjoy employments or grants from the crown, the committee are of opinion, the council should, in the most earnest manner, recommend to Patrick Lindesay, Esq; to give the utmost attention to such bills; and if the limitations therein offered shall, upon full and impartial consideration, appear to be conducive to secure the freedom of parliament and our excellent constitution, that he shall concur with and promote the same to the utmost of his power. And where-as his Majesty has now thought proper to emit a declaration of war against the crown and kingdom of Spain, for vindicating his undoubted rights, and securing to his loving subjects the privileges of navigation and commerce, to which, as well by the law of nations as by several treat-

ies they are justly intitled; the committee judge it proper that a further instruction be given Mr Lindesay, That upon no pretence, how specious soever, he retard or oppose, but to the utmost of his power promote any measures that shall be proposed in parliament which may tend to enable his Majesty to support and defend the honour and dignity of the crown and kingdom, and to prosecute the just and necessary war in which his Majesty is engaged, with the desired success.

Which opinion the Council approv'd of, and ordered Mr Lindesay, the city member, to be instructed accordingly.

Several of the burghs and counties have met upon the same subject. The freeholders of the shire of Air, in particular, have appointed their Preses to write to their representative, requiring him to endeavour to promote a law for making parliaments annual, or at most triennial, and every other measure which he shall think of, or shall be proposed by others for limiting the number of placemen and pensioners in the house of Commons. They give it as their opinion, that previous to the passing of any money-bill, these things should be obtained. They likewise require him to oppose all bills or votes of credit. At the same meeting they unanimously resolved, That, at the next election, they will, to the utmost of their power, promote the election of a man of worth to represent the county, and who shall not be subject to any ministerial influence, and particularly to chuse no pensioner, or placeman, civil or military, to that high trust.

The declaration of war came to this city by express the Saturday morning after its publication at London; and was proclaimed over the cross, at the castle-gate, his Majesty's palace of Holyroodhouse, the foot of the broad-wynd in Leith, and at the end of the pier, with extraordinary solemnity, while a vast crowd of spectators expressed their approbation by many loud huzzas.

The celebrated Miss May Drummond has prevailed on many of the society of Quakers in England to contribute very liberally towards advancing

the Royal Infirmary which is now a building here. She has already remitted 83 l. Sterling, and a great deal more is expected by her means. A company of glass-makers at Newcastle, in which some of that persuasion are concerned, have made a present of as much fine window-glass as serves that part of the building that is already founded.

The synod of Perth and Stirling have likewise appeared very zealous in promoting this good work, having unanimously resolved to make the publick contributions in their bounds as effectual as they can, by not only recommending it in strong terms from the pulpit, but by collecting it from door to door in their respective parishes.

The following Scots commodities were exported to London from Leith this month, *viz.* 46,920 yards linen, 963 dozen linen handkerchiefs, 2169 lb thread, 100 dozen thread stockings, 6283 yards tartan, 12,586 dressed sheep and lamb skins, 500 lb human hair, 3671 lb snuff.

BIRTHS.

THE Princess of Brazil, Infanta of Spain, is delivered of a Princess, at Lisbon. The Lady of the Earl of Ancrum, eldest son of the Marquis of Lothian, of a daughter, at London. The Lady of the Lord Viscount Percival, of a son. The Countess of Dyfart, of a son.

DEATHS.

The Duke of Manchester, Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Huntingdon, a Gentleman of the bed-chamber, Collector of the customs outward in London, Captain of the yeomen of the guards, and Knight of the Bath. He is succeeded in honours and estate by his brother the Hon. Robert Montague, member for Huntingdon. — The Hon. John Lumley, Esq; member for Arundel in Suffex, a Groom of the bed-chamber to the Prince of Wales, and a Colonel in the second regiment of foot-guards. — Thomas Gore Esq; member for Agmondesham in Bucks. — Sir William Thompson, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, and

Recorder of the city of London. — At New Romney in Kent, aged 102, Capt. James Hamilton, formerly in the army. — Capt. Miller, in the second regiment of foot-guards. — Capt. John Mace, in Gen. Armstrong's regiment. — Mr Mackee, Surveyor of Chelsea water-works, of which he was likewise projector. — Sir William Murray of Ochertye. — In the isle of Man, Sir John Archine of Alva, by a fall from his horse. — In Canonsgate, Col. Cornelius Kennedy. — In Wicklow county in Ireland, John Parsley, in the 107th year of his age.

PREFERMENTS CIVIL.

The Duke of Manchester, *Collector of the Customs outward in the port of London*, in the room of his brother the late Duke. — Joseph Stanhope, Esq; *a Gentleman of his Majesty's privy-chamber*. — Mr Malham, son to the Lord Malham, *a Groom of the bed-chamber to the Prince of Wales*. — Edward Weston and Andrew Stone, Esqs, *Collectors of treaties, memoirs, &c. in the offices of the Principal Secretaries of State*. — John Paterson, Esq; *Solicitor to the city of London*. — Mr Harrison, *Middle Door-keeper of the house of Commons*. — Daniel Falkiner, Esq; *Lord Mayor of Dublin*. — Ld Duncannon, *a Commissioner of the revenue in Ireland*, in the room of the Earl of Besborow, his father; Lord Abercorn, *one of the Privy-council*; and St George Caulfield, Esq; *Solicitor-general*, in the room of John Bowes, Esq; made *Attorney-general*. Mr Caulfield is succeeded as *Counsellor to the Commissioners of the revenue*, by Warden Flood, Esq;

MILITARY and NAVAL.

The Earl of Essex, *Captain of the yeomen of the guards*. — The Earl of Pomfret, *Governor of Guernsey*. — Brig. Folliot, *Governor of Carlisle*. — Col. Pultney, *Governor of Pencennis castle*, in the room of Brig. Folliot. — Francis Godolphin, Lt Gov. of Scilly, *Captain of the two independent companies of foot there*. — Mr Stanhope, son of Ld Harrington, *Aid-de-camp to Gen. Wade*. — John Scot, Esq; *a Lieutenant in Brig. St Clair's royal regiment of foot*. — Lt Berkeley, *Lieutenant of Greenwich hospital*. — Ld Har-

Harrington, *General of the Marines*. — Capt. Pocklington, *Commander of the Rippon*; Capt. Wareing, *of the Terrible bomb-ketch*, (Capt. Mitchel having resign'd); Capt. Pinson, *of the Louisa*, in the room of Capt. Hallet, removed to the *George*; Capt. Hilderley, *of the Grafton*; Capt. Davers, *of the Buckingham*, (Capt. Robert Trevor, who succeeded Capt. Piercy when he resign'd, being removed to another ship). — Lt. Byron, *Lieutenant of the Namur*; and Mr. Edgcumb, *Lieutenant of the Superb*.

Died within the walls of the city of Edinburgh, and buried in the Gray-friars church-yard, October 1739.

Men 16, women 26, children 35. In all, 77. Increased this month, 7.

AGE.	Nº.	DISEASES.	Nº.
Under	2	Consumption	29
2 & 5	7	Chin-cough	4
5 & 10	3	Fever	14
10 & 20	1	Old age	6
20 & 30	1	Suddenly	4
30 & 40	2	Teething	11
40 & 50	12	Still-born	1
50 & 60	9	Small-pox	8
60 & 70	12		
70 & 80	3		
80 & 90	2		
90 & 100	1		

Thamas, late Sophy of Persia, and his son, to be strangled; so that the ancient race of the Sophies is entirely extinct. The same advices assure, that the Schach Nadir has determined to divide his territories, and to give his son the kingdom of Persia upon certain conditions, reserving to himself the kingdom of Candahar, with the new conquests.

The following is a letter from Field-Marshal Count Munich to the Duke of Courland, dated from the camp beyond the Pruth the 29th of August, O. S.

The happy successes I am going to relate, must be wbolly ascribed to the blessing of Almighty God, to whom we have infinite reason to give the humblest thanks. It must be acknowledged, that his hand has guided all the enterprizes of her Majesty our most gracious Empress. The Pruth shall be no longer named by Russians with execration, but with benediction, as opening the way to a speedy and honourable peace.

To draw in one campaign, from the Don and the Donetz, from the lines in the Ukraine, and from several provinces far distant from the Dnieper, an army to meet together near Kiow; to pass with it the Dnieper, which had overflowed in an extraordinary manner a German mile in breadth; to march from the frontiers of Russia to those of Moldavia, cross Poland, without taking there the least thing for our carriages, or for provisions; to pass the Bog, which the enemy threatened to dispute with us; to pass even the Dniester without any obstacle, though the enemy were there with all their forces; to make our way over the mountains of Choczim, and thro' the difficult desiles near Tzorna-Ulke; to send parties, in sight as one may say of the enemy, to drive together thousands of horses, cattle, and sheep, in Moldavia, and bring them to that side of the Pruth where we then lay; consequently, to furnish the army with what was wanting for our carriages, and with provisions, out of the enemy's country, without the loss of one man; to repel with visibly great loss to the enemy, all the attacks of the Turks and Tartars, to beat out of a fortified camp the Seraskier Sultan with all his boards of Tartars, as also Kolschack Ba-

FOREIGN HISTORY.

Advices from Petersburg inform us, that the Ambassador from PERSIA has communicated to that court, a relation of the advantages gained by the Schach Nadir (formerly Kouli Kan) over the Great Mogul. Amongst other things, he says, that the army of the latter, consisting of 400,000 foot, 300,000 horse, and 3000 elephants, received a total overthrow by the troops of Persia: That afterwards, the Schach Nadir having vigorously pursued the G. Mogul, had obliged him to buy a peace at the expence of the provinces of Cabul and Lahor, and of immense treasures in silver and jewels, &c.

Other advices from Persia bring, that Erefa Guli, son of Schach Nadir, had, in the absence of his father, caused Schach

Babaru, with his Serdengetses, or adventurers, who profess neither to give nor take quarter, and with his Lieutenants, lastly, to attack the Seraskier Wely Babaru, who had the command of the enemy's whole army, amounting to 90,000 men, by whom we were surrounded on all sides, and to give him a total defeat; to make a booty in his fortified camp, of all the tents and baggage, of six mortars and 42 cannon of brass, and all the ammunition and provisions, and to have but 70 men on our side killed or wounded; to take the important fortress of Chocnim, having for its defence 157 brass cannon, with stores answerable; to make prisoners of war a Babaru of three tails, and his garrison, without fighting one match; to pursue the enemy to the Pruth, to pass that river with the army, to build forts on each side of it; to fix a footing in the midst of the enemy's country, to chase the Hospodar of Moldavia from one end of it to the other, and make him fly to the other side of the Danube; to levy contributions, and take provisions from the enemy; to see our army with hardly one sick person in it, in full prosperity and abundance: All this, I say, could not have happened, without being conducted and supported by the hand of Almighty God. Most of these events are of such a nature, that those who were not present at them may call many particulars in doubt, and among others this, that the Janissaries approaching fiercely to make an attack, were suddenly stopp'd by so vigorous a fire, that they had not time to discharge their pieces, or to handle their sabres. The fright of the enemy was such, that a great number of them were found drowned three days after the action, some miles below the station our army was in, and the greatest part of them fled as far as to the Danube, without daring to cast a look behind them. On the other hand, never did army express more ardour to fight than ours. Deputations, and letters of congratulation from Poland, have come to us one after another: And with the further help of God, we cannot doubt of a very happy issue of the campaign.

Preliminaries for a treaty of peace betwixt the Gr. Seignior and the Czarina are since drawn up, but no confir-

mation is yet arriv'd of their being sign'd.

The affairs of his IMPERIAL Majesty are at present in so perplex'd a situation, in respect of the peace concluded with the Ottoman Porte, the success of the arms of Russia, and the conduct of the court of Petersburg in the peace said to be concluded between the Czarina and the Grand Seignior; and his Imperial Majesty's behaviour to the Generals Wallis and Neuperg stands in so much need of the explanation which time will probably give us: that all we can now assert with any tolerable certainty, is, That both Marshal Wallis and Count Neuperg are under arrest.

The French troops in CORSICA are gone into winter quarters. It does not appear, even in the advices from Paris, that the whole island is yet reduced to the French yoke.

In conformity to our promise as to the disposition of the STATES GENERAL, the following memorial and reply will give all the light we have yet received as to that important article.

The Memorial delivered to the States General by the British Ambassador.

High and Mighty Lords,

THE King, my Master, having thought fit to put an end to my embassy here, and to recall me to his court, has ordered me, upon taking leave of your High Mightinesses, to assure you in the strongest terms, of his high esteem, his sincere friendship, and of the tender interest which he has in the welfare and advantage of this republic, the prosperity and preservation of which he has not less at heart than that of his own dominions.

It is upon this principle that his Majesty has on all occasions taken the most assiduous care to cultivate and strengthen a perfect good understanding with this state. It is upon the same principle that his Majesty has always concerted such measures with your H. Mightinesses, as were most likely to contribute towards maintaining the tranquillity of Europe, upon which depends our commerce, the source of the power and riches of the two nations. It is like-

wife upon this principle that his Majesty has sincerely concurred with your H. Mightinesses to support, by his good offices, the representations so often repeated on the part of both nations, tho' in vain, for obtaining satisfaction for the enormous injuries which the subjects of each have so long suffered in carrying on their lawful commerce in America, and which are so contrary to treaties, and the law of nations. And though the King, how much soever he may have desired to maintain peace with all his neighbours, of which desire the whole world ought to be convinced, is at last obliged to have recourse to arms, as the only means left him to do himself and his subjects justice; his Majesty is persuaded that your H. Mightinesses, who have the same subject of complaints, founded upon the violation of the same treaties; who have been ever faithful to your allies, and resolute in protecting the just rights of your people, will, as soon as the constitution of your government will permit, act in such manner as will demonstrate, that the union between his Majesty and this republick is not less useful in times critical and difficult, than in those of peace and tranquillity, and that their reciprocal friendship has been, and may still be advantageous to the common interest of the two nations.

It is with this persuasion that his Majesty has ordered me to assure your H. Mightinesses, that he will never abandon these principles of affection for, and attention to the welfare and security of this republick; sentiments which he has hitherto made the rule of his conduct towards faithful allies, which are, and ever will be, infinitely dear to him.

After the sincere and solemn assurances which I have the honour to make your H. Mightinesses in the name, and by the order of the King my master, I hope I may be permitted to assure you, on my own part, of the profound respect which I shall constantly preserve for your illustrious assembly, and of the lively sincere acknowledgment I owe for the favourable reception that I have met with, during the whole course of

my ministry. I shall always remember with satisfaction, and, if I may be permitted to use the expression, with tenderness, the obliging attention and marks of confidence with which your H. Mightinesses have been pleased to honour me, in all the affairs that I have had to negotiate during my continuance here; and where-ever for the future I shall be, I will never desist from making ardent vows for the preservation and prosperity of this republick: Too happy, if by my endeavours and services I could shew you, as I passionately wish I may do, the sincerity of my sentiments: which have never varied, nor ever will vary in this respect.

Given at the Hague, Sign'd,
 Oct. 13. 1739. H. WALPOLE.

The letter from the States General to the King of Great Britain.

S I R E,

WE see by your Majesty's letter, of the 12th day of June last, that you have been pleased to recall from hence Mr Horatio Walpole, one of your privy council, and your Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to us; who in delivering your Majesty's letter, took leave of us at the same time, and gave us fresh assurances on that occasion, of your Majesty's most valuable affection and good-will to our republick. This he did in such strong and pathetick terms, founded on such solid principles, that in this respect he hath left us nothing further to desire. We have received these repeated assurances with all the gratitude imaginable; and as he has fully convinced us of your Majesty's favourable sentiments towards our state, we flatter ourselves, that at his return he will have the same success, in representing to you the high esteem and respect with which we revere your Majesty, as well as the part which we sincerely take in the interests of your Majesty's kingdoms, and the prosperity of your government. We have so perfect a confidence in the integrity of the said Ambassador, whose person and ministry here hath been most agreeable to us, that

we willingly refer ourselves to the report which he shall make to your Majesty on this head. We regret his leaving us, because we look'd upon it as an advantage to have with us such a minister as he is, endowed with extraordinary talents, of a vast capacity, and a consummate prudence, confirmed by long experience. He has given proofs of them in every thing that he has had to negotiate here, as well as of his noble zeal for your Majesty's service, and of his laudable earnestness to cultivate and cement the happy union between your Majesty and our republick, and the good understanding between the two nations; two points which are and ever will be the object of our wishes and desires. He is perfectly acquainted with the sincerity of our sentiments, and the good-will which he has always shewn us, will not suffer him to conceal them from your Majesty. We beseech your Majesty to believe him on that subject, and to continue to us that friendship and benevolence with which you have hitherto honoured us, and which we look upon as a firm support of the security and preservation of our republick. For the rest, we pray God, Sire, to crown your Majesty's reign with felicity, and bless your royal person with health, and a very long life.

At the Hague,
O^r. 13. 1739.

Your Majesty's

Most humble servants

The STATES GENERAL

Of the United Provinces of the Netherlands

E. TAMMINGA.

By order of the States.

FAGEL.

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A P P E N D I X

T O T H E

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1739.

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by both houses, last session of parliament.
The fleet that was sent to the Medi-
terranean, my Lords, was properly and
suffi-

take to be ...
led by their passions, and not govern'd
by their reason.

Last session of parliament, my Lords,
we strengthened, 'tis true, the hands of
the crown; and I hope the present and
every future session will do the same,
when there is the like occasion: but we

...
curing justice and satisfaction in a peace-
able way, would have been directly con-
trary to what was recommended to him
by both houses, last session of parliament.

The fleet that was sent to the Medi-
terranean, my Lords, was properly and
suffi-

sufficiently provided for answering all the ends that were intended by it, even tho' a war had broke out between the two nations; for even in that case, it would have been ridiculous in us to have expended our strength, and put ourselves to a great charge, in attacking any of the Spanish dominions in Europe, where we could do them but little prejudice, and could reap no great advantage to ourselves. That fleet, therefore, could only be designed for protecting our own possessions and trade in that part of the world, for intercepting any Spanish ships that should happen to escape our fleet in the West-Indies, and for preventing any supplies being sent from Old Spain to any of their colonies or plantations in America; and for answering all these purposes, the fleet that was sent to the coasts of Spain, was sufficiently provided with every thing that was necessary.

The West-Indies, my Lords, is the part of the world, where, in case of a war, we could do the most harm to Spain, and the most good to ourselves; and there, if we can but prevent any supplies being sent from Old Spain, we shall stand in need of no land forces being sent from hence. Our own colonies, upon the continent and in the islands of America, would soon furnish us with land forces sufficient for attacking Spain by land in that quarter, if we send a squadron of men of war sufficient to protect them at sea. But suppose it should be necessary for us to send land forces from hence; it would not be proper, because of the climate, to send them thither, till we were just ready to enter upon action; which could not be our case the beginning of last summer, because his Majesty was to try what could be done by peaceable means, before commencing hostilities, either in the West-Indies or in Europe. For this reason, it was necessary to send a squadron to the West-Indies for protecting our trade in the mean time, and in order to take land forces on board, as soon as any could be raised in our colonies, in case a war had become necessary; but it would have been contrary to the plan that was prescribed by parliament, to have im-

mediately begun hostilities; and therefore it was wrong to seize the Spanish register ship, which the Noble Lord was pleased to mention, and it was right in our Commodore to order her being restored.

My Lords, as the court of Spain could not be ignorant of the advice that was given to his Majesty by his parliament last session; and as his Majesty, to our happiness and his own honour, has always made the advice of his parliament the rule of his actions; they could not but suppose, that the squadrons we sent out were instructed not to begin hostilities, till further orders: but such orders, they knew, might soon be sent; such orders, they knew, would be sent immediately, upon their refusing to give ear to a friendly accommodation of those disputes that subsisted between the two nations. This they were sensible of, and therefore, they not only appeared willing to do us justice, but have granted all that we could expect by a successful war; for even in case of a successful war, we must at last have agreed to preliminaries, before peace could be restored, and by those preliminaries we could expect no more than a full satisfaction for our losses, and an agreement to have all other disputes adjusted by a definitive treaty.

But, my Lords, before I enter into the consideration of what we have got by peace, I must examine a little into what we could expect, or might have lost, by war; for tho' I have as great a confidence in the strength and courage of my country, as any man ought to have, yet I am not so sanguine, as to think, that we have victory chained to our chariot-wheel, or that we must be successful in every war we engage in; and, therefore, in all questions relating to war or peace, I think we ought to consider what we may lose, as well as what we may get, by a war. By a war with Spain, my Lords, we could not expect to make much by privateering, or by taking and making prize of their ships at sea. In case of a war with this nation, they would send no ships to sea, but small, light frigates, by way of pri-

ateers, for intercepting such of our merchant ships, as they found without, or straggling too far from a convoy; and ho' by taking such, we might prevent losses and interruption in our trade, yet we could not expect to reap any great benefit. Some people may, perhaps, imagine, that great advantages might be made by our intercepting their plate vessels, or the ships that are employed in their trade with their settlements in America, because none but Spanish ships can be employed in that trade: but even this would be precarious, and might, in several shapes, be entirely prevented; or if they should open that trade to the French and Dutch, it is what those two nations would be glad to accept of; and we could not pretend to make prize of a French or Dutch ship, on account of her being bound to or from the Spanish settlements in America, no more than we could make prize of her on account of her being bound to or from any port in Spain: we could not so much as pretend to seize any treasure or goods (except contraband) she had on board, unless we could prove, that those goods, or that treasure, actually belonged to the King or subjects of Spain, which it would be impossible to do. By this method, the Spaniards might render it impossible for us to seize any of their treasure or effects, in its passage between New and Old Spain; and even without opening a trade to their settlements, they might almost as effectually do the same, by means of the Dutch island of Curassia, and the French settlements in Hispaniola, or their island of Martinique: for these places lie so near the Spanish settlements in America, that it would be easy for the Spaniards to carry their treasure and effects, in their own ships, to one or other of these places, and to take from thence, what goods or merchandize they had occasion for, without running any great risk of being intercepted by our men of war, or privateers; and from these places the Spanish treasure and effects might be safely brought to Spain, in French or Dutch bottoms, and in the name of French or Dutch merchants.

Thus it appears, my Lords, that in case of a war with Spain, we could not expect any great advantage by privateering, or by any prizes we could take at sea; and at land we could make no conquests. No man will pretend that, if it were in our power, it would be our interest to conquer any of the Spanish dominions in Europe; at least, I am sure, it would not be our interest to keep them, nor would it be our interest to give them to any other power in Europe. And as to their dominions in America, or the West-Indies, we have expressly promised, by the treaty of Utrecht, that they shall be preserved whole and entire to the present King of Spain, and his successors: so that by endeavouring to conquer any of them, we should not only commit a breach of that treaty, but likewise we should probably raise up a confederacy in Europe against us; for none of the powers of Europe would chuse to see us masters of the whole, or any part of the Spanish West-Indies.

Therefore, my Lords, the only method by which we could propose to get any advantage, by a war with Spain, would be by making inroads upon, and plundering their settlements in America; and this we should find much more difficult, than it was formerly. Their sea-ports, and inland towns in that part of the world, are now better fortified, and better provided with every thing necessary for making a stout defence, than ever they were heretofore; and yet, during the last war, I believe it cannot be said, that the nation got much by any inroads that were made upon them. The truth is, we never attempted to make any considerable inroads, or any conquests, in that part of the world, because of the difficulty and expence of transporting a land army thither, and because we knew the climate to be very unwholesome for any land army we could send thither.

Having thus shewn, my Lords, that we cannot expect any great advantage from a war with Spain, let us next consider the dangers we would be exposed to. I shall be far from saying, upon this occasion, or upon any occasion, that we

must not vindicate our rights, or our honour, against France or Spain, for fear of their joining together against us; but this I may venture to say, that when there is a probability of their joining together against us, at a time when the affairs of Europe are in such a situation, that we can form no confederacy against them; at a time when, if we engage in war, we must stand single and alone against these two powerful nations: I say, my Lords, at such a time it would be prudent in us to suspend our vengeance, if possible, till a more proper opportunity should offer; and this, I am afraid, is our case at present. If France should join with Spain against us, we would be exposed to many dangers, and it would be difficult to guard against them all. We are, it is true, at present, superior to both at sea; but as France has great numbers of seamen, they would soon get ships of war, if they were to be at no expence in defending themselves at land; so that they might soon rig out a powerful squadron. On the other hand, as we are liable to be attack'd in several parts of the world, we must divide our naval force: we must send squadrons to different points of the compass, and every one of these squadrons must be superior to any that France and Spain can jointly fit out against us. As we have the misfortune to have a party amongst ourselves disaffected to our present establishment, a party much more considerable than some people seem willing to believe, we must keep a very powerful squadron at home, for preventing its being in the power of our enemies to invade us. As we have a great trade and valuable possessions in the Mediterranean, we must keep a powerful squadron in that sea, for protecting our trade and our possessions in that part of the world. And as our plantations, especially our sugar islands, are of great consequence to our trade, and lie much exposed to be invaded, and perhaps destroyed, we must keep a powerful squadron in the American seas for their protection. To which I must add, that, considering the alliance lately formed between France and Sweden, we might, perhaps, find

ourselves under a necessity of sending a powerful squadron into the Baltick, for the defence of our allies, or for preventing an invasion from that quarter. And notwithstanding the great opinion we justly have of our naval force, and of the bravery of our seamen, I hope, I shall be excused, if I even express some diffidence of our being able to send a squadron to each of these places, sufficient for encountering the united force of France and Spain, perhaps the united force of France, Spain and Sweden.

But suppose, my Lords, that France should remain quiet, and no way interfere openly in the war between Spain and us; suppose no power in Europe should assist Spain in the war against us: yet we could not immediately reduce Spain to a necessity of complying with our just demands. The war between us might last for several years; and while it lasted, the French would have a great advantage over us in every branch of trade we are, or can be, concerned in. Though the Spaniards have not many seamen of their own, yet, in case of a war with this nation, they would be in no want of seamen for fitting out a great number of privateers against us: French, Dutch, and perhaps some of our own seamen, would engage in their service for that purpose; so that the Mediterranean, the American, the British, and, in short, all the seas where we have any trade, would be full of privateers under Spanish colours. This would raise the price of insurance upon British ships higher than upon the ships of any other nation in Europe; and our merchant ships would be often put to a great expence and delay, by being obliged to wait for a convoy; which would considerably enhance the charge upon all manufactures, or merchandize, sent by our own shipping to foreign markets. Let us consider, my Lords, that the French already undersell us in most of the manufactures we deal in, and that the freight of Hamburg ships, and some others, is now cheaper than that of British: if we consider this, we shall easily see the consequence, if we should add a new charge to the price of our manufactures

tures at foreign markets, and make it more unsafe, or more expensive, to employ British ships, than those of any other nation, by engaging in war, when all the other trading nations of Europe are at peace: we should export no manufactures, no merchandize, at least we should export none in our own shipping; and what would then become of our trade and navigation?

This, my Lords, would be the consequence of a long war between the two nations, with respect to ourselves; and with respect to Spain, it would probably be entirely ruined. We might, perhaps, at last, force them to do us all the justice in their power; but they would be so exhausted, with the losses and expences of the war, that it would not be in their power to make any satisfaction for the damage they have already done us, or might do, during the war; and much less for the expences we have been, or might be, put to. Now, my Lords, tho' we have, at present, good reason to be offended with Spain; tho' we have good reason to insist upon satisfaction and security: yet it is not our interest to weaken the power of that nation; we ought rather to support it, as a balance against the power of France: for tho' the court of Spain may, perhaps, be at present too much swayed by French counsels, it will not always, it cannot long be so. The interests of France and Spain are as incompatible, as the interests of France and this kingdom; and therefore, as soon as the court of Spain begins to be swayed by true Spanish counsels, which some accidents may soon bring about, we may reasonably expect to have that nation for one of our best and firmest allies; and whenever that happens, they will gladly give us all the satisfaction and security we can desire, in order to gain our friendship, and to restore a mutual confidence between the two nations.

Both the circumstances of Europe, and the circumstances of Spain, are now, my Lords, very different from what they were either in the reign of Q. Elizabeth, or in the time of Oliver Cromwel. In Q. Elizabeth's reign, Spain was the only formidable power in Europe, and we

had as much reason as any other of her neighbours, to endeavour to reduce her power. For this purpose, Q. Elizabeth took the wisest course that could be taken, by encouraging and supporting the civil war in the Netherlands; by which means she at last enabled the seven United Provinces to throw off the yoke of Spain. And the whole power of Spain being applied towards supporting their dominion over the Netherlands, they could neither spare money for fortifying their settlements in America, nor could they send any regular troops thither for defending them; so that even our private adventurers had great success, and often got rich booties by privateering, and by incursions upon those settlements: for, as there was no good correspondence between France and Spain, and an open war between Spain and Holland, the Spaniards could not make use either of Dutch or French vessels for carrying on their trade with their settlements in America; and beside, as the French were then involv'd in civil wars, they durst not venture to disoblige England, by assisting Spain, either openly, or by underhand dealings.

In Oliver Cromwel's time, my Lords, we know that the Spaniards were engag'd in a heavy war with France, which rendered them unable to provide for the security of their trade and possessions in America: and tho', by our taking part with France in that war, we got the island of Jamaica, which was a valuable acquisition; yet I must think, it would have been lucky for this nation, if Oliver had join'd with Spain against France, instead of joining with France against Spain: for it was his fatal union with France that laid the foundation of the excessive power of that kingdom, which has since cost this nation so much blood, and so many millions. And now, my Lords, with regard to both these wars, I must observe, that notwithstanding our great successes against Spain in Q. Elizabeth's reign, notwithstanding our great successes against Spain in Oliver's time, yet that nation was not easily or soon reduced to comply with such terms as we thought reasonable; for both Q. Eli-

Elizabeth and Oliver Cromwel left the war to be put an end to by their successors.

Considering therefore, my Lords, the little advantage we can reap, and the great dangers we may be exposed to by a war with Spain, I must think it would be not only unchristian, but impolitick in us to do them any real injuries, or to insist upon unreasonable terms for accommodating those differences, that must unavoidably, some times, arise between the two nations. I shall not say, that either the precepts of Christianity, or the maxims of sound politicks, oblige us to heap coals of fire upon their heads, by returning good for evil; but this I will say, that we ought at all times, and especially the present, to be more ready to forgive Spain than any other nation in Europe; and, consequently, we ought to insist less upon the point of honour, and accept of a less ample satisfaction, with regard to any injuries that may be done us by the Spaniards, than with regard to the injuries we may receive from any other nation in the world. Even in private life, a man would sooner and more easily pardon an injury done him by a relation, or old friend, than an injury done him by an utter stranger, or by one with whom he never had, nor ever expected to have, any cordial friendship.

This, my Lords, leads me of course to consider, what we have got by the convention now under our consideration. And here, my Lords, I must say, I am surpris'd to hear it affirmed, that we have got no more by this convention, than what the King of Spain had before allowed to be due. To support this assertion we have been told, that the Spaniards had not one shilling to demand of us; and that the 95,000 l. was not to be paid by them, unless our S. S. company first paid them, or made them a present, as it was called, of 68,000 l. But both these facts must appear to have been very much misrepresented. The Spaniards certainly made a very great demand upon us: a demand that far exceeded 60,000 l. They demanded full reparation for all the da-

mage we did them in the year 1718, which, according to their way of reckoning, would have amounted to more than ten times 60,000 l. for they said that, though his Catholick Majesty had agreed; by the treaty in 1721, to accept of restitution of the ships we had actually taken from him; yet he had not by that, or any other treaty, given up his claim for the other damages we had done him; and that, if he had, he was not obliged to stand to it, because we had not complied with the restitution stipulated by that treaty. Whether this demand was just or not, is what I shall not take upon me to determine; but it was certainly made, and strongly insisted on by Spain; and if we got them to agree to reduce it to 60,000 l. I must think it was prudent in us to allow them, by way of a friendly accommodation, to deduct that sum out of what was due to our merchants on account of the depredations committed by their subjects in the American seas. 'Tis true, we do not receive this sum in ready money; but, I think, it is more beneficial to us than if we did; because, by allowing it to be deducted, we get free of a demand which amounted to a great deal more, and which would have been a perpetual bone of contention between us and a people with whom we ought, if possible, to cultivate a good correspondence.

Now, my Lords, with regard to the 68,000 l. claimed by Spain from our S. S. company, I cannot comprehend how any one can imagine, that the court of Spain is resolv'd not to pay the 95,000 l. stipulated by this convention, unless this 68,000 l. be first paid to them by our company. I am sure there is no such condition in the convention. Our S. S. company have nothing to do with the convention, all accounts and differences between them and the crown of Spain being expressly excepted, in that very article by which the 95,000 l. is stipulated, and the company not so much as once mention'd in any other part of the treaty. Even his Catholick Majesty's declaration, or protestation, does not subject the payment of the 95,000 l. to any

by such condition; for all that was meant by that protestation was, to prevent to his Catholick Majesty his right to suspend the Assiento contract, in case the company should fail in performing their part of that contract; which right was establish'd in his Catholick Majesty and his successors, not only by the very nature of the contract itself, but by the express words of the conclusion or ratification of that contract, his Catholick Majesty's words being, "And I promise and assure, upon my faith and royal word, that, *provided the company of England perform this contract on their part, far as concerns them, and as they are liged, I will perform it on my part.*" Thus it appears, my Lords, that the payment of the 95,000 l. is not by this convention, nor even by the King of Spain's protestation, to be delay'd, much less denied, on account of our S. S. company's not paying the 68,000 l. claim'd from them by Spain. Therefore it is not our business, upon the present occasion, to enquire whether that claim is just or no. The company may have greater claims upon the crown of Spain, and yet Spain may think themselves justified in not admitting of compensation: For, as the claim the company has upon the crown of Spain proceeds from the seizure of their effects in the years 1718 and 1727, which have not yet, according to treaties, been fully restor'd; and as the court of Spain's claim upon the company proceeds intirely from the Assiento trade: there may, from the very nature of compensation, be some reason not to admit of it in this case; because the King of Spain may alledge, that by restoring the very effects that were seized he may still free himself from the payment of any money, or he may say that what is due by him on that account is not yet fully settled and ascertain'd; and that, therefore, he cannot allow it in compensation of a nett sum which, he says, the company has confessed to be due to him. My Lords, I do not say that any of these arguments are just, I only mention them to shew, that none of our disputes with Spain are so clear, or so easily adjusted, as some have been pleased to represent.

I hope it will now appear to your Lordships, that we are, by this convention, to receive the full sum of 95,000 l. from Spain; and that to this sum we ought to add the 60,000 l. we have allowed, for which Spain has given up a demand she had upon us of a much larger extent: therefore we must allow, that the reparation granted us by this convention for our losses before Dec. 10. 1737, amounts to the full sum of 155,000 l. which is more than 15 s. in the pound of what we really lost; and before I heard of this treaty, I should have thought him a very unreasonable merchant, and a very bad countryman, that had told me, he would not willingly accept of 15 s. in the pound in full of what he had lost, rather than see his country involved in a war against Spain, and at such a juncture. I say, my Lords, that 155,000 l. the sum we are to receive by way of reparation, amounts to more than 15 s. in the pound upon our real loss; because our own Commissaries did not value it at more than 200,000 l. and I have heard no good reason given, why we should discredit their report, nor do I believe, from the character I have heard of the Gentlemen, that they would have received, much less obeyed, any instructions, by which they were enjoined not to admit of those demands, which appeared to them to be reasonable and just. The Spaniards, we know, make heavy complaints against them, for having admitted of the most extravagant claims, and for refusing no claim that was laid before them; so that, like good arbitrators, they are blamed by both sides, which is seldom a sign of injustice. As for the five ships mentioned in the 4th article of this convention, they were included in the 200,000 l. at which our losses were valued by our Commissaries; and therefore, if any part of any of them has been restored, the value ought in justice to be deducted out of the 95,000 l. to be paid to us by Spain for our losses in general.

We are so far, my Lords, from having obtained no reparation, that, I think, I may now venture to say, we have obtained, by this convention, a
more

more ample reparation than was ever obtained by this nation in any former preliminary treaty. Even in Oliver Cromwel's time, by the treaty of peace, after the war we then had with the Dutch, he accepted, by way of preliminary, of an immediate payment of 10,000 l. in part of satisfaction for a great number of British ships that had been seized and detained in the dominions of the King of Denmark. This, my Lords, was all he insisted on by the treaty, tho' it was not near equal to the loss we had sustained, the rest being referred to be settled by Commissaries respectively appointed by the two republics; and yet it must be allowed, that no man ever insisted more strenuously upon the rights and privileges of his country, and that he had the good fortune to live at a time, when none of our neighbours were in any tolerable condition to engage in war, or to form a confederacy against us.

Having now shewn, my Lords, that we have got, by this convention, as ample a satisfaction for past losses as any reasonable man could expect, I shall beg leave to consider, as briefly as I can, what is stipulated, with regard to our future security. And upon this head I shall first observe, that from the nature of the dispute between Spain and us, we could not expect that it was possible to provide, properly or fully, for our future security by preliminary articles. The Spaniards do not pretend to deny our right to a free navigation upon the open seas of America; but the dispute between us is, What shall be reckoned the open seas of America? They say, that their coasts cannot be called open sea; and that therefore, if any one of our ships come upon their coasts without necessity, they have a right to search her, in order to see whether she has been concerned in any illicit trade with their settlements: They say further, that their coasts in America, as well as their coasts in Europe, are within their own dominions; that they have a power to make what regulations they please within their own dominions; and that, therefore, they have a power to regu-

late what shall be deemed testimonies of a ship's having been concerned in an illicit trade, if such ship be found upon their coasts. Now, my Lords, that every nation has a sort of a right to, and a dominion over, what may properly be called their own coasts, is, what I believe, no man that understands any thing of the law of nations will deny; but the question is, How far out at sea these coasts shall extend? And as this is a question that has not yet been determined by any treaty between Spain and us, it must be very particularly considered into, before any settlement can be made by a new treaty. There may be reasons for confining the coast within much narrower bounds in some seas than in others. In those seas where the common course of navigation lies very near the shoar, the coast of the neighbouring country must be very much confined; and in those seas, where the common course of navigation never approaches near the shoar, the neighbouring country, or state, may be allowed to extend their coasts to a greater distance at sea.

These considerations, my Lords, shew how difficult it will be to regulate what the Spaniards may be allowed to call their coasts in the American seas, what may be called a necessity for a ship's approaching their coasts, and what may be called proper testimonies, or proofs, of a ship's having been concerned in an illicit trade; and no man who considered these difficulties could expect, that they could be removed in a short time, or by a preliminary treaty. The negotiators on both sides will certainly be obliged to send to the West-Indies, in order to have proper information from those, who are perfectly acquainted with the navigation in those seas; and both may, perhaps, be obliged to send a second time, in order to have those difficulties answered, or removed, that may be started upon the first conferences. It is not our right to a free navigation in the open seas of America; it is not our right to carry in our ships what goods we please from one part of his Majesty's dominions to the other.

It is the right the Spaniards have to take methods, and to prescribe rules, within their own dominions, that is to say, upon their own coasts, for preventing an illicit trade with their settlements in America, that is to be regulated by the Plenipotentiaries respectively named by this convention: and in this, our Plenipotentiaries, if they were inclined, can do us no injury; because the regulations they agree to can be of no force, till they are ratified by his Majesty.

Whatever some Lords may think of the distinction between a right and the enjoyment of that right, however incomprehensible they may think it, I must look on it as a just and a proper distinction; for a man may have a right to an estate, and yet his enjoyment of that right may be regulated, or even restrained, by some right or privilege granted to another. We have a right to a free navigation in the seas of America; but we have, by the treaty in 1670, granted the Spaniards an exclusive right to the trade with their own settlements in that part of the world; and therefore we have, according to an established maxim in law, granted them every thing that is necessary for the enjoyment of that exclusive right. For this purpose they say, that they must search such foreign ships as approach their coasts without any necessity, and must make them liable to confiscation, if any thing should be found on board that is the proper produce of their settlements; because, without this, it would be impossible for them to exclude foreigners from carrying on a trade with their settlements: and if this privilege should be allowed them, as a consequence of the exclusive right we have agreed to by the treaty in 1670, it would be a sort of restraint upon our enjoyment of the right we have to a free navigation in the seas of America. I am far from granting, my Lords, that there is any foundation for this pretence. I do not think, that such a privilege is absolutely necessary for enabling them to enjoy their exclusive right; but if it were, they would have some reason for

insisting upon it; and whether it be so or not, is a question that could not be enquired into in a short time, and, consequently, could not be determined by a preliminary article.

These are the disputes, my Lords, upon which our future security depends; and as these disputes are of such a nature that they could not be settled in a short time, therefore we could not expect, that our future security could be provided for any other way than it is by this preliminary convention. Nor could we in this case stipulate any suspension: we could not stipulate, that they should suspend searching our ships upon the high seas; because it is what they never pretended to: such a stipulation would really have been a sort of acknowledgment, that our right to a free navigation on the open seas of America was a disputable point: And if we had desired them to suspend taking those measures, which they think absolutely necessary for preventing an illicit trade, they would have look'd on it as the demand of a privilege to carry on such a trade, till the definitive treaty should be concluded; which is a demand we could not expect they would grant. Besides, we had no occasion to demand any suspension in this case; because, during the eight months in which this affair is to be finally determined, we shall have a squadron in the West-Indies, that will be sufficient to protect our trade, against any injustice that can be committed by their guarda costas.

As for the article that relates to settling limits between Florida and Carolina, I am surpris'd, my Lords, to hear it found fault with. We have got more by that article, than we could ever before get by any treaty between us and Spain; for by that article, we have got them to acknowledge by name, our right to Carolina: and tho' we now give the name of Georgia to the southern parts of Carolina, yet as Georgia was formerly a part of that country to which in general we gave the name of Carolina, I think this article implies an acknowledgment of our right to Georgia, and shews that the Spaniards do not dispute with

with us our right to that province, but only the limits between what we now call Georgia, and what they and we call Florida. They may, perhaps, pretend, that we have extended our settlements in Georgia too much towards the southward, and by that means have incroached upon their territories in Florida; but from this article it cannot so much as be presumed, that they intend to dispute our having a right to any part of Georgia; and if they should, our Plenipotentiaries may refuse to treat with them upon such terms, for by this article they are laid under no obligation to do so. Here, indeed, the very nature of the dispute made a suspension necessary: but I must observe, that this suspension is mutual; for the Spaniards are obliged to suspend increasing their fortifications, or taking any new posts, in Florida, as much as we are in Carolina. And as limits between frontier provinces are generally referred to be settled by Commissaries after a definitive treaty is concluded, I am sure no fault can be found with referring the limits between these two provinces to be settled by Plenipotentiaries, named and appointed by a preliminary.

I have now shewn, I hope, my Lords, that by this convention we have got all we could reasonably expect by a preliminary; from whence it must be presumed, I think, that we are in a fair way of getting all we can reasonably demand by the solemn treaty that is to be concluded in pursuance of this preliminary, within the space of eight months, which is the shortest time that could be given for settling those disputes which still subsist between us and Spain. Therefore, if the affairs of Europe were in as favourable a situation as we could wish, if our own circumstances were as happy as we could desire, it would have been imprudent in us to have begun hostilities, when we found the court of Spain so well inclined to give us all reasonable satisfaction: his Majesty would have acted contrary to the advice given him last session by his parliament, if he had refused to accept of such a preliminary convention. By commencing hostili-

ties we might, perhaps, have added to our glory, and might have given more satisfaction to those, who delight in life and contention; as well as to men of desperate fortunes, who want to fish in troubled waters: but these sorts of men are such as no wise government will endeavour to satisfy; and every one knows, that the happiness of a country is distinct from, and often inconsistent with its glory. The late King of Sweden, by seeking his own glory in war, raised it to a very high pitch; but he ruined, he depopled his country: and if we follow the example of Cardinal Fleury, (for I think I may name him) which the Noble Lord that spoke last has been pleased to recommend to us, we shall never go to war without an absolute necessity; for he has procured more happiness for his country, and acquired more glory to himself, than the late French monarch did by all his wars, and by all the pestery or historical looms he set to work, assisted by an infinite number of poems, panegyrics, and pieces of painting, which he procured at a vast publick expence, for celebrating the heroick actions he performed by his Generals and his armies; for whatever share he might claim in the glory, I think he took care never to have any share in the danger.

I say, my Lords, if the affairs of Europe, as well as our domestick affairs, had been in the best situation, it would have been imprudent in us to have engaged in war, especially against Spain, when we found ourselves in so fair a way of obtaining all we could desire by peaceable means; but as neither our own affairs, nor the affairs of Europe, can be said to be at present in a very favourable situation, it was certainly our business to avoid engaging in war, at this juncture, if possible. What this situation may be owing to, I shall not take upon me to determine; but with respect to our domestick affairs, I am sure, the situation they are in is not owing to any late mismanagement here at home. The debts and the taxes we are at present loaded with, are known to be the unhappy relics of the last heavy war; we were engaged in against France and Spain.

Spain. We have never since engaged in any war, we have been put to no expense, but what has been authorised or approved by parliament, as being absolutely necessary for the current service; therefore, if we have paid off but a small part of the debt we incurred during that war, it can proceed from no mismanagement, but from a tender regard to the people, which prevented our loading them with more taxes than were absolutely necessary for paying the interest growing due to the creditors of the publick, and for defraying that expense which the parliament, from year to year, thought necessary for the publick service.

And with regard to the present situation of affairs in Europe, it may, for what I know, my Lords, be owing to the ambition of one court, and the pride and obstinacy of another; but I am sure it can be no way justly imputed to the bad conduct of any of those who are now, or have lately been, employed in the administration of our publick affairs. Our ministers are neither the masters nor the directors of the councils of foreign princes or states; and, therefore, cannot be justly made to account for their actions or behaviour. They may be made to account for their own: but with regard even to their own behaviour, we ought not to judge of their measures by the event, we ought to consider them in the light they appeared in when taken. It is easy to find fault with past measures, when cross accidents happen that could not be then foreseen, or when time clears up facts that could not be then discovered. But whatever our late measures may have been with regard to foreign affairs, those who advised them have had the good fortune to have every step of their conduct approved of by parliament. Even the late treaty of Hanover, which some people now pretend to find fault with, was approved by parliament: And I still think it deserved the approbation it met with: for by the treaty between the Emperor and Spain in 1725, they had certainly both formed projects against the trade or the possessions of this nation: the Emperor had formed a pro-

ject of establishing the trade of Flanders upon the ruins of the trade of this kingdom; and the court of Spain had formed a project for wresting from us the important fortresses of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon. Against these projects, the best, indeed the only measure we could take, was the defensive alliance we entered into with France by the treaty of Hanover: and this accordingly put an end to the ambitious projects both of the Emperor and Spain; or at least the measures we took in pursuance of that treaty, prevented their being able to carry any of them into execution. The measures we took upon the breaking out of the late war between France and the Emperor, had likewise the good fortune to be authorised or approved by parliament; and, I think, with great reason. We had then no demands either upon France or Spain, at least none that either of them had expressly refused to comply with; therefore, from our own interest, we had no call to engage in that war, unless it had been pushed so far as to endanger the balance of power in Europe: and surely we are not obliged to support the court of Vienna in all the ambitious projects they may form, nor were we obliged to assist them in a war they had brought upon themselves, by endeavouring to prescribe rules to an independent kingdom in the election of its Sovereign.

Thus, my Lords, I have stated in a proper light, those facts which, I think, have been very much mistaken by some Lords who have spoke in this debate; and I have endeavoured to do it with that plainness and simplicity which becometh the dignity of this house. If wit and eloquence could have any weight with your Lordships, those who have spoke upon the other side of the question could not have failed of persuading; but, I think, it is a bad compliment to your Lordships judgment, to attempt to persuade by such means: I know your Lordships caution and penetration, and therefore, if I could, I should not attempt to impose upon your judgment by wit or eloquence, especially in the present question; because the side on which I

of persuasion: if it be viewed in its true and natural light, like truth, it must be irresistible.

Q. Fabius Maximus stood up next, and spoke to the effect as follows, viz.

My Lords, L. BATHURST

IN what I have to offer to your Lordships upon the subject now under our consideration, I shall not so much as attempt any sort of rhetorical stile: I have, indeed, I think, much less occasion for it than the Noble Lord who spoke last; for facts speak themselves, and all the facts that relate to the present question, are so plainly against that side which his Lordship seemed to favour, that he must pardon me, if I think, he could have said but very little, if he had made no use of any of the arts of eloquence. If it were possible to imagine that wit or eloquence could have any influence upon this house, I should have but little encouragement to think myself capable of either: for in all the important questions that have happened, almost ever since I had a seat here, the majority has generally been against that side of the question, on which I had the misfortune to speak; yet I always thought I had reason on my side: but as I now think, I have a great deal more reason than ever I had upon any former occasion, I hope to meet with a different fate. That there are assemblies which are led by their passions, and that in such assemblies only the arts of eloquence can be of service, I shall readily grant; but I must observe, that as some passions are to be led by the sense of hearing, there are others which are to be led by the sense of feeling alone: and if I were not fully convinced that the members of this assembly are governed by reason, and by nothing else, I should never attempt to speak; because I know myself as little capable of touching those passions, that are to be led by feeling, as I am of touching those that are to be led by hearing.

My Lords, when we granted those extraordinary powers that were given last session to the crown, I believe none

of your Lordships meant, I am sure, I did not imagine, that, in consequence of that grant, the nation was to be put to any extraordinary expence, as long as there were the least hopes left of accommodation. These hopes, I knew, might have been determined by the return of one courier: they ought to have been so, considering how far the season of the year was advanced, and the danger our navigation and commerce by exposed to in the mean time. It was only sending orders by a courier to our minister at the court of Spain, to have put two or three plain questions to that court, by way of *schismata*, and to have insisted on a speedy and categorical answer. This, I know, might have been done in three or four weeks; and therefore, when I heard of our great naval preparations, I expected nothing but war: I expected that some of my honest neighbours in the country would be relieved from the burden of quarrelling soldiers; because I made no doubt but that a large body of our troops would be embarked on board our fleet, and sent where they might be of some service to their country. I little thought that this session of parliament would have opened with a sort of treaty or convention, that gives us neither war nor peace, nor any thing, in my opinion, but shame and confusion.

Indeed, when I heard our squadrons were failed, and found, by the complaints of my neighbours, that our troops remained, I cannot say quiet, in their quarters, I began to suspect some new Carthagena expedition. I began to fear that our Spanish war would end in a Spanish peace; and now I find my fears were not without foundation. But, my Lords, if we had obtained as honourable a treaty as ever was concluded by this or any nation, I would nevertheless have ventured to have said, that the expence we put ourselves to, the squadrons we sent out, had no share in obtaining it; but surely those fleets, those warlike preparations, that can do no considerable harm to an enemy in case of a war, can have no influence in obtaining a peace. One squadron sent to the Mediterranean was

seems, designed to be a harmless squadron; and that which was sent to the East-Indies, 'tis allowed, must have been till they got some land-forces on board, for which no preparations were made, either at home or in our plantations. But we are told, that land-forces might soon have been raised in our plantations; which is a fact I very much doubt of. We have, as yet, but few spare hands in any of our plantations; and to have taken men from that valuable labour, in which our planters and their servants are always employed, would have been a great loss to our trade. It would have been much better to have sent 8 or 10,000 of the idle fellows we have at home, to some of our most fruitful plantations, in order to have them there ready at a call; for the difference of the climate is so far from being an argument against, that it is a strong argument for sending them thither some months before we have use for them, that they may have time to be seasoned to the climate, and to recover from the fatigues of a long voyage, before they are sent upon any expedition against an enemy.

This, my Lords, would have had a greater influence upon the court of Spain, than all the men of war we fitted out; for I must think it was a very extraordinary sort of management, to fit out above 100 sail of men of war against a nation that cannot send 30 capital ships to sea. Therefore, if the court of Spain was to be frightened or threatened into terms, we ought to have sent out regiments of foot, instead of most of the men of war that were fitted out; and if that court was not to be threatened, there was no occasion for fitting ourselves to any expence till a war was actually resolved on. As they have but few ships at sea, and those they have, hard to be met with in such a wide ocean as that between Spain and America, our squadrons, without a land-force along with them, can do them little or no prejudice: and suppose we could have raised a sufficient land-force in our plantations, it will, I hope, be allow'd, that after we had sent orders for raising

that land-force, we might have fitted out a squadron here at home, and sent it thither, time enough for taking those land-forces on board, before they could have been ready to embark. Therefore we had as little occasion for putting ourselves to the expence of naval preparations, as we had for putting ourselves to the expence of raising land-forces, till we had got a final answer from Spain; and without threatening to invade some of their territories, in Europe or America, with a land-army, our numerous squadrons could now as little persuade them to agree to our terms, as Hostier's squadron could formerly persuade them to deliver the effects of their galleons into his hands.

I am convinced, my Lords, that the squadrons we sent out last summer, like some others we have upon former occasions fitted out, gave all Europe an occasion of mirth, instead of giving the Spaniards an occasion of fear. The court of Spain must mistake our power, or despise our management, otherwise they would not have dared to have offered such a preliminary treaty, as we have stoop'd to accept of. Preliminaries are sometimes agreed on by nations engaged in war, before they can conclude a solemn and definitive treaty of peace; but by such preliminaries the most material points are always settled, and some pledges are generally given for performance of articles. By these preliminaries no one material point is settled; the only one that is settled is, that relating to the damages we have sustained, and that is settled by our agreeing to give a general release, without receiving one shilling consideration. Can this be called a treaty? To me it seems as if our minister had presented M. de la Quadra with a *carte blanche*, a sheet of clean paper, and desired he would write what he pleased, because it was necessary for us to have a treaty of some kind or other.

My Lords, I shall grant that, before we resolve on a war, we ought to consider what we may lose, as well as what we may get; but, I hope, 'twill be allowed, that before we conclude a peace,

or any treaty for preventing a war, we ought to consider the dangers we may be exposed to by submitting to an infamous peace, as well as the dangers we may be exposed to by engaging in a just and honourable war. It seems now to become a fashionable doctrine amongst us, That a trading nation ought to be cautious of engaging in war. My Lords, it is directly the contrary: No nation ought to go to war without provocation; but of all nations in the world, a nation engaged in foreign trade ought to be the most jealous of its honour and privileges, and therefore the most cautious of submitting to any thing that may look like an infamous peace. The nature of its trade obliges many of its people to travel, and some of them to live in foreign countries: they must there meet with justice and respect, otherwise they neither will travel nor live, nor can they carry on any trade. But can they expect to meet with justice, or even with common civility, if the nation to which they belong be generally despised and contemned? which it must be, if it submits to an infamous peace. This will be our case, if we should be so fond of peace as to avoid going to war when we have a just occasion. If we do not vindicate our honour, and assert the rights and privileges of our people, in all parts of the world where they may have occasion to go, we must give up our foreign trade: for no British subject will go abroad to take care of it, if he finds himself insulted and abused in every country he comes to. Our own colonies will desert us: If we will not protect them, they must seek for protection somewhere else. Therefore, if we have a mind to preserve our trade or our navigation, we must take care not to be insulted: we must re-assume one of our ancient motto's: *Nemo me impune lacesset*, must be the word in every mouth, and the resolution of every assembly, within the British dominions.

I shall not pretend, my Lords, that we have victory chained to our chariot-wheel; yet I may say what from all our histories will appear, that in the wars

we have been engaged in, we have always come off with honour, when our affairs were under a wise administration. In a war with Spain, if we judge from experience, we have more to hope than to fear. We may do them great damage, and gain considerable advantage to ourselves, even by privateering or seizing their ships at sea. They cannot subsist, they cannot defray the expenses of their civil government, much less support the charge of a heavy war, without having their treasure brought home from America. If they bring it home in galleons or flotas, we may intercept it by our squadrons: if they bring it home in single ships, we shall intercept many of them by our privateers or small cruisers. They cannot bring it home either in French or Dutch ships; because, by the 6th article of the treaty of Utrecht between France and us, the King of France is expressly obliged, not to accept of any other usage of navigation to Spain, and the Spanish Indies, than what was practised there in the reign of K. Charles II. of Spain, or than what shall likewise be fully given and granted at the same time to other nations and people concerned in trade. Therefore the Spaniards could not lay the trade to their settlements in America open to the French, at least the French could not accept of it; and if the Dutch should, they would be opposed by France as well as us, which is an opposition they would not, I believe, chuse to struggle with. And as for the Spaniards carrying on a correspondence with the Dutch at Curassoa, or the French at Hispaniola or Martinique, the course of navigation between their settlements upon the continent and these islands, is so much confined, that we might intercept every one of their ships, either by our men of war or privateers. Besides, my Lords, these expedients, or any expedient that could be contrived, would lay the whole Spanish nation under such distresses and difficulties, that they would be glad to accept of peace upon reasonable terms.

Thus, my Lords, we might not only reap advantage by distressing them at sea,

is, but we might reap still greater advantages, and reduce them to greater difficulties, by attacking them at land. It would not, 'tis true, be our interest to attempt making any conquests upon the continent of Old Spain; but by having a Squadron with 5 or 6000 Land-vores on board, continually roving round their coasts, and making inroads upon the country, as often as they found an opportunity, we might do infinite mischief to our enemies, and often get rich booties for our soldiers and seamen. When with regard to their settlements in America, as we could prevent any supplies of troops or ammunition being sent thither from any part of the world, we might plunder them from one end to the other; or, if we thought it more in our purpose, we might enable them to throw off the yolk of Spain: which most, even of the Spaniards that are born here, would gladly do, if they had any support on which they could depend, because of the oppression they meet with from their governors and other officers, who are all natives of Old Spain. We are not to judge of what may be done against Spain in the West-Indies from our management of the last war against France and Spain. It was not the difficulty of the undertaking that prevented an attempt being made in that part of the world; but we had taken so great a share of the war in Europe upon ourselves, and were at so great an expence, that we could not spare either money or troops for such an undertaking: and as none of our allies would join with us in it, if we had gone upon it by ourselves alone, it might have created a jealousy in some of them, which would have been of dangerous consequence to the grand design: but if the whole confederacy had agreed to have made a vigorous push that way, immediately after the battle of Hochstadt, I believe it would have succeeded, and would have been a means of putting an end to the war much sooner than we did; for the French, as some of their ministers have since declared, would not have been so unable to support the expence of the war, if it had not been for the great re-

mittances they had from the Spanish West-Indies.

Now, my Lords, with regard to the dangers we may be exposed to, even suppose France should join openly with Spain against us; if we were united amongst ourselves, and under a popular, that is, a wise administration, we have nothing to fear from an union of these two great powers. We may frighten ourselves with bugbears of invasions, and God knows what; but till they have a naval force superior to any we can send against them, we have nothing to fear: and it would be our fault if we allowed them to increase their naval force during a war. We may, 'tis true, be obliged to divide our naval force; but the naval force of France and Spain could not all join in one port; we might render it almost impossible for them to do so: and if they should, we might join our Squadrons together as well as they, in which case we would be more than match for them. The sea, my Lords, is our element; and it will be our defence, as long as we preserve our trade: which we must lose if we allow our merchants and seamen to be insulted and plundered. A war with Spain is, therefore, become unavoidable, if they refuse to give us satisfaction, as well as reparation and security: and if they should be joined by France, let the dangers from such an union be what they will, we must face them; for I hope no man will say, we are to look tamely on, and see France and Spain plundering our merchants, abusing our seamen, and destroying our trade, with impunity.

The present circumstances of Europe, my Lords, I shall allow to be very different from what they were in Q. Elizabeth's days; but if she had managed her foreign negotiations, as we seem to have managed ours for these twenty years past, she would have been in much worse circumstances than we are at present. She was in danger of having Spain, France, and Scotland, joined with a powerful party in her own dominions, against her. Towards the beginning of the year 1585, the Duke of Guise had got

got almost the absolute government of the King and kingdom of France, and Philip II. of Spain had just conquered Portugal, and had almost entirely reduced the malecontents in Holland and Flanders. These two were in a private league against the Protestant religion, and had very near prevailed on James VI. of Scotland, afterwards James I. of England, to join with them. In these circumstances, if Q. Elizabeth had sent weak or ridiculous Ambassadors to foreign courts, or if she had thought only of putting off the evil day by temporary, annual expedients, both she and the Protestant religion would have been undone; but she foresaw her danger, and resolved, therefore, to begin the attack, before the project of her enemies was ripe for execution. She sent one of the ablest and most expert ministers then in the world, to Scotland, by whose address and intrigues she at last secured that King in her interest. She attack'd the King of Spain in his own dominions, both in the Netherlands and the West-Indies; and she gave such aid to the Huguenots in France, as entirely disappointed the projects of the Duke of Guise, and greatly contributed towards raising Henry IV. to the throne of that kingdom. If we had had such foresight and wisdom for these twenty years past, or had employed such ministers in our foreign negotiations, we should not now have been frightening ourselves with the conjunction of France and Spain against us, nor should we have been lamenting, that we have not a friend in Europe, on whom we can depend for assistance.

Tho' our war with Spain in Q. Elizabeth's time continued for many years, we are not, my Lords, from thence to conclude, that the war must now continue as long, before we can bring them to a compliance. This nation is now more powerful, and Spain much weaker, than at that time. Q. Elizabeth was Queen of England and Ireland only: our plantations were in their infancy, Ireland often in a state of rebellion, and Scotland kept in friendship with us by her wisdom alone. On the other hand, the King of Spain was then master both

of Spain and Portugal, and as powerful, perhaps more powerful than at present, in the West-Indies: besides which, he was then master of the severest provinces of the Netherlands, and of the two Sicilies and Milan in Italy. To this I must add, that in Q. Elizabeth's time, it was not the interest of this nation to be at peace with Spain; her subjects made a great deal more by the way than they could have done by an open trade with that kingdom; therefore he would never hear of restoring the peace, tho' the Spaniards would have gladly sacrificed for it to her, if they had hoped success, as they did to her successor, before he was well seated on the throne. In Oliver Cromwell's time, the war he engaged in against Spain, was certainly a piece of political wisdom: he found it necessary to establish his government by making some conquest, or gaining some advantage for the nation abroad; and Spain was the only nation from whom he could take any thing that would be of real advantage to this. He joined with France, 'tis true; but the power of France was not then formidable; and by his getting possession of Dunkirk, he opened a door for our assisting France against Spain, or Spain against France, according as we should afterwards find proper: and if he had lived, as he understood the interest of his country, he would probably have soon clapt up a peace with Spain, and perhaps have joined with them against France; which would probably have prevented the Pyrenean treaty of peace, the source of all the evils Europe has since been exposed to; but he died within three months after he got possession of Dunkirk, and but a little more than three years after he had begun the war with Spain: so that the continuance of that war is not to be imputed to any inability we were in of forcing Spain to accept of a peace upon reasonable terms; but to the confusions and distractions this nation was in, from Cromwell's death, till the restoration of K. Charles II. when peace between the two nations was restored, tho' the solemn treaties for that

purpose were not concluded till the years 1667 and 1670.

