13. [illegible]

Faction Detected,

BY THE

EVIDENCE

OF

FACTS.

Quò quò ſceleſti ruitis? Aut cur dexteris
Aptantur enſes conditi?
Non ut ſuperbas invidæ Carthaginis
Romanus arces ureret:
Sed ut, ſecundum vota Parthorum, ſuâ
Urbs hæc periret dexterâ.
Neque hic lupis mos, nec fuit leonibus
Unquam niſi in diſpar feris.
Furorne cæcus, an rapit vis acrior:
An culpa? Reſponſum date.
Tacent, & ora pallor albus inficit,
Menteſque perculſæ ſtupent.

Hor. Epod. Od. VII.

DUBLIN:

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MDCCXLIII.

Houses of the Oireachtas

Houses of the Oireachtas

Faction Detected,

BY THE

EVIDENCE of FACTS.

OPPOSITION to the Meaſures of Government, whether good or bad, is no new thing in this or any other Country, where the People have any ſhare in the Legiſlature. For where-ever that Circumſtance is found, the Materials for the Advancement of private Views abundantly occur: And in Proportion to the Importance of ſuch a Country, Subjects ambitious of Preferment have more Incentives to urge them on to Purſuits of this Nature, more inſtruments to aſſiſt them in their Undertaking, and more Pretexts to delude and to impoſe upon the Multitude. The Employments in ſuch a Country muſt of Neceſſity be numerous and lucrative, the Engagements of the Publick frequent and expenſive, the Dangers from its Neighbours greater, their Jealouſy and Ill-will more to be apprehended, and conſequently with more Privacy and Caution counteracted. This enables artful Men to raiſe Murmurs againſt the moſt neceſſary Charges of the State, and to quarrel with the beſt means of Publick Security with a manifeſt Advantage, becauſe it is eaſy to diſpute the Wiſdom of Meaſures, which can never be entirely diſcloſed, till they are fully executed; and the Poiſon infuſed into the People has performed its Operation before the Nature of the thing can poſſibly admit a Detection of the Falſities and Miſrepreſentations employed againſt them; while the Publick, already prejudiced, never give themſelves the Trouble to examine what is paſt; either taking more Delight in the Diſcovery of Error, than in the Purſuit of Truth; or not having the Means furniſhed with equal Induſtry; or being diverted by ſome freſh Objection, ſtarted to ſome new Conduct.

In Proportion to the Riches of any Country, Poverty becomes more preſſing upon many by a natural Contraſt. In all ſuch Countries the wretched are certainly more wretched than in others which flouriſh leſs; becauſe the Neceſſaries of Life are dear, and not to be had without that Induſtry, which

Numbers will be found to want, in all Places, however opportune the Means of Employment may be; and Men of this kind may be induſtrious in a Faction, which is carried on by Noiſe, Drunkenneſs, and Riot, when they can be ſo in nothing elſe. In all trading Countries the Proſpect of Gain allures many to adventurous Undertakings above their Abilities, by which ſome muſt be undone, and theſe never fail to attribute to Miſmanagements of Government, thoſe Evils which ariſe from their own Sloth, Incapacity, or Avarice------ Again, in ſuch Countries, the Luxury of ſome induces others to follow them in the ſame Expence, to the Ruin of themſelves and of their Families, and the Generality of theſe unite in Views of a like Nature.----- And in all populous Countries from a Variety of Diſtreſs, ſuch Objects muſt be very numerous; ſo from the very Numbers of a People alone, Faction always derives a great Advantage, ſince from the Difference of Diſpoſitions, with which Men are born into the World, ſome will infallibly ariſe from time to time, framed by nature itſelf of a reſtleſs and diſcontented Temper; form'd, whether they have Cauſe for it or not, to be as well a Torment to themſelves, as a Plague to the Society in which they live.----- Nor can Oppoſition, right or wrong, want even Property to gild it over and to grace it; for Men ariſing from the loweſt Level of the People, and advancing into conſiderable and eaſy Fortunes, are, by a natural Conſequence, too often led to conſpire againſt that very Felicity, Peace, Quiet, and Proſperity, to which alone they have owed their Exiſtence.------ Arrogance and Pride, without a more than common ſhare of Underſtanding, are the univerſal Product of all haſty Advancement. Theſe Men repine at what they never before had Leiſure to conſider; that there is ſtill a certain difference between their Condition and that of another Rank, which they cannot remedy by all their Efforts to exceed them in Expence.------ This ſomething, which they find ſtill wanting, ſours them with their own State, and inclines them to fall in with any popular Diſcontent; partly, to gratify their Vanity in inſulting thoſe above them; and partly, to create a Chaos, out of which they hope to emerge upon a Level with thoſe they envy.---- From whence the Obſervation holds moſt true, That all Nations, in proportion to their Increaſe, grow turbulent and factious, and from this Quarter ariſe thoſe levelling Schemes, in the Contention for which, ſooner or later, Anarchy enſues; and in proceſs of time, the Loſs of that real Liberty, whoſe ſacred Name is ſo often ſpeciouſly prophaned by Malice and Ambition. Even Liberty itſelf, the more perfect it is, produces theſe Effects more ſtrongly

for

for Wantonneſs and Licentiouſneſs, which are its evil Genii, tempt all depraved Tempers to abuſe it, and expoſe many to the Laſh of the Laws, and to the juſt Indignation of Power; which none, who feel, forgive, however they deſerve it. At the ſame time, the natural Tendency in all Mankind to expect more Favour than they merit, provokes unjuſt Reſentments againſt Government, and a certain Infirmity (of which we all in ſome Degree partake) to be uneaſy with what we have, and to endeavour after more, inclines Multitudes, either out of Views of private Benefit to themſelves, or general Views of encreaſe of Privilege to the Order in which they ſtand, to follow any ſet of Men, who take the Lead in Oppoſition of any kind.—— All theſe move by a ſecret Principle to that Quarter where it erects its Standard, be it juſt or unjuſt, be it to ſave or to deſtroy their Country.

It is obvious from hence, and it is a Truth that cannot be diſputed, however it may affect the Credit of many pretended Patriots, that the Diſcontented Party of all Denominations conſiſt *in general* of Men of no Principle, and of every unworthy Character. It's Root is always the ſame;— but indeed it's Effects are very different. It becomes in ſome Conjunctures of very beneficial Conſequence, when it is led by Men of honeſt Views; and equally pernicious in others, when conducted by Men of a different Character. In the firſt Caſe it is an *Oppoſition*; in the ſecond it is a *Faction*.

Faction is of two kinds in this Country,—— *Oppoſition led by Republicans*; and *Oppoſition led by Jacobites*.—— Of the two great Parties into which this Nation has been long divided—— the *Whigs* (though not *Republicans*) have formerly join'd the firſt——— the *Tories* (though not *Jacobites*) do conſtantly abet the laſt.—— They who know the Nature of this Country, who are acquainted with our Hiſtory, need no Definition or Deſcription of theſe two Parties, and all who are capable of Obſervation and Reflection can eaſily trace the Reaſons of their reſpective Conduct. It is therefore ſufficient for us in this Place, and this is a Fact, which cannot be denied; and without a zealous Attachment of one or other of theſe two Parties, Faction is incapable of doing much Prejudice to *Britain*.

A Faction of the former kind once deſtroyed the Liberties and Conſtitution of this Nation. It grew up unobſerved with the great Improvements of its Commerce, and was nouriſhed in the uncommon Meaſures of Proſperity, which aroſe from a long Tranquility, and a wonderful Encreaſe of Wealth after the Diſcovery of the *Weſt Indies*, which diffuſed itſelf

 through

through the *Commons*, and gave them Ability to contend with a *Prince*, who, ignorant of this new acquired Vigour of the People, and vainly fond of Power, provoked it by avowed Attempts to introduce an absolute Authority.

This Faction, by the Imprudence of that Prince, appeared at first no more than an honest Opposition. But abetted at length by the Majority of the Nation, (who neither perceived how dangerous it was, nor could have well avoided joining with it, if they had, to preserve themselves against the violent Attack then made upon their Freedom,) grew too strong both for the Prince and for the Laws. The miserable Consequences that it brought upon us are related at large in the histories of *England* from 1642 to 1660.

These Evils of Faction in a Republican Form prevented its Revival again in the same Shape.— The People of *England* had (since the Union of the two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*) never seen it in another.—They therefore feared it in no other. This gave it Opportunity to shew itself in a new Form, and Opposition became again a Faction in the Reign of the late King *William*, and a Faction of a much more dangerous Nature than the first.

For whereas the Republicans, who are the Leaders of the first Faction, are in this Country little more than Whigs overheated by Oppression, and an extravagant Abuse of Power ; as in reality there is very little of that Principle existing among Men of Property and Fortune, and as it is chiefly confined to Men of an inferior Class ; they may be easily brought to moderate their Views by what it is in the Power of every honest Government to apply : But the Leaders of the second Faction set out with Expectations, that no Government, without being *felo de se*, can gratify. For they set out upon the View of changing the Princes upon the Throne, and in necessary consequence to transform the Constitution and Religion of the Kingdom.

In a word, a Jacobite Faction assumed the Shape of Opposition in that Reign ; that is, the People under the Circumstances I have mentioned, and the Discontented of all Denominations acted in a Party, directed either secretly or openly by Leaders, whose Views intended the Restoration of King *James* II. or of his Family.

Now that this Faction was more dangerous than that which had appeared before, is farther manifest from hence. That the *Republicans professed a Principle*, and of a kind, which led them to do very great and glorious things. Their Zeal was indeed mistaken, but it clash'd in its Pursuit, neither with the Honour nor the Independency of their Country, and the Strength of this

this Party lay in the Acceſſion of thoſe who had the greateſt Share of Senſe and Honeſty.------They were therefore ſteady in every Conjuncture to defend the Nation againſt its Enemies abroad, and particularly againſt its moſt dangerous Enemy of all, the *French*; and unleſs in Times of extream and rare Neceſſity, were deſerted conſtantly by their *Auxiliaries the Whigs*, before they could bring their Scheme to any mature Effect.

But the *Jacobite Faction profeſſed no Principle at all*, or ſuch as deſerves the Name of none.----They had indeed a View, but it was private Title, the Intereſt of one Man, and of one Family. An Object in itſelf unworthy any Party and criminal too in the higheſt Degree, in this Inſtance, becauſe it was the private Title, and the Intereſt of a Man and Family, who by their Education and Religion were nouriſhed in a fatal Enmity to their Country.--- Theſe Men therefore from the indiſpenſable Nature of this their firſt View, could be animated with no good Sentiment for the Publick, and from the Circumſtances of their Caſe, were obliged to aſſiſt the Ambition, ſupport the Power, and abet the Views of *France*, by whoſe Force alone they could hope to bring their Point to bear. Their Oppoſition therefore tended in every Step to deſtroy the Honour and Independency of their own Country. The Strength of their Party lay in the Acceſſion of thoſe who were the weakeſt and moſt diſhoneſt Men; for who elſe could join in ſuch a View as this; and therefore as all who furniſhed them aſſiſtance muſt be either tainted in their Principles to their Country, or wrong in their Heads before they could engage with them, their Conduct was conſtant, or wilful Error; and thus their *Auxiliaries the Tories*, if ever they ſeparated from their Faction, never did it till it was almoſt too late, and never ſaw that they were deceived, or that they blindly concurred to the Ruin of their Country, till Ruin was at the very Gate.

It is viſible from hence, that there is much leſs Danger from a *Republican* than from a *Jacobite*; or in ſofter Terms, from a *Whig* than from a *Tory Oppoſition*. A Whig Oppoſition is therefore that alone with which the People for many Years have ventured to concur, and the only one with which they can for a Moment concur ſafely.

But even when they follow this, they are not always without ſome Danger. For when Oppoſition under any Title riſes high, and becomes formidable, demanding ſuch Terms, as Government is honeſtly under equal and real Difficulty either to grant or to refuſe, the Symptoms are ſtrong, and the Suſpicion generally juſt, that ſuch an Oppoſition is converted into Faction.---Nor can the Generality of Men diſtinguiſh eaſily of what Species it may be; for both the *Republican Principles*, and

the *Jacobite Views*, being long ſince ſufficiently detected, and being therefore both become deteſtable to all honeſt Men; both the one and the other are extreamly careful not to allow their reſpective Purſuits.---- When they take off the Maſk with greateſt Freedom, the *Republicans* denominate their Faction by no harſher Name than that of a *Whig*, nor the *Jacobites* than that of a *Tory Oppoſition*.----Nor would the *Whigs* be brought to ſupport the one, nor the *Tories* to abet the other without this Artifice; and yet by this Deluſion of Names, both Parties have been at different Times led on till they have very near deſtroyed the Conſtitution. In fact, every Faction will, without Scruple, aſſume any Appellation to impoſe upon Mankind; and the moſt inveterate Jacobite Faction, to carry its View, will profeſs to act upon a Whig Principle, when that becomes the favourite Principle, as it is at this Time. An Oppoſition therefore may become Republican or Jacobite, when the Vulgar little conceive it to be either. The Judgment muſt be formed not upon what Men call themſelves, but upon what they do, upon what they act, upon what is the viſible Tendency of their Meaſures and Purſuits.---- Whether they are a Faction or not, or of what Species their Faction is, can be determined only by their Conduct, and may be infallibly determined by that means. Now the Criterion of a Whig Conduct, *is* (as may be collected from what we have already obſerved) *to reſiſt and reduce the Power* and the Criterion of a Jacobite or Tory Faction, *directly or indirectly, to aſſiſt, encourage, and ſupport the Intereſts of* France.

This I have premiſed to give a general Idea of the Nature of Oppoſition, and of Faction in this Country, that I may with more Facility lay open to the Publick what I have to offer as to the Oppoſition of this Time---- and which I think it my Duty to offer, becauſe I will be bold to affirm, that they are groſly deceived in it, and that inſtead of purſuing a Whig Oppoſition, which they conceive it to be, they now abet and ſupport *a Tory Oppoſition, and a Jacobite Faction, which from the Circumſtances of this Time, and the Impudence of its proceeding, is become more dangerous than ever that Faction yet has been in this Nation.*

Had this been aſſerted two Years ago, it would have met with nothing but Ridicule, and it would have been impoſſible to have induced the Majority of the People of *England* to have believed that the Jacobites could ever have given this Country any Uneaſineſs again.---- The Reaſon is very evident.

All the ill Humours of this Nation collected together had, for ſeveral Years laſt paſt, combined a very ſtrong Oppoſition; but this Oppoſition was led by Whigs, by Men known to be of this Principle, that they had the Aſcendant

int both by their ſuperior Abilities and Experience, and by the Turn of the Nation, to ſuch a Degree, that they kept down all Efforts of the Jacobites. They directed the Means of Oppoſition; and the Tendency was therefore to Points wholly free from any Symptoms of that kind. The Tories and Jacobites ſullenly worked on under theſe Leaders, and could never attain any Degree of Influence over Men of better Parts, and better Principles; they knew not directly whither they were going, but they hoped towards Confuſion, and that they might have a Chance to work out ſomething if that confuſion ſhould ariſe.---The People at the Beginning of this Oppoſition, which laſted near twenty Years, were living in great Numbers, who remembred the Conduct of this Faction in the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Anne*.---They remembered how after King *William* was ſeated upon the Throne, and after being grown deteſtable by various Attempts of Plots and Aſſaſſinations, they had been obliged to ſoften their true Name in that of *Tory*; how under that Title they had diſclaimed their ſecret Tenet, and profeſſed only to maintain certain Opinions as to *Church and State*, which had been plauſibly introduced among the People in the great Rebellion by the Clergy, and inculcated from the Pulpit, to make a Party againſt the violent Doctrines of the Republicans of that Time.---The wrong Opinions of the one begot thoſe wrong Opinions of the other: And though the *Paſſion of the firſt* had been diſgraced by the Iſſue of that Rebellion, the *Nonſenſe of the other* had not yet diſgraced itſelf ſo far.----The *Preſbyterians* had ruined both the Church and Monarchy; but the *High Churchmen* had not brought in Popery and arbitrary Power, they had even aſſiſted (at laſt) in ſome Degree at the Revolution to keep it out----The Publick in general were not able to judge but of what they ſaw; and they did not ſee how near they were to have done both before they had the Senſe to ſtop, nor how they were puzzled to reconcile their Nonſenſe with that Conduct. Theſe therefore were the favourite Party of that Time.---Of theſe the *Jacobites* laid hold:---All this the People, during the late Oppoſition, ſaw very clearly; (for many, as I have obſerved, were at the Commencement of it living, when the *Jacobites*, thus under the name of *Tories*, led the Oppoſition of that Time;) how the People were deluded by it; whither they were carried, and what Pretences they had uſed.

They remembred that this Faction ſet out with a furious pretended Zeal for Monarchy, Non-Reſiſtance and Hereditary Right; they remembred how they ſtirred up the People with

with imaginary Dangers about the Church; they remembered above all the infamous Endeavours uſed to diſtreſs the Government in its Attempt to reduce the Power of *France*, and to prevent the Exertion of our own Weight to maintain the Ballance of *Europe*.----The various Means exerciſed by different Perſons at the ſame time according to their different Capacities to effect this End, and according to the different Capacities of thoſe upon whom they practiſed----ſometimes pretending that we had nothing to do with Affairs upon the Continent-------ſometimes that the View of reducing *France* was impracticable, that the Expence was not poſſible to be borne, that our Trade was ruined----ſometimes that *France* was really not dangerous----equally magnifying every Succeſs of that Power to terrify, equally miſrepreſenting every Defeat to betray their Countrymen into a falſe Security----ridiculing every Meaſure that was taken for that End----inſinuating, that the king was a *Dutchman*, and had only the Intereſt of *Holland* at Heart---that every Alliance was made for the Intereſt of the *Dutch* alone----that the Nation was beggared for a Foreign View----that the King delighted in War, becauſe it afforded a Pretext to maintain great Armies----that *Holland* was not yet attacked, and that the *French* King, whatever he propoſed, could never be raſh enough to attempt that----at leaſt that till he did attempt it, this Nation had no Reaſon to ſtir, nor any thing to fear.

They remembered this Conduct, and they remembered how by poiſoning the People by theſe and an Infinity of other falſe Inſinuations, and with Miſrepreſentations of the Expence which they themſelves rendered infinitely more grievous, by the Obſtruction given to the Supplies, and the neceſſity, which proceeded from thence, of borrowing large Sums at high Intereſt, they laid the firſt foundation for the Debt under which the Nation yet labours----That by theſe means they at length reduced the King to the Neceſſity of conſenting to the Partition Treaty, for which they reviled and abuſed him, and raiſed the Ferment of the People upon him, though it was the Infant of their own Faction----That by this means they preſerved *France* in the Zenith of her Power, at leiſure to prepare againſt the Death of the King of *Spain*, an Event which was expected every Day---That though the Proſpect of a new War was ſo immediate and ſo certain, they forced the Reduction of the Army to ſeven thouſand Men; ſo that when the War of 1702 broke out, before the *Grand Alliance* could take place, by the Management of theſe faithful and ſteady Friends of *France*, that Prince was enabled to make an entire Seizure of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy; and to ſtrengthen himſelf to ſuch a Point, as to carry on a War againſt

moſt

moſt of the Powers of *Europe* for twelve ſucceſſive Years, to which *England* alone contributed above ſeventy Millions.

They remembered farther, that though this pernicious Conduct had eſtranged the Nation from them for a time, and had caſt the Adminiſtration of Affairs into the Hands of the Whigs; during which whole Period, this Nation was attended with the moſt amazing Series of Succeſſes ever read of in Hiſtory;) that the ſame Men continued the ſame Practices, till by low Arts, they had frightned, and by Infamous Inſinuations gained both upon her and upon the People, ſtill concealing their grand View till they had got to the Adminiſtration.

They remembred farther (though it ſeems to be forgotten now) what they did when they came there.------That they betrayed the *Faith* of this *Nation* and deſerted the *Allies*.------- That they did it with Circumſtances, which clearly proved their Intention to yield them up a ſacrifice to *France*.-------- That they made a ſeparate and an infamous Peace, by which they ſaved *France* from inevitable and immediate Ruin, and caſt away that immenſe Treaſure, which had been expended in the War, entailing a future Expence ſtill greater even than that they had thus iniquitouſly thrown away; expoſing us to greater Danger than we had even then eſcaped, laying a Foundation for her Reſtoration to the ſame Point of Power, and preventing at the ſame time, by their Perfidy to the Confederates, as far as in them lay, all Probability of the ſame Union to obſtruct her Views again.

They remembred how clearly and how ſteadily this Plan of ſerving *France*, had been purſued, and how it was brought to its full Effect.------And they remembered how near their Grand View, to which this was ſecondary, was brought to an Iſſue too.------In what manner before the Death of the Queen, they had deeply laid the Plot of abuſing her Authority to bring the Pretender to the Throne.--------How notwithſtanding their affected Loyalty to their Royal Miſtreſs, by which they had not only duped her, but deceived the Nation; they baſely meditated her Ruin, to whoſe Weakneſs they owed their Advancement.----How by their dark Intrigues they broke her declining Conſtitution and cauſed her Death.----The only Service they ever did her; ſending that unhappy Princeſs, by this Precipitation of her Fate, to a better World, before ſhe had experienced in this far worſe Calamities, which they were preparing for her; the Loſs of her Crown and Dignity, perhaps a violent End, at leaſt Impriſonment for Life.

They remembered the Deliverance of this Nation by the Acceſſion of his late Majeſty in the moſt critical Conjuncture.

-----They

------They remembered the Confidence of this Conſpiracy, which had ripened ſo far in four Years Tory Adminiſtration, that they thought themſelves able to effect that by Force, when they had loſt all Power, which could not have been defeated had they continued a few Months longer in it.-------They remembered the late Rebellion, which broke out immediately after, and which was ſuppreſſed, more by the Interpoſition of Divine Providence, than by any human Means.

Remembering all this, the laſt Scene of which happened not eleven Years before the Commencement of the late Oppoſition, which may be properly dated from the *Hanover* Treaty in 1725.----The People could not entertain a Fear of a Tory Faction.----This Scene of Wickedneſs had ſo fully detected thoſe, who ſet themſelves in the Front of ſuch a Faction, that even the Tories themſelves bluſhed to ſee the Tools they had been made; and trembled equally with the Whigs, at the Hazards which their Folly had brought upon the Nation; ſuch as, to do them equal Juſtice, their *Heads* had never comprehended, nor their *Hearts* ever intended to promote.----The ſhameleſs Conduct of that Adminiſtration, with Regard to *France* and the *Pretender*, cauſed an univerſal Averſion to the Tories, and many of them, ſenſible of the Errors of their former Conduct, retained nothing of what they were but the Name.-------The whole Nation appeared united in a warm Attachment to the preſent Royal Family.------The Faction of which we ſpeak, ſenſible of their wounded Intereſt, hardly ſhewed themſelves in any Shape, for ſome Years.------Any new Oppoſition, avowedly begun by them in that Conjuncture, would have ruined them for ever.------*Their Arts and their falſe Pretences were too recent to impoſe upon Mankind.*-------*And their Converſion, had they pretended any, would have been too ſudden and unnatural to have gain'd Belief.*

As Security rarely fails to be the Mother of Danger, ſo it was with us,-------This ſeeming ſecurity deceived both the *Miniſter* and the *Publick*. I ſhall ſpeak frankly and without Partiality to either.------It tempted him to act with too much Wantonneſs, and Negligence in Power.------It tempted *others* too much to indulge their Reſentment and private Views.------The Faction was no longer dreaded but deſpiſed.------When that has been the Caſe, it has been always found at length.

Incedimus per Ignes
Suppoſitos cineri doloſo.

The Miniſter, void of all Apprehenſion of this latent Danger, gratified his ill Humour to, or took no Pains to manage the

the ill Humours of thoſe he happened to diſlike, neglected Popularity too much, and ſtudied only how to avoid War, as the Means to procure the Continuance and the Eaſe of his Adminiſtration.———He knew that in War, if not ſucceſsfull, the ill Succeſs is always attributed to the Miniſter.—If fortunate, that it was unavoidably attended with great Expence, at which, in the long run, the People murmur.——He likewiſe ſaw, that in War, military Men, and active Spirits muſt, by degrees, obtain ſome Share of Power ; which he was determined to engroſs.———All *Europe* quickly ſaw this Foible, and the two Powers, from whom we have to fear the moſt, the *French* and *Spaniards*, play'd him off unmercifully.———Their Methods were different, but both tending to the ſame End. ——The *French* flattered him with an inſidious Friendſhip, and the Affectation of a Pacifick Diſpoſition.——The *Spaniards* bullied him upon every Turn.——It muſt be candidly confeſſed that the Peace of *Utrecht* in 1713, and the Difficulties unadjuſted then, had greatly embarraſſed all the Affairs of *Europe*.——— *France* and the Emperor had agreed by the Treaty of *Raſtadt*, and *Baden* the following Year ; but great Differences between the Emperor and *Spain* ſubſiſted till long after this Miniſter was taken into that Employment.———His Predeceſſors had been puzzled with theſe Differences.———And in endeavouring to appeaſe them, had, by the Quadruple Alliance, and ſeveral ſubſequent Treaties and Proceedings, in a great Degree diſguſted both thoſe Powers. At the Time therefore, when the Reins of this Government were put into his Hands, it required greater Abilities for Foreign Affairs, and another Turn to extricate this Nation out of theſe difficult Circumſtances.——Inſtead of adhering firmly to the Emperor, this Miniſter yielded to the Views of *Spain*, who inſulted us till ſhe had carried one Point, and then inſulted us again, till ſhe had obtained another.——The Miniſter ſtill vainly flattering himſelf with gaining that Power by conſtant Obligations.——But the Queen, who governed there, knew neither any Sentiment of Gratitude, nor any Limits to her Ambition.——By this Conduct he ſtill provoked the Emperor to a higher Degree, which *Spain* obſerving, took that Opportunity to accommodate her own Affairs with the Imperial Court.

This ſudden Friendſhip between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* alarmed the Miniſter, who knew he had not the Friendſhip of *the one* Court, whatever he had done and ſuffered for it ; and that he had juſtly incurred the Reſentments of *the other*. He therefore grew jealous of this Union, and dreaded ſome Effect from it, though he knew not what.——

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He apprehended that the Peace of *Europe* was upon the Point of being disturbed again; and without considering the Nature of such Disturbance, that it could not prejudice this Country; that it was on the contrary, the most desirable Event, that could have happened, and that *France* could alone have Reason to consider this Union with a jealous Eye:——He suffered himself to be imposed upon by imaginary Fears, insinuated by *France*, and immediately exerted himself to form a Confederacy against the *Emperor* and *Spain*, whose Union was effected by themselves, for no other Reason but because we had refused to mediate for them; and that neither Decency nor Resentment could permit *Spain* to accept the Mediation of *France*, from whom she had received a recent Indignity of a very high Nature, by sending back the *Infanta*, who had been betrothed to the King of *France*.

This Confederacy which went by the Name of the *Hanover* Treaty, was concluded between *France*, *Prussia*, and *Great Britain*, the 23d of *September*, 1725, about four Months after the Treaty between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, concluded at *Vienna*.——The late King of *Prussia* was then living, and it is obvious by the Conduct of the *Son*, what Views the *Father* might have had to induce him, among other Discontents with the *Imperial Court*, to come into this Measure.——And it was still much more obvious, why *France* should have joined in a Project, which was of her own Invention, and the only Measure, that could have recovered her out of the most dangerous Situation that she was ever in.——The House of *Bourbon* was divided against itself, and she was very sensible it could not have stood if this Alliance between the *Emperor* and *Spain* had continued in Force.——The natural Antipathy of the Imperial Court, and the Resentment of *Spain* to *France*, too naturally accounted for the Sums remitted from the *Spanish* Court to *Vienna*, and the vast Encrease of the Imperial Armies——These Armies could not have waded through the Ocean to have attacked *Great Britain*: The *Emperor* had not a single Ship to bring them hither, and the Fleets of *Spain* had been destroyed in the *Mediterranean* in the Year 1718——Had it therefore been as solemnly true, as it was undoubtedly false, that those Stipulations had been made in the *Vienna* Treaty to affect *Great Britain*, which the Minister had been imposed upon himself, or desired to impose on others, to believe, *Great Britain* must have been out of its Senses to have been alarmed at them.—A Squadron of Ships of War set upon the Coasts of *Spain*, and another of Observation on our own Coasts together with the Body of Forces always maintained at home, would

have

have prevented all Possibility of the smallest Danger of Invasion, which can never be justly feared but from *France* alone, or *France* and *Spain* united, a Case visibly not then existing, and more remote than it ever was.—The *French* therefore well knew that these Preparations must have been designed against themselves; and if the very distant Sound of War had not terrified the Minister to the Loss of his Wits, we might probably have seen an Event at that Time, which we shall probably never have in our Power to see again——The House of *Bourbon* ruined by itself, and *France* reduced, without the Expence of a single Shilling to this Country.

We have now seen *France* preserved, and the House of *Austria* confederated against by its natural and old Ally *Great Britain*; we have seen the same effected by the Pusillanimity of a *Whig Minister*, which was the constant View of a *Tory Administration*—The same honest Zeal which animated the Whigs against the Tories, most justly and indispensibly induced many of them to enter into an Opposition to an Administration, who with different Principles pursued the same End——This will warrant, before God and Man, the Opposition that we have lately seen——It shews that it was carried on upon Whig Principles; that it was the grand Principle of humbling *France*, and of assisting the House of *Austria*, to which they adherred, and which they intended to maintain by this Opposition—It was not a Quarrel about particular Laws or Alterations of the Constitution, as it is now falsely suggested to have been. Something of this kind is attempted in the Course of every Opposition, and something of Moderation, to be done, to confine Government to its first Principles, and proper to be attempted in some Conjunctures, even in a further Degree than it is intended to be done, to keep Ministers of a certain Character in Awe, and to maintain the People in a Sense of their Advantages, which such Ministers, without that lively Sense in them, might have it otherwise in their Power to impair——But these were secondary Views; the grand Point intended, and what these were employed only as Engines to effect, was *to remove the Minister, and to bring back the Councils of this Country to its true Interest.*

This Conjuncture was now come, which had been long impatiently expected by the Faction——Confusion was begun—and the Government attacked without the least Appearance that the Faction had been the Authors of it——The Whigs who opposed did it with great Vigour, but were still known to be true in their Principles, both to the King and to the Constitution———The Faction, who could not, as I have already observed, *venture to*

have

have avowedly begun a new Opposition themselves, or practiced their former Arts, which were too recent to impose upon Mankind, or pretended a Conversion, which would have been too sudden and unnatural to have gained Belief, found the Occasion extremely apt to busy themselves again——They would have joined with the Minister, who was now indiscreetly doing what they wished, if they had believed he had wished it too; but as they knew he did it by a kind of fatal necessity, which a Series of Errors had induced, they knew that neither he, nor that Part of the *Whigs*, who continued to support him, some through the same Blindness, some through Gratitude to *him*, some through the very Apprehension of *them*, and some for other Reasons; yet none of them did it upon *their* Views, or would ever concur to bring it to *their* desired Conclusion.——They therefore knew, that they would sooner or later change this conduct, and that besides they would never join with them.——The only Game they therefore had to play, was to act an under Part with this Whig Opposition—By this Conduct they had a double Policy; *first*, to concur in raising the Ferment of the Nation to the highest Point they could (which by long Observation never was yet raised since the Revolution, but that it took a Turn in the Favour of their great View) and *secondly*, to efface the Suspicions that the Nation entertained of them.

As the grand Criterion of the Conduct of the two Parties is, as I have already observed, of the *Whigs*, *to oppose the Growth of the Power of* France, and of the *Tories*, *to advance the Interest of that Power*——The Faction concurring in this Opposition, which so directly formed itself upon the Whig Principle, exerting themselves with the utmost Rancour and seeming Sincerity, against the Minister, for his Conduct with Regard to *France*, uniting in all the popular Bills, and Republican Propositions, (which were by this, and have commonly been by all Whig Oppositions, more especially indulged,) and being silent upon the Topicks of passive Obedience, Non-resistance, and the Danger of the Church, from all these Circumstances joined to a Partiality to believe well of those who assist us, let the Motives be what they will, and a Tendency to disbelieve the Minister, who very constantly rung the Alarm against their secret Principles, all which was improved by the most solemn Assurances of their good Intentions; they at length wrought upon the Publick to believe, that their Views were intirely changed——Many were by this Time dead, who remembered all those Arts and Practices which I have formerly mentioned, and a new Race were by this Time sprung up in their Room, by their Age, and the Nature of Youth, susceptible of light Impressions, actuated by warm Passions, and ignorant of what had passed before their

Times.

Times.---To this were added ſuch a Series of Miſtakes, and ſuch unfortunate Events, as brought the Intereſts of all our Allies, and conſequently the Intereſts of *Britain*, into the utmoſt Danger, the Miniſter ſtill unavoidably blundering on, not able to make a Peace, nor to carry on a War——Haraſſing the Country by great and fruitleſs Expences to provide Forces againſt Events, which were neither ſufficient to anſwer the End, and which he never had reſolution to employ towards the End——— bubbled by *France*, inſulted by *Spain*, hated by the Publick. Thus the Reſentments of the Nation roſe at laſt ſo high, that they became incapable to conſider any Danger, or to ſuſpect any Treachery but from him.—In this Situation of Affairs it is eaſy to account why the Faction ſtill ſubſiſted, and why it muſt have been a vain, perhaps not a wiſe Attempt at that Time, to have endeavoured to have convinced the Publick that they did.——— The Whigs in the Oppoſition thought honeſtly, and they thought truly, that the Nation was inevitably ruined, if this Miniſter continued to influence our Councils longer. The Houſe of *Auſtria*, which is as much the Barrier to the Liberties of *Britain* as the ſtrong Towns of *Flanders* are to the *Dutch* Republick, was reduced to the loweſt Ebb, and upon the very Brink of utter Deſtruction.——No effectual Means propoſed, no Means in this Situation poſſible to give it any Aſſiſtance. In this Condition they were forced to uſe the Aid of any Set of Men whatever, to procure the Removal of this Miniſter; and they thought they might depend ſafely upon the national Experience of the paſt Behaviour of the Faction, upon the Integrity and Well-meaning of the Generality of the People, upon the real Excellency and peculiar Bleſſings of this Conſtitution, never in any Event to be overborn by either a Jacobite or Tory Faction.—In fine, they truſted to their own Influence, which then governed and directed the whole Oppoſition without Controul, to ſettle and conſolidate the Principles of the Nation, as ſoon as the Miniſter was removed and his Meaſures rectified.

Theſe are the true, and they are ſufficient Reaſons to explain why the Nation gradually leſſened in its Apprehenſion of this Faction, why the Tories thus combined were conceived to be no longer what they had been formerly. But the Whigs, who led the Oppoſition, and were moſt conſiderable in it, who now compoſe the Adminiſtration in Part, and who now oppoſe no longer, were not ſo eaſily deceived.———They could not but obſerve the Views of theſe Men in their pretended Coalition with them.———They could not avoid ſeeing (though they prevented, and diſcouraged them as much as they could, and kept them down in a very great Degree) the malevolent En-

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deavours of these Men, to poison the Minds of the People against the Royal Family, and to give the general Discontent a Tendency to Disaffection against the *Prince* upon the Throne; which they laboured wholly to confine to the Person of the *Minister*.——They saw too evidently to be duped by any of their Pretences, that they maintained the same Inveteracy to the Whigs.——They supported no Whig in any Election, where they could possibly avoid it, without a Detection of themselves, or the Ruin of an Opposition so convenient to their View.—The Whigs even saw much more, which in that Circumstance it was not their Interest to discover to the Publick, that they endeavoured, by refusing to concur in several personal Propositions against the Minister, to try whether they could not induce him to strike a separate Bargain with themselves—and at the close of the Opposition, in the first Sessions of this Parliament, when they adhered more firmly to these personal Propositions, they knew it was because the Minister had not catched at the Bait they had thrown out for him, and was not to be deluded by their Arts.

From all that we have here observed, it is very notorious, that the last Opposition was a *Whig Opposition*, and not a *Tory Faction*. That the plain Origin, and avowed Views of this Opposition, were the Removal of the Minister, and the Change of his Measures.——That when this was done, they, from the very Beginning of that Opposition, intended no more, never meant, nor were ever expected to maintain it longer.——That it would have been inconsistent with their avowed Professions, and with their real Principles, if they had.

It is farther obvious, that the Tory Faction, though they concurred with them, had done it without either *Principle* or *Affection*, and never had the Influence to give this Opposition any Taint or Colour, nor were they suffered to compass one publick Measure of their own.—That the Whigs though they could not refuse the Concurrence of their Votes, and their Assistance, to swell the Number of Opponents, never pretended, or had any real Friendship with them, nor ever had Reason from their Sincerity to have it, much less ever gave them any Encouragement to hope that they would join with them any longer, than till they had changed the *Minister*, and changed the *Measures*.

If then it shall appear, that the Minister and the Measures are now changed—If it shall appear, that these men after this commenced a new Opposition, when the principal Whigs, who before directed the Opposition, had done with that Direction,—What Man can deny, *that the Leaders of the late Opposition have*

acted

acted consistently and honestly both in their first Beginnings to oppose— and then in desisting to oppose at the Time they did.

And if it should appear, that the *Whig* Leaders of the late Opposition, though they had no further Connexion with these Men after that Change of the Minister, and the Measures, was effected, which was the only View they intended or professed, or concurred with these Men in, did yet endeavour, out of a Desire to destroy (as much as in them lay, and till they found it an *Utopian* Undertaking) the Evil of *Parties* in general, and the Distinction of *Tory* in particular, by using their Influence to advance many of these, (who seemed the least violent) into Employments, where they might be placed without the Danger of their influencing the publick Measures, and where they might have given Probation of their Sincerity.— If they had actually in a very few Days begun to do this, and if it will appear that for no other visible Reason but this, that the *Tories* and *Jacobites* were not permitted to take the Government by Storm, and that their Ambition could not be satisfied, or their Views answered, without those Employments were conferred upon them, which would inevitably give them the Power of influencing the publick Measures; and if their Terms were such as to force their whole Faction into the Administration, without allowing the Prince to except against a single Man, and their Impatience, such as to desert their Leaders, and to form a new Party before they had given them any reasonable Time— What Man can have the Confidence to deny, that they acted *not only with greater Friendship to these Men than they deserved, but with as much Honour as it was in human Power honestly to do?*

And thirdly, if it should appear, that by this new raised Opposition, it is the manifest View to do that, which, as we have already observed, is the Criterion of the Conduct of a *Jacobite* Faction, viz. *to advance the Interests of* France; and if this manifest View is now followed by the very same wicked Arts and Measures, which that Faction in all former Periods have pursued, I may be justified in that Assertion which it is my Point principally to prove—*That the Opposition of this Time is not an Opposition, but a Faction, and that of the most dangerous kind to this Nation.*

Now that this is true, and rather to illustrate than to prove this (for Things self-evident, and what arises from the Recollection of Facts, neither will admit, nor stands in need of Proof) I shall make it the Plan of my Discourse in the following Sheets:—First, *To shew the State of our Affairs, as they stood previous to the Change of the late Ministry, and to give a short Deduction of the Conduct of the Opposition, till the Whigs and the present Faction*

ſeparated from each other.—I ſhall then obſerve the Conduct of the Faction thus ſeparated from the Whigs to the End of that Seſſions of Parliament.—I ſhall in the third Place obſerve the Conduct of the new Adminiſtration, the Succeſs of their Meaſures, and the Difference that appeared in the Situation of our Affairs upon the ſecond Meeting of the Parliament.—I ſhall ſhew in the next place, the farther Meaſures of the Faction in their Attempts to delude the People, in their Methods of Oppoſition, and the Tendency of both.—I ſhall then proceed to offer a few candid Reflections upon thoſe popular Topicks, which are the Engines principally uſed to play upon the Paſſions of the People, and to divert them from a cool Reflection of the true Condition of our Affairs in this Conjuncture, and conclude with ſome general Conſiderations, which will lead the Publick to a juſt Senſe of thoſe Dangers to which they are expoſed, by a further Concurrence with what is now plauſibly called by the tender Name of the preſent Oppoſition.

We have already mentioned the Conduct of the Miniſter with regard to the *Emperor*, *Spain* and *France*, at the time of the *Hanover*-Treaty, which throwing this Nation into the Arms of *France*, and breaking off from our old and natural Connexion with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, divided the Whig Intereſt, and was the Ground of the late Oppoſition.—We are now to ſee the Meaſures afterwards purſued by the ſame Miniſter, and the Conſequence they had.—But before I quit this Subject of the *Hanover*-Treaty, which was the fatal Ground of all our preſent Confuſion, to confirm what I have already ſaid with regard to the juſt Alarm the *Whigs* took at it, I muſt obſerve, that by a ſeparate Article of this Treaty, *Great-Britain* engaged, "in caſe War ſhould be declared by the Empire "againſt *France*, that though ſhe was not comprized in the "Declaration of ſuch War, *Great-Britain* ſhould act in Con-"cert with *France* till ſuch War ſhould be determined;" and by Virtue of the third Article of the ſame Treaty, "ſhould, "if Neceſſity required, declare War upon the Empire." *And thus*, ſays a [a] Foreigner, who is quoted often upon Occaſions of this Nature, and cannot be ſuſpected of any Party Concern in the Affairs of this Country,---*By this Treaty the Duke of* Bourbon, *then Firſt Miniſter to the Moſt Chriſtian King, brought to Maturity what his Predeceſſor had projected, and* France *at length attained what ſhe had ſo long wiſhed, and for which ſhe had in vain expended ſuch immenſe Sums in the preceding Reign.*

The Conſequence immediate upon the Concluſion of this Treaty, was a vaſt additional Expence.-----And without all Doubt, the Raſhneſs of this Meaſure had engaged us in a War, which

[a] *Rouſſet*, vol. II. fol. 188.

which would have ruined the Balance of Power in *Europe* without Resource, (the Powers of the grand Alliance being now upon the Point of pursuing the Destruction of each other, with the same determined Rancour, which they had formerly exerted against their common Enemy the *French*,) if the Emperor, notwithstanding the Pride and Insolence, of which he was accused, and the shameful Indignity with which he was treated, observing the Danger in which we had, by *our unnatural Apprehensions*, involved ourselves, had not, with an happy Moderation, himself opened a Way, (in a very uncommon Manner, through the Channel of a Nuncio of the Pope at *Venice*,) to bring this Matter to an Accommodation; so that at length, upon the Suspension of the *Ostend* Company, which was one of the pretended Subjects of the Quarrel, a new *Preliminary Treaty* was signed at *Vienna*, in *June* 1727; which quieted our Ministerial Fears of a general War in some degree for a Time: During this Interval we sustained an immense Expence in defending *Gibraltar*, raising troops at home, and hiring Troops abroad, the inestimable Loss of many thousands of our Seamen, and the Ruin of the never-to-be-forgotten Squadron sent with *Hosier*, to rot in Sight of the Treasures of *Peru* and *Mexico*, at *Porto-Bello*.

But there yet remained great Matter of Anxiety; for *Spain*, under frivolous Pretences, which shewed her manifest Contempt for the *British* Minister, refused to ratify this *Preliminary-Treaty*, and continued her Hostilities, till the *Emperor*, with great Candour, detesting this Chicane, took part with our Court against her.----And *Spain*, finding no Support, was at length obliged to accede by a new Act signed at the *Pardo*, the 4th of *March*, 1728.---By which it was agreed, that all Hostilities should cease, and all the Differences between *Great Britain* and *Spain* be submitted to the Decision of a future Congress.

The Minister, sensible of the Danger he had escaped, was glad of the Opportunity, which offered itself in that Congress (which was held at *Soissons*) to reunite with the Imperial Court.---- Notwithstanding all the Indignities that had passed, and all the Provocations he had received, the Emperor retained so just a Sense both of his Obligations, and his Interest to cultivate the antient Friendship of the House of *Austria* with *Great-Britain*, that he was willing to overlook all that was passed; and as his Union with *Spain* before, had given so much Umbrage, here he thought, by raising Difficulties, and by delaying the Execution of some Articles of the former Treaty with *Spain*, he should give us Proofs of his Sincerity.—But alas! he had not yet experienced what he had to suffer from the pacific Councils, or (as they are

termed by the great Conductor of them himself,) the *preventive and defensive* Measures of the *British* Minister.— *Spain* was incensed at this Conduct, and at the Emperor's candid Behaviour with regard to the *Preliminary Articles*; we now began to be as much frightened at the *Variance*, as we had been terrified before with the *Union* of these two Powers; we had practised our *defensive* as we have seen; we must now try our Skill in *preventive* Measures, and with the like Success.

The Emperor's Conduct deserved the Gratitude of the whole Nation; and merited the best Returns that could have been made him.—On the other hand, during this whole time, even after the signing the Act at the *Pardo*, *Spain* had treated us with the utmost Insolence, taken and plundered all the Vessels of this Nation, that fell into her Hands, with as little Reserve as if we had been at open War. These Circumstances together should, in all human Wisdom, have induced the Minister, to have laid aside his old Way of alliancing with *France*, to have improved the Misunderstanding between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, and to have endeavoured, with the utmost Vigour, to crush that Insolence of *Spain* by force, which he saw visibly, was not to be reclaimed by generous Usage, by the Moderation of suffering her to declare War without any reciprocal Declaration on our Part, by our signal Abstinence from a Seizure of above four Millions Sterling in *America*, nor by the Patience we had exercised under so many Indignities, Insults, and continued Depredations. But instead of doing this, in Conjunction with his good Ally the *French*, he concluded a new Treaty with *Spain*, which was signed at *Seville*, the 9th of *November*, 1729.

The Emperor, who had shewn himself so truly desirous of preserving the Peace of *Europe*,— who had acted with so much Moderation and Candour, to preserve the Friendship of this Nation, was not acquainted in the least with this Treaty, till it was concluded;— it was kept secret from him; and no Wonder,— for it contained an Article which has since proved, as we have seen, and as he always foresaw it would, of the most fatal Consequence to his *Italian* Dominions:—— This Article was the immediate Admission of 6,000 *Spanish* Troops into the Places of *Tuscany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, to secure the Reversion of those States, after the Deaths of their respective Princes, to Don *Carlos*, which in the Quadruple Alliance the Emperor had consented to be done only by *Neutral* Forces, and even that very much against his Inclination.

It may be easily conceived what Effect such a Treatment as this must have had upon the Emperor: It justly gave him the greatest Alarm, as well as raised his Resentment to the highest degree.

gree.——Even in his Conjunction with *Spain* in 1725, intimate, as it had been represented to be, he was never brought by *Spain* to consent to this Alteration,—and what made the Matter still worse, these Territories being Fiefs of the Empire, this arbitrary Settlement with relation to them justly incensed the Empire too.

These *preventive Measures* put us into worse Plight than ever.——*France* had brought us about again, and we were now upon the Point of joining, not only *France*, but of uniting with the whole House of *Bourbon*, not only against the *Emperor*, but the whole *Germanick Body*.—*Spain* and *France* urged us openly and vehemently to compleat these new Engagements.——The *Emperor* in the mean time marched a powerful Army, and filled all *Italy* with his Troops, determined to resist the Execution of this Treaty, which he thus prevented for the whole Year 1730.— The *Minister* was now in Despair, his Fleets at *Spithead* had not terrified the Emperor's Armies in *Lombardy*.——But the Resentments of *France* and *Spain* at his Inactivity, and contradictory Proceedings, terrified the Minister.——[a] The Marquis *de Castellar*, the *Spanish* Minister at *Paris*, published a Declaration there, by Order of his Master, upon the 28th of *Janury* 1731, with bitter Reproaches against this Conduct, *renouncing all his Engagements with us, professing that he now looked upon himself as intirely at Liberty to act what Part soever he should find most suited to his Interests*. Thus he had visibly disobliged all Parties, he thought a War inevitable, and himself undone.—His new Treaty of *Seville*, upon which he had plumed himself so proudly, now vanished into Smoke.—But the Emperor's good Sense and Moderation saved our Minister once more.—He consented to this ruinous Measure, tho' with Tears in his Eyes.—He consented to admit a Prince of the House of *Bourbon* into *Italy*, whom we were visibly carrying thither to establish in a great Monarchy at the Expence of his Dominions.—Willing not even yet to despair that this Nation would see its Errors at last, he determined to try us once more, and submitted to make this Sacrifice, on condition that we should accede to the *Pragmatic Sanction*, and guaranty the rest of his Dominions to his eldest Daughter.

This Treaty concerning the Admission of the *Spanish* Troops into the *Italian* States, and the *Guaranty* of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, was concluded at *Vienna* the 16th of *March* 1731.—between the Emperor and *Great Britain* alone. Its View was to enforce the Treaty of *Seville*.—— Yet it was concluded without the Participation either of *France* or *Holland*, who had been the contracting Parties to that of *Seville*.— The *Dutch* were however at length prevailed upon to accede to it.

[a] *Rousset*, Vol. VI. fol. 11.

We now began to think again that we had done great Matters, for the present we had pacified the Emperor, and prevented a War.— We obtained a Declaration from the Court of *Spain*, dated at *Seville* the 6th of *June* following, to revoke that of the Marquis *de Castellar*, of the 28th of *January* before mentioned: And as a Proof of the Reconciliation of the second Power, we were permitted to have the Honour, upon the 17th of *October* 1731, to escort the *Spanish* Troops into *Italy*, with a Squadron of sixteen *British* Men of War, at the Expence of 200,000 *l.*

But we are come at length to the final Period of the Success of these *preventive* and *defensive* Measures— they could no longer hold---- the whole World clearly saw, to what the Politicks of the *British* Minister amounted,---- and that he was determined to be moved neither by Indignity or Danger.

France had carried her Point, she had heartily regained the *Spaniards* to her Interests, she had destroyed all Cordiality between the *Emperor* and *England*, she had detected the Weakness of this Nation so far, that she saw *she* had nothing *to fear*, and that *all other Powers* had nothing *to hope* from *Britain*.— She had been a contracting Party to the Treaty of *Seville*, and we had bound ourselves to enter into no new Engagements without her Concurrence. Yet the late Treaty with the Emperor, which was to enforce it, had been concluded without her Participation, nay without her Knowledge.—She highly and loudly resented this Treatment, as a manifest Neglect, an Instance of Contempt, and a publick Affront; and she had the better Handle to exclaim against us for it, because we had affected to think ourselves so ill used, by the like Conduct of the Emperor, with regard to the Treaty of *Vienna* in 1725.— From this Moment she thought of nothing but Revenge, and to avail herself of the Means we had so manifestly given her, to take it with Impunity.

The *Spanish* Troops had not been long landed in *Italy*, before an Alliance was formed between *France*, *Sardinia* and *Spain* to attack the Emperor's Dominions in *Italy*.---The King of *Poland*'s Death was foreseen, and she took such Measures as she thought had effectually secured the Election of King *Stanislaus* to that Throne.----With the Assistance of that Prince she projected to have fallen upon the Emperor's Hereditary Countries, while she diverted his Forces upon the *Rhine*, and her Confederates employed him in the Defence of *Italy*.---- Not many Months were pass'd before the Minister had a more fatal Cause of Inquietude than ever----War became inevitable----his Conduct had delayed it, only to make it fall with more ruinous and irresistible Effect.

The

The King of *Poland* died the 21ſt of *January* O. S. 1732-3. and in *March* following the King of *France* declared that he would ſupport the Election of his Father-in-Law.----The Emperor was ſenſible of what was preparing for him.-----He knew that if this Election took Effect, it would be impoſſible to reſiſt the Confederacy formed againſt him.— He therefore took part with the Elector of *Saxony*, now the preſent, and Son to the late King of *Poland*—Yet endeavouring as much as poſſible not to give any Pretence to *France*, of attacking him upon this Score, he left it to the *Ruſſian* Arms to ſupport that Prince.— But *France* never wanted a Pretext, when ſhe found herſelf in a Condition to proſecute her Views by Arms.—Confiding in her Engagements with *Sardinia* and *Spain*, ſhe grounded this Pretext upon the ſecret Negotiations the Imperial Court had carried on with *Ruſſia* againſt King *Staniſlaus*, declared War, and marched her Armies againſt the Emperor— while on the other ſide the 6000 *Spaniards* we had conveyed into *Italy* not a Year before, ſhewed the Uſe for which they were deſigned.——They joined the *Sardinian* Troops, attacked the *Milaneſe*, and in Conjunction with a Body of Auxiliaries from *France*, ſoon made an entire Conqueſt of that Dutchy.

The Emperor confiding in the Engagements we had entered into, ſo immediately before, to ſupport the *Pragmatic Sanction*, had withdrawn his Troops from *Italy*.— The *French* had attacked him in the Empire, and were endeavouring to bring the *Turk* upon him.—It was impoſſible for him long to make Head alone againſt the different Attacks made and meditated upon the Empire itſelf, and his Hereditary Countries, and to defend his *Italian* Poſſeſſions at the ſame time.— He found himſelf however able with great Difficulty for that Campaign to maintain his Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and to keep his Footing in the *Mantuan*.— In that perilous Interval he called upon *Great Britain* to execute her late Treaty, he ſhewed that it was yet in her Power to ſave *Naples* and *Sicily*, at a ſmall Expence, and by her Fleets alone ; he reproached us with the Ruin we had brought upon him by engaging his Conſent to the Introduction of the *Spaniſh* Troops, and urged the Points both of Honour and National Intereſt, by which we were obliged ſo particularly to interfere in this, as our Support and Guaranty had been the only Condition upon which he had given his Conſent.—He implored us in the moſt moving Terms not to deſert an old, a faithful, and a ſincere Ally, ſo ſtrictly united by all the Bonds of mutual Affection and mutual Security, in a time of this imminent Diſtreſs, a Diſtreſs, which our own Councils, and his Acquieſcence to them, had reduced him to.

But

But the Minister, totally confounded, knew not how to act at all.— He stood insensible to the Danger both of his Allies, and of his own Country, unmoved equally with the Complaints, Reproaches and Entreaties of the Imperial Court. He sought only to cover his own Shame, by retorting the Blame upon the Emperor.—He reproached him with having brought these Difficulties upon himself by Negotiations with *Russia*, to prevent the Election of King *Stanislaus* to the Throne of *Poland*, and abused him for not submitting to that, which must have reduced him to a Condition incapable of Defence or Relief.— Thus adding the most galling Insults to the most irreparable Injuries, he endeavoured to quiet the Alarms of the People of *Great Britain* by his Emissaries, who were instructed to preach up a Dependance upon the *good Faith* of *France*, who in her Declaration of War (which she so religiously adhered to, as we have seen) had solemnly engaged to make no Acquisition by it; thus abetting the Cause, and proclaiming both the Justice and Moderation of that perfidious Power.— In the mean while no Alliances were formed to support the Emperor.— The *Dutch*, who had unwillingly been dragged by us into some of our former Treaties, would now treat with us no more; they had been taught by fatal Experience to dread any further Connexion with us. We neither assisted the House of *Austria* with Troops nor Money.—Our Squadrons so ready to be employed to aggrandize the Glory of a *Spanish* Triumph, were not to be hazarded in the Defence of our Allies.—We first permitted the *French* Fleets to sail into the *Baltic* unmolested, with Troops and Supplies to sustain the Cause of *Stanislaus* in the North;—In the next Year we suffered *Spain* to transport a Body of 20,000 Horse and Foot, and without any Attempt to interrupt them, to join their Troops in *Italy*, who before the End of that Year 1734, ravished the Kingdoms of *Sicily* and *Naples* from the Emperor, and added two powerful Kingdoms to the former vast Possessions of the House of *Bourbon*.

Stunn'd with these rapid Successes, and almost inanimate with the Fear of Dangers, in which that very Fear had thus involved the World; the Minister seemed to have forgotten every thing,—during all this Time he did nothing.— But as violent Passions, from the very Cause of their Existence, which is the Weakness of human Nature, cannot be of long Duration, he began to revive a little, and could not refrain, as soon as he did, to attempt again to exercise his Talent of Negociation; to which the Self-opinion of his Brother, and his own Apprehension of Arms, had given him an obstinate, fatal, and incorrigible Turn.——He began to make Proposals,

posals, and to offer his Mediation to the Courts both of *Paris* and *Vienna* :——But the Court of *Vienna* severely wounded with these repeated Cruelties, Indignities and Ill Usage, in the midst of her deepest Calamity, disdained and detested to treat with him any more ;———and *France*, though she had reaped so much Advantage from his Conduct, equally contemned the Man, to whom she owed it all. For even they, who profit by Infidelity and Weakness, abhor the Authors of it.— Nothing proves the wretched Condition to which we had reduced ourselves, and the Opinion she entertained both of our Councils and our Arms, better than the Answer made to *these Proposals*, by the King of *France* ; which was concluded in these Words,—*I will do my utmost Endeavour in* Germany *to weaken my Enemies* ; *I have already declared that I would not keep Possession of any of the Places I should take.— Let* England *rest satisfied with this Promise.— She would have pleased me in her Mediation, if she had not at the same Time armed herself.— But I would have her to know, that no Power in* Europe *shall give Law to me. And this you may tell your Master.*

Thus despised and treated as we justly deserved by all the Powers of *Europe*, *France* herself extended more Compassion to her greatest Enemy than we had shewn to our best Ally.— She now thought herself secure of laying the Foundation of such Debility in the House of *Austria*, as would at least enable her to reduce it lower when she pleased, if she should find occasion for it.—She thought it more prudent to lie by after she had done this, till she might by the Emperor's Death, break the *Austrian* Succession, and avail herself of the Assistance of the *German* Princes to do that then, which she had no Pretence to attempt during his Life ; and which must have inevitably drawn those very *German* Powers against her, till that Event happened ; much more she could not have done, without their Assistance : She had sown, in all Appearance, a lasting Discontent between the Empire and the Maritime Powers ; she had it in her Power to join *Lorrain* to her own (already vast) Dominions, and to add two Kingdoms to another Branch of the House of *Bourbon* : Both these Acquisitions required some Time to be settled in a Way to be usefully employed hereafter.——By declining any farther Advantage for the present, she carried a Shew of Moderation and voluntary Abstinence, which she knew would effectually deceive the Fools, who abound and strengthen her Party, by their Credulity, in every State of *Europe* ;—All this induced her to conclude Peace with the Imperial Court (in which we were in no Degree consulted.) And she made her Confederates submit to it about *October*, 1736.

By

By this Peace, notwithſtanding all her former Aſſurances to the contrary, ſhe made no Scruple to ſecure *Lorrain* to herſelf: Which Country, with its Revenues, is able to furniſh and maintain an Army of 30,000 Men, and brought her Territories above 150 Miles more forward into *Germany*, than they had before extended on that Side; this enabled her at a much ſhorter Warning, and with a much ſuperior Force, to attack the Empire, when ſhe ſhould afterwards ſee occaſion to do it: Compleating at the ſame Time, an entire Influence over four Electors of the Empire, *Palatine*, *Mentz*, *Triers*, and *Cologne*.—The Effects of which, we have viſibly ſeen by the Election of the preſent Emperor.——The Dominion given to the Infant Don *Carlos*, reduced the Forces of the Houſe of *Auſtira* by above 50,000 Men, and added an equal Number to the oppoſite Scale: —All this the Miniſter of *Britain* brought about by his *loudly ſelf-applauded Preventive and Defenſive Meaſures*; and this, hampered by the Conſequences of his pacifick Conduct, became, at length, out of his Power to prevent.

During the whole Period of this War, *France* was ſo little apprehenſive of our being capable to exert ourſelves in Defence either of our Honour or our Intereſt, that contrary to what, in ſuch a Conjuncture, would have appeared a politick Part in her to act, ſhe took every poſſible Means to inſult, to diſgrace, and to triumph over our Weakneſs.—*Dunkirk* had been gradually and privately reſtored, in Contravention to the moſt clear and poſitive Article of the Peace of *Utrecht*, that it ſhould never be made a Port again, and the Miniſter had connived at this Violation of that Treaty; though its dangerous Situation in caſe of a future War with *France*, is ſufficiently known and underſtood.——But now *France* openly employed great Numbers of Men to cleanſe the Harbour, and to raiſe Batteries upon the old Foundations of the former Works; inſulted the Ships not only of our Merchants, but of the Royal Navy of *England*, in very many Inſtances, affecting the ſame Superiority at *Sea*, as ſhe had too viſibly acquired, by our Conduct at *Land*; encouraged the *Spaniards* to continue their Depredations; debauched and invited publickly, both *them*, and the *Indian* Nations in *North America*, to attempt our Settlements there; and what is even yet beyond all this, iſſued an Arrêt, commanding all the *Britiſh* Subjects then in *France*, upon Pain of the Gallies, either immediately to *depart the Kingdom*, or to *inliſt in her Troops*; and, in Conſequence, impriſoned great Numbers, both of the *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, and *Iriſh*, there.

Spain on her Part, had no ſooner diſmiſſed our Fleet, which had convoyed her Troops to *Italy* upon the Expedition before mentioned;

mentioned ; but ſhe began to treat us even worſe than ſhe had ever done before : her Depredations were exceſſive, and her Captures amounted to prodigious Sums ; ſhe publickly laid claim to ſome of our Provinces in *America*, and interrupted not only our general Commerce, but that of the *South-Sea* Company ; which were both particularly confirmed by Treaty.—Our Trade was greatly interrupted ; and by the Barbarities of the *Spaniards*, and the Inſults of *France*, the Spirit of our Seamen, nay their very Race, was viſibly running to Decay: Yet the Miniſter, *fearful of a War*, ſubmitted to all this.

At length, the Nation was exaſperated to ſuch a Point, and the Complaints and Clamours of the Merchants ecchoed ſo loudly through the whole Kingdom, that both Houſes of Parliament in the latter End of the Year 1737 and the Beginning of 1738, could no longer refrain from expreſſing a great Anxiety, at this tame Conduct, with reſpect to *Spain* ; declaring their Opinion, that the Inſolence of *Spain* ought no longer to be endured, and that if immediate Satisfaction was not given and Security obtained to remedy what was *paſt*, and to prevent what we ſaw was to be expected for *the Time to come*, this Nation muſt ſeek Redreſs by Arms.

The Miniſter, ſtill unable to reſolve himſelf for War, ſtill infatuated, with the Notion of his Brother's Abilities for Negociation, depended upon his former Arts of Treaty-making.—*Spain* knew him now ſo well, that ſhe wantonly play'd with him ; ſhe kept him off till the very Time that the Parliament was to meet, without doing any thing at all ; by which ſhe reduced him to a terrible Diſtreſs.—He did not dare to meet the Parliament, after their Reſolutions and Addreſſes, and the Temper he had left them in the laſt Seſſions, without having done any Thing.—Yet the Time was come, and nothing at all was done.—His only Expedient was to prorogue the Parliament ; and to make uſe of this ſhort Space to humble himſelf before *Spain* ; to ſhew them the Condition he was in, and beg their Aſſiſtance, at any Rate, and upon any Terms, to give him a Lift for the preſent.—Whatever Form of Words he uſed, or in what manner ſoever this Negociation, was carried on, this was viſibly the Nature of it ; for he could not conceal his Condition ; and what immediately followed, evidently proves, that it was fully underſtood by the Power with which he treated.

Spain having ſufficiently gratified her Mirth, ſported with, and mortified the Man, began to think that ſhe might carry the Jeſt too far ; that a War, for which ſhe was not yet effectually prepared, might be the ſudden Conſequence ; and that it was not her Intereſt to ruin a Miniſter, whoſe Puſillanimity had

ſerved

ſerved her as effectually for many Years, as if her *own* had preſided over the *Britiſh* Councils: She therefore conſented to a Treaty, under the Name of a *Convention*, which was ſigned at the *Pardo*, not ſooner than the 14th of *January* N. S. 1738-9. but then diſpatched with the utmoſt Expedition.

Scarce had the Courier cleaned his Boots, but the Parliament was called—they met the firſt of *February* 1738-9. and the Miniſter enlarged upon the great Advantages of this new Treaty, by which he bragged, [a] *That he had obtained more than ever on like Occaſions was known to be obtained, more than the moſt ſucceſsful Arms could have procured; and that this Negociation had been the beſt conducted, and the moſt happily finiſhed, of any we meet with in Hiſtory.—That he remembered he had the laſt Seſſions undertaken to be anſwerable for the Meaſures of the Government, while he had the Honour to be a Miniſter, and that he was prepared to make good his Promiſe.*—He added, that if Gentlemen would perſiſt to raiſe a Ferment without Doors againſt this *Convention*, they would thereby render *a War unavoidable.*

But the Publick were not ſo much terrified with this Argument of *an unavoidable War.* They on the contrary knew, that it was juſt and abſolutely neceſſary, and had been already delayed too long;—and when this *Convention* was laid before the Houſe, which was done upon the 6th of *March* following, it did not leſſen that Opinion.

And to ſhew how little Reaſon there was for that Opinion to be altered by it, I ſhall ſtate in a few Words, what Points the Nation juſtly expected to be finally adjuſted by this Treaty.

The firſt Point, *was the diſclaiming all Right to ſearch our Ships in the* American *Seas, under Pretences of their carrying on a contraband and illicit Trade.*—Now as there neither ever was, nor is any Treaty ſubſiſting between the two Nations, which either ſpecifies, intimates or ſuppoſes any ſuch things as *contraband Goods*, and as if the Pretence ſhould be allowed of an *illicit Trade*, no Ships (from the Circumſtances of that Navigation) could paſs or repaſs to our own Settlements in the *Weſt-Indies*, without being expoſed to be rummaged and confiſcated by the *Spaniſh* Veſſels, it was abſolutely *a Condition, (ſine qua non) without which, we could never end our Differences with that Nation.*

2*dly*, *Spain* had, with intolerable Arrogance, and upon frivolous Pretences, claimed a Right to our Provinces upon the Coaſts of *Florida*, which included *Georgia*, and a Part of *South*

[a] See this Speech in the Debates of the Houſe of Commons, Vol. X. fol. 335. by *Chandler*.

Carolina.

Carolina.—The Honour therefore and Intereſt of this Nation, abſolutely *required an actual Diſavowal of this pretended Right.*

3*dly*, The Depredations committed upon our Merchants, under the frivolous and unjuſt Pretences of this contraband and illicit Trade, amounted to 340,000 *l.*—This juſt Claim and Debt was therefore to be allowed or paid, and this was *another juſt Condition expected by the Nation.*

4*thly*, The King of *Spain*, during the former Differences, having ſeized the Effects of the *Britiſh* South-Sea Company, to the Amount of above a Million, and 68,000 *l.* and during the former Negociations, this Sum having been allowed on his Part a juſt Debt, and the South-Sea Company having on the other hand acknowledged a Debt on their Part of 68,000 *l.*—there was a Ballance due to the South-Sea Company of above a Million Sterling, the Payment of *which* was *a fourth Condition expected by this Nation.*

Now if the Nation had not received Satisfaction in theſe four Particulars, (eſpecially the two firſt) Juſtice was not procured, nor any Security obtained.

Let us therefore now ſee in what manner this Satisfaction and Security were provided for by this Treaty.

As to the *firſt Condition*, (our Right to free Navigation, and no Search, the grand Point of all our Difference,) nothing farther was provided than had been provided for twenty Years before——It was again referred to be diſcuſſed in future by Commiſſaries, of which we had ſufficiently ſeen the Effects before, and already experienced all that we had to expect from it, which was indubitably nothing.

As to the *ſecond Particular*, to the great Aſtoniſhment of the whole Nation, they found, that their Right to Provinces, from which we derived a prodigious Benefit, *Carolina*, (which by the Encreaſe of the Commodity of Rice, became of late Years one of the moſt profitable Colonies belonging to the *Britiſh* Empire ;) and *Georgia*, (to ſettle which the Nation had put itſelf to a great Expence, and which by its Situation in the Gulph of *Florida*, and by a proper Uſe of its Ports, might command the Return of the whole *Spaniſh* Treaſure, and was of infinite Conſequence to prevent the Conjunction of the *French* upon the *Miſſiſipi*, and their *Sugar Iſlands*) were not only ſubmitted to the like Diſcuſſion of Commiſſaries ; but what was more amazing and unworthy, that we had bound ourſelves, till the Deciſion of theſe Commiſſaries, not to erect any Forts, or to do any thing to ſtrengthen or ſecure our Poſſeſſion there, which was, in other Words, to leave them in the ſame weak and defenceleſs State they were then notoriouſly in, to be over-

run

run upon the first Attempt the *Spaniards* should think fit to make upon them.

As to the third and fourth Particulars, it appeared, that the boasted Satisfaction we had obtained for our injured Merchants, whose just Demand, (including that of the South-Sea Company,) amounted to 1,340,000 *l.* was provided for as follows.

Imprimis, The Million due to the South-Sea Company *from the King of Spain* was left to the Decision of Commissaries, whether it was due or not, which all Mankind understood to be the same thing in effect, as to have intirely given it up.

2*dly*, The 68,000 *l.* due *from the South-Sea Company*, was agreed to be due, and to be paid immediately.

3*dly*, As to the 340,000 *l.* due to our Merchants, on account of the Depredations committed upon them,—this Account was settled in the following Manner.

	l.
1*st*, From the said Claim of the Merchants was arbitrarily deducted by the Dash of a Pen, *without any Reason at all assigned* - - -	140,000
2*dly*, The King of *Spain* was allowed to deduct for the prompt Payment *of what was never intended to be paid* - - -	45,000
3*dly*, The *British* Nation were to allow *Spain* for the Ships taken and destroyed in the Year 1718, *in Time of actual War* - - -	60,000
4*thly*, The South-Sea Company were to make immediate Payment of the 68,000 *l.* due from them to the King of *Spain* - - -	68,000
5*thly*, *Spain* was allowed to deduct the Value of a Ship called the *Theresa* taken in the Port of *Dublin* in 1735, as also the Amount of whatever she had formerly given in Satisfaction to our Merchants for their Losses; which two Sums amounted to more, but we shall only state at	27,000
	340,000

Thus it is manifest that the Plan of this Treaty was laid upon this Ground, that the King of *Spain* was not to pay one single Shilling; so that, in fact, all the Pretensions, both of our Merchants and the South-Sea Company, were entirely given up by it.——But what was still worse, the Court of *Spain* refused to agree, even to this Treaty, till the Minister had consented to an *Act*, whereby the King of *Spain* declared, That he entered his *Protest* against the Execution of it *provisionally*, in case

caſe the *South-Sea* Company did not pay, in a ſhort time therein limited, the ſaid Sum of 68,000 *l.* and reſerved farther to himſelf, a Right of ſuſpending their *Aſſiento* Contract, in caſe of Failure on their Part.—Now as it was impoſſible, that the *South-ſea* Company would ever be induced to pay 68,000 *l.* upon one Head of an Account, in which they had, (after the Deduction of that Sum,) a Balance of *a Million* due to them; and as they did immediately after reſolve not to pay this Sum, the Caſe of the Nation was directly this; that *Spain* was prevailed upon to do this temporary Job for the Miniſter.

1*ſt*, By a publick Connivance (if it may be ſo called) at their Pretenſions to ſearch our Ships, and to interrupt our Navigation.

2*dly*, By a publick Agreement, that our *Trade* ſhould ſet down unſatisfy'd with the Loſs of 1,340,000 *l.*

3*dly*, By a tacit Acknowledgement of the Pretenſions of *Spain* to a Part of our *American* Dominions.

4*thly*, By a poſitive Agreement to leave thoſe Dominions in a defenceleſs State, that *Spain* might ſeize them when they pleaſed.

And 5*thly*, By the Suſpenſion of the *Aſſiento* Contract.

To this Condition had our *preventive and defenſive* Meaſures now reduced us.

With this *Convention* the laſt Thread of pacific Policy was ſpun; the Nation could endure it no longer; the Miniſter was at length compelled to draw the Sword.—His Majeſty's tender Regard, both to his *own* Honour, and to the Intereſts and Honour of *the Nation*, induced him to declare War againſt *Spain*, in the Summer 1739.

How that War was carried on upon the ſame timid Principles, is but too evident. The Court of *Spain* had Time to ſtrengthen herſelf to ſuch a Degree, that ſhe became at length invulnerable in the *Weſt-Indies*; and the War continues ſtill, without a Poſſibility of any material Succeſs in our farther Attempts upon that Part of her Dominions.

And now the Diſtreſſes brought upon us by this unparallelled Chain of puſillanimous Proceedings, burſt like a Torrent on the Miniſter, who had been the Occaſion of them.—Upon the 9th of *October*, O. S. 1740. the Emperor died of a Cholic, attended with a Vomiting and Inflammation of the Bowels, in a Conjuncture ſo apt for the Views of *France*, that there was little Room to doubt, either of the Cauſe or Conſequences of his Death:—His Territories had been guaranteed, long before, under the Title of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, to his eldeſt Daughter, (the preſent Queen of *Hungary*,) by a Majority of the *German* Princes, by *Great-Britain*, *Denmark*, *Holland*, *Spain*, and *France*; and of the two latter held (the one) *Naples* and *Sicily*,

 (the

(the other) *Lorrain*, by no other Tenure than that of the Obſervance of this Treaty. But though *France* made no Scruple to declare, that ſhe would ſtrictly fulfil her Engagements with Regard to the *Pragmatic Sanction*; and that ſhe would keep clear of every Thing, that ſhould reſtrain the free Choice of a new *Emperor*, and though the King of *Pruſſia* gave the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances, that he would ſupport it to the utmoſt of his Power; yet it was eaſy to ſee, that theſe Engagements would meet with no Regard, and that theſe Declarations were deſigned only to amuſe and deceive.

The Elector of *Bavaria* begun by refuſing to acknowledge the Rights of the Queen of *Hungary*, and aſſerting a Claim to her Dominions.—In *December* following, to the Amazement of all *Europe*, the King of *Pruſſia* fell into the Queen's hereditary Countries, and entered *Sileſia* with an Army of 40,000 Men.—In the ſucceeding Spring, the *French* marched a great Army into *Germany*, and joined the *Bavarians*; they alſo ſent another great Body of Forces into *Weſtphalia* upon the Confines of the Electorate of *Hanover*.—The Elector of *Saxony* likewiſe marched an Army into *Bohemia*.——— *Sweden*, by the Intrigues of *France*, declared War againſt the *Ruſſians*: By which, and by the treaſonable Practices, which ſhe fomented there, that Empire became incapable to aſſiſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*. The King of *Naples*, with a great Body of his own Forces, in Conjunction with a formidable Army of *Spaniards*, both Horſe and Foot, which again were permitted by the Miniſter to embark, and land unmoleſted by our Squadrons, was prepared to attack her *Italian* Dominions:—And by the Influence of *France*, the Elector of *Bavaria* was choſen Emperor.— *Upper Auſtria* was already, before the End of that Year, overrun; *Bohemia* and the greater Part of *Sileſia* loſt; another *Spaniſh* Army marching towards *Savoy*, the King of *Sardinia* (from his dangerous Situation, and other Circumſtances) much ſuſpected; the Electorate of *Hanover* unavoidably compelled by ſuperiour Force to a Neutrality; the *Dutch* intimidated by the ſame Force; *Denmark*, encouraged by *France*, and wholly occupied to make its Advantage of the Troubles in the North; and *Great-Britain* exaſperated to the utmoſt Verge of Patience, upon the very Brink of domeſtic Confuſion, ſtill directed by the *ſame Miniſter*.—From this Situation of Affairs, and from the Temper of the People, naturally reſulting from it, wholly incapacitated from affording any material Aſſiſtance to the Queen of *Hungary*, but perſevering to demonſtrate, even in this laſt Criſis, by his Conduct of the *Spaniſh* War, and by his Permiſſion of the *Spaniſh* Embarkations, that his Inclinations were as foreign as

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his Abilities to a vigorous Exertion of the Power of this Nation, at a Time, when Councils, *even desperately violent*, seemed the only Possibility, under Heaven, to preserve *us* and *Europe* from Destruction:—Even yet, incorrigibly bent upon inconsistent Schemes of Negociation, he turned his Thoughts to a Project of more Temerity and Indiscretion than ever he had hitherto projected, and attempted to form an Alliance to dismember *Prussia*.—Thus overwhelmed on every Side; Great Armies of *French*, *Bavarians*, *Prussians* and *Saxons* within a fews Days March of *Vienna*; and no Part of her Territories unmolested, but the remote Dominions of *Hungary*; and those States, that bordered on the *Turk*, in daily Expectation of being attacked likewise from that Quarter, the unhappy Queen of *Hungary* was thrown, for her only Resource, upon a People, who, till this Time, had never afforded any Assistance to their Sovereign; but had, on the contrary, taken all Occasions to rebel and join a foreign Power.—Her veteran Troops all destroy'd in the late War against the *Turk*; the Fountains of Supply from her richest Countries, then in the Possession of her Enemies, wholly turned against her.—This was the Condition to which the only Power, that could maintain the Balance, and without which no rational Man can think, that this Nation can long subsist without becoming a Province to *France*, was brought by this determined Suite of the *preventive and defensive* Measures of the *British* Minister.

Such was the State of our Affairs, when the present Parliament begun its first Sessions upon the first of *December*, 1741. I might expatiate here, to aggravate the wretched Condition to which this Country was reduced; but I am far from meaning to represent this Conduct, in the worst Light that it might bear: My View is very different.——Exasperated as the People are already, he that attempts to encrease the Flame, deserves to perish in it.—Would to God it were forgiven, upon Condition that it could be forgot; but it cannot be forgot, nor will, for this Reason, ever be forgiven: My Meaning therefore neither is to attempt the one nor the other. —But my Endeavour is to divert the Publick from that mad Resentment, which must complete their Ruin. —I shall shortly come to shew, how far already this Resentment has misled them.—How, deviating from the only Principle, that can warrant Punishment, they wound their Country and themselves in the Extravagance of Passion.—The Pursuit of Punishment, when no good End can possibly be answered by it, is Revenge; Revenge with Nations, as well as with private Men, is in itself detestable; and, in its Consequences, fatal. Let *Sweden* be the Mirror to reflect the Face of this

Nation : We have lately ſeen that brave, that free People, *puſhing violently their own Deſtruction with a ſtrange Similitude of Fate.—Firſt, by ruinous Meaſures brought into deplorable Circumſtances ; then purſuing ſanguinary Vengeance on their Miniſters ; Miniſters, from the Paſſion of the Time, neither ſafe to be given up, nor to be ſaved ; tearing every Fence of Government and Conſtitution down, to reach the Object of their Hatred ; artfully led on, under this Pretence, to abuſe their Liberty with a dangerous Licence ; thinking themſelves entitled, becauſe they meet with Obſtruction in this View, to invade the Privileges of all the other Parts of their Legiſlature ; yet all this Time, ſtupidly forgetful of the very Cauſe, for which alone they ought in Juſtice to condemn the Conduct of thoſe Miniſters, and to be thus enraged, embarraſſing their Government, labouring to plunge it ſtill deeper, by perſevering in the ſame Foreign Meaſures, into the ſame Evil, and to prevent their wiſeſt and moſt honeſt Men from availing themſelves of the moſt fortunate Opportunities to preſerve the Nation, and to retrieve paſt Errors ; till at length, from the Exceſs of popular Power, the Weakneſs of their Government, the Want of Virtue in Particulars to reſiſt the Temptation of a falſe Popularity, and the Want of Courage to withſtand a factious Calumny, they were encouraged to attempt direct Rebellion, in Favour of a Pretender, whoſe Advancement to the Throne was morally certain to fix the Chains of Arbitrary Power for ever on their Country.*

After this, ſome may poſſibly demand, Why then have you recalled to publick View, theſe former Errors of the Miniſter ? I have done it with ſolid Reaſon.— The Sore, that rankles, muſt be opened and deeply probed : The Man, who would, in this Diſorder of the Publick, ſerve his Country, cannot hope to do it by concealing Faults.—To deny notorious Truths, is an Attempt to impoſe upon Mankind, too groſs to be borne ; the Nation is honeſt, though it is deceived, and will liſten to no Arguments, that are obviouſly diſhoneſt and uncandid.—Not to acknowledge this, would be to accuſe the People of unjuſt Reſentment during a Space of 20 Years :—And, as in the preſent Conjuncture, I think it my Duty to accuſe them of unjuſt Reſentments, and to convince them that they are juſtly accuſed ; by a contrary Conduct, I could not fain to provoke, inſtead of healing Animoſities ; to lay a Foundation of Prejudice, which no Solidity of Reaſon could be able to remove ; and infallibly defeat the honeſt Intention, which alone has led me to give the Publick and myſelf the Trouble of this Diſcourſe.

It was likewiſe neceſſary to do this for ſeveral very important Ends, to give the Clue to the true Source of our Misfortunes, and to the Origin of the late Oppoſition ; which can be the only Means, either to moderate the Rage of the Publick, to

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remove their Prejudices, to diſtinguiſh their Friends, to direct them to the Knowledge of their Enemies, to preſerve their juſt Attachment to their Prince, and to maintain the Conſtitution of their Country.

For when the People miſtake the Cauſe, their Concluſions muſt be falſe and dangerous—their Opinion of thoſe, who ſee more clearly, and act the beſt for their Intereſts, eaſily abuſed—they are liable from falſe Cauſes aſſigned by wicked and artful Men, to think deſperately of Government, and to ſeek for Remedies not adapted to the Diſeaſe, and of ſo violent a Nature, as to tear the Body Politick to Pieces.