Therefore, my Lords, if we judge from experience, we must conclude, that if Spain is not supported by France, the war between the two nations cannot be of any long continuance; and while it continues, if right measures are taken, our trade cannot suffer so much by their privateers, as it has done for almost twenty years by their guarda costas. If we suppose they should be supported by France, yet if care be taken to remove the discontents of our own people, and vigorous measures pursued, I think France and Spain, even when united against us, have more to fear from us, than we have from them, tho' we should be so destitute of friends as not to meet with assistance from any one power in Europe. Indeed, if we should ever have the misfortune to be involved in a war against France and Spain, while we are under an administration, in which neither our people at home, nor our friends abroad, can put any confidence; an administration who had shewn themselves incapable of governing in time of peace, and who, of course, we must suppose much more incapable of governing in time of war: in that case I do not know what might be the consequence. Such an administration would think of nothing but protecting themselves at home, against the resentments of an injured and discontented people, and would, therefore, neither think of, nor be able to take proper measures for distressing our enemies abroad, or for protecting our trade at sea, or our possessions at land, in any distant part of the world. Our only safeguard, our only relief, would be in our parliament; and the only measure our parliament could take, for the salvation of their country, would be, to force a change in the administration, and to recover the affections of our own people, and the confidence of our natural allies, by punishing those, who, by their conduct, had forfeited both.

Thus, my Lords, I believe it will appear, that, if we were now at liberty to consider the dangers we may be exposed

to, and the advantages we may reap, by engaging in a war with Spain, we should, upon the comparison, find, that we have more to hope than to fear; but we have met with so many insults, and such disdainful treatment from that nation, for many years past, that if they refuse or delay to give us satisfaction, reparation, and security, we have no such liberty left, we must go to war let the consequence be what it will; and in such a case, I can look upon no man as a friend to his country, who endeavours to terrify the people with the dangers they are to encounter. This, my Lords, leads me of course to consider, whether we have got, by the convention now under our consideration, any satisfaction, security, or reparation; and for this purpose I shall go thro' the several articles. But I must first observe, that with regard to satisfaction, there is not one article that relates to it: it is not so much as referred to the Plenipotentiaries to regulate what satisfaction the Spanish nation shall make us, for the many heinous indignities they have put upon us; nay we seem, by the very preamble, to have given up all title to it, by acknowledging, that the grievances have been mutual. My Lords, I defy the most eloquent advocate for Spain, to shew any one grievance we have subjected them to, or any one injury we have done them, ever since the treaty of Seville. By that treaty we did them a most singular favour, at the expence of our ancient ally the Emperor; and we have been heaping favours upon favours ever since: therefore I must think it was a sacrificing of the truth, as well as the honour of this nation, to allow it to be said in the preamble, that grievances were alledged on each side, as well in the West-Indies, as elsewhere.

Then, my Lords, with regard to our future security, I must observe, that it is of two kinds: it relates either to the freedom of our navigation and commerce, or to the free enjoyment of our possessions and privileges in that part of the world. As to the freedom of our navigation and commerce, the only article, that relates to it, is the first; and

by that we have almost in express terms given it up: for, as a Noble Lord has observed before me, if it be regulated, it must be restrained; and that which is restrained, can no longer be said to be free. I was surpris'd to hear it said, that the Spaniards pretend to a right of searching our ships, only upon their own coasts. Do not we know that they search them where-ever they can meet with them in the American seas? do not several of the petitions and other papers we have before us shew, that they not only search them many leagues out at sea, but pretend to make prize of them, upon the ridiculous pretence of their having contraband goods on board? What the Spaniards may mean, or what the Noble Lord that spoke last may mean, by their own coasts, I do not know; it is a word that has no determin'd signification: but whatever may be meant by the word, it is certain that no right or dominion can be acquired to any part of the sea, no more than to any part of the land, but by occupancy and possession; which must be declared by overt acts: for a nation's being in possession of the land, gives them no right to any part of the neighbouring sea; and I do not know that we have ever yet allowed the Spaniards to take possession, or to claim any right to any part of the seas of America, without the limits of their ports or havens. By the treaty in 1670, we promis'd, 'tis true, that the subjects of this kingdom should not sail to and traffick in the ports and havens that have fortifications or magazines, nor in any other place possess'd by the King of Spain in the West-Indies: but we did not promise, that our ships should not sail along their coasts; nor did we give them a right to search such ships, or to prescribe what sort of goods or effects they should have on board: nay, we did not so much as give them a right to search any of our ships, that should be forced into any of their ports in America, by stress of weather, or any such accident: on the contrary, we expressly stipulated, that such ships should be allowed to depart whenever they had a mind, without any lett or

molestation. Yet that treaty, which now seems to be the utmost we aspire, was in those days thought so disadvantageous for this kingdom, that the Gentleman who negotiated and concluded it, durst never return to England, tho' he was of a good family, and had several considerable relations, who might have procur'd him a *quaisar* for my ship he had been guilty of in his negotiations, if our parliaments had then been as ready to overlook such slips, as time have been since that time.

By the treaty in 1670, my Lord, the Spaniards have no right to search my British ship, even in their ports in the West-Indies, when such ship happens to be forced in there by any sea-distress; and much less have they a right to confiscate ship and cargo, on account of her having Spanish money, or Spanish goods on board, unless they could prove that such money, or such goods, had by that ship been taken on board from some of their settlements. Nay, in Old Spain, where a free trade is allow'd, they are not to search a British ship, even in their ports, till she be unladen: they are only to put custom-house officers, not exceeding three, on board, to see that while she is unloading, no goods shall be landed without paying the duties; as appears from the 10th article of the treaty 1667. But now, it seems, we are reduced so low, that we must grant them a right to search our ships within what they shall please to call their sea-coasts; that is to say, within sight of any land they shall please to call theirs in America; for that will be the consequence: if you fix it at one league, or two leagues from the shore, their *guarda costas* will say, every British ship that is within sight of land, is within one or two leagues of the shore. Nay further, we must grant them a right, it seems, not only to search, but to confiscate ship and cargo, if upon such search, they find, or can steal, on board, two or three pieces of Spanish money, or any other goods which they call the produce of their settlements in America. At this rate, my Lord, we must give up Jamaica, and all our sugar islands; for

for no ship can sail either to or from Jamaica, without coming upon what the Spaniards may call their coasts: and no ship can return from Barbadoes, or any of our other sugar islands, without coming upon the coasts of some of those islands in the West-Indies, which the Spaniards call theirs; because no ship can return from thence, without coasting along those islands, in order to get to the northward of the trade-winds, before they can bear away for any part of Europe.

Therefore, my Lords, the allowing them a right or privilege to search our ships upon any part of the seas of America, or the allowing them a right to confiscate a British ship, on account of her having any effects on board, which they may call the produce of their settlements, even tho' such ship should by distress be drove into any of their ports or havens in that part of the world, is what we can never grant. It is what we ought not to have negotiated about, and much less ought we to have referred it to Plenipotentiaries to be regulated; for if it be regulated, it must be established; and we may judge from their late behaviour, how well they will observe any regulations it can be laid under.

From whence, my Lords, it appears, I think, most evidently, that, instead of stipulating any thing for the future security of our trade and navigation in the American seas, we have by this convention almost expressly given up the freedom both of our trade and navigation in those seas. But suppose their right of searching and confiscating British ships, that may be found sailing along their coasts in America, were to be established, and put under certain regulations, by the definitive treaty that is to be concluded in pursuance of this convention; surely, my Lords, considering the bad use they have lately made of this pretended right, we ought to have stipulated a suspension of the exercise of this right, till those regulations should be settled and agreed on by a solemn treaty. We might have stipulated, that in the mean time they should abstain from searching British ships on any part of the seas of America, and from con-

fiscating them, unless upon a full proof of their having been concerned in an illicit trade with their settlements. But we are told, the Spaniards would have look'd upon this as a stipulation for carrying on in the interim a sort of free trade with their settlements in that part of the world; and further, we are told, that we could have no occasion for such a suspension, because we shall have a squadron of men of war there, that will be sufficient to protect our trade in the mean time. This is really something extraordinary: we must not stipulate a suspension, because the Spaniards would look upon it as a stipulation for a free trade with their settlements; but we may compel it, by means of a superior squadron. My Lords, if they could have look'd upon a stipulation for a suspension in such a light, will not they look upon our making use of a squadron for such a purpose, as a compelling them to allow us a sort of free trade with their settlements? and will not they look upon this as a breach of this very convention? Let us confess the truth, my Lords, without any subterfuge: they would grant us nothing that might in the least derogate from any right or privilege they had a mind to make use of; therefore they refused granting us a suspension in this case: but they granted us a suspension with regard to their fortifications and improvements in Florida, because it was a right they had no mind to make use of.

I shall grant, my Lords, that a man may have a right to an estate, and yet his enjoyment of that estate may be restrained by some right or servitude (which is a more proper word than *privilege*) granted to another: but can that man's right to his estate be full and absolute? can that which is under a servitude be said to be free? My Lords, every thing that limits or restrains the enjoyment of a right, must in so far diminish or destroy the right itself. We have a right to a navigation and commerce in the American seas: we have a right to a commerce with the continent and islands of America. The first is absolute and free. Upon those seas

no nation in the world can say to us, What dost thou? But with regard to our commerce with the continent and islands of America, it is restrained. By the treaty in 1670, we obliged ourselves not to carry on any commerce with those places in America which are possessed by the Spaniards; and this was the reason we at that time found so much fault with that treaty. Therefore we ought carefully to distinguish between those two rights. As to our right of navigation and commerce in the American seas, the Spaniards have no right to limit or restrain it: I hope we shall never allow them, nor any nation, to do so; tho' I am told the French have lately begun to usurp such a right. As to our commerce with the continent and islands of America, the Spaniards may restrain it: they may prevent our carrying on any commerce in those places which they are in possession of; but they can restrain it no further: they have no business, nor any right, to enquire what we do in any part of America, which they are not in actual possession of. But if we approve of this convention, and such a definitive treaty be concluded as may be expected, and dreaded, from such a preliminary, I do not know what rights they may acquire. They may acquire the right they pretend to; which is a right to prescribe to the ships of G. Britain, what course they shall steer, and what goods they shall carry, from one part of the British dominions to another.

My Lords, it was a concession in us to allow them to exclude the subjects of this kingdom from carrying on any commerce in their American dominions: it was thought too great a concession when it was first granted. But, I hope, no British subject will say, that we ought, or can allow them to make any regulations at sea for preventing such a commerce; and therefore, I was surprised to hear it said, that we had not time to settle such regulations, or to convince them of the injustice of the regulations they have made: for if they insisted upon making such regulations, or upon the justice of those they had made, the on-

ly proper answer was, a declaration of war; and this, I am convinced, what it must at last come to. But suppose there had been some difficulty in the case at first; have we not had time enough to understand one another? have we not been negotiating about the very points now in dispute between us, for ten or a dozen of years, without intermission? could not we know in all that time what Spain would do, or how far they would disclaim the rights they have lately usurped upon us? My Lords, I am convinced some of our negotiators do know: I am convinced they know, that Spain will grant us no security, nor disclaim any right they have lately set up, unless they are forced to it by a vigorous war: and therefore, I must look upon this convention as a mere contrivance for putting off the evil day; an expedient for this session: and the prolongation of the term hereby stipulated, will, I suppose, be an expedient for the next, perhaps for two or three ensuing; during which the Spaniards will continue to plunder our merchants, and interrupt our trade as usual.

Now, my Lords, with regard to the free enjoyment of our possessions and privileges in America, the only article that relates to it, is the 2d, and that relates only to Georgia. But how does it relate to it? by what, I am sure, the Spaniards will call giving it up. If the Spaniards pretended to dispute limits with us, it was a most ridiculous thing in us to allow that dispute to be carried so far as to the southern, perhaps near the most northern bounds of North-Carolina. It was the same as if we had sat down to hazard, and had staked North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, against the insignificant Spanish fort called Fort-Augustine; for that is the only fort or settlement the Spaniards have in Florida. I shall grant the suspension stipulated in this article is mutual; but, my Lords, it is far from being equal. We suspend fortifying or improving three large countries or provinces already planted, already greatly improved, already inhabited by numbers of our own people, and which we were resolved to fortify and improve as

fast as possible. On the other hand, the Spaniards are to suspend fortifying and improving one single province, not so large as any one of our three, and that a country entirely waste, or inhabited only by such as are their enemies, except one little fort and a country which they had no intention either to plant, improve, or fortify. But is Georgia the only possession or privilege we have in America, which the Spaniards now pretend to dispute with us? Why is here no mention made of our ancient settlement in Campechy? of our right to cut logwood in the bay of Honduras? or of our right to gather salt in the island of Tortugas? Are these possessions and rights which are not worth contending for? or are they to be given up, or relinquished, for the sake of an infamous peace? It would seem so by this preliminary convention; and therefore I must conclude, that, instead of stipulating any future security for the free enjoyment of our possessions and privileges in America, we have, tacitly at least, given up by this convention, every possession, every right, every privilege, which the Spaniards now pretend to dispute with us in any part of America.

In lieu of these most extraordinary concessions, one might expect, my Lords, that we had got the most ample, the most complete reparation for all the damages we have sustained, and all the extraordinary expence we were put to; but we were too modest, it seems, to ask any reimbursement of costs: and if the payment stipulated by the 3d article, which has been so much boasted of, be closely examined, and stript of that artful disguise in which it is dressed up, we shall find that we have given a free discharge for all past damages, without obtaining one shilling of reparation, except as to what relates to four or five ships, which the King of Spain had ordered to be restored, before this convention was bought of. But this has been put in so clear a light by the Noble Lord that spoke last but one, that I need not enlarge upon it; and therefore, I shall only take notice of some things, that

fell from the Noble Lord that spoke last. He was pleased to tell us, that the Spaniards made a demand of 5 or 600,000 l. upon us, and seemed highly to commend our dexterity at negotiation, in prevailing upon them to accept of 60,000 l. in full of such a high demand. My Lords, if there was not the least pretence for setting up any demand against us, we ought to have looked upon their setting up such a demand, as a fresh insult; and therefore, instead of allowing any part of it, we ought to have rejected it with contempt. The 95,000 l. stipulated in this article, is therefore the only sum we are to receive by way of reparation; and of this sum our own S. S. company is to pay 68,000 l. for whatever the Noble Lord may think of the King of Spain's protestation, as he declares, that under the validity and force of that protest he signed this convention, I am convinced he looks upon the payment of that money by our S. S. company, as the condition upon which alone he stands obliged to pay the 95,000 l. stipulated by this article; and I will engage, that not one shilling of the 95,000 l. shall be paid to us by the King of Spain, unless the 68,000 l. be first paid to him by our company. Therefore all the reparation the King of Spain is to make, is the 27,000 l. which is the difference between 95 and 68,000 l. And for this 27,000 l. his Catholick Majesty, or his subjects, are to retain possession of, and convert to their own use, the five British ships which he had before ordered to be restored; for by the fourth article of this treaty, if any part of any of these ships has been, or shall be restored, it is to be deducted out of the 95,000 l.

This, my Lords, is really such a juggle, such a farcial sort of reparation, that I cannot but imagine, that when M. de la Quadra found our negotiators willing to accept of it, he went smiling to his master, and told him, he had got the English to accept of such a sham reparation, as no Indian nation in America would have been amused with. Well, says his Catholick Majesty, what have you done with the poltroons? Their

Their merchants are to have 155,000 l. in full for all the depredations your subjects have committed upon them for almost twenty years past, answers the minister. What, replies the Sovereign, 155,000 l. ? how can you pay it ? for I will not give them one single farthing. No, no, says the minister: 60,000 l. one part of it, they are to raise by a tax upon themselves; 68,000 l. another part of it, their S. S. company is to give me, and I am to return it to such Commissioners as they shall appoint, for distributing it among their merchants; and for the remaining 27,000 l. they are to allow your Majesty to keep the five ships and their cargoes, which you had given orders to restore. Now, as these ships were certainly most unjustly taken, and more unjustly confiscated, the captors must now account to your Majesty, instead of accounting to the English, for the full value; which I reckon will amount to at least 35,000 l. so that instead of your paying them any thing for reparation, they have, in effect, paid you at least 8000 l. for giving them the pretence of a reparation. My Lords, M. de la Quadra may have some private reasons for not looking upon our negotiators as downright fools; but if we approve of such a reparation, I am sure the Spanish nation will have reason to look with greater contempt upon this, than upon any nation of native Indians in America.

After having thus shewn, that we have got no reparation by this convention, we need not, I think, my Lords, much trouble our heads about the value put upon our losses by our Commissioners; but, I think it sufficient for discrediting their report, that one of them who was examined at our bar, could give no distinct reason for reducing the claim of our merchants from above 400,000 l. to 200,000 l. If they had vouchsafed to have given us any reasons for such an extraordinary reduction, I am convinced it would have been easy to have shewn, that their reasons were frivolous; and till they do assign their reasons, every man must suppose they had no reason; for the characters of our

merchants, who gave in their claims, many of them, if not all, upon which, are as good as the characters of our Commissioners. But suppose the reparation made by our Commissioners had been just, the value of the five ships mention'd in the 4th article of this convention, or at least of the four last, could be no part of the 200,000 l. at which they computed our real losses; because the four ships last mentioned were taken since our Commissioners returned from Spain; and the first mentioned, I mean the Woolball, was taken long after the treaty of Seville, and could therefore be no part of any of those pretences that were referred to Commissioners by that treaty. For this reason, if the 95,000 l. to be paid by the King of Spain and our S. S. company, had been look'd on as a reparation for that 200,000 l. only, we ought to have stipulated the exact restitution of these five ships, without allowing any deduction from the 95,000 l. on account of that restitution: but in this case the King of Spain must have paid us out of his own pocket 27,000 l. by way of reparation for 200,000 l. which was, it seems, what he was resolved not to do; and therefore, by this article, we have allowed him to keep these five ships which he had before agreed to restore.

This, my Lords, was, I shall allow, extremely complaisant; and since we shew'd so much complaisance to him in the point of reparation, he should, I think, in good manners, have shew'd some complaisance to us in the point of future security: but his Catholick Majesty, it seems, in every point, acted the part of a stubborn, haughty Spaniard; and we, I do not know what. In former days, my Lords, we used to be as stubborn as any of our neighbours; and to shew that we were so, as the Noble Lord that spoke last was pleas'd to mention the treaty between Oliver Cromwell and the Dutch, I shall beg leave to examine that treaty, because the circumstances of the then disputes between us and the Dutch were something parallel to the disputes now subsisting between us and Spain. The Dutch, 'tis true, had

did not for many years before done us any injury, nor had they any way interrupted our trade; but in a former reign, which the only maxim of government was, That peace was better than war, as it seems to be at present, the Dutch had done us a very heinous injury, which had never been properly sented; and they had begun to dispute with us the honour of the flag. Therefore, our demands upon the Dutch are, that they should give us satisfaction for the insult they had many years since put upon us, reparation for the damage they had done, and security for its future unmolested enjoyment of that right, called *the honour of the flag*.

How did Oliver Cromwell, my Lords, provide for these several demands, by the treaty he made with the Dutch? By the 27th article it was expressly provided, That the United Provinces should take care, that justice be done upon those who were partakers or accomplices in the massacre of the English at Amboyna, provided any of them were living. I must observe, my Lords, that this proviso was necessary; because this massacre was perpetrated in the accursed reign of James I. above thirty years before this treaty. Then, with regard to reparation, Oliver's negotiators did not lump it, as our present negotiators have done by this convention: No, my Lords; the quantum of that reparation was, by the 30th article of the same treaty, to be adjusted by Commissioners, respectively appointed; who were to meet, not in Holland, but at London, and to determine it in three months: In case of their failure, it was referred to the Protestant Swiss cantons, who were to give judgment within six months: And we know that the Dutch actually paid a very large sum of money upon this account. Lastly, with regard to its future security, though it related to nothing but a point of honour, Oliver knew well the great consequence of trading nation's being jealous of its honour; and therefore he took care not to refer such a point to Commissioners: For, by the 13th article of that treaty, was expressly provided, That the ships

and vessels of the said United Provinces, as well those of war as others, which should meet any of the men of war of the republick of England in the British seas, should strike the flag to them, in the same manner as was ever observed at any time before, under any former government.

As to the 10,000 l. mention'd by the Noble Lord that spoke last, it was not paid on account of any damage done to this nation before the war commenc'd. It was paid, my Lords, on account of some English ships that had been seized and detained in the dominions of the King of Denmark, after the commencement of the war; and as they were seized at the instances of the Dutch, Oliver insisted, that the Dutch should make good the loss; and accordingly, by the 28th article of the same treaty, a stipulation was made for this purpose, which deserves our particular notice upon this occasion. By this stipulation, the States General obliged themselves, that those ships and goods, which were remaining in specie, together with the true value of those that had been sold, embezzled, or otherwise disposed of, should be restored, within a fortnight after the arrival of those who were to go to reclaim them; and also, that the losses which had accrued to the English by their being detained, should be made good, according to an appraisement to be made by Commissioners therein named: which Commissioners were to meet on the 27th of June, a little more than two months after the ratification of the treaty, at London; and after the first day of August then next ensuing, unless they agreed beforehand, they were to be shut up in a room separate from all other persons, *without fire, candle, meat, drink, or other support*, till they had agreed of the matters to them referred. The States likewise obliged themselves to pay 5000 l. within two days after the exchange of the ratifications, to the merchants, for the expence of their voyage to Denmark, to reclaim their ships; and 5000 l. more, within six days after their arrival there, for refitting and repairing their ships for their return. And for

for the performance of these conditions, they further obliged themselves, that bond should be given by sufficient men, *living here at London*, for 140,000 l. The 10,000 l. mentioned by his Lordship, was therefore only a part of the reparation that was to be made for this particular damage: for we know, that the Commissaries, by their award, dated the 31st of July that year, the day before they were to have been inclosed, declared, that the whole damage amounted to 97,973 l. which was accordingly paid at London, and distributed among those concerned.

I wish, my Lords, our late negotiators had read this treaty: they might from thence have seen what was meant by satisfaction, reparation and security; for, I think, I have now clearly shewn, that, by this convention, we have obtained no satisfaction, no security, no reparation, nor so much as a promise for any one of them. On the contrary, we have, by this preliminary, either expressly or tacitly, given every one of them up. And shall a British parliament approve of such a treaty? shall the British nation hug itself in the precarious enjoyment of such an infamous tranquillity? Where can a British merchant go to carry on any foreign trade? what foreign port can a British ship put into? They must expect to be insulted, abused, and plundered, by every nation they deal with; and, under such a misfortune, can we expect to improve the circumstances of our affairs either at home or abroad? My Lords, by our late conduct we have brought ourselves into a necessity of going to war, let the consequence be never so fatal. A man who submits tamely to a small affront, is sure to meet with a heinous one; and then he must fight: whereas if he had resentèd the first with spirit, he might have obtained satisfaction without danger, and would have prevented his meeting with a second. If we had properly resentèd the first injury we met with from Spain, if upon the first insult or incroachment we had peremptorily demanded satisfaction, we might have obtained it by peaceable means; but now

it is become too weighty for negotiation: we can find it only at the point of our sword; and there, I trust in God, we shall still be able to find both satisfaction and security.

After what I have said, my Lord, I think, I have no occasion to consider our circumstances, either at home or abroad; because I have, I believe, made it appear, that a war is become unavoidable, unless we have a mind to continue under such an infamous peace, as must render our circumstances every day worse and worse. Nor do I think, that, upon the present question, I have any occasion to enquire into the cause of the present unhappy situation of the affairs of this nation, or of Europe; but if it were necessary, I believe, I could shew, that it is entirely owing to the measures we have followed for almost these twenty years. I could shew, that the same conduct, which has now at last made a war unavoidable, has rendered us almost incapable of carrying it on with vigour or success; but, thank God, we are not yet altogether so: this nation has many and great resources; and if they are put under a right conduct, we may still be able to recover our friends, and revenge ourselves of our enemies; therefore, I hope, no man will so far despair, as to approve of any preliminary, that may lead us into an infamous treaty of peace.

The last that spoke in this day's debate, was L. Icilius, the purport of whose speech was as follows, viz.

My Lords, E. of Stuy

WHatever influence wit or eloquence may have upon this assembly, however improper it may be to make use of either in this house, it must be acknowledged, that a great deal of both has been made use of upon this occasion; and I must say, that in this debate, a sort of eloquence has been made use of, which may be frequent at a certain place at t'other end of the town, but cannot, I am sure, be said to be either proper or decent in this assembly; for a great many very harsh epithets have been given to the convention

now before us, which, considering the place where we are, I think, 'twould have been better to have let alone, even tho' the convention had been as bad as it has been represented: but 'twill be found, I believe, upon a serious examination, that they are such as it no way deserves. By endeavouring to shew this, I do not know, but that, in the humour some Lords seem to be in at present, I may be called an advocate for Spain, as well as some other Lords who have spoke before me upon the same side of the question; but whatever I may be called, either within doors or without, I am resolved, while I sit here, to speak my sentiments freely, and to declare openly, what, I think, will conduce most to the service of my King, and the good of my country. This is my duty, this is the duty of every member of this House; and therefore I think it as wrong to affect popularity upon any occasion, by chiming in with those prejudices which may have been accidentally taken up, or artfully raised, among the people, as it is to shew a slavish complaisance to the ministers of the crown.

Whether we have got a proper satisfaction, or a full reparation, for the injuries that have been done to us, are questions that have been so fully spoke by the Noble Lords who have already spoke in favour of this convention; and them it has been so clearly demonstrated, that we could not expect, nor ought to have insisted upon greater satisfaction or reparation, from a nation whose friendship we ought to court, at it would be vain, if not arrogant in me, to attempt to set that matter in clearer light. Besides, my Lords, these are articles which in all negotiations admit of a little yielding or softning; and particularly in our negotiations with Spain, we ought never to allow them to be of any extraordinary weight. If we can get the other disputes, which subsist between Spain and us, added to our satisfaction; if we can obtain a reasonable security for the future undisturbed enjoyment of our navigation and commerce in the American seas, I

think it would be prudent in us to yield a little upon the head of satisfaction and reparation: at least, I must think it would be very imprudent in us to engage in a war with Spain, and at this juncture too, for the sake of having a Spanish Governor, or Captain of guarda costa, hanged, as many of them certainly deserve for their behaviour towards us; or for the sake of obtaining 50, or even a 100,000 l. more, for making good the damages our merchants have sustained.

The article of *search* or *no search*, is therefore that which we ought principally to regard in our present contest with Spain; and this, my Lords, I must observe, is a mutual claim. We pretend to a right of searching the ships, even of foreigners, upon our own coasts, as well as the Spaniards do upon theirs, especially when there are grounds to suspect, that any such ship has been employed, or is going to be employed, in carrying on an unlawful trade with our subjects, or in our dominions. It is a sort of liberty we take, it is a sort of liberty every nation takes, *hanc petimus damusque vicissim*; and neither the Spaniards nor we have given it up, by referring it to be regulated by Plenipotentiaries. Nay, even in the open seas, in the middle of the wide ocean, if one of our men of war should, upon visiting a ship they meet with, find cause to suspect, that her passports or sea-letters were forged, or should find cause to suspect from what they saw on board, that the ship had been concerned in any piratical practices, I believe they would take the liberty to break through the rules prescribed by treaties for visiting ships at sea, and would search such a ship, in order to discover whether their suspicions were well or ill grounded. This is a liberty which the armed ships of every country take, even upon the high seas; it is a liberty which every country must indulge to another, for the sake of discovering and apprehending pirates: therefore, it is a liberty that no nation can complain of, unless when it is turned to a bad use; and then it is not the right of liberty, but the use

use made of it, that affords a just cause of complaint.

The liberty of searching the ships of foreigners upon the high seas, on suspicion of piracy, is a liberty that is established and regulated by the law of nations alone; but the liberty which every nation enjoys, of searching, on suspicion of unlawful trade, the ships of foreigners that approach near to their coasts without any necessity, is a liberty that is not only established by the law of nations, but is generally regulated by the particular laws or customs of each respective society. In this country it is established and regulated not only by immemorial custom, but by several acts of parliament; and it is impossible for us, by any precautions we can take at land, to prevent the exportation of our wool, the importation of prohibited goods, or the clandestine running of goods in upon us without paying the duties, unless we take the liberty of searching such ships, upon our own coasts, as give just cause to suspect their being concerned in, or designed for, some such unlawful trade. This, my Lords, has been found by experience to be true; and therefore by an act of the 10th and 11th of the late K. William, it was provided, That our admiralty should appoint two fifth rate, and two sixth rate ships, and eight armed sloops, to cruize on the coasts of England and Ireland, to seize all ships and vessels exporting wool to foreign parts. Now, my Lords, if any of the men of war, or armed sloops thus employed, should see a French ship hovering, or lying at anchor, within a few leagues of our shoar, and boats passing and repassing between her and the land; are we to suppose that they are only to visit such ship, according to the rules prescribed by treaty, and to give entire credit to her passports, or sea-letters? If they did, they would always find her bound from some port of France to some port in Norway or the Baltick, or from some port in Norway or the Baltick to some port of France; yet, nevertheless, she might be half-loaded with our wool, and waiting at that place for the rest of her car-

go: therefore, in such cases it is absolutely necessary to make some sort of search; and we have always done so, without any nation's having complained of our making, by such a practice, any incroachment upon the freedom of their navigation or commerce.

The case, my Lords, is the same with regard to smuggling. It was found by experience, that all the precautions we could take at land, could not prevent that pernicious trade; and therefore we have, by several acts of parliament, enforced and regulated the right we have by the law of nations, of searching, as well as visiting, such foreign ships as approach our coasts, and give just cause for suspecting their being concerned in, or designed for carrying on any contraband trade. For this reason, we ought to be cautious of denying this liberty or privilege to any nation: For if we do, every nation in Europe will say to us, *What what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again*: as you will not allow us to search your ships upon our coasts, we will not allow you to search our ships upon your coasts. And if by this means we should be debarred searching any foreign ship upon our own coasts, it would be impossible for us to prevent smuggling, or the exportation of our wool. Not only the Dutch and French, but all nations that had any use for it, would soon fall upon ways and means to steal away from us as much of our wool as they could have occasion for, to the great prejudice, if not the utter ruin, of our woollen manufacture.

This, my Lords, would be a much greater loss to us, than the exporting of gold or silver from Spain, or from the Spanish settlements in America, can be to that nation. For, in their present circumstances, it is ridiculous in them to prohibit the exportation of that commodity. If they could make their prohibition effectual, if they could absolutely prevent the exportation of gold or silver from any part of their dominions they would in their present circumstances soon come to be like *Midas* in the fable: many of them would have no thing to eat, drink, or clothe themselves with

with, but gold or silver; and then they would be glad to give every nation a licence to export both the one and the other, in order to have those necessaries and conveniencies of life they stand in need of, and cannot have in their own dominions. This we know to be often the case of some of their settlements in America; and when it is, their governors always send licences to some of our plantations, not only to come and trade to the Spanish settlements, but to export gold and silver, and whatever else they please to take, in return for the provisions or necessaries they carry thither.

But with regard to our wool, my Lords, the case is very different. It is a commodity much more valuable than gold or silver; because it is a commodity absolutely necessary, or at least extremely convenient, for all nations that live at any distance from the torrid zone: and as it must be manufactured before it can be fit for use, a great many industrious and faithful subjects are always employed in that manufacture. Now, as we do not prohibit the exportation of it when manufactured, but, on the contrary, encourage it as much as we can, the exportation of it, when fully manufactured, will, I hope, be always sufficient for furnishing us with every thing we stand in need of, for luxury, as well as necessity and conveniency, from any country in the world; therefore we can never be under any necessity to export it unmanufactured: and as none of our neighbours can carry on woollen manufactures, especially those of the middling sort, without having some of our wool to mix up with their own; as the manufacturing of our neighbours, as well as ourselves, must employ a great many more hands, and bring a greater advantage to the nation, than if we were to manufacture for ourselves alone; we ought to take all possible methods for preventing the exportation of this commodity, till it has been fully manufactured by our own people. This, my Lords, shews the wisdom of these regulations we have made both by land and sea, for preventing the exportation of our wool; and at the same time must shew how unwise it would be in

us, to introduce among the nations of Europe, any political maxim, which, if we were obliged to observe it ourselves, might render it extremely difficult, if not altogether impossible, for us to prevent our wool's being stolen away from us: and that this would be the consequence, if we were to abstain from searching any foreign ship upon our own coasts, experience itself must convince us. But this, my Lords, is not the only inconvenience we should be liable to at present, if we should be obliged to give up, or pass from this right of searching ships upon our own coasts; for while our present high duties continue upon all foreign goods imported, it would be impossible for us to prevent smuggling, without the exercise of this right: and if we take such a liberty with the ships of neighbouring nations upon our coasts, we must allow them to take some such liberty with our ships upon their coasts; otherwise we may run the risk of uniting all the powers of Europe in an association against us.

For this reason, my Lords, the question, Whether we ought to allow the Spaniards a right or privilege to search, upon just grounds of suspicion, any of our ships that shall approach their coasts without necessity? seems to be a question that may admit of some sort of difficulty. They may insist upon it, as a right derived to them from the law of nations, and confirmed by our own practice in similar cases; and it is a privilege which we may allow them, without acknowledging that they have any thing like an *imperium maris* with regard to the seas of America. As for this *imperium maris*, or dominion of the seas, there may be some such thing, for what I know; I believe we have a just pretence to such a dominion with regard to the British seas: but I must observe, that a very great author has said, that it is rather to be imagined than explained. It is a subject that has employed the pens of many learned and ingenious men; but they differ so much from one another, and sometimes from themselves, that there is no possibility of forming a certain and distinct notion of it from

what they have wrote upon the subject. They have divided and subdivided it a great many different ways; which it would be needless, as well as tedious, to give an account of: but the most material division I have taken notice of, is that by which it has been divided into *imperium proximum* and *imperium remotum*; the former being that *imperium* which a nation may acquire, and every nation pretends to, upon what they call their own coasts; and the latter, that which a nation may acquire upon what we call the open seas, either by treaty, or by the tacit concession and long sufferance of its neighbours.

But here again, my Lords, a new difficulty occurs: for, what may be called the coasts, or what may be called the open seas, is a question that is not determined by the authors that have wrote upon the subject; nor has it lately been determined by treaty, so far as I know, between any two nations in Europe. The greatest authority I can think of, that can any way be made use of for determining this point, is that famous decree or resolution of the senate of Rome, by which they gave to the great Pompey the command or government of the sea, for suppressing those pirates that then infested the Mediterranean; for, as by that decree, they extended his command or *imperium* as far as 400 *stadia*, which is about thirteen or fourteen leagues, over the whole continent or land adjoining to the sea, it may be supposed, they reckoned that the sea-coast, which always includes land as well as sea, extended fourteen leagues up the country, and consequently fourteen leagues out at sea. But no modern nation will, I believe, admit that what we now call sea-coast, can be either way so far extended.

Having thus shewn what the Spaniards may say in favour of the right or privilege they pretend to have, of searching, as well as visiting our ships, upon what they call their coasts in America, when such ships, by their approaching too near, or by other tokens, give cause to suspect, that they are concerned, or designed to be concerned in some illicit

trade, I shall now, my Lords, endeavour to shew what may be said on our side. With regard to any liberty or privilege we may take with the ships of foreigners sailing upon the British seas, we may justly say, my Lords, that no argument can from hence be drawn in favour of any right the Spaniards may pretend to in the seas of America; because we have an *imperium* or dominion over the British seas, established to us by custom immemorial, and acknowledged by almost all the nations of Europe: whereas the Spaniards can pretend to no such *imperium* over the American seas; nor ought we to allow them to exercise any liberty or privilege that may be a foundation for their claiming such an *imperium* in any future time. Then with regard to what may be called the sea-coast of any country, we may say, that, by the law of nations, nothing ought to be called sea-coast that is within the common course of sailing from one country to another; and that therefore nothing but creeks or small bays ought to be reckoned within the sea-coasts of any country, or such places in the sea which are so land-lock'd that no ship would chuse to get within them, unless she be drove thither by stress of weather, or has some other design than that of sailing along the coasts of that country. This, I say, my Lords, we may insist on as the general rule for determining what may be called the sea-coasts of any country: and this ought to be the rule in the American seas, especially within the tropicks, rather than any other; because the winds and currents in that part of the world, not only make ships chuse, but even force them to sail along, almost close in with the shoar of some of the islands or continent of America; as has been extremely well explained by a Noble Lord, who spoke some time since upon the other side of the question.

To this, my Lords, we may add, that tho' an *imperium* or dominion may be acquired over some seas, or some particular parts of the ocean; yet that dominion, like property in lands, must be acquired by some overt acts, which declare the intention of the possessor, and the

the cession or resignation of the rest of mankind: and as no such overt acts have ever been done by the Spaniards, and peaceably submitted to for any time by other nations, in the seas of America; therefore those seas ought to be look'd on as a large common, lying between the Spanish dominions and ours, no part of which they can appropriate, nor assume any jurisdiction over it, without our consent: and I am sure we may justly say, that the late behaviour of some of their guarda costas, and the delays we have met with in obtaining justice from their court, have given us a very good reason, never to allow them to assume the least degree of jurisdiction in any part of the American seas, where our ships may be obliged, or have occasion to fail.

From what I have mentioned, my Lords, of the arguments that may be made use of upon both sides of the question, I believe it will appear, that the real dispute between Spain and us, I mean that which is of the greatest consequence, is not about our right to a free navigation and commerce in the American seas, but about their right to search ships upon what may be called their own coasts. The right to be regulated by the Plenipotentiaries, respectively appointed by this preliminary, is not our right to a free navigation and commerce in those seas, but their right to do what every nation does, I mean to visit, and even to search, upon just cause of suspicion, such ships as come within what may be called their sea-coasts; and it is their late behaviour, not ours, that makes the regulating of this right necessary. They have lately extended what they call their sea-coasts so far out into the ocean; and they have searched many of our ships without cause of suspicion, and confiscated so many of them without any pretence of justice, that it is become necessary to lay them under some restraints and regulations: and these restraints and regulations are to be settled and agreed on by the Plenipotentiaries respectively appointed. That they have sea-coasts in America, what no man will deny; and that they

have some sort of power or jurisdiction over those sea-coasts, is what, I think, can be as little denied. Nay, we seem to have acknowledged it by treaty: for as our S. S. company got, by the Affiento treaty or contract, the sole privilege of introducing negroes into the Spanish settlements in America, it was by the 18th article of that treaty agreed, That when the Affientists should have notice that any ship with negroes (not belonging to them) was come upon the coast, or entered into any port, they might fit out, arm, and send out immediately such vessels as they should have of their own, or any others, belonging to his Catholick Majesty or his subjects, with whom they should agree, to take, seize, and confiscate such ships and their negroes, of whatever nation or person they might be, to whom the same should belong; to which end the said Affientists, and their factors, should have liberty to take cognizance of, and search all ships and vessels that should come upon the coasts of India, or into its ports, in which they should have reason to believe, or suspect, that there were contraband negroes: Provided always, that for the making of such searches, visits, and other proceedings, before mentioned, they should first have leave from the Governors, to whom they should communicate what occurred, and desire them to interpose their authority.

These, my Lords, are the words of the treaty; and if the court of Spain could delegate a power to our S. S. company to search such ships as came upon the coasts of India, in which they should suspect there were contraband negroes, as by our accepting of this article we have acknowledged they could, surely we must allow, that they have a power to search such ships as come upon the coasts of India, in which they may suspect there are any other sort of contraband goods; by which I mean, and by which they can only, with any justice or propriety, mean, such goods as are designed to be imported into, or have been exported from, their settlements in India, contrary to the exclusive privilege enjoy'd by the subjects of Spain,

and

and confined to them by the treaties subsisting between them and us. This power, my Lords, I say, we must allow them; but we must not allow them to make a bad use of it, or to extend what they call their coasts, so far as may give their guarda costas a pretence to intercept our lawful trade or commerce in those seas: and as they have done so for some time past, it is become necessary for us to lay this power under such regulations, as may prevent such practices in time to come. This, I hope, will be done by the definitive treaty that is to be concluded: but, as the contriving and settling these regulations required a most mature and serious deliberation, it could not be done so as to make them a part of this preliminary treaty; and therefore it was necessary to refer this matter to the Plenipotentiaries.

What liberty we may allow to the Spaniards, with regard to searching our ships at sea, or upon what they call their own coasts; or whether or no we ought to allow them any such liberty; or, if we do allow it, what restraints and regulations it ought to be subjected to, are questions, my Lords, that cannot, I think, come before us upon this occasion. All I design by what I have said upon this head, is to shew, that the dispute between the Spaniards and us, about search or no search, is of such a nature, that it could not be immediately determined. If we had been at war with Spain, and had reduced them to such distress, that they must have agreed to any thing we thought fit to propose, the dispute might have been easily ended; because, as it would be our interest to have a *free* trade to the Spanish settlements in America, as we shall always reap the more advantage, the more trade our subjects have with them; therefore, if we cannot obtain a *free* trade, it is our interest not to admit of any thing that may prevent or obstruct an *illicit* trade: and for this reason, if we had prevail'd so far as to have the drawing up of the articles of peace, if the Spaniards had been forced to present us with a *carte blanche*, we ought certainly

to have stipulated no search anywhere but in their ports or harbours, when our ships happen'd to be forced in there by sea-distress. But this, my Lords, was not our case when this treaty was negotiated: we were treating upon equal terms; we were negotiating to prevent a dangerous war, and not to put an end to a successful one: and in these circumstances it was impossible for us to adjust and finally settle a dispute of such a nature in so short a time. If it be finally adjusted and settled in the eight months prescribed by this preliminary, I shall think it something very extraordinary; and if, at last, all the disputes now subsisting between Spain and us are adjusted to our satisfaction, I shall then think, that we may justly apply to one person in this kingdom, what was said of the great Fabius at Rome, *Cunctando restituit rem*.

I know, my Lords, it would have been more glorious, and would have look'd more like great courage and magnanimity, to have attack'd the Spaniards directly, without so much as asking, whether they were willing to give us satisfaction. If we had done so, the Spaniards could not with justice have complain'd of us, nor could they have said, we treated them otherwise than they deserved; but I cannot think it would have been prudent, nor do I think it would have been acting like men that had a due regard to the prosperity and happiness of their country. Wars and victories, my Lords, make a fine figure in history, or even in a newspaper. We still read with pleasure the romantick accounts of our wars and battles in France, when our Kings were wasting their substance, and spilling the blood of their subjects, in quest of that which would have ruined their country, if they had met with the wish'd for success: we likewise read with pleasure, an account of our late campaigns in Flanders, Germany, and Spain, when we were running ourselves several millions in debt yearly, for the sake of conquering kingdoms and provinces for those, who have not since shew'd themselves very grateful for the favours we then

then so bountifully bestow'd; and if we had now run ourselves headlong into a war with Spain, we should probably, if they had been assisted by none of their neighbours, have had the same success we have formerly met with in our wars against that nation. The taking of some of their galleons or flota, the plundering of some of their towns upon the sea-coast in Europe, or the taking or plundering some of their settlements in America, would have furnish'd our gazettes with excellent paragraphs for the entertainment of the present age, and our histories with fit matter for the amusement of future generations: but, upon balancing accounts, we should have found, I believe, that the profit would not answer the charge; and that we had done better to have accepted at first of a reasonable satisfaction in a peaceable manner. In the mean time, our trade would have been interrupted, our people oppress'd with taxes, many of our merchants ruined by captures, and multitudes of tradesmen drawn away from useful labour and industry: for it was well observ'd by a celebrated clergyman, who was appointed to preach at St Paul's upon the peace of Utrecht, That those times which are the best to read of, are far from being the best to live in.

It was therefore, I think, my Lords, the wisest course, to try first what could be done by negotiation: and as there is nothing in this preliminary that is either scandalous, or inconsistent with any of the rights or privileges of this nation; as we have got all that could be expected in so short a time; and as the time stipulated for concluding a definitive treaty is but very short, I must think, it was right to accept, in the mean time, of this preliminary. If the court of Spain should refuse, or unreasonably delay giving us entire satisfaction by a definitive treaty, within the time limited by this preliminary, we must go to war. We shall then be able to excuse or justify ourselves in our own minds, let the event of that war be what it will; because of two evils, the least is certainly to be chosen. Our trade

cannot suffer much in the mean time: the circumstances of affairs in Europe cannot become more unfavourable than they now are; nor can it be suppos'd that we shall be weaker, or Spain stronger, eight months hence, than at present. For these reasons, my Lords, I think we cannot well refuse to give our approbation of this preliminary, in those general terms the Noble Lord has propos'd; and therefore I shall be for agreeing to the motion he has been pleas'd to make.

Thus ended the first day's debate; but, before proceeding to the second, it may not be improper to insert

THE LORDS PROTEST.

Die Jovis, 1^o Martii, 1738.

THE order of the day being read, for taking into further consideration the convention lately concluded between G. Britain and Spain, and the separate articles belonging thereunto,

It was mov'd, That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to return him the thanks of this house, for having been graciously pleas'd to lay before us the convention, &c. between his Majesty and the King of Spain, &c. [See p. 93.]

And after long debate thereupon, the question being put upon the said motion, it was resolv'd in the affirmative:

Content 71	} 95	Not content 58	} 74
Proxies 24		Proxies 16	

Dissentient, Bedford.

1. Because we conceive, that this resolution, under the plausible pretence of a respectful address to the throne, carries with it an approbation of the convention concluded at the Pardo, the 14th of January last; which, as we apprehend, may be a most fatal compliment, if it should induce his Majesty to believe, that this convention is agreeable to the sense and expectation of the nation.

2. Because this resolution hath rather weaken'd than enforc'd the address of the last year, having omitted that part of the said address, which declares, that no goods being carried from one part of his Majesty's dominions to another, are to be deemed contraband or prohibited goods; and that the searching of ships under pretence of their

their carrying contraband or prohibited goods, is a violation and infraction of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns.

3. We think the said resolution doth not sufficiently assert our right, by saying only, that we shall not be liable to be stopped, searched, or visited upon the open seas. The merchants having proved at the bar of this house, that currents and winds unavoidably drive ships out of their course, and that observations of landmarks upon the Spanish coast are absolutely necessary for their steering a safe course thro' those seas, we apprehend, that their being obliged to keep a direct course, without coming near the Spanish coast, as lately insisted upon by the Spaniards, would render them sole judges of our navigation; and their being permitted to visit or search our ships within any limits whatsoever, would render our whole American trade precarious and impracticable.

4. Because we see no reason to believe that the future negotiation of the Plenipotentiaries will, in the next eight months, obtain the admission of those rights insisted upon in our former address, which the instances and representations made to the court of Spain last year, supported by the resolution of parliament, and a powerful fleet, have not been able as yet to procure.

5. Because we apprehend the Spaniards do not think themselves bound, by this convention, to abstain from their unjust methods of proceeding; since it was proved at the bar of this house, that Capt. Vaughan, a commander of a British ship, having been unjustly taken by a Spanish man of war, his ship confiscated, and he imprisoned at Cadiz, was, at the time of signing the convention, detained in prison there, and not released in several weeks after, notwithstanding the representation of the British Plenipotentiary at the court of Spain.

6. Because we conceive that the reparation pretended to be made to our merchants by this convention, for the grievous losses they have sustained during a course of many years, is insufficient. The dark accounts of this transaction, laid before us, have not been fully explained, nor any satisfactory reasons given us, why their demands, stated in an account, signed June 14. 1738, by Mr Stert, one of the Com-

missaries, at 343,277 l. should be so greatly reduced.

7. Because, as we apprehend, we are to allow 60,000 l. to the King of Spain, chiefly on account of the ships taken near Sicily in the year 1718; though it hath appeared to the house, from the instructions given to the Commissaries after the treaty of Seville, signed by his Majesty, now lying before us, that the articles of the treaty concluded at Madrid in 1721, upon which that claim of the Spaniards is founded, had been fully executed on the part of the crown of G. Britain.

8. Because the referring the limits of Florida and Carolina to the Plenipotentiaries, seems to call in question our right to possessions which we have so long uninterruptedly enjoyed, seven eighths parts or shares of which, the nation, at a considerable expence, hath, not long since, purchased of the proprietors under the two original grants of K. Charles II. a certain district whereof, called Georgia, in honour to his present Majesty, hath been erected into a new colony, and granted to trustees for laudable purposes; for the establishment and improvement of which, considerable sums have been granted by the publick: And moreover, it being stipulated by the present convention, that no fortification there, shall be increased during the term of eight months, we apprehend that the regiment lately raised for the defence of that colony, and also the engineers and stores, which, at a considerable increase of the publick expence, have been sent thither, will not only remain useless, but if a peace should not be procured within that period, will, at the end of it, be exposed, together with the colony, to the violence and irruption of the Spaniards.

9. Because we apprehend, the British ministers acceptance of the declaration signed by Mons. de la Quadra, January 10. 1738-9, said to be agreed with reciprocal accord, hath allowed his Catholick Majesty to reserve to himself, in its full force, the right of being able to suspend the Assiento of negroes, in case the S. S. company doth not subject herself to pay, within a short time, the sum of 68,000 l. pretended to be owing on the duty of negroes, and profits of the ship *Caroline*, tho' that sum

was never otherwise acknowledged to be due, than as part of a plan of accommodation, wherein a much larger sum was admitted to be due to the said company; whereby, we apprehend, the King of Spain may think that great company is put out of the protection of his Majesty as to this point, and left to his own mercy and equity: whereas, if the convention, as it now stands, had been signed without the acceptance of the said declaration, the King of Spain would have had no pretence, as we conceive, to suspend the Assiento: and therefore, we apprehend, that the said declaration will be look'd upon as a defeasance of the said treaty, as far as it relates to the S. S. company; which appears as a dishonourable collusion, hurtful to the publick credit. [See p. 80.]

10. Because we do not find any satisfaction has been obtained by this convention, by the frequent cruelties and barbarities exercised on the British sailors, nor for the many insults offered to the British flag; which we are apprehensive may be thought as insensibility of the sufferings of a body of men highly useful to the trade, and necessary to the defence of these kingdoms, and great neglect of the honour of the nation.

Graham	Thanet	Clinton
Tuntingdon	Bruce	Foley
Burlington	Gainsborough	Havertham
Chesterfield	Beaufort	Shaftsbury
Mountjoy	Cobham	Lichfield
Macclesfield	'Abingdon	Gower
tanhope	Mafham	Suffolk
Northamp-	Strafford	Maynard
Mifton [ton	Westmoreland	Coventry
P. Lincoln	Ker	Boyle
Kristol	Aylesford	Carteret
Raymond	Greenwich	Talbot
Vinchelsea	Oxford	Bathurst

AS I have been pretty full in the account of the first day's debate, I shall only give the most remarkable speeches that were made the second day, when our Club assumed a different character. The debate was begun by *Pompeius Atticus* in a speech to the effect as follows. *Horace Walpole Esq.*

Mr President,
When any treaty of peace or alliance is, by the King's order, laid

before parliament, it is a custom so long established, and a custom that has been so constantly observed, to present an address of thanks upon every such occasion, that I should have thought it quite unnecessary to say any thing in favour of the motion I am to make, if more than ordinary pains had not been taken to render people dissatisfied with the treaty now under our consideration. It is this that has occasioned the presenting of so many petitions against it; and it is this that makes me think it necessary, to endeavour to remove those prejudices that have been so artfully and so industriously raised among all degrees of men, before I make that motion with which I intend to conclude.

I shall begin, Sir, with this general observation, That when differences arise between two nations, an immediate declaration of war seldom is, and never ought to be the first resolution of either. If those differences proceed from any dispute about a matter of right, justice and humanity require, that endeavours should be used to have those disputes determined in a peaceable way, by the true and infallible rules of reason, before recourse be had to the deceitful and uncertain fortune of war; and if they relate to injuries done, or violences committed, the same justice and humanity require that satisfaction should be asked, in an amicable manner, by the party offended, and peremptorily denied, or unreasonably delayed, by the party offending, before hostilities are resolved on. Even the greatest affront that can be put upon, or the greatest injury that can be done to one nation, by the subjects of another, ought to be complained of before it is revenged; because the honour of no nation can be injured but by some publick or national act in another: therefore, when any injury is done, or affront given, by the subjects of one state to those of another, the state whose subjects have been injured, ought to apply to the other for satisfaction; and ought not to look upon its honour as any way affected, till the state, whose subjects committed the violence, has made the act of its subjects its own, by

refusing to punish the transgressors, or to make reparation for the damage sustained.

This, Sir, is what justice and humanity require; and what is just and humane, must be honourable. Therefore when, upon application, there appears a probability that all differences may be settled and adjusted by amicable means, while that probability lasts, it would be unjust, it would be barbarous, and consequently dishonourable, to have recourse to arms. Ambition or interest may prompt some nations to make conquests, and such nations may, and do often break through this established rule of justice and true honour, by laying hold of the most frivolous pretence for engaging in war, without any previous application for an accommodation: But as it is not the interest of this nation to make conquests, and as, I hope, our ambition will never provoke us to act contrary to our interest, we can therefore have no motive for transgressing this rule, with regard to the differences that may arise between us and any nation in Europe.

Upon this maxim, Sir, and in this light, if we consider the treaty now before us, I believe it will appear to be not only a just and honourable measure, but the only just and honourable measure we could take, with regard to the differences now subsisting between us and Spain; some of which are such as proceed from disputes that have lately arisen about matters of right, and the rest are such as proceed from the violence and depredations that have been committed by some of the subjects of that kingdom against the subjects of this. As the matters of right which are in dispute, are of great consequence to us, as Spain had little or no reason to raise any dispute about them, and as their depredations have been great and frequent; if it had been our interest to endeavour to conquer any part of the Spanish dominions, or if his Majesty had been influenced by ambition, and a pursuit after a glaring but false renown, he might, and probably would have laid hold of these differences, as a just pretence for

declaring war against Spain, without the least attempt to have them reconciled by amicable means: but as it is not the interest of this nation to make conquests, his Majesty considered the peace and happiness of his people as the most solid foundations of his glory; therefore he often applied, before last summer, to the court of Spain, for having the differences subsisting between the two nations accommodated in a friendly manner; which that court always found some excuse or another for delaying: but at last his Majesty, upon the application from both houses of parliament last session, made a peremptory demand, and insisted upon a speedy and categorical answer; and till that answer should arrive, his Majesty resolved, according to the maxim I have mentioned, and according to the advice of his parliament, to suspend the effects of his indignation. When the court of Spain saw that the affair could be no longer put off with safety, they appeared willing to enter immediately into a serious discussion of the rights that were in dispute; and as those rights were of such a nature that they could not be in a short time fully examined into and finally determined, to shew they were in earnest, they proposed to have the account between the two nations, for reparation of damages sustained on each side, immediately settled, and to pay, in a short time, whatever should appear to be due upon the balance. From hence his Majesty justly conceived, that there was a probability of having all our differences accommodated; and therefore he could not in justice or honour commence hostilities, or refuse to accept of a preliminary convention, by which we were to obtain satisfaction for all past injuries, and by which we were to be put into the most probable method, nay the only method that could be proposed, for obtaining, in a short time, a full security against all future.

To this I must add, Sir, that his Majesty's agreeing to this preliminary convention, and resolving to suspend hostilities, till he should see what effect this preliminary might produce, was not only

the

the justest and the most honourable measure he could pursue, but it was agreeable to, and in some measure a necessary consequence of, the advice given him last session by both houses of parliament. By the addresses presented last session upon occasion of our differences with Spain, his Majesty was advised to use his royal endeavours with his Catholick Majesty, to obtain effectual relief for his injured subjects; and assured, that in case his royal and friendly instances, for procuring justice, and for the future security of that navigation and commerce, which his people had an undoubted right to, by treaties and the law of nations, should not be able to procure, from the equity and friendship of the King of Spain, such satisfaction as his Majesty might reasonably expect from a good and faithful ally, the parliament would effectually support his Majesty in taking such measures, as honour and justice should make it necessary for him to pursue. From these words, the advice of parliament plainly appears to have been, that his Majesty should first try what could be done by peaceable means; and that in case he could, by such means, procure such satisfaction; that is to say, such reparation for past injuries, and such security for our navigation and commerce in time to come, as he could reasonably expect from a good and faithful ally, he should avoid engaging the nation in a war with Spain. Now, Sir, if by this convention his Majesty has got such reparation, and such security, as he could reasonably expect, it must be allowed, that his refusing to accept of it would have been acting directly against the advice given him by parliament. And that we have got as much reparation, and as much security, as any reasonable man could expect by a preliminary convention, I shall now endeavour to shew.

With regard to reparation, Sir, for past injuries, it is not only finally adjusted, but a certain sum promised to be paid within a very short time after the exchange of the ratifications. As there were mutual demands, with respect to damages sustained, it became necessary

to settle and balance the account; for I am sure no reasonable man could expect, that we should receive full reparation for all the damage done to us by Spain, and allow nothing for the damage that had been done by us to that nation. Upon examining therefore into, and stating our mutual demands, it appeared that our demands upon Spain, according to a calculation made by our own Commissaries, amounted to 200,000 l. and that the demands of Spain upon us, amounted to 60,000 l. so that there was a balance due to us of 140,000 l. which sum his Catholick Majesty proposed to pay to us, by giving assignments upon his revenues in America, being the only means he had for paying to large a sum: but as we knew the tediousness and precariousness of that fund, it was proposed to make an allowance for prompt payment, if his Catholick Majesty would engage to pay the money in a short time here at London; and the allowance agreed on was 45,000 l. which reduced the sum due to us to 95,000 l. and this sum his Catholick Majesty has expressly promised, by this convention, to pay here at London, in four months after the exchange of the ratifications. From hence it appears, Sir, that we have not only got all the reparation any reasonable man could expect, but all the reparation we could with any pretence of justice insist on: For tho' there were perhaps some other small articles, which we might have added to the sum of our demands; yet it must be allowed, they were such trifles, such *minuties*, as not to be worth minding in a transaction between two powerful nations: and if we had insisted on them, it would have been easy for Spain to have balanced them with articles of the same kind, which were not at first brought in to her account.

Now, Sir, as to our future security, every man that understands what it means, must know, that it depends entirely upon those matters of right that are now in dispute between Spain and us; and that therefore it cannot be clearly and effectually provided for, till those rights are particularly examined into,

and fully explained. But could any reasonable man expect, that it was possible to do this in a few weeks, or by a preliminary convention? It is a discussion that depends not only upon several disputable points in the law of nature and nations, but likewise upon several facts and circumstances that must be enquired into; and this enquiry can be made in the West-Indies only. For this reason we could not so much as desire Spain to do more than they have done. They have agreed to refer this discussion to Plenipotentiaries, and that those Plenipotentiaries should be obliged finally to decide the affair within the short term of eight months; which is all we could expect, and all we could with any justice or reason desire. Therefore, if there had not been one word in this treaty, from whence it could be presumed that Spain had passed from, or given up any of those rights she has lately set up; yet the treaty might have been said to be a good preliminary, and such a one as his Majesty ought to have accepted of, rather than engage the nation in a war. But this is not the case: the principal right Spain pretends to, and the most destructive right for this nation to submit to, is that of searching our ships on the open seas of America, and making prize of them, in case any Spanish money or effects be found on board. This right Spain has, even by this preliminary, in effect given up. That of searching our ships upon the open seas, they have allowed to be a cause of complaint, which, if not put a stop to and prevented, might occasion an open rupture between the two crowns. They have allowed it to be a grievance, which ought to be removed. Can the exercise of a just right be allowed to be a cause of complaint? can it be allowed to be a grievance? Whoever does so, disclaims the right: and therefore we must conclude, that Spain has, even by this preliminary, in effect disclaimed the right of searching our ships upon the open seas of America; which to me is a strong indication, that they intend to disclaim it by the definitive treaty, in the most express terms we can propose.

Sir, the court of Spain have not only acknowledged the searching our ships on the open seas, and confiscating the same having Spanish money or effects on board, to be a grievance which ought to be removed; but they have in some measure directly owned it to be wrong. They have allowed it to be an injury, by giving us reparation for what our merchants have suffered by that practice. Therefore, the Plenipotentiaries appointed by this convention, are not to determine, Whether it be a grievance or not? This is a point which is not referred to their discussion; it is already determined. They are only to consider, contrive, and adjust the proper methods for removing it. And in this too they are circumscribed: for the regulations they contrive and agree on for this purpose, must be according to the treaties now subsisting between the two crowns; and those regulations must be continued and fully settled within eight months after their first meeting, which is to be but six weeks after the exchange of the ratifications: so that the affair must be finally concluded before the middle of November next. Therefore the chief question now seems to be, Whether we ought to go to war, rather than grant the court of Spain a delay of eight months, for giving us full satisfaction and absolute security? And I do not think that any man who considers the present circumstances of Europe, or the present circumstances of this nation, would be for involving his country in a dangerous and expensive war, rather than grant such a delay.

War, Sir, let the prospect of success be what it will, is both a dangerous and a destructive expedient to any nation, especially a trading and industrious nation: it is the bane of trade, and the parent of idleness. It gives your neighbours an opportunity to undermine you in several branches of your trade, and draws a great many of your own people away from useful labour and industry, not only during the war, but for ever; for those who have been, for but a few years, accustomed to live in idleness, by rapine and violence, can never afterwards

wards submit to get their bread by the sweat of their brow. Besides, it may prove dangerous to your liberties; for supporting and carrying on a war with rigour, great armies must be raised: when the war is ended, you may, perhaps, find it difficult to disband your armies; the Generals will be against it, and the soldiers, having lost the hopes of living by the plunder of their enemies, may resolve to live by the plunder of their country. War therefore, even with the most flattering prospect of success, ought to be avoided by a trading, free country, if possible. The event is doubtful, let the hopes of either party at the beginning be never so well founded. It is not the first time we have heard of the event of a war's turning out contrary to all human appearances. We have a fresh instance of this before our eyes. All Europe thought, the Emperor engaged in the present war against the Turks with great odds of his side; but we find ourselves disappointed in our expectations; the odds are already turned against him, and little hopes left of his coming off with honour, much less with advantage.