And that this has been the Caſe, will become very manifeſt upon a due Conſideration of this Deduction of our Affairs during the late Adminiſtration—the People not conſidering well the Spring of this unhappy Train of Conduct, have been falſely and infamouſly taught, that it took its Riſe from the Treachery of the Miniſter, and from a low and private Prejudice in the Prince to his Foreign Dominions, abetted by a Band of corrupt Mercenaries, and ſupported by the Defects of a Conſtitution, which gave too much Power to the Crown—None of which is true.

It was the Embarraſſment of our Affairs by the Peace of *Utrecht*, a timid, obſtinate, and perhaps ſelfiſh Character in the Miniſter.—It was the unavoidable Conſequences of the Treaty of *Hanover*, which was made before his Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Throne, for which he was therefore not anſwerable, and which it was very difficult to remedy.—It was a Chain of Circumſtances, neither derived from a greater Degree of Corruption than will be founded in any opulent State upon Earth, nor from any Defects, but what (or worſe) muſt exiſt in the pureſt Conſtitution under Heaven: All which will more fully appear by the following Deduction.

But to return—In this Criſis of Affairs, Ruin abroad appeared almoſt impoſſible, highly improbable to prevent,—the Nation at home in ſuch a Ferment, that nothing but Confuſion was by every rational Man expected.—To prevent either, it was obvious that the Miniſter muſt be removed, the Publick neither would, nor could have engaged in thoſe expenſive Undertakings which were our only Reſource, under the Conduct of ſuch a Man.—But how to effect this Change was the great Labour.—There is Reaſon to believe, that his Majeſty was as much convinced of the Neceſſity of a Change, as the Miniſter was convinced that it was high time to prepare for it.—It was even certain, that the beſt Men in the Oppoſition began to fear greatly the Effects of the Spirit they had raiſed, however neceſ-

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ſary, however juſt it had been to raiſe it; but the greateſt Danger of all was to have deſiſted in that Conjuncture. Thus even they who were moſt ſenſible of the dangerous Ferment, were by Neceſſity compelled to raiſe it ſtill higher to prevent its fatal Effect.—Oppoſition was redoubled with a Degree of Fury, which nothing but this Circumſtance could warrant.—The Dilemma was great on all Sides—the more the Miniſter was preſſed, the more difficult and dangerous it was both for him and for the Publick to give way—and had he been diſintereſted enough to have reſigned his Power, to ſpeak honeſtly, there was Hazard both to his own Perſon, to the Intereſt of his Maſter, and the Conſtitution of his Country.—It was dangerous to depend upon the Moderation of a Party ſo combined as it now appeared to be, and heated with ſo unavoidable a Fury. On the other hand, it was impoſſible for the honeſt Men, embarked againſt him, to have deſiſted either.—Matters had been driven too far to rely upon the Prudence of their Antagoniſt, and they had too many Examples to venture to truſt that ever this Danger could reclaim his indomptable Spirit of Peace. It was very unſafe, both for the Publick and themſelves to have riſqued the double Danger of their Enemies, and the Reſentment of their Friends.—If by ſuch an indiſcreet Retreat, *they had much weakened their Party*, they could not have had ſufficient Aſſurance, that the Miniſter would have made that juſt and wiſe Uſe of it, which could have been their only Inducement for ſo diſintereſted a Meaſure.—He might have employed this Acceſſion of Strength, to have confirmed himſelf in his imprudent Politicks, to have ruined Liberty, under the Pretence of deſtroying Faction, and have taken this Opportunity to have wreaked his private Revenge.—Again, if this Conduct ſhould have had a different Effect, *and not much weakened the Party they left*, it muſt have ſerved only to precipitate the Views of bad Men, and left the Nation diſtracted and mad under the Lead and Direction of the worſt and moſt dangerous Perſons in the Kingdom.—Upon the whole, it was neither in the Power of the one to *retire*, nor the other to *deſiſt*.

Moſt certain it is, whatever the ignorant Vulgar may think, or wicked Men pretend, that the domeſtick Peace was at this Conjuncture in the utmoſt Hazard, and that at this Hour we had been involved in horrible Confuſion, if his Majeſty's Prudence had not dictated, and aſſiſted us in the middle Way of Moderation, in which all Safety conſiſts, by yielding to a Change of the Miniſter, and yet reſolving to defend the Perſon of the Man removed, from the Rage and Fury of the Time. By this Meaſure, that intire Victory of Party, which muſt have

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produced insufferable Insolence, and raised unforeseen, extravagant and irresistable Expectations, was awarded with its Consequences, which, like a Torrent, would have broke in upon us, and in a mercileſs manner ſwept away both good and bad who had given Oppoſition to it, and probably carried before it, in its Tide of Reformation, all the Guards and Securities of this happy Conſtitution.—Had the Government been taken by Storm, had the People been once blooded, who can ſay where he would have ſtopt, or who could have Authority to have caſt down the Bar before them.—In ſuch Conjunctures, Reaſon and Experience ſhew us, that the private Soldier drives his Officer before him—all Order and Diſcipline are at an End—and whoever endeavours to reſtrain the Violence, is looked upon as an Enemy, diveſted of his Command, and new Leaders choſen out of thoſe, who with moſt Fury, and leaſt Remorſe, will carry Devaſtation furtheſt. By this Meaſure therefore, Time was given for many to reflect, who in the Heat of ſuch an Event, would have been hurried Lengths they never intended to have gone, and plunged into Precipices, which many, who have eſcaped already, conſider with Horror, that they lately ſtood ſo near, and which many more, as they conſider and cool, will every Day look back upon with equal Terror.—This Meaſure likewiſe afforded Opportunity to make the proper Alterations by Degrees, and with a deliberate Choice, to put the publick Affairs into the Hands of Men, who were diſtinguiſhed, rather by their Abilities and Integrity, than by their Heat and Paſſion, or popular Accompliſhments.—It gave room to weaken Faction, by the Gratification of ſome warm Men, but to do it ſo, as not to encourage its haſty Growth again—It prepared a way for a laſting Change of Meaſures, and ſecured an Intereſt to ſupport them at the ſame Time; as it enabled thoſe who had acted under the former Adminiſtration upon wrong Principles of Policy without Fear of Ruin, or Shame of Tergiverſation, tacitly to reclaim their Conduct, and prevented that fatal Evil, (which was otherwiſe inevitable, and muſt have brought our Affairs into a worſe Condition than ever,) the raiſing a new Oppoſition out of the defeated Party, whoſe Number, though defeated, were at this very Conjuncture equal to thoſe by whom they had been compelled to yield.—Thus this prudent Firmneſs on the one hand, and prudent Condeſcenſion on the other, manifeſtly ſaved this Nation from Perdition—the beſt, the moſt able, the moſt conſiderable Men, and thoſe of the true Whig Principle, were ſeparated from a wicked Party, with whom Neceſſity had obliged them formerly to unite, and who were upon the Point of getting the Direction of the Publick into their Hands, under

under the Pretence of delivering it from another Danger, which, great as it was, could not be worſe than that.—And thus the Government now ſtands upon the Foundation of a true Whig Intereſt, upon which alone it can ſafely ſtand, ſupported by Men, united by the manifeſt Revival of that Principle, which would bring them both to Ruin.

We are now come to that Period of Time, when the late Oppoſition ceaſed, and a Separation was made between the *Whigs* and the *Tories*; they had travelled on in the ſame Road to this Point of a Change of the Miniſter; and the Power to change the Meaſures was in their own Hand.—This, as I have very ſufficiently ſhewn, was the firſt and ſole Intention of the *Whigs*, ſo that their Journey was at an End; but the others were to travel further, and we ſhall ſhortly ſee through what miry Paths they went.—It was almoſt a Miracle they had kept Company ſo long.—The *Tories* had plainly ſhewn, upon the late Motion, how little they were to be depended upon, even in the Proſecution of their common View; and for the *Whigs*, they had never pretended, never given any Encouragement to think, that they ſhould continue Oppoſition longer than till they had carried theſe Points.—Nay, till this Event, the *Tories* themſelves affected to intend no more.—All Men of Senſe, who knew them well, knew, that this was only Colour, to take away Suſpicion of their dangerous Deſigns.—What happened was therefore no Surprize to them, and ſo far from being condemned for it, their Principles and Views being thus widely different, they muſt both have been truly inconſiſtent with themſelves, if they had not both done as they did.

A Change of the Adminiſtration being now become abſolutely neceſſary, the Equality of Parties being ſuch, that no Buſineſs could be carried on, this Change was reſolved.—In order to effect it, it was neceſſary to adjourn the Houſe.—It required ſome Time to deliberate upon the firſt Changes, and for thoſe Members of the Oppoſition, who were to be firſt taken in, to be rechoſen.

To this Adjournment (which was for 15 Days) all the Houſe agreed, the Whigs knowing the Neceſſity of it, and that a Change could not be ſafely made without it, and with theſe concurring all thoſe who had private Views, and expected to reap a perſonal Benefit from this Change.—The Leaders of the *Tories*, who have ſince treated this Meaſure as iniquitous in the higheſt Degree, made no Objection to it then; they had one or other of the two Reaſons before-mentioned to induce them to it. The Reader may aſſign that which he thinks moſt probable, upon a Conſideration of their ſubſequent Behaviour.

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In this Conjuncture, these Gentlemen thought it highly necessary to make their Appearance at the Court, to which some had never gone since the Accession of the present Royal Family upon the Throne; and many had absented themselves so long, that they feared they might be forgotten, which was by no Means convenient, when so many great Employments were to be conferred in a few Days.—It was necessary to convince the Prince, that their only Reason for abstaining from this Demonstration of Respect before, was the ill Opinion of the late Minister, and that they were now ready to support his Majesty's Measures, as warmly as the best Friends he had; but alas! the Sincerity of their Reconciliation, and the secret Condition of it, unhappily for them, were both as well understood at that Time, in the Place to which they went, as they have since been clearly manifested in the Nation.

Thus far all Things proceeded well and quietly—not a Word was uttered of any farther Reformation. The People were then suffered to think as they were naturally disposed to do. *A Change of the Minister, and the Introduction of honest Men into the chief Employments, was thought the utmost Object of the Peoples Wish, and what must in the end ensure whatever else was wanting.*

Tranquility continued till an Honourable Gentleman, who had been considerable in the Opposition, was made Chancellor of the Exchequer.—This began to clash with the Expectations of others; but still, as there were many great Employments left, they were not yet transported far enough to declare a new Breach—so that they suffered this Gentleman to be re-elected without any Opposition.—— The next Thing done was the Appointment of the new *Treasury*, which when they found composed of that Set of Men called *Whigs*, and but one *Tory* admitted upon that Bench, they began to murmur openly.—But it was still too soon to take their final Resolution— the Boards of *Admiralty* and *Trade* were not yet actually settled, and they waited the Event of the Disposition there.—But when that of the Admiralty was taken into Consideration, for which some of the leading *Tories* were designed (and which are all willing to accept) His Majesty having refused to admit one particular Person, and they thinking that the Reason assigned for that Exception, might be a dangerous Precedent, which must equally affect great Numbers of their Body, it was resolved to exert themselves upon this Occasion.—They accordingly insisted strongly for this Person, and for some others, and in fine, for such a Disposition there, as was impossible to be complied with—which as soon as they found, and that the other Offices were not yet proposed to be changed, they resolved to keep no further Measures. Nothing was to be left

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to the Diſpoſal of the Sovereign, as ſoon as it appeared that he would not wholly reſign himſelf into the Hands of *Tories*, and that he preſumed to make Difficulties in admitting, even any one of thoſe, who had been ever marked, by their Friends as well as Enemies, as the Leaders of a *Party*, which deſerve a ſtronger Denomination.

Some few Men of a different Principle, who deſerve a better Fate, by the Heat of Paſſion, the Effects of Ambition, and the common Fear of not being provided for to their Wiſhes upon this Occaſion, unhappily fell at this Time into the Views of theſe People; upon whoſe Shoulders they vainly imagined they might lift themſelves to what they now began to fear they ſhould never reach; among theſe, a Man, whoſe Merits, Abilities and Weight entitled him to the higheſt Eſteem of all Parties, whoſe Error (of which he has been ſince too late convinced) is repaired to his own Conſcience, by his retiring from them; but can never be repaired to his Country, by his having retired from its Service in Conſequence of it.—This Appearance of a few *Whigs* on their Side had a very ill Effect: Under this Colour, they paſſed for what they have ſince ſhewn they were not:—Many young and undiſtinguiſhing Men, and many of the People, having no Apprehenſions to engage with an Oppoſition, which they ignorantly think directed by *Whig* Principles, becauſe they ſee a few *Whigs* among them: And the Difficulty of breaking from ſuch Engagements of Party, being ſo great, that few have Honeſty or Spirit to do it now, when they are convinced of their Miſtake.—But as we have already obſerved in the Beginning of this Paper, *All Oppoſitions are compoſed of Individuals of all Denominations: And an Oppoſition is not leſs a* Whig *Oppoſition, becauſe it is joined by* Jacobites *and* Tories; *nor a* Jacobite *or* Tory *Oppoſition leſs a Faction, becauſe it is joined by* Whigs: *But the Difference lies in the Spirit, that predominates, and in the Men that direct.—For, if the* Whigs *have the Aſcendant and can force the reſt into their Meaſures, Methods ſafe and honeſt are purſued.—But, if the* Jacobites *or* Tories *have the Lead, or* Whigs *only bear the Name of Leaders, and are in Reality driven, by the Spirit of thoſe with whom they are connected, the Meaſures of Oppoſition are then equally carried on upon the* Jacobite *or* Tory *Views, as we ſhall prove it to be the Caſe at this Time; and ſuch an Oppoſition is, to all Intents and Purpoſes, a* Jacobite *or* Tory *Faction.*

Thus hurried by Impatience, heated by Deſpair, the *Faction*, with theſe unnatural Allies, after a vain and tedious Expectation of eight Days (for ſo much of the fifteen Days of the Adjournment had already paſſed, and they were not yet provided

vided for) upon the 11th of *February*, 1741-2, a Day, which perhaps this Nation, may have Reason never to forget, they came to a final Breach.——From this exact Period may be dated the Death of the late memorable Opposition, and the Birth of a fatal Faction, who have already laid the Foundation of Calamities, which will require much Wisdom and Virtue to avert; and which only that Providence, that has already so often remarkably interposed to save this Nation, can entirely preserve it from.

It was given out in dark Whispers, that the *Whig* Leaders of the Opposition, who, by their Abilities and Services had obtained the foremost Rank, in whose Hands the Settlement of this great Affair therefore naturally lay, and with whom, from the Knowledge of their Principles, the Government could only treat, had betray'd their Party; that the Circumstances of this Treason were such as to require a Conjunction of all honest Men to resist and to defeat it; that the Proof was undeniable, and that it was necessary the Matter should be laid open before the whole Opposition: The Members of the Opposition were all summoned, and the Expectation of Mankind raised to the highest Pitch: As well they, who understood the Nature of this Meeting, as they, who understood it not, out of equal Curiosity concurred to attend it: And among the rest, the Gentlemen, who conducted the new Settlement, and those, who had been already taken into Employment, were desired to be present to defend themselves against this formidable Accusation.

The Charge was introduced with great Solemnity; "Gentlemen were reminded of the dangerous Situation to which "the Nation had been brought by the late Administration; "how gloriously and steadily they had persevered in the Opposition; how happily at length their honest Endeavours, "and the just Spirit of the People, had brought them in Sight of "the long wish'd-for Port; that as every Set of Men had contributed to bring this important Point to bear, it was "just all Denominations of Men should receive an equal Reward of their Virtue; that if a proper Use were made of "this happy Conjuncture, this Reward might be obtained; "that the total Rout of the Ministerial Party was what they "had a Right to expect; and that this would make Room for "all.——But that there was too much Reason to fear, that "this Use would not be made of the happy Opportunity; "that a few Men had presumed, without communicating their "Proceedings to that Assembly, to take this Work upon themselves; that by their Manner of doing it, they had sufficient "Cause to apprehend they did not mean the general Advantage;

" vantage ; that they had been now eight Days in this Em-
" ployment ; and by the few Offices they had as yet beſtowed,
" they were juſtly to be accuſed of not acting with the Vigour
" that was expected of them by the whole People.—That a-
" mong other things, what adminiſtered Matter of great Jea-
" louſy was the Choice of thoſe already preferred ; that this
" Choice having fallen principally upon *Whigs*, it was an ill O-
" men for the *Tories* ; and that if they were not to be pro-
" vided for, the happy Effects of the Coalition of Parties muſt
" be deſtroyed, and Parties again revived to the great Prejudice
" of the Nation ; that it was therefore highly neceſſary to
" unite cloſely, to keep firmly together, and to continue to
" oppoſe, with the ſame Vehemence as ever, till Juſtice was
" done the *Tories*, and till the Adminiſtration was founded
" upon the *broad Bottom* of both Parties."

A Right Honourable Gentleman, ſince advanced into another Houſe of Parliament, with whom the Management of this Change was chiefly entruſted, together with ſome of thoſe, who were lately taken into Employment, anſwered theſe Objections to their Conduct with great Temper.——" They firſt
" obſerved, how hard a Treatment they had met with in return
" for the long Services they had done their Country, and the
" Share they had confeſſedly had in bringing the Oppoſition to
" the Point at which it was arrived, now upon frivolous Pre-
" tences, and a Jealouſy in the Nature of Things, not yet
" poſſibly grounded upon any ſolid foundation, to be brought
" before ſuch a Tribunal, accuſed publickly in the Face of the
" whole World, of that, which no ſingle Man dare in pri-
" vate, to their Faces, charge them with ; loaded with Suſpi-
" cions, which once raiſed are hardly ever to be wiped off by any
" Conduct ; and branded with the Imputation of an ima-
" ginary Crime, ſo eaſily to be believed in the then Temper
" of the Nation ;— that they deſerved a very different Uſage,
" by the Integrity, with which they had hitherto proceeded,
" and with which they were determined to proceed :——That
" as to the taking the Management of this Affair into their
" own Hands, the Overtures having been made to them,
" it was their Duty, and it would have been the Duty
" of any Man, to whom they had been made, to have uſed
" his beſt Abilities to have brought about a happy Settlement,
" after the Diviſions, by which this Country had been ſo long
" torn ; and which could not longer ſubſiſt without the utter
" Ruin of the Intereſts of this Nation abroad, and the Dan-
" ger of fatal Diſturbances at Home :—That the ſuperficial Vul-
" gar might imagine it a more proper and equitable way to
" refer

" refer this Settlement to the Decision of the whole Party; " but that no Man of tolerable Understanding and Experience " could cherish an Idea so impracticable and absurd; that Go- " vernment was not yet reduced to such a Point, as to sur- " render at Discretion, especially to an Enemy, who had de- " clared so publickly they would give no Quarter; that Go- " vernment neither could, would, nor ought to be taken by " Storm; and that it behoved Gentlemen to consider what " must inevitably be the Consequence of such an Attempt; " that the great Points were to change the Minister, and to " change the Measures: That the one was visibly already done, " and they would engage to perform the other. That, as to the " Distribution of Employments, there was neither Justice, De- " cency, Duty, or Moderation, in dictating to the King, how " to dispose of every Preferment in the State; that his Ma- " jesty had shewed a Disposition to comply with the Desires " of his People in the most effectual Manner; for he had al- " ready supplied the principal Ministerial Posts with Men, who " had hitherto been most confided in by the People, and such " as could not have given Occasion to the People to have " changed their Opinion of them; because, though nominated, " they had none of them yet done any single Act of Office: " That as to the Changes already made, they were as nume- " rous as the Importance of the Matter, and the Nature of " the Thing could possibly admit so soon, and that it might " have been more to the Credit of their Party, if their " Patience had extended a little longer than the few Days, that " had passed since the Time of their Adjournment.—As to " the partial Distribution of Employments to the *Whigs*, that " as far as their Interest should hereafter extend, they would " use it faithfully to his Majesty, and their Country, by " recommending such to serve him, whose Principles they " knew had been misrepresented, and who were true to " his Family, let their Appellations be what they would: " But that it might be well supposed a Work of some " Time, to remove suspicions inculcated long, and long " credited, with Regard to a Denomination of Men, who " had formerly been thought not heartily attached to the In- " terest of the Prince upon the Throne; that some Instances, " of this Intention, had been already given in the late Re- " movals, and there would be many more, but that it must " depend upon the prudent Conduct of the *Tories* themselves, " wholly to abolish these unhappy Distinctions of Party. In " fine, they begged of them to consider how false a Step they had " already made,—and that this passionate and groundless Di-

" vision,

" vision, would infallibly give new Courage to the Party they
" had just subdued; that it discovered a Weakness, of which
" Advantage would be certainly taken; that it must inevitably
" lessen the Power of those who were employed, and if persisted
" in, would in a great Measure prevent the Success of their
" Views, both for the Publick, and their Friends."

It is not to be supposed, that any of these Reasons had much weight on the different sides of the Question.—The Abuse and Indecency, with which the Gentlemen newly taken into the Administration were treated, upon this Occasion, plainly convinced them, and every intelligent Man, that the Design of this Meeting was to throw them off, that the *Tories* might now disengage themselves from the Direction of the *Whigs*, under whose Conduct they had been restrained, and with whom they could never expect to carry the Point they had in View. —They could never have taken a better Opportunity, than that of the National Ferment of the Time, nor have done it with less Suspicion, or encreased their Numbers more, than by doing it, when the Suspicions of Men were, as they always are in such Conjunctures, diverted another Way, and when the Fears, Disappointments and Disgusts of many of different Principles, naturally led them all to join with any Set of Men that still continued to oppose.—We have already observed how far these Passions had misled some *Whigs*, that, insensible of the foolish Part they play'd, they lent their Names to colour the Designs of the *Tories*, and became the Tools to press publickly for their Admission into Employments, which they could not, with any Decency, nor without disgracing themselves with the People, have so glaringly insisted upon themselves.

The Publick quickly found the Effect of this wicked Conduct, for it deserves no better Name.—It was no small Astonishment to many, who had hitherto concurred in the Opposition, and gave no small Disgust to observe it.—No Man of Sense and Honesty thought he could justify adhering longer to a Set of Men, whose Party View was now so openly avowed, and who, like a Band of *Hussars*, had abandoned themselves to the Plunder, even before the Battle was half done; they knew the Consequence must be, at least, that this mercenary Conduct would suffer the Minister to escape uncensured.—All therefore they could hope farther to do, was to prevent his Return into his former Station, and to procure a Change in his System of Politicks, to get the best Laws they could, to prevent the like Abuse of Power, and at least to secure it in the Hands of those, who they thought least likely to abuse it in their own Time.—It is true, they never

intended

intended to have given the *Tories* the Lead in the Government, or to have made a *Tory* Adminiſtration ; from the Nature of that Party which I have ſufficiently explained already, they had been falſe both to their King and Country, if they had done it.—But they honeſtly did intend to have promoted the moſt moderate of that Party, deſirous of uniting, by this Experiment, as many as they could, in Affection to his Majeſty and his Royal Family ; to which the Gratification of private Expectations is with ſome a very neceſſary Step.—But their Conduct was ſuch, as diſabled them from carrying their Views much farther for them, and had they preſſed it after this, their own Principles muſt have come into Suſpicion.—They had therefore juſt Grounds to have made a total Separation from them ; but from a Regard to their Country, they ſtifled their Reſentments ; they advanced ſeveral *Tories* ſhortly after, and ſome into very great Poſts ſince that Time.—They united to promote an Enquiry into the Conduct of the late Miniſter, which they puſhed as far as the Strength of the oppoſite Party, who were now rallied upon theſe Diviſions, could poſſibly admit, and far enough to ſhew ſuch Errors in his Adminiſtration, as rendered it impoſſible for him to be employ'd again.—They engaged the Government to purſue Meaſures entirely oppoſite to the pacific Plan ſo long fatally purſued ; they maintained their Principle of ſupporting the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and furniſhed her with effectual Supplies ; and they carried a Place Bill to leſſen the Miniſterial Influence in Parliament.—In Foreign Affairs they did every Thing that could be wiſhed, and much more than could have been expected ; in Domeſtic, they went, if not quite as far, as perhaps they might have ſafely gone, yet as far as they could go ſafely in ſuch a Ferment ; or indeed, as they were able to go, when thus deſerted and weakened by the Madneſs of theſe Men.

We have now ſhewn the Commencement of the preſent Oppoſition, which from its Origin may be eaſily judged what it is.—Its Origin plainly was, not from any wrong Meaſures, in the Leaders of the late Oppoſition, for (as they juſtly obſerved themſelves) they had as yet done nothing when they were thus deſerted ; no more than *eight Days* had paſſed ſince the Retreat of the Miniſter ; and the *Parliament* had not yet met ; ſo that it was impoſſible the *Faction* could have done it from any Obſervation of their wrong Behaviour *there*.—Had the *Tories* been as wholly proſcribed, as it was falſely ſuggeſted they were intended to be, was the late Oppoſition began upon the Principle of bringing them into Employment, or was it the *Right*, or the *Concern* of the People to inſiſt who ſhould have

have the moſt beneficial Places ?—The Principle of the late Oppoſition was, as it has been fully ſhewn, to bring back this Nation to its true Politicks with Regard to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the Balance of Power.—Was the Purſuit of Places ever avowed to be the Grounds of Oppoſition ? it has been indeed ſatirically imputed to be ſo upon all Occaſions, but it was never ſupported by the Publick upon that footing, nor ever avowedly confeſſed to be ſo, by any Oppoſition, before this which now diſtracts this Country ; and which I therefore juſtly and truly call by no other than its proper Name, and ſhall farther prove by its ſubſequent Proceedings, to be a *Faction*, if ever a *Faction* did or can exiſt in *Britain*.—And as the Tree is beſt known by its Fruits, we ſhall be particular in tracing its Conduct ever ſince.

As it was too ſoon to ſtile themſelves *a new Oppoſition*, becauſe the Parliament had not yet met, and they knew not what Meaſures would be purſued ; they therefore formed themſelves, for the preſent, under the Title of the *Broad-Bottom* ; a Cant Word, which correſponding equally with the Perſonal Figure of ſome of their Leaders, and the Nature of their Pretenſions, was underſtood to imply, a Party united to force the Tories into the Adminiſtration.

Thus intitled, they laid their general Plan of Action, reducible to the following Heads, which were the known Eſtabliſhment of their Predeceſſors in the ſame Faction.

1*ſt*, To vilify and abuſe, without Meaſure, Mercy, or Reſerve, all, who in any one ſingle Vote ſhould differ from them.

2*dly*, To advance or inſinuate any Falſhood, or miſrepreſent any Meaſure, however groſly, to the better ſort of Men, if they could propoſe to delude or inflame the People by it.

3*dly*, To ſpirit up the People againſt the Re-election of any Member into Parliament, who ſhould accept of any Employment.

4*thly*, To wean the People from their Affection to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, to diminiſh their Apprehenſion, or to encreaſe their Fears of the *French* Power, *either*, juſt as Events ſhould make it moſt convenient to do. To undermine the great and ſalutary Principle of ſupporting a Balance of Power upon the Continent, by Pretences of the Inability of the Nation, of the Folly of engaging in Wars, in which we propoſed to make no Acquiſition for ourſelves, and of the Security of this Nation in its maritime Force alone, let what would happen upon the Continent.

5*thly*,

5*thly*, To bait the People by the Prospect of an Encrease of Popular Power, by proposing Alterations in the Constitution, the *Effects* of which, and consequently the necessary *Measure* of which, the common sort are by no means able to understand.

6*thly*, To poison the Affections of the People to the Prince upon the Throne, by endeavouring to convince them, that every publick Measure was influenced by his Ambition, Resentments, Passions, or Attachment to some Foreign Territory.

[a] Mr. *Addison* observes in one of those excellent Papers called the *Freeholder*, which he wrote expressly against the same Faction, then in its Zenith, soon after the End of the late Queen's Reign; that even at that Time personal Abuse had been remarked to be the prevailing Characteristick of that Party,——and he gives the Reason for it, which still holds good at this Day, *That having nothing of Weight to offer against their Antagonists, if they speak at all, it must be against their Persons; when they cannot refute an Adversary, the shortest Way is to libel him, and to endeavour to make his Person odious, when they cannot represent his Notions absurd.*—It was the *Fort* of their Party, and practised at all Times; it was by the infamous Observation of that Maxim, *Calumniari fortiter ut aliquod adhæreat*, and by their scandalous Personalities against the great Duke of *Marlborough*, the present Dutchess, the Treasurer *Godolphin*, and all the Whigs who supported their glorious Measures, that they routed them at last.—They met with too much Encouragement then not to tread in the same Steps,——the *Examiner* had then the Impudence to accuse that Ministry of carrying on that War *upon different Principles from those upon which it was begun*, which could not have been, unless that War had been begun upon the Principle of preserving instead of destroying *France*.—And the present Faction, with equal Assurance, scandalously inconsistent, as they are themselves, accuse the new Part of the Administration of *Inconsistency*, at the Time they are carrying on Measures for reducing *France* with the utmost Vigour; when it is notorious, to have been the grand Principle and View upon which they engaged in Opposition. Yet glaringly absurd and shameless, as this Charge evidently appears to be, upon the least Reflection, they have actually and incredibly, by their Emissaries properly planted, and properly instructed, brought Numbers of the Vulgar to join in the Chorus of this Song.—No Man could venture to vote on a different Side in the most indifferent Proposition, but he was treated with immeasurable Abuse:—By this Excess of Calumny and Malice, they had more than one Advantage in View.—It served to terrify weak Minds to

[a] *Freeholder*, N°. 19.

 return

return and be more ſteady.—And though ſome Men of true Spirit might be the more determined to deſert them, they found the Loſs of theſe outbalanced by the Number of thoſe, who were awed and intimidated by it.

In this manner the whole World muſt be ſenſible how far they have proceeded, ſparing neither Age nor Sex, Rank nor Character, — which Abuſe has been ſwallowed with as much Diſgrace to thoſe who have received it, as to thoſe who have delivered it. But Envy and Malice are two great Ingredients in the Tempers of Men, and the Commonalty look upon the Indulgence of this crooked Diſpoſition to be a Mark of an independant Spirit; according to that old Obſervation of the great Hiſtorian *Tacitus*, *Obtrectatio livor pronis auribus accipiuntur, quippe adulationis fœdum crimen ſervitutis, Malignitati falſa ſpecies libertatis ineſt.*

The ſecond Part of the Plan they purſued with equal Induſtry, the ſame [a] Author, in another of his Papers, obſerves, how ſteadily this Set of Men have conſtantly diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their little regard to Truth, their little Solicitude for what the thinking Part of Mankind would conſider of their Conduct, or how long the Lye of the Day would laſt.——He enumerates a Multitude of their deluſive Inventions, in the Reign of King *William*, in his own Time, adding a juſt and melancholy Obſervation, *that their ſelf-intereſted and deſigning Leaders cannot deſire a more ductile and eaſy People to work upon.*—Truſting to this Ductility, and the undiſtinguiſhing Nature of the common Race of Men, they made no Scruple to charge thoſe, who ſupport the preſent Meaſures, with a Change of Principles.—Confounding thus the *Oppoſition* with the *thing intended by it*, and making *Oppoſition itſelf* a Principle, which no honeſt Man will ever make it. The People are told, *that it was the Principle of the new Adminiſtration to oppoſe the Government, that they do not oppoſe the Government now, therefore the new Adminiſtration have deſerted their former Principle.* This paſſes for ſound Logick, upon the ſimple Herd they lead. It is vain to ſhew the bare-faced Falacy, that it was their Principle to oppoſe the Meaſures, only when they thought them bad, and that it was *the Meaſures* and *not the Government* they oppoſed; that the Meaſures are not changed, and they think them no longer bad, that therefore they are no Deſerters of their Principle, if they now deſiſt from Oppoſition.——Confiding farther in the Ignorance of their Creatures, they make no ſcruple to throw into their general Charge againſt thoſe who ſupport the preſent Meaſures, many of thoſe paſt Occurrences and Errors, which happened before their Time, which they formerly condemned, and which

[a] *Freeholder*, N°. 7.

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are now, (if not equally exploded) at leaſt equally counter-acted both by the new and old Part of the Adminiſtration, and the Conſequences of which they are now every Hour labouring to remedy and avert.—Thus wilfully miſrepreſenting every Meaſure, jumbling and confounding Facts and Dates, Names and Things, ſo crude and ſo irrational, that none but the loweſt of the Vulgar could be able to digeſt them.

They proceeded with the ſame Diligence in the Execution of the third Article of this Plan,—for no ſooner was any Gentleman, who had been engaged in the late Oppoſition, admitted into Employment, than Heaven and Earth were moved to prevent his Re-election. When they had once given over the Thoughts of being employed themſelves, the Note was immediately changed; and it is a Matter never to be ſufficiently admired, how ſtupidly the People, in many Places, fell into their Views, without conſidering the Abſurdity of what they were put upon to do. When the Houſe adjourned, the Doctrine then was, as I have before obſerved, that a *Change of the Miniſter, and the Introduction of honeſt Men into Employments, were the utmoſt Objects of the People's Wiſh, and muſt in the End enſure whatever elſe was wanting.* But it ſeems ſince the *Tories* were not to be admitted, no other Men were to be deemed honeſt. Nay, after a little Time, when it was found, that thoſe of more obnoxious Principles were abandoned to Deſpair, even a *Tory*, under theſe Circumſtances, found it difficult to be permitted quietly to be rechoſen—ſo ſilly were the little Tools of this *Faction*, as to delight in, and admire at the Wiſdom and Integrity of a Maxim now eſtabliſhed, that none of the Party ſhould have a Place, till the Views of their great ones were complied with firſt.—They ſtill went on calumniating the new Adminiſtration for not making Changes faſt enough, when they themſelves had ſhut the Door againſt it, and when no Man, who was not willing to ſacrifice his Fortune, by the vaſt Expence of a certain Oppoſition, or expoſe his Perſon to the dangerous Inſults of the Mobs they raiſed upon every ſuch Occaſion, could accept.—Thus the People were brought to inſiſt upon a Point, which, like Ideots, they were led at the ſame Time palpably to prevent themſelves.—I have not miſrepreſented this Matter; it is well known, that this was the Method of their Proceeding to all Perſons without Diſtinction, and they begun it, before any Man could have given poſſibly any Reaſon to be diſtruſted by his Country, becauſe it was begun before the Parliament met again, after the famous Adjournment. *An honourable Gentleman*, (who by the greateſt Number of Voices, that ever any Man had upon ſuch an Occaſion, was elected Chairman of the Com-

mittee of Elections but a few Weeks before, who in that nice Conjuncture, for his unexceptionable Character, with regard to all Parties, was pitched upon for that Office by the whole Opposition, who neither had, nor could have had at that Time, given a single Vote to diminish that Reputation,) being advanced to be a Commissioner of the *Admiralty* by his Majesty, (for no other Reason, but that he was thought agreeable to the People,) was immediately marked out, as an Object of Detestation to his Country, and not suffered to be chosen into Parliament again.——Another *Right Honourable Member* advanced to the same Office, was persecuted, if possible, with more scandalous Circumstances, the Mob of the whole County, for which he served, were hired to insult him. —Subscriptions raised out of the Pockets of the *whole Faction*, nay pressed publickly in the very *House of Commons* to make a Purse to carry on an Opposition to him: Though at the same Time, this *Noble Person* was a Servant to the *first Subject* of this Kingdom, preferred at his Request and Recommendation, and advanced as a kind of Pledge of Union between the Royal Family itself; and though *his Master* was confessedly the Person by whose Influence and Concurrence in the Cause of his Country, the late Opposition was principally brought to its Issue, who had suffered infinitely more in the Course of it, than the meanest private Gentleman in the Kingdom, and who had done that for the Publick, which no Man in his Station ever did before him, which could not have been expected of *him*, and after this Treatment, must never be expected of *any other* in the same Situation. Thus they gave fair Warning to the *Father*, by their Conduct to the *Son*, what he had to expect from this Set of Men, who, hardened by Disappointments of their own creating, insensibly lost all Regard, either to Prudence, Decency, or Gratitude.

I shall not in this Place proceed to observe minutely, upon the manner of executing all the other Particulars of their Plan, because it required a considerable Time before they could ripen the People, into a sufficient Degree of Madness, to endure those gross Attempts upon their Understandings and their Principles, which they have since made with too much Success. The Arts to be practised to these Ends, were a little slow in Operation, and to be practised at first tenderly.—However, they ventured to sound the Ground they stood upon, and to make some Trial, what Absurdities the Temper of the Times would bear.

In Order to do this, almost as soon as the Parliament was met, they began to oppose every single Proposition, that was made by the new Administration; and though now those very Measures were pursued, with the utmost Vigour, upon which they

they themſelves, and the whole Voice of the People had ſo long and vehemently inſiſted ; and for not purſuing which an Enquiry was actually ſet on foot, into the Conduct of the late Miniſter, who upon this Account was, according to their own Doctrine, to make Attonement by no leſs a Sacrifice, than that of his Life, his Eſtate, his Honours, and the utter Ruin of his Poſterity ; yet with a barefaced Aſſurance, which raiſed the Deteſtation and Aſtoniſhment of all reaſonable Men, and which was a very Mockery upon Common Senſe, they oppoſed the ſending 16,000 of our Troops into *Flanders*, the taking 4,000 of the *Iriſh* Troops upon the *Britiſh* Eſtabliſhment, to be ſent after the former, and even in ſome Degree obſtructed the Vote for 500,000*l.* to aſſiſt the Queen of *Hungary*.—It was viſible enough, and it had been their own Form of Reaſoning but a few Weeks before, that Meaſures of this kind, nay more vigorous, if poſſible, were neceſſary to be taken in that deſperate Situation in which we then ſtood, to convince the *Dutch*, the King of *Sardinia*, and all foreign Powers, that we were now in earneſt.——The Experience they had long had of our Councils would not ſuffer them to truſt us lightly :—The Form of the *Dutch* Government in particular, made them ſlow to reſolve, and their Situation made it deſperate to engage, till they were ſure of a ſolid Support :——The King of *Sardinia* had heartily and generouſly ſtept into the Breach, but his Circumſtances were, if poſſible, ſtill more critical :—The Kings of *Pruſſia* and *Poland* neither could have ſtopped, if they would, nor probably would if they could, and muſt have been hurried on where *France* ſhould have directed, or their own Ambition have invited ; if by the gathering of this Cloud, a Storm had not been threatned from the Quarter of *Great Britain*, which might have created both Doubts and Terror as to the Event of their Quarrel ; this was therefore the only Way to induce them to be more moderate and circumſpect in their Proceedings. It was certain, that nothing leſs than this could ſuſtain the drooping Spirits of the Queen of *Hungary*, and of her diſtreſſed and faithful Subjects, in the deſperate Condition to which they were reduced ; it was therefore paſt all doubt, that if theſe Meaſures were not purſued, ſhe muſt immediately accommodate with *France* upon any Terms ; and that *France*, having broken the only Power, which could give her any Diverſion in an Attempt upon *Great-Britain*, would have been immediately at Liberty to have joined her whole Power with that of *Spain*, and to have given Law to us :—This approaching Situation of our Affairs was but too viſible ; nor was it at all extravagant, or very remote to foreſee, that it would become

come much worſe; that ſome of the Northern Powers might be induced to enter into her Views, and that even the *Dutch* would, at length, be obliged to act as Inſtruments to the long premeditated Deſign of that dangerous People, to deſtroy the Religion, Laws, Liberties and Commerce of this Nation.—This was plainly not to be averted by any other Means than theſe, and yet were theſe oppoſed, though at firſt in ſo aukard a Manner, that it was viſible they were afraid the People would be ſhocked at this ſudden Turn, and detect their ſhameful Inconſiſtency,—which juſt Effect indeed it had with ſome; yet with ſo many it ſucceeded beyond their Expectations, that it encouraged them to a Conduct of the ſame kind, ſo extravagant, in the next Seſſions of Parliament, as will hardly obtain Belief in future Ages.——But the Order of Time, which is neceſſary to obſerve in this Narration, prevents my giving a farther Deduction of it in this Place.

I ſhall take the Liberty however to follow them in ſome other Branches of their Conduct, as far as they went for the Remainder of that Seſſions, during which they acted conſtantly with due Regard to one or other of the Rules of that Plan before mentioned.

The Lords having thrown out *a Bill* which the Commons had paſſed, and which was thought neceſſary to be carried at that Time, they made a daring Attempt againſt that Body, —they appointed a Committee to inſpect their Journals, and grounded upon their Report a Vote of Cenſure upon that Branch of the Legiſlature,——they fortunately miſcarried in that Attempt, in which, if they had ſucceeded, the utmoſt Confuſion muſt have enſued, and Confuſion muſt have been their only View, for what elſe could be intended, when under the Notion of obliging the Lords to follow their Opinion, without which they pretended the Nation could not be ſafe in future, they openly made an Attempt for an immediate Diſſolution of the Conſtitution.—Is the Conſtitution now ſo little underſtood, or has Popular Fury ſo deſtroyed all Traces of it, that it ſhould be neceſſary to explain its Principles at this Day?—Is it not founded upon *this*, which is the *Corner-Stone* of the whole Building, that the *King*, the *Lords*, and the *Commons*, ſhould have an abſolute Negative upon the Proceedings of each other.—With what Face then can they, who pretend to ſtruggle in favour of the Conſtitution, by endeavouring to make the Houſe of Commons more independant than it is, at the ſame Time attack the Houſe of Lords, to deprive them totally of the ſame Independancy, to which no Man can deny that they have an equal Right; ſuppoſing that they were ever ſo juſtly founded, and

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entitled to procure further Securities for the House of Commons, it is an incontrovertible Fact, that by this avowed Attempt, and indeed by all the Doctrines of late instilled into the Minds of the People, they aim at the Destruction of the Constitution in another Part, which is equally Essential,—the best Pretensions they therefore have, are only these; that they build with *one* Hand, and pull down with *another*; and that while they stop one Breach against the Influence of the Crown, they open a wider, to the Democratical Spirit of the People, —the Constitution *may*, nay, it *has*, suffered equally from *both* —but what renders it doubly ridiculous, is, that the Crown will equally be able to enter in at the one Breach as at the other,— and every thinking Man may easily foretel, that by what Steps soever this Constitution comes to be destroyed, an absolute Power in a single Person, must be the final Consequence, ——this Conduct therefore plainly opens to us, how false these Pretences to the Constitution were, equally false with every other they have made.—For however, at times, both the King, the Lords, and the Commons, in their Turn, may have obstructed what was for the publick Good by this negative Power. ——Yet this is no more than what must, and ever will be, the Consequence of a Division of Power in this Constitution. ——And if, whenever Power is in any degree abused, it is immediately to be destroyed.——No Government can stand, for no Power can be given, but that it is liable to be sometimes exerted ill; yet surely no Man will venture to deny, that it is better to submit to some unavoidable Events of Society, than to revert into a State of Nature; but this the People were too much heated to consider.——It was inculcated, that all Power ought to lie in the People, which if it be rightly understood, implies, the People, including all its Magistrates and Members, of which both the King and the Lords are undoubtedly a part.——But if it be taken in the confined Sense of Faction, imports a Republican Proposition, wholly contradictory to the Genius and the Principles of this Government; nay, if the People considered this as they ought to do, so far from being incensed either with the *Lords* or with the *Crown*, for opposing the Popular Points which they have sometimes obstructed, they would not think themselves intitled so much as to repine at it,—they would consider, that as they have a Title by the Laws of this Country, to such Powers in the State as they now enjoy, they are under no sort of Obligation to part with them to the third Estate,—that this Impetuosity to force them to it, is not only the strongest Provocation, but also no insufficient Reason to keep the Ground they have, that natu-

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rally ſpeaking, by their permanent Intereſt in the Legiſlature, their Impoſſibility of ever becoming Maſters of the State, and their natural Intereſt to keep both the Crown and the People from too great an Aſcendancy; the Lords are the Part of the Conſtitution, who are moſt likely to be ſincere in its Preſervation, either from Tyranny or Faction, and therefore the moſt proper to hold the Balance.——The Intereſts of the Lords is undoubtedly to watch and carefully attend to both, for both may in ſome Conjunctures, be ſuſpected to deſire to engroſs the whole Power;—and whenever they throw themſelves into either the one or the other Scale, a rational Man would ſooner judge by their Conduct, how the State of the Conſtitution ſtands, than by any other Circumſtance.—It was intended, they ſhould do this, and be at full Liberty to do it; though ſuch muſt be their Fate, that which-ever Party they eſpouſe, whether that of the Crown, or of the People, the Heat and Paſſion of the other will infallibly find ſome Pretences of Partiality or private Intereſt to charge them with, as their Inducements to that Conduct.——But they are made to ſtand to all this, and they muſt ſtand this, and be ſupported in it, or elſe our Conſtitution cannot ſtand.—This deſperate Meaſure however paſſed upon the People, like the reſt of their Conduct, as a generous Attempt for Liberty, and anſwered the Purpoſe of Popularity, which, next to the View of Confuſion, was their ſecond Expectation from it.

We now come to the popular Bills, with which the People have been ſo much inflamed; of theſe I ſhall take the leſs Notice in this Place, becauſe I have reſerved myſelf to ſay ſomething in the Concluſion with regard to them.—But, tho' I ſhall not here enter much into the Merits of theſe Bills, I muſt ſpeak a little of the Conduct of the *Faction*, which cannot be paſſed over, becauſe their Impoſition upon the People was extremely groſs, and their Diſhoneſty in imputing the Failure of them, (ſo far as they have failed) to thoſe who are far more innocent in this Reſpect than themſelves: Theſe Laws are chiefly comprehended in *a Law for the better Regulation of Elections*, another *to prevent Members from ſitting in the Houſe of Commons, who have Penſions from the Crown*, in *the Repeal of the Septennial Act*, and *a Law to exclude a certain Number of Placemen from ſitting in the Houſe of Commons*.—Now, as to the firſt of theſe, it is notorious to the whole Houſe of Commons, that it was a Bill, as much laboured by the Gentlemen of the new Adminiſtration, and many of thoſe, who now ſupport the Meaſures of the Government, as it could poſſibly be;——and that they were ſincere, is evident, by what was ſince done with regard to the *Scotch* Elections in the laſt Seſſions;—the true Rea-

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ſon therefore that a general Bill did not paſs at that Time, was one which equally affected all Parties, and which will everlaſtingly prevent an effectual Bill of this kind; and this is the different Rights of Election, which are ſo numerous, that they diſtract and confound the different Intereſts of Gentlemen, which, to ſpeak fairly on all Sides, induces them, by one plauſible Pretence or other for their private Regard, to *oppoſe*, or to *propoſe*, ſo many different Clauſes, that ſuch Bills at length become impracticable and impalatable to all—the Burgage Tenures too, which Gentlemen will neither part with, nor can tell how to regulate, are another invincible Obſtruction; and the Powers and the Penalties create further Difficulties, which no Human Wiſdom has yet been able to ſurmount.—For this Reaſon therefore, to impute the Failure of this Bill to any Set of Men, is notoriouſly unjuſt, unleſs it were by laying it in ſome Meaſure more ſeverely upon ſome particular Gentlemen of the *Faction* itſelf, who contributed more eminently than others to confound that Part of it, which related to certain Counties, where they laboured to encreaſe the overgrown and almoſt unconſtitutional Intereſt they have already.—*As to the Penſion Bill*, it is a Bill allowed in private by all Parties to be impoſſible to take Effect, becauſe the giving and taking of Gratuities of this kind are Tranſactions of ſo private a Nature, that Men muſt be downright Fools, and both Parties unite to make a Diſcovery againſt themſelves, or the Law could take no Effect.—Even in the Caſe, that Perjury muſt attend the Acceptance of a Penſion, it might induce ſome profligate Men to double their Crime;—but it is not to be ſuppoſed, that he who would ſell his Country, would heſitate to violate his Oath.—However, this was the only poſſible Proviſion, and upon this Footing, an honourable Gentleman now in the Adminiſtration, often preſented it to the Houſe;—but the great Care of the preſent Patriots would not truſt it any more in his Hands, after he was taken into Employment, and a wiſe and buſy Man among them took it upon himſelf, who being a true Tory, and therefore of a refined Conſcience, and naturally prejudiced to Oaths, purged it of its deteſtable Whig Clauſe, which reduced it to a mere nothing, a Law without a Penalty, ſo that the Bill became a Jeſt with all Parties, and many in that Light voted for it *then*, who had always oppoſed it *before*.—The Bill therefore fell into Contempt, and was no longer regarded by any one, but him who had garbled it in this judicious manner.—Having thus related the ſecret Hiſtory of this popular Bill, I have only to add, that it is for the Intereſt of the Publick it ſhould never paſs into a Law, and was never deſired by any Man of Senſe that it ſhould;—and yet that it is for the Intereſt of the Publick, that

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it ſhould be frequently propoſed in the Houſe of Commons, which double Conſideration may render it very conſiſtent for the ſame Man, to vote for it at one Time, and to vote againſt it at another,—this may ſeem a Paradox; but it is eaſily explained;—for by frequently bringing it into Debate, the Deteſtation and Scandal of ſo baſe a Practice, is maintained in its full Vigour, which is in reality the only Guard againſt it.—Whereas, if the Bill were once paſſed, the great nothing, which is deſired, being effected, there would be no farther Diſcourſe upon the Subject; thoſe Opportunities of expoſing the Meanneſs and the Danger of the Thing, thoſe animated anniverſary Speeches againſt it would be loſt; and with them, in a great Degree, the Remorſe and Shame, that now attend the Crime.—We come in the next Place to conſider, the Behaviour of theſe Gentlemen with Regard to *the Repeal of the Septennial Law*, in which they have deluded the People ſcandalouſly: It is true, that they moved for this Repeal, and that ſome of the Gentlemen in the Adminiſtration oppoſed it; but they did it upon a Conſideration, which ought to have, and will have the greateſt Weight with every thinking Man; they took juſt Notice of the tempeſtuous Temper of the People at that Time, and the yet unſettled Condition of our Affairs; they then obſerved, that the Repeal of this Law muſt cauſe a new general Election before it could be poſſible that theſe Diſorders ſhould ſubſide, and before they could make any ſolid Judgment of the Effects of the late Change; that as every new Election hazarded, at leaſt, the Syſtem of the Time; foreign Nations would not exert themſelves in that Conjuncture; upon a Dependance on the Principles of Men, who might probably be changed, and conſequently new Politicks prevail, almoſt as ſoon as they had been embarked with us;——That as the like Conſiderations had juſtified the Meaſures of the Septennial Law at the Time it was made, ſo the Conjuncture of this Time might prevail, at leaſt ſo far, as to continue it till it might be debated fairly, and with leſs Heat and Partiality, than it could poſſibly be at this Period, whether the preſent Eſtabliſhment ſhould ſtand; and, if that ſhould appear improper, whether we ſhould fix upon an Annual or a Triennial Election;—that a Triennial was objected to with ſtrong Reaſon, and that many thought an annual would be leſs dangerous; but that it was difficult to ſettle either in the preſent Diverſity of Opinions upon it:—At the ſame Time, ſome of the *principal Leaders of the Faction* voted againſt it themſelves, and that *without giving any Reaſon at all*; ſo that the People were deſerted in it, by thoſe very Men, upon whom they depended to carry it through, and who with a baſe Concealment of this Fact, make

make no Scruple to lay the Miſcarriage of this Bill, in which they had, at leaſt, an equal Share, ſolely to the new Adminiſtration.—We now come to the *Place-Bill*, in which their Conduct was deteſtable, for jealous of the Honour and the Popularity, which the new Adminiſtration naturally ought to have acquired by it, they not only falſely miſrepreſented it in the moſt outragious Manner, but even openly oppoſed it: The new Adminiſtration had acted in this with the utmoſt Prudence and Sincerity, and had done much more than could have been expected of them.—The *Crown* and the *Lords* are known to be jealous of the Growth of the *popular Intereſt*, and it is by mutual Jealouſies of this kind, that our Conſtitution can alone ſubſiſt; the Violence and Extravagance of the Leaders of the Faction did not diminiſh this Jealouſy; the Courſe of the late Elections, and the Temper of the People, not only ſhewed it leſs neceſſary than it had been conceived before by many well-meaning Men, but their Demands were ſo unlimited, and ſo little Contentment ſhewn with former Compliances, that there was in truth very little Proſpect of regaining the good old Temper of the Nation by any thing that could be done;—this rendered it the more difficult to obtain any thing; for it was well known, that no Bill brought in by theſe Incendiaries, would be moderate enough to gain the Aſſent of the three Eſtates; it was therefore the only Method that could be taken to enter into a tacit Treaty with the Lords, to agree upon ſome Bill of this Nature, which they ſhould previouſly engage not to reject.—It was ſurely better to procure ſomething, than by puſhing for more to get nothing. The Lords agreed to this:—They conſented not to oppoſe a Law, that ſhould exclude above thirteen conſiderable Employments then actually enjoyed by Members of Parliament; and above three hundred ſmaller Offices; which, by conferring three or four upon one Perſon, might have made a vaſt Number of additional Preferments, a thing ſtill in the Power of the Crown, notwithſtanding any former Laws, to do.—But at the ſame time, they abſolutely declared they would go no further at this Time, till they had ſeen how far this would operate upon the Conſtitution:—This Difficulty removed, it was neceſſary to gain the Conſent of the Houſe of Commons too; but the *Oppoſition*, by their Breach with the new Adminiſtration, had been ſo weakned, and the Friends of the old had now rallied to ſuch a Degree, that there was no carrying any Point by Force againſt them. Thirteen or fourteen of that Party, who were more than ſufficient to have turned the Scale againſt the Bill, were, as we have obſerved, of the Number to be excluded by it; it could not be expected that they would

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abandon their Employments instantly, to pleasure their Antagonists; the only way possible to gain their Consent, was to postpone the Execution of this Law to the End of the present Parliament: The deferring its Execution for six Years was not material to the Constitution, and it was thought by all moderate Men, a great Sacrifice in his Majesty, a Condescension in the Lords, and an honest Acquiescence in the Persons possessed of these Employments; in the one to resign so much of his *Prerogative*, in the other to strengthen the *opposite Side of the Balance*, and in the third to part with their *Employments*, which they had a Prospect to preserve much longer than that Term. The Impossibility therefore of gaining more, if more had been palpably necessary, must have justified the new Administration for getting this: But what made it more infamous to reproach them upon this Head was, that it was actually more than was ever gained by the People, at any one Time, or by any one Bill before:—The other Acts for limiting the Number of Placemen in the House of Commons were all of them obtained one after the other, and at different Periods; though more therefore had been still wanting, they ought to have contented themselves for a time with this, as their Predecessors had done in the like Conjunctures:—But the *popular Spirit* disgraced itself upon this Occasion, and suffering itself to be led away by Men, who studied nothing but their private Ends, gave too just handle for that Insinuation, which must be most fatal to all *its Views*, and for a Charge upon the *People of England*, which has been too justly laid against all others, that give them one Thing it only leads them to expect more, and that nothing but a total Translation of all Power to their Scale will put a Period to their Clamour: What therefore was done by the Faction in this Instance, was visibly done only with a View to destroy the good Opinion of a Law, the most justly popular, that was ever obtained by this Nation; if they could effect this, they did not care what the People lost by it, either in their real Security, or in the Suspicions, that would arise with thinking Men, of their dangerous Views against the Constitution; they knew (which is absolutely the Case to this Day) that not one Man in 500, whom they should enflame upon this Subject, would ever read or consider the real Extent of this Law; they suggested to the Peeple, that the new Gentlemen in the Administration had formerly contended for *a total Exclusion* of all Employments; and thence imputed an Inconsistency of Conduct to them, because they had now excluded what they *falsely* called a *few*, whereas this never had been the View, nor ever was intended by those Gentlemen at any Time: They never contended for a Place-Bill much more extensive

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than the present is, and yet it may be justly supposed, that they did, and might honestly insist upon more than they thought sufficient, as the only Way to obtain a Compromise at last, for that which was.

This Plan of creating Confusion was pursued in many other Respects, and by many other Misrepresentations equally gross and wicked; which are too tedious to be mentioned here:—— The last I shall mention in this Place, is that with Regard to the Enquiry into the Conduct of the Earl of *Orford*.

We have shewn already how just Offence his Conduct had given to the *Whigs*, and how by a fatal Series of pacifick Measures he had brought almost the same Catastrophe upon his Country, which some Day or other will too probably be effected by another Set of Men——The *Whigs* avowed their Opposition to be levelled at this Man, not out of any Personal Aversion to him, but because he was irreclaimable in this fatal Point; the *Whigs* had levelled at this Man for another Reason, which was, during the Course of this necessary Opposition, to prevent the Discontents from taking a Turn to the Prejudice of the Royal Family, and had confined themselves in their Attack to his Person, that by the Removal of that one Man they might leave it in the Power of the Government to restore the publick Tranquillity again whenever they should think proper: —It was therefore upon an honest, though political Principle, that their Opposition was thus personal; not out of those vindictive and sanguinary Views, which in the Course of the Opposition the *Tories*, who had allied themselves with them, treacherously in private Discourse accused them of, and which now they upbraid them with having departed from:— Yet allowing that some Men in their first Engagements in the late Opposition, had embarked upon personal Motives, and had been heated to this Degree by their Resentments, or the Disappointment of their Ambition, shall it be forbidden to Age, Experience, Reason, Virtue and Reflection, to take their happy Effect, and moderate those Passions, which are in themselves wicked and unwarrantable; and shall it be imputed as a Crime to any Man to have sacrificed his private Views and his Resentments, as some have greatly done upon this late Change, to the Peace and Tranquility of their Country: But it is the Nature of these Men in their *Alliances*, to expose the *Faults* of those, with whom they act, and in their *Enmity* to traduce the *Virtue* of those they act against.

However, though the *Whigs* in the late Opposition did not mean to pursue their Vengeance to the Head of this Minister, they certainly did mean to deprive him of all his Power, and to

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ſet ſome Mark upon him that might prevent his Return into it again, and if poſſible deter any future Miniſter from the ſame unhappy Conduct.— One Part of this they have been able to effect, and it is the moſt immediately neceſſary, and the moſt material; and we ſhall honeſtly ſhew the Reaſons why they did not compaſs the reſt,—Reaſons very ſufficient to ſupport them againſt all the infamous Suggeſtions of the Faction.

Whoever duly conſiders the Courſe of the Miſmanagements of this Man, of which I have purpoſely given a large Deduction, will candidly confeſs, that the infamous Peace of *Utrecht* laid their firſt Foundation, in which it is viſible he had no Hand; ———the Diſorders ariſing afterwards from the unſettled State of *Europe*, brought on the Quadruple Alliance, that, in Proceſs of Time, begot the Treaty of *Hanover*, and from the Treaty of *Hanover*, by the fatal Blunder of joining *France* againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, he became involved in ſuch Difficulties, as he could never recover.—But ruinous as all his future Meaſures were, they were of ſuch a Nature, as could not be imputed to any corrupt Engagements with any foreign Power, upon which Ground alone the Publick think it warrantable to purſue him to Deſtruction.———I muſt repeat it, the very Nature of his imprudent Conduct clears him from a Suſpicion of this; his Crime lay in proceeding round the Globe, obliging and diſobliging every Power of *Europe* in its Turn.——— This he reiterated ſo often, and provoked them all ſo much, that it is morally impoſſible, the Reſentments of theſe Powers, ſhould not have produced a Diſcovery of this Treaſon, if any ſuch there had been.

Bad and ruinous as his Meaſures therefore were, they cannot juſtly be aſcribed to theſe Motives,——the Difficulties of the Times, though certainly in part created by himſelf, plainly ſhew what they were, the Conſequences of the Peace of *Utrecht* before his Time, and chiefly of one fatal Blunder after.—This is palpably the Fact with Regard to his foreign Tranſactions, and every domeſtick Subject of Complaint naturally flowed from the ſame Spring.

For Oppoſition grew inſenſibly ſo ſtrong upon this unhappy Meaſure, that it drove him to practiſe any Art, to defend not only his Power, but his Perſon,—his pacifick Obſtinacy became at length in a manner neceſſary, both to himſelf and to his Country; — he dreaded the Confuſion which he apprehended from a Change, — the Event has ſhewn he had ſome Reaſon, tho' he blended his private Fears too much with his Apprehenſions for the Publick——an Error which every Man's Tenderneſs to himſelf expoſes him to,—he foreſaw what

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has ſince happened, that even a juſt, a neceſſary, and a ſucceſsful War, nay a Way demanded by the whole Nation, would ſecure no Miniſter, who engaged in it, from the Diſcontents, which the bare expences, and much more the various Accidents that attended it, would infallibly create.— That private Views, and corrupt Principles, influence ſo great a Majority in every Oppoſition, that though the Points were complied with, upon which they then inſiſted, they would ſtill, in general perſevere, that they would even miſrepreſent the Conduct of their own Plan, and that however ſcandalous it is for a Nation to preſs its Government into Meaſures, and to deſert them when engaged, yet that in the heated Multitude, the Majority are compoſed of Men, in whom ſuch Scruples are not found. ——He foretold, what has been ſo well verified, that the Enemies of their Country, however low and dead they may appear in Times of Quiet, revive in the Heat of War, like Flies and noxious Inſects in the Sun. He therefore thought that in attempting to appeaſe the publick Diſcontents, by complying with their Demands for War, he ſhould only furniſh Fuel for their farther Nouriſhment.——He knew, that by the fatal Conſequences of *Party*, National *Diſſatisfaction* is, in this Country, very nearly allied to *Diſaffection*,——as much as he at firſt deſpiſed the *Tories*, he dreaded them as much at laſt,—he juſtly feared that the Succeſs of the *Party* that oppoſed, though led by *Whig Leaders*, and founded upon *Whig Principles*, would infallibly end in the Formation of a *Tory Faction*; and he dreaded, from that Faction, what every wiſe and honeſt Man dreads from it in this Conjuncture, and what we ſhould have already fatally experienced, if ſome, from whom perhaps he leaſt expected this Moderation, had not gallantly oppoſed themſelves to the Torrent, thinking it the more incumbent upon them to reſtrain its Fury, and confine it within juſt Bounds, as they, (though honeſtly and neceſſarily compelled to it,) had been the Men who raiſed it, preferring the ſolid Satisfaction of having twice ſaved their Country, to all the Noiſe of giddy Popularity, reſigning it when they could no longer keep it by virtuous Means, deſpiſing the Rage and Malice of a *Faction*, ſincerely pitying, but determined not to follow an honeſt, but deluded People, who after paſſing many Dangers, and perhaps ſmarting for their Folly, will live to do Juſtice to the great Characters, they now licentiouſly and injuriouſly defame.

Theſe were the Principles upon which the Earl of *Orford* went, and this was the whole Myſtery of his unfortunate Adminiſtration.—It is eaſy to point out both his *Follies* and his *Faults*.—His *Folly* was to lay down for this Country, a Syſtem prudent

prudent for a petty State, but very improper for a Country, which bears ſo great a Sway, and ought to take the Lead in *Europe*.—It is for a little State to purſue little Meaſures, to temporize, to truſt to Expedients and Events, to wait for Accidents, and the Activity of other Powers. But this is a Policy ill becoming us, and fatal ever in its Conſequence, both to ourſelves and to our natural Allies, whoſe Rank and Conditition of Power compels them to conſider an immediate Security, and can never admit them to exert their Force againſt *that State*, whoſe conſtant Aim is Univerſal Monarchy, till we raiſe the Standard firſt, and convince them, that under that Protection they may do it ſafely. His *Folly* appeared in another Inſtance, in not yielding ſooner to what he could not hope long to prevent, an Evil which gathered Strength, and became more dangerous by Delay, and by the Means he was compelled to uſe in order to delay it.—His *Fault* lay in his Fondneſs to continue in his Power, his Partiality to himſelf, his Conceit of his own Abilities, his Fear of his own perſonal Safety, all which induced him, or miſled him, to miſtake the true Intereſt of his Royal Maſter, and his Country, and drove him to make uſe of every Means of Miniſterial Influence, to ſtrain every Nerve of Power, allotted by the Wiſdom of our Anceſtors for the Security of Government, and to apply that Force for his own Defence.—By which he has brought the neceſſary Guards of our Conſtitution into Diſrepute, and has eſtabliſhed an Opinion in many, and a Suſpicion in more, that our Conſtitution is impared, whereas in truth, it has only been abuſed,— a Difference extremely great, and ſuch, as if not attended juſtly to, may hurry us into the Uſe of Remedies much worſe than the Diſeaſe. In this Light does the Conduct of this Miniſter appear to every moderate Man, and no doubt in a yet more favourable Light to thoſe who were his Friends, who had concurred in his Meaſures many Years, who owed him many Obligations.—Never was a Man in private Life more beloved, and his worſt Enemies allow, no Man did ever in private Life deſerve it more :—He was humane and grateful, and a generous Friend, to all whom he did not think would abuſe that Friendſhip.—That he was falſe, and determined to the Prejudice of thoſe, whom he conſidered in this Light, is no more than will be found in any Miniſter or Man,—and that he ſhould be deceived in ſome Caſes by unjuſt Suſpicion, is but human too. —Many therefore have been unjuſtly treated by him, though but few conſidering the Manner in which he was preſſed, and the great Length of his Adminiſtration.—This Character naturally procured that Attachment to his Perſon, which has been falſely attributed ſolely to a corrupt Influence, and to private Intereſt ;

but

but this ſhewed itſelf at a time when theſe Principles were very faint in their Operation, and when his Ruin ſeemed inevitable.—The Violence with which he was puſhed, the Ferment of the People, who would content themſelves with nothing but his Life, made theſe Men exert themſelves in the extraordinary Manner they have done to preſerve him.—Many, who condemned his Conduct, and would have gone ſo far as to have deprived him of a Poſſibility of exerting the ſame again, did not think it warrantable to take that ſevere Revenge, upon an obſtinate miſtaken Man, who had indeed violated the Intereſts of his Country, and treſpaſſed upon the Power in his Hands, but who had not expoſed himſelf to the Penalty of any one known Law.—This *Summum Jus*, appeared to them to be *Summa Injuria*, and the Laws muſt have been more tortured to have reached him capitally, than he had ſtrained his Power to maintain himſelf:—Yet had he not been defended in the manner in which he was (offenſive enough to thoſe who conſider the *Manner*, and not the *End*) ſuch a Sentence, in the Rage of that Time, had been, in all Probability, his Fate.--Few were in their Hearts inclined to this Extremity, though many, by the fatal Attraction of Party, might have been drawn to have ſigned his Warrant, who would have afterwards heartily lamented what they had done.—Had it been even neceſſary to have taken this violent Step, there is in *Engliſhmen*, as ſure a Seaſon for Compaſſion as for Fury:—To the *latter*, they are eaſily *raiſed*—from the *former*, when the Deed is done, they never can be *diverted*. An Adminiſtration founded, or a Party cemented by Blood, would have been the Loathing of this Nation, and in this caſe would have been ſo juſtly.—If this be truly conſidered, was it not more honeſt, was it not more juſt, to ſtop ſhort, without even that Puniſhment, which perhaps very many think was due, than to have carried that Puniſhment ſo far, as to have fixed the Guilt of Murther upon this Nation:—And leſs than Murther it can never be, to take the Life of any Man, which no Law of this Land could have taken from him.—Theſe Conſiderations operated with ſo many, that had it been ever ſo juſt, it was not practicable to have gone farther with him;—the other Members of the Legiſlature reaſoned firmly upon the Reflections I have mentioned, the Majority of the Houſe of Commons thought ſo too.—The farther Purſuit might have therefore been an Amuſement to the Multidue; but it was not for *that alone* reaſonable to perſiſt in it, as no good End could follow from it, the Effect could have only been Confuſion, and a Handle to blacken and reproach the Characters of Men, whom Gratitude Principle, and juſt Scruple with-held, and who were fixed to

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with-hold for ever.—All that I have here obſerved is, only to ſhew how natural it was to have met the Obſtruction in this Point that has been found, and how impoſſible it was to have proceeded farther with this Miniſter, than was done by the new Adminiſtration.—We have ſhewn, that the very Men, who reflect upon them for it, had been by their intemperate Behaviour the great Cauſe why the Party of the late Miniſter had rallied. Their Violence in this Particular, was the finiſhing Stroke;—no other Point could have united his Friends in the ſame Degree.—It was obvious, after the firſt Experiment, that this muſt have been the Caſe; opiniatring this Matter further, therefore manifeſtly proves, that they meant nothing, but to make this Man's Cauſe an Engine of Sedition, by which they laboured, to render a Perſon, who in Power had done great Prejudice to his Country, the total Ruin of it in his Fall. I ſhall conclude, with Regard to this Particular, with only one Obſervation, That of all Men living, the *Tories* have the leaſt Reaſon to villify his Conduct.—Firſt, becauſe it was the Diſorders cauſed by their wicked Conduct in the Peace of *Utrecht*, that firſt laid the Foundation of all the Errors of this Miniſter. —Secondly, Becauſe the *Whigs* had not proceeded in this ſanguinary Way, againſt a Miniſter of their *Faction*, whoſe Conduct had been directly levelled againſt his Country, and who had aſſiſted in a Plan for effecting that which at leaſt appears, to every *Whig*, the greateſt of all Crimes, the advancing a *Popiſh Prince* upon the Throne, and ſacrificing every Thing to *France*, to compaſs this pernicious View.—And, Thirdly, Becauſe they had *themſelves* ſtopt ſhort but the Year before, upon a Motion which tended only to remove the Miniſter from Power;—their Behaviour therefore againſt the Miniſter in the preſent Time, ſhews, firſt, That they are without Shame; ſecondly, That they are void of Gratitude; thirdly, That they are falſe in their pretended Zeal, and conſequently, that their Behaviour upon this Head ought to be odious to every Man, who has any Senſe of Virtue, Honeſty, or Honour; but their Point was to miſrepreſent the new Adminiſtration, and the ſame Deſire of Miſrepreſentation, led them to fall ſoon after, without Mercy, on the Characters of the Members of the Secret Committee, ſome of whom, not long after, obtained Employments, which they thirſted after themſelves, and the View of which was ſo apparently one of the Grounds of their own Oppoſition.—This they pretended to be a Proof of Treachery and Corruption, in the Perſons upon whom they were conferred; whereas the juſt Reflection to be made upon it, was moſt pleaſing to all well-meaning Men, ſince it was a convincing Evidence, that the Prince

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upon the Throne bore no Resentment even to those of his Subjects, who were engaged in the deepest manner against his late Minister, when he was once satisfied, that they were not tainted in their Principles, either to himself, or to the Constitution of their Country.

Thus it was, that the Faction proceeded as soon as they lost Sight of their private Advantages, and the Prospect of a *Tory Administration.*—Every one of their Proceedings visibly appeared totally with the Conduct of the same Faction in all former Times: —They could not be mistaken, and there wanted nothing to fix it upon them, but direct Attempts to poison the People, with regard to the Prince upon the Throne, and to the Royal Family.—This farther evidence was not long deficient, for even before that Sessions was over, the Publick swarmed with such Seditions and Treasonable Libels, and impudent Productions, both in Verse and Prose, as never had been endured in any Age or Nation, which, encouraged by Impunity, have since risen to a Point that calls aloud for signal Punishment.—But to what it arrived at last, is not yet Time to relate; it was not till the next Sessions, that the Mask was compleatly taken off, and the Method I have laid down obliges me, first, *to observe the Conduct of the new Administration during the Interval of Parliament, the Success of their Measures, and the Difference that appeared in the Situation of our Affairs at the second meeting of the Parliament.*

Now, as to the Conduct of these Gentlemen in the Administration, and those who have acted with them, it appears undeniably, from what we have already shewn with Regard to the *Faction*, that they could act no other Part than to support the Measures of the Government.—First, Because these Measures were their own, they were directed by themselves, and it is a palpable Absurdity for an Administration to oppose itself. Secondly, Because nothing but Ruin could have ensued, either *at Home* or *Abroad*, if they had not desisted when they did.

For if they had not desisted when the Minister was removed, and when the Direction of the Measures was left to them,—one Month's Continuance of the former Administration, must have destroyed the House of *Austria* without Redemption,—and they had been much more criminal even than the late Minister himself, if they had neglected this Opportunity to save it, and refused when it was in their Power to do it;—again, if they had declined the Acceptance of this Power when it was thus offered to them, what equal, or what other Benefit could have accrued to their Country by it?

It is obvious that nothing but Confusion at home could have been effected by it.—Their Party had been broken wilfully by

the intemperate Conduct of the Faction; and it is absurd to imagine that Parties thus broken can be ever reunited:—By the Effects of their Madness, the Ministerial Party, which had never been vanquished, and had only retreated, were now rallied, and as they were before equal, were now as visibly superior in the House of Commons, as they had been all the Time before in the House of Lords, and in another Place;—the reasonable and the moderate Men had already left them; and if a civil War had happened every Man of Family and Fortune had been driven from them by it. Now that a civil War had been the Consequence, is the Opinion of every Man of Experience in this Country: The Symptoms of it never appeared so strong in any Period of our History; many knew this who concealed it, and ridiculed the Apprehension, resolving to run all Risques for their private Advantage, and many more because it was the only probable Way of succeeding in the great View peculiar to their Faction.—Convulsions of this kind are never foreseen by the Generality of Men; for if they were, they could not possibly happen, because Faction would be deserted before it could proceed so far: The People of *England* were drawn on to the great Rebellion by the very same Pretences, with which they were now encouraged to persist; they were told that the opposite Side would yield if they continued firm:—None or very few of the Parliament of 1641 thought that the King either would or could have resisted: Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*, a very leading Man in the Opposition of that Time, upon his DeathBed grievously lamented that he had been deceived by *Pymm* and *Hamden* into this Opinion; *Whitlocke*, another of that Stamp, strongly observes this Management of the Faction of that Age; both Lord *Clarendon* and *Whitlocke*, and indeed all the other considerable Historians of that Time, agree upon it, and remark the Astonishment of the whole Nation, when the King took the Field, and the Battle of *Edge-hill* was fought; that they began sorely to repent, but it was then too late, and they were obliged to go on:—Now if a King of *England* at that Time, who had strained Prerogative so high, who had manifestly declared his Pretensions to absolute Power, who had galled both the Poor and Rich, and had ruled with a Rod of Iron, could have stood his Ground so well, and during that Contest frequently brought his Antagonist to the Brink of Ruin, and his People to the Verge of an irredeemable Bondage, what Man can think so basely of his Countrymen in this Age, as to imagine, that a Prince would now find no Friends, who has strictly made the Laws of this Land the sole Rule of his Government from the Beginning of his Reign; under whom no one Instance of illegal

gal Conduct can be instanced, and against whom nothing was pretended to be urged, but the having upheld too long a Minister, who was odious, (whether justly or unjustly, no matter which,) to his Country; when even this had been done in a legal Way, and when that Minister had been actually removed at the pressing Instances of the People, and before the Majority of either House of Parliament had pronounced him guilty of any Crime:—This Opinion is therefore very weak, and weaker still when we compare that Time with this. There was then no *Pretender* to the Throne, from whom a Change of Religion, and a Confiscation of Estates might be expected, which Fears would operate upon many now, and cannot fail to tye a mighty Number steady to this Family; that Prince had no Revenues, and he had no Army; the present Prince has both: And though he neither could nor would employ either to enslave his People, he undoubtedly would and could exert them in his own just Defence, and in that of the Constitution of his Kingdoms; and he would be warranted before God and Man to do it:—But would any Man of Sense, any Man who sincerely loved his Country, desire to drive things to this Extremity:—It is vain to flatter and cheat the People with an affected Tenderness for Liberty, when they press so furiously to put it upon such an Issue:—It needs no *Solomon* to pass a Judgment to which of the two Parents this Child belongs.

In Truth there was no Possibility for an honest Man in his right Senses to act any longer with these Men, when it was notorious by their Conduct, and by their Declarations in their Meetings to support what they called the *Broad-Bottom*, that their Contest was not only so in Fact, but avowed to be for private Profit and Employments. When in that Conjuncture, all the Cry against those, who were first taken in, was grounded singly upon the Non-admission of all the *Tories*, and Men of known worse Principles; had it been either wise or honest to have stopped that Settlement of our Affairs so infinitely necessary to prevent Ruin Abroad and Confusion at Home, for the Sake of any private Men whatever, and much more for the Sake of Men of such a Character? It had been already done in some Degree; It was earnestly wished to have done it farther; It might have been prudent in such a Time, to have gratified even the private and corrupt Views of some for the publick Tranquillity; and it would have been done, if the publick Safety could have suffered it; in proportion as the Moderation of Particulars could have allowed: but the Violence of the Faction put it beyond Discretion, and out of the Power of Government to do it. Their Conduct fully confirmed all former Suspicions; the Demand was too

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general to be complied with ; the Execution expected too ſuddenly ; the Nature of it too diſguſtful to diſpoſe the Heart of any generous Man to yield. There is a Degree of private Intereſt, which may, which muſt be allowed to human Nature. It is not Honeſty but Folly to decline any Advantages, which are not procured by any Sacrifice of Principle, or any other unworthy Means ; but when it appears barefaced and impudent, when it is regardleſs of all ill Conſequences, when it attempts to raviſh and over-power all juſt Authority, it then becomes deteſtable, dangerous and muſt be cruſhed at all Events ; was it not enough that the Miniſter had been borne down by the People ? that every Day produced new Changes in Favour of the new Adminiſtration ? Muſt the Government, the Privy-Council, all Employments in the State be canton'd out *ad arbitrium populi*, nay by a *private Cabal*, or at *the Tavern Meetings* of a direct *Faction?* What would the rational World think of this Conſtitution, if the Laws of this Country put this power into the Hands of the People ; but how much more monſtrous, if it ſhould, or could be ſuffered to be done at their Caprice, without any Law at all, and by their own arbitrary Will.

When a Combination viſibly appeared, to exclude all Men from a Re-election into Parliament, who accepted of Employments; when the moſt expenſive Oppoſitions were created by all the worſt and moſt corrupt Means to turn ſuch Elections againſt the Perſons who accepted : how was it poſſible, for the new Adminiſtration any longer to purſue their View of bringing in their Friends, much leſs of making that Rout among the Placemen of the old Party, which was ſo vainly and abſurdly inſiſted upon ?—When it was now on a ſudden become the wild Doctrine of the People, to let no Placemen at all into Parliament ; and when the Doctrine of the Faction was, that none ſhould be ſuffered to come in but by their Conſent and Approbation ; was not the Abſurdity of *the firſt* a thing, that rendered it impoſſible ; the Conduct of *the other*, of ſuch a Tendency, as no Government can or ought to bear ; prepoſterous beyond the Power of Words to expreſs it, inconſiſtent with the Conſtitution, ſubverſive of all Order in the State, and productive of ſuch Conſequences, as muſt have encouraged Faction to a Degree, that would not allow one Hour's Peace in future Time to this Country.

With regard to the Popular Laws, the Leaders of the Oppoſition ſincerely wiſhed many things amended in our Conſtitution ; they had begun by a *Place Bill*, by the *Alteration in the Mutiny Bill*, with regard to the Billeting of Soldiers in the City

City andLiberty of *Weſtminſter*, have ſince proceeded by a *Law for regulating the* Scotch *Elections*, and by the *Abolition of the Pot Act*, which being under the Regulations of the *Exciſe*, and ſettled at the *arbitrary* Eſtimation of that *Commiſſion*, was a heavy Oppreſſion, and great Inſtrument of Influence through the whole Capital; and they *ſtill do honeſtly mean*, as faſt as they can, to rectify all other Matters of *juſt* Uneaſineſs.—But was it poſſible, as things were circumſtanced, or would it be prudent, in any Time, to make every Alteration of this kind at once?—If theſe Things be duly conſidered, they are great Points already gained.—Theſe Things however are ſaid to be nothing, but the little Content they have given is no Proof that they are nothing.—I wiſh it may not rather lead to prove, that nothing but a total Change to Popular Government will do.—In ſuch an heated Condition, was it fitting that Popular Bills, be they neceſſary, or be they not, ſhould be raviſhed by Force, when all thoſe different Plans of Reformation, which, during the Courſe of the former Oppoſition, had been propoſed by Men of different Principles, never approved by all, and aſſented too temporarily by the different Parties *only* for the ſake of Union,—poſitively known not to be all neceſſary, but moved as *Succedanea* to each other; when one was loſt, to ſupply its Place by another, not in the View to procure *all*, but in Hopes at laſt to get *ſomething*.—When all theſe different Propoſitions were now ignorantly and groſly confounded by the Vulgar, and blended into (what was never dreamed of, or intended in the greateſt Fire of Oppoſition) one regular Scheme of a new Conſtitution, and when this was inſolently made the *Alternative* of *Peace* or *War* between the *Governours* and the *Governed*,—when, among thoſe who thought themſelves moſt moderate, no two Men agreed upon what was neceſſary.—Some thinking that all Security lay in a good Place-Bill, about the Degree and Extent of which they likewiſe differed.—Some in a *Penſion Bill*, which others more juſtly thought would ſignify nothing.—Some in a Law for *Triennial Parliaments*, which all who did not delight in Riot, or in the proſpect of Corruption, thought both dangerous and dubious.—Some for *Annual Parliaments*, which others thought too frequent.—Some for *Juſtice on the Earl of* Orford.—Others not for ſanguinary Views.—Some for a *Reduction of the Civil Liſt*, which others thought unjuſt to be taken away, having been legally given.—Some for the *Sale of all Employments*.—Others for allowing a few.—Some for taking *the Diſpoſition of them out of the Crown*, which others thought Anti-Conſtitutional.—Some for *allowing them to ſubſiſt*, but to be given only *to thoſe who were not in Parliament*, that is, among *themſelves*.