Whoever considers these things, Sir, must think, that, if the circumstances of affairs in Europe were entirely favourable for us, if our own circumstances were as happy as we could wish, we ought not wantonly to engage in a war; but when we consider that the circumstances of Europe were never in a more unhappy situation for us than at present, and that our own circumstances are far from being in a happy situation, who is it that will say, a war is not by all means to be avoided? The powerful kingdom of France is now in greater vigour than ever it was since the reign of their Charles the Great; it is now governed by wise councils, and in perfect unity and concord within itself. The King of France is bound, not only by interest, but by the ties of blood, to assist the King of Spain; and as an addition to his obligation, there is now forming, or what I know already concluded, a treaty of alliance between them. If we declare war against Spain, we must

therefore expect that France will take part with Spain against us: and tho' I have so good an opinion of my country, as to think we are more than a match for the one, and at least an equal match for the other, yet I cannot be so vain as to think, we are an equal match for both; and, consequently, I must think, we have reason to be afraid of our sinking under the burden, unless we can get some of the other great powers of Europe to assist us.

Let us now look round Europe, Sir, and we shall find with regret, there is not at present any one of the powers thereof, on whom we could, in such a case, depend for an effectual assistance. The house of Austria is now in so weak a condition, and so much reduced by the misfortunes they have met with in their war against the Turks, that they could not, if they would, afford us any assistance: and if they could, 'tis a question if they would; for their councils seem at present to be too much directed by French influence. The Dutch are at present in a poor and helpless situation; for tho' the subjects of most of the United Provinces are rich and in affluent circumstances, their government is extremely low, and almost all their publick revenues mortgaged or anticipated: which makes them so backward to engage in war, that tho' they have met with as bad treatment from Spain as we have done, tho' as many Dutch ships, in proportion, have been unjustly seized by the Spaniards, as there have been of English; yet they have never yet attempted, nor do they seem to have the least inclination to resent these injuries in any hostile manner. The princes of Germany are now contending amongst themselves about the succession to some parts of the Palatinate; and that contention may perhaps break out into an open rupture. Of the princes of Italy, the two most potent may probably be engaged in the alliance against us; and the King of Portugal dares not assist us, I even doubt if he would dare to admit our men of war into his ports. Then, Sir, if we look northward, of the two northern kingdoms, the most powerful

sal seems already to be united against us; and the Muscovites, if they were inclined, are at too great a distance to afford us any relief. Thus, Sir, we are at present without any one ally upon the continent, that would give us assistance; and in case of a war, the two most potent kingdoms in Europe would probably be united against us; nay, I do not know but that the greatest part of Europe would unite against us: and when the affairs of Europe are in such circumstances, would it not be the height of madness in us to engage in war, if we can by any art, or by any means, avoid or delay it?

But this, Sir, is not our only misfortune at present. Our domestick circumstances are far from being in such a condition as may encourage us to engage in war. Our people are already taxed almost as much as they can possibly bear; and most of those taxes mortgaged for paying the debts we contracted in the late war: the overplus of our publick revenue is hardly sufficient for supporting our civil government in time of peace. If we go to war, we must lay on new or additional taxes; this will increase those animosities and divisions that now prevail too much amongst us; and will cause that party to raise its head, which has not dared to look up for near twenty years past. If we go to war, our enemies will certainly endeavour to bring us into confusion at home, by embracing the cause of the Pretender; the war itself will be made the cause of the Pretender: and when our people find every year new loads of taxes laid upon them, many of them may begin to ascribe all the misfortunes they labour under, to the illustrious family now upon our throne; which will make them ready to join any number of foreign troops that shall invade us, with the Pretender at their head. If France and Spain should join against us, it will be impossible for us to guard our coasts, by means of our navy, so closely, as that it may not be in their power to throw a few regular troops into some part of the island; and this might give us so much to do at home, that we should

neither have leisure nor power to subdue our enemies, or protect our plantations abroad.

I have as just a sense as any man have, of the sufferings of our merchants, and of the indignities that have been put upon the nation, by the Spanish guarda costas; but national resentment, Sir, ought not to be directed by passion: we may, we ought to show a proper resentment; but our resentment ought to be governed by prudence; and if it is, we must suspend shewing it, till a change in the circumstances of Europe presents us with a favourable opportunity; which, in all probability, we shall not be long obliged to wait for. Therefore, if this convention had not been so favourable as it appears to be, his Majesty ought, I think, in the present conjuncture, to have accepted of it. This is the opinion I must form, from the view I have of the present posture of affairs, and from circumstances that are publickly known: but his Majesty may know many circumstances which we do not know, which he can not communicate to this house; and therefore, in such cases, we ought to be extremely cautious of refusing our approbation to a measure which his Majesty has thought fit to approve of. Such a caution would have been necessary, even tho' this convention had appeared to have been altogether unsatisfactory; but I have shewn, I think, that we have got by it all that could be reasonably expected by a preliminary treaty; from whence we have good reason to hope, that in eight months time we shall obtain by a definitive treaty all we can desire, which is a delay, I am sure, not worth our while to go to war for. Therefore, Sir, I must think, I am fully warranted in what I am to propose, which is, That the humble address, &c. (such another as was proposed by C. Cicerojus. See p. 435) *so: Copy of Pembrokeshire*
C. Calpurnius Piso *speaks next as follows.*

Mr President,

I Stand up to second the motion which the Hon. Gentleman near me has been pleased to make; and I second it, because, I think, the necessary consequence

sence of our not agreeing to it, would be an immediate war. Now, as I think we have got by this convention as much as we could expect by a preliminary article; (for, with respect to our future security; it can be called nothing else; nor was it possible, in so short a time, to make it any thing else;) and, I think, that the court of Spain's assenting to this convention, especially that part of it which stipulates an immediate reparation, furnishes us with a strong presumption, that they are inclined to do us justice, and that we shall, in a short time, obtain sufficient security for the freedom of our trade and navigation in time to come: therefore, I do not think a war quite unnecessary; and no war can be just that is not necessary, nor can any war be honourable that is not just.

This consideration, Sir, convinces me, that we ought to approve of this convention; and my Hon. friend has taken care to put some words or expressions in the address he has been pleased to propose, which, in my opinion, will wipe the only material objection I ever heard made to this treaty. Our merchants seem to think, that our rights and possessions in America are not sufficiently secured to us by the terms of this preliminary; and therefore they apprehend, that some of them are to be given up by our Plenipotentiaries. These apprehensions, I think, there can be no ground for, from any word or expression in this preliminary; nor can any man entertain such a thought, if he considers the inviolable attachment his Majesty has always shewn for the rights and privileges of his people, and that our Plenipotentiaries can do nothing without his order, nor finally agree upon any thing without his approbation. But if it were possible to apprehend, that any of our rights or possessions are in danger of being lost, or given up by a definitive treaty, that is to be concluded in pursuance of this preliminary, then that possibility must be taken away, by declaring, in the address proposed, our reliance on his Majesty, that from this constant attention to the honour of

his crown, and the undoubted rights of his people, effectual care will be taken, that the freedom of navigation in the American seas may be fully secured and established for the future; and that in regulating and settling the limits of his Majesty's dominions in America, the greatest regard will be had to the rights and possessions belonging to his Majesty's crown and subjects.

By these words, I say, Sir, the very possibility of apprehending any danger to our rights or possessions, must be effectually removed: for after such a full and explicit declaration of parliament, what minister will dare to advise his Majesty to give any instructions, or to ratify any treaty, for giving up, or encroaching in the least upon, any of our rights or possessions in America? Therefore, I think, no one good reason can be assigned for our refusing to give such an approbation to this convention, as the Hon. Gent. has been pleased to propose; for really, in my opinion, it looks more like a declaration of what we expect by the solemn treaty that is to be concluded, than an approbation of the preliminary that has been already concluded.

*Sir Tho: Sanderson now
of Scarborough*
P. Sempronius Tuditanus then stood up,
and spoke in substance thus.

Mr President,

THE great design, and the chief use of parliaments, is, to present to our Sovereign the opinions, as well as grievances of the people; and this house in particular is design'd as a check upon ministers, and as a sort of mirror, in which the counsels, the actions, and the measures of ministers, are to be truly and faithfully represented to their master. In absolute monarchies the King can never know, by any legal means, whether the measures he is advised by his ministers to pursue, be agreeable or disagreeable to his people: He can never be informed of their being disagreeable, but by the insurrections or rebellions of the people; which generally end in the destruction of a great many subjects, and often in the ruin of the Sovereign. This is a misfortune

fortune that in this kingdom we shall always be free from, while we have parliaments, and such parliaments as are independent of the administration. But if ever our parliaments should come to be under the direction of the minister, for the time being, they would be useless, they would be pernicious; because they would be made use of only for imposing upon the King with the greater assurance, and for oppressing the people with the greater security. Therefore, I hope, that in this house we shall upon all occasions talk to our King, not in the language of his ministers, but in the language of truth, in the language of his people. For this reason, while I have the honour to have a seat here, I shall never join in any address to the throne, that may in the least contribute towards inducing my Sovereign to form such an opinion of any publick measure, as may be contrary to the opinion I have, upon a thorough enquiry, formed of it, and contrary to the opinion which, I know, the people in general have formed of it. The convention now before us, is, in my opinion, the most dishonourable, the most deceitful, the most ruinous treaty, this nation ever made; I will be bold to say, that 99 out of 100 of the people are of the same opinion: and shall I agree to an address, which must make the King believe, if he believes what we say, that it is an honourable, fair, and advantageous treaty?

The Hon. Gent. and his friends may, if they please, Sir, call the latter part of the address he has proposed, a declaration of what we expect by the solemn treaty that is to be concluded: but the first part is a downright approbation of this convention, and is therefore inconsistent with the latter; for it would, in my opinion, be ridiculous in us to say, we expect or hope for any thing from a solemn treaty that is to be concluded in pursuance of a preliminary, by which every thing we have to expect or hope for, is previously given up, and almost expressly surrender'd. Out of the regard I have, and, I hope, shall always have for his Majesty, I must, in

examining the address proposed, leave his name out, and substitute in its room, the name or term *minister*, or *negotiator*. Shall I, Sir, upon occasion of this convention, express my most grateful acknowledgments for the minister's, or negotiator's particular care, and tender regard for the interests of the people, when I think that in negotiating and agreeing to this convention, he has shewn no care, no regard for, but, on the contrary, has sacrificed, I shall not say betrayed, the most valuable, the most sacred rights of his country? Shall I say, that a final adjustment of our long depending demands has been obtained by this convention, when I see, that, instead of adjusting, we have relaxed them? Shall I say, that any payment is to be made by Spain upon that account, when it appears that Spain is not to pay one single groat, when it appears that one shilling is so much as stipulated, but what is to be paid by one part of our own subjects to another? Or shall I say, I am satisfied with the foundation the minister or negotiator has laid, for preventing the like grievances and causes of complaint for the future, when I am convinced that, by this convention, a foundation is laid for increasing them, and for rendering them perpetual? God forbid, Sir, that any member of this house should behave in such a slavish manner towards the minister, or in such a deceitful manner towards his Sovereign.

I shall allow, Sir, that when differences arise between two nations, we ought not to be resolved on, till application be first made for having them removed by a friendly accommodation; but that application ought to be made in an honourable manner, and suitable to the dignity of the nation that makes it. If the matters of right that are begun to be disputed, be such as are really doubtful, a negotiation may be set on foot for having them explained; but to dispute the most undoubted rights, rights that are established by the law of nature, as well as by particular treaties, is one of the greatest insults that can be put by one nation upon another; and

therefore, the only application that can be made, is a peremptory demand for having them acknowledg'd in the most explicit terms: To negotiate, or to treat about such rights, is to betray them. Again, when violences are committed by the subjects of one nation, upon those of another, satisfaction may be demanded, nay, I shall grant that it ought to be demanded in a peaceable manner, before resolving to take satisfaction by force of arms: but this satisfaction ought to be required, not sued for; and much to be sued for again and again, after many neglected delays or sham excuses. To require satisfaction in a peaceable but diminished manner, is prudent, is commendable; but to sue and solicit for it, is mean, abject, and dishonourable; and when a nation continues to sue for it, under frequent repetitions of the same sort of violences, it is ridiculous, it is mischievous.

This, I'm afraid, Sir, is our case with regard to Spain. We have negotiated about our undoubted rights; we have sued for satisfaction, and have so long continued suing, while they continued refusing, that we have at last rendered ourselves ridiculous and contemptible. In this opinion I am confirmed by the treaty now under our consideration: a treaty which they seem to have imposed upon us as the *coup de grace* to that character we formerly had among the princes and potentates of Europe. After disputing with us such undoubted rights, and committing so many and such unheard of depredations upon our merchants, if they had not had the utmost contempt of our understanding as well as power, it was impossible they could have thought of imposing such a treaty upon us: a treaty by which they give, under the pretence of giving us a foundation for obtaining future security, obliged us to give up those rights upon which it depends, and, instead of giving us reparation, they have obliged us to give them a general release; nay rather, they have obliged us to give up to them, for much less than the true value, five British ships and their cargoes, which they had, before this treaty

was thought of, obliged themselves to restore. If they had given us a flat denial, if they had absolutely refused to give us any security or reparation, it would have been shewing a contempt of our power only; but to presume to palm upon us such a sham security, and such a fallacious sort of reparation, is shewing the utmost contempt of our judgment, as well as our power. As yet the contempt can fall upon our negotiators only; but if this house should give any thing like a sanction to such a treaty, the contempt must fall upon the nation, or at least upon that which is called the wisdom of the nation.

In order, Sir, to make good what I have said, I must beg leave to consider what we ought to have had, and whether we have got, by this treaty, so much as the hopes of obtaining any one thing we ought to have had. I believe every Gentleman will allow, that we ought to have had some satisfaction for the many insults the Spaniards have put upon the crown and flag of G. Britain. To some this may appear to be merely a point of honour; but to me it appears so material, that, I think, we can have no future security without it. No treaty, no regulations you can make, will, in my opinion, signify any thing, without some exemplary satisfaction; for the Spanish Governors and Captains of guarda costas in America, will shew no regard to any treaty or regulations you can make, if they find they may transgress them with impunity: whereas, if some of those Governors and Captains that have robbed our merchants, had been hanged, as they highly deserve, and their bodies hung up in chains, upon the most conspicuous capes of Cuba, Hispaniola, and Porto-Rico, it would have shewn all such for the future, what they were to expect, if they insulted the crown, or injured the subjects of G. Britain. But the court of Spain being resolved to grant nothing that might any way contribute to our future security, resolved not to allow the word *satisfaction* to be so much as once mentioned in this treaty. Even the Spanish pirate that cut off

Capt. Jenkins's ear, making use at the same time of the most insulting expression towards the person of our King, an expression which no British subject can decently repeat, an expression which no man that has a regard for his Sovereign can ever forgive; even this fellow, I say, is to live to enjoy the fruits of his rapine, and remain a living testimony of the cowardly tameness, and mean submission of G. Britain, and of the triumphant pride, and stubborn haughtiness of Spain.

This alone, Sir, is sufficient to shew, that we can have no hopes of any future security; and yet a future security for the freedom of our trade and navigation, was what we ought principally and peremptorily to have insisted on. But our negotiating ministers have not satisfied themselves with neglecting it; they have almost expressly, by this preliminary, given it up. They have almost expressly given up the rights upon which it depends, by referring them to be regulated by Plenipotentiaries: for, if we consider the nature of those rights in dispute between Spain and us, upon which our future security depends, we must see, that if the right we pretend to, be regulated, it must be surrender'd; and that if the right Spain pretends to, be regulated, it must be established. The right we pretend to, the right which, I hope, the nation will never depart from, whatever our negotiators may do, is a right to a free navigation in the open seas of America. This right the Spaniards, trusting to our feebleness, or our fondness for negotiation, have taken upon them to deny. They say, we have no right to any navigation in the American seas but what they have granted us by treaty, which is only whilst our ships steer a direct course from one part of the British dominions to another. For God's sake, Sir, what is it, in this case, our Plenipotentiaries are to regulate? Are they to regulate what shall, or shall not be called a direct course? If we agree to any such regulation, can we afterwards say, we have a right to a free navigation? Does not every Gentleman see, that if this right

be regulated, it must be given up?

On the other hand, Sir, Spain pretends to a right to search our ships in the open seas of America, and to seize and confiscate them, if they be found sailing out of their due course, or if any goods which they are pleased to call contraband, be found on board. Does not every Gentleman see that this right must be granted, must be establish'd, before it can be regulated? Therefore it may be justly said, that, by this preliminary, we have surrendered the right we pretend to, and established the right the Spaniards pretend to; or at least, that we have laid a foundation for expressly surrendering the one, and establishing the other, by the solemn treaty that is to be concluded in pursuance of this preliminary. This is the least we have done by this preliminary; and this is the more dishonourable, the more scandalous, because the right we pretend to, is a right established by the law of nature, enjoyed by all nations, and confirm'd to us by every treaty subsisting between the two crowns: whereas, the right the Spaniards pretend to, is a servitude, which no nation ever pretended to impose upon another, nor did ever the most contemptible nation under the sun submit to it. To which I must add another misfortune, that all the regulations that can, in either of these cases, be established, are to be explained and judged of by Spanish Governors and Captains of guarda costas; and therefore, we may, from their past behaviour, conclude, that every British ship they meet with in the seas of America, will be adjudged to be a trespasser against some of these regulations, and consequently liable to confiscation.

Thus, Sir, it appears, we have negotiated, we have treated away all hopes of future security; and now I shall make it appear, we have done the same with respect to reparation for past injuries. By a commissorial way of reckoning, our negotiators reduced the demands of their country to 200,000*l.* and this sum, allowing a trifle, as they say, for prompt payment, they pretend to have obtained for us. But how have they obtained it?

They allow Spain to deduct 60,000 l. on account of a most frivolous demand they set up against us; and before Spain pays any thing to us, they have allow'd them to extort, in the most unjustifiable manner, from our S. S. company, 58,000 l. These two sums reduced what Spain was to pay to us, by way of reparation, to 72,000 l. and from this sum, they have allow'd them to deduct 45,000 l. a pretty modest allowance, for prompt payment: then there remains but 27,000 l. and for this they have allowed them to detain, and convert to their own use, five British ships, which the King of Spain had before promised to restore, and had actually sent cedulas to the West-Indies for that purpose; which five ships, I mean those mentioned in the 4th article of this treaty, were worth 60, or 40,000 l. Does not every one see, Sir, that, instead of our getting any reparation, by this treaty, for past injuries, we have really allowed the Spaniards to keep to the value of at least 3, if not 3,000 l. of what they had before oblig'd themselves to restore? And this, I suppose, our negotiators allowed them, by way of a reward for their allowing the sham, stipulated payment of 95,000 l. to be mentioned in this treaty. In consideration of which sham, stipulated payment, we have given them a general release for all demands, and all past injuries. Sir, if we had freely given them a general release, we might have had something to boast of; we might have bragg'd of our generous and forgiving temper: but to be thus choused out of all our just demands, must make us the ridicule of every foreigner that hears of it. Can such a sham reparation, such a lumping bargain as this, be said to be an acknowledgment in the Spaniards, of their having been in the wrong to us? So far otherwise, that it must be supposed, they insisted upon our rmping away our demands in this manner, on purpose to avoid their being oblig'd to acknowledge themselves in the wrong, or to acknowledge that any of our ships had been unjustly searched, seized, or confiscated, except the five ships they had before acknowledged to

be so; and, provided we would allow them to keep these five ships, I suppose they were willing to agree, to allow us what they valued them at, by way of reparation.

This, Sir, is in reality, whatever we may pretend, the only reparation we are to meet with from Spain; and this reparation they had promised us before this convention was thought of. The 60,000 l. which we have allowed them for their ships, which we took and destroyed in the year 1718, can be no reparation to us, whatever it may be to them; because they had no pretence for any such demand. The taking and destroying of those ships was what we had, from their infraction of treaties, a just title to: It was then reckon'd such a piece of publick service, that Sir George Byng was made a Peer for doing it. And if we promised to restore them by the treaty in 1721, we performed that promise, as far as was incumbent upon us: we promised only to restore them in the condition they were in; we did not promise to repair them, or to make them fit for service: and if the Spaniards would not take them, because they would not be at the expence of repairing them, it was their fault. Therefore, I must suppose our negotiators allowed of this demand, for no other reason, but in order to have a pretence to say, they had obtained some sort of reparation. And the 68,000 l. to be paid by our S. S. company, I must look on as a condescension of the same nature. The King of Spain had justly no such demand upon the company: If he had, they had much greater demands upon him: the court of Spain itself, allows they have a just demand for above four times that sum; therefore, the most that court could insist on, was compensation: but the truth is, I believe, they are resolved never to pay the company a shilling; and our negotiators allowed them to insist upon the immediate payment of this 68,000 l. upon a promise to pay it back to them by way of reparation. Can this be called a reparation made by Spain? can it be called a reparation made to this nation? If the company

would agree to pay it, which I believe they will not, it might be some reparation to our injured merchants: but a reparation made to them by our own S. S. company, can never be said to be a reparation made by Spain; nor can a reparation made by one part of our own people to another, be said to be a reparation made to the nation.

I have now, I hope, clearly shewn, Sir, that by this convention, we have obtained no satisfaction, no security, no reparation; but that, on the contrary, we have given up all future pretences to every one of them. Therefore, I cannot think that any Gentleman who considers himself only as a member of this house, will agree to our approaching the throne of our Sovereign, with such an address as has been proposed. Immediate war may not be the consequence of our refusing our approbation; but immediate infamy to the nation will, in my opinion, be the certain consequence of our granting it. I shall allow that war ought to be avoided. It ought to be avoided by all means, but scandalous, cowardly means. A nation that has once got the character of being cowardly, or too fearful of engaging in war, must always be in a sort of war. They will always be suffering war, but never making any. This, I'm afraid, has been too much our case for seventeen or eighteen years past: we have had our towns besieged, our ships taken, our merchants plundered, and our seamen barbarously treated, without our declaring war, or committing any hostilities, on our side. Long before the treaty of Seville, the Spaniards began their depredations: we then bought peace at a dear rate; at the price of sacrificing the friendship and confidence of one of our best allies. While we were getting provinces for Don Carlos, which has since procured him kingdoms, the Spaniards suspended a little their depredations: but they never granted us any reparation for what was past, nor security against future, tho' they promised both by that treaty; on the contrary, as soon as their turn was served, they renewed their depredations, with more vigour and cruelty than

ever. And shall we approve of a treaty, which, instead of preventing them, will give the Spaniards what they never had before, a title to continue them? for this must be the case, if, in pursuance of this preliminary, we agree, by a solemn treaty, to any regulations, either with regard to our right to a free navigation, or with regard to the right they pretend to, of searching our ships upon the open seas, and seizing them, if found sailing out of their due course, or with any goods on board, which they are pleased to call contraband.

Our agreeing, Sir, to such a treaty, must necessarily involve us at last in a war, unless we have a mind to give up our plantations and West-India trades whereas our refusing our approbation to this preliminary, will prevent any such solemn treaty's being negotiated, and may prevent a war; for if Spain has the least dread of our resentment or power, if this nation is not already brought in to the utmost contempt, when Spain sees that they cannot amuse a British parliament, as well as a British ministry, they will agree to do us justice in a reasonable manner. But, for God's sake, Sir, what are we afraid of? If Spain is not assisted by France, 'tis impossible we can have any thing to fear. If France should join against us; tho' I may not perhaps think, we are an equal match for them both at land, yet, I think, we are more than a match for them both at sea; and there they must gain a superiority, before they can distress, or greatly hurt this nation. But, suppose we were not, the Hon. Gent. who made this motion, has himself given a good reason, why we should not submit to an infamous peace: *The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong; 'tis God that gives the victory*: and when we have so just a cause, we have great reason to hope for the assistance of God Almighty; which will be sufficient for us, even tho' by means of our late negotiations and conduct, we may now literally say, *We have none else to put our trust in, but him*. The circumstances of Europe, Sir, are, indeed, at present, in a dangerous & most terrible situation; and the present

ent circumstances of this nation, cannot, 'tis true, be said to be happy. But the Hon. Gent. who made this motion, I think, one of the last that ought to have made use of such an argument for our approving of a dishonourable or destructive treaty. If we have negotiated the affairs of Europe into an unlucky situation, 'tis well known who ought to be blamed; and if the domestick affairs of this nation be now in great disorder, certain friend of his cannot be entirely innocent. If our affairs are brought to such a fatal crisis, that we must either forfeit our honour, and leave our plantations and trade exposed to continual insults and depredations, or engage in an unequal war, it may be an argument for suspending our resentment, if possible, till a more favourable opportunity offers; but it can be no argument for our agreeing to a dishonourable and pernicious treaty; especially, when such a treaty we are to get nothing, at so much as a suspension of hostilities, and are to give a general release of all former demands, a general oblivion of all past injuries: for since we are to get nothing, I think, we ought not to have passed from any thing by this preliminary: our demands, as well as our rights, might have been referred to be regulated by our Plenipotentiaries; and in that case, we could have insisted or relaxed with regard to the former, according to the compliances we had found pain ready to make with regard to the latter.

I therefore hope, Sir, that no Gentleman will be frightened into an approbation of this treaty, by the terrors that have been thrown out; but that, on the contrary, every Gentleman will, upon his occasion, resume the spirit of his ancestors, and reject a treaty which so evidently blasts the honour of his country. When this is done, we may, with honour, examine into the terrors we have been threatened with; and if there be the least ground for them, I hope it will be a prevailing argument for our entering upon a strict enquiry into the conduct of those who have brought their country into such fatal circumstances:

for if we be in such a woful condition, as to be unable to continue in peace with any degree of honour, or engage in war with any prospect of success, I am sure we can expect no redress from the future conduct of those, who, by their past conduct, have brought our affairs, both at home and abroad, into such distress and confusion.

I shall next give you a short sketch of what was said by L. Hortensius; whose speech was to the following purport.

Mr President, Jo: Howe Esquire

IF I may judge of this treaty as I do of others, I must think it as good a one as we could expect. We never obtained by any treaty all we could desire, nor all we thought we had reason to insist on. I do not know that ever any nation did, unless they made a sort of conquest; and then it is not a treaty, but a law prescribed by the conqueror to the conquered. In all other cases, nations are obliged to consider times and circumstances, and to accept of the utmost the then posture of affairs will allow them to insist on. Between contending nations, the case is the same with what it is between private men: each party thinks himself in the right, tho' it generally happens that both are in the wrong: what may seem extremely clear, and nothing but just, to one party, or in one country, may appear to be very doubtful, or highly unreasonable, in the other. Therefore, when two nations are treating upon a par, if they have a mind to agree, neither must obstinately insist upon what they think right, but each must consider its own circumstances, and the circumstances of its adversary, at that particular time, in order from thence to judge, what concessions must be made, and what demands may be peremptorily insisted on. In this light, I think, the treaty now before us ought to be considered; and in this light, I must say, I'm surpris'd to find it so good as it is.

With regard to the Spanish demand on our S. S. company, and with regard to their demand on account of the ships taken and destroyed by us in the year

1718, I am far from being of the same opinion with those Gentlemen who disapprove of this treaty. I believe, Sir, the Spaniards had some reason to insist upon both, especially the last. Perhaps they may say, they had reason at that time to attack the Emperor in Sardinia, and the Duke of Savoy in Sicily, because of a negotiation then on foot, for giving Sicily to the Emperor, in exchange for Sardinia, without asking the consent of Spain, and without shewing the least regard to the right of reversion they had to Sicily by the treaty of Utrecht between Spain and Savoy, confirmed by the 14th article of the treaty made at the same place between G. Britain and Spain. And as for their demand upon the S. S. company, I must in charity believe, they thought it was just, otherwise they would not have made it: but whether it be just or not, or whether or no the S. S. company pays it to Spain, are questions that can have no relation to the present; because by this treaty the justice of the demand is not acknowledged, and the Spaniards are to pay us the 95,000 l. stipulated, whether this sum be paid to them by our S. S. company or not: therefore I am surpris'd to hear it said, that the S. S. company is to advance any part of that money which is to be paid us by Spain: but suppose they did, if, in consideration thereof, Spain gave up what they thought a just claim, the money would, according to their way of thinking, be paid by them, and to this nation too. From hence, I think, it appears, that the reparation we have obtained by this treaty, amounts to 155,000 l. and this I must look on as no inconsiderable sum, considering the present circumstances of affairs, and the strong objections Spain had to make to some of our claims.

As to our future security, Sir, I shall acknowledge, it depends upon the rights in dispute; but by this treaty we have neither given up any we pretend to, nor acknowledged any the Spaniards pretend to. We have only referred them to be examined into, and discuss'd by Plenipotentiaries: which I cannot

but approve of, because I am convinc'd the justice of what we pretend to, and the unreasonableness of what Spain pretends to, will from thence fully appear: whereas, if we had refused to have our title disput'd, it would, in my opinion, have been an argument that we ourselves thought it disputable.

Therefore, Sir, without being influenced by any fears or terrors, or by any thing but the reasonableness of the thing itself, I cannot but approve of the treaty now under our consideration, and consequently must agree to the motion the Hon. Gent. has been pleas'd to make.

Wm Pitt Esq.

The next that spoke was Julius Florus, whose speech was in substance thus.

Mr President,

Here certainly has never been in parliament a matter of more high and national concern, than the convention referred to the consideration of this committee; and give me leave to say, there cannot be a more indirect manner of taking the sense of the committee upon it, than by the complicated question that is now before you. I have no apprehensions that any one Gentleman can be led into an approbation of the convention, under the softer name of an humble address to the throne: But is this that full, deliberate examination, which we were call'd upon, with defiance, to give to this convention? Is this cursory, blended disquisition of matters of such variety and extent, all that we owe to ourselves and to our country? When trade is at stake, it is your last retrenchment, you must defend it or perish; and whatever is to decide of that, deserves the most distinct consideration, and the most direct undisguis'd sense of parliament. But how are we now proceeding? Upon an artificial, ministerial question. Here is all the confidence, here is the conscious sense of the greatest service that ever was done to this country; to be complicating questions, to be lumping sanction and approbation, like a Commissary's account, to be covering and taking sanctuary in the royal name, instead of meeting openly,

penly, and standing fairly, the direct judgment and sentence of parliament, upon the several articles of this convention.

Sir, you have been moved to vote a humble address of thanks to his Majesty, for a measure, which (I will appeal to Gentlemens conversation in the world) is odious throughout the kingdom. Such thanks are only due to the ætal influence that framed it, as are due for that low, unallied condition abroad, which is now made a plea for his convention. To what are Gentlemen reduced in support of it? First try a little to defend it upon its own merits: if that is not tenable, throw out general terrors; the house of Bourbon is united; who knows the consequence of a war? Sir, Spain knows the consequence of a war in America; whoever gains, it must prove fatal to her. She knows it, and must therefore avoid it; but she knows England does not dare to make it. And what is a delay, which is all this magnified convention sometimes called, to produce? Can it produce such conjunctures, as those you lost, while you were giving kingdoms to Spain, and all to bring her back again to that great branch of the house of Bourbon, which is now thrown out to you with so much terror? If this union be formidable, are we to delay only till it becomes more formidable, by being carried further into execution, and more strongly cemented? But be it what it will, is this any longer a nation, or what is an English parliament, furnished with more ships in your harbours than in all the navies of Europe, with above two millions of people in your American colonies, you will bear to hear of the expediency of receiving from Spain an insecure, unsatisfactory, dishonourable convention? Sir, I call it no more than it has been proved in this debate; it carries fallacy or downright subjection in almost every line: it has been laid open and exposed in so many strong and glaring lights, that I can pretend to add nothing to the conviction and indignation it has rais'd.

Sir, after so much has been said, and

very ably, by Gentlemen that have gone before me, I can expect to be heard but with little attention. I am sorry it is so easy to speak on our side of the question: I wish the subject were less copious: I think it a very melancholy advantage, and I will trouble you as little as I can upon a matter that furnishes such unhappy abundance.

Sir, as to the great national objection, the *searching* your ships, that favourite word, as it was called, is not omitted, indeed; in the preamble to the convention; but it stands there as the reproach of the whole, as the strongest evidence of the fatal submission that follows: On the part of Spain, an usurpation, an inhumane tyranny claimed and exercised over the American seas; on the part of England, an undoubted right by treaties, and from God and Nature, declared and asserted in the resolutions of parliament, are referred to the discussion of Plenipotentiaries, upon one and the same equal foot. Sir, I say, this undoubted right is to be discussed and to be regulated. And if to regulate be to prescribe rules (as in all construction it is) this right is, by the express words of this convention, to be given up and sacrificed; for it must cease to be any thing, from the moment it is submitted to limits.

The court of Spain has plainly told you (as appears by papers upon the table) you shall steer a due course, you shall navigate by a line to and from your plantations in America; if you draw near to her coasts, (though, from the circumstances of that navigation, you are under an unavoidable necessity of doing it) you shall be seized and confiscated: if then upon these terms only she has consented to refer, what becomes at once of all the security we are flatter'd with in consequence of this reference? Plenipotentiaries are to regulate finally the respective pretensions of the two crowns, with regard to trade and navigation in America; but does a man in Spain reason that these pretensions must be regulated to the satisfaction and honour of England? No, Sir; they conclude, and with reason, from the

the high spirit of their administration, from the superiority with which they have so long treated you, that this reference must end, as it has begun, to their honour and advantage.

But Gentlemen say, the treaties subsisting are to be the measure of this regulation. Sir, as to treaties, I will take part of the words of Sir William Temple, quoted by the Hon. Gent. near me, *it is vain to negotiate and make treaties*, if there is not dignity and vigour to enforce the observance of them; for under the misconstruction and misinterpretation of these very treaties subsisting, this intolerable grievance has arisen. It has been growing upon you treaty after treaty, thro' twenty years of negotiation, and even under the discussion of Commissaries to whom it was referred. You have heard from Capt. Vaughan at your bar, at what time these injuries and indignities were continued, as a kind of explanatory comment upon the convention Spain has thought fit to grant you, as another *insolent protest*, under the validity and force of which she has suffered this convention to be proceeded on. We'll treat with you, but we'll search and take your ships; we'll sign a convention, but we'll keep your subjects prisoners, prisoners in Old Spain; the West-Indies are remote, Europe shall be witness how we use you.

Sir, as to the inference of an admission of our right not to be searched, drawn from a reparation made for ships unduly seiz'd and confiscated, I think that argument is very inconclusive. The right claimed by Spain to search our ships, is one thing, and the excesses admitted to have been committed in consequence of this pretended right, is another; but surely, Sir, reasoning from inferences and implications only, is such a *minutie* as has been said by the Hon. Gentleman that made this motion, to be below the dignity of your proceedings, upon a right of this vast importance. What this reparation is, what sort of composition for your losses, forced upon you by Spain in an instance that has come to light, where your own

Commissaries could not in conscience decide against your claim, has fully appeared upon examination; and as for the payment of the sum stipulated, (all but 27,000 l. and that too subject to a drawback) it is, evidently, a falacious, nominal payment only. I will not attempt to enter into the detail of a debt, confused, and scarcely intelligible account; I will only beg leave to conclude with one word upon it, in the light of a submission, as well as of an adequate reparation. Spain stipulates to pay to the crown of England 95,000 l. by a preliminary protest of the King of Spain, the S. S. company is at once to pay 68,000 l. of it: if they refuse, Spain, I admit, is still to pay the 95,000 l. but how does it stand then? the asiento contract is to be suspended; you are to purchase this sum at the price of an exclusive trade, pursuant to a national treaty, and of an immense debt, of God knows how many hundred thousand pounds, due from Spain to the S. S. company. Here, Sir, is the submission of Spain by the payment of a stipulated sum; a tax laid upon subjects of England, under the severest penalties, with the reciprocal accord of an English minister, as a preliminary that the convention may be sign'd; a condition imposed by Spain in the most absolute imperious manner, and received by the ministers of England in the most tame and abject. Can any verbal distinctions, any evasions whatever, possibly explain this publick infamy? To whom would we disguise it? to ourselves and to the nation? I wish we could hide it from the eyes of every court in Europe. They see Spain has talk'd to you like your master; they see this arbitrary fundamental condition, and it must stand with distinction, with a pre-eminence of shame, as a part even of this convention.

This convention, Sir, I think from my soul, is nothing but a stipulation of national ignominy; an illusory expedient to baffle the resentment of the nation; a truce without a suspension of hostilities on the part of Spain; on the part of England, a suspension, as Georgia, of the first law of nature, felt

preservation, and self-defence; a surrender of the rights and trade of England to the mercy of Plenipotentiaries, and in this infinitely highest and sacred point, future security, not only inadequate, but directly repugnant to the resolutions of parliament, and the gracious promise from the throne. The complaints of your despairing merchants, the voice of England has condemned it: is the guilt of it upon the head of the driver; God forbid that this committee should share the guilt, by approving it!

George Lyttelton Esq.
The next speech I shall give you was that made by Mezcenas, who spoke thus.

Mr President,

From some words that fell from an Hon. Member who spoke in this debate, I shall begin, by wishing in the most solemn manner, by making it my most ardent prayer, that the mercantile interest may be the only bias of our deliberations to-day; and that neither the interest of a party, nor much less that of any single man, may prevail over this, which is the national concern. Or then we shall do our duty in this great affair, and our decision of it will do honour to parliament. But before I enter further into this debate, I beg leave to take notice of some words that were said upon this question, and which I heard with the deepest concern.

After he had used many arguments to persuade us to peace, to any peace, good or bad, by painting out the dangers of a war, (dangers I by no means know to be what he represents them) he crown'd all those terrors with the name of the Pretender. It would be the curse of the Pretender; the Pretender would come! Is the Hon. Gent. sensible what this language imports? The people of England complain of the greatest wrongs and indignities; they complain of the interruption, the destruction of their trade; they think this peace has left them in a worse condition than before: And, in answer to all these complaints, what are they told? Why, that their continuing to suffer all this,

is the price they must pay to keep the King and his family on the throne of these realms. If this were true, it ought not to be own'd. Will it strengthen the family to have it believed? But it is far from true; the very reverse of it is true: nothing can weaken the family, nothing can shake the establishment, but such measures as these, and such language as this.

Sir, I know who hears me, and for that reason I speak.—The Hon. Gent. who first moved you this question, and another who spoke since, have both strongly insisted, and it was the sum of all their arguments, that our right not to be searched, is not referred to the discussion of Plenipotentiaries; they are only, it seems, to consider how to remedy grievances. What grievances, Sir, do the Gentlemen mean? the grievances of England! They admit but of one remedy, a very short and simple one, and which wants no consideration: That our ships shall not be searched upon any pretence. This alone can go to the root of our grievances; all less than this is trifling, hurtful, fatal to commerce. Do they mean the grievances of Spain? the illicit trade? The remedy for that too is already provided: it is already settled by our treaties with Spain, that we are not to trade in their ports and havens in America; but if our ships are found there, they must be confiscated. Is not this sufficient? I defy the Hon. Gent. who has so much skill in negotiation, to discover another expedient to secure the Spaniards from illicit trade, which will not be destructive to the lawful trade of G. Britain; and, I hope, we shall be more solicitous for our own, than for theirs. The Hon. Gent. said, the settling this would take up some time. It will indeed, Sir; for it will never be settled; it is morally impossible it can ever be settled: and therefore, I think it ought not to have been brought into dispute. Had we proceeded conformably to the intentions of parliament, we should either have acted with vigour, or have obtained a real security, in an express acknowledgment of our right not to be searched,

as a preliminary *fine qua non* to our treating at all. This we ought to have insisted on in the words of La Quadra's protest, (which is the preliminary *fine qua non* of that crown) we ought to have insisted on it in those very words, as *the precise and essential means to overcome the so much debated disputes, and that on the validity and force of this express acknowledgment, the signing the convention may be proceeded on, and in no other manner.* Instead of this, what have we done? We have referr'd it to Plenipotentiaries. Is not this weakening our right? wou'd you, Sir, submit to a reference, Whether you may travel unmolested from your house in town, to your house in the country? Your right is clear and undeniable, why would you have it discussed? But much less would you refer it, if two of your judges belonged to a gang, which had often stopp'd and robb'd you in your way thither before.

Things that are of a nature to admit of temperaments, in which each party may recede from their respective pretensions, and come to a medium to conclude the dispute, such things allow of a discussion, and may be referred; but when no medium can be found, when the case admits of no temperaments, where to recede one tittle, is to give up the question, there to agree to a discussion, is to endanger the whole: at best, it can end in nothing but in both sides adhering to their claim, and leaving all in uncertainty, to go on as before. And can any thing worse befall us? Is not this destruction itself?

Oh but, said the Hon. Gent. we have gain'd a great point, in bringing Spain to acknowledge by the present convention, that grievances have arisen in the searching of ships, and that means to remedy these grievances ought to be found out! Sir, was this ever denied? Did Spain ever deny, that her guarda costas had sometimes committed excesses; that is, searched a little too wantonly, gone a little too far, made some *irregular seizures*? and that this ought to be remedied? All this is expressly confess'd in La Quadra's letter to Mr Keene, dated the 10th of February last year, be-

fore we sent out our fleets; and but orders should be given for reprisals, when such excesses are proved. But does this amount, or do the words of the treaty amount to any thing like a departing from their pretension to search? No; they are only a modification of it to a certain degree; which is a defence of the practice itself: and we thought so last year, or why did we judge that letter so unsatisfactory? But, Sir, pray consider, our right not to be searched is a very short point, wants no discussion, does not depend upon arguments of any difficulty to examine or to comprehend. The King of Spain must have known for this twelvemonth at least what he ought to think of it, and whether he will yield it or no. The only imaginable reason of his chicaning so long, is, that he suspected a weakness in the council of England. What was then only suspicion, is now turned into certainty; and if that will make him more pliant, it is easy to judge.

As we go on with our politics, so will the Spaniards with theirs. Ours have been to procrastinate, to put off a war at any rate, to live upon daily expostulations, to endure and to treat: Thine have been to fool us with the name of peace, and to commit all sorts of hostilities on our merchants and trade; to plunder and butcher the former, and to ruin the last. Thus it has been, and it will continue to be.— How we feel our account in it, I am unable to guess! How Spain finds her's in it, is too plain at first sight. If that court were bent upon undoing this nation, they need only leave us to the conduct we hold. What could they desire better, than for eighteen years more to interrupt our navigation, and destroy our trade, put us to the charge of half a dozen pacifick fleets, furnish us with a pretence for a numerous standing army to consume us at home, render us the scorn of Europe, and at last, to make us amends, account with us so as to receive or detain much more than they give, and keep the chain subsisting upon which they robb'd us so long? But it would be better for England to submit at once, throw up the

trade to our colonies, and the colonies themselves, than to leave our merchants exposed to such inhumane cruelties, and suffer ourselves to be mocked with forms of justice and law, while we are the prey and sport of all injustice and violence; or with insignificant treaties, which, instead of giving us security, serve as a pretext and sanction for all future injuries.

But we are desired to have confidence, to have hopes in the wisdom and success of the measures which his Majesty is advised to pursue.

Sir, the people of England fear much more than they hope. — And have not they reason? What can a review of the past produce, but dread of the future? Have not these depredations increased year after year, since 1721? How many fleets have been sent out in that time? What were they to do for us? To persuade the Spaniards. To what did they persuade them? To make conventions and treaties. What have we got by those treaties? New, and greater insults and wrongs. This was enough to induce us to suspect even last year, that with all our appearances of vigour, we should do nothing effectual; but those suspicions were born down by the strong assurances given, that we should not meet here again and find nothing done. What has been done, Sir? what is the fruit of our armament? A temporary expedient, a poor, unsafe procrastination, a shameful barter of our future security, for the name of restitution, which, indeed, we make to ourselves. — I won't tire you with repeating what has been so fully made out; but when I compare this nominal, this ridiculous satisfaction, with the serious risk we run of losing our most valuable rights, I dare be bold to say, no other nation under heaven ever staked their honour and interest against such counters as these.

And are we to go on still hoping, trusting still in spite of experience? Are our relentments perpetually to be played with in this manner, shifted off from expedient to expedient, and from session to session? adjourned from one treaty to another, and so on to a third? if you don't like this, you shall the next; and

when that comes, if you don't like that neither, you may go to war. Is this the language to be held to a parliament?

But Gentlemen ask, what have you lost by deferring your war? What have we lost? All that we gave to make it last year. We have lost much too of our reputation, much of the esteem of mankind, much of the affection of our people, which is the worst of all losses. But, I beg leave to say, in answer to a great deal of reasoning which I have heard from many Gentlemen, and heard with great pain, that the question is not, Whether war or peace be more eligible? the question now is about maintaining your rights. If Spain believed us in earnest, if she did not depend upon our timidity, it is scarce conceivable this should cost us a war. But if it did bring on one, it is a war of necessity, and it is a war, in which our neighbours have a common cause with us. What was said of the war against the pirates, it would be *bellum omnium gentium*. Would France take arms to overturn a general right, which it is as much her interest to support as ours? Would she fight to establish in the crown of Spain, a power destructive to the freedom of commerce, and a supreme dominion in the American seas; or to impose that upon England, which she must refuse for herself? Upon the foot of all treaties this is quite impossible: we must be used as the *gens amicissima*; if France, or any other nation shall retain this right for themselves, they retain it for us too; it is ours by consequence. Will she break all treaties then to take this away? This would be acting with a spirit of violence, which does not seem to be in her now, and which, whenever it shews itself, must unite all Europe to oppose its effects. Should not we find one friend among so many allies? Have we negotiated all the world into enemies, united them all to our destruction? If by the conduct of our ministers, things are brought to such an extremity, that we are reduced to the necessity of perishing in the just defence of our rights, or of perishing equally by losing them, the choice is easy to make; let us perish like men, and with sword

in our hands. But don't let us have the weakness to expect our safety from those, who have brought a flourishing nation to such a dreadful alternative.—What is this wretched reprieve that we have begg'd for eight months? will that do us any good, Sir? will that be worth our acceptance? Do we really flatter ourselves that we now are at peace? Peace is a secure and unmolested enjoyment of our rights. But peace, at the expence of rights, of essential rights; peace exposed to insults, peace exposed to injuries, is the most abject, is the most deplorable, is the most calamitous circumstance of human affairs. It is the worst effect that could be produced from the most unsuccessful, the most ruinous war. No nation should submit to it, while it can hold up its head: but to such a one have we submitted, without striking a stroke, and in a condition to defend ourselves, not against the Spaniards alone, but, if our strength were wisely exerted, against any enemies, whom in such a quarrel we might have to oppose, notwithstanding all the terrors now thrown out to make us believe, that the nation itself is as weak as, our enemies may think, the councils that govern it. Yet though the weakness is not in us, we must suffer the shame of it, and all the mischiefs attending upon loss of honour to a nation. With what contempt and insolence are we used by Spain, when, in the same treaty where she stipulates that we shall not have liberty to fortify Charles-Town itself, which is as undoubtedly ours, as London or York, that we must not dare to dig a ditch about it till this discussion is past, she has not granted us a short suspension of hostilities, a temporary observance of treaties in not searching our ships? So that, far from having a peace, we have not got so much as a truce. For sure the worthy member over the way did not believe himself when he argued, that to have asked a cessation of injuries, would have been allowing their claim. If a man were at law with me for my estate, without any title at all, and the case was referred to arbitrators, should I let him cut down my woods, and make what waste he pleased, till the

suit was decided, for fear he should interpret the forbidding it, as an admission of his claim? Sure an acquiescence under it would admit it much more.

But, Sir, the worst of all indignities is his Catholick Majesty's behaviour with regard to the S. S. company in La Quadra's protest. That he should not deign to submit his accounts with them to a reference, to which we have submitted things of such infinite consequence, as the right we have to our dominions, and the security of our trade: that he should value our friendship so little, as not even to grant us *this treaty*, unless out of an unliquidated account the part he claims be instantly paid, without any regard to the balance; or that upon a refusal of this, he should deprive the company of their trade: that this should be the only condition of his agreeing to sign this convention; and that we should take it on these terms, is, indeed, astonishing, even to those who use to consider the repeated insults of Spain, and the habitual tameness of England.

Sir, I entirely agree to what has been said by some Gentlemen, that the non-compliance of the company to this monstrous demand will not forfeit what is stipulated to be paid to our merchants, nor directly annul the convention. To be sure it will not. But the penalty annex'd to it, is the depriving the company, during the pleasure of Spain, of the benefits of the *Affiento* trade, and probably too the loss of their debt; against right and justice, and the faith of all treaties. Will our government admit of this? will they agree to it as just? If they do, it is evident, that great body of our countrymen are put out of his Majesty's protection, and left at the mercy of Spain: and it is no less evident, that we buy this convention at the expence of a great national interest and by a breach of national faith, of the honour and justice of parliament, which has sold and confirm'd this trade to the company. To say, this is not an article, what will that avail? It is much stronger than an article, as it is the base of the whole. It is much worse than

than an article, as the doing it in this way has an air of tricking and evasion, that would shame an attorney. Gentlemen may distinguish and refine as much as they please; but on this dirty foundation this convention does stand. If every other part of it were as good, as it is bad and dishonourable, this alone should oblige us to reject it with scorn. — With scorn, Sir, let us reject it; that, so all we have suffer'd before, to all the accumulated insults that were ever heap'd on a nation, a worse dishonour may not be added, and that dishonour fall upon the parliament. And therefore I heartily give my negative to this question.

The speech made by T. Manlius Torquatus was to this effect.

Mr President, Colonel Mordaunt

I Have upon many occasions observ'd, that by the art of ministers, or by the art of those who would be ministers, a popular cry has been raised, by which the giddy multitude have been, like children, led in a leading-string, and induc'd to favour or join with those who first raised the clamour, though the end they were driving at, appear'd to be directly contrary to the cry they had raised. In a late reign, a clamour was raised among the people, *That the church was in danger.* This cry was first begun by those who were not, but had a strong mind to be ministers; and it was echoed back by the people from all corners of the kingdom. Those who put the people into this general fright, got their aim; they got themselves made ministers. And they endeavour'd to support themselves in power, by the same means by which they had got it; During their administration, the popular cry continued to be, *The Church was in danger;* and yet many are mistaken, if they were not, during the whole time of their administration, secretly driving at an end, which would have brought the church into real danger.

Upon the present occasion, I observe, that the general cry raised among the people is, *Our trade is in danger.* I do not know, Sir, by whom this cry has

been raised; but, I am sure, it has not been raised by our ministers: and if it has been raised by those who are for involving the nation in war, it must be allowed, that the end they are pursuing is absolutely inconsistent with the cry they have raised; for war will certainly bring our trade into real danger. At present, I cannot think our trade in any real danger; and I have good reason for thinking so; because, in a debate of twelve hours, I observed there was but one merchant that spoke against this treaty; and now I observe, that one of our greatest merchants, one who ought to have as great a concern for trade as any member of our club, is sitting in a place from whence he cannot speak.

Mr Alderman Willmott
P. Virgilius Tappulus *thinking himself pointed at by the conclusion of this speech, removed from where he was; and after taking his seat at the table, which, by the rules of our club, every member must do before he can speak, he stood up and spoke in substance as follows, viz.*

Mr President,

MY reason for not speaking upon this question, was not, because I do not think our trade in danger; on the contrary, I think it will be absolutely sacrificed, if we approve of this convention: but the affair has been so fully, and so well spoke to by other members; the fatal consequences of our agreeing to give a sanction to this preliminary, have been set in so clear a light, and so little said in its favour, that I thought there was no necessity for my giving you any trouble upon this occasion.

Now I am called upon, Sir, I must observe, that our trade is at present, I think, in the most imminent danger. A just and a well-conducted war can never bring our trade into any danger: but, if we shew that we dare not resent any injury that may be done to our trade; if we allow our merchants to be plunder'd, and our seamen murder'd and tortur'd with impunity, our trade will not only be in danger, but must be undone. To this I must add, Sir, that, with regard to the treaty now under our consideration,

ration, the honour of the nation is as much concerned as its trade; and therefore, it astonishes me to hear the Hon. Gent. that spoks last, or any Gentleman of his character, making light of such a subject: for, if the Gentlemen of our army should make themselves merry with the honour of their country, or should join in sacrificing it, by giving a parliamentary sanction to an infamous treaty of peace, I am sure they would be at least as blameable as those merchants who should make a joke of, or join in sacrificing its navigation and commerce.

Sir William Wyndham
I shall conclude this subject with giving you a short speech, that was made by M. Furius Camillus. He had before spoke in the debate, as he always does, with great eloquence and strength of reason; but, after the debate was, in a manner, ended, he rose up and made a short, but emphatick and moving speech, the purport of which was thus:

Mr President,

I Do not rise up after so long a debate, to give you again my sentiments upon the convention, which we are now, it seems, to approve of; but to express my great concern at what I have seen happen. In all the variety of company I have kept, I have never heard a single person without doors pretend to justify this convention; and when the sentiments of particulars were such, I did not expect, when they were met together in a body, to see a majority vote for it. This must be owing to one of these two causes: either Gentlemen were convinced by the arguments made use of in this house, for justifying this convention, or there are other methods of convincing besides reason. I am not at liberty to suppose it the latter, therefore I must suppose it the former. But this, Sir, is to me a very melancholy consideration; for tho' I have attended with the utmost regard to all that has been said upon this convention, I have not heard a single argument in its favour, that has had the least weight with me. This, I say, Sir, is a very melancholy consideration to me, since it makes me conclude, that I have

not common sense, because I find I cannot be convinced by the strength of common reason; and therefore I think myself very unfit to do my duty in this house. While I sit here, I am resolved never to be directed by any thing but reason; and, as I must now conclude, that I do not understand reason when I hear it, I must think myself incapable of doing my duty in this house: therefore I am resolved to retire to the country, and there perform my duty as far as I am able, by acting in conformity to the laws, and in obedience to the government.

However, I must beg Gentlemen to consider the consequences of the vote they are now going to give. This address is intended to convince mankind, that the treaty now under our consideration, is a reasonable and an honourable treaty for this nation; but, if a majority of 28, in such a full house, should fail of that success, if the people should not implicitly resign their reason to a vote of this house, what will be the consequence? Will not the parliament lose its authority? will it not be thought that, even in parliament, we are governed by a faction? And what the consequences of this may be, I leave to those Gentlemen to consider, who are now to give their vote for this address. For my own part, I will trouble you no more; but, with these my last words, I sincerely pray to Almighty God, who has so often wonderfully protected these kingdoms, that he will graciously continue his protection over them, by preserving us from that impending danger which threatens the nation from without, and likewise from that impending danger which threatens our constitution from within.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both houses of parliament, on Thursday the 15th of November, 1739.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE present posture of our affairs has obliged me to call you together, at this time, sooner than has been usual of late years, that I may have the immediate advice and assistance of my parliament at this

his critical and important conjuncture. I have, in all my proceedings with the court of Spain, acted agreeably to the sense of both houses of parliament; and therefore I can make no doubt, but I shall meet with ready and vigorous support in this just and necessary war, which the repeated injuries, and violences committed by that nation upon the navigation and commerce of these kingdoms, and their obstinacy, and notorious violation of the most solemn engagements, have rendered unavoidable.

I have augmented my forces by sea and land, pursuant to the power given me by parliament; which I have done with all the moderation, that the security and defence of my dominions, the protection of our trade, and the necessary means of distressing and annoying our enemies in the most sensible parts, would admit: But as these services will be various and extensive, they must inevitably be attended with great expences, and some inconveniencies; which, I assure myself, will be sustained with satisfaction and cheerfulness, in pursuing such measures, as the honour and interest of my crown and kingdoms, and the general resentment of an injured and provoked nation, have called upon me to undertake.

Gentlemen of the house of Commons,

I have ordered the proper officers to lay before you estimates for the service of the ensuing year, and likewise accounts of the extraordinary expences that have been made this year, in pursuance of the power given me by parliament. And as in the prosecution of this war, a number of soldiers, to serve on board the fleet, may be requisite; I have judged it proper, that a body of marines should be raised, and have directed the estimates for this purpose to be likewise prepared, and laid before you: And I cannot doubt, from your known affection to my person and government, and your zeal for the safety, prosperity, and glory of these kingdoms, but you will grant me such effectual supplies, and with such dispatch, as may forward, and give spirit to our preparations, and enable me to carry on the war with vigour.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The heats and animosities, which, with the greatest industry, have been fomented throughout the kingdom, have, I am a-

fraid, been one of the chief encouragements to the court of Spain, to hold such a conduct towards us, as to make it necessary to have recourse to arms; and the unhappy divisions amongst my subjects, are the only hopes of the enemies to my government: But whatever views and projects they may form upon this rupture, and what advantages former Spain may vainly promise itself from any circumstances in the present situation of affairs; it is in your power, by the blessing of God, to defeat the one, and disappoint the other. Union among all those, who have nothing at heart but the true interest of G. Britain, and a becoming zeal in the defence of my kingdoms, and in the support of the common cause of our country, with as general a concurrence in carrying on the war, as there has appeared for engaging in it, will make the court of Spain repent the wrongs they have done us; and convince those, who mean the subversion of the present establishment, that this nation is determined, and able, both to vindicate their injured honour, and to defend themselves against all our open and secret enemies, both at home and abroad.

The humble Address of the Right Hon. the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in parliament assembled. Die Jovis, 15. Novembris.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our sincere and humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

The great regard which your Majesty hath expressed for the sense of both houses of parliament, in your proceedings with the court of Spain, is a continuance of that royal goodness, and concern for the true interests of your people, which we have so often experienced; and your Majesty's desire to have the advice and assistance of your parliament, as early as possible, in this important conjuncture, is a fresh proof of your real confidence in your faithful subjects.

The justice and necessity of the war, which your Majesty has been pleased to declare against Spain, must be as demon-

strable

frable to all the world, as the violent and intolerable methods practis'd by that nation, to interrupt and distress the navigation and commerce of these kingdoms, are notorious: and it is the highest aggravation of this offensive and inexcusable conduct, that it has been obstinately pursued, in breach of the most solemn engagements, and in defiance of the highest obligations of friendship and good offices. But since G. Britain has been thus unavoidably called forth to arms, we esteem it our peculiar felicity, that we have a Prince upon the throne who, with paternal tenderness, joins in the just resentment of an injured nation; and whose magnanimity and steadiness are equal to the glorious cause in which he is engaged.

On this occasion, the unfeigned tender of our lives and fortunes is no more than is due to your Majesty, and our country; and we do from the bottom of our hearts give your Majesty the strongest assurances, that we will zealously concur in all such measures, as may forward your preparations, and enable you to carry on the war with that spirit and vigour, which truly become the British name.

Your Majesty's goodness in acquainting us from the throne, that you have augmented your forces by sea and land, pursuant to the power given you by parliament, with all the moderation that was consistent with those desirable ends, which you, in your royal wisdom, have pointed out to us, is an instance of your Majesty's gracious disposition to avoid bringing any unnecessary burdens upon your people: and tho' we cannot flatter ourselves, that a state of war will not be attended with great expences and some inconveniencies; yet when it is undertaken, not to gratify the views of restless ambition, but to assert and maintain the honour and just rights of your Majesty's crown and kingdoms, we doubt not, but those powerful motives will induce all your subjects to undergo with cheerfulness, whatever is necessary in the prosecution of it.

It gives us an inexpressible concern, that there should be any occasion for your Majesty to repeat your gracious admonitions against those heats and animosities, which have been fomented throughout the

kingdom. As we cannot but most justly lament the unhappy divisions thereby occasioned, so nothing shall be wanting on our part to heal them, by promoting that good harmony and unanimity, which are so necessary at this juncture: And we trust in God, that any hopes or views formed by our enemies upon such circumstances, will be found utterly vain and groundless; since all your Majesty's subjects may be convinced, that the security of our religion and liberties, and the safety and prosperity of those kingdoms do entirely depend on the preservation of your sacred person and government, and of the Protestant succession in your royal house.

In this common cause, interest, as well as duty, will make us unite; and we do, with the greatest zeal and firmness, assure your Majesty, that we are determin'd, at the hazard of all that is dear to us, to support it against all your enemies, both at home and abroad; imploring the divine providence to give success to your arms, and make them the happy means of procuring a safe and honourable peace.

His Majesty's most gracious Answer.

My Lords,

I thank you for this address, so full of duty and affection to me, and of reasonable assurances of your vigorous support. The satisfaction you express in the measures I have taken, is very agreeable to me; and you may depend on my endeavours to carry on the war in such a manner as may best answer the necessary ends propos'd by it, and the just expectations of my people.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR, Dalkeith, O^r. 16.

THE epigram on the calm sea, [p. 421.] occasioned the under-

EPIGRAM on a STORM, adapted to the present times.

AS angry rage the fairest face deforms,
Excites our pity as it does our scorn.
So on the raging main B——a's fleet
Makes Spain to tremble, and her sons to mourn:
But next revolving war, both void of care,
The fleet's a scarecrow, and well pleas'd
the fair. Google

THE SCOTS MAGAZINE,



NOVEMBER, 1739.

To be continued every Month. Price Sixpence each.

CONTAINING,

WEEKLY Essays. The uncertainty of History; Model for a new Parliament-house; The general desire for a Place-bill; In what cases a secession from Parliament may be justified; The Royal Favour engrossed by one man; Danger of Placemen in parliament; An answer to the two last; Mr *Stonycastle's* answer to *Philomusus*, upon his asking advice, whether he should commence author?

LETTERS to the Author. A proposal for making the payment of accounts annual; A young Lady's soliloquy upon the prospect of her approaching death; An answer to the

discourse on Predestination, &c.

POETICAL Essays. Winter; A trip to Vaux-hall; On Lyra; A touch of the times, &c.

The COMMONS Address.
A cure for the bite of a MAD DOG.
Mr *Chapman's* calculation of the two ensuing ECLIPSES.

DOMESTICK History. Deaths, preferments, &c.

FOREIGN History. Articles of the intended league between the Porte and some Polish Lords; Violent proceedings of Cardinal Alberoni at San Marino, &c.

Register of BOOKS.

EDINBURGH: Printed by W. SANDS, A. BRYMER, A. MURRAY and J. COCHRAN. Sold by the Bookfellers in Town and Country, and at the Printing-house in *Burnet's* Close. MDCCLXXXIX.

Whom may be had the *Magazines* for the preceding months, and the *Appendix* for *October*.

C O N T E N T S.