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—Some to allow them but *to be given for Life.*—Some for making the *Army independant.*—Others for *no regular Troops at all.* In this Paſſion, Irregularity, and Uncertainty of Publick Opinion, if the Leaders of the Oppoſition had ſtood out ſtill the People were ſatisfied, it is plain they muſt have ſtood up for ever.—For whatever Conceſſions had been made, the Bulk of that Set of Men, who, as I have obſerved in the Beginning, compoſe all kinds of Oppoſition, would have ſtill remained diſſatisfied.—And this Set of Men, whether in the Right or the Wrong, always aſſume to themſelves the Title of *the People.* Farther whatever ſingle Points has been obtained, it was now become a Maxim, that nothing was got, if all was not got, and at leaſt thoſe who had not been gratified in their reſpective favourite Propoſitions, would have ſtill continued to abuſe and villify in the ſame degree.—And if all had been granted, which was impoſſible, and abſurd, (becauſe, as I have obſerved, all was never by any wiſe Man intended,) many others had been offended and terrified, at ſo great a Change in the Conſtitution, to the other Extreme.—They would have juſtly complained, that the King and the Lords were rendered uſeleſs, that an Anarchy muſt be at length the Conſequence, that the People would be raiſed to the Power of doing tumultuouſly every thing they liſted, and that being arrived at this Power, they would naturally fall under the Direction of wicked and factious Men, who would lead them to purſue a thouſand wilder Projects, which would have daily opened in proportion to their Succeſs. In Conſequence of this, a new Oppoſition would have riſen upon quite contrary Notions.—This Oppoſition would have naturally degenerated into thoſe deep *Monarchical Principles*, which would have brought us back again to *Paſſive Obedience*, *Non-Reſiſtance*, *Hereditary Right*, and all that *Train* of *Nonſenſe*, which infeſted the *Reaſon* of this *Country* ſo many Years.—Great Numbers are to be found in this Nation, who will not truſt to the limited Views of the People, who know, that when they gain one thing by Force, they are taught from thence to extort every thing by the ſame means; that as ſurely as *Princes* aim at *abſolute Power*, the *popular Intereſt* equally drives at a *Democracy*; and when they are put into a Condition to enforce their Demands, never will deſiſt in any Country till they get it.—This is not the Meaning of any honeſt Man, who would ſooner keep this Conſtitution, with all its Faults, than put to Sea in Storms to ſearch for another.—The People and Tribunes of *Rome* never reſted till they got the Power of the Commonwealth into their Hands:—Their Ambition then became ſo notorious, their Views ſo corrupt, their Attempts ſo mad,

mad, that the Senate they oppoſed, and endeavoured to deſtroy, (though themſelves not wholly free from Blame,) made Friends by the Extravagance of their Antagoniſts, to reſiſt them.—In the Reſiſtance, private Men grew too great for both, and the Conteſt ended in the Loſs of Liberty.—It did ſo in *England* in the Time of *Cromwell*; the People never ceaſed puſhing for the whole Power, till Reaſon came on the Side of the Crown;—the *King* was then enabled to reſiſt, which, when he did, if he had conquered, the Nation had been Slaves to him,—as it happened, the popular General became the Tyrant.—The unreaſonable Oppoſition of the Cortez to the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, compleatly ruined the Liberties of *Spain*,—it was worked up into Rebellion, and it would be good to remark the Pretenſions of that Oppoſition, the Commencement, Courſe and Iſſue of that Rebellion, if we had time to do it here.

Yet no Man will deny, but that the People and Tribunes of *Rome* were in the Right to oppoſe the too great Power of the Senate to a certain Point.

The People of *England*, to oppoſe the weak and wicked Government of the Miniſtry of *Charles* the Firſt, had they known where to have ſtopped.

The Cortez of *Spain*, to have exerted their Privileges, had they done it with Moderation, and without falling into Faction.

The *Error* lay, in not being contented with the juſt Conceſſions that were made to every one of theſe.

The *Crime* in attempting by Force to alter their reſpective Conſtitutions, which ought ever to be deemed ſacred:—Conſtitutions once eſtabliſhed, can never be with Juſtice altered, but by the full and free Conſent of the different Members of the Legiſlature.—It is intolerable for any one Member of it, to force the reſt to concede any thing. Such an Attempt rarely fails to meet the Fate, which attends Injuſtice in all its Steps; it ſeldom ends, but in the Ruin of the Projectors, and in the utter Defeat of what they project.

As long as Men, by legal Ways alone, endeavour to procure Laws, which appear good to them, and quietly ſit down under their Diſappointment, if a Majority cannot be prevailed upon to come into their Opinions, and do not inſolently think themſelves entitled to model the Conſtitution of their Country to their own fantaſtic Whim, ſuch Endeavours deſerve no Cenſure, they may in time produce good Laws, and good Effects. —But when Men pretend to dictate to the Legiſlature, and impudently preach and juſtify Rebellion, if they meet with Contradiction, Government muſt anſwer ſternly to ſuch importunate Demands:—While ſuch a Temper continues, it is dangerous

gerous to grant any thing, one ſuch Precedent will beget a thouſand, and is ſufficient to overthrow the beſt eſtabliſhed Conſtitution upon Earth: When it ſhall ſubſide ſo far, that the People ſeem to be capable of Contentment, upon moderate Conceſſions, that Man is diſhoneſt, who will not exert himſelf to procure for them all that is fair, juſt, and prudent.—But till then, he muſt be mad, or worſe, who will yield one ſingle Point, which they never receive with Gratitude, but attribute always to themſelves, and conſider, as extorted by Force, an Evidence of their own Power, an Imbecility in Government, and an Encouragement to all Intemperance.

When ſuch was the Caſe of this Country, when Men of the moſt infamous and factious Views, began to unmaſk, and ſhew themſelves without the leaſt Reſerve, when Treaſon was become a publick Topic of Diſcourſe, when all Decency, Order, and Subordination, was in a manner deſtroyed, and the Populace indiſcriminately treated every Character of Dignity, Worth, and Honour, with an outragious Inſolence and Contempt—Had it been the Part of Patriotiſm to have ſtood out longer, to have further aggravated and inflamed this Extravagance, which threatened the Diſſolution of Government itſelf in all its Parts?

When it was manifeſt, that there was a Party, whom nothing could content but the Ruin of the preſent Family upon the Throne, and who would have ſtill continued to oppoſe, let what Changes ſoever have been made.—When by the moſt flagrant Inſtances of Paſſion, Faction, wicked Principles, both Republican and Jacobite, private Corruption, and an utter Diſregard of the Publick, were become thus manifeſt; when even popular Laws, as the Place Bill, and the Rectification of all our Foreign Meaſures were oppoſed; when nothing but tearing the Government down, the Conſtitution up by the Roots, putting the Adminiſtration of all our Affairs into the Hands of the moſt violent and dangerous Men, when no Time was given to effect any thing; but in the very firſt Week of the Change, a few Men, diſappointed of Places, which they had carved out for themſelves, had raiſed the Inflammation to a higher Point than ever, when the Effect of their Labours upon the People had diſcovered what a deſperate Temper they were in, when, in order to gain them to their Side, they had pawned, as it were, their Honour, *if they acquired Power* to yield every thing that the moſt violent deſired, —when, if this Compromiſe with them had been afterwards *broken*, the Nation muſt have fallen into worſe Confuſion; and if the Compromiſe were *kept*, the Government and Conſtitution muſt have been ſubverted,—when they had openly drawn the Sword,

Sword, and vowed Revenge, againſt thoſe Leaders who had wrought the Change, could thoſe Leaders have ſtood out till theſe Men were ſatisfied, could they have reſigned their Station, relied again upon theſe People, or entertained any Hopes, that the Union broken, by the Violence of theſe Men, could have been reſtored again, or could have had any Proſpect with this diſunited Body, to have prevented the Return of the former Miniſter?

When by this mad, inconſiſtent and wretched Conduct the honeſt Leaders of the former Oppoſition were in ſo great a degree diſarmed of Power to do all the Good they wiſhed to the Publick, or the Service they intended to their Friends; was it not wiſe and honeſt to make the beſt Uſe, that they could of this Conjuncture? When the Madneſs of others prevented their making it better, was it not for the Intereſt of their Country to act in ſuch a Way; as to keep out the former Miniſter, and to employ the Influence of their new Stations equally to prevent the Continuance of the old Meaſures, and to prevent the pernicious Deſigns of a dangerous *Faction* in this unworthy Manner labouring to come in?—Were they not juſtified to join with thoſe, who (upon various Motives, ſome from Error, ſome from Shame, ſome from the Difficulty of quitting the Party, with which they had been ſo long engaged, ſome from a miſtaken Principle of Gratitude, and falſe Notion of Honour, nay, ſuppoſe ſome from Corruption itſelf,) though they had done wrong before, were now ready and willing to change their Conduct, to rectify miſtakes, and to purſue thoſe very Meaſures, which were abſolutely neceſſary, right in themſelves, which had been the declared View of all honeſt Men till that Moment, and had been loudly called for ſo many Years by the whole People? No worthy Man will deny that they were not juſtified in this Conduct; no Man of Senſe can deny but that they did both honeſtly and greatly in what they did; *Cunctando reſtituerunt rem, non enim ponebant rumores ante ſalutem:* By this temperate and ſteady Behaviour under all theſe galling Difficulties, of Inſult, Clamour and unjuſt Reproach, they maintained ſo much Credit in deſpight of thoſe, who laboured to deſtroy it, that they changed the whole Spirit and Conduct of the Adminiſtration.

The Conſequences of their vigorous Proceeding, quickly ſhewed itſelf in a wonderful Degree; the Face of Affairs turned in a moſt merciful and happy Manner, beyond the moſt ſanguine Hope and Expectation of Mankind: The King of *Pruſſia* and the Queen of *Hungary* were brought to Terms; the one to quit his Confederacy with *France*; the other to yield

yield a Part of her Rights to induce him to it; the firſt manifeſtly from an Apprehenſion of the Iſſue of the Conteſt, which grew precarious upon the Exertion of the *Britiſh* Power; the other in a Confidence of future Support from this Nation, in Return for an extraordinary Conceſſion. The *Auſtrian* Armies ravaged, plundered and became entirely Maſters of *Bavaria*, carrying the War into the Countries, and ſuſtaining themſelves at the Expence, of the Enemy: Animated by the Proſpect of further Aſſiſtance from *Great-Britain*, and depending in Conſequence upon that of the *Dutch*, (whoſe Armies were actually augmented by 30,000 Men, and who begun in proportion as they ſaw they could confide in our Councils, to withdraw their Deference from *France*,) they exerted themſelves with a Bravery and Spirit, which carried every Thing before it; the Supplies we had given the Court of *Vienna* enabled her, beſides leaving 20,000 regular Troops in *Flanders*, to take the Field with three Armies; one in *Bohemia*, another in *Bavaria*, and a third in *Italy*; which laſt, in Conjunction with a Body of *Sardinian* Forces, were ſufficient to make Head againſt a numerous Army of *Spaniards* in that Country; the farther Supply given the King of *Sardinia* enabled him not only to form that Army laſt mentioned, but to compoſe another at the Head of which, with infinite Hazard to his Perſon, infinite Hardſhip and Fatigue; he defended his Dutchy of *Savoy* during the whole Summer, and the greater Part of a long Winter's Campaign againſt another great and well-appointed Army of *Spaniards* headed by a Prince of *Spain*, and in ſpight of all their Efforts, in which their beſt Troops and immenſe Sums were waſted, has to this Hour barr'd their Paſſage into *Italy*; nor was this all, for by a ſtrong Fleet of Men of War in the *Mediterranean* and a proper Uſe of it, we ſtruck ſuch Terror, that the Court of *Naples* was obliged to agree to a Neutrality, and prevented an Army of 40,000 Men from ſuccouring the Troops of *Spain*, which in the firſt Place, ſaved the Loſs of the Ballance in *Italy*; in the ſecond, proved the Ruin of the *Spaniſh* Army there; in the third, laid thoſe Seeds of Diſcontent between the *Spaniſh* Court and that of *Naples*, (the former thinking it the ſtrongeſt Inſtance of Ingratitude, to be deſerted in this Extremity, by their own Son, who was ſo lately raiſed to that Dignity ſolely by the Expence of the Blood and Treaſure of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy) as will probably never be removed, and may be the Foundation of great Advantage to us hereafter; in the fourth Place, it has diſcovered to us, of what Weight we may hereafter be in that Part of *Europe* in a higher Degree than ever we knew it; in the

fifth,

fifth, it has been the moſt ſevere Revenge, and was the moſt complete Method to diſtreſs the Court of *Spain*: For in a War with that Power, we could not have waſted her Treaſure, and ruined her Reputation, in an equal Degree, or deſtroyed ſo many of her Troops in twenty Years, by any other Means, with this farther Advantage, that we rendered the Adminiſtration of the Queen intolerable to her Subjects, who were thus oppreſſed with Taxes, and drained of all their Men and Money to gratify ambitious Views, attended with theſe aggravating Circumſtances, that they brought not only Ruin, but Diſgrace and Scandal upon their Arms in every Inſtance: To this was joined an almoſt total Interruption of their Trade, and their Returns of Money from the *Indies*, which, as faſt as their inexpreſſible Neceſſities obliged them to be made, were, in very many Inſtances, intercepted by the Vigour and Diligence of the Navy ſtationed, commanded and directed by the new Admiralty; which Gains, if fairly accounted for, not only ballanced all the Loſſes, that our Merchants have ſuſtained (notwithſtanding the Number of their Privateers and the Extent of our Commerce) ſince the Time of the late Change, but have gone far to wipe off thoſe Scores, which had been run up againſt them, by the Neglect and imprudent Conduct of the former Adminiſtration.

It could now be ſaid no longer, that our Hands were tied by Fear, by Corruption, or by neutral Engagements.—We rode triumphant on the Ocean, our proper Element,—We confined both the whole *French* and *Spaniſh* Fleets, who, tho' combined, dared not venture to oppoſe us, while we employed but a Part of ours to do both this, and to keep *Naples* to its Neutrality, to inſult their Ports, and barr their Privateers from iſſuing in any Numbers from the reſt.—We reſtored the Honour of our Flag, and now returned the Inſolence of *France*, whom we treated with the ſame Contempt, with which ſhe, for many Years, had treated us.--We burnt the Ships of *her* Allies, and our Enemies, in her Ports, we ſearched and rummaged almoſt every Veſſel ſhe has put to Sea.--Our Fleets ſailed from *Jamaica* with an avowed Deſign to attack, ſink, burn, and deſtroy the Squadrons ſhe ſent into thoſe Parts; and ſhe knows the Orders of our Admirals, to ſink, burn, and deſtroy, any other Fleet ſhe ſhall venture to ſend out again; yet ſhe has been obliged to pocket every one of theſe Affronts: If our Naval Dignity is not reſtored by theſe Actions, what can reſtore it? and if theſe Things cannot be denied to be true, as they cannot be, what Impudence, and what Wickedneſs muſt it be to villify the preſent Government, to poiſon and deceive the ignorant and unwary Multitude, with perpetual Din, of the low contemptible Condition to which we are

ſaid

ſaid to be reduced? It is a Shame to ſuffer ourſelves to be abuſed in this groſs Manner; the Leaders of the *Faction* themſelves laugh at the Folly and Deluſion of the People, that they have fooled to ſuch a Point? They even now deſpiſe thoſe Wretches who are thus ſeduced, and they themſelves loath and deteſt the ſeditious Tools of which they now make their Uſe, and when they have ſerved their Turn, will aſſuredly turn their Backs upon them: But let me return to ſay one Word upon our Conduct with Regard to *France*:--Let any Man look back upon the inſolent and imperious Treatment, which towards the Cloſe of the laſt Adminiſtration we have received from that Power. Let him then conſider what we have ſince done, and let him anſwer, if he can, whether this Nation has received no Benefit by the late Change.--*France* has found, and proclaims it by her Conduct, whatever *we* may ſtupidly and ungratefully do at Home, that ſhe trembles at the Power and the Meaſures of this Nation. If publick Contempt be publick Weakneſs, as it is with Nations known to be; what Applauſe is due to thoſe, who have ſhifted that Contempt from themſelves, and caſt it upon the Enemy, and who have conſequently procured that Weakneſs to *France*, which the former Miniſter had by twenty Years tame Adminiſtration with Pains procured for us; if there be any Senſe left in this Nation, they muſt ſee all this; if there be any Honeſty, they will confeſs it, let their private Views or Diſappointments be what they will; if there be any Warmth of Heart, Love, or Regard, for the Honour, the Dignity, the Safety and Well-being of our Country, they will proclaim it in deſpight of Faction, popular Ferment, or any private Danger. The Maxim of *Tacitus*, however applied by him, will hold true with every State, *Majus famâ potentiæ quam ſua vi nixa*: Great as the Power of *France* may be, it is the Fame, the Opinion of that Power, that has ſo long ſupported her in her ambitious Views, enabled her to trample upon the Rights and Liberties of all *Europe*, and to ſport with the moſt ſacred Ties of Truth and Faith of Treaties; it is this, that encouraged her, after ſo many ſolemn Declarations in the laſt *German* War, *that ſhe would acquire nothing*, to graſp that mighty Acquiſition of *Lorrain*; it was this, that induced her, in that perfidious manner, to violate her Engagements to the *Pragmatick Sanction*, which was the Condition of that Acquiſition; it was this that terrified every Potentate in *Europe* into a Submiſſion to all her Indignities, and into Non-Reſiſtance under the Yoke ſhe has impoſed ſo long upon many Nations, and under the Proſpect of the Chains ſhe was forging for all the *European* World; is it not therefore a mighty Point, gained by this Nation, in the Space of

little

little more than one Year, to have reduced that over-bearing Power into this deficient State of Credit, and to have restored that Credit to ourselves, which was so totally lost?—It is not an empty Vanity, but a solid Benefit.—Can any Thing tend more, hereafter, to lighten the Expence of future Struggles for the Liberty of *Europe*, than this Reduction of the Credit of that Nation, and the Restoration of our own? Can any thing prevent so much the Occasion of taking up Arms, as that Discovery, which will induce all the Powers in *Europe* to be less afraid to do it against *France?* and can any thing give so great Weight to our Negociations without Recourse to the Sword, as the general Opinion, that whenever we draw it, we are able to curb that Power: This Conduct visibly must have this fortunate Effect, that if it be unhappy for us to be reduced to the Necessity of engaging in Land-Wars upon the Continent, it will render that Necessity less frequent; if the Greatness of the Expence is grievous, and drains us of our Specie, it must make it less in future, as it must secure us more ready assistance and stronger Alliances, than if we wanted that *Fama potentiæ*, and that Opinion, which by the Providence of God, and the Conduct of our Affairs has been now restored again.

Thus, by this Conduct, we have undeceived the World as to the Power of *France*; not *that it is not great*, which would be delusive; but that it is not *omnipotent and irresistible:* And thus we have in a short time gone far, not only to restore Things reduced both at Home and Abroad to an almost desperate Condition, but even turned the Errors of the former Administration to Advantage; which is visible in the highest Degree, by the Effects of our Conduct in the *Mediterranean* already mentioned.—Without all doubt, one of the most fatal and unhappy Measures of the late Administration was the neutral Conduct there (though, whether all Things considered, it was avoidable, is not perhaps so easily determined) by which the *Spanish* Armies were enabled to be landed safely in a Time of War, in Sight of our Squadrons, in *Italy*; and to form a Junction with the *French*; yet by the Vigilance since, the Neutrality of *Naples*, and the driving both Fleets into one Pound, we have enclosed all the Land Forces of *Spain* far from Home, and in great Measure out of the reach of all Recruits, Necessaries and Supplies; and we have our Padlock upon the greater Part of the Maritime Force of those two Powers, which would have harrassed us exceedingly had they been in different Parts; kept us in perpetual Alarms, distressed our Trade; and so divided our naval Force, that notwithstanding our Superiority at Sea, we should have suffered many Inconveniencies, nay, even Danger from them, to our own

Coasts,

Coaſts, and ſome of our Settlements abroad.—It will yet have a farther Effect, it diſpirits and brings down the haughty Spirit of that People, who are ever preſſing for War, it diſcontents them with their own Adminiſtration; and if we can do it as effectually as their former Conduct has done it by us, *there need not be a greater Curſe upon that Government, a greater Plague, a greater Obſtruction to their Views, nor a ſurer Way to bring them to their Ruin.*

By the Advantage that we have made of our Fleets in thoſe Seas, we have derived another great Advantage, for by temporiſing with the King of *Naples*, we have ſecured the Elector of *Saxony* and King of *Poland*, who, beſides the Hazard of his own Dominions, has, by his Alliance with *that Prince*, his Intereſt to conſider too, and who may be juſtly ſuppoſed to ſuffer ſome Weight in the Scale of his Determination, from a Reflection of the Condition to which his Daughter might be reduced, by any Raſhneſs he might be guilty of, in this Conjuncture.

By theſe providential Succeſſes, which all the vile Sarcaſms of Faction can never prevail, to have attributed to any other Cauſe than the manifeſt Revival of the *Britiſh* Spirit, directed, as it now is, the *French* were every where ſo foiled, that the *Auſtrians* were enabled to act upon the offenſive, and to beſiege *Prague*, where they confined no leſs than 24,000 of the beſt Troops of *France* for the whole Summer, with two Mareſchals of *France*, and prevented them with the reſt of their broken Army, from receiving any Supplies, or from doing any conſiderable Miſchief, —till, by the Neceſſities into which they were at length brought, the Court of *France* was compelled to withbraw the Army under the Command of the Marſhal *Maillebois*, from the Circle of *Weſtphalia*, where 35,000 of their Troops had been employed to awe the Electorate of *Hanover* and the *Dutch* at the ſame time. This was one of the firſt Steps they took in the Beginning of their Attempts on *Germany*, and one of the wiſeſt, as the Conſequences of their Inability to continue it, have fully ſhewn.—By this they effected three great Ends; they diverted all the *Hanoverian* Forces from the Aſſiſtance of the general Cauſe; they awed the *Dutch*; they prevented the Conjunction of the Troops of *England*, and of *Auſtria*, in the *Low-Countries*, with thoſe of *Hanover*, and thoſe of both the former with the *Dutch*.—*Hanover* was not ſo much obliged, as compelled by Prudence to conſent to a temporary Neutrality; for if they had hazarded the Event of War, they were inferior in number, and if they had defeated, that Body of Troops, which, as we have ſince ſeen, were intended to more important Purpoſes, had not only totally been rendered uſeleſs; but there could have been no

Poſſibility

Possibility of composing afterwards that grand Army which was necessary to be composed, if we effectually intended to assist the Queen of *Hungary*, and to deal roundly with *France*, and which has since been composed, notwithstanding the positive Assertion of the *Faction*, *that it could never be*, to whom the Devil has owed a Shame, and has fairly paid them, by giving them the Lie in every one Point that they have advanced.

This Neutrality of *Hanover* having made so great a Noise, I must have Leave to say a Word or two upon it; (for though my present Purpose is not to defend the Measures of any Time precedent to the late Change, it is honest to do Justice to every Man, and not at all necessary to add more Errors than are due to the former Administration.) To speak fairly of it, however maliciously it has been made the Subject of Ridicule, it was the only Step that in that Circumstance could have been taken with any Prudence, from this known and general Principle, that you should never risque a Division of your Forces, if you can avoid it.—The Court of *England* considered the *Austrians*, *Hessians*, and the *English* in the *Netherlands*, together with the *Hanoverian* Troops, as one Army, dispersed in remote Quarters, but intended to be assembled, and to act together when conjoined; they were then capable of making a formidable Army, and might be able to act or undertake any Thing, and we had great Reason to believe, and received the strongest Assurances from the Leading Men in *Holland*, that when it was assembled, they would concur with a large additional Body of *Dutch* Troops;—if therefore the *Hanoverians* had acted singly, and been defeated singly, the other divided Corps of Troops had been of very little Use, and might have followed their Fate, and the *Dutch* Ministry would have never been able to have procured the Assent of the States, or to have engaged them in a Cause so hopeless, as it would have then appeared, when the Electorate of *Hanover* should have been reduced into the same Condition with *Bavaria*: This might very possibly have been the Case, and any Man, who has not been thoroughly drench'd with the Poison of the Times, must be sensible, how ruinous such an Event must have been, independent of any private Regard for those Dominions, to the common Cause of *Europe*.—Whoever is the least conversant in publick Affairs, or has even common Sense, must be able to judge of these Reasons, which were rendered infinitely stronger by this Circumstance, that they actually did, by their Neutrality all that Time, afford the House of *Austria* a most material Assistance, depriving the *French* and the *Bavarians* of so great a Force,--to which, under God, was owing the Preservation of the House of

Auſtria; for by this Means the happy Turn was effected in *Bavaria*, and that Superiority acquired to the Arms of the Queen of *Hungary*, which had this Neutrality been never made, and had this Body of Troops been joined to the *French* and *Imperial* Armies in *Bavaria* and *Bohemia*, they muſt have ruined her infallibly in one Campaign: While the twenty-ſix or twenty-eight thouſand *Hanoverians* were upon their own Ground, they were a Match in the defenſive Part for a greater Number, but if drawn from thence, they had been equal only to the Numbers, of which they actually did conſiſt themſelves.

So long therefore as the *French* continued upon the Confines of the Electorate of *Hanover*, there was neither Prudence or Neceſſity to act any other than a neutral Part; for by their Situation, and the Advantage of their own Country, it is demonſtrable, that twenty-eight thouſand anſwered the End of an actual Aid to the Queen of *Hungary* of 35000 Men.

But when the reduced Condition of the *French* obliged them to quit this Meaſure, it was neceſſary for us to change our Plan--the *Hanoverian* Troops, had they remain'd in the Electorate, were then of no longer Uſe. In ſuch a Conjuncture, no honeſt Man in *Britain* would have wiſhed, that ſo great a Body of the beſt Troops in *Europe*, which by good Fortune were under the Influence of this Nation, ſhould be unemployed.--The Queſtion therefore was, in what way they might be moſt advantageouſly employed,—ſome imagined, that it had been proper to have followed the *French* Army, and the wiſe Politicians of the *Faction* bellowed loudly againſt this Neglect of Policy, as they pretended it to be; but many invincible Reaſons oppoſed themſelves to this Advice; ſome time muſt have neceſſarily been ſpent in ſettling a Point, which was of ſo nice a Nature, both in our own Councils, and in thoſe of the Imperial Court;—and by that time (tho' it was very ſhort) the *French* Army had got a great way upon their intended March.—It was to be conſidered again, that the *Hanoverian* Troops could by no means follow with the ſame Expedition, that the others went;—they had no Magazines, the *French* had exhauſted the Proviſions, and though they had paſſed through the ſame Country, when freſh and unannoyed, yet even they, from want of previous Preparations, ſuffered much in their March, and dwindled greatly;—how much therefore more muſt thoſe, who trod the ſame Ground after them, have ſuffered; how much muſt they have been delayed. The Seaſon of the Year began to be advanced, and the Summer muſt have been conſumed, before they could have reached the Enemy; who in all Probability muſt have effected (if it was to be effected) whatever they could have propoſed,

propoſed, before we could have come up with them.—Again, if the Enemy upon the Purſuit of the *Hanoverians* had turned ſhort upon them, and waited in ſome ſtrong Poſt, they might have engaged them to great Diſadvantage, being ſuperior in Number;--or they might have obliged them to ſtay and face them in a Country, that they had left behind them ruined;--they had the ſtrong Town of *Egra* to befriend them, which the *Hanoverians* could not have neglected, nor have taken.--Thus the Effect of their March would have probably been fatal to that Body of Troops, who muſt have wintered far from home, in a ruined Country, liable to all the Inconvenience of a Winter's Campaign, and we ſhould have put ourſelves with a much ſmaller Force, and in a much more helpleſs Condition, near our Enemies, to have endured yet greater Hardſhips, than thoſe, by which even their great Armies, inured by two Campaigns, and long before provided for the Event, have been in a manner mouldered into nothing.--Yet even this Riſque would have been run, if it had been inſiſted upon by the *Auſtrian* Miniſters, with whom we acted with the ſtricteſt Harmony.--We laid before them all theſe Ill-conveniences, and the irretrievable Prejudice, that an Accident to this Body of Troops muſt have occaſioned in the next Year's Operations.--The Impoſſibility in that Caſe, of bringing into the Field, or forming a ſufficient Army, to deal with that Force, that might be brought againſt us by the *French*:--That our *Engliſh* Troops, (which were not even then all landed) and the *Auſtrians*, in the *Netherlands*, were too remote to join the *Hanoverians* in any reaſonable Time, had they ſet out upon that March immediately; that they were not yet accuſtomed and hardened to the Fatigues of War, and muſt therefore have been intirely ruined by ſuch a March, at ſuch a Diſtance, and at ſuch a Seaſon of the Year; that if it were poſſible, by the Means of the difficult Paſſes in the Mountains of *Bohemia*, by withdrawing the Troops from *Prague*, (leaving a ſufficient Number to form a diſtant Blockade, and to diſtreſs the Garriſon,) to prevent the Junction of the two *French* Armies, *Prague* muſt fall of Courſe, the *French* muſt be diſheartened and confounded by their Diſappointment, and both their Armies ſuffer terribly, as they always did in the following Winter; while the Armies of the Allies united, much more numerous, ſtrong and vigorous, might enter into Action freſh, and with infinite Weight in the enſuing Spring.--Theſe Reaſons had their juſt Effect, they were proved ſolid by the Event.--The *Engliſh* Councils directed the *Auſtrian* Operations upon this Occaſion, and they felt the happy Conſequence.--The Army of *Maillebois* never could penetrate through the Paſſes of *Bohe-*

mia; but there involved, were miſerably butchered and deſtroyed, by Sword and Famine;--while the Garriſon of *Prague* were reduced in prodigious Numbers, by vain Attempts to eſcape, their Parties continually cut off, and their Proviſions and Supplies ſo effectually obſtructed, that they were at length neceſſitated in the ſevereſt Seaſon of that cold Climate, and after the moſt inſufferable Hardſhips, to abandon the Capital of *Bohemia*, and the whole Country, to their lawful Sovereign, (excepting *Egra*, on the extream Borders of it,)bringing off with them not 10,000 Effective Men, the miſerable Remains of at leaſt 30,000, who had triumphed in that Country in the Beginning of that Year.--But upon their Arrival, Diſeaſes broke in upon them, and ſwept off ſo many, even of that ſmall Number, and of the Army ſent to bring them off, that they could not remain there, and muſt have periſhed for Want, if they had been ſtill harraſſed by the *Auſtrians*.--In fine, they were reduced to ſuch Diſtreſs, by a Series of Calamities, that leſt it might be ſaid, of *two great Armies*, amounting together to more than 70,000 Men, not one ſhould live to return, the *French* Court recalled their ſhattered *Remains*, and of *both*, not more than 20,000 Men had the Felicity to ſee their Native Soil again; where the few that ſurvived the incredible Fatigues they have undergone, brought back, rather Weakneſs to their *Maſter*, than Security to his *Frontier*, filling his wretched Subjects with Grief, Dejection of Spirit, Deteſtation of the Views of their ambitious Monarch, and Terror of the Miſeries they have endured; which every Man, capable of bearing Arms, by the abſolute Power of their Government, and the Diſtreſs of their Affairs, ſees himſelf hourly in Danger to undergo.

Thus far we have ſeen how much Folly, Ignorance and Villany have concurred to miſrepreſent two important Points; the Neutrality of *Hanover*, and the Conduct of our New Councils in not marching after *Maillebois*'s Army: To proſecute this Deduction of our Affairs during the laſt Interval of Parliament, we come now to ſhew the Part acted by our Adminiſtration upon the Removal of that Army: The Deliberations we have mentioned took up no more, as I remember, than three Weeks; and the Point being agreed between the Miniſtry of *Auſtria*, and our own, *that the* Hanoverian *Forces ſhould not follow*, the next Step was obvious: If our own Reaſon could not have ſhewn it to us, it was dictated and pointed out by *France*; it was evident, as we have before obſerved, that the View of *France* in ſending her Armies to the Frontiers of that Electorate was no other than to prevent the Junction of the *Hanoverian*, *Dutch*, *Britiſh* and *Auſtrian* Forces;

Forces; if that was ſo favourite a View, that ſhe put herſelf to ſo vaſt a Charge for it, opiniatred that View ſo long, and ſubmitted to all the Ill-Convenience of weakening her Armies in every other Part for it, would it have been excuſeable in us not to have profited by ſuch a Leſſon, and to have loſt the Opportunity, which the Abſence of that Army gave to form the neceſſary Conjunction of all our Forces;—the only Perſon, who could have Reaſon to demur upon the Point was the Elector of *Hanover* himſelf; who by detaching ſuch a Body of his Troops, and breaking his Neutrality, left his Country expoſed to ſome Hazard, that if the former Troops ſhould change their Deſtination, or ſucceed in their Attempt, they might return to take a ſevere Revenge upon his Dominions with Impunity: When therefore his Majeſty agreed to this Propoſition, the Miniſters of *England* could not have anſwered it to their Country, if they had not availed themſelves of this Body of his Forces.

They therefore took 16,000 of theſe Troops into the *Britiſh* Pay; not, as it has been maliciouſly inſinuated, in a Method contrary to the Conſtitution, and unknown before; but in a Method warranted by all former Examples both in the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Anne*, when in the Interval of Parliament it became neceſſary from any Event to hire Foreign Forces, the Buſineſs was concerted by the Crown, the Treaty for the Subſidy agreed, and the Eſtimates referred to Parliament; where the Liberty ſtill remained entire to reject them: The ſame Method was purſued in this Inſtance, the Parliament had the Eſtimates laid before them, and might have refuſed to confirm the Meaſure, if it had appeared to them improper or unjuſt; ſo that of all the Debates that ever paſs'd in Parliament, none ever violated more the Heart of every fair and honeſt Man, than that with Relation to theſe Troops; in which this Point was with equal Confidence and Malice urged to the moſt indecent Extremity, in Defiance of all Truth and Candour, and with a manifeſt View to impoſe upon the Underſtanding of Mankind; there was not a Man of the leaſt Experience, who did not know that this was a Part of the known Prerogative exerciſed in innumerable Inſtances, and a Prerogative not like ſome others, which may be thought to have been a Relique of bad Times in Government, when the Conſtitution was leſs pure; or crept gradually in, when the Power of the Crown was ſtrained too far, but a Prerogative founded upon the ſupreme Law of all Neceſſity, without which no Government could ſtand ſecure one Hour; for what muſt be the Condition of this Country, if in no Dilemma, no Exigence whatſoever, (and

ſurely none was ever greater than that of which we are now ſpeaking) during the Interval of Parliament, the Crown might exerciſe a Power of this Nature? What Opportunities in the moſt critical Conjunctures might be loſt? what Ruin muſt our Armies be expoſed to, in caſe of any ſignal Defeat abroad? But it is a Point too obvious to be longer inſiſted upon, and the Abſurdity of denying it is equalled by nothing, but that of debating *one whole Day* to prove *a Meaſure illegal* and *unparliamentary*, and to condemn it becauſe it had not the *Authority of Parliament*, which was *that very* Day ſubmitted to the Judgment and Power of the Houſe *whether it ſhould be a Meaſure at all or no.*

But to ſhew farther how tender his Majeſty was of exerting his Prerogative, beyond what the Neceſſity of our Situation required, his Majeſty hinted it to his Parliament at the Cloſe of the antecedent Seſſions.—After ſpeaking of the Supplies which had been already granted, *for the Support of the Queen of* Hungary, *and to reſtore and ſecure the Balance of Power, ſo particularly recommended by his Parliament*; he added farther, *And if it ſhould become neceſſary for me to contract new Engagements, or to enter into farther Meaſures, I rely upon your Zeal and Perſeverance, in ſo juſt a Cauſe, to make them good.*

When the Prince foreſees that an Exigency may poſſibly ariſe, at a Period of Time in which he cannot poſſibly take the Council of his Parliament.—If in ſuch an Exigency the Nature and the Practice of the Government permits him freely to take what Meaſures he may judge neceſſary for the Intereſts of his People, without any Form or previous Notice whatſoever, if yet that Prince reminds his Parliament of ſuch a poſſible Contingency, inſtead of a Stretch of Prerogative, it muſt appear, to every candid Man, the ſtrongeſt Mark of Tenderneſs to the Privileges of his People, a manifeſt Inclination to decline the exerciſe of his Prerogative, and in fact, the greateſt Condeſcenſion.—There is no Man of Candour, who will conſider the Nature of the Thing, but muſt ſee, that the moſt open, moſt frank, moſt generous, and moſt reſpectful Conduct, next to the direct Requeſt, *to be permitted to take the Meaſure*, was *to hint it to the Parliament, that it was intended to be taken.*

Now, that his Majeſty could not, at that Time, lay this Scheme before his Parliament, is proved by the ſtubborn Evidence of Facts and Dates, which though miſrepreſented by the *Faction* upon every Turn, and concealed, when they don't ſerve their Purpoſe, cannot be totally denied.—It is confeſs'd, that this Meaſure might have been, in all Probability, intended before the Diſſolution of the Parliament.--But could it be then reſolved? In the Nature of the Thing, it could not, becauſe it was a Con-

a Contingency, which could only happen if the *French* Army marched;--it may be ſaid, that ſome Steps had been already made by *France*, that convinced the King and the Adminiſtration, that they intended to march;—if not, it is probable his Majeſty would not have touched at all upon it.—But theſe Steps might have only been intended as a Feint, at leaſt Accidents might have intervened to prevent the Execution of that Project.—Unleſs therefore his Majeſty had been not only King of *Great Britain*, and Elector of *Hanover*, but King of *France* at the ſame Time, he could not have told his Parliament, that his Electoral Troops ſhould march to join the National Troops of *England*, when this Meaſure depended upon an Event which was not in his Power, and which actually did not happen in a conſiderable Time, the Parliament riſing upon the 15th of *July*, and the March of the *French* Troops not having taken Effect till ſeveral Weeks after. As therefore it was impoſſible to have communicated a Meaſure which in its Nature could not be then reſolved, ſo muſt it have been an Abſurdity, viſible to all Mankind, to have told the Parliament, which was the ſame Thing as to have told *France*, and all the World what we intended to do in caſe they marched.—The Politicks of theſe Times are of a very extraordinary Nature, when the Government is not only preſſed, from Day to Day, to diſcover, by Motions for Papers, every ſecret Tranſaction, every Negotiation, and Plan of Operations, even while they are ſtill depending; but when we are to foreſtall the Meaſures of our Enemies, and to tell them, *Gentlemen, take Care what you do—if you do ſo, we will do ſo,—if you march from* Hanover, *we will certainly uſe that Opportunity to unite our Forces as ſoon as poſſible after you are gone.*

The Prudence of the Adminiſtration appeared likewiſe in the *Time*, the *Place* to which they marched, and in the *Nature* of this Bargain.—As to the *Time*, it had been Madneſs to have ſlipped this Opportunity, to form our Army, which might have afterwards been impoſſible; had we deferred it till the Spring, as ſome have taken great Pains to perſuade the People we ſhould have done, *France* might have taken ſuch Meaſures, or ſuch Events might have happened, as would have rendered it then impracticable;—again, (which would have been a Matter very near as fatal in its Conſequence) the World might have been convinced, that it was never intended to be done at all; it was of the laſt Importance to ſhew the *Dutch* a powerful Support to induce them to engage as ſoon as poſſible. As to the *Place*, another Point of Importance was to give the *French* Alarms upon their own Frontier, to prevent their ſending any

 farther

farther Force to *Germany*, or to prevent their assisting the Infant Don *Philip*, who was already very superior to the King of *Sardinia*, for which our National Troops were by no means alone sufficient: And it had its effect; the Letters of *Van Hoey* shew, that *France* did not slight those Measures, which our own People ridiculed. They have since discovered what the *Dutch then thought*, and what the *Dutch* have now *publickly declared*.--The *French* encreased their Troops in *Flanders* with all the regular Troops they could draw together, and much of the Militia from the remotest Part of their Dominions; they sent but faint and insufficient Succours into *Germany*, and none at all to the *Spanish* Army.—By the March of these Troops into *Flanders*, we had therefore visibly these several Advantages.--First, That they were a great Encouragement to *Holland*.—Secondly, That they were a Security to the *Barrier*, and to the *Netherlands* in all Events.—Thirdly, That they created the most distant Diversion that could be made.—Fourthly, That, as far as possible, they prevented the Necessity of a Rupture, because *France* would not probably attempt to attack us there, unless compelled to it, as long as the *Dutch* had not yet acceded, and was yet obliged to prepare and arm in the same Degree, as not knowing how suddenly they might take the Resolution, which they were then *inclined to*, and have since *resolved*; whereas, if they had marched to the *Rhine*, where our wise Politicians only thought they should have been employed, *France* would have been induced, either by Necessity, or Prudence, to have attacked us there, when only half our Force had been assembled, and at least we had been engaged precipitately into that Extremity, while there was yet a Possibility, that the Difficulties of the *French*, and encrease of our Ability and Success might have brought about a Termination to these Troubles. We reaped another Advantage from the good Quarters in those Provinces, which kept our Troops in better Health, and in more Convenience; being in a plentiful Country, and in that of an Ally; whereas we could have quartered no where else, without the greatest Inconvenience.--We were there equally ready (considering the Season of the Year) to perform any Service that the present or future Exigencies should require; besides the Difference of being united near to our own Country, where Supplies could be furnished with more Ease and Expedition; and where all the Money, that was consumed, contributed, though indirectly, to assist the House of *Austria*; as it enriched her Provinces, and enabled them to pay more punctually, and to furnish greater Sums to their Sovereign's Aid: Lastly, it enabled us to amuse the *French*, and gave us an Opportunity to pretend

a Design on *Dunkirk*; which drew down a great Body of their Troops to the very greatest Distance, from whence they could annoy the Enemy: A Point so artfully conducted, that every other Power were serious at it but our own People.