<p>Uncertainty of history p. 547 <i>Answer to Philomusus, upon his asking advice, whether he should commence author?</i> 550 <i>Model for a new parliament-house</i> 551 <i>The general desire for a place-bill</i> 554 <i>Instructions to the members for Sarum</i> 556 <i>— to the member for Dundee, &c. ib.</i> <i>In what cases an absence from parliament may be justified</i> 557 <i>Answer to an essay on predestination</i> 560 <i>A philosophy on the approach of death</i> 564 <i>Odes translated from Anacreon</i> 566 <i>Epitaph on an old woman who kept a potter's shop</i> 567 <i>Winter, an epistle</i> ib. <i>To melancholy</i> 568 <i>A trip to Vaux-hall</i> 569 <i>Epigram on Lira</i> 570 <i>A touch of the times</i> ib.</p>	<p><i>Bath-waters</i> p. 571 <i>Cure for the bite of a mad dog</i> ib. <i>The Commons address</i> ib. <i>His Majesty's answer</i> 571 <i>A calculation of the two ensuing years</i> ib. <i>A letter on periodical payments</i> 571 <i>The royal favour engrossed by one man</i> 571 <i>Danger of placemen in parliament</i> 571 <i>The doctrines of the Craftsman and Common sense consider'd</i> 571 <i>Substance of the address of both houses</i> 571 <i>His Majesty's answer</i> ib. <i>British ships taken by the Spaniards</i> 571 <i>Stocks, marriages, births, deaths</i> 571 <i>Preferments</i> 571 <i>Mortality-bill</i> 571 <i>Articles of the intended league between the Porte and some Polish Lords</i> ib. <i>C. Alberoni's proceedings at S. Marino;</i> 571 <i>Register of books</i> 571</p>
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JUST PUBLISH'D,

The first and second Volumes, in OZARVO, of

THE ROMAN HISTORY, from the Foundation of Rome, to the Battle of *Actium*; that is, to the End of the Commonwealth. By Mr ROLLIN, late Principal of the University of Paris, Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Fellow of the Royal Academy of *Inscriptions and Belles Lettres*. Translated from the *French*.

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The SCOTS Magazine.

NOVEMBER 1739.

CRAFTSMAN, Nov. 10.

Uncertainty of HISTORY.

I Have been just reading a little book, written in *French*, and intitled, *Dissertation sur l'incertitude des cinq premiers siècles de l'Histoire Romaine*, which hath furnished me with some materials for this day's paper.

The design of this treatise is to shew, according to its title, that we cannot depend upon the truth of the *Roman history*, for the *first five centuries*; and I think he hath done it pretty well, in the following manner.

After having made some remarks upon the obscurity of the origin and first ages of all nations in general, he proceeds upon his subject of the *Roman history* in particular, which he thinks defective chiefly upon two accounts.

First he quotes the authority of *Cicero*; who says, that the history of *Rome*, during that time, consisted of nothing but a collection of *annals*; for which reason, and in order to preserve the memory of all publick occurrences, it was the business of the *Pontifex Maximus* to record the events of every year. This custom was observed from the foundation of *Rome* to the pontificate of *P. Mucius*. They were written upon a white board, and publickly hung up at the *Pontiff's* door, for the information and judgment of the people; which were called the *Pontifical* or *Grand Annals*. But my author is of opinion, and gives his reasons for it, that *these memoirs* were consumed by the general conflagration of *Rome*, by *Vennus* the *Gaul*, and afterwards very imperfectly continued.— Upon this I must beg leave to make a few observations.

The first ages of our own history are

equally dark, with those of the *Romans*, and consist chiefly of *Monkish* annals, written in *Popish* times, which are manifestly partial to *their own religion* and orders; I would humbly propose, that for the sake of future times, our *present Most Reverend Pontiff*, and his successors for ever, should be desired and authorised by parliament to take a strict account, from year to year, of all publick transactions, and exhibit them to the open view of the people at his palace-gates. If such a custom had prevailed from the beginning of our government, and the *Pontifical Annals* had been religiously preserved in some secure place, what an enlightenment would it have given to our history? We should not then have had so many fruitless and endless disputes about the *original form* and *constitution of our government*. But since what is past cannot be remedied, we ought to take the best care in our power for the future. Let us suppose, for instance, that if *all our late treaties*, and particularly the *last ever-memorable CONVENTION* had been stuck up at *Lambeth*, before they were signed and ratified, for the inspection and judgment of the *people*; would it not have been of some use to the publick, at present, as well as for the information of future ages? though I think it impossible that any conflagration, or other injuries of time, will be ever able to erase them from the knowledge of posterity.

The second reason of the *same author* for the *uncertainty of the Roman history*, when the *Pontifical Annals* were destroyed, or lost, is, that *family memoirs* were substituted in their stead, upon which there is much less dependence than on the other; for as vanity tempted every man to record all the *great and glorious actions*

actions of his family, so it is equally natural to suppose that *their bad actions* were either totally concealed, or palliated.—Thus, if a certain *Honourable Gentleman*, who hath long valued himself upon a descent of *seventeen generations*, should ever think fit to compile any annals of his family, I make a great doubt whether he will not slip over his relation, the *JESUIT*, who was engaged in a plot to poison *Q. Elizabeth* and the *Earl of Essex*; but the *old Knight of Bath*, from whom he descended, and the wise negotiations of his *brother* abroad, as well as *his own righteous management* at home, would certainly be transmitted to posterity in the strongest and most impartial light.

There is likewise great reason, and even authority, to believe that many an *upstart*, or *creature of fortune*, whose name happened to resemble that of any *ancient Roman*, distinguished in history for his valour, wisdom, or justice, derived his pedigree from the *same family*, tho' he had not a drop of their blood in his veins, and perhaps had his name given him only for a jest, or to gratify the pride of an obscure parent; just as we give the name of *Pompey* and *Cæsar* to poor *niggers*, and even to *dogs*. This puts me in mind of an itinerant painter, named *Jull*, who told me that it was only a contraction of *Julius*, and that he had a very good family-account that his ancestor was a by-blow of *Julius Cæsar*, when he landed in *Kent*.

Livy [lib. 8. cap. 40.] gives us his opinion, that nothing hath contributed to corrupt the *Roman history* so much as *funeral orations*, and the flattering inscriptions upon *images*; every family endeavouring fallaciously to wrest the glory of all great men to themselves. Hence, *says he*, it comes to pass, that not only the behaviour of *particular persons*, but even the *publick records*, are confounded and perplexed, nor have we any writer of those times left, upon whose authority we can safely depend.

It is not only *Livy*, who makes this complaint; for *Cicero* [in *Brut. c. 16.*] does the same in much fuller and stronger terms. These *funeral orations*, *says*

he, have contributed a good deal to the falsification of our history: for many things written in them were never transacted; *fictional* *fictional consuls*, and *fictional* *fictional consuls*, by which persons of mean birth to have sprung from some of the *families*, only because they bear the same, or a similar name, as if I, *says Cicero*, should derive digree from that *Marcus Tullius* *trician*, who was *Consul* ten years before the expulsion of *Kings*; or, I should presume to compare myself to a man as *Cicero*, just as if I should be vain enough to deduce my origin in a direct line from *Roland de Ardenne*, who came over hither with *William the Conqueror*.—But to return.

What a blessing is it to this age, and the present age, that we have a *funeral orator*, who hath so good regard for his own character, and so great regard for his holy function, that he will not stoop to play the sycophant, or be-diminish the *Majesty* itself, either living or dead. In any sordid views of preferment, the contrary, it must be owing to an extreme modesty and self-denial, that he hath not yet receiv'd the reward which is so justly due to his extraordinary merit. But if the *publick* should ever prevail upon him to accept of the *British Pontificate*, in violation of his own natural disposition, we may expect to see him vie with his *predecessors*, without any fear of coming to the judgment of the *people*; his *annals* would be certainly drawn up not only with the greatest judgment and accuracy, but likewise with the most regard to *truth*, and without either *flattery* or *flattery*. Happy and glorious will *those persons* be, whose characters shall become the subject of a panegyrick, which is of itself the highest authority, and will consecrate their memories to all future generations. Woe be to those, (whether *Papists*, *Protestants*, *Whigs* or *Tories*, *Clergy* or *Laymen*, of the *Court* or the *Country* party) whose conduct and actions do not stand the test of the nicest examination! For, if they should be found

cern'd in bribery and corruption, selling of offices, embezzling the publick purse, screening of notorious criminals, any such unwarrantable practices; they would be sure of being publickly anatiz'd in their life-time, and de-r'd down to posterity in their true turns.

This custom is justified by the pra-e of all wise nations, both ancient and modern. In *China*, though an ar-ary kingdom, *publick Censors* are ap-nted to examine the conduct of the *peror*, and to admonish him when y see occasion. The *Egyptians* had method of trying their *Kings*, after y were dead, and before they were yw'd an honourable funeral. It is ll known, that the *Grecian orators* and *poets* took very great liberties, both their speeches and plays, with the duct of *men in the highest power*, hich were hardly ever resentled by d *men*, and very seldom by the *worst*. he behaviour of *Timoleon* towards a *icious* and *envious calumniator* is too markable to be omitted here. In-nd of revenging himself upon the an, which was absolutely in his power, e declar'd in a transport of joy, "That he Gods had at last granted him the eatest favour they could have con-er'd upon him; since it had been the antant subject of his prayers, that the *bracians* might enjoy so *perfect a state of liberty*, that every man amongst them might speak freely, and with impunity, whatever he thought of another." The *Saturnalian feasts* of ancient *Rome* are likewise generally understood, when e-ery *slave* was at liberty to reproach his *master* publickly with his faults: and I am inform'd, that even in modern *Rome*, whenever a *saint* is to be made, the *devil* is allowed counsil to give rea-sons against his canonization. It may be said, perhaps, that the *devil* hath not fair play, upon these occasions, a *sbam advocate* being set up for him, who is oblig'd to plead booty; but I am sure he cannot have more reason to complain, than our *poor merchants* have against the proceedings of those incarnate devils, the *Spaniards*, in their mock-courts of justice.

Is it not therefore reasonable that we, who value ourselves so much upon being the *freest nation* that ever existed upon the face of the earth, should have the same liberty of examining the conduct of our *superiors*, and of censuring them too, when they deserve it? Indeed, the *liberty of the press*, which we enjoy at present in some degree, (and I hope no unhallow'd hand will ever pre-sume to abridge it any farther) hath partly answer'd the same ends. But I should be glad to see such a *popular judicature* erected by authority, for the more solemn and exemplary *punishment of evil-doers*, and the *praise of those who do well*.

If *Lambeth* should be thought too pri-vate a place for such a glorious institu-tion, I would humbly propose that ta-bles of all publick transactions may be hung up at *Westminster-ball gate*, *Temple-bar*, and the *Royal Exchange*; which would, no doubt, tend very much to the satisfaction of the people, and prove of signal advantage to the nation.

UNIVERSAL SPECTATOR, Nov. 17.

S I R, Oxford, Nov. 2.

IT is from a sincere belief that your writings are calculated for general instruction, that I am induced to become your correspondent, and desire your advice in an affair which I think of some concern to me. However trifling my case may at first seem to a great part of your readers, it is worthy some consideration: therefore I frankly desire you would publish it with your impartial sentiments on the request I make; for I am thoroughly satisfy'd it is the case of more young Gentlemen than myself.

From the date of the letter you see it comes from the seat of the Muses; you cannot therefore wonder if *poetry* is the subject of it. In short, Mr *Stonecastle*, I am a young fellow of a good estate, who am said to have a just knowledge of the *classic authors*, and not an indif-ferent taste for all kinds of poetry. With such a reputation you may easily ima-gine that I have produced some poeti-cal performances of my own. I confess I have; and they have receiv'd un-

common approbation from my acquaintance. Encouraged by their applause, I have pursued these amusing studies, till I have induced myself to think their commendations are not the genteel effects of mere *complaisance*: I begin to flatter myself there must be something of *genius* in my compositions; and from this surmise I have entertained an ambition to commence *author*, and submit them to the censure of the publick.

But, Mr *Stoncastle*, before I had advanced beyond the power of retreating, I thought it necessary to make my appeal to you; and I desire therefore your most impartial advice, whether with reason you could allow me to indulge this poetical ambition, or whether you think it absolutely necessary to give up all thoughts about it? That you may form a judgment of my genius, I have here sent you some lines, which I think at least equal to any I have wrote. The verses and subject are as follow.

To *CHLOE*, on her looking at me.

When late on me your eyes did gaze,
There darted from those orbs such
rays,

Which, like fierce lightning, to my heart
Did death without a wound impart:

O! who cou'd such a wound endure?

Which only you yourself cou'd cure:

And you, alas! too proudly coy,

Have triumph when you can destroy.

Hence, cruel *Chloe*, will I mean

On my sad monumental stone,

That my hapless death was given

By the adverse stroke of heaven:

Hence, for all other mortals care,

That they may such a fate beware,

I'll bid them such a death to fly,

To ban the pow'r of *Chloe's* eye.

You have, Sir, nothing now remaining but to pass sentence; from which, whatever it shall be, I will make no appeal, but remain

Your humble servant and reader,

PHILOMUSAS.

As it is the most difficult province to give an impartial opinion in such a case as *Philomusus* has stated his to be, I am glad to hear him profess that he does

not expect to be flatter'd. He has represented himself as a young Gentleman of a good estate, commended for his taste in polite learning, and with a strong ambition of commencing a *publick author*. This has been the ambition of more men of fortune than *Philomusus*, who have receiv'd such commendations from their friends, that have inspired them with resolutions of appearing in print, though they have afterwards repented the folly. Nothing is more common than for a young Gentleman of a poetical turn to shew some of his little essays to his friends; and nothing less common than for them to behave with sincerity. They are indeed tempted to such conduct from the observations they may have made on mankind; for howsoever some persons may desire an ingenious plain dealing, they cannot bear it if it is contrary to the opinion they desire to have given; and this bias to self-opinion is in no instance more strong than in poetical productions. There is an admirable scene in *Moliere's Misanthrope*, where all the humour of asking advice on writing, and all the just sentiments on such behaviour, are judiciously mix'd together: As the giving it my readers may prove entertaining to them, and at the same time instructive to my correspondent and all those in his situation, I shall here insert such a part of it as I think most necessary.

MOLIERE's Misanthrope. Act 1. Scene 2.

Orontes, a Nobleman; *Alceste*, a plain-dealer; *Philintes*, a man of complaisance.

Oront. [to *Alceste*.] Sir, because I know you to be a person of extraordinary judgment, as a prologue to our intimacy, I come to show you a song that I writ the other day, and take your opinion whether I shall expose it to the publick or not.

Alc. Sir, you must excuse me; I'm the worst quality'd in the world to determine you.

Or. Why?

Alc. Why, I have the infirmity of being a little more sincere upon such than I should.

Or. That's just what I would have ; and I should be very sorry, if, when I expose myself, in order to have the satisfaction of your judgment without disguise, you should use me so ill as to betray me, or conceal any thing whatever.

Alc. Why, then, Sir, upon these terms proceed if you please.

Or. Hem—*Hope*—'Tis a song as I said—Hem! Hem!—*Hope*—You must know that there is a Lady that had flatter'd my passion with some hope.—*Hope*—They are not indeed your lofty heroicks—They are soft, tender, languishing, and all that.

Alc. —Well, we shall see.

Or. *Hope*— I don't know whether you'll think the stile correct and easy enough, or the choice of the words may please you ; but—

Alc. Well, we shall see, Sir.

Or. Besides, I vow and protest they were made in a quarter of an hour.

Alc. Let's hear—the time signifies nothing.

Or. [*reads.*]
*'Hope for a while 'tis true relieves,
 And bulls asleep our pain ;
 But Phyllis sads the joy it gives,
 When nothing follows in its train.*

Phil. Admirable! 'Gad I am charm'd already.

Alc. The devil you are. [*Aside.*]

Or. [*again.*]
*If I eternally must wait,
 My zeal t' extremes will fly ;
 Nor shall your cares prevent my fate,
 But I'll for refuge die :
 To hope for ever, charming fair,
 What is't but ever to despair ?*

Phil. How gallant the turn !

Alc. Curse the doggrel. [*Aside.*]

Phil. I never saw prettier verses in my life.

Or. O, dear Sir, you flatter me.—But pray your opinion, Sir.—You remember the articles.—Be sincere.

Alc. Sir, this is always a nice affair ; every body loves to be flatter'd on the subject of *wis.* But I'll tell you what was once my answer to a certain person that shall be nameless. When he shew'd me some verses of his, I told him, that

a fine Gentleman should have a very strict guard over his inclination to be writing ; that the temptation of shining as an author was so very powerful, that the greatest resolution was necessary to bridle it ; and that the fondness of shewing their works, makes people sometimes act very ridiculous parts.

Or. Do you mean by this that I am to blame for—

Alc. Pardon me, Sir—I don't say so—But I told him that to write ill—a man had as good be knock'd o' th' head ; there needs no other weakness to decry him.

COMMON SENSE N^o 148.

Model for a new Parliament-house.

SEVERAL Gentlemen, who have had the honour to represent their country in parliament, observing that their house was become very crazy, thought proper to move for an humble address to be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleas'd to give orders for pulling down this old house, before it did any mischief, and for erecting a new one in its place.

If I am not much mistaken, the motion that was made last sessions was the second, if not the third, that hath been made to that purpose ; and yet we see no preparations yet making for beginning the work.

The world imputes it to a certain person in power, that orders have not been given according to his Majesty's most gracious answer, (to the strict observance of which, a person in his station ought to pay the most exact regard) ; and it hath made the world very inquisitive to find out, what it is that hath made him so fond of this old house ; for they cannot persuade themselves that his backwardness in complying with this address of the Commons, proceeds from an over frugality of the publick money, that having never been imputed to him as one of his sins.

Some people have a notion, that he is grown superstitious, and that he is possess'd with a strange fancy, that building a new house would be pulling an old

house over his own head. If he should resolve to let it stand at all events, we must tell him, that he places his own safety in a circumstance which other people look upon as dangerous: for many are so strongly possess'd with an opinion that the house is rotten, that the court of Requests and places adjacent have been of late deserted by persons who formerly were the most inquisitive and anxious about publick affairs, as if they were apprehensive of being buried under its ruins; and, among other reasons for the late secession, I heard one of the Gentlemen of that number declare, that he did not think it safe to sit there longer.

As to those who stood their ground upon that occasion, (however they may counterfeit the brave) to my knowledge some of them are frighten'd out of their wits about the decay of this old house.

In *Oliver Cromwell's* time it was observed, that the house was become rotten; and tho' no body ever called his courage in question, he was very apprehensive of some mischievous consequences from it. It is true, he did not order a new house to be built; but he went himself and turned the members out of the old house, and put a bill upon the door, to let it; but it had such a bad reputation, that no body would venture to take it.

As I make no doubt but this desirable work will be set on foot, as soon as the present sessions of parliament shall be ended, I shall, with humble submission, therefore, to better judgments, take the liberty of offering some instructions, which I think very proper to be given to the architect, that the building may be rendered in all respects, not only beautiful, but safe and commodious for the purpose for which it is designed.

In the first place, I would not have the model taken either from *France, Spain, or Italy*; which nations, with all their delicate taste, and improvement in architecture, have, in my opinion, quite destroyed the idea of the ancient senate-houses, not leaving so much as the form. It is therefore to be hoped, that the construction of this new house will be

entirely in the ancient *Gothic* stile, after one of those excellent plans left us by our *Saxon* ancestors.

We read that, in ancient times, the temple of *Virtue*, and the temple of *Honour*, were built contiguous to each other; and were so contriv'd, that there was no passage into the temple of *Honour* without going thro' the temple of *Virtue*. I should recommend it to the architect to copy this hint, and raise a temple to *Virtue* at the same time with this new house, and to take particular care that there may be no possibility of getting into the last without passing thro' the first.

I am sensible that a certain person in power, and all his adherents, will stand up as one man against this part of my plan; having already made one of their own, for building it close to the Treasury, that no person may be able to find a way into it, but thro' the Treasury. I hope this scheme will never take place: on the contrary, I should be for having it built at a greater distance from that spot of ground than the old house, for reasons which I need not enumerate, the publick seeming already to be very well apprised of them.

I should be for carrying this matter a little further, and having a particular order given to the architect, that there shall not be so much as a window in this new house with a prospect towards the Treasury; lest the members, by looking too earnestly towards that place, may have their attention diverted from the consideration of what was doing in the house.

I would propose, that the seats for the members should be divided into stalls, after the manner of our cathedrals.

That the name of each member be written over his stall, with that of the county, town, or borough for which he serves.

As to the placemen, their stalls may be distinguished by the denominations of their employments, not forgetting their respective salaries; which I would have engraved in letters of brass, to be read by the whole nation; that being a material point.

As I bar all jests upon so serious a subject, I think fit to premise, that when the employment of any member is read, it shall not be called the place for which he serves.

What I propose by this improvement is, that it may be seen, by the empty stalls, what particular members are absent; also, who attends upon national, and who upon ministerial points.

If any member should affront the house, by asserting a falsehood, his stall may be black'd.

It hath been complained of as a great fault in the old house, that it hath a back-door into the Exchequer. I would have the architect hanged in the court of Requests, if there should be any such thing in this new house. Back-doors, and by-ways are dangerous things. Corruption may creep in at a very little hole.

Nothing encourages placemen to play the knave so much as back-doors; and a back-door into the Exchequer must be more dangerous than any other back-door; the Exchequer may, by this means, be turned into a kind of mint, and become a sanctuary for knaves and bankrupts.

If (for example) a member, not quite corrupted, should have some scruples about acting against his country, the man in power might naturally tell him, there was no danger, for he could convey him thro' his back-door, and secure him in the Exchequer; and I have been informed, that the excise projector would never have ventured upon that pernicious scheme, were it not that he had a back-door into the Exchequer, where he made his retreat every night, like a fox to his hole.

If there are any persons that expect to creep into the house by a back-door, they will cry out against this part of my proposal, as an absurdity; but I will appeal to all good critics in architecture, and politics, whether it is not *secundum artem*.

I object, likewise, against a whispering-gallery, which I look upon as a scandalous contrivance for a senate-house, and which naturally leads me to give a caution against Solomon's porch. When

this shall be pulled down, I hope no such profane apartment will be made in the new house, where (according to the scandalous chronicle) most corrupt bargains have, in former reigns, been made in the middle of a debate.

When it is finished, it will be highly necessary that a proper officer, with a competent salary, and also a reasonable allowance for a constant supply of new brooms, be appointed to sweep it clean; for want of which in the old house, it hath sometimes proved a harbour for vermin.

Before I have done, I must give a few instructions concerning the Speaker's chair; which, I think, ought to be placed upon a little eminence, that it may appear to maintain a certain superiority over the other seats; otherwise, if some bulky, puffed-up member should over-top the Speaker, it may look as if he dictated to the chair: an indecent and a shocking sight, which, I think, by a proper figure, may be called turning the house upon its head.

I would have the chair stand upon an exact *equilibre*, that the Speaker may be able to hear both sides. I should even wish that, in the choice of a Speaker, some regard might be had to his person; for, as a crooked Speaker might bend the chair on one side, I would have none but a straight man elected to that honour: at worst, if he should bend a little out of the chair, he should feel himself quite another thing, and appear an erect man in it.

If any Speaker should hereafter be observed to lean in his seat, the house may, by an order, direct some good artist to contrive a machine to peg him up tight in the chair, like a child in a go-cart, and so keep him straight whether he will or not.

I hope a particular command will be given the architect, not to imitate the work lately done in the courts below, by erecting blinds, which look like screens. A screen would be such a detestable thing in an edifice of this kind, that if any thing like it should be seen in this new house, it ought to be pulled down to the ground again the minute it is finished.

I hope the new chair will be strong, plain, and beautiful, without gilding, or any other tawdry decoration, which may make it look like a court piece of furniture.

I would have it made of right *English oak*, if possible, of true *heart of oak*; that it may always preserve its strength, and look as fresh as the first day.

I have taken all these pains upon a full persuasion, that this old house, which is become so crazy, that timorous people are afraid of coming near it, will, in a short time, be pulled down, and another more to the taste of the best judges be built in its place.

As to the great man who is so fond of this old house, if he flatters himself, that he shall be able to make it stand for ever, he is very much mistaken; for I have been informed, by very good artists who have surveyed it, that the foundation begins to give way already.

If he pretends to keep it up by rotten props and supporters, it will cost a great deal of money, and won't answer the purpose; on the contrary, it may tumble about his ears: which will have this effect, that all his —— will forsake him; for placemen and rats always run away from a falling house.

CRAFTSMAN, N^o 699.

The General Desire of the Nation for a PLACE-BILL.

IF the *Gentlemen mercenaries of the quill* have any grains of modesty left, they cannot help blushing at their long-continued abuses of our *merchants*, and apologies for the *Spaniards*. His Majesty's *declaration of war*, and his *last speech to his parliament*, with the *general voice of the people*, both within doors and without, are full confutations of them. How will they now justify all their unnatural arguments for the *Spaniards searching our ships*? His Majesty declares against them; the *nation* declares against them; and *both houses of parliament* have declar'd against them, in their late joint address to the throne, that his Majesty would be pleased not to enter into any treaty with the crown of

Spain, unless the latter will absolutely renounce all pretensions to a right of *searching our ships on the high seas*, as a preliminary and fundamental article. This address was presented to his Majesty by the greatest number of *Lords and Commons* that was ever known on the like occasion: when his Majesty was again pleas'd to assure them, that he would exert his utmost care and endeavours for the security of their navigation and commerce.

What foundation therefore is there for so many complaints of our *distinctions and divisions*? I can see no other distinction at present amongst us, as a *Noble Lord* lately observ'd, than between the *whole nation* and a *few selfish men*, considerable only for their *power*, who have long us'd their utmost endeavours to obstruct the so much desir'd *concision of parties*, and pursued their own selfish interest by fomenting *partial divisions and animosities*, instead of encouraging the ancient spirit, and employing the strength of the nation against our *foreign enemies*. As to that part of his Majesty's *speech*, which was at first thought to carry a reflection against the majority of the nation, we are assur'd by a *very great authority*, that it was not intended as a *reproach*, but only a *paternal exhortation to unity and concord*; that is, to such a coalition as the *mercenary scribblers* have taken so much infamous pains to ridicule and explode.

What hath already contributed very much to this desirable end, is his Majesty's late vigorous measures against *Spain*; and nothing else seems to be wanting to compleat it, than a steady prosecution of so just a war, till we have obtained ample reparation for the losses of our *merchants*, as well as security for our commerce abroad; and an act to preserve our *liberties* at home, by reducing and limiting the number of *placemen*, for the future, in the *house of Commons*.

I say, nothing else seems to be wanting to reconcile all hearts, and unite all hands in the common cause, than a vigorous prosecution of the *war*, (however general it may become) and the passing a *place-bill*: which I look upon

to be equally necessary and inseparable; for, whatever the ministerial *uffs* may alledge, a war cannot possibly be carried on with so much effect, both for the honour of the crown, and the interest of the nation, as by such a bill. This would ease the *civil-list* of many immoderate sums, which might be applied to much better purposes; and put it in the power of his Majesty to exemplify the natural and truly royal beneficence of his heart. This would effectually cure all *jealousies* and *suspicious*, which may have been entertain'd of an *undue influence*; and quiet the minds of the people, upon that account. Finally, this would give a double terror to our enemies *abroad*, by finding that we are united *at home*.

I say, therefore, (and I say it with great and sincere pleasure) that the voice of the King, the voice of the parliament, and the voice of the people, are for once happily united; and nothing can be a better omen of success to our arms.

That the voice of the King and the voice of parliament are united, is evident from his Majesty's speech at the beginning of the session, and the joint addresses of both houses, with his Majesty's answers before mentioned. That the voice of the people co-operates with them, is evident, not only from their universal disposition, but from the particular applications and instructions of their respective constituents.

The city of London began this laudable work, which hath been followed by several great trading towns and corporations, in both parts of the united kingdom, which are in any degree independent; and I can make no doubt that most of the counties would do the same, if there was a proper opportunity; not excepting even the county of Norfolk itself: though we cannot expect the same publick-spirited zeal from the ruling magistrates of Norwich, Lynn, or Yarmouth, however the majority of inhabitants may be privately disposed. Even his Majesty's declaration of war against Spain was proclaim'd, in one of these towns, with visible marks of contempt, and not without menaces to those who

expressed their loyalty upon that occasion. Let us therefore turn our observations to the conduct of some other places, which are more independent, and may perhaps be represented, for that very reason, of less consequence.

The instructions of the citizens of Aberdeen in Scotland, to the Honourable John Mank, Esq; their Representative in parliament, are almost a transcript from the London instructions; and therefore I shall not trouble the reader with any extracts from them, or observations upon them.

Those from the county of Haddington to the Honourable John Cockburn, Esq; their Representative, go further, and not only instruct him to make a *place-bill* a previous step to giving his consent to any *money-bill* whatsoever, but likewise to oppose all votes or bills of credit and confidence, unless in case of sudden and unforeseen accidents, and the most cogent necessity; and even then to take care that such votes, or bills, be limited to a certain sum, being apprehensive, as they observe, that the frequent use of them have a most dangerous tendency to undermine the very being and constitution of parliaments, and to subvert our liberties and properties, by transferring from PARLIAMENT the power of raising men and money to the CROWN, or rather to the MINISTER, having the greatest confidence in the good intentions of HIS MAJESTY, and his affection to his PEOPLE. They likewise observe, that the long duration of parliaments is one great mean to withdraw representatives from the duty they owe to their constituents and the nation; and therefore insist, that he would give his assistance to promote any bill, that may be brought into parliament, for bringing parliaments to their true and ancient constitution, which they are of opinion, would prove a happy and a just expedient to obtain a fair, true, and uncorrupted representation of the people in parliament, whereby the spirit and dignity thereof would be restored, and the ancient reputation and credit thereof would be vindicated and re-established.

The instructions from the shire of Lanark, and the shire of Edinburgh, are much

much to the same purpose; and therefore I shall conclude this paper with another instruction, from the Mayor and corporation of *New Sarum*, to *Peter Batbush* and *Henry Hoare*, Esqrs, their Representatives in parliament, upon the same occasion.

THE Mayor and commonalty of the city of *New Sarum*, in common-council assembled, conceive they have an undoubted right to offer their sentiments to their members on all important occasions, wherein the liberty, safety, honour and prosperity of the kingdom are concerned, in which their own is included.

Nothing can more fatally and almost necessarily tend to deprive us of these valuable blessings, than a false and undue representation of the people through bribery and corruption.

If the electors who receive, and the elected who give bribes to procure a seat in parliament, did, by such infamous practices, bring ruin on themselves only, they would, like other miscreants, justly suffer for the crimes they have committed; but since they cannot perish alone, but must involve the innocent in the sufferings of the guilty, since venality is become a branch of trade in the British nation, (a trade that will soon make us bankrupts and beggars) we cannot but think it calls aloud upon the wisdom of the British parliament to put a stop to a mischief big with such amazing and desolating consequences.

The great cause of this evil they take to be the number of placemen sitting in the house of Commons, whereby the freedom of debating and voting is interrupted, and the fundamental design, and essential part of a British parliament is turned into mere shadow; not considering that the very derivation of the word PARLIAMENT is taken from speaking the mind, which deserves the attention of every honest true-hearted Briton.

They do therefore earnestly recommend it to you, that as you laudably opposed the late pernicious excise scheme, and Spanish convention, so you would, to the utmost, exert yourselves, in getting an act passed more effectually to put a stop to bribery and corruption, and for the limitation of the

number of placemen in the house of Commons, and for securing the freedom of parliament.

Be pleased, Gentlemen, to look into the Succession-act, (to which we owe the happy establishment under our present gracious Sovereign and his royal house) and you will find placemen and pensioners excluded from sitting in the house of Commons. That wise and august body of men, rightly judged that a person, delegated by the people, who comes free and unprejudic'd into such an assembly, is more likely to discharge his trust faithfully and uprightly, than he that comes with his eyes blinded, his judgment darken'd by self-interest, and grasps at unjust profits arising from the sale of his country, for which himself will at last receive the reward of iniquity. Certainly that parliament could not be supposed of favouring the Pretender; and therefore, to charge any one with disaffection for bearing the same views, must be vile calumny and falsehood.

By answering their desires, you will deserve the thanks of the present age, and transmit your names with honour to posterity.

The following Instructions were, on the 22d of November, sign'd in the Dean of Guild Court of Dundee, at a full meeting, and were likewise sign'd by most of the Gentlemen and Trades in Dundee, and transmitted to *John Drummond*, Esq; their Representative in Parliament.

WE the Dean of Guild, Merchants, Incorporations, and other inhabitants of the town of Dundee, being thoroughly sensible of the many fatal consequences arising from the too great number of placemen and pensioners at present in the house of Commons, which, if not timely provided against, may totally subvert our happy constitution, as it entirely depends upon the freedom and independency of parliament, desire you will, in conjunction with such worthy patriots as shall be willing, use your utmost endeavours to promote a bill for limiting their number.

And being, by experience, convinc'd of the bad effects of long parliaments, further recommend that you join these patriots in the

gaining a law for bringing them to their true and ancient constitution.

These being matters of the highest concern to the nation, we require and insist that you make them previous steps to your voting for any money-bill whatever.

Hitherto you have knowingly acted in direct opposition to our sentiments, with regard to septennial parliaments, the pernicious excise scheme, and the late dishonourable convention with Spain; yet we put it once more in your power to re-establish yourself in the good opinion of your constituents.

And tho' it is known to us that the magistrates and town-council have intrusted you some time ago to the same purpose, we should be wanting to ourselves if we omitted these means of showing you the general sense of the place.

COMMON SENSE N^o 125.

In what cases an absence from Parliament may be justified.

*Hostis habet maros,ruit alto a culmine Troja:
Sat patriæ Priamoque datum.— Virg.*

I Little expected that those who write on the mercenary side, would ever display their oratory in putting the representatives of the people in mind of their duty; for it is so long since those that dictate to them have practised any part of that duty, that the whole world was of opinion they had forgot the nature of it long ago: But, of late, to our great surprize, both pamphlets and papers have been publish'd from that quarter, telling the world that the business of a member of parliament is the highest trust that can be reposed in an *Englishman*.

This unexpected change in their language is owing to a late event which hath a little disconcerted the faction, and upon which, we shall take some other occasion of being more particular. In the mean time, we shall bestow a word or two concerning those obligations which men lie under who are elected to represent a free people.

We shall agree with these worthy Gentlemen concerning the importance of the trust, but we shall certainly differ with them in relation to the nature of the duty.

We think it should be discharged according to the first design of its institution; that is to say, for the good of the electors. We have too much reason to know, that they understand it ought to be discharged for the private profit of the elected.

We think that the private interest of the trustee must neither direct nor influence his opinion: They conceive it to be a trade by which a man is to make his fortune.

They have confined the whole of this duty to one point; that is, to a strict attendance: A member is not accountable for any thing he does in attending; however, he is indispensably obliged to attend. These doctrines have our mercenaries preached to us of late, at different times. I hope the practice does not agree with the doctrine.

As these Gentlemen seldom trouble the world with any maxim that hath the appearance of truth, when they happen to start any thing which carries that face, it would be pity to deny it; and therefore we shall allow, that it is the duty of members of parliament to attend. It is the language of our laws, and must be the sense of our constitution; for it was presumed they could neither defend the liberties, nor promote the interests of those who chose them, without attending. — The rule is certainly right in general; but, like other general rules, it is liable to exceptions.

At some times a perverse and malignant spirit may govern and influence the majority of an assembly to such a degree, that those who are well disposed can neither defend the liberties, nor serve the interests, of those that chose them: as they are obliged to act for the people's good, it may be their duty to forbear their attendance.

Suppose a minister of state should determine to make himself master of the nation's purse, in order to divide it amongst his tools, he must certainly corrupt the representatives of the people to betray their trust. Suppose a majority of them should conspire with the minister to secure him in that power which he may be employing to the destructi-

on of his country: When the few that have preserved their integrity find that all the nation's interests are sacrificed to that of the minister; when there is but this one question ask'd, which determines all points, *viz. Will this give more wealth, or more power, to the minister?* when all opposition against the most ruinous measures are vain and hopeless: must they continue, by their presence, to give a sanction to bad measures, and add force and authority to oppression?

Were I chosen guardian to an orphan, in conjunction with others, and saw them betraying and robbing the helpless ward, is it reasonable that I should continue to act with them? No; certainly they should do their dirty work by themselves: after representing the impossibility of my being of any use, I would, for the sake of my own character, quit such scandalous company; and, if they clamour'd against me for not attending according to my trust, the world should know, that their noise proceeded from this honest motive, that they wanted my presence to countenance their rogueries, and I should not at all doubt of being acquitted.

I think it is incumbent upon honest men in this situation to repair to their principals, and say, "Gentlemen, you may think perhaps our withdrawing a kind of dereliction of the trust reposed in us; you may fancy that we are able to serve you: but we should think it criminal in us not to undeceive you, and we could take no other method so proper to let you know the danger you are in: there is no possibility of our doing any thing for your interest; and therefore you must take what legal methods you can think of to *save yourselves.*"

Those who were left behind would have no reason to be displeas'd. If they meant well, they would have the whole field to themselves; they would have an opportunity of signalizing their love to their country, by taking care of its interest, and must have the whole honour: but if it was plain that they were destroying the country, what man in his senses would stay to take part with them in the infamy that must attend such proceedings?

If it be ask'd, how shall we know whether a parliament hath given up its independency, or not? must such a thing be taken for granted, for no other reason but because a few peevish and disappointed men give it out to be so? I will agree, that it ought not.

There are some matters, however, which cannot be brought before a court of judicature, and can be decided no other way than by the universal opinion and voice of mankind. This is one of those points that must be judged by what the people see, and what they feel: and, I think, there is no one thing in the nature of government, in which the world are so little liable to be deceiv'd, as, whether the trustees of the people really defend their liberties, and promote their interests, or are degenerated into a mercenary faction acting for hire.

When they are sparing of the people's money, strict enquirers concerning the just application of what is granted; when the people are not oppress'd by taxes and penal laws; when the crimes of men in power are severely punished, you may be sure they are right and sound.

But if those that compose the majority shall themselves tell you at what price such and such a man was bought over to act with them; when the most destructive measures pass not only with impunity, but meet with thanks, praise, and honour; when they shall own, in all conversations, that the nation is undone; but, however, that they are obliged to protect its undoer; that they are bound to one another, and cannot leave their friends (by friends they mean the bank-notes which they receive as the wages of their prostitution, for no other friends can bind them:) when all this appears to the whole world, it can no longer be a matter of question, whether a parliament hath given up its independency or not.

Another violent symptom is, when people begin to expostulate with them concerning the wickedness of their conduct, they shall answer, that you have no right to enquire into the reason or justice of their proceedings; that the people are obliged to submit to every thing

thing enacted by a majority, tho' there should be no other reason to justify it: when this is not only their discourse in conversation, but the argument or cant of the whole faction in their pamphlets and writings, you may be sure you are fold.

If such a scene should ever appear in any country, sure it would be the duty of every man who preserv'd himself untainted with the common infection, to shun that place, where justice and the publick interest scarce ever enter'd into consideration. What would avail a hopeless and ineffectual opposition against a determined majority, but to magnify the victory which bribery and corruption must gain over honour and publick spirit? The opposers must make the same figure in such an assembly, that the unhappy captives made that were led in chains behind the chariot of a Roman General, who only serv'd for the ornaments of his triumph.

Oliver Cromwel, upon advice that the long parliament, or Rump parliament, were about to continue themselves longer, went to the house, at the head of a party of musqueteers, and turn'd all the members out of the house; telling them, they had sat long enough, it was time they should give way to honest men. This was the most popular act of the whole usurpation; publick rejoicings were made for it all over the kingdom. Upon another occasion, he imprisoned several Gentlemen just before the time of electing a new parliament, to hinder their being chosen. Another time, he commanded 140 persons that he thought he could rely upon, to go and sit in the house of Commons and make laws, and they were called the parliament. When another parliament was chosen, for which several members were returned that he thought would oppose him, he contriv'd a test to the following effect: They were to swear to be true to the Lord Protector, and not to propose any alteration in the form of government then establish'd. He thought that many of them would not take this test, which would leave him a sure majority; and

accordingly about a hundred absented themselves from the house.

All these contrivances would not do. Whatever is bent by force will, by degrees, return to its own position, when the force which rendered it crooked is relaxed. These very people opposed him in many things, and the last mentioned parliament took off the very test, in order to invite the absentees to return to their places. However, as such practices had been made upon them, they never were look'd upon by the people as parliaments.

Suppose he had gained a majority by bribery, as it is a more base and villainous method than any he took for that purpose, does that render it more legal? Or would they have a better right to be considered as a parliament, than that where a majority was gained by a test, which those who had any conscience could not take?

If he had secured a majority by this base method, it would not only have been an immense load upon the people, who must be taxed to pay the bribes, but it would have destroyed the very essence of the constitution; it would have impoverished the present age, and have intailed misery upon posterity.

There is nothing so sacred in the walls of that house, as to make that just and equitable, which in its own principles is arbitrary and wicked. If *Jonathan Wild* and his gang had gone and taken possession of the house of Commons, had chosen a Speaker, and with the formalities usual made laws; had he an army to enforce them, it is possible they might be obeyed; but I am of opinion they would be no longer obey'd, than till the people should have strength and courage enough to seize upon *Jonathan* and the whole gang, and hang them all up.

It is true, no exact parallel can be made betwixt such a gang as this, and a body of men elected by the people; yet, I am afraid, the nation would find very little difference betwixt a gang of thieves that should take possession of the house, and those that should become such after they were there.

be deceived, are, 1. To consider the occasion, connection, and drift of the place in question, and give it the meaning proper to the writer's argument. 2. To resolve difficult and doubtful texts by plain and certain ones.

Very good rules! but I'm afraid, the second especially, will be of little use betwixt you and a rigid Predestinarian. For a text that's plain and certain to him, because he thinks it plain on his side of the question, may be difficult and dark to you, as requiring some art to make the words of it ply to your scheme; and therefore you would explain it by texts, plain and certain to you, for the same reason for which they will be difficult and dark to him; whose eye, you'll say, is tinged with his rigid Predestinarian's eyes; as he, on the other hand, will not fail to tell you, that your eye is tinged with a vain conceit of your own sufficiency, and with the pride of your knowledge and merit; from which, till you're converted, and made as a little child, you shall never truly know the gospel of the grace of God. However this debate end 'twixt you and him, I may venture to say, that few of us look into the Scriptures with untinged eyes; and till they be cleared, rules for seeing will be useless; but then, needless.

Now, let us see how you observe your own rules. You begin with the character of God, which you give, not from that remarkable passage of the Old Testament where he himself gives it to Moses, which is pointed to by Paul, Rom. ix. chap. nor from any passage of the New Testament that serves expressly to declare or explain that name of God, but from broken fragments of a parable and of a passage about acceptable alms: and, after a slight touch on the topick of the sanctions of the divine law, and Jesus's weeping over Jerusalem that was to be destroyed according to the old prophecies, you put the character of God as standing in the relation of a God and Father to all of mankind without any difference, upon the unconfinedness of the benefit of the Redeemer; which you prove by these expressions, He died for all, and, God laid us down

iniquity of us all: though you cannot be ignorant how the Predestinarians would shew, from the connection and drift of these and other such texts, that they cannot be taken to mean all of mankind, but of the elect and the church of every nation of the world and sort of men without difference. And if they could perceive any difficulty or doubtfulness in such texts, they would, according to your rule, resolve them by texts that speak plainly and certainly of a distinction made by Christ's death, according to the divine purpose about it intimated before-hand in the prophecies, and of the redemption of a peculiar people out of every nation, for whom Christ prays, as he does not for the world: and they'll be sure to tell you, if your eye were not deeply tinged, you could not but see this distinction carried from the third chapter of Genesis throughout the Scripture to the end of the Revelation, and behold a beautiful consistency betwixt the universal expressions and the particular.

But you are positive, "the Apostle to the Romans puts this beyond dispute, where he teaches, that as the gift of God in Christ in some things exceeded the offence of Adam, so in nothing it fell short of it: and therefore, as this brought judgment on all men, so the free gift of life through Christ came upon all men: for, as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive. As therefore, if man had kept his integrity, every one would have had it in his power to please God; so, by the gift of Christ every one must have it too: since the consequences of redemption extended full as wide as those of Adam's transgression, i. e. to all men."

This will put the Predestinarians in mind of your complaint against them for supporting their doctrine by broken fragments and texts of the Bible considered by themselves, without regard to their context and true meaning; and they'll be ready here to turn it against your self. They will alledge you give an idea of the consequences of Adam's transgression, and of redemption, that could not come originally from the Apostle's words,

words, or the drift of the place. Whatever dispute may be about these consequences, one thing is plain and certain in the text, that *death* is the consequence of *Adam's* transgression, and *eternal life* the consequence of redemption. And the words of *1 Cor. xv. chap.* that you join to the words of this text, serve to let us see, that it is life from the dead. But that whole chapter to the *Corinthians* speaks of no other resurrection but that of the just, and plainly restricts the *all*, who are to be made alive in *Christ* as they died in *Adam*, to them that are *Christ's*, who, as they have born the image of the earthly man, shall also bear the image of the heavenly. Now, if death be the consequence of *Adam's* offence, and eternal life from the dead the consequence of redemption; then, by your argument, the resurrection unto life eternal thro' *Christ*, must come upon all them upon whom death passed thro' *Adam*. The consequence of the offence was not a mere possibility of dying, but certain and unavoidable death, even on them that had not sinned after the similitude of *Adam's* transgression; and if the gift of righteousness by *Jesus Christ* bring no more but a possibility of attaining life from the dead, this will be one thing very remarkable wherein the gift of *Christ* falls short of the offence of *Adam*; and yet the Apostle is declaring how much more efficacious it is to those to whom it extends, in these same words from which you draw your argument, *If by one man's offence, or one offence, death reigned by one, much more they which receive abundance of grace, and of the gift of righteousness, shall reign in life by one Jesus Christ.* What does he mean by this limitation, *they which receive the abundance of grace, and of the gift of righteousness*, while he is shewing how far the gift exceeds the offence? He delights to speak universally, in opposition to the *Jewish* limitation, but he always takes care to debar your universality, equally opposite to the freedom and abundance of the gift with the *Jewish* restriction.

Having finish'd your Scripture-proofs with a reproach on the divine chara-

cter, if it should not answer to this your draught, you next come to answer objections from two passages of Scripture.

The first is *Rom. viii. 29, 30.* where you make the word *foreknow* your key to open the whole, taking this *foreknowledge* to signify no more but bare *foresee*; without noticing how the *Predestinarians* compare this text with *1 Pet. i. 20.* where this word is taken to signify *fore-ordaining*, as importing more than speculation. Then, for *foreknowing them*, you put, *foreseeing their sense for suffering.* But the text says, *he did foreknow them*, even as it says, *he did predestinate them conformed to the image of his Son, and called them, and justified them, and glorified them.* The *Predestinarians*, you know, observing the common use of the word *knowledge* and of *foreknowledge* in Scripture, take God's *foreknowledge* to be the counsel of his will, according to which he worketh all, *Eph. i. 11.* and they take it for his gracious eye and preventing regard to them, who did not first chuse or love him independently of his purpose, but he them. And when he predestinated them conform'd to his Son in the state of suffering, this conformity to which they are predestinated, must take in likeness to him in the disposition and state for suffering, and in their behaviour under it: and further, they insist upon it, that those who are foreknown and predestinated to this state are, according to the text, most certainly glorified without exception or reserve. Now, it was your business to make all this appear false, otherwise than by telling them of their tinged eyes.

Your sense of the passage comes to this: "Here is an account of some who were foreseen fit for suffering for religion, who therefore were destin'd for that office, called to it, acquitted for their good behaviour in it, and rewarded for it, *i. e.* with the triumphs of grace in this life, and, if they persevered in duty, with glory in the other."

Thus you, *r.* ascribe their being destin'd to the office of suffering for *Christ*, and like him, unto their ability and fitness for this, foreseen. But I'm afraid

will take great stretching to reconcile this to the putting of *Paul* himself in the post of greatest danger, or to his ways of speaking upon his own case, or even to these words of his to suffering Christians, *Unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, ut also to suffer for his sake.* 2. You ascribe their being justified, to their good behaviour in their suffering state; and take no notice how the Apostle in the context ascribes it to Christ's death, resurrection and intercession. If you mean the same thing with him in this epistle of justification, I dare say your choice of words to express it is vastly different. You seem to make the perseverance of the justified elect uncertain, and loose the connection betwixt justification and the reward; against an express affirmation in the text, and against the Apostle's assertions in the following words, to the end of the chapter. He makes the victory certain thro' him that loved them, and speaks the certainty of their perseverance in his love in the strongest terms imaginable, and that by way of inference from God's *foreknowing them.*

However your manner of expression may differ from *Paul's*, as one of our countrymen said, he differ'd only in words from his minister, when being ask'd, What is sin? he answer'd, Saving grace; your sense is the same, by the following words, *God spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all;* which you would have to be all of mankind; without any regard to the whole context, which, too plainly for you, fixes this all to God's elect and the predestinated. And the *all things* that God gives with his Son, must be those great things of which the Apostle had been speaking, as free and unmerited by us as the gift of his Son.

As to *Rom. ix.* chap. you first notice, that the apostle sets himself against the boasting of the *Jews*, by shewing them, that *the promise, as far as it was a promise of salvation and eternal life, was only to the seed of Abraham's faith,— whether Jew or Gentile.* Then you allow sovereignty, as the prerogative of God, in bestowing temporal privileges,

and preferring one people or nation to another. But here you lose sight of your first purpose, touching the promise to the true Israel, as it is a promise of eternal life. And when you speak of sovereignty with respect to nations and bodies of men, I cannot see how the whole of any one man's existence comes in as a salvo: for I suppose your vessels, the nations, exist only in this present world; and I hope you are not saying, that God is the great Sovereign of this world only, and not of the next world.

However, you allow as much sovereignty as any Predestinarian can desire, in the choice (shall I say?) of the typical Israel. But then, far aside from this purpose, you talk of hardening, as the punishment of sin, without the least occasion for it in your text; yea, by this you cut off all occasion for that objection which comes immediately against it, *Why doth he yet find fault? for who hath resisted his will?* which you behov'd to repel by sovereignty; yet still holding by your forefaid distinction, and laying the whole stress of your defence on the sense of the word *vessels*; which you must have to signify, not single persons, (as *Paul*, or as those mentioned *2 Tim. ii. 20, 21.*) but *nations*; and you will have *honour and dishonour*, only to respect outward, *i. e.* national privileges and advantages in this world. And even here again, your byass carries you from the point of sovereignty, and sways you to prove, by the text in *Jeremiab.* merit or demerit, as to the disposal of nations with respect to national honour or dishonour.

But, unhappily for you, the very next words of the Apostle determine most plainly and certainly the sense of the word *vessels*. His words are,— *the vessels of mercy, which he hath afore prepared unto glory; even us whom he hath called, not of the Jews only, but also of the nations; as he saith also in Osee, &c.* Were these vessels nations! And what were their national privileges? Or does not the Apostle look upon these (the small remnant of the *Jewish* nation, together with them of every other nation who believed on Christ for righteousness)

ness) as the seed of *Abraham's* faith, unto whom the promise was, as it is a promise of salvation and eternal life? And does he not shew, that these were pointed out beforehand in the prophecies as the people of God, whom he would save by the faith of Christ; while the bulk of the *Jewish* people were cut off from that salvation, and fell short of the right to eternal life, thro' their stumbling at Christ, who was before appointed as a stumbling-stone and rock of offence to them?

You would vindicate God, by denying this fact, plainly enough asserted by *Paul*; who, at the same time, rejects with the greatest indignation the inferences from it that you allow, and justifies God. And by comparing what he says for him, *Rom. ix. 20.—23. and xi. 33.—36.* with your vindication, it may appear which of you have most study'd the glory and honour of the Deity.

I am, &c.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

S I R,

July 13.

A Certain modern author says, that resignation to the will of God is the whole of piety. The following is an uncommon instance of it; which if you see fit to publish, I hope it will not only serve as an entertainment to some of your readers, but will also show to what pitch of grandeur the human mind is capable of being raised, and how incapable the greatest terrors are to alarm a mind conscious of having lived agreeably to the dictates of reason.

Some days ago, being employed in some business in the country, and obliged to lodge in a country house, situate on a river's side, which ran down thro' two woods, the one on my right hand, and the other on my left, the prospect of the place at a distance gave me great pleasure: so, after I had alighted from my horse, and for some time rested with my host, the clear evening, the sun shining bright, and nature's face swimming with beauties, conspired to tempt me forth to view the flowery lawn.

I wandered along the river's side, on a little green that joined itself to the wood

on my right hand; where the murmuring sound of the waters inspired my mind with an awful silence. The birds perch'd on the trees, congratulating each others happiness; and, with melodious notes joining in a general chorus, to sing forth the praises of that several beauty on whom they depend, and which holds in being the several parts of a stupendous frame, made me reflect the kindness of that God, who has fill'd the various parts of space with creatures, and with a liberal hand distributed the degrees of happiness, to every creature as its imperfect nature is capable to enjoy.—While I was walking along, and singing in this manner, I came suddenly to the foot of the green; where a little brook fell from the summit of the neighbouring hills, and, after passing over several rocks, here ran into the river whose side I had walk'd. Here I stop'd to see whence it came; but my prospect was terminated, at some distance from me, with a rocky cliff on each side of the rivulet; from which sprung, bushes, oak and alders, and form'd a most regular amphitheatre. I march'd up, entertaining myself, in this remarkable solitude, with the musick of the waters falling from one rock to another, composing a variety of agreeably sounding cascades: which to my surprise! I was struck with admiration, as if from a female heart, which to me seem'd to proceed from a number of trees that grew at the side of a little plain, and formed themselves into a little grotto. Here I stop'd, to hear if perhaps some nymph of the plain had retired to this place, to lament in mournful lays the loss of her absent lover. I heard the sound redoubled; upon which I advanced nearer, till at last I came to the back of a blooming thorn, through which I look'd, and saw a tall young woman, stately and majestic: Her dress was simple, and seem'd somewhat above the vulgar: the features of her face were meagre and wan, as if spoiled by sickness and distress, and (as I afterwards understood) she was thought by herself, and every body else that saw her, as upon the verge of life, and confines of eternity. I stood (being invisible to her)

and

and saw her arise, with an air that showed the frailty of her body. She came forth from the thicket, to the little plain; and after she walked along for some time, with a cheerfulness in her countenance that did not seem very common to one in her condition, she smiled, stretched forth her hand, and lift up her eyes to heaven, and thus began.

“ O my mind, why shouldst thou be discouraged with the thoughts of my approaching dissolution? While I am clogged with organs of sense, these do continually hinder me from making those ours to the celestial regions, and having such views of things, as beings of a nobler order do continually enjoy.—While I am in the world, organs of sense are absolutely necessary, as instruments to produce those effects, on dead and inactive matter, that my situation here below demands: but rejoice, O my mind! that in a little time thou shalt be no more troubled with such a machine; thou shalt be conveyed to a world of spirits, in which thou shalt have no use for a tongue to convey thy thoughts, but shalt speak the language of seraphs. These wrinkled hands shall drop into their parent dust; these legs, that now carry my almost lifeless corse, shall be supplied by a vehicle of light, in which thou shalt glide along with yonder declining sun, and clearly see the effects he produces on every single plant and vegetable.—Can it give me pain, that I am so soon to be cut off the theatre of the world, and that my appearance here below has been so short? Did not I see yonder herbs, yesterday, opening their buds, and disclosing their blossoms, beautifying the earth, and gracing this solitude? and lo! to day they are cut down, they lie withered and decayed. Let me rather be glad, that I am so soon to be dismissed from a world, in which such a number of false pleasures are continually courting the senses, and up to captivate the best of mortals.—I must bid adieu to my friends and acquaintances, who have sympathised with me in my trouble, and borne almost the half of my distress: but this shall give me no pain, since I am persuaded, that the existence of a rational being is not

terminated by the scanty period of human life: For tho' in a few days my body shall be laid into the bosom of the earth, and become an entertainment for the worms; yet the day shall come, when it shall arise in blooming beauty, and enjoy a noble repast of everlasting love and friendship, with those of my acquaintances who have gone before me, and those who quickly must follow.—Shall the dismal gloom of that dark vale thro' which I am to pass, alarm my mind? No, sure. My conscience informs me, that I have spent a life agreeably to the laws of nature. I have nothing to fear from within; for my tender years are yet unfulfilled by the insatuating pleasures of sense. Tho' my constitution has been weak and tender from the day of my birth, yet I have not repined; being persuaded, that infinite power, directed by infinite wisdom and goodness, must produce what is best upon the whole. Ye rocks! ye woods! I can call you to witness, that, instead of murmuring at my condition in the world, I have frequently retired to your shade, and here have sung, in rapturous song, the praises of your Maker.—In a little time I shall be transported [*here stretching forth her hand to the sky*]: by winged seraphs, to yonder celestial abodes; I shall be welcomed, by the musick of the heavenly choir, to those happy abodes, where sorrow and pain are ever banished. There shall I be a companion for virtuous minds, and shall tune a golden harp to sing anthems of praise to the fountain of light, and source of joy.—No more shall I be at a loss to observe the plan of providence: for tho', to my present views of things,

*The ways of heav'n are dark and intricate,
Puzzled in mazes, and perplex in errors;*

yet in a few days I hope to see them unfolded in beauty and regularity, and that dark face of things, that has so frequently puzzled my narrow capacity, shall be displayed in order and proportion.—Whilst I am here, and see only the outlines of creation, like a fly on a vaulted roof, I am apt to cavil, and take exceptions: but then shall I see worlds with-

in worlds, teeming with new beauties, and every one of them enjoying the greatest happiness; I shall clearly see the gradation of beings, the dependence that one creature has upon another; and, having a view of the whole scheme, shall see objects truly worthy the contemplation of a reasonable being. Then shall I be capable to trace the orbits of the planets: then shall I know, what unseen force controuls their rapid motions, and keeps them in their courses; I shall know the habits and dispositions of the inhabitants of those stars, that shine with a tapering light, when the sun dips his winged steeds in the western ocean.— Why then shall my nature recoil at the thoughts of immortality? The blow in a moment shall be struck, and I shall be free from misery and pain. Therefore thanks be to that God, who by his invisible hand has led me thro' the slippery paths of life. Tho' I have been guilty of faults, yet the goodness of that being, who knows the secret springs and movements of the human mind, will determine him to make allowances for the frailty and imperfection of human nature. Therefore be glad, O my mind! that in a little time thou art to be removed from a state of probation, from a world, in which thou canst at best but enjoy freedom from pain, and art to lift up thy face amidst innumerable companies of angels and happy spirits, and shalt live for millions of ages, even for eternity, under the tuition of that being, who looks down with a smile on the various orders of beings he has created.— But now must I leave the lovely theme; for I find the decayed machine of my body demanding nature's rest. [*Here beckoning with her hand to the woods and circumambient rocks, she said,*] Adieu, ye woods! ye rocks that have been my temple, in which I have sung my Maker's praise: adieu, ye feathered flock, that dwell on the boughs of the trees, who have joined with me in consort; I shall perhaps, never see you more; but I hope to be admitted into a nobler society. [*Here she went away.*]

I was struck with the deepest surprise, to see a young female comforting her-

self in this manner upon the prospect of her departure from this world, and behaving with so much resignation in her distress, which every now and then appeared in her countenance. I stood mute till I saw her go out at the end of the lane, imagining with myself, that I had heard a *Socrates*, or a *Cyrus*, discoursing to their friends, some moments before their death, on the immortality of the soul. I mourned to think that a person, who seemed to have so strong a sense of virtue and goodness, should so soon be called into another world; but I satisfied myself with *Heraclitus's* advice to *Virgil*, when he was lamenting *Quintilius's* death, *lib. 1. ode 24.*

*Tu frustra pini, her, non ita crudum
Pescis Quintilium Doo.*

After I came to my lodging, I understood she was a neighbouring Gentleman's daughter, and that she was remarkable for her piety and goodness, even from her infancy; that she had been always tender, and was now more so than ever, and expected to be dying. The singularity of the case, the heroick spirit she seem'd to be endued with, the perfect resignation that she shewed to the will of heaven, engaged me to send you the above account, (which is as near what she said as I can remember,) not only to show that a mind, conscious of virtue and goodness, can face any danger, and endure any worldly misery; but also, to show that in these northern parts of Britain, we can boast of a set of females worthy of love and esteem, whose beauties do not only consist in a fine shape, agreeable features, and charming complexion, but also in the nobler graces of the mind, virtue, modesty, and goodness. R. D.

ODES translated from ANACREON'S

By CHARLES CHESTER, M. D.

Ode 20. To his Mistress.

THE Gods o'er mortals prove their
sway,
And steal them from themselves away;
Transform'd by their almighty hands,
Sad Niobe an image stands;

*Sad Philomel, upborn on wings
Thro' air, her mournful story sings.
Would bear'st a, indulgent to my vow,
The happy change I wish allow:
Thy envy'd mirror I would be,
That thou might'st always gaze on me;
And could my naked breast appear,
Thou'dst see thyself,—for thou art there!
)! were I made thy folding vest,
That thou might'st clasp me to thy breast!
Or turn'd into a fountain, to lave
By naked beauties in my wave!
By bosom-cincture I would grow,
To warm those little hills of snow;
By ointment, in rich fragrant streams
To wonder o'er thy beauteous limbs;
By chain of shining pearl,—to deck,
And close embrace thy graceful neck;
I wry sandal I would be
To tread on,—if trod on by thee!*

Ode 36. By the same.

*Talk not to me of pedants rules;
I leave debates to learned fools,
Who solemnly in form advise;
At best, impertinently wise!
To me more pleasing precepts give,
And teach the sciences how to live;
To bury in the friendly draught (I thought;
I wro' that spring from too much
To learn soft lessons from the fair,
How life may glide exempt from care.
Alas! I'm old! I see my head
With hoary locks by time o'erspread:
Then instant be the goblet brought
To make me young—at least in thought.
Alas! incessant speeds the day,
When I must mix with common clay;
When I must tread the dismal shore,
And dream of love and wine no more.*

EPITAPH on an old Woman who kept a Potter's shop.

*Beneath this stone lies Katharine
Gray,
Chang'd from a busy life to lifeless clay.
By earth and clay she got her pelf,
And now she's turn'd to earth herself.
Ye weeping friends, let me advise,
Abate your grief and dry your eyes.
For what avails a flood of tears?
Who knows, but in a run of years,
In some tall pitcher, or broad pan,
She in her shop may be again?*

WINTER. An Epistle.