As to the *Nature of the Bargain*, much has been said upon this Head, to prove it not only *bad*, but *criminal* in the highest Degree. In order to the setting this Matter in a clear Light, it is necessary to observe, that during the long War of 1702, great Numbers of Foreign Forces having been hired, the Method then pursued, and the Conditions then observed, have been the Rule by which we have gone ever since; our subsidiary Treaties therefore run all upon the same Plan, and contain the same Conditions, that they did then; (excepting in two or three Articles of a trivial Nature, which the Change of the universal Discipline and a particular Circumstance made it necessary to differ in, as we shall have Occasion to specify hereafter.) This Expence is constantly summed up in *three* Articles,—that of *Levy-Money* for the furnishing and compleating both Horse and Foot, that of the *Pay* of the Forces, and that of an *annual Subsidy* besides, in a certain Proportion, according to the Number of the Troops; these three Articles of Levy-Money, the Pay of the Forces, and the Subsidy to the Prince, make the general Charge common to all the Forces, that we have hired for a Space of above forty Years:—This is the Bill always brought us in for mercenary Troops;—*Not that any of these Articles is literally the Sum applied to the Account of the Charge of that Article, of which it bears the Title, but the Deficiency of the one is made up by the Exceedings of the other, and many Contingencies and Necessaries are accounted for under this Form; upon the gross Amount of which, these Princes are enabled to make good their Engagements with us.* There is likewise another Condition, for they always tie us to a certain Number of Years, whether we want the Troops or not; without which they would find no Account in their Bargain.—When the Conjuncture of Affairs obliged our Ministers to take the *Hanoverian* Forces into Pay, if they had had the mean Inclination to have paid their Court to his Majesty, they were warranted by all Precedents to have made their Bargain upon this Footing, as these Troops were in a Manner the only Troops we could have hired at that Time; as they were as good as any in the World, as they were situated the most commodiously for our Service, and as they must have been useless to the common Cause and have been disbanded, if we had not paid them, his Majesty's Electoral Dominions, not being sufficient to maintain both them, and the other Troops he had raised in this critical

tical Situation of Affairs, especially with the great additional Charge of Marching: The Ministers therefore could have deserved no Censure, nay, might have even merited Applause, for taking a Measure, which would have been just, fair and equitable, and beneficial to this Country, even upon the common Foot of other mercenary Troops; nor could this Nation have had any Title to have complained of his Majesty, if in his different Capacity, as Elector of *Hanover*, he had desired to be considered on the same Footing as any other *German* Prince.—But *his Majesty*, with a *Generosity*, for which he has met with a very *ungrateful* Return, declined these Pretensions, and to shew his own Zeal for the Service of the House of *Austria*, and his Desire to make the Burthen to *Great Britain* as light as possible, he consented to these Particulars, to which no other *German* Prince would have submitted, and which were both in present, *certainly*, and in prospect, *probably* a great Reduction of the Charge to this Nation; for whereas in all other Treaties of this kind, part of the Sums stipulated are paid, and commence before the march of the Troops—He consented, that their Pay should commence only upon the very Day they began their March from *Hanover*, viz. the 31st of *August* 1742.--He insisted upon no Terms, *as to the Time that we should pay them*, so that if the Troubles, in which we were involved, should have determined in the Space of *one Year only*, we were bound to keep them *no longer*,—a Circumstance that might very possibly have saved a *Million* of Money to this Nation, and which might have proved (if this was a Bargain of neat Profit to his Majesty, as these Incendiaries suggest) a Loss of as much to his Majesty, in his Electoral Capacity.--Nor was this all; but his Majesty entirely remitted that Article of *annual Subsidy*, which every other *German* Prince has done, now does, and ever will insist upon; and which, according to the Proportion paid to the King of *Sweden*, as Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel* (who besides Levy-Money[a] and the Pay of his Troops, receives an annual Subsidy of 33,000*l.* for only 6,000 of his Forces) his Majesty had been entitled for 16,000 of his Troops, to near a 100,000*l.* *per Annum*; which Saving to this Nation, together with the other Particulars we have mentioned, make so vast a Difference between the Charge of these Troops, and those of any other we could have hired, that it is an Impudence beyond Example to have treated this Point in the Manner, that it has been treated by the *Faction*, as we shall shew hereafter.

[a] See the Votes of the House of Commons, *April* 14, 1740.

But

But tho' it may not be ſtrictly regular in Point of Time or the Order we have laid down, to take full Notice of the Proceedings of the *Faction* upon *this Head* (till we come to *the next*, viz. *their Conduct in the next Seſſion of Parliament)* yet it will not be illconvenient to clear the Way, by removing the Rubbiſh of thoſe Objections, with which they have flattered themſelves, to cover the Malignity of their virulent Scandal upon this Meaſure, becauſe this Scandal was of a Nature ſo uncommon, deſperate and dangerous, that it will be greatly for the Advantage of the Publick to preſent it naked, ſtripped of that deluſive Garb in which they have uſed ſo much wicked Art to dreſs it, and void of any other Matter that may divert the Publick from the full View and Contemplation of its Iniquity.

To proceed therefore; under this Head of the Nature of the Bargain for the *Hanoverian* Troops, it was objected, *that by taking theſe Troops into* Britiſh *Pay, before we marched into* Germany, *we paid full one half Year before we had Occaſion for them.*--As to this, it has been already anſwered, that we might not have been able to have joined at all, if we had not done it when we did; it has been likewiſe ſhewn, how many other Advantages we both did reap, and expected juſtly to reap from it. By Parity of Reaſoning, we ſhould not have begun to embarque our National Troops for *Flanders*, till the Beginning of this Campaign.--And if Troops are not to be aſſembled, till the Moment they are to enter upon Action, or if an Adminiſtration is to be condemned for being in Readineſs to act as ſoon as Circumſtances will admit, or for not acting, before either Time, Circumſtances, or the Seaſon of the Year will give leave; and if an Army is expected to fight whenever it is in the Field, without regard to any Event or Situation of things, we have to deal with Politicians, whoſe Ignorance or Prejudice render them unworthy of any reaſonable Anſwer.

Another Objection is to *the granting Levy Money for Troops already raiſed, and again, to the granting a greater Levy Money than is paid to other Foreign Troops.* As to the *firſt*, we have already given a ſufficient Anſwer, by obſerving the Nature of all theſe Contracts, viz. *That no one of theſe Articles literally contains the Sum applied to the Charge of that Article of which it bears the Title; but the Deficiency of the one is made up by the Exceedings of the other, and many Contingencies, Neceſſaries, and extraordinary Expences, are accounted for under this Form; upon the groſs Amount of which, and not otherwiſe, Foreign Princes can be enabled to afford their Troops to us at the Rate they do*, and upon this Foot it was allowed lately to the Troops of *Denmark*. As to the *Second*, the Levy Money of theſe Troops is in the ſame

Proportion

Proportion with that of all others; but the Sum was the larger, becauſe the Body of Troops, hired in this Inſtance, conſiſted One-third of *Horſe*, whereas in moſt of our other Contracts of this Nature, the Horſe have uſually amounted only to *One-ſixth*; and particularly in the Caſe of the *Danes* and *Heſſians*, which lately were and now continue in our Service.

It has been again objected, that we *are charged with a new Article for the Officers of the Artillery*; and it is true, that it is a new Article, but it is an Article which ariſes from an Improvement in the Military Diſcipline, and one of the moſt remarkable of any that have been made in modern Time. Every Regiment, in the Service of all the *German* Princes, carrying with them two Field Pieces, which they manage with a very extraordinary Addreſs, firing incredibly often in one Minute; and no Man can pretend to ſay, that it was not neceſſary to conform ourſelves to the Diſcipline of the Age we live in, and to avail ourſelves of any new Advantages in War, which might either give us a Superiority, or put us upon a Level with the Enemy.

We are accuſed again with making a bad Bargain in *charging the Exchange, by the Eſtimate laid before the Houſe of Commons at the Rate of ten Guilders ten Stivers the Pound Sterling, which is ſuppoſed to be an Exchange of eight Stivers to our Diſadvantage*, and an unneceſſary Expence of 26,000*l.* But this was fully anſwered in Parliament, though all the Writers of the *Faction* made no Scruple to conceal it in their ſubſequent Productions.-- "They were there told, that in the Nature of theſe Things, "all Eſtimates muſt be formed upon ſome poſitive Rate of "Exchange; that this Rate was mentioned in the Eſtimate, "becauſe from the Variation of Exchange, it might have "amounted to that, and to prevent a Deficiency if it ſhould; "but that this Eſtimate did by no means fix the Rate of the "Exchange, and that all Savings that aroſe or might ariſe "upon that Head, were conſtantly, and would, according "to ancient Cuſtom, be certainly accounted for to Parlia-"ment".--This Objection therefore has no other Foundation than the Ignorance or Malice of the *Faction*.

It was likewiſe objected, that *in all Contracts of this Nature during the former War, there was a Deduction of Two and one-half* per Cent. *to be applied to the Uſes of the War*, which amounted to 16,447*l.* and which was not deducted in this Contract.-- This Objection favours ſtrongly of the Party from whence it comes,--they had been ſearching after Precedents from the Conduct of their *Faction* in the Reign of the late Queen *Anne*, when their Predeceſſors made no ſmall Diſturbance upon this Head, and when the ſame *Faction* attacked that great Man the Duke

of

of *Marlborough* in Parliament for having taken this Deduction of two and one-half *per Cent.* from the Foreign Troops under his Command. *In the Report of the Commissioners for taking, examining, and stating the publick Accounts of the Kingdom* at that Time, which was intended as an Inquisition upon that General, they then insinuated this Abatement of Foreign Pay *to be a Deduction for the Uses of the War:* But the Nature of the thing was fully explained, such a Deduction has been always made and is made at this Time; but it neither then did, nor consequently does now, appear in any publick Account. It is a Sum first obtained by Consent of the allied Princes in the Reign of King *William*, in the Nature of a voluntary Tax upon their Subsidies, afterwards continued in the Time of the Duke of *Marlborough*, and in the Reign of Queen *Anne*, always allowed by Warrant from the Crown to the General in Chief for procuring of Intelligence, and other secret Service, but never laid before Parliament in Diminution of any Estimate. Nothing more therefore need to be said to shew the Fallacy and Malevolence of his Objection, or to wipe off the Imputation of Excess in this Particular.

For a farther Aggravation, a Comparison was attempted to be drawn *between the Charge of the* Hanoverians *hired in the late War in* 1702, *and those now taken into our Pay.*--But no such Comparison can properly be made, because we have not the Materials for it,--the *Dutch* first took them into their Service, and they were afterwards turned over into *our* Pay.--The *Dutch* therefore paid the first Expences of Levy Money, *&c.* and unless we had Access to the Archives of that Republick, neither they nor we are qualified to ascertain this Point, though it is not reasonable to believe, that these Troops were then hired upon different Terms, than such as have always been a general Rule in cases of the same Nature.

The next Matter of Cavil was the *extraordinary Charge of a Regiment of* Hanoverian *Guards*, which being equal in Expence to twice their Number of common Men, is reckoned another Instance of exorbitant Expence. But, surely, there is no Man who will dispute this to be a proper Expence, when the Prince commands in Person, and he must be very much abandoned, who will think it decent to urge it now, when this Nation has so lately obtained so great and so manifest a Benefit from his Majesty's personal Appearance at the Head of our united Army.

The last Objection, which has made the greatest Noise, tho' it deserves the least Notice, *is to the hiring of* Hanoverian *Forces at all upon any Terms.* It is demanded, how an *English* Administration dare advise the Hire of Forces the most obnoxious, Forces that must create so great a Discontent, Forces that must establish

eſtabliſh that dangerous Diſtinction of *Engliſhmen and Hanoverians*, and a Meaſure that muſt ſhake the Intereſt of his Majeſty upon the Throne, and poiſon the Affections of his People?--But let us have the Liberty to put a few Queſtions to theſe Gentlemen in our Turn.--Could we have compoſed a ſufficient Army without theſe Troops? Why is it more criminal to hire theſe Forces in the preſent War, than in that of Queen *Anne*, when we conſtantly entertained a great Body of them in our Pay without any Objection? What is it that has rendered theſe Forces now obnoxious which were never ſo before? What has created any Diſcontent upon this abſolutely neceſſary Meaſure? What has eſtabliſhed that dangerous Diſtinction of *Engliſhmen* and *Hanoverians?* What is it that has ſhaken the Intereſt of his Majeſty, or poiſoned the Affections of his People (*both* which have been indeed ſtrongly endeavoured, but I thank God *neither* yet affected) no other Anſwer can be given to any of theſe Queſtions, but that there is in this Country at this Time, a Faction deſtitute of Principle and Shame, and void of all Remorſe, who taking Advantage of the Ignorance and vulgar Prejudices of a heated People, have glaringly attempted, by fallacious Arguments, vile Miſrepreſentations, and downright Falſhood, covered by a popular and confuſed Jargon of ſeditious Rhetorick, to gratify their Revenge, to advance their private Intereſts, and to promote their pernicious Views, at the Expence of ſacred Truth, and Moral Virtue, at the Hazard of the Liberties of *Europe*, the Peace of their own Country, and the Security of a Prince and Family, upon whoſe Eſtabliſhment the Conſtitution of theſe Kingdoms can alone depend.

We have now pretty fully gone through with a Deduction of the Meaſures taken by the Adminiſtration during the Interval of Parliament; we have explained the Nature and the Neceſſity of theſe Meaſures; we have ſhewn the Succeſs, and almoſt miraculous Alteration in the Situation of our Affairs; which were viſibly their Conſequence. But whether they were the neceſſary Conſequence of them or not---the Face of Affairs was in fact ſo wonderfully changed, that inſtead of that Proſpect of almoſt inevitable Ruin, which appeared before our Eyes, in the Beginning of the previous Seſſions of Parliament, there was, at leaſt, a great Probability of ſaving the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and of reſtraining the Ambition of *France* from profiting by her immenſe Expences, and the Labour ſhe had taken, to move the whole Earth to the Deſtruction of the only Power, that ſtood between her and the virtual Poſſeſſion of the Univerſal Empire.--Let us inculcate this happy Alteration by a ſecond Recapitulation of it.

Saxony

Saxony and *Prussia* were disjoined from the Alliance of *France*, and with Circumstances, that in a Manner secured us from a Possibility of their uniting with her again during the present Contention; *Bavaria* was not only incapable of affording any material Assistance to the Views of *France*, but actually a considerable Part of it in Possession of the *Austrians*, two great *French* Armies of veteran Troops totally destroyed; Diseases and Despair, the visible Companions of the remaining Forces of the Emperor and *France*, inferior to the *Austrians*, who were now flush'd with Success, enrich'd with Plunder, enured to Arms and Victory: These remaining Forces coup'd up in a Corner of *Bavaria* and *Bohemia*, in the utmost Distress for Provisions, not to be recruited till the Spring; and then, from the vast Losses of the regular Troops of *France*, only by new Levies of a raw and disheartened People, forced, driven and pressed into the Service, with the most manifest Dread and Terror of it; the *French* Government, detested and despised by its own People, for its ill Success and ruinous Measures; the Queen of *Bohemia* repossessed of the greatest Part of her Dominions: and of a Treasure inestimable, the united Hearts of all her Subjects, moved to the utmost Degree of Tenderness by her Danger and the Injustice of her Enemies, warmed with the most fervent Zeal, by her gallant, firm and prudent Conduct; the King of *Sardinia*, steady to his Engagements, and infinitely serviceable to the Common Cause; the *Spaniards* check'd, foil'd and disappointed in all their *Italian* Views; the King of *Naples* bridled by our Fleets; the *Swedes* confounded by *French* Councils, and by the just Arms of *Russia*; courting the Mediation of *Great-Britain* for their Preservation, who but the Year before had been led by *France* to disturb the Peace of the *North*, in Contempt of *Britain*, and probably not without a remote View to her Destruction; the *Dutch* potently armed, visibly able, and secretly inclined to join us in the Quarrel; a very great Army in the *British* Pay of the best Troops in *Europe*; fresh and ready to enter into Action, whenever Necessity should require; the *Turks* incapable of being moved by *France*, thinking of nothing but their own Preservation against the Attempts of *Persia*:--These were the happy Circumstances into which, by the Providence of God, and the Prudence of the Administration, our Affairs were brought, when his Majesty opened his Parliament upon the 16th of *November* last.

We now come to the next Head of our Discourse, the Conduct of the Faction at the next Meeting of the Parliament---They, who had been longest in an Opposition, and had conducted it, and knew the most of it, even they were unable to conceive in what

what manner their former Collegues could behave, upon what Footing the could oppose the Support of Measures so lately popular, conducted with so much Judgment and Vigour, and attended with such providential Success; or thwart the Prosecution of his Majesty's further Views to take advantage of this happy Change: They knew indeed the Men by long Experience, they were well acquainted with their Views, and that they would stick at nothing to obtain that Share in the Emoluments of Power, which their Madness had so lately deprived them of; but they were at a Loss to comprehend how they would betake themselves to screen their Views from the Detection of the People, without whose Assistance they could do nothing; a People brave and honest, endued with more Understanding too, with more Lights and Knowledge from the Nature of our Government than any other People in the World, and in general never wrong, but when seduced by *Fraud*, or heated by *Passions*; the Success appeared too notorious to admit of those *Frauds*, without Misrepresentations too gross to be even supposed; and the Grounds of those *Passions* had been too justly removed, in all Instances, that it was practicable to be done; it was therefore thought impossible, that any such Attempt would meet with the least Encouragement, since the *previous Step* must be to eradicate *the old Principle* upon which the Safety of this Nation has ever depended; which it has never departed from without Shame and Misfortune; and which the People ever recurred to again, however temporarily seduced, viz. *that this Nation must eternally oppose the Advancement of the Monarchy of* France.

The *Faction* saw all this, and considered their Game at first as desperate, but their very Despair obliged them to persist--- they knew that Opposition never could want some Allies from such as had been duped by them, and knew not how to retreat, and from such as, by the same Errors, were in the same desperate Condition with themselves, from such as were avowed *Jacobites*, and such as were of beggarly Circumstances, who had a Possibility of bettering themselves by the Confusion of their Country, which though far short of a Probability, was yet better than a Certainty of *Ruin* and a *Goal*, which stared them in the Face.

They had a farther Dependance upon the Liberty of the Press, which is always a mighty Engine, of equal Use to *Liberty* and *Faction*, they took Advantage from the Knowledge that the Ministers they now opposed were tender of it, and knowing this, they thought themselves secure in the most monstrous Abuse of it that was ever known in any Age or Nation.--- A Use which their former Leaders, when it was under their Direction,

rection, never put it to themſelves, in the ſame degree, *nor pointed at the Mark, at which it has been ſince wickedly levelled.* —This was the Spring by which they propoſed to ſet the whole Machine in Motion, and by this they depended to retail Scurrility and Treaſon with Impunity (for Argument they had none) upon a wretched Set of People, who with Education juſt ſufficient *to enable them to read*, ſpend all their leiſure Time, and ſometimes more than they have conveniently to ſpare from behind the Counter, in ſome blind Coffee-houſe, and thence retiring to their Tavern Aſſemblies, retail it out again, to Men ſtill below them in this *great Qualification*; where, to ſhew that they underſtand the true Spirit of every libellous Production, they enter into all its Sentiments, and become, in their own great Opinions, and in the Opinions of their Auditors, after a little Habit in this Way, conſummate Politicians, judging of the Intereſts of all States and Kingdoms, and of all Miniſters and Princes, as well as of their own, whom they conſtantly take for granted to be the worſt of all, and the ſole Authors of every Calamity and Diſorder of the whole World.

With theſe *Troops*, and with this *Artillery* of *Faction*, they ſtill thought themſelves enabled to take the Field.—They had, it is true, ſeen all Squadrons of Oppoſition intermixed with Bodies of theſe, but never led by ſuch Generals, nor conſiſting of theſe Troops alone: However, truſting in their Numbers, and depending upon their Noiſe, which, though it would produce no Argument from their own Quarter, prevented thoſe that came from another, from being heard, they commenced the ſecond Campaign, confiding more in the Diviſion of their Enemy, than in their own Strength, and truſting that ſome unfortunate Events, or ſome unhappy Errors, might, in Time, afford them better Colours, than (in ſpight of all the Varniſh they could put upon it) their Cauſe would for the preſent bear.

Of late Years, by the vaſt Encreaſe of Trade, and the Cuſtom of living in the Capital, for the greateſt Part of the Year, *London* and *Weſtminſter* had vaſtly encreaſed;—all great Cities are the Seat both of *Liberty* and *Faction*,—in Proportion to their Numbers and their Wealth, their Abilities either to defend the one, or to exert the other, encreaſe.—For the Means of one, and of the other, are the ſame, and they differ only in the Extent to which they are carried, and in the Lengths they go.—From this Encreaſe it was, that the late Oppoſition derived its Force, and it was by the Influence of theſe two Cities, in great meaſure, that they routed the late Adminiſtration —*Weſtminſter* had in a particular Manner exerted itſelf to maintain its Freedom

of Election; which had been, with unaccountable Imprudence, invaded with very ſtrong and odious Circumſtances at their Choice of Members for the preſent Parliament.—The Adminiſtration ſtill, with greater Raſhneſs, were determined, if they could, to make this irregular Election ſtaud, which ſo muſt offended all, as well violent as moderate Men, that there aroſe a Conjunction of all Intereſts, and of all Principles, which created an Oppoſition ſo formidable, that it was not to be reſiſted, and ſuch as, it is hoped, there will never be the ſame Occaſion to ſee again.—The Juſtice of the Cauſe, and the Conſequence of its Iſſue to the People, made Men exert themſelves with an uncommon Spirit, and cauſed them to appear in vaſt Numbers, and in very frequent Aſſemblies, by which Men of all Tempers became acquainted, who would otherwiſe never have known each other.—The moſt warm and violent conſorted together, who, when they had carried their Point, and found the Sweets of Victory, (from a kind of Turn natural to that Order of Mankind, and to Perſons of ſuch a Diſpoſition) knew no longer how to confine themſelves within their own proper Sphere, and thought themſelves equally qualified and equally entitled to direct the Nation, as to conduct their own Election. Thus when the *Moderate* and *Wiſe*, contented with having done their Duty, and carried the only Point with which they were intitled to interfere, retired peaceable to reap the Fruits of an Event, which produced many other beneficial Conſequences to their Country: *Theſe*, though *a mere Handful*, ſtrengthening themſelves with Numbers who had no Right to vote, and laying hold of every Man they could draw in, ſtill continued to maintain the Shadow of their former Meetings. Theſe Perſons were the firſt applied to by the *Faction*, and aſſuming the Title of a numerous, powerful, and worthy Set of Men, who had lately made ſo great a Noiſe in the World, under the Stile of the *Independant Inhabitants of Weſtminſter*, were, in Conjunction with proper Inſtruments in the City of *London*, to take the Lead, and to ſet the Example to all the other Cities and Corporations of the Kingdom. Through this Canal, the Ice was to be broken to the People in general, and Inſtructions were drawn up, in which three or four were out of Form conſulted, and which about *fourſcore* out of 16,000 Electors in *Weſtminſter*, and *two or three hundred* out of 6000 Liverymen in *London*, ſanctified with their Approbation.—Theſe being publiſhed in the printed Papers, were, with Diligence and Expedition, ſent into the Country, as the Senſe of this great Metropolis, to be thence taken for the Voice of the whole People of *England*; and for Fear, notwithſtanding this Suggeſtion, that the People in the

Country

Country would not sufficiently resent it, if their Representatives did not literally conform themselves to this pretended Sense of the whole good People of *England*; they published a Pamphlet, to convince them, that it was the Duty of every Member of Parliament, to vote in every Instance as his Constituents should direct him in the House of Commons,—a Thing in the highest Degree absurd, for *it is the constant and allowed Principle of our Constitution, that no Man, after he is chosen, is to consider himself as a Member for any particular Place, but as a Representative for the whole Nation* —without which there could neither be Freedom of Judgment, or Speech, without which all Debate must be entirely unnecessary, and without which the Legislature would be torn with Faction, Nonsense, and Contrariety of Interests, to a degree of Confusion that must destroy all Government.—Hence it is that Parliaments have never allowed the Right of Instructing to lie in the People; and it has accordingly been a Practice, which introduced first in the Times of the *great Rebellion*, has never been exercised but in Times that threatned *the same Confusion*.

Yet when these Instructions appeared, they were far from answering the first End of inducing all others to follow their Example. Some few Corporations did it; but no Endeavours of the Faction could extend it far: Nay, some addressed their Members, and particularly *Bristol*, the third City in the Kingdom, in direct Opposition to them; nor is it to be wondered at, for the Instructions from *London* were not only a direct and scurrilous Libel upon the Administration, but the most sedicious Instrument, that ever was penn'd, and very little short of Treason both against the King and Constitution. Those of *Westminster* were less fruitful in personal Abuse, which they hinted only, that they kept in Reserve till they saw whether their Ideas were complied with; in many other Respects they went as far, and in some, *viz.* with Respect to the Constitution, still farther than the City of *London* itself.

The distinguished Points of these ever memorable Performances may be reduced to the following Heads, *1st*, the *Abuse of Persons* without the least Reserve or Decency: *2dly*, The *Place-Bill*: *3dly*, The *Triennial Law*: *4thly*, *Justice* upon the Earl of *Orford*: *5thly*, *Granting no Supplies* till the *2d*, *3d*, and *4th* Points here mentioned were complied with.

Now if every one of these Points be duly considered we can be at no Loss to discover what their View was, and from what Quarter their Instructions came.—With regard to the first, as I have observed before, *the Abuse of Persons* was the Fort of the Faction in all former Opposition; but as they were very

 sensible

ſenſible that to anſwer any View by it, they muſt carry it to a greater Exceſs; and to do it with greater Injuſtice and Confidence than was ever done before, it was very prudent to be able to quote for their Example, what they termed the Senſe of the whole Nation.—As to the ſecond Article, the *Place-Bill*, they knew no wiſe Government would think it prudent to ſtrengthen the popular Intereſt in ſuch a Time of Inflammation; that therefore King, Lords and Commons would refuſe to paſs it, as they had the more Reaſon to do, a Bill of the ſame Nature very conſiderable in its Conſequences (though miſrepreſented groſly) having paſſed in the laſt Seſſions. As to the *Triennial Law*, they were ſure that could not be obtained, becauſe they knew there were not ten Men ſeriouſly for it, in the whole Parliament, and their moſt flaming Patriots had declared and voted againſt it in the laſt Seſſions. As to *what they called Juſtice* upon the Earl of *Orford*, they knew that they had already by their own Conduct put it out of the Power of any Set of Men to effect it; which was the Reaſon that in Truth they inſiſted upon theſe three laſt mentioned Points; being ſure from thence, though Things fell out the beſt for this Nation, and the worſt for them, never to want Ground and Pretence for Oppoſition, and for a ſeeming Juſtification of the *grand Point of all, the diſtreſſing of Government, by granting no Money to the Crown*; which without this Addreſs and theſe Arts, the People would have looked upon them, not as Patriots, but as Monſters and Madmen, in the then critical Situation of Affairs, to have oppoſed, when *the Ballance of Power*, that Point with Juſtice ſo much favoured at all Times by this Country, lay at an immediate Stake.

It was by thus heating the Minds of the People, and by ſetting them in a vain Diſpute, that they endeavoured to bring the Nation off from the true Scent, and to pave the Way for the Revival of their *Tory* Principles again:—By inculcating theſe popular Points, and ſpreading a certain general Maxim very fallaciouſly applied, that *It was of no Conſequence what became of the Liberties of* Europe, *if we did not firſt ſecure our Liberties at Home*, they diſguiſed their Attempts of deſtroying both the one and the other.

The *Faction* having now no means to gain upon the Reaſon, ſought only to depend upon the Madneſs of the People, and having laid a Foundation by *theſe Inſtructions* before mentioned, upon the firſt Opening of the Seſſions, oppoſed the Addreſs to his Majeſty in Return for his Speech from the Throne, in which were enumerated ſeveral of thoſe Advantages, which called ſo loudly for the Gratitude of this Nation both to *God* and

Man;

Man; but they discovered no Temper of that kind to *either*: Nay, as if the Sense and Memory of all their Auditors had been totally lost, they disclaimed against the present State of things, as if equally bad and desperate, with that out of which we had so happily escaped, retailing by rote the same Imputations to the present Conduct, and the same Reflections upon the present State of our Affairs, as they had learned of their Leaders before, when the Situation of the Affairs was totally the reverse: Notwithstanding the visible Importance of convincing the World abroad in this critical Conjuncture, (especially after the great Confusion of this Country and the Change of the Ministry) that the Publick were united to support the Common Cause; though it is well known, as an able Foreigner observes, *que sur tout depuis le Commencement de ce Siecle, les Harangues des Reis de la* Grande Britagne *à l' overture du Parlement sont consideres comme des Espeees d' Oracles touchant la Situation generale des Affairs de l'* Europe*:—And though whoever has travelled abroad is sensible how the Expectations of all Nations are raised or depressed according to the Sentiments expressed from the Throne, and according to the Reception of the King's Speech in the first Debate of Parliament; it was in vain to reason from hence, that what gained Credit with all Nations, ought to meet with some Respect at home.—That the Consequences of not corresponding with the Sentiments of the Crown, must either be a Suggestion of Falshood in his Majesty, or of Ignorance or Madness in our selves; that in such a Situation this must throw Things back again into all the first Confusion—that any Coldness expressed in such an extraordinary Conjuncture, must convince the World, that a second Revolution of our Administration was to follow,—that as the Confidence arising in all our natural Allies, and Dejection in our Enemies, proceeded only from the Prospect of the Change of Measures consequential to it, both would infallibly be defeated by a Prospect of the Discontinuance of that Administration.—That these Reflections must convert the Confidence of the one into Despair, the Dejection of the other into Confidence,—that this must infallibly induce the King of *Sardinia* to listen to the Invitations of Advantage thrown in his Way by *France* and *Spain*; intimidate the *Dutch* from entering into Engagements with us; compel the House of *Austria* to submit immediately to any Terms which *France* should impose, and irrecoverably sacrifice all *Europe* to be cantoned out at the Will of that imperious Power; induce *Prussia* and *Saxony*, who had just receded from that Confedera-

* *Rousiet*. Vol. III. fol. 327.

ey, to purſue new Views of Advantage to themſelves, at the Expence of that diſtreſſed Princeſs; ſacrifice all the Sums already expended in this Cauſe, and totally defeat all the Views, we now ſo reaſonably entertained, of reſtoring the Balance of Power. In fine, that it would inevitably drive us back into the Steps of the laſt Adminiſtration, which even the *Faction* ſtill affected to condemn and puniſh.—All this had no Effect; theſe Arguments could have no Effect on Men, who had Views to which they bore no Relation, and who, by their original Principles, wiſhed ſecretly the very Thing that others, by their Reaſoning, endeavoured to prevent; at laſt the Senſe of the Houſe being taken by a Diviſion, it appeared, not leſs to the Amazement of themſelves, than to that of all honeſt Men, that ſo many were of their own Principles, ſo many defeated in their Expectations, ſo many fettered in Apprehenſions of the Popular Spirit of the Time, the Hazard of their future Elections, the Fear of Perſonal Abuſe, the miſtaken Shame of deſerting what they called their Party, (though they knew them in the wrong, and wiſhed to be out of the Enchantment) ſo many deluded by the ſpecious Pretence of imaginary or irremediable Grievances, and ſo many weak and deluded Men, that they were joined by a very great Number.

This Degree of Succeſs elated them ſo far, that they gave a Vent to all their Rage and Malice againſt every one, who had differed from them in this Vote;—painted it out to the People in every Colour of Inconſiſtency;—they had treated thoſe, who acted with the former Adminiſtration, for twenty Years paſt, without Mercy, as the greateſt Villains for entertaining for a Principle, *that they ſhould vote with their Party in all Queſtions whatſoever, right or wrong, and that Party could be no otherwiſe maintained:* Yet, as much as they had condemned this Principle a little while before, they made no Scruple to adopt it now, and for this ſingle Vote, branded every Man, who gave it, at once, as a Deſerter of the Cauſe of his Country, exerting every low, mean and infamous Art, to injure, blacken, and defame him.

The *Faction* now obſerving, that they were abetted, not only without Doors, but within, by a larger Body of People than they could have at firſt imagined, determined in the next Inſtance, without Reſerve, to try how far that Deluſion had extended, and could ſupport them.—When therefore the Eſtimates for the 16,000 *Britiſh* Troops in *Flanders* came to be conſidered, *they oppoſed, with the utmoſt Vehemence, the granting the Supply for this Service, inſiſting upon their being recalled home, and diſbanded*;—and now they began to appear in their full Colour the Men they were; they not only trod in the Steps of their Predeceſ-

deceſſors in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, King *William*, and Queen *Anne*, but they travelled that Pace, which none of them had gone before.—None had ever ſo openly avowed the Views of leaving the whole World to the Mercy of *France*: No *Engliſhman* before could have dared to make a Propoſition of this Nature, when our Armies were actually united in the Field, and *France* bending its utmoſt Force to the Ruin of our moſt potent and conſtant Ally abroad.—Even in that infamous Scene in the Reign of the Queen, they were contented, for the firſt Step, to agree to a Ceſſation of Arms, and to ſeparate from their Allies:—They made a Peace, ſuch as it was, before they brought back a ſingle Regiment;—they had then the Pretence of ſome Conceſſions from *France*. ſmall as they were, compared with the Advantages in our Power at that Time to have procured;—they had the Plea of a dangerous Intereſt that the General acquired in the Army, and of ambitious Views, in a great Subject, which a Princeſs, *the laſt of her Race*, had no Ability to contend with;—they had Pretences, from the immenſe Sums which had been already expended upon the War, and which People naturally wiſhed to be eaſed from, almoſt at any Rate;—they had even ſome Shew of Conſiſtency in their Conduct; for they had been long at work to obſtruct and oppoſe the Continuance of it.—But for theſe People, all Appearance of Reaſon and Conſiſtency was as remote to juſtify them in what they did, as their Deſign was manifeſt to ruin the Intereſt, to pervert the Principles, to inſult the Underſtandings, and abuſe the Weakneſs of their Countrymen.

We can never recur too often to this Point, that whoever knows the Hiſtory of this Government, can judge of its Intereſts and its Dangers, muſt know, that it has been, and muſt ever be, the conſtant Principle of Politicks, by which this Nation muſt be ever governed.—To keep down the Power of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, that if ſhe now acquires ever ſo little an Addition to it, *In its Conſequences, the Trade, the Liberty, the Religion, the Independency of this Nation, will be inevitably undone—That to prevent this Power from Encreaſe, we muſt ſupport ſome great Power on the Continent, capable to ſtand for a Time, till Confederacies may be formed againſt her*;—that for Ages paſt, and ſtill at this Hour, *no other Power is in any Degree equal (or capable in any reaſonable Proſpect of Time to be made equal) to that Task, but that of the Houſe of* Auſtria.—And that *therefore the Sum of all the Politicks of this Nation is to ſupport, by all the Means in our Power, the Houſe of* Auſtria.

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The Nation has ſo long ſeen the Force of theſe Maxims, has ſuffered ſo much from our temporary Departure from them, and inſenſibly advanced into ſo manifeſt Danger, by every Relaxation from theſe Principles, that there was not a ſingle Man, who did not profeſs them, and upon this was grounded that univerſal Clamour againſt the late Adminiſtration. The Author of that worſt and moſt malicious Libel that ever was publiſhed, enentitled, *The Caſe of the* Hanover *Troops*, himſelf confeſſes, that the univerſal Diſſatisfaction of that Time was principally owing to this weak, and, as he adds, wicked Conduct of our Foreign Affairs, and Neglect of theſe Principles. I may ſay more, there was not a ſingle Man of this Nation, who was not fully convinced, that they were true, though ſome were ſorry for their private Views againſt the Government, that they ſhould be purſued, for no other Reaſon, than that they knew them to be true:—And therefore, upon the late Change of the Adminiſtration, it was reſolved, by the almoſt univerſal Senſe of the whole Nation, notwithſtanding the firſt impotent Attempt of theſe Gentlemen to prevent it, that theſe 16,000 National Troops ſhould be ſent into *Flanders*.—When this was done, however, the Affairs of the Queen of *Hungary* had already providentially begun to mend, by a fortunate Winter's Campaign, and our Spirits were a little raiſed, by ſeeing her Ruin a little protracted.—Yet it was then evident, that theſe 16,000 Men were far from being able alone to prevent that Ruin. Had the Nation therefore been ripened enough into a fatal Diſtraction, much more might have been *then* urged, with greater Plauſibility, againſt this firſt Step, than againſt the Continuance of it, after it had been made.—The Proſpect of being able to compoſe an Army, ſufficient to act againſt *France*, was then in ſome Degree precarious and remote: It might have been, (as it has been ſince) urged, that this could only operate by way of a Diverſion;—and hardly that, becauſe the *French* could not fear Hoſtilities from ſuch an handful of Men;—yet, I ſay, the Meaſure was even then approved by the almoſt univerſal Senſe of this Nation,—as it was a Beginning, as it maintained the Faith of Treaties, as it was a Pledge of the future Intentions of this Country, and a Proof of our Change of Politicks, and as it was a Root and a Foundation for other Troops to be gathered to, as Time or Incidents, or the common Danger might induce;—and as it was conformable with *an eſtabliſhed Rule of Politicks, that he that gains Time, gains every thing.*

The Senſe therefore of theſe fundamental Principles induced, in a manner, the whole Nation to be willing, at a time when, two of the greateſt Powers in *Germany* were embarqued, and in

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the Field, in Conjunction with *France*, against the Queen of *Hungary*,—at a Time, when *Hanover* and the *Dutch*, were both awed by a great *French* Army; and when no certain or immediate Prospect appeared, of Assistance on any Side, but from the House of *Savoy* in *Italy*, to adventure this Experiment, an Experiment of 6 or 700,000 *l.* They thought every thing was to be tried in such Extremities, and no Expence to be considered, where the *Trade*, the *Liberty*, the *Religion* and *Independency* of this Nation, were visibly at Stake.

How then could this scandalous Opposition to the Continuance of this Measure be swallowed by the Publick in the very next Year, when the Face of our Affairs was changed in so wonderful a manner in our Favour, when *Prussia* and *Saxony* had desisted from being Enemies to the House of *Austria*, when the *French* Armies had been so greatly diminished, when the Queen of *Hungary* had almost cleared her whole Dominions from the Enemy, when the *Dutch* and *Hanover* were no longer awed by *France*, when instead of a naked Body of 16,000 Men, by the Junction of *Hessians*, *Hanoverians* and *Austrians*, we had actually an Army collected in one Body of 50,000 Men: The Answer to this Question is easily made, the Ardour of the Nation had, by infamous Arts been converted into the Heat of a *Faction*; Opposition, which was before conducted by *Whig* Principles, was now led by Incendiaries and *Jacobites*; who never did, nor ever will lead the People but to Measures inconsistent with their Interests and Safety.

But though the Wicked abound in this and in all other Countries, yet they are never numerous enough alone to attempt the Ruin of their Country, they must have a vast Accession of the Honest to assist them, and they must impose upon their Weakness to abet their Views; they must have some Pretences to prevail upon them:—Let us now consider what these Pretences were.

They first began tenderly to insinuate that our first Principles of Policy however long maintain'd, were in themselves erroneous; and that considering the former immense Expences of this Nation, the little Fruit that we had reaped from them, and the Probability of being still from Time to Time engaged in new Quarrels, it was fit to be considered, whether it was not proper to enter upon a new System; that it was visible we could never make any Acquisitions upon the Continent to reimburse our Expences; and that we therefore consumed ourselves only for the Benefit of other Powers; that our Navy was a sufficient Protection for us against the whole World; that the regular Troops, which these Views obliged us to maintain, would

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prove the Ruin of our Liberties; and the vaſt Taxes produce the Ruin of our Trade; ſo that it was thrown out as a Doubt fit for the Nation to conſider, whether it was not better to leave the reſt of the World to ſhift for itſelf as well as it could, and to entrench within our own natural Boundaries, take our Chance, and defend ourſelves the beſt we could. They were obliged to venture thus to ſhake the eſtabliſhed Principles that they might afterwards debauch the Underſtandings of the People, in which they proceeded exactly upon the Plan of their Brother Politicians, the *Jeſuits* and the Church of *Rome*, who begin all their Practices on thoſe they mean to ſeduce, by raiſing Doubts as to the Fundamentals of their Faith, which, when once departed from, expoſe their unwary Pupils to be driven from one Point to another, till they at laſt reſign their Senſes to their inſiduous Guides; theſe Political Seducers could not have failed to learn the Crafts of a Set of People of whom they followed the Views, and like thoſe by whom they had been taught their Leſſon; they applied theſe Inſinuations with great Caution at the firſt, and only upon ſuch Objects as by the Weakneſs of their Underſtandings were too dull of Apprehenſion to detect their Views, and who by their Ignorance could not be able to know, that theſe were the conſtant Practices of the *Jacobites*, *Enemies* of their *Country* and *Friends* of *France* upon all Occaſions.

There is always much Ignorance and much Weakneſs in the Bulk of Mankind, ſo that they were not long before they found their Effect in this ſecret Management; and they were further aſſiſted by a certain Temper, which every thinking Man muſt have obſerved in human Nature of the lower Claſs, *that they delight in any thing that is new, and in the marvellous:* theſe Refinements upon our Policy were ſtrange to them; and they admired at the Sagacity of thoſe, who had ſtruck out thoſe new Lights; which they were proud to appear the Inventors of, or at leaſt, to ſhew their ſuperior Judgment in comprehending as ſoon as hinted, and to diſplay this ſuperior Sagacity, farther inculcated all theſe Doctrines, upon the common People, who are always prone to reliſh a Diſcovery, which promiſes a Reduction of their Taxes, and of an Army.

But alas! how ſhallow are the Underſtandings of theſe Men, who can be impoſed upon by this ſuperficial Reaſoning? Can the Wiſdom of this Age entertain the Vanity to think, that their Anceſtors have for ſeven hundred Years perſiſted in an Error, which the bright Genius of the enlightened Vulgar now have diſcovered to be ſuch? ſhall every Cobler in his Stall pretend a

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Knowledge of political Affairs, ſuperior to that of the beſt, the wiſeſt, the greateſt Men of this and all former Ages, whom their Education, and whole Turn of Life have adapted and dedicated wholly to the Study of Politicks and Government? What ridiculous Vanity is this? and what Folly, to imagine that Men, who have no Intereſt in the State, but the Profits of their daily Labour, ſhould be more anxious for the Well-being of their Country, than thoſe who have vaſt Properties to take Care of; who really feel the Burthens, which are but imaginary upon the reſt (becauſe in the Nature of things they caſt off the Load of all publick Charges from themſelves upon the Rich, by an Advance both in the Price of their Commodities and Labour,) and who alone ſuſtain all the Taxes of the Nation? Whoſe Lands are ſaddled directly or indirectly with the whole Expence; who, if Ruin falls upon their Country, muſt, by Forfeitures and Confiſcations loſe their Eſtates, their Titles, and perhaps their Lives, while theſe, living by the natural Occaſions of all Mankind, muſt ſtill be neceſſary to every State, transform it how you will, muſt be from that Neceſſity preſerved, and carry with them, through all Diſaſters of their Country, a certain Method of Subſiſtence. Shall this Order of the People, from the falſe Oratory, and Declamations of a few ſeditious Leaders, be perſuaded to oppoſe their new-fangled Sentiments to ſuch Men as theſe, preſume to ſet up for Leaders of Political Opinions, and by a few Inſtances of temporary Neglect in great Men, (warped perhaps on ſome Occaſions from their Duty to their Country, by the Allurements of great Offices in the State,—or miſled into the Support of wrong Meaſures for a time) be carried away, to think their Affairs more ſafe under the Direction of Men of deſperate Fortunes, low Rank, and even of the very Commonality themſelves;—or becauſe all the Inſtances of frantick Management in Princes, have been collected together, to make a Bundle of Infamy againſt Government by Monarchy, and to expoſe the Errors and Wickedneſs of ſome crowned Heads;—are they to conclude from theſe partial Informations, that Monarchy is no longer to be endured, or truſted with any Degree of Power, however legally entitled to it by the Conſtitution of their Country!—and that neither the Prince, who derives his Glory from the Greatneſs of his People, his Security and Affluence from their Proſperity, nor the Nobility, whoſe Titles and Eſtates depend upon the ſame Source, are proper Judges of the Intereſt of the Publick, while they deem themſelves the only knowing, wiſe, and honeſt Politicians of the World.

Again,

Again,—Will this Nation be ſeduced to ſuch a Point as not to ſee, that neither this, nor any other in the World can ſtand alone, and without Allies?—That Maritime Power is precarious, neceſſarily divided often, and capable of changing from one State to another, when protected only by itſelf.—That when the *Romans* gained the univerſal Empire on the Continent, though much in a lower Condition in their Marine than *France* now is, the *Carthaginians*, the only State in the World then potent in this reſpect, were in the End deſtroyed.—That we ourſelves only by one fortunate Defeat ruined the Naval Force of *Spain* in 1588, and acquir'd the Dominion of the Sea—That every People almoſt in *Europe*, now have ſome degree of Power upon that Element, and that a little Acceſſion of Influence to *France*, muſt put her in a Condition to compel that whole collected Power to contend with ours,—that ſhe might, with *a little Extent* of her Barrier, and *Arrondiſſement* of her Dominions, reduce half of her Armies, and employ half of her Revenues to encreaſe her Fleets.—That the Experience of all our Hiſtories ſhews, that the utmoſt Care of the moſt numerous Squadrons, cannot ſecure us againſt being inſulted, nay, even actually invaded;—and that ſuch Invaſions have never failed to put us to great Expence, and have always given us great Alarms, and ſometimes proved ſucceſsful: that we have rarely wanted a Faction, at any Time, to back and to abett Attempts of this nature; nor that, from the nature of our Government, we ever ſhall,—and that when they were thus backed, and thus abetted, they hardly ever failed of their Deſign.—The very Government, and Monarchy and Conſtitution of this Country, owe their Origin to theſe Invaſions;—not to ſpeak of the *Romans*, whoſe Conqueſts are very remote, the *Saxons* conquered this Iſland from the *Britons*, by their Fleets; the Empire of the *Saxons*, who, in Proportion to thoſe Times, had very conſiderable Naval Forces, was, for a time entirely overthrown by the *Danes*;—and ſcarce had the *Saxons* recovered their Ground, but that the *Norman* Invaſion compleated all, and made an entire Conqueſt of this Nation.—From that Time forward is it forgot how we have ſuffered by Deſcents from *France*; how the Contentions for private Titles were perpetually carried on, to the Perturbation of our State; how frequently every Party ſucceeded in their Turn: how near the *Spaniards*, as I have before obſerved, came to make a Province of this Iſland; how the Revolution, in the Memory of thoſe now living ſucceeded, in ſpight of all the Vigilance of Goverment, how *IRELAND* was upon the very Point of being loſt; how the *French* invaded, and retreated thence with Impunity; how, ſince that Time, many Deſcents have

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taken Effect; when our Navy was in its Zenith, and those of other Powers at their lowest Ebb; — how vast a Number of our Ships have been found insufficient to answer all our several Purposes of Defence, of Trade, the Annoyance of our Enemies, and Protection of our own Coast; against one inconsiderable Enemy, and one hollow Friend? — If we have not forgot all this, — we must be mad, to think, that, at any Time, or in any Situation, this Nation can, with Security, alone confide in their Naval Force, much less when the rest of *Europe* should be reduced to the dread of, or to a provincial Dependance upon a great Empire, within three Hours sail of some Part of our Dominions, and within ten of our Capital itself.

Will this Nation, however careful of its Liberty at Home, out of a remote and, honestly speaking, little to be dreaded Danger of the Influence of a small Military Force, expose itself to those Insults, which must destroy all Peace and Quiet, interrupt all Commerce, and may, upon every Turn, ruin the publick Credit of this Country, which gives Life to every Thing, in which we find either Profit or Security at Home: — But much more shall this Nation, from these imaginary Dangers, be mad enough to disband her Armies in the Time of actual War, and run headlong into the manifest, immediate and certain Dangers of a Foreign Yoke? — Are we to put ourselves to immediate Death for fear of dying hereafter? — What Folly is it, (out of a magnified Misrepresentation of Distresses, imaginary, and falsely pretended, Decay of Trade, or Suggestions of Poverty in the midst of immense Opulency, greater than either we or any other State in *Europe* ever yet enjoyed,) to refuse Succour to *those Allies*, whose *Standing Armies* awe that Power, which, when once unrestrained by them, can never possibly be resisted, but by such Standing Armies at Home, as would indeed be ruinous both to Trade and Liberty. By these occasional and temporary Expences, we secure the future and constant Assistance, and avail ourselves of the Benefit of Standing Armies of numerous and potent Nations, which answer, upon any Emergency abroad, that Want, which we otherwise should have of them at home, and without which our Country would infallibly, sooner or later, be the Seat of War, — without which our Inhabitants, instead of Manufacturers, must universally become Soldiers, — and our Battles be fought within our own Bowels, and by our own Countrymen, instead of being fought in the Countries of our Enemies, and to the Depopulation of other Nations. — No Expence can be too great to secure us these Advantages, or to preserve us from these Evils, — and to pretend, that the Benefits of our Situation are to be carried further than this, or to be secur-

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ed by any other Means in the present State and Politicks of all the Powers on the Continent, is a *Presumption* upon the Goodness and Felicity permitted us by Providence, and *a Nonsense* that will destroy it all.

However evident this Reasoning is, yet its contrary met with Advocates, and enlarged *their Bottom*; but, *broad* as they affected to call it, and *broad*, as it really became, by the Folly and Passion, and Ferment of the Time, the Foundation, upon which it was built, was too bad to admit it to stand without it was yet much *broader*, to which End they employed their Sophestry, upon the Head of our Troops in *Flanders*, still much farther. This they urged in the Debate of that Day; but afterwards, according to their Custom, retailed among the People, in a Pamphlet, intitled, *The Question stated with regard to our Army in* Flanders. At the Close of which, they summed up all their Argument, corrected by the Debate, inlarged by the Collection of the various Reasonings of their Orators, and reduced by Leisure, into the Method best adapted to impose upon the Publick.

These Reasons were drawn into the Form of Questions most falsely and fallaciously composed, and as falsely and fallaciously answered by themselves, which I shall take the Liberty to answer in a different Manner.

The first Question was in these Words; 1*st*, Why, with one War upon your Hands, will you draw yourselves into another?

2*dly*, Why will you make yourselves Principals in a War, in which you ought only to be Auxiliaries?

3*dly*, Why do you run yourselves into Expences you can't bear, into Difficulties you will find it so hard, if not impossible to get out of, into Inconveniencies you see no End of, Pursuits where there is nothing to gain, and Struggles in which you have so much to lose?

4*thly*, Why, if the Queen of *Hungary* is to be farther assisted, do you, instead of sending her Money, which might assist her, expend treble the Money she would be thankful for in raising Forces that can't assist her?

5*thly*, Why did you dissuade the Queen of *Hungary* from listening to all Offers of Accommodation the last Summer, and particularly at the Siege of *Prague*? Why did you endeavour to prevent her accepting the Terms proposed of reciprocal Evacuation of *Bohemia* and *Bavaria*, leaving other Claims and Pretentions to future Negotiations and civil Decision, which is the End they must come to, unless these Squables last for ever?

6*thly*, Why did you embarque in this Measure, without the Junction, Consent, Approbation, or even Participation of *Holland*?

7*thly*,

7thly, Why have you alone taken upon you the Hazards, Burthens and Expences of a Scheme, which all the Powers of *Europe* combined, would not *perhaps* be able to execute, and which no Power in *Europe* will assist you in?

These Questions are, by the Confession of the Author, who was known to be a capital Writer, the Substance of all they had to offer upon this Head,—and we shall now come to shew their flimsy Texture; —they are intended to pass as so many solid Facts, attended with so many irrefragable Reasons, how much they differ, from either Fact or Reason, appear by the following Reflections.

As to the first Question, we entered into the second War, because we were bound by the strongest Ties of Treaty and publick Faith to do it;—because the first War could never have been brought to a happy Conclusion without it; —because the second Enemy supported the first;—because the second Power, without entering avowedly into that War, supplied, encouraged, and fomented the Difference between us and the first; and because there is more Safety in an open Enemy, than in a false Friend:—because the Views of the first and second Enemy coincided with each other;—and because we were certain, that the second Enemy would have joined the first, with her whole and an irresistible Force, when she had finished her Work in *Germany*, and that then we should have had to deal with both these Powers, without any one Ally in the World,—whereas, by joining against the second, we were able to act in Conjunction with some of the greatest Powers in *Europe*, and a reasonable Expectation of the Aid of more;—because the rash Attempts of the first Power, partly to gratify her own wild Ambition, and partly to assist the Plan of the second, had afforded us the Means, if we engaged against the second, of ruining the Armies of the first, of confining her Fleets from any Possibility of doing us any Harm, and in fine, of disappointing her most favourite Views, of exhausting her Revenues, and of throwing her Government into Confusion in one Campaign, more than by any other way of waging War with her to the End of the World.—All this could be only done, when we had the one War upon our Hands, by engaging in the other.

As to the second Question, it will scarce admit of any Answer, because the Assertion it implies is absolutely and notoriously false in Fact, for we have hitherto not been Principals in this War in any Sense whatever: We have acted only as Auxiliaries to the House of *Austria*.—And this it seems I need not take the Pains to justify, since in acting as Auxiliaries, we are by Confession of this Author only what we ought to be.

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The third Question contains a complicated Charge, to which I shall distinctly answer: 1, It is as happily as it is palpably untrue, *that the Expences, into which we are involved, are such as we cannot bear.* For to the heavy Disappointment of the Enemies of this Country, the great Supplies of the last Year have been raised upon Terms as low, notwithstanding all the Arts of monied Men, and all the Terrors scattered by the *Faction*, as they ever were in Times of the most profound Peace, while the Enemy, we are engaged with, cannot raise the Sums he wants, at twice the Rate of Interest we pay: 2. *As to the Difficulties, which are foretold to be so hard and impossible to get out of*, it is now visible, that by the Steadiness of this Parliament, and the Blessing of God upon our Arms, we have already proved the *Faction* to be lying Prophets, and what has already happened, sufficiently promises us a full Detection of the Falsity of every one of their Predictions: 3. *As to the Inconveniencies we see no End of it*, it is undoubtedly true, that no human Reason can prescribe an exact Period to any War, the Inconveniencies of which must last till such War is determined; but if this be an Objection, it is such a one, as must make against engaging in any War, however just or necessary, in any Country or Conjunction whatsoever: 4. We are charged *with Pursuits, where there is nothing to gain, and Struggles, in which we have so much to lose.*—But can these Men pass for Patriots upon the Publick, who say, we have *nothing to gain*, by restoring that faithful Ally, which is alone able to stem the Ambition of the *French* Monarch, the implacable and ever dangerous Enemy of this Country? or can they be thought to have either common Sense or Honesty, who contend, that we should lie by in Time of such Danger?—*When are Men to struggle, but when they have so much to lose, as the Trade, the Independency, the Religion, and the Freedom of their Country?*

The fourth Question demands, *why we did not assist the Queen of* Hungary *with Money only*? I cannot but observe, that this Question, considering the Tendency of their *former* Insinuations, is a little unnecessary, unless they doubted of the Weight *they* might have upon the Publick;—for the general Turn of their Discourse has been, that it is vain to assist her, either with Men or Money.—In good Truth, if the Subject were not of too serious a Nature, it would be impossible not to laugh at the miserable Shifts they have been put to, to defend their wretched Cause. Whenever any Man of Sense and Knowledge kept them close in Argument, urged the Faith of Treaties, the Danger of *France*, the Ruin of the Balance, the Case of the Earl of *Orford* (censured by themselves for neglecting these Considerations,) they confessed

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all this, and denied, that they oppoſed it; they ſaid, that they agreed in the Neceſſity of aſſiſting the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and that they differed only in the Means; yet, if ever they could faſten upon any weak, ignorant, or ill-diſpoſed Perſon in private Converſation, it was their whole Labour to convince him of the Danger, impracticability, and Inutility of doing it at all. This was the Topick upon which their Tools and Emiſſaries were inſtructed conſtantly to entertain the People,--nay, they came at laſt to talk publickly in Parliament in the ſame diſingenuous manner, and with the ſame Inconſiſtency.-- It will not be ſoon forgot, and in what Manner, how in the Debate of this very Point, their moſt eminent Directors argued, *ſome* grounding their Harangues upon this poſition, that the late Succeſs of the Houſe of *Auſtria* had reduced *France* ſo low, that ſhe could not carry on the War with any Proſpect of Succeſs; that the Queen of *Hungary* might therefore make a ſafe and honourable Peace; and that to ſupport her any longer would be to abet her in a War of Acquiſition and Ambition, with which we ought to have no Concern; *others* declaiming upon this direct contrary Principle, that the Houſe of *Auſtria* was now reduced ſo low, that ſhe could never more be looked upon as a proper Power to be maintained for the Support of the Ballance againſt *France*, and that conſequently, the Expence of aſſiſting the Queen of *Hungary* in this View was fruitleſs and deſtructive, and tending only to encourage *her* in *the Purſuit*, and to plunge *ourſelves* into *the Certainty* of more immediate *Ruin*. It is unneceſſary to make any Remarks upon the Difference of the *Premiſes*; it is enough, that the *Concluſion* was the ſame from both. This kind of Reaſoning therefore, as I have already obſerved, ſeems to have rendered this Queſtion (*why we did not aſſiſt the Queen of* Hungary *with Money only of little Importance*) becauſe, according to the Doctrine we have mentioned, the proper Queſtion ſhould have rather been, *Why do we aſſiſt the Queen of* Hungary *in any way whatſoever ?*--However, we ſhall follow our Gentlemen for the preſent in their own Way,--and anſwer firſt, becauſe, though ſhe might have been thankful for a third Part of the Money, which our Troops coſt us, as any Power in her late deplorable Circumſtances would have been, it was not *her Thanks*, but *her Preſervation* from immediate Ruin, it was not *her Gratitude*, but *the Recovery of her Power*, to ballance *France*, which it was our Buſineſs to procure; it muſt have been an Aid that would be *effectual*, or we ſhould have left her worſe than we found her. Now this Inſinuation, that a Pecuniary Aid would have been alone effectual, is far from being true, though the whole Money, which our Armies coſt us, had been remitted to *Vienna*.

--First, because such immense Sums, exported out of this Country thither, would have distressed us greatly, and would have none of it returned; it would have therefore been impracticable to have continued this Expence for any time: Whereas, by Experience of the last War, it was manifest, that very near two-thirds of the Charge of the Armies we maintained within a nearer Distance of this Country returned to us again; and we have had a Proof that we can support a War in this Method without any vast Diminution of our Specie. 2*dly*, Because such immense Sums must, from the Nature of that Court, have been much wasted or consumed; but however applied, could not so conveniently have answered our Ends, because we should have lost the Advantage of a Diversion to the Forces of *France*, which is a Measure of the greatest Benefit in War. 3*dly*, Because we should have lost the Advantage that resulted from the Security of the Barrier, from the Encouragement of the *Dutch*, from the Protection of the States and Circles lying upon the Confines of *France*, and the Influence we have since manifestly gained upon the Diet of the Empire. 4*thly*, Because no other Measure could have put it in our Power to attack and penetrate into *France* itself, if God should prosper our Arms with any remarkable Success, that by this apprehension the Flower of her Armies have been consequently retained at home, and she more likely to be brought to Terms of reasonable Accommodation. 5*thly*, That by this means we availed ourselves of two great Points; first, of the Cavalry of the Allies, which is the best in *Europe*, and must have been for the greatest Part unemployed in this Quarrel, if the War had not been carried on in this manner; and, secondly, of the natural Superiority which Confederated Powers have over a single Nation, and what was our manifest Advantage in the last War, *viz.* that the Loss of Men on our Part will fall more equally, and will be less felt; while the whole Loss of *France* falls upon her own Nation, from whence alone she is able to recruit; which Circumstance, all other things supposed to he equal, must enable the Queen of *Hungary* to sustain the War longer, and with less Inconvenience than the *French* --For whatever the Vulgar have been taught to think, the *Austrian* Dominions are by no means inexhaustible of Men;--tho' the *French* have suffered more, yet the *Austrians* have lost a great Number, and it is a certain Fact, that *France* alone contains more Inhabitants than all the Countries of the Queen of *Hungary* put together.--As to the last Assertion, *that we have raised Forces that can't assist her*, it was founded upon an infamous, wicked and abominable Falshood, *That the Troops, with whom they acted in Conjuction, could not, nor would not, march in the Empire*, now as fully laid open, and disproved in every

Respect,

Respect, as was impudently and maliciously maintained.--In fine, A full Answer to all this Ribaldry is contained in one Word *Dettingen*, which, had they their Deserts, should be branded in the Forehead of every Member of the *Faction*.

The fifth Question is grounded upon and conveys the Assertion of a Fact, which to this Hour they cannot tell whether it be true or false; that we dissuaded the Queen of *Hungary* from listning *to all Offers of Accomodation, the last Summer, particularly at the Siege of* Prague, &c. To this I reply only, that if we did it we did wisely. None but Politicians, such as these, would have consented to a Cessation of Arms; (for these Offers of Accommodation in effect amounted to no more) the only View of which was to prevent the Ruin of 30,000 Regular Troops of *France*, and all the ill Consequences she suffered in the ensuing Campaign. Let us farther see upon what Terms;—*Why you, the Queen of* Hungary, *are Mistress of* Bavaria, *which we cannot recover; we, the* French, *are Masters of half* Bohemia, *which we cannot keep; give us therefore up* Bavaria, *and you shall have* Bohemia, *saving only to the Emperor our Ally, (that is to say, both to us and him, a sufficient Pretence to attack you again immediately, when we have got out of our present Scrape, with an additional Force) his Pretensions to all your Dominions, the present Possession of Part of* Bohemia, *and the Town of* Egra, *which is the Key to the whole; giving up moreover to him your Interest in* Swabia, *(which is little less than the third Part of that Circle, and has, by the Number of its Votes, the same kind of Influence in the Diet of the Empire, as* Cornwall *in the* British *Parliament;) together with the* Forest Towns, *(which as soon as you have parted with, your ancient and permanent Alliance with the* Swiss, *by which they are tied never to act in any Capacity as Enemies against you, will be dissolved;) then will we deliver up the City of* Prague *into your Hands.*--No, that this City of *Prague* (out of which 10,000 of 30,000 that were there, and their best Cavalry a Part of that Number, never lived to return, which did not long after, and was then every Day expected to fall into the *Austrian* Hands,) was all that the Queen of *Hungary* could have gained by this Cessation, is too visible to be denied; and it is therefore no Wonder that she was so obstinate as she is represented by the *Faction*; she was not inclined to trust to a new Capitulation with that very Body of Troops, who had they not, contrary to all military Faith and Rules of War broke a Capitulation, by which they saved their Lives at *Lintz* a few Months before, could not have been at *Prague* in that Conjuncture to have demanded a second Opportunity to abuse the Mercy of this generous Princess. Yet, shortly after, it was made a Pretence

against her for not accepting these absurd Terms. The *Faction* abused her for it, and proclaimed that she no longer merited our Assistance, that she was vindictive and ambitious, and that she had changed the Nature of the War, that it was now become offensive instead of defensive on her Part; that she deserved to perish for her Folly, and our Ministers to be hang'd for advising her to it:--To what?--Not to trust to the insidious Offers, to the Faith of that perfidious Power, Offers, that gave no Assurance of any Accommodation; Offers plainly calculated to enable her Enemies to fall upon her immediately after, with redoubled Force, tending only to deprive her of the happy Opportunity, which God had presented, to give the greatest Blow to *France*, that was ever given to her in one Campaign; Offers *to bribe her by an Advantage, which was, in Fact, already in her Hands,--to be guaranty'd to her, by the Honour and Honesty of* France,--*confirmed by the additional Power of her released Army, and secured by the Reservation of the Emperor's Title to all her Dominions, which the Emperor has, by his Memorials, since avowed to be his Intention never to have departed from.* The Acceptance of such Offers may be advised by *Jacobite* Counsellors, and abetted by inconsiderate and never-to-be-blinded *Tories*; but no honest *Englishman* can bear such flagrant and manifest Discovery of a Confederacy in this Country to promote the Views of *France*; or suffer himself by any Pretence to assist in the Advancement of such a Party into the Administration of Affairs, as could recommend it to be done.

Indeed these Endeavours to prevent us from availing ourselves of every Advantage against *France*, these outrageous Attempts to prejudice our People against their natural Allies, this heaving with such excessive and unnatural Efforts against the Principles of Reason, Safety and Justice; all this puts it out of our Power, to deal more gently with these Men.

Our Ministers therefore acted honestly and wisely (if they did give the contrary Advice) and unless they had been of the Principles of that *Faction*, which abandoned the *Catalonians*, made the separate Peace of *Utrecht*, sacrificed their Allies, and all the Advantages of the late War, the Glory, Interest and good Faith of this Nation; and unless they had entertained the same View, the Preservation of the House of *Bourbon*, for the Service of the Pretender, they could have given no other. If this Step had not been taken, by this Time indeed we should not have had an Army in *Flanders*, nor would there have been a single Army in *Europe*, that could have ventured to have opposed the Views of *France*; the Queen of *Hungary*, attacked by the collected Force of *France*, would have clearly understood

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what were meant by the *future Negociations*, and the *civil Decision* then propoſed to her; ſhe muſt have ſubmitted long e'er now to the Will of that relentleſs Power; and we ſhould have had all our Thoughts turned vainly, and without Effect to execute the pleaſant Scheme of theſe wiſe and honeſt Patriots, that of *entrenching ourſelves in our Iſland againſt the united Power of* France *and* Spain; how long it had been before theſe Entrenchments had been forced, every knowing Man can eaſily ſee and underſtand.

The next Queſtion is, *Why did you embark in this Meaſure without the Junction, Conſent, Approbation, or even Participation, of* Holland.--This Way of inſinuating Falſhoods with an *If*, and in this Manner, has the ſame Effect upon the People, as ſo many certain Facts, and give theſe Men the Opportunity, when the Inſinuation is proved falſe, either by the Reaſon of their Adverſaries, or the Event of Things, to ſay they only ſuggeſted what ſeemed to them the Caſe, and that they never poſitively aſſerted theſe Things.--But as they have all the Effect of poſitive Aſſertions, and as they reaſon upon them always, as if they were to be taken for granted, and for ſo many undeniable Truths, we have no other way to treat them, but to take them on our Part, as the People are intended to take them on theirs.--Theſe Aſſertions therefore are all of them either falſe, or fallacious, but if ever ſo true, the Meaſure was ſuch as the whole People (for the Reaſons I have mentioned, when I firſt entered upon this Head) with all its Inconveniencies, and theſe great Uncertainties, thought themſelves reduced to an abſolute Neceſſity, by way of Experiment to undertake.--That we did it without the Participation of *Holland*, is a glaring Untruth, for it cannot be ſoon forgot how our Miniſters were ridiculed by the *Faction*, for the preſſing Inſtances we made in *Holland*, to engage them to join with us at that Time.--And that it was without their *Junction*, *Conſent*, or *Approbation*, is very fallacious, becauſe theſe Words convey an Idea, which is abſolutely falſe, *that they refuſed* to join *at all, that they gave us reaſon to believe that they never would conſent, and that they had given us to underſtand, that they condemned our Undertaking*.--Whereas the Fact was only this, that they would not join in the Inſtant that we firſt deſired,--that they would not conſent till they found that they might depend upon the Vigour and Stability of our Adminſtration,--that they would not publickly approve of a Meaſure, in which it was not ſafe for them to engage, till they ſaw a Force ſufficient to protect them, and till they were convinced, that the Efforts of a *Faction*, which had betrayed them once before, were too weak to defeat its Effect, and to leave them, as they did formerly, at the

the Mercy of the *French*.--These appear to have been their only Reasons.--This we knew at that Time by the Assurances of their Ministry to ours;--this the *French* then equally understood (as any Man may see by *Van Hoey*'s Letters; (and this is now so clearly demonstrated by their actual Accession to our Views, that for the future the People, if they are not infatuated, must be convinced, how little Dependence they ought to have upon Men who scruple no wicked Arts to render them the Tools to effect their still more wicked Designs, and that there may be a Necessity, in some Conjunctures, to repose a Confidence in the Abilities, Integrity, and Intelligence of those who direct their Affairs.

The seventh Question asserts three monstrous Facts, equally false, and equally tending the Ruin of our Country:--1st, *That we have taken upon us alone the Hazards, Burthens and Expences of this Scheme*; that is, of preventing *France* from being Mistress of all *Europe*:--2dly, *That all the Powers in* Europe *combined would not be able* (perhaps) *to execute this Scheme*:--3dly, *That no Power in* Europe *will assist us in it.*

I am already wearied, and it is impossible to find Variety of Terms to express the Iniquity of the Conduct of these Men.--All their Assertions are so exactly correspondent with each other, that the same Epithets must be perpetually repeated, when we reflect upon them; yet it is impossible for honest Men to let such Advances pass unanswered.--What Impudence can be so great as this, to say, that *England* alone has taken upon itself the Hazards, Burthens, and Expences of this War?--The House of *Austria* has now in different Parts, and different Armies, no less than 180,000 Men:--Under Prince *Charles* 63,000; under other Generals in *Germany*, employed in the Sieges or Blockades of *Egra*, *Ingoldstadt*, &c. 30,000;--with the King of *Sardinia* and Count *Traun* 27,000; in *Flanders*, and upon the *Rhine*, 20,000; in the *Trentine*, and the *Tirol*, and adjacent Parts of *Bavaria*, 15,000; upon the *Adriatick*, ready to succour, either the *Italian* Armies, or to be carried into the *Neapolitan* Dominions by our Fleets, 12,000; and at least 13,000 Men in the Garrisons of *Austria*, the different Parts of *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Moravia*, *Servia*, *Croatia*, *Sclavonia*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, *Stiria*, and other Provinces which, bordering upon the *Turk*, can never be totally left unfurnished;--the King of *Sardinia* has above 40,000, and with his Militia above threescore, which amounts at least to *Two hundred and forty thousand Men*, towards which we contributed no more than the Vote of 500,000 *l.*--Can it then be said, that we alone have taken upon us the Hazards, Burthens, and Expences of this Scheme, this

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genuine and incontrovertible State of our Confederacy, even at the Time of this Debate, evinces better than any Scheme of Argument or Words can do, the Falsity of every one of these three Assertions.--*That we bear the whole Expence--that it is impossible for all* Europe *combined to prevent* France *from becoming Mistress of the World.--and that we have no Allies*--so far untrue, that since the Accession of the *Dutch*, though as yet with no more than 28,000 Men, and his Majesty's Quota for the Electorate of *Hanover*, (both which the *Faction* impudently asserted we were never to expect,) together with the *English*, *Hessians*, and *Hanoverians*, in the *British* Pay, we have now in this Confederacy, and actually in the Field, little less than 320,000 of the best Troops in *Europe*, which is a greater Force than *France* alone will be ever able to bring against us, which she cannot maintain, and which, as her Troops consist at present of the very Reliques of her exhausted People, if they are once defeated, her Country cannot recruit again. And we are farther morally sure, should the War continue, of a much greater Assistance from other *German* States, certainly from *Russia*, and not impossibly from even *Saxony* and *Prussia*. So that as our Affairs now stand, considering the total Ruin of *Bavaria*, the Inability of *Spain*, the immense Losses and Expences of *France*, which have been all wasted to little Effect, the Security of the *Turk*, the deep Resentments, and the Stake for which the House of *Austria* now contend, the manifested Perfidy and detected Views of *France*; we are in a much fairer Situation, if we avail ourselves of it, as we ought, to reduce *France*, than we ever were in any Period of Time. The only Danger therefore to which we are now exposed is from the Wickedness of this *Faction*, and the Levity and Folly of our own People, who may, by their intemperate Conduct and Impatience, induce our Ministers to accept of indifferent Terms from *France*, (though they know that she now lies in a manner at our Mercy,) rather than be compelled after yet greater and more clear Advantages to sacrifice still a fairer Prospect. Let me therefore adjure my Countrymen, by all that they hold most dear and sacred, not to concur in obstructing and defeating this glorious Opportunity, which God has thrown before us, which if properly improved is the only likely means to secure us for Ages yet to come, (most certainly for many Years,) against all those Expences, that have been so long heavy on us; against the Necessity of those standing Armies, which are so odious; and against those Taxes which, by the necessary Methods of their Collection, so greatly, though unavoidably, harrass the People; which create that Dependancy of which they are so jealous, and prevent the Diminution of

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that Debt, which is at present so great a Clog upon our Lands, our Commerce and our Influence abroad.--The natural Consequences of that Success, which it seems at this Time so much in our Power to ensure, will far more effectually secure the Constitution of this Kingdom, than all the Paper Guards of popular Laws. These are but palliative and vain Remedies, if carried too far, tend only to aggravate the Differences and Jealousies between Prerogative and Privilege, and compel Government to invent new Allies of a more secret, and consequently the most dangerous Nature to the Liberties of every Nation.

We have now done with our Reflections on the Conduct of the *Faction* upon this Head of the 16,000 Troops in *Flanders*; and I hope with some Advantage to the Publick, by the clearest Vindication of that Measure, and by the manifest Detection of the Views of those, who opposed it, and seduced the People to be discontented with it. Wicked as their Conduct was in this, I know not how to describe its dangerous Tendency with relation to the next Point, upon which they shewed themselves. There are some Crimes so horrible, Designs and Views so infamous and so pernicious, that they secure themselves from Detection by the Honesty of Mankind, whose Ideas can scarce rise to the Suspicion that Man should be guilty of them. Of such a Nature was the Opposition of this *Faction* to the Question of the *Hanoverian* Troops.

In all the Course of the former Opposition, (though no rational Man will attempt to excuse every passionate Conduct of any Party,)--yet being conducted by Men, who ever strictly maintained their Affection to the Royal Family upon the Throne, who knew, that its Security was the Security both of Liberty and the Protestant Religion; it may be affirmed, that they never endeavoured to poison the Affections of the People to the Prince upon the Throne.--It was the Minister they attacked only, and a Change of his Person, and his Measures, as we have already observed, were all that they encouraged the People to expect.--Had their Prince been guilty of any Errors, or subject to any Infirmities to which human Nature is exposed, as well upon the Throne as in a Cottage, they would have thought it their Duty to have covered and concealed them all, rather than have hazarded one Grain of the Affections of the People to the Family upon the Throne.--If any Thing of this kind ever escaped, (and very little of it did in that Opposition,) it was the secret, and never-to-be-traced Venom of *Jacobites*, who united in their Party, and abused the Liberty of the Press; but for any one of those Men who are now taken into the Government, or who now act with it, who were the Leaders of the

Party

Party at that time, they neither acted nor countenanced, nay they kept down and deſtroyed that Tendency wherever it appeared. -Their Oppoſition was upon true Whig Principles, their Writings all tended to fix the People to theſe Principles, and one of the Reaſons why they encouraged the Spirit of Popularity and Republicaniſm, perhaps too far, was to divert the People from a contrary and fatal Turn another way.--But the Dregs of that Party, ſtripped of their Leaders, gleaned of the Whigs, by whom they are governed, are now fallen into the Hands of Men, whoſe Principles are the very reverſe,--who labour to deſtroy every Seed of Affection, or good Opinion in the People, to the Royal Family.

To render this deſperate Deſign more practicable, they had thus begun to deſtroy the Opinion of the People, as to the Neceſſity of the War, and the Aſſiſtance of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, in the manner we have ſeen, that they might (and it was impoſſible to be done without it) with more effect inſinuate, in due time, the pernicious Belief, that it was a War engaged in merely for the Intereſts of *Hanover* alone.

They flattered themſelves that the Time was now come.— The Preſs ſwarmed with ſuch treaſonable Pamphlets, as were never ventured, or ever known to be publiſhed in any Age or Nation.- The King's Perſon was in Ballads, and Libels attacked with a licence, which never was taken, even in the great Rebellion, when the King and the Nation were in actual War upon each other. It was now aſſerted publickly, and in Print, [a] *That the Intereſts of* Britain *had been ſteered, ever ſince the Acceſſion of this family, by the rudder of* Hanover. --[b]*That the Intereſts of* Great Britain *had been conſtantly and manifeſtly ſacrificed, for many Years, to that of the Electorate.*-- [c] *That the Intereſts of* Hanover *had been the Touchſtone of all our Meaſures ſince the Acceſſion.*--[d] *That* Great Britain *had been hitherto ſtrong and vigorous enough to bear up* Hanover *on its Shoulders, and though now waſted and wearied out with the continued Fatigue, ſhe was ſtill goaded on, as if already ſold to Vaſſallage, and by Compulſion obliged to perſiſt in the ungreatful Drudgery, without Hope of, or Title to, Redemption,*--[e] *and forced to ſubmit to the Ignominy of becoming only a Money Province to that Electorate.--That nobody could or did indeed wonder at the Affec- on his late Majeſty expreſſed for his Native Country, and nobody blames the Tenderneſs his preſent Majeſty preſerves for it! Both of*

[a] Caſe of the *Hanover* Troops, *fol.* 30. [b] The Intereſt of *Hanover*, fol. 19. [c] Ibid. fol. 51. [d] Caſe of the *Hanover* Troops, *fol.* 71. [e] Ibid. *fol.* 83.

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them had their Beings and their first Impressions in it. Nor would it be surprising,- if the Successor should have some Prædilection for the Meridian in which he was born and educated, but it is a terrible Doctrine, that of being a pecuniary Province to a little State upon the Continent, destined only to bolster up its Pride, supply its Indigence, and gratify its frivolous Ambition, to lavish away, upon a puny hopeless stunted Child, the Nourishment necessary to support the healthy and thriving one.--[a] *Exhausted and beggared as we are already, a Servile Submission, and the breaking and taming of the true* English *Spirit, may possibly be thought the next Thing necessary; in order to which, the Interest and Influence of* Hanover *are no longer now to be disguised or concealed, but openly avowed as the Rule of our Conduct, and the Spring of our Actions.--*[b] *Lured by an insatiable Thirst of Gain, in whatever Shape; in love with military Spectacles, and to make a Soldier like Figure in the Field,* Hanover *may proceed as far as a March, or a Counter-march more would be too much.--*[c] *Will you lose the Affections, and exhaust the Strength of your Kingdom, for the Addition of a Bailliage to the Electorate.--*[d] *We have too much good Sense to be so imposed upon, too much Spirit not to resent the very Attempt, and too much Discretion to beggar ourselves for the sake of an Infant, which has been a Snare and a Curse to us from the Beginning.--* This is the venomous Stile, these are the very individual Words and Language of this detestable Set of Men set forth not only in their Speeches, both within the House and without, but published in the Face of Government, and to the World, delivered to the People as their Creed, inculcated as the Fundamentals of their Political Faith. written by their most eminent Men, avowed by them, recommended and with amazing Industry spread through the remotest Corners of the united Kingdom. I have referred to the Pamphlets themselves, and to the Pages, that I may not be accused of Misrepresentation; (the Books are in every Man's Hands,) for they who are capable to assert this, are Base enough to deny it when they have done it.

Let us now see upon what Pretences, and upon what imminent Danger, this Fire, Fury and Treason, dared to avow itself, to expect Countenance of the People, or to escape its Punishment.--It was for this, and this alone, because *the Ministers had taken* 16,000 Hanoverian *Auxiliaries into* British *Pay to serve in the Quarrel against the House of* Bourbon, *and to support the House of* Austria. Without which we have so fully demonstrated that it could not in that Conjuncture have been supported, or the Ballance of *Europe* saved from utter Ruin.

[a] Case of the *Hanover* Troops, fol. 54. [b] A Vindication of the Case of the *Hanover* Troops, fol. 29. [c] Ibid. fol. 54. [d] Case of *Hanover* Troops, fol. 72.