*While to the muses mansions you retire,
To learn those arts the good and wise ad-
On Britain's margin, by a rocky shoar, [mire,
The summer's wasted beauties I deplore:
You, who so much this distant region prize,
Altho' beneath the frozen Bear it lies,
Forget the tedious labours of the gown,
And for a while with me its state behold,
From seas of ice, and tow'ring hills of snow,
Where everlasting winter's rigours flow,
Stern Boreas' blasts o'er rugged regions fly,
Fraught with the blackness of the Arctic sky;
O'er all the Northern deep he wildly roars,
And heps his billows to the sounding shoars.
The fields and groves sustain his boundless rage,
And in his quarrels bail and snow engage;
While, with his thunder, sable night comes on,
The forests tremble, and the mountains groan.
But, if a while the stormy blaster cease,
Nature anon puts on another face;
Like worlds of atoms sheets of rain appear,
And clouds in squadrons fleet along the air;
The baneful fogs sit brooding on the hills,
And unsought moisture ev'ry region fills;
Sad and dejected the Monarch of the day,
Peeps o'er the mountains with a feeble ray;
The gloomy shadow of his sickly light
Seems but th' approaching of the summer's night,
Or the first dawn of day; thro' paths untrod,
'Mong clouds, he seems to labour for a road,
And having made a short unwilling stay,
He greens his sickly head in less than half his way.
The lonely scenes of our once dear delights,
The painted meadows, and the flow'ry beights,
Now grove beneath the rigour of the year,
And all the horrid face of winter wear.
Like distant clouds the tow'ring mountains show
Their rising summits, all clad o'er with snow.
Hard chilling frosts have all the country bound;
Nought but a rock you'd think the solid ground:
The ponds and silver lakes, from shoar to shoar,
Are with a solid surface cover'd o'er.
Here nature, tho' in winter's arms she lies,
Forms gaudy visions to attract our eyes,
A thousand various figures give surprise.
The falling rain, distill'd from liquid balls,
In crystal rods hangs down the cottage-walls;
The costly amber hangs at every spray,
And silver globes a brilliant light display.
But these indeed no constant glory boast;
All in a kinder breeze or show'r are lost:
Like the gay nothings which fond men delight,
The fairy prospect plays upon our sight;*

Mix'd with the mud the dazling trifles lie,
And, in a moment, as they live they die.

The rivers, charg'd with floods of falling
rains,

Ride in high pomp, or all the neig'ring plains,
And with loud rising billows threat to sweep
All their high tow'ring rocks down to the deep.
In mountain heaps they bear along the meads,
Thick selves of ice, grass, bushes, moss and
weeds,

And swell the rapid torrent with the spoil
Of wither'd forests, and the peasant's toil.
Within the bosom of the naked groves,
(While on the scene of happy shepherds loves)
They whirl in rapid gulphs, and swallow down
The tatter'd boughs, then heave them up anon.
With eyes o'erflowing, and outstretched hand,
The swains at distance on the meadow stand,
Fearing their lonely cotes and rural store;
With humble prayer the river Gods implore:
But they, regardless, scow thro' all the plain,
And roarl their troubled waters roaring to
the main.

How changed from that gentle murr'ring
stream!

Whose liquid deeps diffus'd a silver gleam,
And in smooth windings softly play'd away,
Reflecting all around a clearer day;
Where once in wanton herds the scaly brood
Stray'd thro' the mazes of the winding flood,
When lately from Aurora's dawning beam
Pleas'd ev'ry day we woo'd the watry game,
Till the swift gliding hours their course had
And made us murmur at the setting sun. [run,
Sweet river! shall I not thy state bewail,
Now glutted with the washings of the dale?
Presumptuous waves, who dare insult thy tide,
And thro' thy sunny tenants' dwellings glide,
Staining those beauties which survey with
Meanders which immortal lays adorn. [scorn
O could my strains like heavenly MARO's flow,
Did the same ardour in my bosom glow,
A Mincio or Clitumnus thou shouldst be,
And much sam'd Tyber only equal thee;
Like theirs immortal too should be thy name,
And, as thy beauty, such, just such thy fame.

No more expect from these poor naked braes,
To bear the am'rous shepherd's rural lays;
In the low vales no more the flocks are seen,
No more the keepers wanton on the green;
The woody shores, and low extended plains,
No longer bear the chanter's mellow strains;
No more Pathemon, in the shady grove,
In woful notes bewails his hapless love;

No longer Strephon, partner of his pain,
With kindly words comforts the dying swain;
No Pastorella, no Amynta sings,
No vocal forest with the echo rings;
No prize contended in alternate lays,
And no Florinda now assigns the bays;
Beneath a window, or behind some bed,
Neglected lie the reed, the crook, and plaid.
The bleating sheep aloud for fodder call,
And starved oxen bellow in the stall;
The heartless swain, in burthenous attire,
Sits clearing wood, or nodding o'er the fire:
The tender nymphs to a warm soak repair,
Unable to endure the rigid air;
There, with mixt tattle of their past amours,
They pine away the last, less sunny hours:
Long may you now thro' lonely copses stray,
Before the young Myrtilia run away.

Poor hapless groves, then must your gloomy
shades

No more be haunted by the lovely maid;
Then must your winding alleys never bear
One tender sigh, or see one gentle tear?
No;—who can dwell with cruel chilling
Or on cold beds of stiffen'd ice repose? [snows,
The plaintive birds in woful notes bewail
Each naked forest, and each lone vale;
The leafy groves no more their songs inspire,
No vernal gales tune the harmonious quire,
No wanton symphonies their gladness tell,
But ev'ry sparrow seems a Philomel.

AMYNTOR.

TO MELANCHOLY.

Hail, Melancholy! gloomy pow'r,
Companion of my lonely hour,
To sober thoughts confin'd;
Thou sweetly sad ideal guest,
In all thy soothing charms confess,
Indulge my pensive mind.

No longer wildly hurried through
The tides of mirth, that ebb and flow
In folly's woful stream,
I from the busy crowd retire,
To court the objects that inspire
Thy philosophic dream.

Thro' your dark grove of mournful yews,
With solitary steps, I muse,
By thy direction led;
Here, cold to pleasure's airy forms,
Conspicuous with my sister worms,
And mingle with the dead.

Hail, midnight borrowrs! awful gloom!
Ye silent regions of the tomb,
My future peaceful bed;
Here shall my weary eyes be clos'd,
And all my sorrows lie repos'd
In death's eternal shade.

Ye pale inhabitants of night,
Before my intellectual sight
In solemn pomp ascend!

O tell! how trifling now appears
The train of idle hopes and fears,
That human life attend.

Ye faithless idols of our sense!
Here own how weak your vain pro-
Ye empty names of joy! (tence,
Your transient forms like shadows pass,
Frail offspring of the magic glass,
Before the mental eye.

The dazzling colours, falsely bright,
Attract the gazing vulgar's sight
With superficial state;
Thro' Reason's clearer optics view'd,
How stripp'd of all its glare, how rude,
Appears the painted cheat!

Can wild ambition's tyrant pow'r,
Or ill-got wealth's unbounded store,
The dread of death controul?
Can pleasure's more bewitching charms,
Avert or sooth the dire alarms
That shake the parting soul?

Religion! ere the hand of fate
Shall make reflection plead too late,
My erring senses teach,
Amidst the stat'ring hopes of youth
To meditate the solemn truth
These awful relics preach.

Thy penetrating beams disperse
The mists of error, whence our fears
Derive their fatal spring.
'Tis thine the trembling heart to warm,
And soften to an angel form
The pale terrific King.

By thee sublim'd the soul aspires
Beyond these trifling low desires,
In nobler views elate;
Unmov'd her future change surveys,
And with intrepid courage pays
That universal debt.

In earth's soft bosom sooth'd to rest,
She sleeps, by smiling dreams carest,
That gently whisper peace,

Till the last morn's fair-op'ning ray
Unfolds the bright eternal day
Of active life and bliss.

A Trip to VAUX-HALL.

O H! let me, Thames, along thy surface glide,
And waft me smoothly on thy swelling tide;
Bear me, oh! bear me to the peaceful grove,
The shades of VAUX-HALL, and the courts of love;
Those fragrant bowers where art and nature vie,
Whose shady walks delight the ravish'd eye.

The Paphian Queen forsakes her fav'rite seat,
And rears new temples in this lov'd retreat:
Here Cupid's arrows more successful prove,
While beauty warms, and musick melts to love;
In these soft scenes he takes the surest aim,
Where all things round promote the pleasing flame.
At distance see th' Italian state appear.—

Hark! through the grove the magic sounds I bear.
Care, hatred, envy, all are left behind,
With ev'ry passion that disturbs the mind:
Pleasure receives us with her jovial train,
And smiling Plenty strives to entertain.—
Here pause a while, with wonder and surprise,
And mark the beauties singly as they rise.

Th' extensive vista thro' the walk pursue,
The straight perspective lengthning to the view:
Here trace the winding thro' the artless shade,
There see the wide extending colnade!
The twining grove for contemplation form'd,
The gay pavilion splendidly adorn'd:
Or in the winding maze intently stray,
While warbling nightingales around you play:
In more melodious notes they learn to sing,
Join in the consort, and salute the spring.
In these cool shades the happy couples rove,
And the coy youth oft dares to whisper love;
While some persuasive, soft, enchanting air,
To kind compliance melts the tender fair.
The Statesman here to mirth and pleasure yields;
The Poet wanders in Elysian fields;
The gay, the grave, the sprightly, and severe,
All, all alike find something pleasing here.

Behold! from ev'ry walk the nimble fair
Trip round th' orchestra at some fav'rite air.—
But hark! what slow, what solemn sounds are these,
Which wake our grief, and make even sorrow
Can sounds such lively images impart! [please!
Can musick jwaj thus powerful o'er the heart!
Unhappy Saul * thy fate we're taught to mourn,
And bend in silent sorrow round thy urn.

Let

* Alluding to Handel's King Saul, an oratorio.

Let Orpheus boast his lyre, and matchless skill,
Who drew the brutes obedient to his will;
The stones assembled at Amphion's call,
Danc'd into form, and built the Theban wall:
Thy art, resistless, can alids engage,
HANDEL! thou Orpheus of the present age!
Loud in these woods may thy soft strains resound,
And mimic Echo catch the dying sound!

But now in shades the envious night descends,
And o'er the grove her sable wing extends.
Fly Morpheus hence, thy ebony sceptre fway
O'er the dull race who dream their time away:
Be theirs to sleep; but let us waking prove
The charms of beauty, and the sweets of love;
While from each tree darts forth a steady ray,
And pays us doubly for the loss of day.

A thousand stars thro' the thick wood are seen,
Dance in thy shades and twinkle thro' thy green;
Each lusty elm in twining akoves grows,
And o'er our heads a painted sky compose;
And now, dispers'd, they taste the friendly bowl,
Wine cheers the heart, and musick warms the soul.
Thus Venus, Bacchus and Apollo join
In one kind aim, and all to please combine.

May no descending dew, no boistrous shower,
Drive thy bright beauties from the tusted bower;
May no loud thunder interrupt their joy,
No nimble lightning with swift flash destroy;
But thou, pale moon! whose clearer beams delight,
Diffuse thy mildness o'er the face of night.

EPICRAM ON L Y R A. [Edinb.]

Where sprightly-wit and solid judgment join,
Where blooming youth and smiling beau-
ty shine,

Say, — is the loushy charmer not divine?

Yes; — charms like those, and blended with such art,
Ravish the soul, and captivate the heart.

Of various fruitage thus compos'd,
Th' unrival'd relish of the pine,
In smell and taste by far excels
The mellow produce of the wine.

Delicious flavour! rich collection!
Lively emblem of perfection!
Where tart and luscious, sour and sweet,
All in just proportions meet.

A nymph like this, can only be divine.
Then grant me, heav'n! may such a nymph be
mine!

If e'er thou giv'st, O give me such a bliss!
Give not at all, or give me only this!

A TOUCH of the TIMES.

A NEW BALLAD.

Good people all, I pray attend
To what I now shall say,
And hear how citizens wou'd mend,
How courtiers would betray:
And, saith, the task may easy be
To manage things of weight,
When smiths and cheesemongers agree
To mend and rule the state.

Oh! London is a fine town, &c.

An hundred thousand statesmen live
Within the city wall,
Who rules of politics can give
To statesmen at Whitehall.
Arch in their clubs, on Haystacks sage,
The publick they bewail,
And there they jole, and here they rage,
Brim-full of drink, and zeal.

Oh! London, &c.

What'er is done they blame: Ah why?
Because that it is done:
And were it not, they then wou'd cry,
Why was it let alone?

'Gainst grievances, they loudly cry,
One grievance most of all,
The King and parliament deny
The umpire of Guild-Hall.

Oh! London, &c.

What eloquence has modern Pym!
His strains who can rebarbe?
Sure none e'er yet cou'd rival him,
But Gl—r in blank verse.
Yet might the Spartan bard have known,
(I will be by all allow'd)
Debate wise Sparta suffer'd none
Amongst the giddy crowd.

Oh! London, &c.

What fires our spoke-furrows tongue and pen,
Declare the cause, my song.

Gl—r may be an Alderman,
George member e'er 'tis long:
In time each orator may gain
A creditable place;
All places must be damn'd till then,
As marks of wile disgrace.

Oh! London, &c.

Ev'n L—tt—n of baughty heart,
A patriot stern and slim,
Orator, poet, another smart,
Took place, when place took him.

*Two hundred princely marks a-year
He thinks it right to glean,
And yet his conscience still is clear,
And still his flanks are lean.*

Oh! London, &c.

*See there behind that counter stands,
A patriot just, and wise,
Who, whilst he boasts his honest hands,
Will cheat before your eyes.
If John a place-bill needs must have,
To keep us from disgrace;
His surely will the nation save,
Tho' Jacky keep his place.*

Oh! London, &c.

*Now mark, ye Britons, and regard
The difference I describe;
A patriot's place is a reward,
A courtier's is a bribe:
Else this wou'd seem full marvellous,
And make good subjects stare,
What's wicked at St James's House,
Is virtue in the Square.*

Oh! London, &c.

*The Mayor and all his Aldermen
In this great point agree;
Kings may be libell'd now and then,
But citizens are free;
And printers who would live at ease,
In this wise scheme persevere;
They publish scandal when they please,
But print no city-list.*

Oh! London, &c.

*Ye powers averse to fraud and stealth,
Make wicked men less bad;
Ye powers, who guard the common-
Prevent our running mad. [wealth,
For once, united, let's advance,
Let's shew a just disdain; [France,
And with those swords which conquer'd
Revenge our wrongs on Spain.*

Oh! London, &c.

BATH-WATERS.

ON—th! how wondrous hard's our
fate,
Who wou'd preserve our fame:
Pursuing ease, we seek this place,
But meet a wounded name.
Bethesda's pool an angel blest,
Health plam'd his bakmy wings;
Infernal satyrs Bath molest,
And poison all its springs.

The following receipt, for the cure of the bite of a mad dog, has not failed in the cure of any one person, out of many, who have taken it.

TAKE twenty-four grains of *Native Cinnabar*, twenty-four grains of *Falitious Cinnabar*, and sixteen grains of the *finest Musk*; reduce each of these, separately, to an exceeding fine powder; then mix them well together in a glass of rum, arrack, or brandy, and drink it off, all at one dose, as soon as possibly you can after you are bit; and take a second dose thirty days after the first.— But suppose you should happen to be bit by a dog, and should neglect taking any remedy soon after the bite, upon a supposition that the dog was not mad; in such a case, as soon as any symptoms of madness appear in the person, by that neglect, they must take a dose as soon as possibly they can after those symptoms appear; and instead of taking a second dose thirty days after the first, as in the other case mentioned above, the second dose must be given three hours after the first, which, by throwing the patient into a profound sleep and a strong perspiration, will thoroughly cure the bite of any mad animal, though the distemper were in the very last stage.

The humble Address of the house of Commons to the King. [See p. 542.]

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of G. Britain in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our unfeigned thanks, for your most gracious speech from the throne, and to express our entire satisfaction in your Majesty's declaration of war against the crown of Spain; a war, which the repeated violences and depredations committed by the Spanish nation upon the trade and commerce of these kingdoms, the notorious violation of their most solemn engagements, their obstinate refusal of making reparation for past injuries and of giving security against the like for the future, have rendered just and unavoidable.

It is with the highest sense of duty and gratitude we acknowledge your Majesty's wisdom and paternal care of your people, in making use of the power granted to your Majesty by parliament, for the security and defence of these kingdoms, for the protection of our trade, and for the distressing and annoying our enemies in the most sensible and effectual manner; and we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that nothing shall divert or deter us from sustaining, with satisfaction and cheerfulness, any extraordinary expences and inconveniencies, that must inevitably attend the various and extensive services which your Majesty shall find necessary to undertake, in vindicating the honour of your crown, in asserting the rights of your people, and in procuring justice to an injured and provoked nation.

And we beseech your Majesty to accept the strongest and most affectionate assurances, that, in defence of your Majesty's kingdoms, and in support of the common cause of our country, we will raise such effectual supplies, and with such cheerfulness and dispatch, as will forward and give spirit to your Maje-

sty's preparations, and enable your Majesty to carry on the war with vigor.

And your dutiful Commons, being truly sensible of the fatal consequences of intestine heats and animosities, will with a zeal becoming the representatives of the people in parliament, endeavour to compose those unhappy divisions, which have too long prevailed among your Majesty's subjects; and we do assure your Majesty, that nothing shall be wanting on our part, to restore to the nation that union and harmony which may effectually defeat and disappoint all the vain projects, hopes, and expectations of your Majesty's open and secret enemies, both at home and abroad.

His Majesty's most gracious Answer.

Gentlemen,

I Return you my thanks for this dutiful and affectionate address. The unanimous support of my faithful Commons, in this just and national cause, will add the greatest weight to my warlike preparations, and, by the blessing of God, be the surest means of procuring success to my arms, and justice to my injured people.

The two following eclipses are calculated for Edinburgh, from Sir Isaac Newton's Theory, by

JOHN CHAPMAN junior.

On *Wednesday*, the 19th of *December* 1739, there will happen a small eclipse of the sun; the greater part of which will be over before the sun be up: 37 minutes 30 seconds past eight the sun will rise, 2 digits 30 minutes eclipsed on the north-east side; the eclipse will end 9 minutes 7 seconds past nine: all *apparent time*. This eclipse will be visible 31 minutes 37 seconds.

There will also happen a total eclipse of the moon, on the 2d of *January* 1740: the particulars of which are as follow:

	<i>Mean Time.</i>			<i>Apparent Time.</i>		
	<i>H.</i>	<i>m.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>H.</i>	<i>m.</i>	<i>s.</i>
Beginning of the eclipse <i>p. m.</i>	8	24	45	8	15	27
Beginning of total darkness	9	30	20	9	21	02
Middle	10	22	19	10	13	01
End of total darkness	11	14	18	11	05	00
End of the eclipse	12	19	53	12	10	35
Total duration	3	55	08			
Duration of total darkness	1	43	58			
Digits eclipsed	21°	01	49			

The moon will touch the shadow, at the beginning, about 40 degrees below her horizontal line, on the eastern side; and at the end, about 2 degrees above it, towards the west. *N. B.* There will be a conjunction between the Moon and *Saturn*, 24 minutes past five, *mean time*; when the moon will pass by the south side of *Saturn*, about one of her diameters distant from him.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

S I R,

Edinb.

AS your undertaking, no doubt, is designed for the service of your country, I am sure you cannot take it amiss if I now put it in your power, by publishing this, to touch at one very effectual means of answering that good design. I would recommend *punctual payments* as the foundation and root of all other improvements whatever; without which they can neither stand nor prosper. *Husbandry, manufactures, and trade*, are the three great methods of enriching a nation; but how can the farmer, the manufacturer, or the merchant, carry on any of them, unless his stock for that end be supported, and the money which he expends be returned, with reasonable profit, by REGULAR PAYMENTS. This piece of justice, in paying lawful debts, does not stop here; it extends to every individual of the society: for, as every one is connected with, and depends upon one another, and money circulates among them all, when you stop its *due course* with respect to any single member, you so far stop the circulation, and hurt the whole. If the retailer does not get his payment in *proper time*, he cannot pay his merchant, his merchant is so far disabled to pay the manufacturer, and the manufacturer to pay the husbandman; so that all, in some degree, suffer by the least failure in punctual payment; and, if the practice be long continued, or become universal, all must be ruined. The retailer will first turn bankrupt; the merchant, finding trade turn to no account, will be oblig'd to throw it up; the manufacturer will not work, or his wares must spoil on his hand; and the husbandman will have no encouragement to make improvements on his lands; since, at most, he can only draw a bare daily subsistence from them, without being able to grow rich by his labour, or perhaps even to pay his landlord's rent, which of course must be lessen'd, or the lands lie waste. And thus, by the nature of things, and the just judgment of providence, the evil circulates, and lights upon all, even those who were the occasions of it.

Some fine Gentlemen may perhaps alledge, that they have so many other uses for money, that they have none to spare for a parcel of tradesmen and mechanics. And what are those uses? either throwing it away in foreign places, to shew strangers our folly and extravagance, and expose us to the ridicule of the world; or upon French wines, to sot away their senses at home. These expences, like what they are bubbled out of at game, are debts of honour forsooth; and they are punctual indeed, to a fault, in the payment of them. For, if only pimps, whores, stage-players and wintners can have their money, every body will be brought to the dilemma of either following such laudable employments, or starving, which they will. Besides, all that they spend upon French wines, embroideries, brocades, lace, &c. is an injury done to their country: the money is sunk for ever, since we can never have any trade with France to balance the account.

There are many sober people, I know, who think a shop-keeper well enough paid (as they call it) if he get his money within four or five years after it is due. But, if they consider it right, they will find, that at this rate the shop-keeper must only be the sooner ruin'd the greater his trade is, instead of being able to live the better by it. For, if he sell at the common profit of 10 or 15 per cent: and want his money two or three years, he makes not a farthing of it; and if he want it longer, he is a loser in proportion. But, supposing he should be so provident as to foresee all this, and lay the additional interest of his money on the price of his goods, which is but just; yet other people will not give him so long credit without the same advantage: and so he must lay on the price double the interest of his money for the time he is to lie out of it. Thus the prices of every thing must, of necessity, by such dealing, be heightned: and the shop-keeper must still be at a loss; for, supposing any sudden demand, which commonly happens, it will be impracticable for him, were it to keep him out of prison, to raise 20 l. amongst all

his customers. This has been so often the case, and occasion'd the actual ruin of so many industrious families, that I'm surpris'd to see any sober man pretend to *honour* or *benefit*, and lay him under such difficulties. Many are guilty of it, I believe, for want of considering the matter fully, or of having it set in a clear light before them.

If the above considerations did not sufficiently argue the sinfulness of this unjust delay of payments, I could bring many texts from Scripture that plainly prove it. It is *withholding the wages of the hireling*; it is *usury*, in making the shop-keeper pay double interest for his lawful and reasonable profits; it is *oppression*, and worse than robbery on the highway, in taking and using that which is another's property, without giving him proper satisfaction for it: nay, it is the height of malice and uncharitableness, in turning us by their delay of payments into a proverb amongst our neighbours; who say, *we are like our gallows, long-winded; and those who put the bit into our mouths, had need to keep a good bridle-band.*

If we pretend to be either good *Patriots* or good *Christians*, let us be good paymasters, and put a stop to that dishonourable practice which at present so much prevails, and is so great a discouragement to trade. An amendment here would, in a little while, *change the face of things*, and soon produce a great alteration on the trade, riches, power and government of this country; for these four hang, by inseparable connection, together. Could I but persuade the bulk of us to make the experiment, at least for *some years*, I believe we would become so very sensible of the odds, that, as we would find ourselves *abler* to make punctual payments, so we should grow *fonder* of it; and, in a little time, the contrary practice would wear quite out of fashion, and an ill paymaster become as great a rarity as a good one is now.

Sometimes, indeed, but rarely, it may happen, that those who are obliged to contract shop-accounts shall not be able to pay punctually within the year; or, perhaps, it may be very inconvenient

for them to do so: but, no doubt, it is as inconvenient for the shop-keeper to want his money longer: and therefore, I see no remedy in that case, but to *give a bill bearing interest from the year's end*; and even that will not make up the trader's loss, who ought at least to make double the legal interest of his money by his business.

I would therefore propose, that all dealers of every sort should be allowed to charge interest on their accounts after the first year of non-payment is expired; and am of opinion, that if the parliament were applied to for that purpose, in a proper manner, by the trading people of both nations, they would readily grant the relief desired. But *until that be done in a publick way*, I would propose perhaps no less effectual an expedient, *viz. That a list should be made up of all those who do not pay or give bill at the end of the year, with the number of years their accounts are owing, and that it should be inserted from year to year in your Magazine for January.* This would either oblige people to more punctual payment, or be a sort of *civil prescription* against them; for who would ever give them credit afterwards? or if any was so unwary, he would have *himself* only to blame for his sufferings; since every body's true character would, in that publick respect, be universally known. *I am, &c.*

C—O.

CRAFTSMAN, Nov. 17.

The mischief attending a Monarchy where the Royal Favour is engrossed by one man.

WHEN a *single person* hath engrossed the royal favour to himself for many years, and assum'd the power of dictating counsels to his master, without admitting his *fellow-servant*: to the least participation, it becomes extremely difficult to defeat his measures, in any degree, or to prevent the ill effects of them, though it were ever so apparent that they tended to the destruction both of *prince and country.*

For, let the justice and goodness of the

the prince be never so well known; yet as long as his confidence is absolutely repos'd in one minister, and the advice of that minister constantly finds an incontroulable credit with him, it cannot be expected that the greatest and wisest of his counsellors will ever venture to disabuse him; especially if they have been some of his most faithful and able servants dismissed, for not yielding an implicit obedience to the arbitrary will of the minister. They will think it more prudent to reserve themselves to a better season. They will wait till the conduct of the minister shall expose itself in the most glaring manner; till the difficulties he blunders into shall prepare the royal ear for sounder advice; because the certain effect of offering good advice, whilst the power of the minister with the prince remained irresistible, would be exposing themselves to his revenge, without a possibility of doing any good.

A minister, of this Vizier kind, would ever regard the interest of prince or country in any other manner than as subservient to his own. Affairs, both abroad and at home, would be always conducted with this single view. War or peace would be the portion of the country, as either should be thought most conducive to his ease and security. If his pusillanimity should represent war as a state of danger, always to be avoided, lest it should interrupt the quiet enjoyment of his despotick authority; or law from him those treasures, which his interest requir'd for other purposes; or, perhaps, lest it should introduce to the favour and confidence of his prince men of military honour and experience, who would not be subservient to his commands: whatever might be his motives, or his fears, he would be deaf to the cries of a whole nation; he would never be diverted from a fruitless train of negotiations, treaties, preliminaries, conventions, and specious pacifications of every kind. If a conduct quite contrary to the bent and inclination of the people should produce a general murmuring, and a strong opposition to himself, he would not fail to assure his prince

that it was owing to a mutinous and seditious temper against his government, which ought to be suppressed by power, or otherwise it would grow upon him by indulgence.

Solomon says, that in the multitude of counsellors there is safety. It must therefore be happy, both for prince and people, when the royal favour is unconfin'd, and freely communicated to all his faithful counsellors. Then will some men be found of probity and ability enough to advise such measures, as will soon convince the prince of the true disposition of his people.

I do not intend to apply these thoughts and reflections wholly to the present times; but I have been led into them, by observing the tenor of those dissertations, with which the band of Gazetteers have oblig'd the publick for some years past.

The cruelties of the Spaniards to our sailors have been either constantly denied, or diminish'd. The depredations of our merchants have been, in a good measure, justified, on pretence of illicit trade. War, especially with the Spaniards, hath been represented as a measure so much to be avoided by a trading nation, that no injuries should provoke us to enter upon it.

The various treaties and pacifications made, from time to time, have been all applauded in their day, though constantly found delusive and ineffectual. On the contrary, it hath been maintain'd, both by speaking and writing, that the Spanish insolence was grown so exorbitant by our tameness and forbearance, that nothing could convince them we dar'd to resent their insults, but turning our inactive squadrons into hostile fleets. The voice of the people universally concurred in this sentiment, and exclaim'd against every pacifick expedient which hath been almost annually offer'd.

What should the trusty stipendiaries of power do, in such a case? The voice of the people is diametrically opposite to the conduct of the minister. Why then the people, great and small, are seditious, impatient of legal government, insensible of their felicity, and attempting to

involve their country in the confusions of *war*, in order to make way for the *pretender*. I appeal to the whole world whether this hath not been the language of *those writers*. But it cannot be supposed that such misrepresentations have reach'd the royal ear. No presumption of superior power and credit can have embolden'd any man to *such a leasing-making of the people to their sovereign*: or if any such whippers have ever enter'd the *closet*, what a delight must it give to every true lover of his *King and country*, to see them so effectually refused by the loyal acclamations of all ranks of men, in every city and town, where *his Majesty's declaration of war* hath been proclaim'd? Such a natural and unfeign'd zeal for *his service*, as well as such an animosity against *our cruel enemies*, hath been universally expressed, that a more vigorous resentment against *that haughty and faithless nation* could not have appeared even in the glorious days of *Q. Elizabeth*.

Many people wish that the generous spirit of resentment, which discovers itself every where, had been indulged some years sooner; being of opinion, that the present weak and helpless condition of *Spain* shews how easily she might have been brought to terms, when she had no reason to hope for the assistance of *France*, and before *France* was arriv'd at her present height of power.

It is not my business to say by whose wife advice *Britain* is at last in a posture to avenge her wrongs; nor by whose counsels the power of her fleets hath been so long restrain'd; nor whether the *Assogue* ships, as well as the *Caraccas*, might not have been taken by proper orders. Those points, and many others, will receive a full and impartial examination in a *place*, where no tenderness to explore, and no backwardness to discover *bidden mysteries* of any sort will be found; and where all matters concerning the state and condition of the nation will be thoroughly search'd to the bottom.

Then will all hearts and all hands unite with emulation to support and main-

tain a war so necessary to the honour of our *King*, and the happiness of *our country*; whether we should be forced to carry it on singly against *united crowns*, or in conjunction with our *old allies*.

When they see the ancient valour of *England* vigorously exerted, and the counsels of it resolutely and steadily pursued, they will, no doubt, return to their former confidence in us, and again form an alliance, not more useful to *us*, than necessary to *their own safety*. If they should ask what is become of *some brave Generals*, with whose courage and honour they were so well acquainted in the *last war*, they will find them ready to return from their retirement, and resume their arms in defence of *their country*, and the liberties of *Europe*.

What have been the effects of all our boasted wisdom? Is it not to be wished, that *Europe* was now in the same state and condition, as when the *spirit of negotiation* first seized upon us? Is it not to be wished, that we had never entered into that alliance with *France* against the *Emperor*, to which the present formidable power of the *former crown* is owing? Is it not to be wished, that we had never carried *Don Carlos* and his *Spanish* troops into *Italy*; and, consequently, that the *Emperor* had never been engaged in the *Italian war*; or else that he had been supported in it, so as to have preserved his strength as a bulwark against *France*, and to have prevented the important acquisition of *Lorraine*? Is it not to be wished, that the *Emperor* had not been encouraged to concern himself in the *Polish election*, which drew him into the war with the *Turk*? Is it not to be wished, that our friendship with *France* had not been cultivated so far as to make us connive at the reparation of *Dunkirk*, which may prove very soon a sharp thorn in our sides?

What can be meant by saying, that we have forbore to make *war*, till it hath been forced upon us by necessity, and therefore we need not doubt of success in it? Would not success in a *war* have been much less doubtful three or four years ago, or at any time sooner?

Can any success attend our arms without reproach to those, who have tied them up so long? Was it not evident that the Spaniards would never relinquish their usurped right of searching, till they were compelled to it by force? and, consequently, was not a war then us necessary, as it would have been safe and easy? But did not our present honourable minister oppose a war to the last? Did he not call it another man's war? If therefore it should prove as successful as every good Englishman wishes, we will have no right to the credit of it; but if it should fail of success, thro' his own bad management, he will be certainly answerable for the consequences of it. He must not think to put the old schoolboy's trick upon us, *Heads I win, and tails you lose.*

It is no new thing to see the whole city of London abused and insulted by a mercenary faction, when any great exigency, or eminent danger, hath forced them to a publick declaration against the measures of that faction's patron. It must be remembered that the patron himself did the same in the most opprobrious terms, on the defeat of that execrable scheme for extending the excise-laws. His creatures have followed his example, in a most licentious manner, upon a late incident. The citizens of London judged it proper to exert their known, acknowledged right, at the last election of a Lord Mayor. They rejected, almost unanimously, the pretensions of one, whose conduct was so suddenly and surprisngly changed, and whose sentiments on the present critical state of publick affairs were so different from their own, that they could not in prudence repose so great a confidence in him as the trust of that high office required. At the same time, they returned thanks to their representatives for voting against the late convention, the stipulations of which they apprehended not to be such as the honour of the nation, and the injuries of the merchants necessarily required. They likewise recommended to their representatives the repeal of a clause in that act, which gives to the court of Aldermen what is called the negative. Can it be said,

with any colour of truth, that they acted illegally, or that they have so much as gone out of their way, in so doing? Yet have we seen a pack of infamous hirelings, presuming to threaten this great corporation with the weight of parliamentary punishment, for actions justly and naturally flowing from a charter of liberties, more often and more solemnly confirmed than, perhaps, any other right in the kingdom. We have seen the constituent members of this corporation, legally assembled, traduced as a restless, daring faction; a faction, which would extirpate common sense, and bring madness into fashion; as spreaders of sedition, and enemies to the publick peace. Such is the language which this great body of Gentlemen hath frequently experienced from the partisans of power.

COMMON SENSE, Nov. 17.

Danger of Placemen in Parliament.

Shakespeare compares some misfortunes to a toad, which, tho' a creature ugly and hideous, yet sometimes a precious jewel is found in its head.

I think the same simile will fit our late convention, which, with all its deformities, hath also carried a jewel in its head. What I mean is, that it hath put our placemen under a necessity of taking off the mask.

When other unpopular measures have been taken, they vouchsafed to offer some bad reasons in their defence. If they found they could not impose upon us, they hoped to make us believe that they themselves had been imposed upon. But now they seem weary of dissembling.

They have frankly declared, they have nothing to do with the merit of any publick measure; they are to defend their leader, and their leader is to protect them. King and country are out of the case with them; they are neither Guelphs nor Ghibelines: they are neither of the Patrician or Plebeian party; but, like Cataline and his conspirators, they are to stick by one another, that they may riot in the spoils of the commonwealth.

Talk to a placeman of such a man's robbing the publick at home, and ruining its interests by his blunders abroad, he will answer like the *French* surgeon, who, visiting the abbey of *St Denis*, fell upon his knees before the tomb of *Lewis XI.* which one of the Monks observing, told him, that was not the tomb of a saint. He may not be your saint, good father, answered the surgeon, but he is mine; for it was he first brought the pox into *France*, by which I have gain'd 150,000 *livres*.

Just so do placemen reason upon a minister's merits. Is he corrupt? then he is our saint; we shall gain 150,000 *livres* apiece by it; for he must protect the like practices in others. So that while he is playing the devil with the nation, he may be worshipp'd up to a God by his placemen.

Who would not be a minister upon these terms? He that places his safety in the merits of his administration, must maintain the nation's honour abroad, and husband the publick money at home.

A man grown old in the study of tricks and practice of little jobs, cannot go to the expence of that knowledge which is necessary for transacting business with foreign courts. If he is to keep his hands clean, what violence must he not do to his natural inclinations! All his vicious passions, his avarice, his vanity, his very lust must be left ungratified.

But give a man all the employments in a large empire, and let him have an immanent secret service money without account, and he may be able to remove all the terrors that threaten guilty men. Impunity (says *Cicero*) hath tempted many a man to crimes, which he would not otherwise have thought of. Here will be wealth and power to tempt him on one side, and security on the other; so that, in the space of a few years, he may fortify himself in corruption, and grow impregnable in roguery.

The people, with respect to their liberties, are sometimes in the condition of men in a town besieged, and must use the same vigilance; they must often review their fortifications, and see they

are not weaken'd or impaired. If the sinews of war are in the enemy's hands, if they are increased in strength and number, if they raise batteries in fight, and charge the cannon up to the mouth, it is time to make new works; in a word, when it comes to this, you must disarm the placemen, or the town will be taken.

Employments are become so numerous, and so vastly lucrative, that every body must see, that the wealth of this nation hath, for some years past, taken a new channel, and been running into the pockets of the placemen. Formerly, the merchants and wholesale traders of this kingdom were the people, who bought lands, built houses, and rais'd families; but look round the country, and examine who have purchased large estates, and built costly edifices within these last thirty years, and you will find, they are all done by people from the Treasury, Exchequer, Admiralty, Navy, Post-office, Pay-office, &c. nay, down to the very Clerks. It is a true observation, that what is got by rapine, is often spent in luxury; and when I see the expensive buildings of one of these placemen, and observe how the houses of the neighbouring Gentry are going to ruin, it puts me in mind of the plant call'd the *Ill-neighbour*, that draws all the nourishment away from other plants, grows vastly high itself, and starves every thing about it: a strong example of which may be seen a little northward, where the whole revenue of a county is run into one house; and a better estate crowded into a closet, than the owner was born to; at the same time that trade and manufactures are declining, and a growing poverty spreads round the neighbourhood.—

Tho' we are at more than a year's distance from a new election, I do not think it too soon to give the electors some cautions against chusing a placeman.

Numerous employments have already occasioned strange revolutions in this kingdom. The son of a peasant, who has the good fortune to be admitted a low domestick in some placeman's family, and afterwards made clerk in some office thro' which the publick money passes,

ness, hath returned, in a few years, a great man into his country, and bribed the country Gentleman out of his own borough; perhaps the very Gentleman whose bounty our candidate's poor forefathers were beholding for their read. This is one mortifying effect of the great profit of places, of which more instances than one may be given within these forty years.

How are estates made in offices? By perquisites: which is but another name for so many frauds; for tho' their salaries are larger than they ought to be, such great estates cannot be raised out of the savings of a salary, considering that placemen are the people of expence, and that give the example of all kinds of luxury.

The publick can never be reliev'd by parliament, unless it is fill'd with men of most disinterested minds. Are those noble minds to be met with in persons long practis'd in the little low tricks of offices? would they not rather defend that corruption from whence they sprung, and, to put themselves above contempt, sacrifice the nation's interest to enlarge their own power?

What must become of a nation with such representatives? But suppose they should not be all such, and that a few men of families, to their eternal infamy, should join with them, they can have the honour to be no more than their tools, and must be hated with them.

I will go further, and ask, will a representative of any kind of placeman pay off the publick debts, and redeem some of the taxes? whereby several employments must fall, and the perquisites of others be lessen'd.

It is a melancholy truth, that, as a country grows poor, employments make men more considerable in their country; they are thereby set higher above their neighbours; and the people are more easily subdued and governed when poor; which consideration alone should make this nation dread a parliament of placemen. It will be no falsehood to say, that trade hath declined, that the Gentry and common people have paid heavy taxes, that the merchants have suffered by de-

predations, that all people have felt the weight of the times, except placemen. Will a parliament of placemen mend the matter? I will tell how far it will mend it: When any calamity falls upon the country, and every man is lamenting his loss, the nation will have the mortification to see the authors of the mischief the only persons in plenty and joy.

Parliaments are to punish all the mismanagements and corruptions that can enter into any part of government, otherwise they are of no use to the people; so that a parliament of placemen is a contradiction to common sense; it is, without any thing else, a change in the constitution, and turns the government into a commonwealth; nay, the worst kind of commonwealth, a scandalous democracy of the lowest and the most worthless of the people. Chuse a parliament of placemen, and you become the slaves of your own servants: the places will then make all the laws of the country; nay, they will make the very religion of the country: they will not only make the laws, but they will execute the laws. The places will impose all taxes, and the places will apply the money. In a word, the fortunes of all the people of *England* will lie at the mercy of placemen.

Of all kinds of government, the most unnatural, as well as grievous, is that which writers upon government call *imperium in imperio*; and such must a parliament of placemen produce. On one side, it must render the people weak and without weight; on the other, make the crown appear a cypher, a meer pageant for shew, a thing without power or authority.

Cicero tells us, that wise men are instructed by reason; men of less understanding, by experience; the most ignorant, by necessity; and beasts, by nature.

To apply which to the subject before us, we may say, that reason, experience, necessity, and nature's first law, which is self-defence, oblige the people of this nation to take some legal measures to prevent a parliament of placemen.

DAILY GAZETTER, Nov. 20.

The Doctrines of the CRAFTSMAN and COMMON SENSE of Nov. 17. consider'd.

I Have heard it urged, as an argument for the *genius* of the writers against the present constitution and government, that they have no sooner been *abused*, or *left sight*, of one pretended subject of complaint, than another has been, by some means or other, substituted in its place. But they have lately fallen to short of *invention*, that, at a time when, by the conduct of an administration they have so long, and so avowedly labour'd to overturn, the nation is confessed, even by these blind guides themselves, to be in a fit posture to revenge our injuries, and to defend our natural and political rights; at a time the whole body of the *nation's friends* are unanimous in endeavouring to give each man his best assistance to the common cause of his country, these dull advocates for sedition, these often-boasted *enemies* of the *nation's foes*, are meanly busied in the ridiculous task of striving to render one *honourable person* odious, for advising and pursuing measures which, with the same breath, they *approve*, and *condemn* him for effecting!

Mr *D'Awers* begins his first offering to the *people*, after the sitting down of the *parliament*, with informing his readers, that "When a *single person*, &c. [*down to the end of the first paragraph Craft. Nov. 17. p. 574. above.*]"

If *Caleb* were obliged to affix some *certain meaning* to this paragraph, I believe he would heartily wish it had never dropp'd from his pen; since, notwithstanding the mean sophistry with which it is expressed, it can never be clear'd of a manifest insult upon the royal character to which he pays such an *awkward deference*: for it is easy to perceive, that the *blame* so slightly thrown upon the supposed *single person* for engrossing the royal favour, is principally intended to fall upon him who, according to Mr *D'Awers's* very modest state of the case, suffers his favour to be engrossed. This is the undeniable tendency of the above citation. If

a minister's measures are *difficult* to defeat, whence arises the *difficulty*? Can they be supposed difficult to defeat on account of the *single person* only? Surely no. If a sovereign supports them a most eligible for his own honour and the good of his subjects, that they *cannot be defeated without difficulty*, will be the *advantage* of his *dominions*.—But it may not be amiss to add Mr *D'Awers's* own explanation.

"For (*says he*) let the justice, &c. [*down to disabuse him in the second paragraph.*]"

The *Craftsman's* opinion of the *justice* and *goodness* here ascribed to the prince, may be judged from his giving *uncontrollable credit* to one minister; and his *wisdom*, from rendering it *dangerous* for the *greatest* and *wisest* counsellors to *venture to disabuse him!*—*Alas, Caleb!* this daubing is too coarse for a sign-post, and will scarcely be relished by your readers of *Hockley-bate*: The *mask of loyalty* you have worn quite out; and, as things stand at present, it would certainly be best for you to throw aside all disguise, to utter your whole heart, and speak like a traitor at once,—if it were but to have an opportunity of *bellying* for the *liberty of the press*. 'Tis high time to cease trifling: *war* is now commenced: if it was the counsel of *one man*, it has met with the concurrence of the *whole nation*; what then avails it to insinuate our publick conduct to be the result of private counsel, when the whole land applauds it?

To follow the complaint of the undue influence of the counsels of *one single person*, while so many other people think *themselves* full as *wise*, would be paying this miserable scribbler more notice than he merits at present. But I would, on this occasion, be so far Mr *D'Awers's* friend as to remind him, that ancient history and modern experience have furnish'd examples which give room for paying the greatest regard to the counsels of a *single person*: *France* raised herself to the splendor with which she has lately shone, by a happy *succession* of able, and (at least to her interests) *faithful* ministers; the completion of the late

ambitious views of Spain have generally been attributed to the counsels of *one bead*; the glorious figure England made against the attempts of Spain under Q. Elizabeth, was evidently owing to the steady counsels of *one minister*, who was a *lover of peace*, and the *butt of his country's enemies*; and, by an unfortunate change, and the hasty removal of a *great and generous minister*, (whose only crime was a faithful love of his country) the latter part of the reign of Q. Anne was overcast by such a *cloud*, as almost screens the many glorious events with which the former part of her reign was distinguished.

That the entertainment of the day may be of a piece, *modest Mr Common Sense* has out-done his brother *D'Anvers*, and every other professor of *scurrility* that has gone before him: but, being equally to seek for a subject for his harangue, is glad to make the *late convention* begin his oration, by comparing it to a *toad*; after which he talks of *conspirators*, the *French pox*, of *playing the devil*, of *roguery*, &c. &c. &c. and, as a *reason* for that *extraordinary stile*, he complains (without hope of remedy) That while a great many men are blest with *places* and *perquisites*, and there are such things as a *Treasury*, an *Exchequer*, *Admiralty*, *Navy*, *Post-office*, *Pay-office*, &c. and that while the officers belonging to these are able to *build houses*, he is glad of a *garret*: In consideration of which he most earnestly begs, that the freeholders of G. Britain will charitably *punish their pre-eminence*, by keeping them out of the house of Commons; because, says he, the *son of a peasant may become a gentleman*;—though, if I mistake not, the best *representatives of the people* among the ancients were no other than peasants themselves.

It is impossible to argue with this writer, who in one sentence complains of the *sums saved* by Gentlemen in place, and in the next asserts, that they are the *people of expence*, who give the example of *all kinds of luxury*: nay, so lost is this *abandoned Papist* to common sense, as to term the whole executive part of the government, and the care of

our whole political interests, the *LOW TRICKS OF OFFICES*; though he must think his readers as weak as himself, to believe the business of a nation can be done without the *necessary officers*: and if, to serve his country, renders a man *low* and *contemptible*, from what source must *true honour* result? since *Majesty* itself gathers its *real lustre* more from *servng* and promoting the interests of a people, than from merely reigning over them.—Nothing but the disappointment of this writer's *last hopes* could drive him to stile a *house of Commons* a *democracy*, (without paying any regard to the *other part* of our legislature); and, on supposition of its having a majority of Gentlemen worthy the service of their country, to compliment them as the *lowest* and *most worthless* of the people.—Madness indeed! to make the *possession of places*, abstractedly from any *other view*, render a man *low* and *worthless*; when all he is *scolding* for is, that his own friends may, by possessing those very places, become equally *low* and *unworthy*!—What absurdity is too great for the *tool of a party* to assert! what too ridiculous for an *emissary of Rome* to utter!

From premises of his own, he next deduces a consequence he fancies will frighten his readers; but it must be the unwary only he can scare, by saying, that *if such and such things* should ever happen, *the fortunes of all the people of England will lie at the mercy of placemen*; such a supposition being wholly unnecessary, there never being a happy nation in the universe where it was otherwise: for all who are, *according to the constitution of a country*, intrusted with the government of the people, are certainly *placemen*; and longer than *such placemen* have the authority belonging to their respective posts, the government cannot be continued, nor the people preserved in the quiet possession of their fortunes. Nay, it is absolutely impossible for a man *out of place*, let his intentions be ever so generous, to serve a people so much, and with such *safety* and *effect*, as if he were in *place*. A man who has a share of *publick govern-*

ment assign'd him, by using his utmost power to *serve a people*, can be suspected of nothing more than a *hearty discharge* of the *trust reposed* in him; whereas a man who has no other claim to *popular authority* than his *own appointment*, tho' he may design the *good of others*, will always be subject to the censure of aiming at his *own popularity* and *advancement*. Instances of this kind are frequent among us; and it has been the misfortune of those who have cried *loudest* for the *service of the people* while out of power, to have most neglected their interests when they have got possession of it.

This writer concludes with the saying of *Cicero*, That *wise men are instructed by reason; men of less understanding, by experience; the most ignorant, by necessity; and BEASTS, by NATURE*. And it is to be regretted, that a man should have vanity enough to offer himself for a publick monitor, whom neither *reason, experience, nor necessity* can reclaim from that *brutality* with which his nature is so largely tinctur'd. *Reason* would teach him the unfitness of his idle clamours at any time, but more especially at the present; *experience*, that while the people judge for themselves, he hoops only to a deaf adder; and, if he listen'd to *these*, he must of *necessity* hold his tongue: but in him, spite of *reason, experience, necessity*, and every thing else, the sense of *Cicero* must be verified, and *NATURE* will prevail.

EDINBURGH, November 1739.

THE Reverend Commission of the General Assembly met the beginning of this month, and ordered the eight seceding ministers to be cited to appear at the bar of the next Assembly; and agreed on an act for a national fast, to implore the blessing of God for success to his Majesty's arms, &c. At the same time, they humbly addressed his Majesty to nominate the day on which it should be observed, and further to interpose his royal authority for that effect. In consequence of this, the

King has been pleas'd, by a proclamation, to order its observance on the 9th day of January next, thro' Scotland; as also in England and Wales.

The following Scots manufactures were exported to London from Leith this month, *viz.* 48,600 skins dress'd in allum and oil, 18,443 yards of linen and cambrick, 906 dozen of linen handkerchiefs, 720 lb of thread, 2001 lb of snuff, &c.

LONDON, November 1739.

THE present posture of the affairs of this nation, and the unanimity of parliament, not only in granting the necessary supplies for the service of the war, but in laying a foundation for the future security of our rights, must afford entire satisfaction to every friend of G. Britain. Both houses, in a full body, waited on the King; when the Lord Chancellor presented an address, humbly beseeching his Majesty, never to admit of any treaty of peace with the crown of Spain, unless the acknowledgment of our natural and indubitable right to navigate in the American seas, to and from any part of his Majesty's dominions, without being seized, searched, visited, or stopped, under any pretence whatsoever, should have been first obtained as a preliminary thereto. To which his Majesty made the following most gracious answer.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I thank you for this dutiful address, which is so agreeable to former resolutions of both houses of parliament. Your unanimous and vigorous support in carrying on the war, will be the best means of procuring safe and honourable terms of peace; and you may rely on my utmost care and endeavour, to obtain effectual security for the just rights of navigation and commerce belonging to my subjects."

35,000 seamen are allowed for the service of the year; and there are now 30,000 land forces on the British establishment, 12,000 on that of Ireland, 6000 marines to be raised, 6000 Danes, and 30,000 Hanoverians, at his Majesty's disposal. Besides, four new inde-

endent companies of invalids, are to be raised, and the regiments of Gibraltar and Minorca are to consist of the same number with those on the British establishment. A list is ordered to be taken of all the French Papists within the bills of mortality; and, as it seems by parliament of Ireland are apprehensive of danger from people of that persuasion, they have addressed the Lord lieutenant, that they may be disarm'd; which his Excellency has complied with, and given orders accordingly. The Governors of our colonies abroad have taken care to put them in the best posture of defence. The trading vessels which are now in Jamaica are likely to be detain'd for want of sailors to navigate them home; a prodigious keeness having appeared amongst them to venture against the Spaniards aboard the ships which have been allowed letters of marque from the Governor. The Earl of Waldegrave having complain'd to the court of France, that some Spanish vessels had seized ships belonging to the subjects of G. Britain in the river of Bourdeaux, the French ministers have surpris'd him, that orders were sent to the super officers there, to seize the Spaniards and their vessels, and to restore immediately to the British subjects their ships and effects.

British ships taken by the Spaniards.

The St Joseph, White, taken within cannon-shot of the Portuguese fort of Faro: The Dolphin, Rhymes, bound for Barbadoes with Governor Byng's baggage; the Friendship of Southampton, Joseph Smith; the Endfield, Smith; the Prince of Orange, Sears, and the loop of Pat. Fortune, of Dublin, carried into St Sebastians: The ships of Isaac Woodbury, Moses Calley, and Isaac Le Crawe, into Bilboa: The Aryle, Luke; the Partipreche, Edw. Erick, and the Rachel, Rowze, into Majorca: The Somerset, Oliver, into Alicant: The Joanna of Bristol, Nayer, into Cadix: The ships of—Bunkle of Queensferry, and—Wilkie of Aberbrothock, taken near Bourdeaux: The John of Waterford, Chifty, taken within 11 leagues of Bourdeaux: The

John and Mary, Bootley, at Hijon: The Golden Fleece of Topsham, John Lee, and the Betty, Stephens. Besides several others whose names are not come to hand.

His Majesty's men of war, and some Jamaica and other privateers, have made prizes of several Spanish ships.

P. S. London, Dec. 6. Yesterday S. S. stock was 96, 1 half. India, 157 1 4th. Ditto old annuities, 109, 1 4th a 1 half. Ditto new, 109, 1 half a 5 8th. Bank stock, 138, 3 4th. Three per cent. India bonds, 3 l. 19 s. a 18 s. prem. Three per cent. annuities, 98, 1 half a 3 4th. Million bank, 111, 1 half. Royal assurance, 88. London assurance, 11, 1 8th. English copper, 3 l. 6 s. 6 d. Welch ditto, 15 s. African, 13, 1 half. Seven per cent. Emperor's loan, 110. Five per cent. ditto, 95. Bank circulation, 2 l. 7 s. 6 d. prem. Three per cent. S. S. bonds, no price. Three 1 half per cent. Exchequer orders, no price. Three per cent. ditto, 5 discount. Salt tallies, 1 half, a 1 prem. Lottery tickets, 5 l. 1 s. 6 d.

MARRIAGES.

Henry Moncke, and — Mafon, Esqs, both of the kingdom of Ireland, the former married to the Lady Arabella Bentink, sister to the Duke of Portland; and the latter, to the Lady Betty Villers, daughter to the Earl of Grandefon.

BIRTHS.

The Lady Talbot, delivered of a son and heir. The Dutchess of Richmond, delivered of a daughter. The Countess of Albemarle, of a daughter.

DEATHS.

Gen. Sabine, a General of foot, Governor of Gibraltar, Colonel of the Welch fusileers, &c. — Gen. Napier, Governor of the hospitals, and Lt Gen. of the forces in Ireland. — The Earl of Strafford, a Knight of the Garter, &c. — The Earl of Stamford. — The Ld Compton, only son of the Earl of Northampton. — The two only sons of Henry Pelham Esq; Paymaster of the forces. — Sir George Walton, late Admiral

miral of the Blue. — Lt Col. Joseph Cathbert, of Col. St George's regiment. — Capt. Benson, of Col. Onslow's regiment. — Quartermaster Sol. Heathcote, of the Earl of Pembroke's horse. — Sir Nicholas Pelham Kt. — Claudius Roudau Esq; British Resident at Petersburg. — Charles Jarvis Esq; his Majesty's principal painter. — Jo. Smith Esq; robber to his Majesty at the house of Peers, and one of the chief Clerks in the new Pell office in the exchequer. — Paul Vailant, bookseller, London — Mr Thomas Garnier, apothecary to Chelsea hospital. — Paul Dufour Esq; treasurer of the French hospital for lame, sick, and lunatics, in Bun-hill-fields. — Dr William Cockburn, physician, London, by whose will Sir Alexander Cockburn of Langton succeeds him in an estate of 20,000 l. — Ernest Lesly of Balquhain, Esq; — Lady Susan Hay, Sister to the Marquis of Tweeddale. — William Earl of Dalhousie, and Lady Anne his daughter. — The Lady of Col. James Urquhart. — The Lady of Patrick Lindesay Esq; Representative in parliament for the city of Edinburgh. — At Kilkevan, in Wexford county in Ireland, Margaret Lawler, in the 135th year of her age.

PREFERMENTS.

The Duke of Manchester, a Lord of the bed-chamber. — The Earl of Morton, Grand Master of the fraternity of Free Masons in Scotland. — Mr Serj. Wright, one of the Barons of the Exchequer. — John Strange, Esq; Solicitor-General, Recorder of the city of London. — Charles Clarke, Esq; Representative for Huntington; and Charles Gore, Esq; for Cricklade in Wilts. — Hon. Mr Wallop, son to the Ld Visc. Lymington, and Mr Chamberlayne, son to George Chamberlayne, Esq; Member for Buckingham, Pages of honour to the King, in the room of John Lee and John Ashburnham, Esqs, appointed Cornets of horse. — John Harrison, Esq; Clerk of the Naval office, and Provost-Marshal of Nova Scotia. — John Ellis, Esq; Keeper of the beasts in the Tower, Principal Painter to his Majesty. — Mr Daniel Graham, Apothecary to his Majesty's person, Apothecary to

Chelsea hospital. — James Rob, Goal-Keeper in Edinburgh, in the room of John Henderson. — Lt Gen. Daniel, Colonel of the regiment of foot in the Leeward islands, lately the Duke of Marlborough's. — Lt Gen. Clayton, Governor, and Maj. Gen. Hargrave, Lieutenant-Governor of Gibraltar. — The Earl of Crawford, Colonel of the regiment into which the six Highland, with the addition of other four independent companies, are to be form'd. — Lt Col. Piets, Colonel of the West sables. — Lt Col. Francis Fuller, of the first regiment of foot-guards, Colonel of the regiment of foot lately Brig. Read's. — Edward Wolfe, Esq; of the 3d regiment of foot-guards; Lt Col. William Robinson, of Gen. Handasyde's regiment; Anthony Lowther, Esq; of the 2d regiment of foot-guards; Lt Col. John Wynyard, of Gen. Tyrrel's regiment; Lt Col. Charles Douglas, of Gen. Howard's regiment, and Lewis Ducie Moreton, of the 3d regiment of foot-guards, Colonels of the Marines. — Captains Martin, Greig, Macleod, and Delabone, Majors to four of the regiments of marines. — Charles Hanbury-Williams, Member for Monmouthshire, Paymaster to the Marines. — Charles Frampton, Esq; Lieutenant-Colonel; William Merrick, Esq; First Major, and Richard Ingoldby, Esq; Second Major, to the 1st regiment of foot-guards. — Hon. Charles Fielding, and Capt. Lt Lambton, Colonels in the 2d regiment of foot guards; and Lt Ogilvie, a Colonel in the 3d. — Sir Andrew Agnew, Major, Lieutenant-Colonel; and Capt. Peter Halkett, Member for Inverkeithen, &c. Major, of the Scots sables. William Cochran, Esq; Lieutenant-Colonel of Col. Douglas's regiment of marines. He is succeeded as Lieutenant-Colonel of Gen. Oglethorpe's regiment in Georgia, by Major Cook of the same regiment; and Major Cook is succeeded by Capt. Edmonson of the guards. — Genet Rich. Fitz-Williams, and Lt Col. Captains in Col. Bland's regiment. — John Hamilton, Esq; Naval officer for Jamaica. — Capt. Smith, Commandant of the Lark; and Capt. Crawford, of the Southcastle.

Died within the walls of the city of Edinburgh, and buried in the Gray-friars church-yard, November 1739.

Men 17, women 23, children 44. In all, 84. Increased this month, 7.

AGE. N°. DISEASES. N°.

AGE. N°.	DISEASES. N°.
Under — 2	29
2 & 5	12
5 & 10	3
10 & 20	2
20 & 30	4
30 & 40	5
40 & 50	9
50 & 60	7
60 & 70	8
70 & 80	5

Consumption	18
Chin-cough	10
Fever —	15
Old age —	5
Suddenly —	4
Teething —	7
Still-born —	3
Small-pox —	11
Child-bed —	1
Stone —	1
Iliack-passion	1
Dropsy —	3
Palsy —	2
Asthma —	1
Cancer —	1
Flux —	1

Betwixt

so that the publick may expect soon to be informed of the chief particulars: Last winter some Polish Lords sent the Sieur G—ki to Constantinople, with letters for the Grand Seignior and Grand Vizier, which were to serve as his credentials, empowering him to make certain proposals to the Ottoman Porte, and to treat with their ministers. This emissary was very well received; and the answers that were returned to each of his proposals were such, that the Polish Lords had no reason to distrust the success of their dangerous enterprise; as indeed they did not. But both the proposals and the answers are fallen into the hands of our court, together with several other later pieces concerning that horrid negotiation. The last are not yet publick; but the following is the substance of the former, viz. the proposals made to the Gr. Seignior by the Sieur G—ki, and of his Highness's answer.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

THE success of the modern Cyrus, the celebrated KOULI KAN, in the vast dominions of the Great Mogul, is confirmed by accounts received by the E. India company at London. The last letters say, that he had shut up the Sovereign of the Indies, with all his children and relations, in a castle, and had put out their eyes. But we would fain hope that circumstance of cruelty, in so great a conqueror, untrue; barbarity being the province only of low minds:—*We have not named the Spaniards.*

Various are the accounts from TURKEY and from RUSSIA, relating to a peace between those empires: each mail varies the articles, and every courier is said to carry advices directly opposite to the preceding. Amidst these doubts, the following relation may not be unacceptable. It is dated from Petersburg, the 7th of November, N. S.

“The pernicious league or conspiracy, which was lately said to have been formed against this empire and its allies, breaks out every day more and more;

I. I am come to the Most Serene Ottoman Porte, with the consent of certain Polish Senators, from whom I have brought letters.

Answer. Because it is expressly said in the letters of the said Senators that credit may be given to the bearer thereof, the Porte will give credit to what he shall propose clearly by word of mouth.

II. The republick of Poland demands and insists, That the peace concluded with the Most Serene Porte by the treaty of Carlowitz may be inviolably maintained.

Ans. Since the treaty of Carlowitz, the Porte has constantly taken care, that the said treaty be inviolably maintain'd to the latest times.

III. The republick of Poland demands moreover, That the Porte and Poland may reciprocally be friends to their respective friends, and enemies to their respective enemies.

Ans. The Porte consents to this demand; and, as soon as they have certain advice that the Poles are confederated, they will give orders for the Ottoman army to join that of Poland, and that both shall act in concert either for peace or for war.

IV. In pursuance of this confederacy and alliance concluded with the Most Serene Porte, we the confederates desire the Porte to lend us 3 or 400,000 Hungarian ducats, to augment the Polish army; which sum the Most Serene Porte shall reimburse themselves out of the contributions to be raised in Muscovy.

Ans. As soon as the Porte has certain advice that the Poles have formed their confederacy, it will assist them with the sum desired, as well as with its army: and as to the payment of that sum, the same shall be settled in due time and place.

V. The republick demands, That the Porte maintain an army of 50,000 Turks and Tartars near Choczim and Sorocca, in order to succour the Poles in case of an invasion.

Ans. This army shall march at the beginning of next spring, with orders to assist the Poles without reserve, as soon as ever they have need of it. The Most Serene Kan and the Seraskier Sultan of Budziack shall likewise join their troops to it, if it be necessary; and the artillery which the Poles shall demand, shall likewise be furnished.

VI. The Porte is desired to engage the crown of Sweden to send into Poland, by way of Dantzick, 10,000 foot, and 500 officers to discipline the Polish army.

Ans. The republick itself may apply to the crown of Sweden for this purpose.

VII. The Porte is desired to assist the Poles in the recovery of the dismembered provinces, without pretending to any other reward for this service, than the booty which shall be taken from the enemy, and that to be equally divided.

Ans. The Porte will assist the Poles in the recovery of their pretensions, and be ready to assist them upon every other occasion.

VIII. The Porte is desired to take care that their troops observe an exact discipline when they enter the territories of Poland.

Ans. The Porte will see that this article be punctually observed."

There is something so noble, and, at the same time, so worthy a great com-

mander, in the following account, which comes likewise from Petersburg, that we are persuaded it will be acceptable.

"On the 1st of September, according to the journal brought by Col. Meagers, the army under Count Munich met upon the parade before the camp, to return thanks to God for the great victory gain'd on the 28th of August, as well as for the taking of Choczim; and to pray to the Almighty to continue to bless the sacred person of her Majesty, and her arms. After the divine service was over, the army made three discharges of 101 cannon, and the fortrefs of Choczim answered by as many discharges of 100 cannon. During this, the Velt-Marshal rode from one wing of the army to the other, attended by several Turkish officers of the first rank, his prisoners; who upon this occasion said, that the Ottoman army consisted of 100,000 Turks and Tartars; but that it was not possible for it to resist such an army as the Russian, in which discipline and good order were so strictly observed; and that besides, their troops were not in a condition to stand the fire of ours. At noon the Velt-Marshal treated the General officers of his army, as well as the chief Turkish officers, at dinner; when her Majesty's health was drank, with the discharge of the cannon, and the sound of trumpets and kettledrums.

On the 2d of September, Lt Gen. Gustavus de Biron was sent away with a detachment, to guard the Turkish prisoners, in number 2121, to the Russian frontier. With this body were also sent off some of the trophies, viz. the sword of the Kaitshack Basha, his 3 horse-tails, 13 batons, and 27 colours. His wives and concubines, together with Mehemet Bey his only son, about 11 years of age, and 20 of his domesticks, were to be sent home to Turkey, upon the repeated instances of the said Basha, who thought he had no other way left to clear himself of the suspicion of treason, than to obtain leave to send his family to Turkey."

Extract of a letter from VIENNA.

"The British ministers at this court

and at those of Russia and Denmark, vigorously push on their negotiations, for concluding the alliance formed with a view of re-establishing the balance of power in Europe, and preventing France, if possible, from growing more powerful; she being already arrived at such an exorbitant pitch, that for eight or ten years last past she has imperiously taken upon her to exclude all other powers from having any share in publick negotiations, and has, in short, through great subtlety, made herself a sort of Director-general of most of the European courts. Every body now perceives, though 'tis well if it be not too late, how unhappy the event has proved, of not sufficiently, on a certain occasion, supporting the Emperor; who for that reason was in a manner reduced to a necessity of putting himself into the hands of a power that has ever shewn a passionate desire of weakening the house of Austria. The business at present is, to rectify the untoward situation of publick affairs: wherein 'twill certainly be very difficult to succeed; and 'tis said would have been utterly impracticable, had it not been for the discoveries which have been made by the papers of the Swedish Baron de Sinclair. Among these, we are told, was found the contents of a project which may with justice be called execrable. Had this abominable scheme taken effect, France, it seems, was to have reaped the greatest advantage by it. The purport thereof was in short this: A league was entered into between Sweden, the republick of Poland, the Porte, and the Tartars, to attack, all at once, Russia and Hungary; and at the same time another power was to have raised disturbances in the Empire; K. Augustus was to have been dethroned, and Stanislaus recalled. Sweden intended not only to have retaken Livonia, but likewise to have possessed herself of Servia, Croatia, and the Bannat. In short, considering the situation of affairs at the Imperial court, where the sinews of war are wanting, it must be allowed that things might easily have been carried to almost any length. The discovery of this conspiracy has more

than any thing else contributed to determine the Czarina to ratify the treaty of peace between her and the Porte; and even to this discovery must be attributed that which France has done towards a conclusion of that peace; which she did to make her court to Russia, at even the expence of her engagements with Sweden, and in order to efface the bad idea which the Empress had entertained of the French ministry. But, notwithstanding all this, the courts of Vienna and Petersburg shew a very keen resentment of the above proceedings; which the British ministers, 'tis hoped, will take the advantage of, and obtain a conclusion of the grand alliance, wherein, 'tis said, the King of G. Britain, the Czarina, the Emperor, the Kings of Poland, Prussia and Denmark, will enter, and to which 'tis thought the States General will scarcely refuse to accede."

VENICE, Nov. 14. N. S. "The Republick, which considerably augmented its troops in Dalmatia when the Emperor and Russia entered into war with the Turks, has resolved to recal part of those forces into Terra Firma; which precaution they think the more necessary in the present juncture, because of some alterations they foresee will speedily happen in Italy. According to private letters from Constantinople, the Gr. Seignior held a divan there about the end of last month, in which it was debated, whether it was expedient for his Highness to ratify the articles of peace sign'd with the Emperor? Several Bashaws and great officers of the Seraglio, who for their own interest wished for the continuance of the war, said, that the Gr. Vizier might have improved the situation of his army before Belgrade to better advantage, and that he committed a capital error by neglecting to send his troops over the Save. The Kaimacham, the Kisler-Aga, and the other friends of that prime minister, said all they could in his defence; and alledged in particular, that if the Gr. Vizier had not put an end to the war by a negotiation, they would perhaps have been obliged to defer the siege of Belgrade to the next campaign. Those who found fault

with the peace, and sought occasion to censure that minister's conduct, represented, that the advantage of the restitution of Belgrade was very much diminished by the condition granted to the Imperialists in the article of the demolition of the works of that city and its citadel. The Mufti and the adherents of the Gr. Vizier overthrew every thing that had been urged against his conduct; so that it was determined that the Gr. Seignior should ratify the treaty, and that he should next year send an Ambassador to his Imperial Majesty. The Count de Bonneval was so ill that day, that he was not present at this divan."

The following article, taken from the London Gazette, deserves the attention of all friends of liberty.

Leghorn, Nov. 9. N.S. The following account of the proceedings of Cardinal Alberoni, with regard to the republick of SAN MARINO, has been transmitted hither. "There having been of late divisions and animosities among some persons of note in the republick of San Marino; Cardinal Alberoni, Legate of Ravenna, being apprised of it, formed a design to surprize the people of that little state, and prevail upon them to give up their ancient free government, and put themselves under the dominion of the Pope. In order to this, he suggested privily to the court of Rome, that the people being oppressed by those who had the government in their hands, were generally disposed to submit to that change; and he obtained a bull or commission, empowering him to accept their obedience to the Holy See. But being conscious that nothing but compulsion and force could effectually carry his project into execution, he went on the 24th of October, with a retinue suitable to his spiritual dignity, attended by 300 soldiers and 60 Sbirri or Bailiffs, and entered the town of San Marino, without any opposition; his coming being sudden, and, appearing as an ecclesiastick, his design was not suspected. He began by imprisoning Seig. Belluzzi and Maccioni, two of the chief inhabitants, for refusing to submit themselves to the new government proposed to them; and ha-

ving appointed the next day, being Sunday the 25th, for the ceremony of receiving publicly the oath of fidelity from the community, he repaired to the principal church, where a high mass was celebrated by the Bishop of Monte-Feltro. The Legate in his purple robes was placed under a canopy, attended by his retinue, and by the Marquis Spinetti, the Chevalier Rasponi, the Abbot Martinelli, and others, who were to be witnesses of the new subjects taking the oath. The canopy and the church were surrounded by the soldiers with their muskets cock'd, in order to intimidate the people, and to resist any tumult. The Bailiffs were placed at the door of the church; their head officer or Sheriff, with a collar hanging cross his breast, standing at a little distance from the canopy. Then the mass began; and when they came to the *Kyrie*, the Cardinal commanded silence, and, standing up, made a long speech in praise of the Holy See, and setting forth the benefits which would accrue to the people by their submission to it. After this speech the mass went on till it came to the *Credo*, when silence was ordered a second time, and three notaries who were appointed to settle the form of the oath, and register and attest the names of those who took it, were bid to draw nigh to the canopy. The Capitaneo Angeli was called first, who being previously engaged by the Cardinal, laid his hand on the mass-book, and took the oath. Next an old country man was called, who trembling and muttering took the oath. The third was Seig. Onofri, one of the principal persons of San Marino; who, holding out a paper, read it aloud; the purport was, That on such a day in such a year he took the oath of fidelity to San Marino, which oath, said he, I now confirm; and being asked to whom he confirmed it, he answered, *to San Marino*; and being required to say *to the Pope*, he replied he would not; whereupon he was turned out of the church, not without some tumult. Then was called Seig. Gozi, who being required to take the oath, answered, *Eminentissime pater, si possibile est, transeat a me talis iste.* On which

which the Cardinal flew into a passion; and imagining the heat he shewed might make an impression on others, he order'd the two brothers Gianzi to be call'd: but they absolutely refus'd to take the oath; saying, they would rather suffer to be cut in pieces. The same said Seig. Martelli. From which constancy, the people taking courage, began to cry aloud, *Viva San Marino, Viva la nostra republica, Viva la nostra liberta*: so that the soldiers and Bailiffs, by ill usage and breathings, could hardly appease the tumult. The Cardinal judging that the est of the counsellors would be of the same mind, in a rage order'd the administration of the oath to be stopt, and he ma's only to be continued; which went on with new tumult, occasioned by the soldiers and Bailiffs, who with blows bid the people cry out *Viva il Papa*; which had no effect, every one relying, *Viva San Marino*. When they came to the words in the creed *crucifixus*, the Cardinal got up and command'd silence; and haranguing the people again, declared all those who had refus'd the oath to be rebels, condemning their houses and effects to be ransack'd and plundered by the soldiers and Bailiffs. When the Cardinal had done speaking, there was great confusion, some strangers, and a few of the inhabitants forced so to do by soldiers and Bailiffs, crying out *Viva il Papa*; and in this tumultuous manner the ma's end'd. Mean while there happen'd a horrid circumstance; which is, that either by order of the Cardinal, or the liberty which the Sheriff took upon himself, four Bailiffs attempted to murder the chief magistrates who had refus'd the oath, and had shelter'd themselves in the sacristy; which detestable crime was prevented by the people. Lastly, *Te Deum* was sung; and it was observ'd, that none of the deputies of the jurisdiction or territory, tho' invited to come and take the oath, would appear. The Cardinal, returning to his lodging, immediately order'd the houses of those who had refus'd the oath, to be plunder'd, which was executed with unheard of barbarity. Amongst other circum-

stances one is remarkable, which happen'd to the wife of one of the brothers Gianzi, who being lately brought to bed, was dragg'd about her room naked, and her bed thrown out of the window. The damage done to the persons whose houses were so plunder'd, is judg'd to amount to several thousand pistoles, and those persons are reduced to poverty. Besides this, the Cardinal publickly declared, that if those who had not taken the oath to the Pope, and were retired into the sacristy of the Church, should persist in their obstinacy till after noon, he would order them to be taken away from thence by force, and hang'd; and he order'd gibbets to be set up for that purpose. Upon which menaces, and by the intreaties of their relations and friends, they were induc'd to give their oaths to the Cardinal. Two other Gentlemen, chiefs of San Marino, have been put into confinement; the Captain of the militia, and three others have taken flight. A notification has been sent to Seig. Manenti, to make his appearance within three days under pain of death, and forfeiture of his estate. The two castles of Monte Giardino and Fautano held out for a while, but have been oblig'd to surrender; the Cardinal having sent for cannon, and threatening to demolish those castles if he should be put to the trouble of taking them by force. These proceedings seem not to have been the intention of the court of Rome, which only order'd the Cardinal to repair to the confines of San Marino, and there to hear those who should voluntarily implore the Pope's acceptance of their surrender; and that he should make it appear, that these were the chief and greatest part of the inhabitants: and besides, he was to procure from them an authentick account in writing of their said request. The bull says, *Ad confinia te conferas, se sponte desidentes benigne excipias, gratis & privilegiis cumules*.—The Pope, on information of these violent proceedings of the Cardinal, in taking possession of the republick of San Marino, contrary to his instructions, dispatch'd thither, on the 2d of this month, Mons. Lanti as

Apostolick Commissary, to determine, upon due information, whether that republick ought to be left to its liberty, or to become subject to the Pope. And on this account Cardinal Alberoni had timely orders sent him, to withdraw from thence the 3d instant, to his legation of Ravenna."

N. B. According to Mr Addison, who gives a very good account of this small commonwealth, it has lasted above 1300 years; while all the other states of Italy have several times changed their masters and forms of government. He says, the chief officers of this commonwealth are, two *Captains*, with such power as the old Roman Consuls had, who are chose every six months; a *Commissary*, who judges in all civil and criminal matters, is somewhat like the Recorder of London, and must be a Doctor of Law and a foreigner; a *Physician*, who must also be a foreigner, as well as a Doctor of the faculty, and is elected only for three years, with an obligation to visit the sick, and to inspect all drugs; and the fifth person, who makes no ordinary figure in this republick, is the *Schoolmaster*. The people live upon a very high craggy mountain; and Mr Addison concludes with a remark, That nothing can be a greater instance of the natural love that mankind has for liberty, and of their aversion to arbitrary government, than such a wild mountain, cover'd often with snow, and always with people, whilst the pleasant country of Campagna de Roma is almost destitute of inhabitants.

MADRID, Nov. 10. "The ministers of the finances are employed in finding out methods of raising fresh sums of money, without burdening the publick. Amongst other expedients, it having been observed that it has been customary for many rich people to lodge great sums of money in churches and religious houses, and seldom or never take it from them, whereby great riches are accumulated that continue in *forte main*; it has therefore been thought proper that the King should borrow this money, and pay the proprietors interest for the same. As it will be necessary for executing this

design to have leave from the Pope, 'tis said the King has sent orders to Cardinal Acquaviva to ask it of his Holiness. 'Tis reported, that some instances will be made to the court of Rome, for the Cardinal Infant to be invested with the dignity of Patriarch of Spain and the Indies. The last advices from Cadiz bring that the King's fleet was preparing to be put to sea. 'Tis confirmed that the court has given orders for distributing the effects of the Affloques."

By letters from persons of the best credit at PARIS we are assured, that the court of France, as well to prevent the Emperor and the King of Great Britain from entering into too strict an engagement, as for some other good and substantial reasons, is preparing in good earnest to favour the election of the Grand Duke of Tuscany to be King of the Romans; upon condition tho', that he will renounce the possession of the Grand Dutchy, in order to its being given to the Infant Don Philip, son-in-law to the Most Christian King. This we are told is the system of France; but as the Electoral house of Bavaria persists in forming great pretensions upon that of Austria, so, in order to satisfy the former thereupon, it will be proposed, that the second Archduchess shall be given in marriage to the son of the Elector of Bavaria, who shall have the Austrian Netherlands with her as a portion: but before all this is effected, every thing relating to the limits between these countries and that of France is to be entirely regulated. If these things should all come to pass, and we are assur'd that a project is form'd for bringing them about, France will very eminently shew her policy, in turning her engagements for guarantying the *pragmatick sanction*, which have been generally look'd upon as disagreeable to her, in so extraordinary a manner to her advantage, as that in only putting on the appearance of making good these engagements, the choice of the Grand Duke to be King of the Romans being nothing more, she sees the dominions of the Emperor divided among princes over whom she cannot fail of having the

the principal ascendant, and who must consequently be no very sincere friends to his Imperial Majesty; and by these means likewise, let who will be successful to the Imperial throne, he must be much less puissant than the present Emperor, and therefore the more unlikely ever to become a rival in power with the *Grand Monarque*. As this project not only concurs with the natural bent and inclination of the court of France, but is also exactly consonant with every scheme that nation has form'd in respect to the empire, there is the greater likelihood of such a one being really upon the tapis.

Extrait of a Letter from AMSTERDAM.

“As at present 'tis well known that the peace between Russia and the Porte, negotiated and brought to its conclusion by the ministry of the Marquis de Villeneuve, has been ratified; so it is as well known, that the court of France immediately dispatch'd a courier to the Marquis de la Chetardie at Berlin, where he had been directed to stay, with orders for him to repair with the utmost expedition to Petersburg. Hopes are conceiv'd at Paris, that this minister will arrive there time enough to prevent, by his address, the engagements which that court is upon the point of contracting with the court of G. Britain, as well in relation to the present circumstances of affairs in the north, as in regard to those which interest G. Britain in particular. If France can succeed in diverting the important negotiation which is already begun at Petersburg, it certainly will be gaining a great point. It is manifest, that it was with this view she has so studiously sought to enter into a seeming friendship with this last court; and this was the cause of her directing the Marquis de Villeneuve to do his utmost to bring about a peace between the Czarina and the Porte: for it is very evident, had there not been some such political reason, France would certainly have gone on in widening the breach, and encouraging a vigorous prosecution of the war between the Russians and the Turks; and this with a view of making it easy

for Sweden to retake the conquests which Russia had made upon her.—The King of Gr. Britain's declaration of war against Spain gives such universal satisfaction to the people of that nation, that, contrary to what is customary on such occasions, the price of stocks is very little affected by it, and rather rise thereupon than fall; which is the more remarkable, as but little advantages are expected to be gain'd, especially in Europe, whilst the Spanish ships of war so carefully keep in their ports, and out of *harm's way*, and so long as the galleons continue to be laid up in the American ports. The Spaniards seem rather to chuse, that the English should give a blow in the West-Indies, either by making an attempt upon some of their settlements there, or even upon the galleons; either of which they imagine will not fail of obliging the French to declare in their favour.”

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The SCOTS Magazine.

DECEMBER 1739.

UNIVERSAL SPECTATOR, Dec. 8.

WHEN the people of *Abdera* were mad enough to fancy their fellow-citizen, *Democritus*, so, for laughing at their follies and absurdities, and had sent for the great physician, *Hippocrates*, to undertake his cure, the interview between those venerable personages had something in it so peculiar, so instructive, and so entertaining, that I shall make it the introduction to this lay's amusement.

Hippocrates, according to his own account to *Damocetus*, found his patient sitting under the shade of a plane-tree, in a stone, without shoes, a book on his knees, his beard over-grown, and about him the carcasses of many beasts he had dissected. After mutual salutations, the physician demanded what he was employ'd about? To which he reply'd, he was tracing out the beginning, progress, and cure of madness. *Hippocrates* applauded the task, and seem'd to half-nvy his happiness and leisure. If so, says *Democritus*, why are not you as much at leisure, and as happy, too? Because, adds the physician, my family-affairs forbid it; the expences of my wife, children and servants, must be defray'd, and the care of them will not permit us to live only for ourselves. At which *Democritus* laugh'd immoderately; and he people of *Abdera*, present, wept the more pathetically at the continuance of his imaginary phrenzy. *Hippocrates* then ask'd him, Why he laugh'd? To which, quoth he, the vanities and follies of the times: To see men so void of virtue, and so greedy of gold; so proud, and yet so worthless; so fond of presentment, and yet so fitted for contempt:

To see them so eager to command others, and yet so prone to slavery themselves: To see them so violent in their passions, and yet so capricious in the means of indulging them: one while in love, then detesting the object belov'd; begetting children, and then exposing them to a world more merciless than a desert. Can I help laughing at this? To see them bigotted to names, quarrelling about words, and martyrs to opinions: To see them guilty of all crimes only, to be rich, and then die and leave those very riches unenjoy'd: To see them prodigals in vice, misers in virtue: To see them annex esteem to trifles, and doat on luxuries without use or value: To see them prize the pictures and statues of men, and yet without bowels for men themselves. Who can help laughing, noble *Hippocrates*, at such inconsistent vanities? Weak and foolish as children, they covet but a succession of playthings, which they purchase to look at, and throw away! Far below brutes; for brutes are contented with satisfying nature, and never hoard more than they can eat, or covet what they don't want. Who can help laughing at such creatures, such customs, such manners; and, above all, that these very ideots disdain their cap and bells, and fancy themselves sages, heroes, senators and philosophers? — Thus, and much farther, went on this ironical philosopher, laughing at every period, as if the whole world was but a puppet-play, fram'd for his diversion: and *Hippocrates* pronounced him not only in his right senses, but one of the wisest of mankind.

Were I now to apply this discourse to our own times, would any body be affronted by the comparison? Would it be an injury to this, or any other *Eu-*

republican nation? — Tho' I don't take upon me to pronounce definitively, I can't help hinting, that if *Democritus* were to revive among us, he would have as much reason to laugh as ever. — But as examples conclude more forcibly than the most lively descriptions, or most accurate reasonings, I will beg leave to introduce some of the moderns, by way of interlude, in their own proper characters, and leave the reader to determine in what light they would appear to that severe, but impartial judge.

Enter Scrape, a miser; Squander, a spendbrist; and Varnish, a flatterer.

Sc. Look you, nephew, money is the essence and quintessence of all things, that raises more spirits and works more miracles than all the secrets of magick.

Sq. I know it, Sir; I know it: — and 'tis that makes me so desirous to enjoy it. — You yourself are not more fond of it than I am.

Sc. Ay, ay; but then 'tis as rakes covet women, only to part with them again. — Now I love money as the philosophers affect to love virtue, for its own sake; and if I once get it into my clutches, am better satisfied than if I wallow'd in all the pleasures it could purchase.

Sq. Why, that's all the difference between us, Sir. — But I don't know gold from lead, till I put it to the trial; and pleasure is the only touch-stone I make use of.

Sc. Fool! To have pleasure in one's power, is to have it in possession; and when I have any want, I only look on my gold, and the very sight removes all pain in a moment.

Sq. Now, I can't bear it in my sight at all; but as soon as I have it, give it wings like *Mercury*, bid it fly to the four winds, and load them all with luxuries to please me.

Sc. Luxuries! Lord help thee! He that knows the true value of gold might be the envy of Sir *Epicure Mammon*. — Auh! the transport of *cent. per cent.*! the devouring an orphan! the plundering a widow! seizing a mortgage! suing the penalty of a bond! — These are luxu-

ries indeed! — Then, beside all this, the respect that wealth commands! deference from the rich, idolatry from the poor, dependence from both, and fastness from all.

Sq. Pshaw! Nothing! nothing to the charms of extravagance! — To see: haughty purse-proud vintner tremble when you abuse him, waiters fly to obey you, wenches quarrel to oblige you, sharpers bear a beating to plunder you. — To be fill'd Your Honour by your dependents, tho' the son of an attorney; be allow'd a man of courage, though a coward might chastise you; and be dur'd by men of sense, tho' they scornly despise you. — Do you think the bare possession of money makes a statesman so formidable? No such thing, Sir! 'tis the parting with it; and friends, credit, power and safety, are as machine's creatures of publick profusion, as fine cloaths, women and wine, of private prodigality. — In short, Sir, my present business is the other hundred; you have had your pleasure in receiving it, and 'tis but right that I should have mine in throwing it away.

Sc. Sirrah! such another word, and I disinherit you. Do you think I'll suffer the profits of my industry, and the savings of my economy, to be riddled away in your profligate debaucheries?

Va. Oh Lord, Sir, nothing can be more unreasonable! — Tho' the Squire is my particular friend, I can't justify his failings. — One would think the figure you make in the world, by your good husbandry, should be both an example and a law to him. — But youth, you know, Sir, is too apt to be giddy, headstrong, vain, profuse.

Sc. Auh! very true, Sir! very true!

Sq. 'Slife! how he banners the old put!

Va. But then, on the other hand, it must be granted impossible to graft an old head on young shoulders. — Experience only makes men wise; and experience must be the growth of time. — My friend has been a little liberal; but then with how much wit and spirit has it been accompani'd! If you were but to see how well he

colicks become him, what wit, what humour; what gallantry he discovers in him.— Not that I would be thought an advocate for them neither.

Sc. No, no; I hope not, I hope not.

Sq. Ah, the wheedling scoundrel!

[Aside.

Va. But they are even blended with touch of prudence too.—What do you think now occasions his present demand or another hundred?

Sc. No good, I'll lay my soul.

Va. Not too fast I beseech you, Sir.

— There is a young heir just of age, possessed of a considerable estate, besides 10,000 l. in the funds, and we—

Sc. Are to enter him at play I'll warrant.

Va. The same, in spite of the act of parliament.— We have appointed to meet him at the tavern this very evening; women and wine the pretence: but when he's half-seas over, as they say, and he hears the dice rattle, he will leave both; every thing for a merry main; and, if he once begins to lose—

Sc. As, I suppose, you have taken effectual care he shall.

Va. Or this right hand has forgot its canning.— He'll bleed away all he is worth.

Sc. But, if he should squeak?

Va. No, no; he is too much a man of honour.

Sc. Well, on condition, I go halves.

Va. To be sure, Sir.— And when he wants to mortgage, (as he certainly will) you shall have his estate into the bargain.

Sc. Come along then, come along; when money is to get money, tho' I say it, there is not a more generous man in the three kingdoms. [Exeunt.

COMMON SENSE, Dec. 8.

The Nation united.

S I R,

I Have a book at home, called *The Athenian Oracle*, which is my great fund of instruction for times past; for, whenever our Parson cannot give me a solution of any difficulty, ten to one but I find it there. It surprises me, that so good a plan has not been continued in

the present times. I look'd, at first, upon the *Gazetteer*, as a paper calculated to answer political questions; but, after my carefulest endeavours to understand what it would be at, I find it is like an university lecture, something must be said for the salary.

I must then have recourse to you; and as you satisfy me in answering one question, I may, or may not, trouble you with more. My question is not upon futurity, for I suppose you do not deal with the Devil. I do not ask you, how long the war with *Spain* will last, nor when we shall have another convention or two? I only ask, From what cause this perverseness of our merchants can proceed, that, letters of reprisals being offer'd, so few should accept of them? as if nothing but downright war would serve them, however inconsistent with the repose of that indefatigable minister who, for many years, hath rock'd the publick cradle, and endeavoured to lull that froward babe the nation to rest.

I ought not to anticipate an oracle, (for, as such, I consult you,) but I must give my exclusion to two answers which I have already consider'd, and which not even the *Pythia* of *Delphi* should make me believe. The first is, That our merchants have not that implicit confidence in our unstrain'd administration which their prudent and firm councils deserve: And the other, That we are so miserably torn with party, that we are not in a condition to prosecute a war.

As to the first, I cannot attribute our present slackness to a want of confidence in our ministry; which I verily think exceeds, in its kind, any ministry on historical record. On the contrary; we have ample funds already laid on, and the sinking fund at hand: We have a noble fleet, partly at sea, partly getting ready: Admirals we have, and to spare, so as to be able to afford to discard some of the best. The trifle due to this nation from our ancient friends the *Spaniards* was, by the benevolence of our Commissaries, estimated only at 155,000 l. *Don Benjamin*, with as much

complaisance, gave up his masters of the S. S. company. But say, that the Commissaries *condescension* (I had almost called it, *present*) of 45,000 *l.* for prompt payment, and the *Dow's* tipping the wink for 68,000 *l.* should be disavowed by their ungrateful constituents; and that to these should be added the Christian article of restitution for the *Spanish* fleet at *Cape Passaro*; add, if you will, the other 140,000 *l.* which our impartial Commissaries have struck off from our claim, and about 300,000 *l.* more confessedly due, by the crown of *Spain*, to the S. S. company; nay, if you please to be so extravagant, add twice as much, or more, for losses which our *West-India* dealers have patiently submitted to, rather than run the expensive course of solicitation and *acknowledgment* to our disinterested Governors in those countries, for letters and memorials *never to be opened*: All this is less than a *poor despicable million and a half of money*.

His Majesty's ships (God give them success) are not put to the trouble of finding high security to do no mischief: Security for 3000 *l.* may puzzle a trader that has lost the best part of his stock by depredations; and other clauses may be thrown into his letters of reprisals apt to stumble honest city sureties. How much more proper is it, therefore, to leave reprisals to the ships of war? Two or three galleons would do it; and by the behaviour of the King's ships, in acting vigorously, it will be soon seen, whether we are in earnest or not. It is very hard, if a hundred sail of men of war at sea, *properly instructed*, cannot levy a *paltry million and a half*, with as much more as will pay the fiddles. We know, that the hearts of the *British* fleet, officers and sailors, are gallant, sound, and keen to be at work.

It makes me wonder, therefore, when I hear our jokers say, that the minister is *distrusted*. I say, he is *trusted*: The merchants *trust* their reprisals to the King's ships, under the minister's direction; and to the minister himself they *trust*, that he will soon give them ano-

ther convention, as good as the *last*, &c. &c. So they save a needless expence of laying out money and losing security!

If letters of marque had been granted when the *Spaniards* first began to play their game, it might, perhaps, have given them a check: but the merchants might think they were offer'd something too late now; for the *Spaniards* would have continued taking ships as well as we, and as they are twenty years beforehand with us in captures, we could never be even with them this way, considering that we have still more trading vessels to lose than they. These remain'd, therefore, no other way for us to do ourselves justice, but by a vigorous war. It was necessary to touch the *Spaniards* to the quick: The *Stotilla*, the galleons, as I hinted before, or the taking a rich colony in *America*, would oblige them to give up the right of searching, and pay costs into the bargain; and it was time for our men of war, which the *Spaniards*, in derision, called *galinas del mar*, (the hens of the sea) to do something to recover their former reputation abroad, as well as to satisfy our people at home, that they were of some use besides eating up the sinking fund, and hindering the payment of the publick debts. — The merchants, therefore, might think it best, to leave reprisals to the ships of war.

As to the other answer which I hear is made, our intestine divisions, I am in a condition to prove the contrary, and therefore deny the fact. The nation is not divided; it speaks, and has long spoken, one unaltered sense. — There is not a thief that goes to *Tyburn* but has his party. He himself, his brothers, his near kindred, all the gang, are on his side; and this they would call a powerful declaration: but ask the mind of the crowd of assistants, and they will tell you, that they came there on purpose to see him hang'd. — The cries of a few placemen can never infer a divided nation.

I think that, without magick, all the parties in this nation might be easily and cordially united in the common defence

ence of their country by a few words, the dismissal of one placeman from all publick employments whatsoever.

Sure I am, such dismissal could be attended with no danger.—The whole people out of employment wish it: so to some of those in employment, if we may believe what they whisper, for they dare not speak out.—Those who have no wishes beyond themselves will be the first to say they did.—If there was any fear of ill-blood upon such an event, have we not an army? and a new promotion of General officers, to supply the playing aside of some useless theorists, whom an obstinate adherence to a new principle of supporting a placeman to the ruin of the nation, had not only corrupted, but has misled, in the most open manner, to corrupt others?—Never fear: that stroke may be struck without danger.

I am not quite so sure that it is altogether without danger to keep any man in employment, with whom the whole nation is dissatisfied.—I do not know any instance in history of good being got by such a measure, but many of harm. I shall mention but one, from the chronicles of Scotland.

K. James V. of that kingdom was led away by a blind attachment to one Oliver Sinclair, a favourite, whose only merit was, his unbounded compliance with the King's schemes for increasing his power and filling his coffers. The English having invaded that kingdom, a Scots army marched to the borders to meet them, but loudly protesting that the war should not be conducted by Sinclair or his creatures.—The nomination of General was kept *in petto* till the very day of battle; when Sinclair was declared: of which the result was, that the whole army, not for love to the English, not for want of bravery, but out of mere sullenness, surrender'd themselves without striking a stroke.

I am, &c.

UNIVERSAL SPECTATOR, Dec. 15.

Mr STONECASTLE,

AS it is your peculiar province to eradicate from the minds of the

fair sex any weakness or foible for which they are remarkably distinguished, I must beg leave that I may, through your means, attempt to cure a folly which is very prevalent among them. The indiscretion I complain of is, the ridiculous *superstition* and irrational regard which most women are apt to pay to foreboding *omens* and fanciful *predictions*. Though this folly has been often ridiculed, yet one may every day observe multitudes who are so infatuated with these notions, that they imagine there is a spirit of prediction in every thing about them, and are put into a *concern* and *amazement* with the most common and trifling accidents in life.

This singular weakness in the female sex has been ascribed to the errors of education: but I can imagine it to be owing only to their want of reflection; for if any person would but give themselves the least trouble to think calmly, they must know the inconnected accidents, which they call *omens* and *prognosticks*, are mere whims and idle chimeras. Such a habit of reasoning would soon put an end to many terrors and uneasinesses which they affright themselves with; nor would they be alarmed at the *glowing* of a cheek, the *itching* of an eye, the *howling* of a dog, or the *chirping* of a cricket.

Though it moves my pity when I see such fantastic apprehensions have a serious effect, yet I cannot help laughing at the oddity of the whimsies. Mrs Bridget Forecast is an old maid, whom this species of madness makes very entertaining. She has nothing befalls her, but she has some forenotice of it: every limb about her prognosticates events; her *feet* give her a hint when she is to tread upon *strange ground*, and her *elbows*, when she is to change her bed; her *nails* demonstrate the approach of *gifts* and *presents*: the bursting of a *cinder* from the fire will strangely discompose or please her, according to the form she imagines it bears; if of a *coffin*, it ascertains death; if of a *purse*, it promises money: her *candles* bring her *letters*, *strangers* and *winding-sheets*. Besides these acquisitions of knowledge, she is

A surprising *dreamer* herself, and an infallible oracle in the *interpretation* of the dreams of others. With these endowments she is followed like a *Sibyl* by all the foolish weak girls and widows in the neighbourhood, to whom she reads lectures on *coffee-grounds*, and bestows *sweethearts* or *husbands* with great solemnity and veneration.

There are, Mr *Stonemaster*, several other female characters which I could have sent you as specimens of this folly; but as I intended only to give a short hint of this weakness, I shall leave it to you to make what comments upon my epistle you think proper, and am

Your constant reader,

LUCIUS.

As it is the endeavour of all people of sense to diminish as much as is in their power the too certain troubles of life, so it is the habit of fools voluntarily to increase them. This observation is in no instance more strongly verified than in the superstitious regard which is paid to fancied omens, and the fear and desire of knowing future events. Though my correspondent has laid this charge entirely to the female sex, yet there are not wanting a great number of men who are equally guilty of this preposterous folly. The character of *Foresight* in *Love for love* will suit many persons who laugh at the ridiculous old Gentleman upon the stage. *Jack Sprightly* will be melancholy two or three days on the hearing the ticking of a *death-watch*; and has laid aside going about any particular business, if on his going into the streets, the first dog he saw happened to be a *black one*. The spilling a little *salt*, or accidentally laying two *knives across*, will have a wonderful effect on a great many men, who would at the same time be thought to be persons of a more than common degree of understanding.

The inconveniencies, disappointments and miseries of life, will come to certain and so quick of themselves, that we need not endeavour to increase the load of them by their foreknowledge: since that foreknowledge, even supposing it true, cannot prevent them. And as to the

appraisal of our future happiness, the pleasures and delights we may possibly enjoy in life are much impaired, when we are kept in suspense by a tedious expectation.—There is a most beautiful passage in *Shakespeare* on what would be the consequence, if a man could know all the changes and events of his life. The lines are spoke by *Henry IV.* on the insurrection raised against him by *Northumberland*, who a few years before had placed the crown on his head: At the thought of this change he makes this admirable exclamation:

Oh! heav'n, that one might read the book of fate,

*And see the revolutions of the times
Make mountains level, and the continents
Wearry of solid firmness, melt itself
Into the sea; and other times to see
The beachy girdle of the ocean
Too wide for Neptune's bips: bow chaces
And changes fill the cup of alteration [such,
With divers liquors. O! if this were seen,
The happiest youth, viewing his progress
through,*

*What perils pass, what crosses would ensue,
Would shut the book, and set him down and die.*

A rational regard for our own concerns, and a resolution to meet our happiness with thankfulness, and our miseries with resignation, will put a stop to all fantastic fancies and enquiries, which are founded on fraud, folly and deceit. To imagine the decrees of providence are reveal'd to a poor ignorant fellow, or a prattling old woman, who are the professors of these mysteries, is not only ridiculous, but wicked.

After having thus moraliz'd in general, I must address a few lines to my female readers in particular, as my correspondent's letter was calculated for their use.

There is in the fair sex a certain sensefulness which is extravagant, and which runs them into several follies. If they would exert so much courage and firmness of soul, to think how falsely their fears are grounded, they would become much happier to themselves than they are at present. To this want of reflection,

section is owing the effect that ridiculous *mens* have on their minds. Nor is this timidity so much an infirmity of nature, as a fault in education: Mothers by their examples teach their daughters from their childhood to be alarm'd at old womens fables, and to tremble and shrick at trifles; they instruct them to fling themselves into pretty agonies on all occasions; and in time these imaginary terrors grow into real ones, and the habit becomes so strong that nothing can eradicate it. I would desire, therefore, that my fair disciples would on all occasions give themselves time to think; and I have so good an opinion of the understanding of the sex, that they need only to exercise their reason to act to the strictest rules of it.

To the author of the Remarks, in the Scots Magazine of October last, upon Dr Campbell's late book concerning the Necessity of Revelation.

S I R,

Dec. 24.

Since I have been out in expecting that one might find in *November Magazine* some sort of apology for the hasty letter that was inserted in the *Magazine of October*, you will give me leave now to trouble you with my opinion about it. And, leaving it to you to inform the world about the secret designs of one's heart, I must pretend to look no farther than human eyes are able to reach, and can only undertake to propose to your attention what every body else must observe.

In your remarks upon my late book concerning the *Necessity of Revelation*, you are pleased to inform the world that my principles consist in these two articles.

1. You say, "The Doctor endeavours to prove, That the bulk of the ancient philosophers could not believe the immortality of the soul, because they did not infer it from right principles, viz. from its immateriality." But pray, Sir, where have you met with this silly proposition? Not in my book, I am confident. In several instances I ex-

pressly affirm and show the clean contrary. One may as well alledge, that, notwithstanding you have openly said it, yet you cannot believe that I am labouring a design wherein I would rather have men reduced to Atheism itself, than not to allow of the necessity of an order of priests and their method of teaching; because you do not infer it from right principles.

2. In the next place, you tell us, that "The Doctor attempts to prove, That the said philosophers could not have any knowledge of an infinite mind, and of morals or natural religion, because of their great ignorance in natural philosophy." This, Sir, is of the same nature with the former, and where to be found in my book. On the contrary, I have observ'd, that several ancient philosophers, notwithstanding their great ignorance in natural philosophy, professed the notion of an infinite mind, And what was to hinder the rest from going along in the same sentiments?

Now, Sir, having had the honesty to confess to you the interest I have in these two silly propositions you have had the goodness to father upon me, the world will judge to whose account that quackery you speak of, ought to be placed; and you may be doing the best you can, in the mean time, to satisfy them as to your other remarks, no less extraordinary. Let me here only beg you to reflect, that greater charity, softer words, and fairer treatment might have been expected from one, who seems so much alarmed at the danger to which, you apprehend, Natural religion is now-a-days exposed. For, besides your publicly imposing upon me these silly principles, you further tell the world, that I pretend to rest the whole matter (that is, the truth of these two fundamental articles of religion, the being of God and a future state) upon tradition; which, you presume, I know the Deists believe nothing of: And therefore, say you, my attempt to weaken their principles, and to throw them loose from all such obligations, is most unwarrantable. Unwarrantable! a soft word, I confess, for so heinous a crime. But from whence

whence, Sir, have you come to learn that I rest the whole matter upon *tradition*? My book, in several places, is most expressly against it. And if the Deists hold their principles about the being of God and a future state, upon rational grounds; those I openly profess, I leave them entire, in their full force, with all the strength they can derive from the works of creation and providence, without insinuating any the least thing that in any degree can weaken their authority.

I have only further to acquaint you, that as I am extremely ready to receive any information from you, or from any other hand, that may enable me to rectify any sentiments of mine wherein I may chance to be mistaken, or that may help me to improve any branch of my argument; so it would afford me great pleasure, could I be so happy as to relieve you, or any other person, from any mistakes you may entertain with respect to my principles. But, if you shall think fit to enter into this argument, (for, as yet, you have not so much as touch'd it) I hope you will manage it as it becomes an impartial and fair enquirer, who will embrace truth where-ever he finds it, and honestly declare for it, on what side soever of the question it may happen to make its lovely appearance. And since I here offer to go along with you in the search of truth, may I not flatter myself, you will use me gently, as a friend and companion; not with angry and abusive language, the only sort of persecution that a private hand can employ against me?

In particular, as I know my design is *good*, and that it is not in your power to convince me it is *bad*, you may save yourself the trouble to bring out the secrets of my heart, in telling the world about my designs. Nor need you introduce into my conclusion, what is quite out of the question. You are pleas'd to inform the world, that my conclusion bears in it, not only the necessity of revelation, but a *sacred institution of priests*. Why really, Sir, my argument has no business with any in-

stitution of priests whatsoever; and you might have as well assured the world, that I conclude in a sacred institution of *Kings and Queens*, who, you know, are said to be *nursing fathers and nursing mothers*: Only the cry about an order, a sacred institution of priests, happens to make a noise, to be the common cant among *Deists*, and may come to give those Gentlemen a prejudice at my argument.

In a word, Sir, having declined the judgment of *speculation*, as in my question *absolutely incompetent*; I offer you my argument in favour of revelation, to be overthrown, 'either by fairly disproving the matters of fact, which I alledge in the case of the *Heathen world*; or by clearly showing, that the conclusion I build upon those facts, cannot thereby be supported.' In effecting of which, you must be no recluse philosopher, but come abroad in the world. As for your *moderns*, you may let them by the ears as you please; if you give me an interest in the quarrel, it will turn out to my advantage. And I suppose you will all along bear in mind, that it confers to the world the truth of one's argument in defence of revelation, when a man miscarries in the attacks he makes upon it: This may, at least, prevent *trifling*. Nor will you fail to remember, 'that, since the *being of God*'s, as it were, an *axiom*, or a first principle, agreed upon by *Christians and Deists*, to be sacredly maintained in all our religious debates; if an argument comes in favour of revelation, that will either force a man to confess its necessity, or reduce him to deny that first principle; every *Deist*, that acts consistently, is bound to acknowledge, that such an argument is a full demonstration of the truth of supernatural revelation, or that God, after that particular manner, had made himself known, and imparted his will to mankind.' Whether something of this nature may not be the thing that so much alarms some people at my late book, and that tempts them to impute such bad designs to the author, I will not pretend to determine. Only, in king the argument in this light, I

man inclines to amuse himself, or to divert other people, that can be diverted with impertinence and contradiction, he may reproach Mr *Campbell* very liberally, and tell the world, "that Dr *Campbell* would rather have men reduc'd to Atheism itself, than not to allow of the necessity of supernatural revelation." For, to say it over again, as he has no business, so he as little meddles with the necessity of an order of priests; a set of men that seem to fright people sometimes out of their wits.

Thus far I have taken notice of your letter, which hath so entirely mistaken my principles, that no man who has read my book with his eyes open, can need to be informed of it. And here I take leave once for all to declare, that if nothing to better purpose, or that I may judge worth while, shall hereafter appear against my book concerning the necessity of revelation, this is the last time that I design to trouble the world with any thing of this nature. In the mean while, I would fain hope, that for the sake of truth, and to secure a decency in one's argument, any Gentleman who thinks he has reason to differ publickly from me, will be so good as to show himself openly. Human passions are not much to be trusted; they will refuse the bridle in darkness, and suffer themselves to be check'd in broad day-light. Nor do I see why a lover of truth should cover his face, and lie concealed. But every man will take his own way: And just now I have the pleasure to assure you, that, with all the sentiments of humanity, I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most sincere and hearty well-wisher,

ARCH. CAMPBELL.

The King of SPAIN's Declaration of War against GREAT BRITAIN.

+

THE KING.

WHEREAS my forbearance can no longer dissemble with the regular pretensions of England, her failure in faith to treaties, and the de-

claration of war proclaimed lately at London against this crown; I, founding on my notorious rights, and sway'd by what is dictated by a natural defence, am resolv'd likewise, that, in this court, against the British King, his kingdoms and subjects, the same shall be publish'd and executed in the like manner in all my dominions by sea and land, laying on embargoes, and committing all sorts of hostilities against the subjects of the said nation; and in consequence thereof, entirely to exclude them from all sorts of commerce and trade in these kingdoms and other dominions belonging to this crown; and that at the same time all English-born subjects that are not naturaliz'd shall immediately withdraw, only such as are in any mechanic office may remain. For which purpose I do command that this shall be complied with, and executed under the following dispositions and declarations.

II. That for the future the trade and commerce with all the English subjects shall be illicit and prohibited, and all their manufactures, merchandizes and produce, as likewise whatsoever they shall treat, negotiate, and transact in these kingdoms, in such manner as the prohibition of the said trade is to be understood, as I will and understand it, to be absolutely and really forbidding and hindering the importation of the said commodities, produce, goods, merchandizes, and manufactures of the said dominions; pursuant to the prohibition which is made, and I do make by these presents, to all the vassals and subjects of England: And I do order and command, that in none of my ports in these kingdoms shall be admitted any vessels with the goods, fabricks, or produce of the said dominions, and that no entrance shall be granted nor permittance given to introduce the same by land, in what manner or form soever; and that all the said produce, goods, manufactures, and merchandizes in these kingdoms, shall be deemed illicit and prohibited wheresoever they may come from, be found, or seiz'd, in ships, vessels, exchanges, shops, or houses of merchants, and any

any other particular persons whatsoever, although they be subjects and vassals of me, or of the kingdoms, provinces and states, with whom I am in peace, alliance, and in free commerce: With whom it is my royal resolution at the same time to preserve the peace, as also the freedom and liberty of trade, which according therunto are to be preserved in these kingdoms, and the free admission of their ships and traffick in their several kinds, properly and privately belonging to their countries, provinces and conquests, or manufactured in the same. And I likewise do declare those merchandizes, products, and manufactures to be illicit and forbidden, which have been manufactured or made in my dominions, or in those of my friends and allies, but have been dyed or whitened by, or consigned to the English, and which have by them been made up, and have paid the duties thereof; renewing, as I do renew by this present prohibition, as the same concerns the said dominions belonging to England, whatsoever is ordained by the laws, cedulas and pragmatics, issued in that respect.

III. And in order to know and specify what are the produce, manufactures, and merchandize belonging to the said dominions of England, and what is illicit and prohibited, in case any one party grounds his defence thereon; I do order, that the judge before whom an information shall be laid, or the goods shall be seized by way of enquiry or any ways whatsoever, shall appoint a skilful person, according to the kind of goods that are seized; and the person in whose possession the same shall be found, and against whom any information is laid, shall appoint another; who, upon oath, (and under penalty of treason, which I decree against them if they do not well and faithfully perform their duty) shall declare what kind of merchandizes those are that are laid before them, and of what fabrick or produce: and in case they are decided to be of the said dominions, they shall be forthwith declared forfeited; and in case those two should not agree, the judge shall nominate a third person, who shall

declare in the same form, and under the same penalty; and in case the two referees do agree, execution shall be made without any farther defence in the same cause. And to the end that they may be informed of those goods and merchandizes that are of the said manufactures, produce, and prohibed goods, to be proper, and especially belonging to the said English dominions; it is my will that judges shall be appointed, who shall hear and examine on the minutest articles therunto belonging.

IV. And forthwith I declare all those merchandizes, produce and manufactures of the said dominions, that shall be found in these kingdoms, in the possession of any one of my subjects, or of any inhabitant there, tho' he be of the kingdoms and estates of allies and friends, and in any vessels, carriages or vehicles wheresoever they shall be found, to be forfeited in case of contravention; reserving in this respect to the vessels and ships of our friends and allies, those treaties of peace agreed with them. And I do give the third part of the said forfeiture to my exchequer, one other third part to the judge, and the other third to the informer: ordering both judge and informer to appear as soon as sentence of forfeiture is pass, and give a depository security to answer for the same in case the sentence should be reversed. And further, besides the penalty as aforesaid, I inflict the pain of death, and the loss of all their goods, so forfeited to my exchequer, on those that shall import, or give any help or assistance to the importation thereof into the said kingdoms, the crime being regularly proved: and upon those with whom they are found, but who did not import the same, I do inflict the penalty of the loss of the said merchandizes; which being illicit and prohibited, I divide into three parts in manner aforesaid. And further, upon regular proof, I do condemn the *mala fide* possessors of the said prohibited merchandizes, to be such, in the forfeiture of their goods, to be appropriated to my exchequer: which person, as it is to be understood

understood, shall declare of whom he has received the same; yet in case he does not declare the same, he shall be deemed the chief importer, and subject to the said penalties; wherein shall be no mitigation, nor arbitration of any judge of what degree soever, nor of any tribunal, nor court of judicature, unless they have acquainted me therewith.

V. And I do order, that all the places, houses and shops of merchants and traders, at least from four to four months, without any fix'd day being given) shall be visited, and all the goods found there shall be enquired into; and whatsoever shall be found to be illicit and prohibited, shall be declared as such, and forfeited, the writings being drawn in the usual form: and in case the possessor should deny the same to be of the said prohibited quality, they shall proceed to the proof and declaration, by naming such sinful persons as above mentioned, making the said enquiries by dint of office, without any necessity of a preceding defamation or information whatsoever; however so that they shall not have liberty to do the same in any private houses, that are not merchants, unless the same be notorious by information, or any other legal denunciations, importing, that goods and other commodities prohibited by this cedula, are concealed there. And in order to facilitate the said enquiry, and prove against whom it may concern, I do order that all merchants and traders of these kingdoms, natives as well as strangers, shall keep books of account and transactions in the Spanish language, wherein they shall set down, and mention therein, whatever they buy, in order to declare and produce the same before those judges that shall demand the same, as often as it shall be required. And in respect therunto, I do order that the 61st law, tit. 18. of the 6th book of the *Recapitulations*, and the penalties prescribed therein, be kept sacred; but without any aim to alter any the least thing mentioned in the said ordinance, as adjusted with those Kings, Princes, States, and Republicks I am in peace with, and according to their alliances of

a free trade; which rather are confirmed, and shall remain in their full force, as mentioned in the same ordinance.

VI. And that no person whatsoever, of what quality the same may be or hold, may be exempted from any penalty which such prejudicial crimes may require; I do order that none shall avail themselves, in so far as regards this, of any privilege or pre-eminence whatsoever, such as, being of any military orders, titular officers, or belonging to the inquisition, Captains, soldiers, as well those of my guard, as any ordinary ones of my kingdoms, soldiery or artillery, my court-servants, registers or any others that pretend to be exempted from the ordinary courts of justice: And that all that shall act in opposition to this ordinance, shall be punished by the penalties appointed for that purpose; and that no exemption nor privilege shall help them to any mitigation, nor in any ways whatsoever.

VII. And whereas, for the inviolable observance of what is ordained, commanded and prohibited in this present ordinance, it is necessary, for the execution thereof, to prohibit the countries and dominions of the King of England, all trade to these kingdoms; it is my will and pleasure to grant no permission nor licence to import any produce, merchandizes, and manufactures, nor any goods of the said dominions, into this country: and in case any is given, I do revoke, annul, and declare the same void; commanding my councils, Viceroy, tribunals of justice and magistrates, with whose advice such licences were formerly granted, that from hence forward they give no advice or consent to such licences; and I forbid all application to me for the same, what motive, cause, or reasons soever, for that purpose, they may have.

VIII. And considering it would not be just to prohibit the trade of those sorts of goods, which before the breaking out of the war, and in due time were imported from the English dominions; as also to give no encouragement to import others, which on pretence of their vent may follow; I do declare, that all

the merchants that shall have in their possession, any goods, merchandizes, or produce of the said dominions, within fifteen days after the publication of this my ordinance, which is fixed for a peremptory term, shall declare and register the same in our court, before the minister whom I shall appoint to decide those controversies; and in other cities, towns and places, before the judges which I shall likewise nominate and in case there be no such appointed or nominated, before the ordinary court; to whom, in defect thereof, I give the same jurisdiction: And those that are not registred before the term of the said fifteen days, shall be immediately condemned and proceeded against according to order. And for the consumption of those which shall be registred, and which shall be declar'd and mark'd, two months time shall be given; which being expired, the merchants and traders shall be oblig'd to deliver the said goods to the custom-houses; and in those places where there are none, to the publick halls or court-houses: and that the same shall be sold by publick auction, in the presence of the minister or ministers deputed for that purpose; and, in default of them, of the court; who shall deliver the produce thereof to the owners, without power to have any of the said prohibited goods brought again to their shops or warehouses, of what sort soever, according to the formalities heretofore practis'd.

And it is my pleasure, that all this be complied with and inviolably executed. And to the end that no body may plead any ignorance of what is contained in this ordinance, I do command that the same be published by my council of war in this court, and that they give the necessary orders for the execution thereof, according to custom in the like cases.

Done at Buen Retiro, on the 28th of November, 1739.

I the KING.

Don Casimiro de Uztariz.

This is the true copy of the Declaration from the Secretary's office of State and War.

COMMON SENSE, Dec. 21

A cheap proposal for Land-forces and Marines.

IT gives me the greatest pleasure imaginable, to observe the vigorous revival of that true British spirit, which I fear'd corruption might have tainted, or despair have sunk. The universal zeal and cheerfulness, with which the whole nation at present, not only submits to, but solicits the heaviest burdens, in order to retrieve, what its honour, too long insulted, and alien its rights, too unjustly violated, and too shamefully sacrific'd, show that the genius of this island still rises superior to the vile arts made use of to depress it. Every man in the kingdom (except one, or, at most, two) heartily concurs in the carrying on of the present war. They see the justice, and the necessity of it; and they see the evident and lasting advantages naturally arising from it, if conducted with common skill and prudence. Among the many instances of this generous spirit, I cannot help mentioning, with due honour, one particularly of a private person, which seems to equal any thing I have read, of any private Roman; and which would, in these times, have intitled him to some of those honorary distinctions, with which that great and wise nation, both excited and rewarded private virtue and valor. I mean Mr Rich, who has, upon this occasion, rais'd at his own expense, two incomparable regiments for the service of his native country. Whoever has lately seen that inimitable comedy, *The Rehearsal*, must, doubtless, have been struck with the strength and beauty of those two corps; which, in my opinion, far exceed any we have seen of many years in *Hyde-park*, *Honeyflow-beach*, or any of those theatres of our military exercitations. It would be wonderful, if these corps to call them either foot, horse, or dragoons; since, in truth, they unite in themselves the peculiar excellencies of all three. Consider'd as foot, they have all the closeness and firmness of the fam'd *Macedonian phalanx*; while, at the same time, they have

Strength of the horse, and the celerity of the dragons: A military improvement, entirely owing to Mr *Rich*, and unthought of by *Polybius* or *Chevalier Volard*; notwithstanding that the authentick accounts we find in antiquity, of the strength, agility, and usefulness of the *Centaur*s, might, one should have thought, have suggested something of his nature to them. As horse, they must be allowed to exceed even our life-guards, being contriv'd so as to receive fire or bayonets without confusion; not to mention the advantages in their foraging, a little fresh straw, from time to time; being sufficient for their subsistence. And their serving at the same time on foot and on horseback, gives them manifestly the advantage over our dragoons, who can do but the one, or the other. Nor can I omit the prudent economy with which Mr *Rich* has made his levies; there being (I think) but two officers to each corps, a Captain, and an Ensign, or Cornet, tho' doubts he was solicited by many members of his house for commissions. And I hear too, that they are paid by the usual paymaster, tho' he was extremely press'd to create a new office for that purpose.

This army, as I am credibly inform'd, would not have appear'd upon so considerable a theatre, had Mr *Rich*'s generous and publick spirited proposal taken place; for he first offer'd them to the administration for the use of the publick: but upon condition, indeed, that they should be employed abroad, particularly in the *West-Indies*, where he apprehended that this new and cen-sured army might scatter the same terror among the present *Spaniards*, as their fore-arms did formerly among the *Indians* their predecessors. Nay, more, I am assured that having duly weighed certain difficulties, which he suspected might arise concerning a General fit either to contrive, or execute a commission of that nature, he made a tender of Mr *Ryan* to fill that important post; a person who, in the character of *Hernando Cortez*, had often serv'd with distinction and success in those countries.

Though Mr *Rich* was thanked for his

loyal and generous offer, he was told at the same time (as the malecontents give out) that it could not be accepted upon those conditions; for that there was no design of acting offensively abroad, especially in *America*, which would either exasperate matters, and retard a wish'd for accommodation, or would procure such a treaty, as would necessarily disgrace the last convention; that, moreover, his establishment was an improper, not to say a useless one, there being more private men than officers upon it, which did not answer the only end proposed by our land-forces: That as to Mr *Ryan*, his person was by no means disagreeable to them; and that if it should be necessary, for form's sake, to nominate a Commander in chief, the nature of Mr *Ryan*'s exploits, and service, justly intitled him to that honourable *Sine-cure*. Under these discouragements, Mr *Rich*, despairing to do his country the service, and himself the honour he propos'd, resolv'd to employ his new rais'd forces, in the same manner as our national troops are employ'd, and exhibit them as a show and spectacle to the publick. To this accident, Prince *Volscius* and Prince *Prettyman* owe those excellent bodies of troops, which they now with so much lustre and safety command; and which would make no inconsiderable contingent for some considerable potentates of the sacred *Roman* empire.

I should reproach myself, if I did not do Mr *Fleetwood* the justice to inform the publick upon this occasion, that he was by no means behind-hand with his competitor Mr *Rich*, in the demonstrations of his zeal for the honour and advantage of his country. Nay, I am not sure, if he did not even go beyond him. For he had rais'd a considerable body of marines, mounted upon sea-horses, which he offer'd to swim to any appointed place in the *West-Indies*, without the trouble or expence of transports. But, I am told, his offer was declin'd, pretty much in the same manner, and for the same reasons of the former; with this additional one, that the not wanting of transport ships, was an objection,

action, instead of a recommendation; because that in case any troops were sent abroad, the hiring and the victualing of the transports was already promised to the cousin-german of a brother-in-law of a parliament man, who had always been a steady friend to the present administration, and the Whig cause. What use Mr Fleetwood now intends to turn this excellent body of marines to, is not yet known; but it is reasonably to be presum'd that the publick will have the pleasure of seeing them upon some occasion or other. Possibly we may exhibit a *Naumachia*, after the manner of the *Romans*, where these forces may distinguish themselves; which indeed is the more to be wish'd, that the annals of these times may at least transmit to posterity one naval action, in which the natural strength, and true spirit of this country may appear.

I am always unwilling to censure the conduct of my superiors; I know my duty, I know my danger, and I am conscious how far these great *arcana* of politics are beyond my poor ken. But I confess I cannot conceive why the generous offers of these two Gentlemen were refused; much less do I see the cogency of those arguments upon which that refusal was founded. What harm would there be in having a good body of land-forces on board our squadrons in the *West-Indies*? I see none. Nay, I'll go further; would there be any great harm, if, by making a descent in the *Spanish West-Indies*, we acquired some useful and considerable possessions there, that would secure our trade to us for the future? I admit it might exasperate matters a little for a time; but that crimony would soon subside, and we might possibly have a peace both the better, and the sooner for it. And that in that case the peace would be too good a one, and disgrace the last convention, does not seem to me to be a solid objection: for I do not see that any success ties us down to make a better peace than we have a mind to; since those who have it in their power to make as good a one as they will, have a *fortiori* in their power to make as

had a one as they please. As for disgracing the convention, it is impossible; the convention is invulnerable: it is secure in its own virtue, and will stand upon its own merits, as long as the records of time shall transmit to posterity the memory of treaties, conventions, acts, *protests* and declarations.

The objection to the small number of officers upon Mr Rich's establishment, has, with great submission, but little weight, with relation to troops that are to serve abroad: I admit it is in full extent with relation to our forces that are to serve at home. But I cannot think that the administration would be under any difficulties, from the solicitations for commissions to serve abroad. So that the fewer officers the better, as to point of economy; which I think ought to be regarded in all matters where the service of the minister, and the private interest of individuals does not interfere. But the strongest objection, in my opinion, was to Mr Fleetwood's scheme of swimming his marines to the *West-Indies* without the use of transports; for as it appears that the ministerial faith was plighted to a person of honour and interest, I would by no means have so sacred an engagement violated for the first time upon this occasion: but even this difficulty might perhaps not be insuperable, and this person might possibly, for the service of his country, be prevailed upon to take the value of the job in ready money, if offered him in the *civilist* manner.

However, since these troops, thus generously offer'd, have not been accepted, I am very glad to hear that some, or at most very few of the present small number of our land-forces, are to be sent abroad. For, considering how all our neighbours are arming around us, it would be the highest degree of imprudence (and which I am persuaded the administration will never be guilty of) to leave ourselves defenceless at home. The great augmentation *France* is making of its land-forces, the number of men of war and transports now getting ready in their sea-ports, and the known rashness and imprudence of that admini-

diffraction, all call upon us to be upon our guard. So that if our present number of forces be but barely sufficient to scare us at home from *encounters* and *Facobites*, I hope we shall not weaken ourselves, by sending any part of our forces, upon useless and chimerical projects abroad: and I own I have comfort in reflecting, that we have these theatrical hands ready, which I look upon as useful auxiliaries, and a *corps de reserve*, to make use of when these invasions from abroad, and the designs of our *secret enemies* at home, shall call upon us to exert our utmost vigour *pro visis & factis*.

DAILY GAZETTEER, Dec. 22.

To my Esteem'd Fellow-labourers, the CRAFTSMAN and COMMON SENSE, greeting.

BE not surpriz'd, *Gentlemen*, at this letter; for I ha'n't put pen to paper since the fatal downfall of our once oyal theatre, and shou'dn't now, didn't you draw this from me by your unjust invasion of a privilege I long enjoy'd, without any man daring to enter the lists against me;—and, now my support is gone, *Gentlemen*, I was far from expecting such usage from you.—For, whatever you think on't, had I attempt'd to *imitate*, and even to *borrow* whole phrases from you, I should have been treated with as little ceremony as you to some other folk:—But let who will set up your treatment, 'tis nothing to me; I expect instant satisfaction from you both.—Pray, what a rout have yourselves made about *honesty*, and I can't tell what? and yet, without the compliment of *bidding me deliver*, you have robb'd me of all I had to depend on in the whole world.—My *rhetorick*, *Gentlemen*, my *rhetorick*—How eagerly have these ears swallow'd down, with greedy haste, the praises of my *flowing eloquence*, my *well chosen parallels*, my *lively similes*, and my *finis'd periods*! How have my hard-fac'd champions sat listening to hear my skill blazon their prowess to the admiring world, while *all* the praise, *all* the glory, and *part* of the-reward, gather'd to a cloud,

till it burst o'er my elaborate brain, sometimes with the generous gratuity of a half-crown extraordinary!—Those were halcyon days indeed, *Gentlemen*; but they are gone, and with them is fled my only means of support.—Hence others may learn, from my fall, that those who *depend upon fools* have but a *scurvey reliance*.—The day of my prosperity is over, *yours* yet continues: and as you have lately thought fit to snatch from me every peculiarity of my stile and diction, by which I was supported, it would be but justice, *Gentlemen*, to let me share your profits.—Do not mistake me; I mean not to be a *pensioner*; No, I am far above it; I propose to *deserve* what I *receive*; an example I think necessary for us publick lights of virtue to set the rest of mankind. And from what I can judge of the success you have had with my weapons for some months past, when I undertake to wield them myself, on *every proper occasion*, there is little probability of my eating much idle bread.

Thus, *Gentlemen*, you see what I propose is an *alliance*, to which yourselves may, not improperly, be said to have made the first overture; though, nevertheless, I am willing to conclude it on *moderate terms*, being as inclinable as either of you to despise money as a writer— if I knew how to gain it any other way.

After I have explain'd myself so far, you will, to be sure, expect me to give some little account of my abilities.—Those you seem in a great degree acquainted with already; wherefore, on this head, I shall, as *modesty* indeed requires, be as brief as possible.

In the art of *extolling my heroes* I never fail of applause; it being my peculiar talent, to make the *weak*, *strong*; the *lame*, *sound*; and, which is much more, the *coward*, *valiant*; and sometimes to compare the merest dastard that e'er *sipp'd vinegar*, to the best hero we had on the stage, and, on particular occasions, to the most celebrated heroes of antiquity.

In *palliating a defeat* I have an art above all mankind. If my hero *tumbles*

bles on his nose, 'twas a feint to draw his antagonist o' top of him; if his head was first broke, there was such skill in receiving the blow;—if he gave out, that is, had what you call the work out, 'twas to save his strength till another day;—and if he ran off the stage before the onset, 'twas because he despaired of getting the better.

My impartiality was never yet called in question: No undue influence ever clogg'd my pen, nor could the intrigues of any party bribe me—against my interest:—For those who paid me most money, I always said most, and every success appear'd on the face of my labours.—This, you must allow, Gentlemen, was conscience, no way inferior to what has influenc'd you on the like occasions; for among ourselves the truth may be spoken.—By keeping up to this principle, I maintain'd, and, I think, deserv'd the character of a friend to mankind, because I serv'd all mankind alike.—Even an *Englishman* I used with the same civility as he who could boast my own soil; my panegyrick being alike obsequious to the sons of *Middlesex* and *Tipperary*.

Bullying was so useful to me, that without it I could have rais'd but small part of the name I now possess.—How have I thrown the gauntlet for a wretch who would have trembled to have seen it accepted! How have I dared men to their teeth, to attempt, as out of their power, what I knew they could every minute atchieve! How have I treated an acceptance of a challenge as a *bravado*, and a victory as a mark of the want of skill and courage!—When once I had my cue given, who was to be extolled, did I, like some puny pens, set myself about searching for their merit to build upon? No: I pursued my task with a single eye to the purpose set before me; and, in defiance of what weaker advocates would have thought obstacles to their flight, I have compar'd a *laxey journeyman shoemaker* to *Furius Camillus*, a *drayman* to *Scipio*, and a *deputy bog-driver* to *Julius Caesar* himself.—This talent I found of singular use, and, by the power of imagination,

I have made the *flourishing negotiator* at least two inches in stature.—I should be apt to dispute the truth of this; but you as well as I have long experienced the magick power of putting our champions in good heart with themselves, that by you it will easily be credited: and I need not enlarge on the use I shall be of in this respect;—for to raise the drooping spirits of your verses will be more in the power of myself than of either of you.

My art in reconciling differences, or what you would, perhaps, call bringing about a coalition of parties, was not less remarkable: From *flaming cheeks*, *unsheathing foreheads*, and *cutting of wigs*, in few hours I have brought my champions to *share the friendly cup*, to the amazement of all who did not consider, that *sharing the bounty* effected the reconciliation;—a motive not to be neglected, you will allow.

These few instances, Gentlemen, among many more, are sufficient to prove my fitness for the alliance I have propos'd; and as you mutually agreed some time ago, to divide the world between you, you have already tacitly confes'd, that to perfect the division my assistance will be more than necessary, of which you seem fully sensible, by flying to my province of your own accords.—You must have been certain of my friendship long ago:—in our house you both had admittance, and sometimes a paragraph has been read, by myself, for the use of all around me, to whom I always added *explanatory notes*, as well to shew my own capacity, as to make you understood; for, though most of my champions were *admirable politicians*, they had generally forgot the art of reading by abstruser pursuits:—and by my success in this, I can easily perceive, that, on some occasions, I could greatly contribute to keep my former clients together, and to enlarge our general interests, by reading your papers at places of publick resort;—as, in an evening, at the celebrated ring in *Moorfields*, on Sunday among the *swellers* of *Hyde-park*, on market day to the *symphs* of *Rag-fair*, who improve in politics every

ny since Mr *Common Sense* appeared;— and once a week I would display your eloquence on *Tower-hill*;— since your name certainly reach'd *Chick-lane*, in the famous character of *Bob Booty*, I know not but it would be worth while to read you there, now and then, in an evening, before the *hours of business*;— and on execution days, nothing would be a more proper prelude to the exit of my good friends, than one of your lectures on the *frailties of the great*, which would naturally tend to make the heroes of the day fancy themselves as honest men as any they leave behind.

In these, and numerous other instances, you see the use I can be of in preserving the attention of the people, and now strongly both *justice* and *interest* point out the alliance I propose:— Let us then be speedy in the conclusion of a union so much to our mutual advantage, and so necessary to the support of the character you have lately establish'd:— confirm but the league, and be assured that the lonely vales of *Hockley* shall be instantly abandon'd, and my whole care be center'd between *Whitefriars* and the *Leg Tavern*; till our joint fame echo from the farthest extent of *Whitechapel-mound*, to the utmost limits of *St Giles's*. I am,

Dear Fellow-labourers,

Your long admiring Brother,

FARROL MAC GASCOIGNE,

Late Sec. of *Hockley-hole*.

WEEKLY MISCELLANY, Dec. 22.

The advantages of a Believer, compared with an Infidel.

Self-love is interwoven with our nature and inseparable from it. Till we cease to exist, we cannot cease to love ourselves. SELF-LOVE is only the desire of our happiness; and it is impossible but that every conscious being should wish to be happy. The bare love of ourselves, considered abstractedly, is neither a crime, nor a virtue, but a natural and necessary passion. It is the right, or wrong direction of this principle that must determine its quality. The

Deity, being self-existent and independent, is happy in, and from himself alone. He must be necessarily happy, because he is necessarily what he is. He cannot cease to be happy, or have his happiness diminished; because he cannot cease to exist, or to exist otherwise than he does, from the necessity, and in the fullness, of his own nature. From this self-sufficiency and necessity of happiness it follows, that self-love, or a desire of happiness, is incompatible with the divine nature; since the desire of any thing implies either the absence of it, or the uncertainty of it. Whatever we possess, beyond a possibility of losing it, cannot be the object of desire. All the actions, therefore, of the Deity must be directed, not to his own, but to the happiness of his creatures; and it is impossible for the happiness of the creator and of the creature to interfere; since GOD cannot receive any addition to his happiness, or diminution of it, from any thing external to himself. What a comfort is this to us dependent creatures, to be assured, from the nature of that being upon whom we depend for our existence and happiness, that he could have no motive in creating, and can have none in governing his creatures, separate from their good! under what perpetual uncertainty, anxiety and terror should we live, if we could suppose it ever to be the interest of omniscience and omnipotence to will our misery! But we are assured that he cannot, because in the nature of things he can have no possible temptation to do it. He gave being that he might communicate happiness; and, therefore, the happiness of his creatures must always be the will of the creator.

Every creature being of itself insufficient for its own happiness, we may be misled, by self-love, or a desire of happiness, to seek it where it is not to be found. As we are dependent beings, if we affect an independent happiness, we must be miserably disappointed; because such a happiness is utterly inconsistent with our nature. We owe our very existence, and the continuance of it, to the Deity; and, therefore, to think of making ourselves happy independently of him

him, would be the same absurdity, as to think of *existing* independently of him. God is not only the source of *existence*, but of *happiness* too. We must derive both from the same fountain. God is the source of all *perfection*; from whence it follows, unavoidably, that *true self-love*, or a *wise desire of happiness*, must lead all rational creatures to the knowledge, admiration, and imitation of him. The highest happiness of an *intelligent* being must consist in the exercise of its *intellectual faculties* on the most *perfect object*. The most *perfect* being must be the most *happy* being; and, consequently, the nearer approaches we make to the *likeness* of the *divine nature*, the higher advances we make in *happiness*; because God is *perfection* *itself*. The *original* of all *perfection* must, likewise, be the most *amiable* being; perfection, *real*, or *imagined*, being the object of *love*: and the more *perfect* the object of our love, the higher enjoyment will arise from the *passion*, if its *perfections* be seen. It is, therefore, the most monstrous folly and madness for us to expect our *true* and *biggest* happiness separate from the *love* of God; or that the *degree* of our *happiness* will not bear an exact proportion to the *degree* of our *love* of him. As we are *dependent* beings, we may further argue, that we cannot expect to be made happy by God, upon whom we depend, unless we desire to *please* him; nor expect to please him, unless we endeavour to *know* and *observe* his will. The approbation and favour, the disapprobation and anger of God, are as inseparable, as *his* favour and *our* happiness, *his* displeasure and *our* misery: and as we are to expect our *biggest* happiness from the favour and approbation of him who is the *fountain* of it, so the *more* we study to please him, the *happier* we shall be. — These truths I take to be as undeniable and as obvious as any axioms in mathematics; and, being of the most important kind, they demand the closest attention from all such as desire to be truly happy. An *Infidel* may make light of them; but I will venture to say, every man who owns a God, who created and governs

him, must be either very ignorant or very inconsiderate, if he does not give them the greatest weight. Nay, he must be strangely deficient in his understanding, or void of thought, if he does not see that it is the most desirable thing that there *should* be such a *perfect* and *amiable* being, as a God; in the admiration, love, and obedience of whom we may enjoy infinitely more, and more certain happiness, than we can possibly enjoy without him. Is it not the highest wisdom in an *intelligent* being to wish the existence of a being of *all* *perfection*, whose nature, attributes, will, and providence we may contemplate, admire, and celebrate? to whose *merits* will we ignorant and fallible creatures may conform our conduct, as to the safest guide to happiness? upon whose infinite power we may rely for our protection from unforeseen, and, by us, unavoidable evils? to whom we may apply for our comfort and support under the most grievous calamities? whose goodness ever disposes him to do us good? and the immutability of whose nature frees us from all possible suspicion that he can ever cease to be thus *infinitely* knowing, wise, powerful and beneficent? An *Infidel*, no doubt, has the passion of *self-love* as strong as the *Believer* can have; wishes his own happiness as much: but it is absolutely impossible that he should be *as* happy as a *Believer* may be by the means of those sentiments and dispositions which the other *must* want. The *Infidel* is not exempted from the vicissitudes and calamities which arise out of this life as naturally as the sparks fly upward; unless, therefore, he lives the thoughtless life of a *beast*, neither looking backward with shame upon his past errors in conduct, nor forward upon future accidents, he will be uneasy from a consciousness of having been accessory to many of his evils, and apprehensive that his own ignorance and folly, the malice and selfishness of others, and what they call the *casualties* of life, may bring many more misfortunes upon him. Under this state of *error*, *uncertainty* and *fear*, the only comfort that *his* barren and joy-

less principles can produce will be this *lean* reflection: "Since I cannot recal what is past, remove what is present, or prevent what is future, I must submit to *necessity*, and bear all evils as well as I can." Wretched fool! is this all the reward of so much pains to reason himself into *infidelity*? No; he has another *advantage*, equally comfortable with the former; he hopes, that after *death* comes — *nothing*. But let this contemptuous *Infidel*, who prides himself so arrogantly in his superior wisdom, bestow me moment in considering what he *loses* by his *infidelity*. Has he committed my errors? Yes; wise as he thinks himself, he has been guilty of numberless follies. He *loses*, then, the pleasure of applying to an infinitely merciful being, who will insensibly infuse peace and comfort into every sincerely penitent mind. But the *Infidel* is not capable of *conceiving* the joy that overflows the heart which has made its peace with its maker, and he scorns to take any one's word for it. Is he likely to lay the fool again? Yes, as surely as he has done it already. He *loses*, then, the satisfaction of asking, and hoping for the direction of infinite wisdom to guide his wandering steps into the safe and peaceful paths of discretion and wisdom. Is he liable to any wants? Yes; he will want abundance of things, let his condition be what it will; for he is liable to want — he knows not *what* — he knows not *why*. He *loses*, then, the sweet, unenvied, because inconceivable, satisfaction of *contentment*. Created nature, with all her affluence and delicacies, is too poor a portion to satisfy the desires of a *rational* being, intended for much nobler possessions; but God is not only an overflowing, but inexhaustible fountain, sending forth streams sufficient to satisfy his whole creation at once. But *were* the *Infidel* ever so satisfied with his possessions; *were* he, did I say? it is, for this reason, an impossible supposition, because he may *lose* them; his *friends* may forsake him; his *health* may be impaired, and he become incapable of enjoying any thing; or *death* may soon put an end to all his

enjoyments: which thought, alone, will imbitter the sweetest draught in life; as one of them, lately dead, when a friend was congratulating him upon the grandeur and beauty of his situation, with a deep sigh replied, "Tis, indeed, a most beautiful place; and so much the worse, for that I must soon leave it; and its elegance will add torture to the painful parting, as it does now to the apprehension of it." How poor, how wretched is the condition of this *GRAND Infidel*, in the midst of all that earth can yield, in comparison of the virtuous *Believer*! HE can never be made unhappy by the *want* of any thing, because he has *contentment*. He can never be made uneasy by *fear*, because he has God, who commands the whole creation, for his *friend*. God is his friend! This implies more than words can express, or an *Infidel* imagine. He can never be *anxious* about *future*, because God governs this world, and disposes of the next. What can make this man unhappy? Can *poverty*? No. It is impossible for a *good* man to be *poor*, because he possesses the favour of him who is the *fountain* of all good. Can distresses of any kind do it? No. He is sure of being supported under them, and amply rewarded for his patient suffering. His faith and hope turn all his *evils*, upon the whole, into *real good*. Go, then, thou proud, conceited *Infidel*: Enjoy, if thou canst, thy uncomfortable, pitiful condition. I would not part with my humble faith and joyful hope for all the happiness that all the *Infidels* can possess; for what can they possess to balance the firm belief of a God, a *providence*, and a *future state* of inconceivable bliss and glory?

CRAFTSMAN, Dec. 22.

The Representatives accountable to their Constituents.

Nothing hath been more labour'd, for several years past, by the *ministerial advocates*, than to prove, that the *collective body of the people* have no right to petition or instruct their *representatives*, upon any occasion, however

it may affect their trade, interests, and estates in any degree.—Nothing surely can be more ridiculous and absurd, than to argue that the principal, who elects, hath not a right to instruct his deputy, so elected, and to whom he formerly paid wages for his service; and though that custom is now discontinued, yet the original design of representation still subsists, and ought to be observ'd.

In the first place, it must be observ'd, that the very word *representative* naturally implies a dependency upon those whom he represents, and who repos'd that trust in his hands.—Sir Richard Stach filed the members of the house of Commons the ATTORNEYS of the people; for which he was applauded, encouraged, and supported, by many of the present Gentlemen in power, and the general body of Whigs, at that time. Let me therefore ask these mercenary writers, whether every man hath not a just right to instruct his attorney, trustee, delegate, representative, or by whatever other name he may be called, in all points relating to his interest; and whether any man in his senses would continue such a person in trust, if he refus'd to follow his directions, or acted contrary to them?

This is a true state of the case, as far as reason and argument are concern'd.—Let us next see how it stands, with regard to ancient custom and practice.

As early as the reign of K. Edward III. which is almost 400 years ago, we have two remarkable instances of the Commons refusing to grant any *new subsidies*, without consulting with their constituents; from whence we have the strongest reason to believe that they would not have granted them, if their constituents had sent them positive orders and instructions to the contrary.

In the reign of Charles II. we meet with many addresses of the same kind; in which several † counties, cities and corporations, not only return their members thanks for their past conduct, (particularly for bringing the AUTHORS OF WICKED COUNSELS to condign punish-

ment, and for asserting their undoubted right of PETITIONING;) but likewise exhorted them to persevere in the same laudable endeavours; humbly requesting them not to consent to any MONEY-BILL, till their grievances were redress'd; and even promising to stand by them, in the performance of those ends, with their LIVES and FORTUNES, which might, perhaps, be call'd a sort of *truster*, in those pious days, notwithstanding the reported confinement of our liberties.

There was indeed, as I have formerly observ'd, a set of miscreants in that age, as well as in ours, who traduced this right of petitioning as seditious, and declared an obprobrium of it; but they receiv'd a severe censure in parliament, and have been ever since laugh'd in history with the infamous name of *Abhorers*.

But to show that *instructing of members* is a right not only in England, but likewise in all elected assemblies, I shall quote the opinion and authority of the ever memorable Mr Sidney, [cap. 3. sect. 44.] who fell a martyr to liberty, in the same reign.

“Spain and France [says he] are esteem'd great powers; and yet the *Deputies*, or *Procuradores*, of the several parts of Castille, did, in the cortes held at Madrid in the beginning of Charles V.'s reign, excuse themselves from giving the supplies he desir'd, because they had receiv'd no orders in that particular from the *seigns* that sent them: and afterwards receiving express orders not to do it, they gave his Majesty a flat denial.—The like was frequently done, during the reigns of that great prince, and his son Philip II. and generally the *Procuradores* never granted any thing of importance to either of them, without particular orders from their principals.

The same method was taken in France as long as there were any general assemblies of the states; and if it does not still continue, 'tis because there are none: for no man, who understood the affairs of that kingdom, did ever deny that the *Deputies* were obliged to follow the orders of those who sent them. And,

* 3 Inst. 34. † See the State trials of that reign.

shape, if men should examine by what means they became to be abolished, they might find that the Cardinals *Richelieu* and *Mazarine*, with other ministers, who have accomplish'd that work, were actuated by some other principle than that of justice, or the establishment of God and nature. — In the several assemblies held at Paris in the time of *Henry III.* *Bodin*, the Deputy of the third estate of *Vermandois*, by his particular order, propos'd so many things as took up great part of their time. — Other Deputies alleg'd no other reason for many things said and done by them, highly contrary to the King's will, than that they were commanded to do by their superiors. — These general assemblies being laid aside, the same custom is still used in the lesser assemblies of estates in *Languedoc* and *Britany*. The Deputies cannot, without the injury of betraying their trust, and fear of punishment, recede from orders given by their principals; and yet we do not find that "liberty with a mischief" is much more predominant in France than with us.

The same method is every day practis'd in the diets of *Germany*. — The Princes and great Lords, who have their places in their own right, may do what they please. — But the Deputies of the cities must follow such orders as they receive.

The histories of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Poland* and *Bohemia*, testify the same thing; and if this liberty with a mischief does not still continue entire, in all those places, it hath been diminish'd by such means as suit better with the manner of tyrants, than the laws of God and nature.

If *England* therefore does not enjoy the same right, we must have been depriv'd of it by such unjustifiable means, or by our own consent. — But thanks be to God, we know no people who have a better right to liberty, or have better defended it, than our own nation; and if we do not degenerate from the virtue of our ancestors, we may hope to trans-

mit it entire to our posterity. — We always may, and often do give instructions to our delegates: but the less we fetter them, the more we manifest our own rights; for those who have only a limited power, must limit that which they give; but they who can give an unlimited power, must necessarily have it in themselves."

Thus far the divine *Algernon Sidney*, who wrote in the time of *Charles II.* — I do not remember any instances of the same kind in the reign of his brother and successor, *James II.* which was very short, violent, and unfortunate. — Let us therefore descend to the reign of our glorious and immortal deliverer, *K. William*, who placed the present royal family on the throne.

Not to insist upon those clauses in the bill of rights, where it is said that parliaments ought to be free, and to be holden frequently, which have since been most scandalously misrepresented; I must beg leave to observe, that there were many petitions and instructions given at the latter end of his reign, by several great corporations, which were set on foot by the staunchest friends to the revolution.

In the preceding parliament was delivered the famous *Kentish petition*, in which several Gentlemen of that county undertook to instruct, not only their own representatives, but the whole parliament, in money-matters. However, as this was censured by the house as irregular, I shall make no animadversions of my own upon it. But I hope that no person, who affects to be a friend to the revolution, or is really so, will make any objection against quoting from *Bp. Burnet* the opinion, which the friends to the revolution had of that proceeding.

"But it [meaning the *Kentish petition*] was look'd upon as a libel upon their proceedings, [meaning the house of Commons;] and the Gentlemen, who brought it up, were sent to prison; where they lay till the prorogation: but they were much treated, and visited as *Confessors*. — This was highly censur'd. — It was said that the Commons were the creatures of the people; and, upon

* This is a phrase of *Filmer's* retorted.

all other occasions, they us'd to favour and encourage *petitions*.—This severity was condemn'd as unnatural, and without precedent." *Hist. of his own times*, vol. 2. p. 275.

This abhorrency against *petitioning* and *infraction* was not renew'd, as I remember, till the project of the destructive, infamous, and most detestable *excise-scheme*; which was almost universally rejected by the nation, and consequently given up by the projector of it, for his *own safety*, as well as for the interest of *trade, navigation, liberty, and property*; so that *contraries* may sometimes agree.

The same doctrine is now revived once more, on the proposal of a *place-bill*; which the *honourable backs of power* are instructed to call an attempt to change our *constitution*; and one of them, too inconsiderable to be particularly mentioned, very wisely observes, *that the people have rights; but they have no right to change the constitution; for a constitution subject to daily change, is no constitution.*

Now, I should be glad to know *what rights* a people can have, with regard to a *constitution*, but to *alter* it in those parts, which are found by experience to be deficient; and who can the *whole people* of any nation have a right over, if they have not a right over *themselves*? If a *whole people* have a right over *themselves*, have they not a right over *part of themselves*?—But I ask pardon for digressing so far from my purpose, by taking notice of a little nonsense, which may be easily excus'd in *these low scribblers*. My design is only to expose the wicked intention of *their patron*.—The *constitution*, say they, was settled at the *revolution*; which I allow: but I hope they will likewise allow, that the *constitution* received a further establishment by the *act of settlement*; a clause of which I shall here quote, *viz.* "That no person who hath an *office or place of profit* under the *King*, or receives a *pension* from the *crowns*, shall be capable of serving as a *member of the house of Commons*." This was, by *King, Lords, and Commons*, established

to be the *constitution*.—This clause was afterwards repeal'd.—I should therefore be glad to know, whether an *act*, to limit the number of *placemen* in the *house of Commons*, will be so great an abridgment of the *constitution*, as the repeal of *this clause* was?—The *Crown*, by the law, can *do no wrong*; the *Lords* are their *own representatives*; and *infraction* members of the *house of Commons* is therefore irregular, what will it prove? why surely that it will be necessary to have their *elections* more frequent, and to be more jealous of any *undue influence*.

I shall therefore conclude with recommending *unanimity* to my countrymen. May we always be unanimous in establishing our *liberties as laws*, and defending our rights against *foreign invaders*! May *placemen* concern in making a law to limit *their own number* in the *house of Commons*, so generally desired by the nation! May we all be unanimous in carrying on *this war*, so justly begun, with *patience and vigour*! May no secret attempts be ever made to incense the *crowns* against the *people*, or to alienate the affections of the *people* from the *crowns*! May his present Majesty and his posterity evermore govern this island, both as *mighty Monarchs* and as *tender fathers*; and may they meet with grateful returns from a *dutiful people*! May the throne be always surrounded with *counsellors*, endow'd with *prudence, wisdom, and fortitude*! May they always have in view the *true interest of their country*, preferably to their *own private gain*! May the nation be unanimous to chase *corruption* from the kingdom; and may it be as unanimously abhor'd as a *heathens letter*! And, lastly, may the *arms of England*, both now and for ever, be successful, when they have so *good a cause* to defend!

P. 8. It having been mentioned, in one of last *Wednesday's papers*, that there would be a *call of the house* towards the middle of *January*, we are assured by very good authority, that it is now determined to have no *such call*, according to the *usual method*.—But as *some* points;

points, of the greatest importance to the liberties of this nation, are expected to come under consideration, soon after the recess of parliament; it is to be hoped, that the natural calls of justice, honour, and conscience, will induce every Gentleman, who hath any regard for the interest of his country, to come up, and execute the trust reposed in him: or if there should be any so negligent of their duty, as to absent themselves, they ought to be ferreted out of their boroughs by those who elected them, or not continued again in the same trust. I believe very few of these Gentlemen would care to have their names published, as hath been frequently done upon the like occasions.— This is mentioned with no other view than to give a fresh instance of my loyalty to his Majesty, and regard for the present most excellent administration; for if the house should be as thin after the holidays, as it is now, when not much above one third of the members give their attendance, and those chiefly placemen, what sanction can such a partial approbation give to any publick measures, relating either to war or peace?

COMMON SENSE, Dec. 29.

The Use of ROMAN History.

IN the 255th year of the building of Rome, the people called for two new laws: one, to ascertain the interest of money, which not being settled, the rich took advantage of the necessities of the poor, and every man got as high an interest as he could.

The second was, to rectify an abuse in relation to the conquered lands; half of which, in former times, were sold to the highest bidders, to reimburse the expences of the war; the other half let out to the poorer citizens at an under rent, to enable them to live better: but now a faction in the senate, like true placemen, having a mind to engross the riches of the commonwealth, granted out to several of their own members, that is to say, among one another, such parcels of this land as lay contiguous to their other estates; by which not only the poor were defrauded, but

the burden of wars began to fall upon the people. Tho' all the Latin cities had entered into a confederacy against Rome, the people insisted upon a redress of these grievances before they would contribute to a war.

The senate, in order to get over this difficulty, proposed to pass an edict, That no person should be sued for any debt whatsoever till the end of the war, and that then these affairs should be taken into consideration. This quietor would not go down, the people telling the Patricians, (whom upon this occasion we may call the placemen) that it was the business of those who enjoyed the revenues of the commonwealth, to maintain its wars, and fight its battles.

The enemy being now near their gates, the senate gave out, there was not time in this dangerous situation to settle the grievances complain'd of: they proposed therefore, that a magistrate, with absolute power to do what he pleased, should be created for six months; to which the people consented: and this was the original of the high office of Dictator, by which the Roman liberties were at last destroyed.

Titus Lartius, being created Dictator, soon defeated the enemy: by which the Patricians being delivered from their fears, they troubled themselves no more about the grievances of the Commons; they would not so much as take the points into consideration.

The next year the Volci invading the Roman territories, Servilius, one of the Consuls, by prayers and intreaties prevailed upon the people once more to defer their demands. When this war was ended, they were used by the senate just as they had been before.

The year following the Samnites, the Equi, and the Volci, falling upon them, the Patricians were obliged once more to have recourse to the people: but, as they expected the Commons would refuse to contribute to the war, a Dictator is created, who, being vested with absolute power, might by his own authority make levies. Manius Valerius was the man; a person wise, virtuous and extremely popular; who, resist-

not to make use of rigorous measures, obtained a promise from the senate to pass the laws required by the Commons: wherefore, summoning the people, he assured them, in the name of the senate; that they should have full satisfaction the minute the war was ended.

They now thought themselves safe, having a promise from a man that was a stranger to fraud. But no sooner were their enemies without defeated, than their enemies within sent to the *Dictator* to keep his army still in the field, as if the war was not ended, in order to amuse the people, that they might not expect the performance of the senate's promise. But the generous *Dictator* disdain'd so base a commission; he absolved the army from their military oath, and returned to *Rome*, to demand that edicts should be pass'd conformable to the promise made the people. But, instead of complying, they told him, that, were he not *Dictator*, and therefore not to be called to an account, they would punish him for disbanding the army. To which he only answer'd, "I perceive you will force the Commons into seditions; which I had rather see as a private man than as a magistrate: wherefore I shall resign my high office." Then convening an assembly of the Commons, among other things he said to them:

"As you have behaved yourselves like brave and worthy citizens, no doubt you expect to see the promise made to you fulfilled; but there is a faction in the senate more powerful than even the authority of the *Dictator*, which hinders it.—I know in what manner, in the vigour of my youth, I would have behaved in this matter; but an old man, who hath seen more than threescore and ten years, is despis'd by those who resolve to ingross the power and riches of this commonwealth: since therefore I am not able to do you justice, I here resign my office of *Dictator*.—If any citizen reproaches me for the breach of my promise, I willingly put the remainder of my life into his hands, to dispose of as he pleases."

have quoted these tracts of history

to show, that the *Romans* never defend'd their grievances to what was call'd proper time: but they were impos'd upon and abus'd: and had they not been interrupted by warlike neighbours, which put the senate under a necessity of applying to the people to defend the commonwealth, the Commons of *Rome* would have been greater than to a few *Patrician* families than ever they had been to the *Turquians*: so that it may be truly said; that the crisis of *Rome* sav'd *Rome*; for the people grew wiser by experience: and the very next year, when two consular armies were to be rais'd, the people, instead of contributing to the war, marched out of the city to the sacred hill, and there intamp'd; and when the senate sent a deputation to them, to represent the danger the commonwealth was in from its enemies, they answer'd, the people were not so weak but they know their enemies were within the city, nor would they stir till satisfaction was given them.

The same conduct they afterwards observ'd upon the like occasions, even in matters of infinitely less consequence than what is now contended for by the people of this nation: of which there is a remarkable instance with respect to two laws; one, made in the time of the *Decemvirate*, which forbids marriages betwixt *Patrician* and *Plébeian* families; and another, which confin'd the dignity of the *Consulate* to *Patricians* only.

The people demanding a repeal of these two laws, the faction had recourse to the old argument: *Was this a time to bring on things of this nature, when the commonwealth was entering into war?* Upon which occasion *Cicero*, *Tribune* of the people, in a speech to the *Consuls*, after expostulating with them concerning the indignities laid upon the Commons by these laws, says:

"Here me, *Consuls*: Whether the news of the war be true, or a false rumour rais'd for nothing but to draw the people out of the city, I declare, as *Tribune*, that this people, who have so often spill'd their blood in our country's cause, are again ready to arm for its defence

lesence and glory, if they may be restored to their natural rights. But if you account us unworthy of your Alliance by intermarriages, if you will not suffer the entrance to the chief offices of the state to be open to all persons of merit indifferently; all of wars as much as you please, paint the league and power of our enemies ten times more dreadful than it is, I declare, that this people, to whom you are indebted for all your victories, shall never more take arms; not a man of them will expose his life for imperious Lords, with whom he can neither share the dignities of the state, nor in private life have any alliance by marriage."

If we make a right use of history, we may profit by the errors, as well as improve by the right measures of this brave people. They trusted and were deceived, and then grew wise enough to trust no more.

Those who think that our present set of placemen have more virtue and more honour than the Patricians of Rome, may tell us, this is not a proper time; but if a law, so essential for the security of liberty, which has been pushed for so often in vain within twenty years, when we were in a perfect state of tranquillity, should be put off upon the trifling pretences now made, the people may wait till the day of judgment before the placemen will allow it to be a proper time.

A PASTORAL.

Ut vidi, ut perii, ut me malus abstulit error.
Virg.

YE rural powers, who guard these lovely plains,
And mid the shepherds while they sing their pains,
Direct my pen, my youthful muse inspire,
And kindle in my breast poetick fire.
And thou, AMANDA, whose command alone,
Inspires my tender sighs, my plaintive moan,

*With candour, nymph, my artless song peruse,
The rude essay of an unpolish'd muse:
Forgive the bard, who, vainly fond of fame,
Adorns his numbers with AMANDA'S name.
Scarcely had the sun dispell'd night's shades away,
And the glad world confess'd it's all-cheering day:
When drowsy mortals lie entranc'd in sleep,
Two youthful shepherds rose, to tend their sheep:
And while stretch'd out, beneath the beechen shade,
To rest their weary limbs, the fountains are laid,
The young Menalcas, still with downcast eyes,
Betray'd his passion by his broken sighs:
Mou'd with his flowing tears, Alexis speaks:
Attend the swain, as he the silence breaks.*

Al. Sincere Menalcas, tell me why do now,
These gloomy sorrows hang upon thy brow?
Say, dearest shepherd, whence this secret grief:
Can thy Alexis give thee no relief?
The birds, invited by the season, sing,
And with melodious notes they hail the spring:
Observe the lambskins, how they frisk and play,
The face of nature all around is gay:
Then why should thou be sad, why thus complain?
Come, make thy friend a partner of thy pain.

Men. Ah! what avails it, shepherd, tho' you
Why I a wretch, abandon'd thus to wee, [know,
Sunk in despair, do oft the Gods upbraid?
I love a thoughtless and a scornful maid;
The fairest nymph that ever trod our plain,
The females envy, and the shepherds pain:
The cruel Gods have us'd their utmost care,
To make me wretched, and to form her fair.
But will my CELIA, will she ne'er be kind?
Will soft compassion never touch her mind?
Can that dear breast contain so hard a heart,
Fairest essay of the celestial art?
Sure heaven oft deploras man's wretched state:
And will its image never mourn my fate?
State her, ye angels, your peculiar care;
Blow all, ye winds, my passion to the fair;
In gentle gales, around the charmer move,
And softly whisper CELIA that I love.
Thus, my Alexis, when the fair I name,
Thou may well pity, but thou can'st not blame.

Al. Could I, fond youth, while you in moving strains
Paint out your passion, could I hull your pains,
With eager joy I'd sooth your troubled breast,
And make thee with the lovely CELIA blest.
But friendship does suggest a thousand fears:
The haughty nymph may disregard thy tears;
With cold disdain may see thy bosom heave,
Neglect thy anguish, and despise her slave.

Some gaudy bean, perhaps allows her fight;
The trifling pleasures of the town delight;
Some youth with sparkling eyes and flowing hair,
Is now the happy object of her care.

Forget that fair one, take thy pipe and play,
And Corydon shall drive our flocks away.

Men. Where can I, dear Alexis, comfort find?

Musick's small place to a troubled mind;

My faithful dog you see neglected lie;

The tender kids pass all unheeded by.

Al! cruel Cupid, whence this raging pain?

Why vent thy spleen upon a harmless swain?

O make the fair one feel a equal part,

Or spare, great god, a victim to thy dart.

Since she is gone, how dismal all appears!

No more the plain its wonted lustre wears;

No Pbilomel now stops her mournful strains,

Nor how'ring linnets charm the list'ning swains;

No parling streams now gently glide along,

And with soft murmurs grace the shepherd's song;

No spreading shade affords a glad retreat,

No cooling breeze allays the raging heat.

Come, lovely CELIA, with thy blooming charms,

Revive me, dying, in thy folding arms:

As thy return, the brooks again shall flow,

The birds shall warble, and the zephyrs blow;

Then shall the vales resound my evening song,

While mimic Echo will the notes prolong.

[Wigtonshire.]

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

S I R, Glasgow, Dec. 19.

THE following ode is the performance of a Gentleman now abroad, whose fine genius for poetry has appeared by some small works of his already published. It is indeed but a short sketch of a larger design; but, as it is, I am persuaded it has beauties sufficient to recommend it to your readers of taste. I am

One of your readers.

ODE on the NEW YEAR.

JANUS, who with sliding pace,

Run'st a never-ending race,

And driv'st about, in prone career,

The whirling circle of the year,

Kindly indulge a little stay,

I beg but one swift hour's delay.

O! while th' important minutes wait,

Let me revolve the books of fate;

See what the coming year intends

To me, my country, kind and friends.

Then may'st thou wing thy flight, and go,

To scatter blindly joys and woe;

Spread dire distaste, or pestilence build,
And, as thou liest, grant peace or war;
This hour, with bold-by potent charms,
E'en Peace shall sleep in Pow'r's and arms;

Kings feel their inward ornaments lie,
And for a moment wish to die.

Life now presents another scene,

The same strange force to act again;

Again the warring human play's

Advance, and take their several fares:

Clodius riots, Cæsar fights,

Tully pleads, and Maro writes,

Ammon's fierce son controuls the globe,

And Harlequin directs the mob.

To Time's dark caves the year retreats,

These heavy unfringed seats;

There from his loaded wing he lays

The months, the minutes, hours, and days;

Then flies, the focus in his train,

To compass round the year again.

See there, in various heaps comb'd,

The vast designs of human kind;

Whatever foel'd the statesman's

thought,

The mischief, mad ambition wrought,

Publick outrage and hidden guile,

The blood by secret murder spilt,

Friendships to sordid interest given,

And ill-match'd hearts, ne'er pair'd in

heaven;

What Avarice, to crown his store,

Stole from the orphan, and the poor;

Or Luxury's more shameful waste,

Squander'd on the unthankful feast.

Ye Kings, and guilty great, draw near;

Before this awful court appear:

Bars to the muse's piercing eye

The secrets of all mortals lie;

She, stern avenger, brings to light

Your crimes conceal'd in darkest night;

As conscience, to her trust most true,

Shall judge between th' oppress'd and you.

This casket shows, ye wretched train,

How often merit sa'd in vain.

See, there, undry'd the widow's tears;

See, there, unsoth'd the orphan's fears:

Yet, look, what mighty sums appear,

The vile profusion of the year.

Couldst thou see, impious greatness, ev'ry

The smallest aim, that wants might

live?

And yet, how many a large request,

Pall'd the rich glutton's jolly feast!

One table's vain intemperate load,
 With ambrosy'd death, and sickness frow'd,
 Lad blest, the cottage, peaceful shade,
 And given its children health and bread:
 'Tis ruffick fire, and faithful spouse,
 With each dear pledge of honest vows,
 Lad, at the sober tasted meal,
 Repeated oft the grateful tale;
 Laid hymn'd, in native language free,
 The song of thanks to heaven and thee;
 'Tis musick that the great no'er bear,
 'Tis sweeter to th' internal ear,
 Than every soft seducing note
 'Tis thrill'd from Farinelli's throat.

Let's still search on—'Tis this bundle's large.
 What's here? 'Tis Science' plaintive
 Lear Wisdom's philosophick sigh, [charge.
 Neglected all her treasures lie
 That none her secret basins explore,
 To learn what Plato taught before;
 Her sons oblig'd to turn their parts
 To flattery's more thriving arts;
 Let fine their better sense away
 Under corruption's flag, for pay.
 'Tis his reward the harlot share,
 Who painted moral virtue fair;
 Inspir'd the minds of gen'rous youth
 To love the simple mistress Truth;
 The patient path distinctly show'd
 That Rome and Greece to glory trade;
 That self-applause is noblest shame,
 And Kings may greatness link to shame,
 While honesty is no disgrace,
 And peace can smile without a place.
 Fear too Astronomy repine,
 Who taught unnumber'd worlds to shine;
 Who travels boundless ether thro',
 And brought the distant orbs to view.
 Can she her broken glass repair,
 Who Au'rice has her all to spare?
 What mighty secrets had been found,
 Could Virtue but have sold five pound?
 'Tis set where, given to wealth and pride,
 A bulky pension lies beside.—

Away then, Riches; no delay;
 'Tis spurn th' ignoble heaps away.
 What tho' your charms can purchase all
 The giddy honours of this ball;
 Make nature's germans all divide,
 And haughty peers renounce their pride;
 Can you buy proud Celia's sordid smile,
 Or, ripe for fate, this destin'd isle?
 Who greatness condescends to pray,
 Will time indulge one hour's delay,

Or give the wretch intent on self,
 One moment's credit with himself?
 Virtue, that true from false discerns,
 The vulgar courtly phrase unlearns,
 Superior far to Fortune's frown,
 Bestows alone the stable crown,
 The wreath from honour's root that springs,
 That fades upon the brows of Kings.

Cætera desunt.

LONDON, December 1739.

THE great officers are getting their field equipages ready; and the several officers of the six new marine regiments, (who are recruiting with the greatest industry) are ordered to repair, with the utmost expedition, to their head quarters, or to their Colonels in London, unless commanded elsewhere, under pain of his Majesty's highest displeasure. Four regiments of dragoons, and two of foot, are order'd to be rais'd with the utmost haste. 39 men are to be added to each company of Dalziel's and Philips's regiments. The press for seamen is revived, and several men of war are lately put in commission.

His Majesty has given the royal assent to the malt bill, to that for the better encouragement of sailors, and to the land-tax bill, at 4 s. in the pound.

Several Spanish ships are taken; and we hear from S. Carolina, that Capt. Warren, of his Majesty's ship the Squirrel, had taken the Havana packet, with ten passengers.

The Spaniards have taken the Ford galley, John Tucker, and carried her into Almeria; the Providence, Donovan, into Majorca; the Neptune, Lynn, into Porto-Specie; the Stourminter, David Hooper, into St Sebastian's; and the Fellowship, Pincomb, into Carthagena.

On the 2d inst. 521, 295 yards linen were entered at the custom-house from Dublin.

A violent hurricane began the 28th. The 30th, in the evening, many small vessels drove from their anchors, and struck with great violence against the bridge, some of their bowsprits break-

ing through the houses on the east side. The 31st, above 30 boats were lost between Tower stairs and Woolwich, some of which sunk under the ice, and were seen no more; and several lighters were sunk that run foul of the bridge. The Roofwyck, Dan. Rouffers, for Batavia, was lost on Goodwin Sands, and all her crew (above 200 men) perished. The great fall of snow, and the long continuance of the frost, make the roads dangerous, and the river unnavigable; so that, 'tis feared, the price of all provisions will rise considerably, coals being already at 45 s. per chaldron. Several people are starved to death with the excessive cold.

They write from Philadelphia, that the Rev. Mr Whitefield and Mr Seward landed at Lewis-town in Pensilvania the 30th of October, where Mr Whitefield preached, and was waited upon by the High Sheriff, the Justice, and other chief men of the county. He preached at Philadelphia on the 4th of November, to a numerous congregation, and designed to travel through Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina.

A general Bill of all the Christenings and Burials, with the diseases whereof they died, and the years of their age, from the 12th of December 1738, to the 11th of December 1739.

Christened	{ Males 8228 } { Females 7953 }	16181
Buried	{ Males 12416 } { Females 13016 }	25432
Decreased in the burials this year, 393.		

Diseases and Casualties.

Abortive and Still-born	605	Canker	8
Aged	1770	Childbed	260
Ague	3	Colick, Gripes, and Twitting of the guts	280
Apoplexy and Suddenly	194	Consumption	4429
Asthma and Tiffick	638	Convulsion	7371
Bedridden	8	Cough, and Hooping-cough	72
Bleeding	3	Diabetes	1
Bloody-flux	9	Dropic	1007
Bursten and Ruptum	20		
Cancer	50		

Evil	32	Scald Head	2
Fever Malignant, Fever Scarlet, Fever Spotted, Fever and Purples	3334	Small-pox	1590
Fistula	9	Sores and Ulcers	37
Flux	10	Sore Throat	2
French-pox	116	Spleen	1
Gout	48	Stoppage in the Stomach	206
Gravel, Stone, and Strangury	47	Surfeit	6
Grief	10	Swelling	2
Headmould-shot, Horseshohead, and Water in the Head	155	Teeth	1372
Jaundice	121	Thrush	104
Imposthume	22	Tympany	2
Inflammation	39	Vomiting and Loosness	5
Itch	4	Worms	10
Leprosie	4	White Ives	4
Lethargy	5	Broken Limbs	12
Livergrown	10	Burnt	3
Lunatick	34	Drowned	91
Measles	326	Excessive Drinking	47
Miscarriage	3	Executed	12
Mortification	258	Found dead	43
Palsie	37	Fractured Skull	7
Plurisie	53	Killed by the bite of a Cat	1
Quinsie	19	Killed by a Dog	1
Rash	4	Killed by Falls and several other accidents	52
Rhumatisme	23	Made away with themselves	45
Rickets	80	Murdered	7
Rising of the Lights	11	Overlaid	102
St Anthony's Fire	6	Poisoned	2
		Scalded	4
		Stabbed	1
		Starved by Hunger or Cold	9
		Suffocated	3

Age.	N ^o .	Age.	N ^o .
Under 2,	9687	Between 80 and 90,	547
Between 2 and 5,	2302	90 and 100,	76
5 and 10,	844	Of 100,	3
10 and 20,	875	102,	4
20 and 30,	1866	103,	1
30 and 40,	2218	104,	1
40 and 50,	2378	105,	2
50 and 60,	2039	106,	3
60 and 70,	1421	110,	1
70 and 80,	1166	138,	1

P. S. London, Jan. 3. This afternoon with Sea trading stock was 97, 1 qr. 1 half. Ditto old annuities, 109, qrs. a 7 8^{ths}. Ditto new, 109, 7 8^{ths}. Bank stock, 138, 3 qrs. India ditto, 159. Three per cent. annuities, 100. Milion bank, 114. Royal assurance, 88. London assurance, 11, 1 qr. Mine adventure shares, no price. English copper, 3 l. 7 s. 6 d. Welch ditto, 15 s. African, 13, 1 half. Seven per cent. Emperor's loan, 110, 3 qrs. Five per cent. ditto, 95, 1 half. Bank circulation, 2 l. 17 s. 6 d. prem. Three per cent. S. S. bonds, no price, prem. India ditto, 4 l. 9 s. prem. Three 1 half per cent. Exchange orders, 1 prem. Three per cent. ditto, 5 discount. Salt allies, 1 half, a 1 prem. Lottery tickets, 7 l. 17 s.

EDINBURGH, December 1739.

THE Common-council of Newcastle upon Tyne, have unanimously agreed to give 50 guineas to the Royal Infirmary out of their revenue; and the Mayor, and other persons of distinction, have engaged to collect the donations of private persons.

The merchant-company of this city have offered a reward for informing against such persons as presume to use and wear Indian silks and calicoes; upon which informations have been laid against several delinquents, and one person fined by the Justices. The merchants of Glasgow have requested the Commissioners of the customs to be rigorous in the execution of the laws prohibiting these commodities.

Robert Thomson Smith in Aberlady, who was some time ago convicted of the murder of George Forrester, land-labourer, has obtained his Majesty's remission, on account of his furyosity; but he is to be transported.

P. S. The eclipses mentioned in our last could not be observed by reason of clouds and snow; but there arose a great darkness, on the 2d Jan. half an hour after nine at night, and lasted till a quarter after eleven.

MARRIAGES.

GEN. Columbine, at Gibraltar, to Miss Masters, daughter of the Judge-Advocate in that garrison.— Capt. Peters, Sub-Brigadier of the 3d troop of horse-guards, to Miss Drummond, daughter of Mr Drummond, banker at Charing-cross.— Capt. Alexander Grant of Grantsfield, to Miss Margaret Farquharson, daughter of the deceas'd Mr Farquharson of Inverey.— Mr Lamifden of Rennybill, to Miss Mary-Lilias Sharp, daughter of the deceas'd Sir James Sharp.

BIRTHS.

At Leewarden in Friesland, on the 10th December, the Princess of Orange was delivered of a Princess, who lived but half an hour.— The Lady of Mr Temple, son and heir of Ld Visc. Palmerston, of a son and heir.— The Countess of Winchelsea and Nottingham, of a daughter.— The Lady of Sir James D'Ashwood, sister to the Dutchess of Hamilton, of a son and heir.— The Lady of Ld Sidney Beauclerk, brother to the Duke of St Alban's, of a son and heir.

DEATHS.

Francis Earl of Moray.— At Enville-green in Surrey, the Earl of Stirling, a Scots Peer.— Neville Coxe, Esq; British Consul at Aleppo.— John Vanderbank, a celebrated painter.— Wright, Esq; Chief Justice, Morris Lewis, Esq; Judge of the Admiralty; and Mr Higginson, Collector of the customs in Charleston, South-Carolina.— Mr Gordon, Professor of musick in Gresham college.— Edmund Parker, bookseller, London.— Thomas Herbert, Esq; member for Newport in Cornwall, a Colonel in the first regiment of foot-guards, and Paymaster of Gibraltar.— Lt Col. Berry, of Gen. Otway's regiment.— At York, Major Milbourne, aged 95.— At Dublin, Major Graham, an old officer.— Capt. John Brindell, of the horse guards, blue.— Capt. Hall, who lost his right arm at the battle of Blenheim, and at the battle of Almanza was found among the slain (almost expiring in his wounds) by his footman, who, as soon as the battle was over, missing his master, went

in diligent search of him; for which act of fidelity Capt. Hall settled 20l. a-year upon him.—Thomas Marsh, Esq; Deputy-Governor of Dover-castle.—Dr John Hollings, Physician.—Henry Parsons, Esq; Member for Malden, Purveyor of Chelsea college, and one of the Commissioners for victualling the navy.—George Clive, Esq; Curator Baron of the exchequer, London.—Alexander Wilton, Lord Provost of Edinburgh at the time Capt. Porteous was hang'd.—Dr David Freebairn, Bishop of Edinburgh.—The Lady of Gen. Gordon of Auchintoul.—The Lady Pringle, widow of Sir John Pringle of Stitchill.—Archibald Wallace merchant and late Bailie of Edinburgh.—William How, present Deacon of the skinners, Edinburgh.—In Greenwich hospital, Thomas Bond, aged 105.

PREFERMENTS.

Major John Cotterel, of Brig. Guise's regiment, *Lieutenant-Colonel*; Capt. Humphry Watson on half-pay, *Major*; Thomas Keene, Philip Howard, William Burrard, John Harris, Thomas Baldwin, Henry Dawson, and John Maclean, *Captains*; John Corbet, *Captain-Lieutenant*; James Carr, Robert Eyton, Francis Ingoldiby, James Mayrath, John Slatter, Charles Repington, Ralph Jennison, Nicholas Stephenson, Robert Shaftoe, Deane Poyntz, *First Lieutenants*; and——Cotterel, George Moore, —— Rycault, Thomas Robinson, Isaac Green, James Joans, Robert Medford, Thomas Sheldon, William Colwell, *Second Lieutenants*, in Col. Wolfe's *marines*.—Major Francis Thomson, of Gen. Churchill's dragoons, *Lieutenant-Colonel*; Capt. Benjamin Gregg, of Brig. Cornwallis's regiment, *Major*; John Aultin, Robert Ellison, Francis Noiray, Boteler Hutchinson, Leonard Gwyn, George Gibson, John Gascoigne, *Captains*; William Ochterlony, *Captain-Lieutenant*; William Beaufort, Lancelot Daws, Richard Fagan, Robert Foy, Daniel Virafel, William Lockhart, William Jenkins, Thomas Apperly, —— Bridgeman, Sir Patrick Murray, *First Lieutenants*; and——Lade, John

Marriot, George Pancholl, Peter St-marsh, James Moleworth, Francis O-gilvie, John Robertson, Alexander Dunlop, Adam Drummond, *Second Lieutenants*, in Col. Robinson's *marines*.—Major Robert Fraser, of Gen. Harrison's regiment, *Lieutenant-Colonel*; Capt. Patrick Edmondstone, of Col. Pombury's regiment, *Major*; George Lloyd, Thomas Hincks, Charles Wightwick, Henry Robinson, Rice Gwynne, John Kynston, William Ryan, *Captains*; John Stewart, *Captain-Lieutenant*; John Cochran, Ralph Shields, William Venner, John Foulkes, Otheca Jephson, Peregreen Baber, James Brodie, Samuel Leonard, Alexander Canning, Percival Methewold, *First Lieutenants*; and Thomas Williams, Alex. Macnaughton, William Browne, Ashton Bertles, Richard Barber, William Tutte, Thomas Irvine, Henry Powell, Bold Burton, *Second Lieutenants*, in Col. Loutber's *marines*.—Lord Eibank, Major to Col. Pombury's regiment, *Lieutenant-Colonel*; Capt. Richard Hull, of Col. Campbell's dragoons, *Major*; William Meyrick, James Urquhart, Samuel Ashton, Thomas England, Charles St Morris, Lt Maitland, John Reade, *Captains*; Robert Boyle, *Captain-Lieutenant*; Hector Boiford, Theop. Beaumont, Lionel Beecher, Urban Daniel, John Mackenzie, Richard Stacey, —— Weller, Robert Poyntz, William Willmer, Samuel Medland, *First Lieutenants*; and Richard Lloyd, William North, Claud Hamilton, —— Crawford, Thomas Hughes, Alexander Marjoribanks, —— Preston, Charles Carnouls, Thomas Thorpe, *Second Lieutenants*, in Col. Wyward's *marines*.—Lt Col. James Cochran, of Col. Oglethorpe's regiment, *Lieutenant-Colonel*; Capt. Alexander Duroure, of Gen. Columbine's regiment, *Major*; Alexander Balfour, John Chambre, John Lee, James Adair, Robert Griffith, Geo. Aug. Killebrew, Hugh Wentworth, *Captains*; William Braythwayt, *Captain-Lieutenant*; Francis Spellman, John Murray, Montagu Wilmot, Richard Bates, Robert Browne, Benjamin Shephard, Charles Mackie, John Purock Kempe, Sir Robert Abercrombie, Bar-

Colony Hughes, *First Lieutenant*; and Alexander Douglas, John Lloyd, John Lewis Vezina, — Jennings, Daniel Mackey, Richard Temple, Henry Tulkins, James Holwell, Charles Ross, *second Lieutenants*, in *Col. Douglas's marines*. — Major Thomas Blagrave, of *Col. Blakeney's regiment*, *Lieutenant-Colonel*; Capt. Angus MacCleod, of said regiment, *Major*; Peter Damar, James Adair, William Pyle, George Jackson, John Lynd, John Hay, Charleston Leighton, *Captains*; Anthony Browne, *Captain-Lieutenant*; Alexander Bruce, John Colton, George Merodith, Rich. Webb, Robert Moyle, Andrew Hopkins, Samuel Norciter, George Medlicot, Peter Brodeaux, Thomas Shadwell, *First Lieutenants*; and Benjamin Gregg, Hugh Murray, Charles Hutehinson, Benjamin Blackerbey, — Burdet, Richard Goplandy, James Browne, Edward Godfrey, — Bell, *Second Lieutenants*, in *Col. Moreton's marines*. Major Cuth. Ellison, of *Gen. Nevill's horse*, *Lieutenant-Colonel of the Welch fusileers*. — Major James Bescheler, of *Col. Onslow's regiment*, *Lieutenant-Colonel of Gen. Howard's*. — Major Henry Dabac, of *Brig. Reade's regiment*, *Lieutenant-Colonel of Gen. Tyrrel's*. — Major Jacob Peachell, *Lieutenant-Colonel*; and Capt. John Adams, *Major*, of *Gen. Handford's regiment*. — Capt. John Jordan, *Major of Gen. Churchill's dragoons*. — Capt. Simon Loftus, *Major of Gen. Harrison's regiment*. — Capt. Michael Doyne, *Major of Brig. Reade's regiment*. — Capt. William Stammers, *Major of Col. Blakeney's regiment*. — Capt. Edm. Martin, *Major of Col. Onslow's regiment*. — John Aldercon, *Major of Gen. Hargrave's fusileers*. — John Aricott, Esq; *Commissary-General of the marines*. [The above from the London Gazette.]

The Earl of Pomfret, *Constable of the Tower of London*. — Major Blandford, *Lieutenant-Colonel of Brig. Wentworth's regiment*. — Capt. Stanhope, son of *Ld. Harrington*, a *Colonel*; and Ensign Simon Wood, a *Lieutenant*, in the *3d regiment of foot guards*. — Capt. Heron, brother to Patrick Heron, Esq; member for Kirkcudbright; *Major of Gen.*

Oglethorpe's regiment, *Capt. Edmonson* of the guards having declin'd accepting that post. — Sir Robert Munro of Foulis, member for Dingwall, &c. *Lieutenant-Colonel*; Capt. George Grant, *Major*; Colin Campbell of Monzie, jun. James Colquhoun of Lufs, *Capt. John Campbell*, Colin Campbell, *Capt. George Munro*, *Capt. Dugal Campbell*, and — — —, *Captains*; Duncan Macfarlan, *Captain-Lieutenant*; Paul Macpherson, John Mackenzie, Malcolm Fraser, George Ramsay, John Maclean (since made a *Captain of marines*) Alexander Macdonald, Lewis Grant, John Macneil, and Francis Grant, *Lieutenants*; Gilbert Stewart, Archibald Macnab, Colin Campbell, James Campbell, James Campbell, Dugal Stewart, Dugal Stewart, John Menzies, Gordon Graham, and Edward Carricks, *Ensigns*, in the *E. of Crawford's regiment*. — Mess. Berrers, Izard, Bateinan and Baldwin, *First Lieutenants in the Welch fusileers*, in the room of Mess. Ashton, Ellison, Griffith and Gwynne, made *Captains* in the marines, — *Capt. Kidd*, of the *Trial sloop*, *Commander of the Wager*. — *Capt. Erskine*, of the *Royal Escape*, *Commander of the Trial sloop*. — *Capt. Campbell*, son of the deceas'd *Provost Campbell of Edinburgh*, *Commander*, and Mr Le Crofs, *Lieutenant*, of the *Scipio frigate*. — Thomas Pelham, Esq; member for Hastings, *Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of the Two Sicilies*. — Lord Visc. Weymouth, *Ranger*, and *Gen. Churchill*, *Deputy-Ranger of St. James's and Hyde parks*. — Charles Matthison, Esq; *Picture-frame maker and gilder to all the royal palaces*. — John Cleland, Esq; *Collector and Inspector of the customs in South-Carolina*. — John Tanner, Esq; *Register of the Admiralty at Barbadoes*. — John Borthwick, *Writer in Edinburgh*, son to John Borthwick of Falahill, *Principal Clerk of the Post-office in Edinburgh*, in the room of James Wemyss.

Died within the walls of the city of Edinburgh, and buried in the Gray-friars church-yard, December 1739.

Men 21, women 26, children 53. In all, 100. Increased this month, 16.

		AGE. N ^o .	DISEASES. N ^o .	Age.	N ^o .	Age.	N ^o .
Betwixt	Under	2	31	Under	2	334	Between
		2 &	5	16	Old age	—	7
		5 &	10	5	Consumption	29	2 and 5
		10 &	20	4	Chin-cough	2	5 and 10
		20 &	30	1	Fever	—	14
		30 &	40	5	Suddenly	—	7
		40 &	50	5	Teething	—	5
		50 &	60	8	Small-pox	—	24
		60 &	70	15	Gravel	—	2
		70 &	80	7	Dropsy	—	1
	80 &	90	3	Aithma	—	3	
				Cancer	—	1	
				Apoplexy	—	1	
				Killed by the fall of a house	2		
				Still-born	—	2	

General bill of MORTALITY for the year 1739, within the walls of the city of Edinburgh.

Months.	Men.	Wom.	Child.	In all.
January	18	25	72	115
February	15	21	46	82
March	19	23	73	115
April	23	23	62	108
May	19	19	55	93
June	21	21	44	86
July	15	13	34	62
August	12	15	32	59
September	14	15	41	70
October	16	26	35	77
November	17	23	44	84
December	21	26	53	100
In all,	210	250	591	1051

Increased more than last year, 188.

Diseases and Casualties.

Aged	42	Child-bed	8
Consumption	324	Suddenly	54
Fever	167	Flux	3
Small-pox	117	Palsy	7
Teething	119	Strangury	3
Chin-cough	136	Apoplexy	2
Stone & Gravel	6	Rhumatizm	1
Aithma	5	Ague	1
Convulsion	6	Still-born	32
Rupture	1	Killed by a fall	1
Iliack-passion	2	Overlaid	2
Cancer	4	Killed by the fall of a house	2
Dropsy	5		
Tympany	1		

FOREIGN HISTORY.

THE reports of KOULI KAN'S subduing the dominions of the Great Mogul, and of seizing the person of that unfortunate Prince, has been confirmed by advices from several places. All of which seem to agree in the overthrow of the Indian empire, though they vary pretty much as to his treatment and behaviour: it being once reported, that he was generously restored to his dominions by the conqueror; afterwards, that the Mogul having rallied his forces, and marched against Kouli Kan, the latter had totally overthrown his army, put out his eyes, strangled his children, and joined his vast dominions to the Persian monarchy: And lately a report was spread, at Petersburg, that Kouli Kan was killed in an engagement with the Bajaps, a warlike people, inhabiting the mountains between Indostan and Persia. Since all which the following has been received from Constantinople, dated Nov. 8.

"We have positive advices here, that Kouli Kan made himself master of all the dominions of the Great Mogul, and seized his immense treasure; tho', by virtue of a treaty, he had restored him to the entire possession of all his country, except some provinces which he had reserved for himself. It was believed at first, that Kouli Kan had replaced him on the throne from a principle of pure generosity and magnanimity; but we are since informed, by an account of the most important transactions in those parts, that the said pretended magnanimity was only a feint, and that Kouli Kan perceiving he could not compass his end by force, employed craft. The relation we have had of it is in substance this: oogle

After

After Kouli Kan had in March last defeated the numerous army of the Great Mogul, he pursued his victory with all the vigour possible, and took several places that were most within his reach; but as he had a great many others still to take, his troops were very much diminished by the several battles they had been engaged in, and as the Great Mogul, tho' defeated, had still a good after-game to play, he judged it for his interest to propose a treaty of peace to the Indian monarch, and for his end employed Saduc Kan, a subject of the Great Mogul who had suffer'd himself to be brid'd by Kouli Kan, and who the better to conceal his treason, suffered himself to be taken in a sliam attack.

This traitor was sent to the Great Mogul; to whom he declared, that Kouli Kan desired to get nothing by his victories but two or three provinces; and that he consented to leave the Indian monarch in the full enjoyment of his dominions on the payment of a certain sum for the expences of his return, &c. The Great Mogul accepted of those offers, and the treaty was concluded accordingly. Not many days after, the Indian monarch gave a grand entertainment to Kouli Kan, who was resolv'd to treat him in his turn. The Mogul was very loth to come to it; but Saduc Kan and some others, who had preconcerted the plot, pressed him so much to go, that at last he consented. The dinner was scarce over, but Kouli Kan caused the Great Mogul to be arrested with all his retinue; and immediately after sent 20,000 men, who treacherously made themselves masters of Deli, the capital of the kingdom. Those troops having a quarrel not long after with the inhabitants of this city, the latter killed 400 of his men; at which Kouli Kan was so exasperated, that he immediately sent other troops to Deli, with orders to put all the inhabitants to the sword.

These orders were executed with so much cruelty and inhumanity, that in two days time near 200,000 people of both sexes and all ages were left dead upon the place, not to speak of the plunder and demolition and burning of two thirds of the city. This massacre was committed the beginning of April; since that time Kouli Kan has extended his conquests as far as possibly

he could; and 'tis even said, that he has made himself master of Surat. But, on the other hand, we hear, that the grandees of the Mogul kingdom are assembling their forces, to take revenge for the treacherous practices against their King, &c."

The court of PETERSBURG has been very busy for some time, in searching into some important designs said to have been formed against the Russian empire, between the Turks, Tartars, the Swedes, and great part of the Polish Nobility; the discovery of which is generally believed to be owing to the papers taken from the unfortunate Baron Sinclair. A western power, lately famous for negotiation, is said to be at the bottom of this Most Christian scheme.

Whether on the above account, or any other, does not yet fully appear; but advices from Russia are full of severe executions carrying on in that empire: which her Czarian Majesty seems to have thought would so much alarm Europe, that she has published a manifesto in vindication of the deaths of four Princes Dolgorucki and the banishment of two. The charges brought in the manifesto against them are of such a kind as seem not probable causes for their punishment at this time. They are accused of having "fatigued the Emperor Peter II. by racing, hunting with dogs and falcons, and by other chaces of wild animals, and thereby impairing his health so as to occasion his death; of concealing his sickness; of forcing him to marry into their own family, when he was too young; of seizing some furniture of the crown, which was taken from them at the Czarina's accession, and of doing other things equally contrary to the laws of God and man; of misrepresenting some ministers of state; of putting a malicious construction upon measures of government; of forging a will; of the crimes of *lese majestatis* under exile, &c. &c."

Prince John Alexowitz Dolgorucki, who was sentenced to be first broke on the wheel, and then beheaded, upon hearing his sentence pronounced, is said to have pulled a knife out of his pocket, and cut his throat.

The peace between the PORTS and the court of VIENNA has met with so many obstructions, and the delivery up of Belgrade has been so long retarded by disputes relating to the preliminary articles, &c. that we can give no satisfactory account of those powers, till either the one or the other chooses to speak more plainly; which will probably be about the time for opening a campaign.—However, a few Bathaws have been strangled for neglecting to execute some articles of the peace.—The report of an insurrection in Constantinople, of the Grand Seignior's being deposed, of the Grand Vizier's being strangled, &c. are, we believe, all without foundation.

The Emperor has lately had several instances of the necessity he is under of giving some attention to the designs of the house of Bourbon: and it is not doubted but the natural balance of Europe will be preserved.

NAPLES and TUSCANY declare a neutrality in the war between G. Britain and Spain.

DENMARK, SWEDEN, and PRUSSIA, have taken no new measures.

FRANCE still enjoys Cardinal Fleury; SPAIN has declared war;

And, we may safely say, GREAT BRITAIN is prepared for it.

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INDEX to the DEBATES, ESSAYS, HISTORY, &c. 1739.

A bsence in parliament when excusable	557	Bargeny, succession to the estate of, determined	136
Absenting members. <i>See</i> Seceders		Barracks, remarks on	53
Absolute monarchy of France increasing	335	Bashaw of Bender strangled	94
Act of the Associate Presbytery	232	Beasts, of their understanding 175. Possessed by devils	<i>ib.</i>
Acts assented to	281, 621	Belgrade, siege of 381, 382, 427. Its Governor's resolute conduct 382. Its provision for an attack	<i>ib.</i>
Address, of the Lords 82. Of the Commons extract of the 83. Of the Lords on the convention 93. Of the Lords	543.	Believer, his state compared with that of an infidel	612
Of the Commons	571	Benefits for players, why disagreeable	182
Administration vitiated, how dangerous	203.	Berg and Juliers, account of its succession	287
Panegyrick on the late	320	Bill for acting plays in Edinburgh ordered into parliament	136
Edie, James, his trial and sentence	329	Birds, their speech mistaken for singing	176
Emilius Paullus, L. his speech against amending the address	308	Bob Booty summons his gang 106. His speech	<i>ib.</i>
Agrippa, M. his speech against an address	442	Books numberless, and the small effect they have on the world 101. Many old ones irrecoverably lost	<i>ib.</i>
Alliance proposed, between R—k and W—d 250. Between Farrol MacGascogne and the Craftsman and Common Sense	609	Bourdeaux, a riot there	239
Anabaptists in Germany, account of	65.	British ministers, their diligence in forwarding an alliance, to prevent the growing power of France	587
Favour'd in Saxony	66	Brooke, Mr Henry, account of	131
Anatomy of love	156	Buchanan, translation from	460
Anderson, Dr James, account of	236	Buckley, William, his trial	172
Angelica and Medora well received	132	Burdet, James, his trial	173
Annals, proposal for preserving	547	Burials 43, 93, 139, 188, 236, 283, 332, 376, 424, 485, 585, 622, 5, 6	
Anne, Q. her speech in 1702, 469. Short comment on it	470	Calpurnius Piso, C. his speech for an address of thanks	526
Answer, King's, to the Commons address	572.	Campbell, Dr, his answer to the remarks on his book	601
To the address for free trade	582	Cantab's petition to Nicholas P— 220	
Answer to the queries sent to Mr Whitefield	264	Canuleius, his speech to the Roman Consuls	618
Apparition, proposal for laying a terrible one that infests Westminster	220	Capuchin Friars, account of the death of thirty	143
Appius, history of	115	Carlos, Don, fixed in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily	6
As, story of a fellow's engaging to teach one to speak Greek	77	Carolina, our right to it proved 75. Provision for its safety	422
Affize of bread	280	Castilians, their manifesto for a free cortex 120. Totally enslaved	123
Affogate ships, their cargo	333	Catechism for the Women Methodists	210
Aversion, some men over-scrupulous in theirs	150	Cato, M. his speech for the addresses	348
Authors, their fluctuating fortune	101	Causes of the bad state of our affairs	416
Balance of power in danger 10. Almost destroyed	416	Censors, publick, account of	549
Balls, masquerades, &c. prohibited at Vienna	45		
Bankrupt, epitaph on one	92		
Bar, John, and Wm Spence, their trial and sentence	279		
Barbary, its troubles	47, 239		

INDEX to the Debates, Essays, History, &c.

<p>Champion, Sir George, excluded from the Mayoralty, and why 422 Charles II. view of his government 196 Charon and Mercury, a dialogue 410 Chloe, verses to 550 Choczim taken by the Russians 426 Cicerejus, C. his motion for an address of thanks 435. Speech in favour of it 448 Cicero, M. G. his speech against the ad- dresses 342 Cicero's saying applied to Common Sense 582 Citizen, account of 62 Civil list increased lately 247. Much larger than it ought to be 248 Clarendon and Southampton, their good conduct 196 Clergymen, loose behaviour of two 108. Story of one insulted 109 Club, political, account of [289] Coalition of parties desirable 258 Coiners, several discover'd near Derby 138 Colonies, what use made of ours 154 Comedy more useful than tragedy 181 Comedian preferable to a musician 132 Comedians, at Edinburgh, prosecuted 89 Commission's proceedings 582 Comparisons, Cardinal Fleury and ano- ther prime minister 76. Paulus Aemi- lius's fortune and that of our ministers 78 Common Council's good resolution 217 Common Sense's scurrility and incon- sistency 581 Conjugal affection, instance of 234 Convention between Great Britain and Spain 68. Remarks on it 110. Further remarks on it and the manifesto 416. More general remarks 465 Copithorne, Richard, his case 80 Cornberg, Count. See Dozat. Corrupt minister, the placemens idol 578 Corruption, in parliament, how dangerous 148. Precautions necessary against 198. How fatal in a common council 217. In government lately introduc'd 195 Corruption act as necessary as a gin act 165. Sketch of <i>ib.</i> Corfica, subject of much speculation 6. An action there 46. France's deceit with regard to it 238. State of 286. French success and barbarity there 335 Corsicans, their reasons for chusing Theo- dore King 95. Causes of their rebel- lion 190</p>	<p>Cortez betray the liberties of Castile 119. Under court influence <i>ib.</i> Court of Vienna's declaration regarding the peace 449 Cozonomb, portrait of a learned one 112. His conduct at several places 113 Craftsman and Common Sense in danger 168 Craftsman's mean insinuations answer'd 580 Crawford, B. of, refuses a post in Russia 95 Crocza, battle of 378 Cromwel, Oliver, his letter to the French King 11. His conduct with regard to parliaments 559 Czarina's good conduct in rewarding mer- rit 4. Her declaration in relation to St Clair's murder 376 D'Anvers to his departing friends 12 D'Aubigny, Mr, story of 164 Debates on proceeding against the Secre- taries 290 Debauchery, how pernicious 573 Declaration of war against Spain 479. Free thoughts on it 472. Against Bri- tain 603 Debtors, proposal for proscribing 574 Demands of Spain on the S. S. company unreasonable 74. On us answer'd 111 Democritus, interview between him and Hippocrates 595 Denmark's commerce greatly improv'd 7 Descent, not to be boasted, without an a- dequate fortune 114 Dialogue between a miser, a spendthrift, and a flatterer 596 Diseases, 43, 93, 139, 188, 236, 283, 332, 376, 424, 485, 585, 622, 626 Disinterestedness of the late administra- tion 320 Disputes with Spain not settled by the convention 111 Divan, disputes at, on ratifying the peace 587 Divorces, their original design 59. How far necessary 61 Dolgorucki, four princes, executed, and two banished, and why 627 Domitius Calvinus, Cn. his speech against amending the address 269 Donduc Omba defeats the Cuban Tar- tars 284 Dozat and Cornberg, their hard fate 3 Dramatick writings, usefulness of their cri-</p>
---	---

INDEX to the Debates, Essays, History, &c.

exhibition 182. Much reformed <i>ib.</i>	Majesty's service	582
Dress alter'd, varies womens tempers 261	Fortune, advanced, difficulty of behaving well under	260
Droopy, cure for 333	France, famous for its mediations 8. A project of her's 590. Diligence to prevent the British negotiations	591
Dublin society worthy imitation in Scotland 361	Frauds in the stamp duties, bill to prevent, thoughts on	168
Dundee, instructions to its member 556	Frazerburgh, treatment of a ship in distress there	187
Eclipses, calculation of 242, 572	French surgeon, story of	578
Edinburgh representative, instructions to 483	Frequent parliaments, bill for, assented to	213
Edward and Eleonora, a tragedy, denied representation 181	Funeral orations one cause of the corruption of the Roman history	548
Elliot, Sir John, his impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham 252	Funeral orator, character of <i>ib.</i>	
Engagement between the Turks and Russians 425	Furius Camillus, M. his speech for allowing the merchants council 390. On the address of thanks being concluded on	542
Engagement between a French sloop and two Spanish galleys 185	Gage, L—d V—c—t, his speech against the convention	276
English officer, story of one 78	Game-laws, remarks on	63
Englishman's letter on Scots trade 221	General Assembly's answer to the King's letter	229
Entertainments at Vaux-hall described 363	Geneva, its intestine broils settled 7	
Enthusiasm, how pernicious 208	Gentlemen ought to serve their country 221	
Epigram, one of Bea Johnson's 29. On a storm 544	Germany, state of 5	
Erskine, Mr Ebenezer, proceeded against 135	Giganius Macerinus, M. his motion and speech for amending the address	289
Esteem, most people ambitious after 259	Glas, Mr John, restored	232.
Eubulus's character 260	Glover, Mr, his speech to the Sheriffs 477	
Eudocia's letter 261	Gothick government preferable to others	212
Europe, summary state of. <i>See</i> Turkish empire, Russia, &c.	Government, the ends of 213. Our peculiar happiness under the present	266
Expence attending a collation at Vaux-hall 409. Of the war, proposal for supporting 466	Governors, their subjects partiality for them	202
Fabius Maximus, Q. his speech against the convention 500	Gout, cure for	270
Faction's dangerous effects 218. What it is 253	Graham, Marquis of, attacked on the highway	330
Fair sex often deceived, and how 26	Grand Vizier's reported character 3	
Fame, love of, 25. Affects the dress, <i>ib.</i>	Grant of Dalrachney's fine house burnt 42	
The desire of all men 157	Great man, defence of the 152	
Family memoirs little to be depended on 547	Great Mogul defeated 585	
Farthing-post illegally carried on 168	Gustavus Vasa, a tragedy, history of 131	
Fictitious pedigrees 548	Haddock and Clavijo's mutual compliments 383	
Fishery, Scots, capable of great improvements 221. And how 361	Haven, a fine one in Scotland 102. Lies open to an invasion 103	
Flattering ridicule 151. When useful <i>ib.</i> An instance 152	Hawick, account of the falling of a house there 233	
Fleet, ours, more useful than our army 31	Helvius, C. his speech against amending the address 306. And in favour of the convention 489	
Fleetwood, account of his marines 607		
Fleury, Cardinal, his ministry approved 8		
Flinny and Shallow, their adventure 363		
Flint, age of 211		
Forces for the current year 91. In his		

INDEX to the Debates, Essays, History, &c.

Henry V. his character	17	Answer to the Lords address	56
Hippocrates, his account of Democritus	596	Knight of Malta's bravery and good conduct	34
History, ours very dark, and why	547	Kouli Kan's embassies to the Porte, and to the Czarina 44. Takes Candahar and Cabull 283. Manifesto against the Great Mogul 333. And his success against him 424, 626. His barbarity at Delhi 627	627
Right use of	619	Lacy, Velt Marshal, his character 5. Success in Perecop and the Crim	424
Holtzein-Gottorp, Duke of, his death, account of	284	Language between beasts, necessity of	176
Homily, Dr, his variable conduct	160	Laws ought to be vigorously executed 28. Made necessary only by vice	119
Honour easier attained in the field than in the cabinet	157	Leaden age	31
Horse races, abuse of. <i>See</i> Newmarket.		League, an execrable one discovered	58
Hortensius, L. his speech in favour of the convention	533	Legacies, charitable ones	141
H-we J—n, Esq; his reply to Lord Viscount Gage's speech	370	Leige, a tumult there	239
Human nature, reflections on, how entertaining and useful	199	Letters; an odd one 138. To Turpin 186. From the G. Seignior's Esquerry 176. To the author of a discourse on predestination 560. Of marque, act for granting 18. Two reasons for their not being accepted, answered	591
Hypocrisy of mankind at present	212	Liberty, invaded by degrees 147. In danger by designing ministers 205. Eisted destroyed under specious names 370. Of the press in danger	169
Janissaries attempt to enter Belgrade	430	Licentiousness, how caused	203
Jcilius, L. his speech in favour of the convention	512	Limiting the crown, act for, passed 215. Remarks on it <i>ib.</i> Repealed by the Whigs	216
Imperial army's insuccess 5. Progress against the Turks 334. Success in Croatia	427	Linlithgow, a riot there	280
Impunity, an incitement to vice	578	Linnen manufacture, its success in Scotland	135, 361
Indian silks, wearing of, discouraged	621	List of the members for and against the convention	309
Indolence, how disgraceful	362	London, government of, not corrupted 219. Its trade and opulence, how caused 221. Well situated for trade 463. Defence of that city's late conduct 464. Its citizens late wise proceedings recommended 577. Struggles at the election of its Mayor	422
Infidels, their wretched state	612	Lorrain, Duke of, his accession to the Great Dukedom of Tuscany	7
Influence, danger of a corrupt	318	Love, experimental, course of	155
Inundation, a great one in Holland	191	— Specula, telescope and microscope, their several uses	156
Inspiration, Whitefield's pretence to, absurd	206	Lucian's method of exposing vice, very agreeable and instructive	410
Instructions to the London members	478	Luxury, and languishing trade, causes of our national poverty	96
Introduction to the political debates [289]		Macclesfield, Lord, case of	166
Johnson, Ben, a quarrelling scene from 324. Observations on it	326	Macycar and Macclachlan's case	89
Journal of Haddock's voyage	222		Mad
Ireland, number of papists there, an incentive to national union	258		
Irish papists disarmed	583		
Israel in Egypt, an oratorio, methods taken to make it successful	181		
Italy, state of	6		
Julius Florus, his speech against the convention	534		
Jull, a painter, derives himself from Julius Cæsar	548		
Junius Brutus, L. his motion for two addresses 339. His speech in favour of that motion	<i>ib.</i>		
Kenelly, John, his trial	172		
Khevenhuller, young Count, killed	382		
King's letter to the General Assembly	229.		
Speeches to parliament 32, 270, 542.			

INDEX to the Debates, Essays, History, &c.

ad dog, cure for the bite of	571	faïles 383. Demands the Princeſs	<i>ib.</i>
agiſtrates partial and vitious, render the laws odious	28	Minifter, character of a good one	157.
Magazines, objections againſt anſwer'd	243	Danger of a corrupt one	248
ahomet, Balhaw of Albania, aſſaſinated	143	Minifterial pamphlets, propoſal about	153
Majority, corrupted, how vain to oppoſe	149	Minifters, bad, fatal to their maſters	366
ale contents arguments for a war anſwer'd 66. Their endeavours to loſe the name of party	257	Miracle, a comical one	190
al practices of ſea-officers	408	Miſanthrope, part of a ſcene from	550
amfeſto of the King of Spain 374. Ill translated	418	Mixt government, when it may be called a tyranny	149
amfeſto, commonly the fore-runner of a declaration of war	415	Model for a new parliament-houſe	551
anius Valerius, his ſpeech to the Roman people	618	Modely, Harry, character of	260
anius Torquatus, T. his ſpeech in favour of the convention	541	Mogul's dominions, bad ſtate of	283
arcellus his oration againſt Thraſea	368	Monarchy of Rome, attended with licentiousneſs	203
argery, or a worſe plague than the dragon, facetious remark on	38	Money, ſcarcity of	155
arriages; firſt Princeſs of France, and her ſecond Infante of Spain 95. Second Princeſs of France, and the King of Sarlinia's eldeſt ſon <i>ib.</i> Princeſs Anne of Mecklemburg and Prince Anthony Ulrick	189, 334	Moon, eclipse of, at Edinburgh	40
aſquerade, account of one 107. An exotick diverſion 108. Remarks on 109.		Morocco, its fluctuating government	9
Late Queen's averſion to <i>ib.</i>		Munich, Velt Marſhal, his character 5. Letter to the Duke of Courland	485.
aſquerades, their ill conſequences 60. Account of two	88	His noble conduct	586
atagarda, fort, its treatment of an Engliſh ſhip	383	Murrain in cattle, cure for	373
ecænaſ's ſpeech on the liberty of the preſs, and againſt a great land army 406. Againſt the convention	537	Muſicians widows, propoſal for ſupporting	131
emorial, Britiſh Ambaſſador's, to the States General	486	Muſick, its uſe, a tranſitory pleaſure	132
erchants, injured, expediency of the methods taken to redreſs them 55. Petition againſt the convention	352	Muſtapha, a tragedy, well received 88. Its characters	<i>ib.</i>
erchant-company's petition	482	Nation's preſent melancholy circumſtances 415. Its voice for a place-bill	555
ercury, a dialogue	462	Navigation, free, inſtances of its being ſecured to us 19. Our right to it clear and explicit	105
ermaid, deſcription of	185	Navy, ours rendered uſeleſs	154
erriweis, his rebellion	9	Necceſſity of Revelation, remarks on	474
ethodiſts, why ſo called, and when 64. Account of them 65. Their illegal proceedings 207. How dangerous, if not checked	209	Negroes ſkirmiſh with the Engliſh	234
ina, Marq. de la, publick entry at Ver-		Nero, his abſolute and corrupt reign	368
		New-market, melancholy ſtate of	167
		New Sarum, inſtructions to its members	556
		Noble, Joſeph, his trial	173
		Oaths formerly the ſeal of treaties	71
		Obligations on parliament-men	557
		Obſervations on the convention	71, 76
		One man's ingroſſing the power of giving places, &c. ill conſequences of	253
		Operas, Italian, their exit out of England	38
		Orange, Prince of, his ſucceſſion to King William's eſtates not determined	8
		Order, a good one of the K. of Spain 239. — for granting letters of marque	330
		Oxford Doctor, ſtory of one	166
		Paintings at Vaux-hall	363
		Pallavicini, Marquis, his engagement with the Turks on the Danube	379

INDEX to the Debates, Essays, History, &c.

- Pancsova, a small skirmish there 382
 Pantomimes, their success 39. Adapting them to children ridiculed *ib.*
 Papists and Protestants, their number in Ireland 234
 Parallel betwixt R—k and W—te—d 251
 Parricide, a tragedy, not well received 88
 Parliaments, long, arguments against 198. Not accountable to their electors, how absurd 467
 Parliament-men, penalty on absenting 195. Modern divisions of *ib.*
 Party, definition of 253
 Party-names, the supports of corruption 166
 Patriot, preferable to a private Gentleman 221
 Payments, irregular, bad effects of 573
 Peace, honourable, preferable to war 55. Defence of 153
 Peace concluded between the Emperor and the Porte 428
 Penal laws, when necessary 30
 Pensioners, law against them very defective 247
 Peoples prejudices, how indulged 154. Their right to instruct their representatives defended 614
 Perischan, castle of, attacked 382
 Petitions against Spanish insults, and free trade 91. For part of the 95,000 *l.* *ib.* For the safety of Georgia *ib.* Of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of London, for free trade *ib.*
 Petit Maitres, their behaviour at Vauxhall, humourously described 363
 Philomusas, his account of himself 549. Ambition to turn author 550
 Philosophical amusement on the language of beasts, extract of 175
 Pinchbeck age 211
 Piso, L. his speech for amending the address 303. Against the convention 449
 Pit, address to, on stage-reformation 59
 Place-bill, brought in 198. How necessary and useful 555
 Place-bills much opposed by the court 197
 Placeman, ill consequence of keeping one in employment, after he was hated 599.
 Placemen, limitation of, better than a total exclusion 121. Unfit to sit in parliament 318. A dangerous militia 320. Corrupted by interest 577. Hurtful in parliament 579. Necessary in government 581
 Player, what a good one must be
 Players, French, their sorry manner here
 Plebeians disputes for the Corn-laws
 Plinius Cæcilius, C. his speech for address of thanks
 Poland much reduced by the late wars
 Polish frontiers ravaged by the Tartars 189. By the Turks and Tartars
 Politicks, facetious remarks on
 Pomponius Atticus, his speech in honour of the convention 521. His motion for an address of thanks
 Poor, the industrious, how valuable society
 Pope, his distress'd state 6. His probable successor
 Popular commotions, their causes
 Popular judicature, proposal for erecting
 Porcius, L. his form of an address 290
 Predestination, arguments against 159. Objections for it, answered
 Prices of stocks. *See* Stocks.
 Pride in Writers exposed
 Prim, Mr, his ludicrous behaviour
 Prince, ceremonies used at the birth of the 140. His baptism
 Proposals for an hospital or workhouse
 Proposals to the Grand Seignior by Sen-G—ki, and his answers
 Protest, Spanish, 80. Remarks on it 74, 77, 78
 Protest of the Lords against an address of thanks
 Prudentia, her case
 Prussian Ambassador cuts his throat
 Public offices, who unfit for
 Public spirit remarkable in the late administration
 Puffing, art of, daily increases
 Punctual payments recommended
 Quacks, what they are 205. Account of one
 Queries, to Mr Whitefield 201. Regarding influence, civil list, placemen, &c. 317
 Quintius Capitalinus, T. speech against allowing the merchants council
 Quintius Cincinnatus, L. his speech for reducing the army
 Ragotski, Prince, countenanc'd by the Turks 4. Reward set on his head
 Death
 Ratcliffe, James, his escape

INDEX to the Debates, Essays, History, &c.

arden, John, his trial	173	Scots manufactures slowly improving	221.
religious ceremonies regulated in Denmark	7	Exportations	484, 582
erved stock for publick use	471	Scotmen, their bravery in Russia	4
gnation, surprising instance of. See		Seamen less encourag'd than landmen	30
iloquy.		Searching, on any terms allow'd, very dangerous	74.
des, Samuel, his trial	171	Right of, not given up by Spain	105
, account of his two regiments	606	Seat in parliament, how eagefly fought	195
icule, some mens particular humour		Seceders vindicated	167
o. An instance	151	Seceding ministers, some account of their conduct	183.
ts at Vienna, on the peace	430	Arguments for and against them	230.
-k, Dr, his letter to Wh—te—d	250	Sentence against them	233.
nan history, defective, and why	547	Seckendorf, Count, his treatment	335
nans, corrupted by degrees	148.	Sejanus's downfall, how caused	149
uggles for liberty	203.	Self-love, what 611. As strong in an infidel as in a believer	612
ethods for obtaining two new laws enacted	617	Sempronius Tuditanus, P. his speech against an address of thanks	527
ne, its troubles	115	Seraskier of Widdin made Gr. Vizier	237
mish priests, their mean shifts to gain credit	259	Servilius Priscus's speech against allowing the merchants counsil	387
yal Infirmary, account of	39.	Sextius and Licinius, their characters	117
Contributions towards it	483, 623	Ships, lost	42, 139, 186, 187, 234, 282.
yal favour engrossed by one man, how dangerous	574	Taken by the Spaniards	282, 430, 431, 481, 583, 621.
ural entertainment at Vaux-hall	364	From them	481, 583, 621
ural adventure	564	Slavery, warning against, from the Romans example	147
ussia, honour gain'd by her troops	4.	Small-pox, receipt for	47
uccess of its arms attended but with small advantages	ib.	Smyrna, its neighbourhood molested by Sare-Bey-Oglow	4
Natural advantages	101.	Society for propagating Christian knowledge, general meeting of	40.
Precaution with regard to Sweden	284	Short account of it	ib.
ussians, Character of	102.	Soliloquy on the approach of death	565
urtherly ought to be guarded against		Solon, a wise reflection of	29
Pass the Niester	377.	Sophi of Persia's claims on the Porte	188
Engagement with the Turks in Moldavia	424	South Sea company's losses by Spanish seizures	83
ufficus Arulenus his attempt to defend Phrasea	369	Spain, little done there last year	8
uint Joseph taken	481.	its trade extending	10
Her cargo	ib.	Spaniards conduct on our granting reprisals	383
ult, easily made in Scotland	361	Spanish depredations	10
alter, Sir John, elected Lord Mayor of London	422	Spanish Fryar, how mutilated	170
an Marino, disturbances there	588.	Sparkish, Ned, story of	161
Account of its government	590	Speaker of the Commons, his speech to the King	281
antry, Lord, orders for trying	139.	Speech, Persian Ambassador's, to the Czarina	45
Tried and repriev'd	234	Spirits, foreign, resolutions against them	135
ardinia, King of, difference betwixt him and the Emperor	7	Stage, proposal for its reformation	31.
Sare-Bey-Oglow gives the Turks much trouble	189.	Entirely reduc'd	333
Satyry, its abuse, and use	100	Taste for, under a licence, why	169.
Satyrist's, the great number of	ib.	decreases	461
Saul, a new oratorio	89		
Schach Thamas, and his son, strangled	484		
School of politicks, a farce	20		
School of politicks, proposal for	261		

INDEX to the Debates, Essays, History, &c.

Stamp-paper if, reduc'd to a certain size 168. What its effects would be	169	Trials of seven pirates 170. Their ral sentences	
Standing army, danger of 51. Ours ought to be reduc'd	52	Tribunitial power, the guard of the man liberties	
States General, arduous in their mediation betwixt Spain and Britain 8. Their con- duct in the present conjuncture 335. Their resolution with respect to our war with Spain 383. Letter to the King of Gr. Britain	487	Tumults, remarks on the late ones	
Statefman, regard due to a good	156	Turpin, Rich. his trial 138. Account of	
Steele, Sir Rich. story of his chariot	261	Turkish empire, state of	
Steinhorst, a scuffle there 46. Dispute there amicably adjusted	190	Turks and Tartars pursue the Ruff over the Niefter	
Stephens's medicines for the stone	268	Tuscany, Great Duke of, performs rantine at Buri	
Stocks, prices of, 333, 374, 422, 482, 583, 623.		Tyranny, legal, how pernicious	
Storm, a violent one in Scotland 40. An- other in Essex and Bath 234. Another at London	622	Valerius Corvus, M. his speech for mitting the merchants council	
Stratagem, a politick one of Gen. Bern- clau	379	— Flaccus, L. his speech on the number of land forces 399. Motion regulating them	
Strutt, Ld, and 'Squire Bull, their case	133	Vaux-hall. <i>See</i> Voyage.	
Subjection in a subaltern, an instance of	54	Verfes on the Spaniards infols	
Succession, great expectations on the Ha- nover	246	Vice (not weaknefs) the proper object indignation	
Supper at Vaux-hall	409	Villius Tappulus, P. his speech against convention	
Sweden, its trade much increased	8	Virginia, ancient limit of	
Sweden, K. of, resumes the government	47	Virtuous men ought not to meddle with corrupt government	
Sweetland, James, his trial	172	Unity, national, the only preservative gainst corruption	
Tartars, 300, defeated in the Ukrain 141. Their ravages in Poland	377	Voyage to Vaux-hall humourously de- bed 323. Return from thence	
Theatre, at Edinburgh, thoughts on open- ing it	182	Wages, when paid to parliament-men	
Theatrical goods, sale of	15	War, preparations for, 330, 331, 374, 422, 481	
— revolutions	461	Welzegg, Count de, his death	
Theodore, Baron, some account of 6. Sei- zure at Naples 7. Released	46	Westleys more blameable than White field	
Thomson, Robert, his trial 329. Ob- tains a remission	622	Westminster bridge, a new dance	
Thrasea Petus, Nero's barbarity to him 367. Death, and dying words	368	Wheel, introduced into Corica	
Timoleon's generous conduct	549	Whiggism, present state of	
Tory practices, how dangerous, if gone into by old Whigs	148	Whitefield seizes the pulpit at St Marg- ret's 68. His conduct how absurd and il- legal 200. Reflections on it 201. His account of himself 209. Arrives at Phi- ladelphia	
Trade increasing in Europe 143. Scots, how it may be improved	361	Widow Lady, story of one	
Tragedies lately very numerous, and their effects	181	Wilkens, counsellor, his sentence	
Treaty of peace between the Emperor and France	286	Wisdom of the late administration	
		Withart, Principal, his settlement	
		Zunchin, Emperor of China, his unhappy fate	

INDEX

INDEX to the POETRY, 1739.

A lbertus II. 275	Lady, on an agreeable, be-	Resolve 180
Alexis and Menal-	ing married to one unde-	Rose-bud 223
as 619	erving her 130	Rural beauties 359
Answer to epigram on Tur-	— of May 224	— virtue 224
pin 223	Lover's monument 127	Sleep, to 180
Arbor 327	Lying in the Earl of Ro-	Songs 38, 85, 127, 223,
Argyle, on the Duke of 327	chester's bed, on 360	328
Arth-waters 571	M—mV—te, on seeing her	— to Cupid 84
Arrooke, to Mr 222	picture 223	— Mary Scot, adapted to
Asinia, to 358	Maje calendæ 460	the present age 128
Ataliope's directions 177	Majesty, on his picture 418	— the indictment <i>ib.</i>
— I—le, Earl of, his ad-	Mallet, to Mr 87	— on a young Lady's ill-
vice to his son 356	Melancholy, to 568	ness 359
Atlander, to 359	Miss—, to the charming 86	Spaniards, on their search-
Death of a young Lady,	Murray, Mr, on his marri-	ing our ships 130
on the 476	age 33. The preceding	Stella, to, with a Bible 84
de urbe & ponte Londi-	ode imitated. <i>ib.</i>	S—t, to the Rt Hon. Miss
nenfi 34	Myrtillo to Mira 86	35
Discontented ape 419	Night-piece 129	Suspirium 34
Epigram on gin and in-	Northern star 224, 271	Sylvia, to 328, 421
forming 35	Ode 26. l. 1. Horace, pa-	Sylvio to Maya 228
— extempore, on the Duke	raphrased 33	Third chapter of Job 420
of Argyle 128	— 14. l. 2. Horace, imi-	Touch of the times 570
— on Turpin 223	tated 34	Townshend, to Mrs Eliza-
— on a calm sea 421	— on the new year 37	beth 419
— on Lyra 570	— to W—m P—y, Esq; <i>ib.</i>	Trip to Vaux-hall 569
— on a storm 544	— to Fame 87	Verses written in a Lady's
Epistle to Mrs Masters 357.	— on the D. of Argyle 178	prayer-book 129
Her answer <i>ib.</i>	— extempore 189	— inscrib'd to Miss J—ny
Epitaph on a blind man's	— ad N—m M—d 273	360
dog 123	— to a young Lady 358	— to the memory of a de-
— on an old woman 587	— on his Majesty's birth-	ceas'd Lady 476
Fair, the relenting 84	day 475	Vigilantis vota, dormientis
Fallen angel 129	— two, from Anacreon 586	sonnia 86
False morning 224	— on the new year 620	Universal prayer 34
Fanatick preaches 360	Panegyrick on a court 127	Winter 275
Fit companion 328	Poet L—t, on him and his	Wish for a young Lady 567
Flight 33	odes 34	Young Gentleman, to a
Flirt and Phil 130	Prologue to Hamlet 179	228
Hint 360	— to Gustavus Vasa <i>ib.</i>	— on one oft disappointed
Horace, epode 15. 477	Prospect of war 326	in love 328
Lady, to a young, weeping	Psalms I. imitated 130	Young Lady, to a 476
at her sister's marriage 34	Relapse 36	

INDEX to the DEATHS, PREFERMENTS, &c. 1739.

A Bercorn 484	Adair 624, 5	Aldercron 625	Apperly 624
Abercrombie 624	Adams 235, 625	Ancram 484	Areskine 484
Abergavenny 92	Agnew 584	Anderson 236, 423	Armstrong 331, 423
A'Court 332	Aiton 44, 423	Andover 235	Arnot 328
	Albemarle 332, 583	Anstruther 331	Arcott 328

INDEX to the Deaths, Preferments, &c.

Afston	624	Brazil	484	Colvil	375. 624	Dayne	
Afson	392	Breadalbane	92	Columbine	331. 623	Drogheda	
Aufin	624	Brereton	282	Compton	282. 332.	Drummond	
Aykner	140	Bridgeness	624.		583	283. 376.	
Baber	624	Brindell	623	Congreve	282	Drury	
Baget	283	Brodie	624	Cook	584	Duchet	
Bailis	235	Brooke	332	Cooley	140	Dufour	
Baker	375	Brown	423. 624. 5	Cooper	375	Drummer	
Baldwin	624. 5	Bruce	42. 141. 283.	Cope	188. 331. 75	Duncton	
Balfour	624.		332. 625	Corbet	624	Dunlop	
Balgony	98	Bachan	187	Cornwall	331. 2	Dunmore	
Barker	624	Buchanan	423	Cornwallis	332	Duroue	
Barkley Lyon	332	Buckinger	375	Cosiel	188	Dyfort	
Barnewell	423	Bulkeley	140	Coster	423	Edgcomb	
Barrei	331	Bull	375	Cotterel	624	Edmonson	
Rateman	625	Burdet	625	Couper	376	Edmonstou	
Bates	624	Burrard	624	Courand	187	Elek	
Beauclerk	188. 623	Barton	16.	Coxe	623	Ellingham	
Beaufort	624	Butler	375	Craven	375	Ellis	
Beaumont	ib.	Byng	187. 375	Crawford	93. 282.	Ellbank	
Beaumont	283	Byron	485		331. 75. 584.	Elliot	282. 331. 7
Bedford	423	Cadogan	331	Cremer	375	Ellis	
Beecher	624	Calderwood	423	Cuning	624	Ellison	423. 625.
Bell	625	Campbell	43. 236.	Cunningham	282.	Elphinstone	
Benson	584		83. 331. 75.		332	Espland	
Bentink	583	Cardross	140	Cuthbert	584	Errington	
Berkeley	282. 332.	Carmouls	624.	Dabfac	625	Esline	93. 331
Berrers	635	Carr	ib.	Dalaway	375		425. 625
Berry	623	Carricks	625	Dale	283. 423	Essex	235. 18
Bertie	423	Carroll	331	Dalhousie	584	Evans	
Berties	624	Carteret	188	Dalmahoy	141	Eyles	
Befchefer	625	Cater	44	Dahympis	235	Eyres	
Bettefworth	283	Cathcart	188. 331	Dalsziel	584	Eyton	
Blackerbey	625	Cathnes	140	Damar	625	Fagan	
Blagrave	ib.	Cavalier	331	Daniel	624	Falkner	
Blake	283	Caulfield	484	D'Ashwood	93. 623	Falkland	
Blanford	625	Chalmers	423	Davers	375. 485	Farmer	141. 423
Blondeau	423	Chamberlayne	584	Davis	282. 332	Farquharson	625.
Bodens	235	Chambers	375	Davison	332	Fielding	331. 625
Boifond	624	Chambre	624	Daws	624	Fingal	
Bolton	625	Chudleigh	423	Dawson	ib.	Fisher	140
Bond	624	Churchill	93. 331.	Deedes	93	Fitzroy	375
Bonfoy	375		2. 625	Degeness	423	Fitz-Williams	584
Borgard	331	Clarke	584	Degg	ib.	Fleming	188
Borthwick	625	Clavering	44	Delabone	584	Flood	423
Boswell	331	Clayton	331. 2. 584	Delorain	188	Follicot	331. 423
Bower	282	Cleland	424. 625	Dennifon	282	Forbes	331. 75. 6
Bowles	331. 75	Clements	423	Desbordes	331	Faulkes	624
Bowman	141	Clive	624	Dick	44	Fox	375
Boyd	423	Cochran	584. 624	Dickson	43	Foy	625.
Boyle	188. 624	Cockburn	235. 584	Dillon	236	Frampson	584
Boynston	423	Codd	423	Donaldson	423	Franks	331
Bradshaw	375	Colquhoun	423. 625	Doughs	235. 331.	Frazer	624. 5
Bravthwayt	624	Colson	235		75. 584. 625	Fretcham	624

INDEX to the Deaths, Preferments, &c.

wen	140	Harrington	331.	Jephson	624	Macfarlan	625
ler	584		485	Ingoldby	584. 624	Mackee	484
irdner	188	Harris	624	Jocelyne	423	Mackenzie	44. 236.
lies	44	Harrison	331. 484.	Jones	331. 624		624. 5
rnier	584		584	Jordan	625	Maskie	624
footigne	375. 624	Hartford	331	Irvine	624	Maclean	624. 5
y	140	Hartshorn	423	Izard	625	Macleod	331. 584.
ry	188	Harvey	282	Keene	624		625
	43	Hawley	331	Kennedy	484	Macnab	625
obons	423	Hay	235. 332.	Kerr	331	Macnaughton	624
son	44. 141.		584.	Kidd	375. 625	Macneal	141
	283. 624.	Heathcote	423. 584	Killegrew	624	Macneil	625
christ	44	Hemmington	332.	Kilpatrick	188	Macpherson	ib.
su	92		75	Kintore	139	Maitland	140. 332.
neagles	289	Henchman	375	Kirke	331		624
dfrey	625	Hemley	232	Kynaston	624	Manchester	484.
dolphin	332.	Hepburn	93. 376	Lade	ib.		584
	484.	Herbert	623	Ladle	236	Manley	375
och	93	Heron	625	Lambton	584	Marcelli	ib.
odman	44	Hickman	423	Langdale	236	Marjoribanks	624
rdon	43. 4. 139.	Higgison	423. 623	Lawler	584	Marlborough	43. 4.
	623. 4	Higham	375	Lawson	44		282. 425
re	375. 484. 584.	Hilderley	282. 485	Leekey	625	Marriot	624
wer	236	Hicks	624	Le Crois	ib.	Marsh	93. 624
reme	423	Holbourn	375	Lee	624	Martin	236. 584.
raham	331. 2.	Holden	140	Leighton	625		625
	584. 623. 5	Holdgats	ib.	Lempster	43	Matham	484
rant	44. 283. 332.	Hollings	236. 624	Lenard	624	Maton	583
	623. 5	Holwell	625	Lequefne	423	Maffarecus	93
raves	375	Home	332	Lefley	375. 584	Masters	623
reathed	140	Hooke	375	Leftock	375	Mathison	625
seen	624	Hooper	283	Leveson Gower	188	Maule	282
reenwood	44	Hope	423	Lewis	623	Mawson	43
regg	624. 5	Hopkins	625	Ligoniere	331. 423	Mayrath	624
ritch	624	Horn	44	Lillo	423	Medford	ib.
roves	235	Hornby	423	Lindesay	584	Medland	ib.
rust	331	Hotham	ib.	Lingen	282	Medley	282
uife	332	How	624	Lloyd	376. 624. 5	Medlicot	625
uthrie	375	Howard	43. 331.	Lockhart	43. 624	Menzies	ib.
wynne	624.		624	Loftus	625	Meredith	44. 625
addock	43	Hughes	624. 5	Logan	141	Merrick	584
aley	282	Hull	624	Lombe	44	Mothwold	624
alifax	235	Humphreys	141	Long	375	Meyrick	ib.
alket	584	Huske	332	Lothian	139	Middleton	235
all	623	Hutchinson	283.	Loudon	93	Milbourne	623
alybarton	93. 423		423. 624. 5	Love	423	Mill	235
amilton	236. 331.	Hyndford	93. 187.	Lowther	584	Miller	484
	2. 484. 584. 624		235	Lumfden	141. 623	Mills	375
Hammond	141	Jackson	282. 625	Lamley	484	Michel	332. 75.
Hanbury-Williams	584	Jarvis	584	Landin	332		425
	584	Jeffers	282	Lashington	376	Molefworth	235.
Hanfayd	331	Jenkins	624	Lynd	625		332. 624
Hargrave	331. 423.	Jennings	625	Macculloch	92	Moncke	583
	584	Jenkinson	624	Macdonald	188. 625	Moncrief	188

INDEX to the Deaths, Performers, &c.

Monk	429	Parley	484	Roches	332	Sattie	
Monson	332	Parsons	624	Ruck	93	Swift	
Montague	98. 140.	Patterson	484	Rudd	423	Talbot	
	331	Paton	283	Rue	424	Tanner	
Montandre	282.	Patrick	235. 423	Ruffel	375	Taylor	
	375	Payne	423	Ryan	624	Temple	623
Montgomery	93.	Peachell	624. 5	Rycault	ib.	Tench	4
	188. 423	Pearce	44. 332	Sabine	282. 583	Teanison	33. 33
Montolieu	331	Pelham	583. 4. 625	St Clair	332	Telfer	42
Moore	624	Pemberton	332	St Metris	624	Thomson	235. 4
Moray	235. 623	Percival	484	Salter	423		484. 62
Morerton	584	Perry	93	Saltmarsh	624	Thorpe	62
Moric	235	Peters	235. 623	Savage	423	Tophady	62
Morton	235. 82. 584	Philips	283. 331	Saunderson	188	Townhead	33
Moslyn	332	Philipson	235	Sawbridge	93	Towric	2
Moyle	625	Pierpont	236	Scarborough	331	Trefus	28
Moyton	283	Piers	584	Schaw	141. 332. 75.	Trevor	375. 42
Munro	625	Pinfon	485	Scott	141. 88. 331.	Tuckfield	141
Murphey	423	Pit	140		484. 584	Tullidaff	331
Murray	93. 140.	Pocklington	485	Seafort	375	Tullilens	623
	235. 85. 484. 624. 5	Polk	375	Selkirk	140	Tutte	623
Murray-Kynnyn-		Pomfret	484. 625	Seymour	44	Tyrawley	331
mound	331	Porter	332	Shadwell	625	Tyrrrell	33
Muttar	44	Portland	423	Shaftoe	624	Vaillant	584
Nairn	140	Powell	624	Shannon	282.	Vanderbank	623
Napier	93. 583	Poyntz	ib.	Sharp	423. 623	Venner	624
NalSmith	139	Precaux	625	Sheldon	624	Vernon	331
Nevill	331	Prifton	93. 331. 624	Shepherd	ib.	Veziar	623
Newenton	286	Prismole	375	Shields	624	Villers	584
Newton	44. 93	Prince	140	Shirley	375	Virafel	623
Noiray	624	Pringle	624	Skelton	141	Urquhart	93. 140
Norciter	625	Pulteney	332. 484	Slatter	624		584. 624
Norris	44. 140. 282.	Purcel Kempe	624	Smith	282. 375.	Uxbrige	28
	423	Pyle	625		584	Wade	282. 331
North	624	Ramsay	235. 625	Soleguard	375	Waine	188
Nottingham	623	Raymond	187	Somervell	43. 235	Waite	375
Ochterlony	624	Reade	332. 624	Spark	283	Walcot	235
Ogilvie	140. 584.	Repington	624	Spellman	624	Wales	140
	624	Reynier	93	Spencer	93	Wallace	624
Ogle	332	Reynolds	ib.	Stacey	624	Wallop	584
Oliphant	ib.	Rich	331. 2. 75	Stambourg	235	Walpole	235
Oliver	423	Richmond	332. 583	Stamford	583	Walton	583
Oatlow	375	Ridder	188	Stammers	625	Wareing	485
Orange	623	Rivas de Foisfac	331	Stanhope	484. 625	Watson	188. 235.
Orfeur	331	Rob	584	Stanley	282		332. 424. 624
Orme	375	Robertson	140. 282.	Stephenson	624	Wanchop-Don	44
Osulston	423		3. 624	Stevens	140. 332	Wear	332
Oswald	ib.	Robinson	332. 584.	Stewart	44. 140.	Webb	625
Otway	331		624		375. 624. 5	Webster	44
Paget	332. 75	Rothead	423	Stirling	141. 623	Weller	624
Palmerston	623	Rogers	92	Stone	187. 484	Wentworth	332. 75.
Parker	331. 423.	Rolton	332	Strafford	583		624
	623	Rondeau	584	Strange	584	West	140
Parrot	423	Rofs	625			Webm	

INDEX to the Books.

Aston	184	Wightwick	624	Wilson	624	Wright	623
Blymouth	625	Williams	43. 282.	Winchelsea	623	Wrightson	423
Barton	141	Williamson	332(624	Winchester	283	Wyche	236
Betham	282	Willmer	624	Wisheart	44	Wyndham	282
Biteford	331	Wills	282. 375	Wolfe	584	Wynel	283
Bitney	140. 282	Wilmot	624	Wood	625	Wynyard	584

INDEX to the Books.

Accomplish'd Methodist 384	Batchelor of Salamanca 143	Clarke's supplement 488
Account of an hospital for foundlings 48	Beginning of masonry 240	Collection of texts 336
of Corfica 144	Bellamy's miscellanies 336	— of pieces of Locke 488
of Mr Whitefield 336	Benefit of procreation 288	— of observ. in surgery 592
of Spanish painters 192	Bill for recovery of debts 628	College wit sharpen'd 288
of the woollen manufactures 628 [240	Bp of London's pastoral letter 384 [336	Colloquies of Erasmus <i>ib.</i>
of the Afr. presbytery dress'd to students in divinity 48	Boerhaave's materia medica	Comforts of matrimony 48
to the merchants 143	Bravo turn'd bully 488	Common Sense 143
to the Protestants 336	Brief enquiry into standing forces 96	Conduct of Whitefield vindicated 336
to the electors 384	— account of prayer 288	Congratulatory poem to Sir R. Walpole 96
to the liverymen 432	— of Spain 628	— letter to Ld Walpole 239
in Byng's expedition 488	British representative 239	— — to Dr Trapp 592
Advantages of water 592	— lyon rouz'd 432	Considerations on the state of affairs 48 [sons 47
Adventures of J. le Brun 288	— sailor's discovery 591	Constitutions of the free mason
Aesop's fables 592	Brutum Fulmen 240	Contempt of the clergy consider'd 96
Aesop's fables 592	Candor 239	Continuation of Mr Whitefield's journal 47
Aesop's fables 592	Canto of Fairy Queen 240	Convention 96
Aesop's fables 592	Case between the cloathiers and weavers 143	Counterpart to Pope's essay on man 288
Aesop's fables 592	— of K. Jehoshaphat 144	Country Common Sense 96
Aesop's fables 592	— between Stebbing and Whitefield 488	— correspondent 192
Aesop's fables 592	— of the oaths <i>ib.</i>	Course of lectures 240
Aesop's fables 592	Catechism for Deists 240	Critical account of libraries
Aesop's fables 592	Caution against religious de- celibacy 432 [Lusion 288	Cure of schism 336 [591
Aesop's fables 592	Champion's defeat 488	Decerpta of Ovid 384 [96
Aesop's fables 592	Characters 143	Defence of Whitefield 48.
Aesop's fables 592	Charge to the clergy 48. 288	— of religion 96 [ples 240
Aesop's fables 592	Charter for the hospital for foundlings 592	— of the reformation principl— of the enquiry 288
Aesop's fables 592	Christian, a new creature 47	— of the Ch. of Eng. 628
Aesop's fables 592	— worship 96 [192	— of Whitby <i>ib.</i>
Aesop's fables 592	Christianity the way of life	Deism and Christianity <i>ib.</i>
Aesop's fables 592	Chronologia enucleata <i>ib.</i>	Delays dangerous 96
Aesop's fables 592	Chronological tables 144	Description of curious creatures 336 [591
Aesop's fables 592	Chubb's vindication 48	— of the windward passage
Aesop's fables 592	Ch. of Eng. vindicated <i>ib.</i>	Dialogue Baptist & Churchman 192
Aesop's fables 592	Church discipline 432	Google
Aesop's fables 592	Church-yard 240 [192	5 A
Aesop's fables 592	Clarendon and Whitlock	Dia.

INDEX to the Books.

- Dial. Kt and his man** 336
 — **Menalcas and Philem.** 96
 — **Whitefield and Garnor** 288
Discourse on Christian and Antichristian authors 288
 — on confirmation 192
 — on divine and moral obligation 384
 — on learning 432
 — on the mystery and history of scripture 592
Display of Fr. Politicks 336
Dissenters apology 591
Dissertation on tithes 96
 — on the present conjuncture 591 [192
Divine legation of Moses
Don Sancho 336 [488
Dramatick works of Orrery
Dreadful degeneracy of the clergy 288
Dunces of Norfolk 432
Earnest appeal 384
Edinburgh almanack 628
E—b—gh's instructions *ib.*
Edward and Eleonora 240
Eighth and ninth epistles, book 1. of Horace 144
Enquiry into Jewish and Christian revelation 47
 — into the advance of the price of coals 48
 — into fitness of attending parliament 144
 — into the nature of Bristol waters 384 [143
Entertaining correspondent
Enthusiasm explain'd 288
 — no novelty 432
Epidemical madnes 144
Epistle to S. R. Walpole 240
 — from Mary Collyer 432
Epistolary debate 592
Erroneous translations of scripture 144
Essay on civil power 192
 — for the improvement of free-thinking 592
 — towards the character of Madam Champaneze 192
 — on the decay of the fine woollen trade 192
 — on regimen 488
Essay on oriental learn. 288
 — on polite behaviour 592
 — on vocal musick 96
Eternity of hell torments 48. 288. 432
Eucharistical sacrifice 432
Exam. of the enquiry 240
 — of Stephens's med. 384
 — of the manifesto 432
 — of a late vindication *ib.*
 — of the Quakers professions 488
Excursory view 384
Expost. with the clergy 144
Expostulatory letter to Mr Whitefield 96
Family expositor *ib.*
Farmer rethor'd 628
Farther considerations 144
Fatal retirement 592
Fear of death *ib.* [384
First book of Virgil's *Aeneis*
First satyr of Perseus 144
Four original letters 48
Fourteen sermons *ib.*
French politicks 336 [432
Frid. Spanhemii introductio
Further reply to Shepherd 192
Gardener's dictionary 384
Genealogies of J. Christ 192
Geography reform'd 628
Golden calf 48
Grecian history 591
Green cloth 143
Grobianus 192
Gualtherus & Griselda 288
Guide to London traders 384
Gustavus Vasa 239
Hammond and Hopkins's expositions of two texts 336
Happiness of a holy life 628
Hemp 432
Hist. Josephi patr. 384
Historical account of the degradation of gold 48
 — of devises 239
 — of several sea-fights 336
 — of the Stewarts 488
 — of K. David 628
Hist. of Solyman the Great
 — Gustavus Vasa *ib.* [96
 — of the *Aegyptians* 288
 — Northamptonshire 144
 — Edward and Eleonora
 — England 191
 — English Baptists 192
 — Peter the Great 240.
 — Westcountry *ib.*
 — King Appru 384
 — Essex 591.
 — all religions 592
 — Lewis XIV. 628
Honour of cuckoldom 4
Hospital for fools 592 [24
Hymn to the supreme deity
Jewish Spy 240
Jews complaint 48
Imitation of 2d epist. b. of Horace 192 [33
 — of Horac's 16th ep
Immateriality and freeness of the soul 628
Impartial exam. of Ne-enquiry 592 [19
Imperious stile of Tully
Improvements in navig. 59
Index to the records 48
Infancy of the world 47
Inspiration of N. Test. 19
Journal of Had.'s *impud.*
Irresistible fair 143 [8
J. Caesar's comment. 488
Jus parliamentum 239
Kind of dialogue in *Hell*
braffick 96
K. of Spain's manifesto 48
 — in English metre *ib.*
La litergie Françoise 48
Lady's dispensatory 96
Lark 432
Laugh and ly down 336
Laws relating to the poor 48
Lay-tyranny 96
Letter to the S. S. company
 — to Whitefield *ib.* [4
 — to Mr Eb. Erskine *ib.*
 — of Claudio Tolomei 144
 — to a Noble Lord *ib.*
 — to Dr Mead *ib.*
 — to Sir R. W. 144 [144
 — to Mr Sn—II on liberty
 — on Dissenters being *She-riffs* *ib.*
 — to Mr G. Chubb 192
 — to Weekly Miscell. 240
 — from a Spaniard *ib.*
 — on the Trinity 288

INDEX to the Books.

- On Whitefield 288
 Philalethes *ib.* [336
 to the Abp of Canterbury
 from an Ital. merch. 384
 to the Liverymen 432
 to Sir G— C— *ib.*
 to the Bp of London 488
 to the Livery *ib.*
 from a freeholder 628
 tters of E. Strafford 144
 concerning poetic. transl.
 fe of God 192 [288
 of Edm. Dickenson 240
 of David Nevas 384
 of the 8th champion 488
 of Bp of Rochester *ib.*
 of Mrs Chr. Davies 592
 of Mr Halyburton 96
 ves of illustrious perf. 239
 of Luther and Calv. 628
 garithmologia 384
 ndon 592
 ndon citizen injured 144
 nginus on the sublime *ib.*
 ver 628
 yfix orationes 192
 ythiasis Anglicana *ib.*
 an superior to woman 592
 of pleasure reform'd 240
 anners, a fatyr 48
 anners decyphered 144
 armor Norfolciense 192
 asonry *ib.*
 r Walpole's case 144
 atrimony 336
 leasing completed 96
 - made easy 144 [384
 memoirs of D. de Ripperda
 emorials and characters
 en and meafures 384 [48
 lerry conversation 96
 - companion 336
 lerch.'s letter to the Prince
 ethodists 240 [*ib.*
 ethod to prevent running
 of wool *ib.*
 ethods of laying West-
 nisterbridge 592 [47. 239
 ifcell. in prose and verse
 inisterial prejudices 144
 iferies of miserable 192
 lock-preacher 288
 odern-Englishman 144
 - history 192
 — question affirmed 288
 — book-keeping 336
 Moral essays of Seneca 48
 Mournful nuptials 288
 Mustapha 96
 Narrative of the life of Mr
 Whitefield 288
 — of what pass'd at the e-
 lection of Ld Mayor 488
 — of the proceed. against
 the seceders 592 [288
 National disp. on the conv.
 Nat. hist. of N. Carolina 96
 — of the Rhinoceros 336
 Nature, sin, &c. of being
 righteous over much 288
 Nature and advantage of
 publick worship 628
 — and laws of chance *ib.*
 Necessity of good works 96
 — of revelation 288
 New year's gift 48 [96
 New treatise of husbandry
 — transl. of Juvenal *ib.*
 — account of Jamaica *ib.*
 — abridg. of the statut. 336
 — art of war 384
 — precedents in conveyan-
 cing *ib.*
 — set of tables 592
 News from the dead 48
 Nineteen let. of Dr Ham-
 mond 192
 Objections against the repeal
 of the test-act 144
 Observaciones de aere 336
 — on whigs, &c. 47
 — on the convention 96
 — on the remarks 144
 — on the present taste for
 poetry 192
 — in surgery 384
 — on Mr Seagrave *ib.*
 — on the manifesto 432
 — on the declarat. of war
 Answer to the last *ib.* [592
 Ode to W. Pultency Esq; 96
 — on prophecy 144
 — to Sir R. Walpole 592
 Odes, &c. of Horace, transl.
 — to Pr. of Wales 47 [336
 Old Whig 144
 Old Whigs sentiments 628
 One physic. is e'en as good
 as t'other 488
 One thousand seven hundred
 and thirty nine 592
 Oratio in honorem legis 336
 Panegyrick on a court 96
 Paradise lost, b. 1. in rhyme
 Paraph. on James 592 [628
 Pastoral letter verified 432
 Peace and no peace 48
 Persepolis illustrata 192
 Peruvian tales 336
 Philemon to Hydaspes 240
 Philosopher's stone 143
 Philosoph. amusements 191
 — experiments 192
 — dissertation 336
 Philos. essay on musick 432
 Physick is a jest 288
 Pious youth 336 [488
 Plain address to Methodists
 — Reasons for being Protest.
 Plain-dealing *ib.* [240
 Plantation-laws 591
 Poems by Mr Pope 48
 — on several occasions 488
 Poetarum Scotorum musæ
 sacræ 432 [192
 Political life of O. Cromwel
 — reflect. on the finances *ib.*
 — essay on commerce 488
 Political-chymical-christian
 preparation 432
 Practical treatise of painful
 distempers 48
 — exposition of the four E-
 vangeliists 144
 — surgery 592
 Present for an apprentice *ib.*
 Present state of politicks 96
 — of matrimony 336
 Preservative against unset-
 tled notions 432
 Principles of liberty 240
 Prior's miscell. works 488
 Proceed. of Ass. presb. 432
 Proceedings and trials 628
 Progress of honesty 592
 Protest against the church
 of Scotland 240
 Raven and owl 48
 Reasons on the seclusion of
 Sir G. C. 488 [591
 — for encouraging seamen
 — for altering leases 592

INDEX to the Books.

- Reflections on the administration 628
 Remarks on observations 96
 — on the Review 144
 — on Mr Butler's treatise *ib.*
 — on Chubb 192
 — on the pastoral letter 384
 — on the div. legation 628
 Reply to Dr Waterland's charge 96
 Report of select cases 591
 Review of all that hath pass'd since 1721. 144
 Rhapsody on pleasure and virtue 96
 Roger and Joan 144
 Roman history 592
 Royal Gauger 96
 Rudiments of anc. hist. 246
 Rules for a holy life 48
 — and orders for a religious society 96 [litia 336
 — and directions for the mission
 Sacred hymns and poems 384
 Satyr, in the manner of Persius 628 [seus 432
 Saul, an oratorio 48
 Scarcity of copper coin *ib.*
 Schismatics delineated 96
 Second book of the odes of Horace 384 [ford 488
 — letter to the Bp of Ox-
 Select contemplations 48
 — Pieces of Th. à Kempis 432
 Selectus diplomatum 592
 Self-love and virtue reconciled 96
 Series of wisdom and policy
 Serious address 48 [144
 — considerations 432
 Sermo pedestris 288
 Sermon, by H. Read 48
 — by Mr Paton *ib.*
 — by Mr Niving 96
 — on regeneration 288
 — at St Paul's 488
 Sermons on several subjects
 — by Whitefield 336 [288
 Seventeen hundred thirty nine 96 —
- Shaving ambassadore beards
 Short preservative 432 [96
 Sir * * * his speech 96
 Sir Roger de Coverly 628
 Sixteenth epode of Horace imitated 240
 Slois's answer to remarks
 Smugglers defeat 144 [336
 Some important duties 240
 Some thoughts on standing forces 96
 — on a future state 432
 Sovereignty of the British seas 288
 Spanish infolence 96
 Speech in parliament 288
 — of J. P. 628
 Stag-chase in Windsor 96
 Stars-gazer 96 [rest 336
 State of Rome under Nero
 Statues 144 [288
 Students law-dictionary 591
 Success of Stephens's medicines 336 [simple 96
 Summary of descents in fee-
 — of the controversy 336
 — of the crown-law: *ib.*
 Summary view 240
 Sun's standing still 288
 Supplement to ophthalmographia 47 [visions 592
 — to the philosph. trans-
 Syllabus of anatomy 192
 Syphilis 48
 Taste 191 [odes 628
 Third book of Horace's
 Three odes of Horace imitated 240 [pole *ib.*
 — letters to Sir Ro. Wal-
 Tillotson and Sharp on regeneration 288
 Timber-tree improved 192
 Touch of the times 592
 Tragedy of K. Saul 191
 Trapp vindicated 288
 — tried and cast 336
 Travels of Ed. Brown 144
 Treatise of human nature
 — of original sin 240 [48
 — on dissolvents 336
 — of common recoveries
 — on the stone *ib.* [*ib.*
- on the Lord's prayer
 — of ancient painting 48
 — of fractions 592
 Trial of W. S. Esq; 48
 — of Richard Turpin 192
 Trials of seven *ib.* 192
 True character of Whig field 288
 — interest of the Pope of Europe 336
 — Christian 432
 Truth 144
 — triumphant 432
 Tunbrigan *ib.* [6
 Twelfth epistle of Horace
 Twenty six sermons, by Batty 336
 — by Whitefield 384
 Tyn lectures, at Fleet-street-hall 240
 Verses on Dr Swift 47
 Vestry laid open 143
 View of the evidences of
 View of the exchequer 336
 View of the necessaries 144 [visions 336
 — of the political trans-
 Vindicat. of a descent 191
 — of the licensers 240
 — of essay on man 592
 Uncertainty of physics 48
 Unfortunate Dutchess 240
 Universal love and goodness 48
 Useful miscellanies 592
 Welch piety 628 [628
 Welchman's 39 articles
 Whitefield's journal 288
 — answer to the pastoral letter 384
 Wolf unclack'd 48 [591
 Woman not inferior to man
 Wonderful vision of hell 96
 Word to the good people of England 591
 World to come 336
 Works of Mrs Rowe 144
 Worthy communicant 592
 Xenophon's defensio & memorabilia Socratis 192
 Young mathematician's companion 384