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The Articles of Impeachment drawn up against the King of *England*, (for the Attack was now pushed to the Foot of the Throne itself) were these:

1st, *That the King and his Father, Electors of* Hanover, *having no Regard nor Paternal Affection to their* British *Dominions, had falsely and treacherously, to their People of* England *betrayed their Interests, and by a corrupt Majority in Parliament, had sacrificed the Wealth, Treasure, Security, Liberty and Reputation of this Country, by one continued Series of uninterrupted Measures, to the contemptible Interest of their* Hanoverian *Dominions.*

2dly, *That to give the finishing Blow, to perfect this long-laboured and indefatigable Undertaking, and to gratify an Avarice insatiable, his present Majesty had hired* 16,000 *of his* Hanoverians *under a Pretext of composing an Army of Auxiliaries for the Service of the House of* Austria.

3dly, That at the Time he did this, [a] *he was convinced of the Impracticability of raising this Phantom of the House of* Austria *to be again capable of ballancing the House of* Bourbon.

4thly, That at the same Time,--[b] *He knew too well, that it is against the Interest of every Prince in* Germany, *and even of the King of* Sardinia *himself, that such an Event should take place.*

[c] 5*thly*, That he had done this:--*When the Queen of* Hungary *became not only successful in her own Enterprizes, but found Means to disengage* Prussia *and* Saxony *from* France, *nay, even* France *herself became perplexed and entangled to such a Degree, as to find herself obliged to offer Terms to the Queen of* Hungary, *for the saving both her Forces and her Honour.*

6*thly*, [d] That he had been guilty of a Conduct *to the last Degree impolitick, to say no worse, not to advise that Princess to accept the Offers of* France, (viz. *to save both the Forces and Honour of* France,) *with which Terms,* Prussia, Saxony, *and every Prince in the Empire, but one, are satisfied.*

7*thly*, [e] That he had persisted in this Scheme of hiring 16,000 of his *Hanoverian* Troops, *though from the Moment that the Queen of* Hungary *rejected these Offers, the Interest, and (of course) the Policy of the* Dutch, *was changed, the Dread of* France, *and its being to be paid, at the Expence of their Barrier, was lost.*

8*thly*, That therefore he had violated *the invariable Maxim* (*i. e.* the Maxim ~~laid down~~ by the *Faction* to serve the present Purpose) *never to enter into a Land War, but when the* Dutch *Barrier was in Danger:* And that *he knew very well,* because

[a] Case of *Hanover* Troops, fol. 51. [b] Ibid. fol. 52. [c] Ibid. fol. 49. [d] Ibid. fol. 53. [e] Ibid. fol. 49.

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the *Dutch* ſtood out, *there was no real Neceſſity for our medling at all.*

9*thly*, That he had done this, *when he knew the* Dutch *would never join us, which it was evident they would not, becauſe they had not.*

10*thly*, That he had done this, though by the Laws of the Empire, *he knew that theſe Troops neither would nor ought to march into* Germany *in Aid of the Queen of* Hungary, *and tho' he knew they could be of no Uſe to her in* Flanders, *nor any where elſe.*

11*thly*, That he hath done all this *contrary to the Senſe of Parliament, and in a manner that violated the Conſtitution and Privilege of Parliament.*

There are but three Inſtances in all the Hiſtory of this Country, that Articles of this Nature have been brought by the Subject againſt the Prince, in the Reign of *Edward* the Second, *Richard* the Second, and *Charles* the Firſt; and in every one of theſe it was by Parliament, and after the Prince was virtually or actually depoſed; but ſuch an Arraignment of any Prince, while he ſat upon his Throne, and had the Approbation of his Parliament for every Meaſure that he took, was never paralleled in this or any other Country.

And when we conſider, not only the malevolent and deſperate Tendency of this Charge, how the Facts have been miſrepreſented, how the Events have ſhewn the Falſhood of almoſt every Article that is here laid down, and how obvious the Anſwer is to every one of the reſt; when we conſider the Views (to which they directly led) of Ruin to the Peace and to the Intereſt of this Country both at home and abroad;--who can ſay, that the Authors of this wicked Conduct, who now ſtile themſelves by the gentle Term of *Oppoſition*, are charged by too harſh an Appellation, when they are proclaimed by the Name and Title of *a Faction.*

A Faction they are and muſt appear to every cool and honeſt Man the worſt in their Deſigns, the moſt daring in their Attempts on Government, and the leaſt warranted by any Pretence or ſhew of Reaſon, that ever reared its monſtrous Creſt in this Nation.

To obſerve, as it might be done, upon the Inconſiſtencies, falſe Concluſions, and Abſurdities, contained in each Article of the Charge above-mentioned, would be to provoke Mirth, inſtead of that Horror which ought to ariſe upon this Proceeding, and would divert that Attention, and deep Reflection, which the Nation ought to have upon the Danger they are in from the Practices of theſe Men.-- As to every Point that may

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ſeem to have the leaſt Colour of Objection, I have purpoſely anſwered before, in the former Pages of this Work, that I might not interrupt that Reflection, and for the ſame Reaſon I ſhall here cloſe my Account of the farther Conduct of theſe Men, with reſpect to this *memorable Queſtion of the* Hanoverian Troops; to which Conduct nothing could add Aggravation, ſince its pernicious Intention manifeſtly was no other, than *by one uniform Proceeding, to dethrone his Majeſty in the Hearts of his People, that they might the more eaſily detrude him afterwards from the Throne itſelf, and to preſerve the Houſe of* Bourbon, *in a Condition to place a Succeſſor in his ſtead.* In which View, they likewiſe gave all Obſtruction in their Power to the Supplies, and to every Way and Means to raiſe them.

But we are now, by farther Circumſtances, to ſhew how they have impoſed upon Mankind;--particularly in thoſe three Points, by which they had duped the Publick to adhere to them, and to give up their Senſes like an infatuated People with Regard to Foreign Affairs; *viz.* the *Place-Bill*, the *Triennial Law*, and the Inquiry into the Conduct of the Earl of *Orford*;--as to the *laſt* it is notorious, that they moved it only as a *Matter of Form*, and ſupported it in a Manner, that ſhewed it was a *mere* Farce; nay, they actually attempted, to take Advantage of the Union, which could not at once be rendered perfect between the Members formerly attached to his Party, and thoſe that were lately admitted into the Adminiſtration, by giving ſufficient Hints of a Diſpoſition to treat with him not only for his Indemnity, but for his Readmiſſion into Power again, upon Condition of being employed themſelves; to which they applied themſelves in an open and unguarded Manner, diſcovering in no one Point (after this Form was paſſed) the leaſt real Inclination to prejudice him further; on the contrary treating his Friends with an affected Diſtinction of Reſpect, directing all their ſcurrilous Speeches and Invectives ſolely againſt the *new Part of the Adminiſtration*, nay, comparing *their* Conduct with *that* of the former Miniſter, not only with an Advantage, given in the Compariſon, to the former, but with Encomiums from the Mouths of their Principal Orators, upon his Wiſdom, Moderation and tender Regard to the Intereſt of his Prince and Country. Whoever ſat in the laſt Seſſions of this Parliament will bear me witneſs as to what I aſſert; but they did it ſo groſsly, that it is almoſt paſt the Belief of thoſe, who did not ſee and hear it, and ſo as to ſhew manifeſtly that they conceived the Capacities of their Audience in Parliament, to be as dull and capable of Impoſition as thoſe of the Herd they had ſo fatally and ſucceſsfully practiſed upon without: But they were miſtaken here; they had

had there to deal with *Whigs*, who can never be imposed upon by these Men, who have experienced them too long, and know them too well, to trust them in any Shape, which *Proteus*-like they are ready to assume to attain their private Ends. Even the Minister himself was contented with what he thought a better Security, the *Affection* of his old Friends, and the *Principles* of the new Part of the Administration, which would not suffer them to inflict any Punishment or to take Revenge upon any Man whatever, whose Destruction, from a Chain of Consequences, and the Ferment of a Nation, thus inflamed by these Incendiaries, must have brought Confusion upon their Country. He thought it more safe to rely upon the good Sense and Honesty of his declared Enemies, than to confide in the Faith of a *Faction*, whose Practice and Principle it was to deceive and to betray. The *old Part of the Administration*, though (from a natural Exultation in the Security, which the Folly and Wickedness of these Men, had beyond their Expectation insured for them,) they might divert themselves, and express some Pleasure to see this Turn in their Favour, and to find the Burden of Abuse, retorted upon those, who had not long before been very liberal of it to them, still knew this never-to-be-forgotten Truth, that neither they nor the Nation could be safe at any Time, without the Union of the *Whigs*; and could not stand without it for one Hour, in the present State of Things. The same Knowledge induced the *new Part of the Administration* to bear with Patience all this Malice of the opposite Party, and the disagreeable Circumstance of being not entirely well treated by those they co-operated with: they considered these things to be as unavoidable, as it was certain, on the other hand, that Time would by Degrees redress this temporary Inconvenience; and they comforted themselves with this happy Reflection, that the Benefit, which had accrued to the Nation, was singly owing to the *Firmness* of their *former*, and the *Moderation* of their *present* Conduct; that any *Good* unattained, or any *Evil*, likely to ensue, was the Off-spring of the Wickedness, Passions and Folly of other Men; and that the Success and Prudence of their Measures, had maintained the Balance of Power *abroad*, and the Interest both of their King and Country *at home*. By this visible Insincerity of these pretended Patriots, the Publick ought, and will, if they are not wholly blinded, see that *the further Success of this Enquiry is an impracticable thing, that is not owing to those upon whom they cast the popular Odium of it, and that it is now palpably kept in Reserve only for a Subject of Distraction and Disunion of the honest Part of this Nation.*

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Now as to the *Place-Bill.*--How ridiculous it is for these Men, (who embarked in the present *Faction* avowedly upon the Account that they had not been the very first of the late Opposition taken into Employment) to be the Persons entrusted by the People of *England* to obtain for them what they desire, in this Respect, wants nothing to give it Illustration; yet, if it wanted any, it would receive it from the faint Attempt of the *Faction* to compass this Point, which was visibly no more than to maintain the Shew of their Professions, and far from being carried on with that Warmth and Spirit which they exerted in the other Pursuit of distressing the Government in every Step and Shape in the Prosecution of the necessary, just, important and practicable View of recovering the Weight, Influence, lost Honour, and Security of this Nation, with Regard to its Affairs abroad: -- How therefore can the People be deluded with their Pretences to procure what these Demagogues have put it out of the Power of any body to procure for them, and what so manifestly appears they have no real Intention to procure themselves, were it in their Power? -- It is evident, that this Point is likewise now only maintained for the same Views of Disunion and Distraction.

Their Conduct, as to the Point of a *Triennal Parliament*, clears this up yet more plainly.--These Men have not so much as followed the Instructions, which they themselves instructed the People to insist upon;--for they never once attempted, or made any Motion during the whole last Sessions, towards the Repeal of the *Septennial Law*,--which is to be accounted for no other Way, than that they found an infinite Majority disposed against it, or that they themselves were not sincere in their Professions for it.--Both these were indeed their Reasons. Their chief People voted directly against it themselves, when it was proposed in the preceding Sessions,--and they must either have acted counter to themselves, which would have exposed them too much, while their former Votes were fresh in every Man's Memory, or have detected this great Truth, to those whom they laboured still to deceive, that they never themselves intended it should pass.--What Dependance then, or what Prospect can the People have to compass this favourite View, by the Aid of those Men to whom they have abandoned their Sense and Reason, and every Thing that is most dear, to engage them to obtain it for them?

If then the People of this Country may so clearly see, that these Points are, from every Circumstance, and above all, from the former Imprudence, and the present deceitful Conduct of this Set of Men, not possibly to be attained.--Why do thy persist *to imagine a vain thing?* -- If their Opposition,

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as from what I have obſerved, is moſt undoubtedly the Caſe, cannot tend to procure theſe Things for them ;--for what is their Perſeverance in that Oppoſition, *but for Oppoſition ſake?*--Or what Effect can it produce, but the Prevention of a certain important Good, *the Eſtabliſhment of a perfect, permanent, and almoſt deſpaired of Security, as to our Foreign Affairs?*--Which would any rational Man reject (conſidering moreover the irretrievable Condition we ſhall be reduced to if we ſhould loſe this happy Opportunity) for the ſake of the Pleaſure of *Oppoſition only?* --Can any Man juſtify this deluſive Entertainment of the Multitude, with Projects, which in his Soul he knows *impracticable*, and which, if *practicable*, are undoubtedly both of the *niceſt Nature*, and of very *dangerous* and *uncertain* Operation, from the unforeſeen Conſequences that attend all great Alterations in the Government of all Countries?--Or will any honeſt Man think himſelf intitled to lay the Seeds of ſuch Diviſions and Diſcontents in this Nation, as manifeſtly tend to ſhake the Foundations of the Monarchy, and the Conſtitution of this Country, for the ſake of *Oppoſition only?*--This is all the Fruit the People can at this time hope to reap from it,--their Leaders indeed may hope another,--what that is, the Tenor of their Conduct plainly manifeſts, and that it is both of a *publick* and *private* Nature.--But will the People be allured to abet ſuch Views for the *Publick*, or is it worth their while to hazard and to ſacrifice ſo much for the *private Views* of ſuch pretended Patriots?

I might content myſelf, if I only wrote to reaſonable Men, and to Men in their right Senſes, with this full Detection of the corrupt and peſtilent Views of this Faction, and with this Evidence of their want of Capacity, as well as Inclination, to compaſs any thing but the Ruin of this Nation both at Home and Abroad. But as I write to Men heated and inflamed with Paſſion, to a giddy and unthinking Multitude, elated with their late Succeſs, and thence liable to misjudge of their Abilities, and to think that practicable which in a cooler State they will plainly ſee to be wholly out of their Power,--as, ſo long as they ſhall think their Pretenſions to be juſt and neceſſary, they will never deſiſt from the vain Purſuit; and as, by this Means, the Nation will be harraſſed with the moſt fatal and endleſs Confuſion, I ſhall now, with the utmoſt Candour, Honeſty and Truth, endeavour to give them a juſter View of thoſe falſe Opinions, which in ſome very important Points, they ſo vainly, and yet ſo paſſionately entertain; though it may claſh with the Popular Opinion, ſo as to draw down the worſt Inconveniences upon my ſelf; though it may even diſgrace the Judgment, or create

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ſome unjuſt Reflection upon the Sincerity of others, as ſubjecting them to the Imputation of having maintained Doctrines, which were in themſelves erroneous, or even ſuch as they knew to be ſuch. Candour, Honeſty, and true Patriotiſm, will make it rather a Matter of Honour than Shamein theſe Men, to ſubmit to theſe Inconveniences; nay, even to make a fair Acknowledgment, either of their Miſtakes, or Faults, rather than by a falſe Deſire of appearing *conſiſtent*, to be really *inconſiſtent*, in their moſt capital Profeſſion, and Intention, that of *ſupporting, in every Event, and at every Hazard, the true Intereſt and Happineſs of* Britain.

We have already obſerved in another Place, that the Views of the *Jacobites* had been ſo univerſally exploded by their infamous Conduct during the loſt four Years of the Queen, and by the Proof, that aroſe of their dangerous Deſigns, from the Rebellion, that broke out ſoon after; and the Nation was ſo univerſally convinced of the Danger of that Faction, had ſeen ſuch Conſequences from their pretended Patriotiſm, and thought themſelves ſo happy in that critical Deliverance; that our Government enjoyed a Tranquility beyond the Experience of any former Time. The *Jacobite* Spirit and the *Republican* Temper of the People both ſeemed in a Manner to have been annihilated by the different Inconveniences they had in the Space of threeſcore Years, alternately brought upon the People; the Concurrence therefore of the whole Nation made the Government ſo ſtrong, and the Adminiſtration of Affairs ſo eaſy; that it tempted the late Miniſter to wanton in his Power, to diſoblige many able and conſiderable Men, to deſpiſe the People, to be guilty of Miſmanagement in the Conduct of our Revenue, and to form Projects for the raiſing of Money, without due Attention to the Tenderneſs and Suſpicions of the People upon any Encreaſe of Influence or Power; till by this Conduct, by attempting to engroſs more than he could execute, and by undertaking to manage Foreign Affairs, which he little underſtood; our Condition inſenſibly grew very deſperate both at home and abroad, and yet the People ſeemed inſenſible of this to ſuch a Degree, and made ſo conſtant a Choice of thoſe he recommended, that moſt Men thought their Spirit greatly changed and broken, and that it was neceſſary to rouſe them from the Lethargy, they ſeemed to be in. This honeſt Apprehenſion made them not afraid to animate the People by Diſcourſes of a *Republican* Turn; —the Liberties of *Europe* were upon the Brink of irretrievable Ruin, and if theſe were loſt, the Liberties of *Britain* could not ſtand: — Any means, that were not more dangerous than immediate Ruin, were

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thought lawful to be uſed, to effect this Change; the Means they uſed, far from ſeeming dangerous, appeared ſafe to them, and to have a Tendency to bend the People from that Plie, which, upon all our late Diſorders, had appeared to caſt very dangerouſly another Way.—But their Zeal undoubtedly hurried them too far in this Reſpect. We have ſpoken freely of the *Faults* and *Errors* of the *late Miniſter*; we ſhall not ſcruple to ſpeak with the ſame Freedom of the *Oppoſition to him.* This was at leaſt an *Error*, if not a *Fault* in them,—and the Publick at this Hour feels its bad Effect.

For the People have taken that, which was the *Means* to be the *End* and *View* of Oppoſition. The End and View of their Oppoſition was to change the Miniſter, and to change the Meaſures; but the People now having got theſe Ends, and carried this View, conſider them only as the Means to get in effect what no prudent Man ever wiſh'd or intended they ſhould get, *the whole Power of this Government, and the whole Conſtitution into their own Hands.*

Moreover, by the Ferment, that has ariſen in this Nation, it has manifeſtly appeared, that neither the Spirit of the People is ſo low, nor the Power of the Crown ſo high, as both were imagined by many to have been during the Courſe of that Oppoſition. It appears, that the People are ſtill able to remove a bad Miniſter, and to force a Change of Meaſures, whenever it becomes the univerſal Senſe, that the Miniſter and the Meaſures are really wrong; the Liberty and Power therefore of the popular Intereſt in this Country is inconteſtible, and as great as it is neceſſary or ought to be in any. To change the Ballance of the Conſtitution is not their Right, nor ought thoſe Alterations to be made, which would enable them to do it.

It appears further, that the Views of the popular Intereſt, inflamed, diſtracted, and miſguided as it has been of late, by thoſe into whoſe Hands it has unhappily fallen, are ſuch as they were never imagined to have been; a Party of Malecontents (by the Sufferance of the moſt ignorant and uninformed) aſſuming to themſelves, though very falſely, the Title of the People, claim with it a Pretenſion, which (were their Title juſt, no People could have a Right to claim,) erecting themſelves into a new Order in the State, affecting a Superiority to the whole Legiſlature; inſolently taking upon them, to dictate to all the three Eſtates, in which, the abſolute Power of the Government, by all the Laws of this Country, has indiſputably reſided ever ſince it was a Government, repining at every Decree they make; endeavouring to animate the

People

People, in effect, to resume into their own Hands, that vagn and loose Authority, which exists (unless in Theory) in the People of no Country upon Earth, the Inconvenience of which is so obvious, that it is the first Step of all Mankind, as soon as formed into Society, to divest themselves of it, and to delegate it for ever from themselves:—A Power, which could not be permitted even in a Society of 500 Families, impracticable in a great Empire, and therefore an ideal Doctrine, tending to no Point or Purpose whatsoever, but to cast this Nation into the most horrible Confusion, and to throw it back into a State of Nature. That has likewise appeared, which nothing can discover but Revolutions or Conjunctures, that approach so near them as this has done; viz. *that though the Influence of the Crown has seemed for some Years to have encreased visibly, the popular Interest has been for many Years invisibly encreasing in a far greater Proportion.* The greatest Changes in all States are wrought by certain Alterations in the Circumstances and Properties of the People; which escape the most penetrating Eye, till Time and Accidents have ripen'd them to a proper Crisis. The Convulsions of Nations are like the Shocks of subterraneous Fires, form'd by an Assemblage of combustible Materials long collecting, and unsuspected till the very Moment of their fatal Explosion; the *Effects* are therefore the only means by which such *Causes* can be learned: The *Republican* Spirit so strangely risen as we have lately seen it, that to work its Ends, it has preposterously join'd with its Antipathy the *Jacobite*, directs us surely to this *Cause*; which can be no other than the great Encrease of Property in the People. The Revenues of the Crown however magnified, we shall presently come to shew, have borne no Proportion to it, the Encrease of the Peerage, either in Property or Number, notwithstanding the Additions that have been made since the Revolution, have in no degree kept Pace with it; induced by the Circumstances of the Time, to examine the Point, it is visible beyond all Power of Contradiction, that this has been the Case.—At the *Revolution* the Numbers of the People were computed nearly at *Six Millions*, and by the long Peace, and necessary Encrease by Procreation, this Number cannot be *at present* less than *Seven*, or in that Proportion; the Expence of the People per Head was about *Seven* Pounds at the *Revolution*, at *this Time* it is universally agreed, that this Expence amounts to *Ten*. Now as the Revenue of the People must infallibly be at least as much as the People spend, it follows, that the Revenue of the People was at the Revolution *Forty-two Millions*, and that it is *Seventy Millions* now: The People have therefore encreased in their annual Income *Twenty-eight Millions*

ſince the Revolution; and as it is a Maxim inconteſtable in Politicks, that Power always follows Property, which muſt ſooner or later operate in every Country, it is manifeſt, that the People have acquired in the Space of fifty Years, more ſolid Weight in the Scale of this Conſtitution, than they could have gained, or can gain by all the popular Laws, that ever were made, or can be made in their Favour to the End of Time.

Before I proſecute this Argument, to the Concluſion which I intend from it, perhaps it may be thought neceſſary to explain a little, how it came to paſs, that this Growth of the Popular Intereſt ſhould be ſo little perceived till now.—It happens in all Caſes as it has happened in this, and for the ſame Cauſes,-the Spirit of the People riſing with their Circumſtances, creates Difficulties to Government, of which it feels the Effects, long before it apprehends the Cauſe. Theſe Difficulties in a manner drive Government to exerciſe all its Authority, and to uſe many Arts in its own Defence, by which the People, who do not ſee the Neceſſity it is under to do this, condemn, and conſider them, as Attempts offenſive, when they are in reality defenſive.—The Inſults of the one, and the Arts of the other therefore both encreaſe, till neither think themſelves ſecure, (which is the Misfortune, and in long run the Ruin of all mixed Governments) without new Laws, to encreaſe Power on the one Hand, and Privilege on the other.--And, for a time, it is very evident, why the Goverment is rather more ſucceſsful than the Popular Intereſt in theſe Attempts, becauſe the Generality of Men finding themſelves eaſy in the general Proſperity, and obſerving no material Change in the written Conſtitution, rather chuſe to ſupport the Government, though they do not approve all its Proceedings, than to abet the Popular Views.--the Peace of Society being (at leaſt for the Time) ſecured by the firſt, and always endangered by the laſt. —But, in the long run, Accidents will happen, which will either change the Perſons of thoſe in this moderate and cautious Way of Thinking, or diſtract their Principles, or confound their Judgments, —and when this happens, the Popular Spirit, having once made the Breach, blows up the Dam at once, and deſtroys, in one Hour, the Works that have been an Age erecting to reſtrain it within its due Bounds: Thus, for want of an exact Knowledge of the different Nature of the Force, which Government employs againſt the People, and that of the Popular Intereſt againſt the Government; and from this Circumſtance, that the *one* is *viſible* in every Step of its Encreaſe, the *other latent* and *concealed*; and from hence, that *the one*, by its

its gradual and conſtantly oppoſed Progreſs, is not only obſerved, but magnified, while *the other* encreaſes inſenſibly, and without either Oppoſition or Preception, it becomes, from the Nature of the Thing, extremely difficult for any, and entirely impoſſible for the Generality of Men, not to be deceived in the Condition of the Conſtitution, under Circumſtances ſuch as theſe. Something will ariſe from an impartial and judicious Reflection upon theſe Particulars, very deſerving the Attention of all reaſonable Men. And the Judgment which muſt reſult from it can be defeated by nothing but a Diſcovery, that the Crown has encreaſed in the ſame Proportion of Power as the Popular Intereſt has ſo manifeſtly done; in this Caſe there is nothing in all this Argument; but if it has not, *the Ballance undeniably preponderates on the Side of the People, more than it did at the Revolution*, that is to ſay, more than it ever did in any Period of our Government, *and conſequently the Diſcontents of the People, ſo far as they are founded upon a contrary Suppoſition, are moſt unreaſonable, unjuſt, and dangerous.*

In order to examine this Point, all that is neceſſary to be done is, to conſider in what the Power of the Crown has been encreaſed ſince the Æra of the Revolution, there are but three Particulars in which it could poſſibly receive Addition, in the *Encreaſe of its Civil Liſt*; *in the Influence of additional Employments*; and laſtly, *in poſitive Laws in Favour of Prerogative*; of all theſe the firſt, which is *the Property* of the *Crown*, muſt be in its Operation the moſt conſiderable, from what we have already obſerved as to the Effect of Property. This is therefore the Point, which we are to conſider firſt, and with moſt Attention:--But we muſt previouſly obſerve, that the Reaſon why we go no higher than the Æra of the Revolution is, becauſe though no Civil Liſt was ſettled before, the Civil Liſt Expences were enormouſly great, the publick Charge being not above 700,000 *l. per Annum*, and the Revenue being above *two Millions* from the Reſtoration to that Time,

Now as to the Encreaſe of the Power of the Crown from an Addition to its Property, it can conſiſt in nothing but the *Civil Liſt*; the Crown having now no Ability, as it had before the Revolution, (when the publick Revenue and the *Civil Liſt* were both in the Diſpoſition of the Crown, and not divided,) to apply one ſingle Shilling of that publick Revenue to any Uſe, but to that for which it is appropriated.—Let us therefore examine the Quantum of the *Civil Liſt*.

Indeed, upon the firſt Face of this Examination, the Power of the Crown appears be encreaſed, for the *Civil Liſt* is now

800,000 *l.*

800,000 *l. per Ann.* whereas in the Reign of * King *William*, and the late Queen it was but 700,000 *l.* But when this Point is duly considered it is indisputable, not only that this is no *real* Encreaſe to the Power of the *Crown*, but that this Power is diminiſhed, notwithſtanding the *nominal* Addition to this *Revenue*.

King *William* and Queen *Anne*, as we have already obſerved, had but 700,000 *l. per Annum*; but *neither* had any Family to provide for, and *both* lived in Times, when that Income would have ſupported a greater Expence, than *a Million* would now do; for the Truth of which I appeal to the Experience of every private Family, and to the known Advance of Price in all Commodities and Articles of Expence whatſoever.—Excluſive therefore of the great Deduction, which ariſes from the Expence of his Majeſties numerous Progeny, there is, in fact, inſtead of an Encreaſe of Power to the Crown in the Proportion of 100,000 *l.* a manifeſt Diminution of it in the Proportion of 200,000 *l.* which is the Sum deficient to make up a *Civil Liſt* equivalent (conſidering the Difference of the Times) to that of King *William*, or of the late Queen.

And indeed without a Conſideration of the Difference of the Times, no fair or juſt Eſtimate is poſſible to be made upon this Subject; every Century creates a mighty Alteration in this Reſpect. In the Time of the Conqueror the King's Revenues are reckoned by all the old Hiſtorians to have been enormous, and were computed at 1060 *l. per Diem*, which amounts to 386,900 *l. per Annum*; and we might therefore with the ſame Juſtice reaſon, that a Revenue at that Amount would be now too great, as to argue that the *Civil Liſt* ſhould not be greater now than it was forty or fifty Years ago; the Objections therefore, that have been made of late upon this Head, have been fallacious to the higheſt Degree, and either they, who have liſtened to them, never conſidered the Point as it ought to be conſidered, or have *ſecretly intended*, inſtead of keeping the Power of the Crown to its ancient Standard, *to reduce it lower than it ever ſtood in any Period of our Government.*

But when we look a little farther into this matter, however clear this Argument may be, we have no need much to inſiſt

* At the Revolution the *Civil Liſt* was ſettled at 600,000 *l. per Ann.* but this being very deficient to anſwer the Charges upon that Head, the Parliament in 1695 granted the King a Sum of 500,000 *l.* to pay his Debts, and in 1699, *Anno* 9 & 10 *Gul.* III. *cap.* 23 though the Queen was then dead, found it neceſſary to encreaſe the *Civil Liſt* to 700,000 *l. per Ann.*

upon

upon it; for ſince the late Alteration of the Miniſtry, the Encreaſe of the Appointments of the Prince of *Wales*, has wholly taken away this Objection; his Royal Highneſs now enjoying his complete Allowance of 100,000 *l. per Annum*, which is the whole of that *nominal* Encreaſe of the *Civil Liſt*, above what it formerly was before his Majeſty's Acceſſion. When this comes to be conſidered, the Power of the Crown, with reſpect to Property, is not at all increaſed, even its firſt Aſpect; but is on the other Hand, when juſtly compared in all its Circumſtances, greatly and undeniably *decreaſed*, ſince the Period I have mentioned. Yet ſuch is the malignant Temper of this Age, that we have more to combat than Arguments and Facts—*Bonaque ac Mala non ſua Natura, ſed Vocibus Seditioſorum æſtimantur*[a]; Inſinuations of a malicious Tendency have Weight ſuperior to all the Reaſon in the World, and we muſt fight through theſe upon every Turn. Of this Nature is that vaunted Aſſertion in the *The Caſe of the* Hanover *Troops*[b], of the late Queen's Generoſity in a Preſent made by her out of the *Civil Liſt* of 100,000 *l.* in one Year, towards carrying on the War with *France*; and from hence an oblique Argument is attempted to be drawn of a Superabundance in the preſent *Civil Liſt*, and an indirect Reflection, both upon the Miſapplication of the Surplus, and the Want of an equal Tenderneſs to the Publick in his preſent Majeſty; it is further manifeſt with what a wicked Intention this invidious Compariſon is made, from the officious Care of that infamous Author to remind the Reader, that that Princeſs was a Daughter of King *James* II. and from the Tendency of his whole Performance, which is plainly calculated to incline the People to regret the Loſs of that Family, by a Side Wind to trumpet the Fame of his own Faction, and to recommend it to the ignorant and deluded Multitude; the Queen being notoriouſly, at that Time, in the Leading-ſtrings of *Jacobites*.

But it is impoſſible ſufficiently to admire either at their Confidence or their Impudence in this Mention of a Particular, which can be ſo ſtrongly retorted upon them: In fact, this pretended Generoſity was one of the moſt ſcandalous Actions, that the Crown was ever led to commit by any Adminiſtration; it was a manifeſt and groſs Cheat upon the Publick, who were extravagant Loſers by it; for ſome Time after, *viz.* upon the 25th of *June*, 1713, the Queen was adviſed to acquaint the Houſe of Commons by Meſſage, that ſhe had contracted a very large Debt upon her *Civil Liſt* Revenues, which ſhe was unable to

[a] *Tacitus*, Lib. Hiſt. 4. [b] Page 79.

pay

pay, and therefore desired them to make good; and such was the Complaisance of a *Tory* Parliament, that notwithstanding the Detestation, which must have arisen in every honest Breast, upon the Detection of this clumsy Juggle; and though Mr. *Smith*, one of the Tellers of the Exchequer, honestly informed the House, that the Estimate of this Debt was astonishing to him, being made to amount in *August* 1710 to 400,000 *l.*; whereas he was able to affirm from his own Knowledge, that it amounted at that Time to little more than 100,000 *l.* and though many others undertook to prove that the Funds given for the 700,000 *l.* had, in reality, amounted to 800,000 *l.* and though these Gentlemen had prevailed so far, as to procure an Address to the Crown for an Account of the *Civil List* Debt at *Midsummer* 1713, and for a yearly Account of the Nett Produce of the *Civil List* Revenue, no Regard was paid to this Information, nor to this Address; none of these Accounts were ever permitted to be laid before the House, and upon the very next Day they voted no less a Sum than 500,000 *l.* for this Service. This is the Truth, and the whole Truth of that generous Exploit of the *Jacobite* Administration, under the Daughter of King *James* II. which was no more than a mean Trick, in which they basely employed the Name, and abused the Honour of that unfortunate Princess, to gull the Nation of 400,000 *l.*

From hence results a Proof, not only that the present *Civil List* is not greater than that of the late Queen, but that the *Civil List*, though we should wave the strong Fact of the Inequality of the same Revenues from the Difference of the Time, could not nearly suffice to answer the Expences of the Crown, even forty Years ago; it must follow therefore, either that a much greater Part of it was employed in *secret Services* and to *unwarrantable Purposes*, during that favourite Reign; or that the Oeconomy, even of the late profuse Minister, must have far exceeded that of the boasted Administration of a Set of Men they labour so much to ingratiate with the People.

The *Faction* manifestly reduced to this Dilemma, may possibly rather chuse to confess the *latter* than the *former*; but in doing this they must, in the first Instance, acknowledge a manifest Advantage to this Country from the Oeconomy of his present Majesty, who, though he has already reigned some Years longer than the late Queen, has hitherto neither demanded or received from his People on this Account, more than one single Sum of 115,000 *l.* and if they give it the only Turn that can be given to it, (after what we have already proved,) viz. *that it is equal to the Publick, whether the* Civil List *be greater or not, if his Majesty can afford out of it more than his Predecessors could afford*

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to those secret Services, which are supposed to affect the Publick Independency; this is what I absolutely and justly deny: Because (allowing it to be true in its utmost Extent) it is but a temporary Influence arising from a peculiar Turn, Temper, and, I may call it, a Virtue in its first Principle, which is accidental in the Person of one Man, may probably perish with him, and cannot be looked upon as any real, solid, or permanent Encrease of Power in the Crown, or Change in the Spirit of the Constitution. If this be duly considered, it ought greatly to quiet the Apprehensions raised in the Breasts of a very great Number of well-meaning Men, by the *Report* of the late *Secret Committee*; for however great the Sums there specified to have been Improperly applied to *Secret Service* out of the *Civil List* may be, and very unwarrantable, in some Particulars, undoubtedly they are; yet the Conclusion drawn from thence is not just, that our Constitution is decay'd, in this respect, or in a worse Condition than it has been in former Times. For this certainly cannot be the Case, when the *Civil List* is evidently not encreased, either in fact, or in effect; and the utmost that can be drawn from this Report, or any Discovery that hath or can be made, must amount to nothing more than *that a temporary Circumstance had put it in the Power of a late Minister to make a worse Use of it, than his Predecessors had been willing, or than, in all Probability, for any Time to come, his Successors can be able to do.*—Which may indeed affect that Minister, but ought not justly to affect the Constitution, or lead the Publick to any rash and violent Alterations of it.

I am sensible, that this doctrine will not, at first, suit well with the false Notions, which many have so passionately entertained of this Matter; but I am very indifferent upon that Head, *Magna est Veritas & prævalebit*; Truth may be borne down for a while by Prepossession and false Insinuations, but will force its way at last: As therefore it is my sole Intention in these Papers, to bring my Countrymen into a just and moderate Temper, to allay that dangerous Ferment, which is now raised, and during the Continuance of which, it is impossible for them to make a right and impartial Judgment of their Affairs, I shall make no Scruple to oppose myself to their strongest Prejudices without any Regard, whom I may oblige or disoblige; I neither fear the Resentments of the Friends of the former, nor court the Favour of the present Administration, I am not to be deterred by the Malice and Scandal of a *Faction*, nor will I humour the Passions and Folly of a People, whom every honest Man must endeavour to preserve, even against their Inclinations, when they precipitate themselves, through Passion, Credulity, or Ignorance, into Ruin and Destruction.

To

To ſpeak therefore farther with the ſame Freedom upon the Subject of this Miſapplication of the *Civil Liſt*, as I have done upon every other Topic, which has hitherto fallen under my Conſideration, I muſt obſerve, that it is not eaſy for the Publick to judge, whether the Sums now diſcovered by this Report to be expended out of the *Civil Liſt*, in the way, that they have appeared to be expended, were not, upon the whole, as great in former Reigns; the Preſumption is ſtrong that they have been much greater, becauſe it is evident, the *Civil Liſt* could have afforded it much better; and as no Parliamentary Enquiry was ever made before as to this Point, or directed to this Particular, at leaſt, their Information cannot extend to determine poſitively againſt this Opinion.

But what if we ſhould be able to diſcover, that in Truth notwithſtanding the Greatneſs of this Sum, *the Charge of the Government upon this Head was greater formerly than it is now?* yet this ſeems capable, in a great Meaſure, of being proved by Facts and Figures, the moſt ſtubborn Evidence, that can ſupport any Propoſition in the World:

For upon the great Settlement of our Conſtitution at the Revolution, the Parliament having called for all the Lights they could procure to enable them to judge of the Expence of Government in all its Branches, in order to make that Separation of the Charge of the Crown, and of the Publick, which was one of the great Benefits of that Charge, and took away that extravagant Power, which the Crown before derived from having the ſole Management, and Diſtribution of the whole Revenue at large; it appeared, that the Article of the Secret Service alone (beſides the Allowance to the Secretary of State, 6066 *l.* and the Penſions, which came to 146,703 *l. per Annum*,) amounted *communibus Annis* to 89,968 *l.* 8 *s* 2 *d.* $\frac{3}{4}$ which, notwithſtanding the Temper they were then in, was not at all cenſured by Parliament as exorbitant at that Time.

Upon this Foundation I ſhall proceed to compare the Expence of Government under this Head before the *Revolution*, with the Expence of Government under the ſame Head in the *preſent Time*.

It appears then, that computing upon a Term of eleven Years before the Revolution, the Expence of Government upon the Article of Secret Service amounted to 989,652 *l.* 10 *l.* 6 *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$ again it appears by the Report of the *Secret Committee* (in the *Appendix* No. 10.) that in the ſame Term of eleven Years from the Year 1731, to the Year 1741 incluſive, this Article of *Secret Service* amounted to 786,355 *l.* 17 *s.* 4 *d.* to which Sum, the Committee have thought fit to add two Articles, both of

of which are (with Submiſſion to ſo great an Authority), in great Meaſure, different in their Nature from that Article, which is properly called *Secret Service*, *viz.* Money iſſued for *ſpecial Service*, 272,504 *l.* 8 *d.* and Money iſſued *to re-imburſe Expences* 205,390 *l.* 17 *s.* 10 *d.* which two Articles together amount to 477,894 *l.* 18 *s.* 6 *d.* They have likewiſe added further three other Articles, *viz.* 66,000 *l.* for the Secretaries of State, 68,800 *l.* upon Account, to the Sollicitor of the Treaſury, and 50,077 *l.* 18 *s.* to Authors and Printers, amounting together to 184,887 *l.* 18 *s.*

Theſe Totals of 786,355 *l.* 17 *s.* 4 *d.*—477,894 *l.* 18 *s.* 6 *d.* and 184,877 *l.* 18 *s.* come to 1,449,128 *l.* 13 *s.* 10 *d.* and with a few other ſmall Articles amount to the compleat Sum of 1,453,400 *l.* 6 *s.* 3 *d.* which is ſtated in the Report as ſuppoſed to be the Expence of the Civil Government in Secret Service, during the Space of the ſaid Eleven Years[a]. But if we are to compare the Expence of the former and the preſent Government, upon the Face of the two Accounts, it is viſible, that we can only put the ſingle Article of *Secret Service* Money before the *Revolution*, againſt the *ſame* Article at this *Time*; which if we do, we ſhall find, that the ſame Article before the Revolution, amounted as above, in a Term of eleven Years, to 989,652 *l.* 10 *s.* 6 *d.* ¼. whereas it amounted to no more than 786,355 *l.* 17 *s.* 4 *d.* in the ſame Term, from 1731 to 1741 incluſive; ſo that, in this Light, the Charge inſtead of being encreaſed is diminiſhed ſince that Period, by no leſs a Sum than 203,296 *l.* 13 *s.* 2 *d.* ¼. And to conſider this Point in any other Light, though it may be done with much Art, cannot with any Degree of Certainty; for if, as in the Report, other Articles of Expence are brought (as ſeeming to have ſome Relation to it) to ſwell the Amount of the Articles of Money lately iſſued for *Secret Service*, it would be requiſite to ſcrutinize with the ſame Induſtry, into other Branches of the Charge of the Civil Government before the Revolution, which is impoſſible to do at this remote Diſtance of Time: And farther, undoubtedly (however exceptionable either the Greatneſs of the Sums, at firſt Sight, may be, their Application, or the Manner of their being iſſued) there is not any one of thoſe other Articles, which in the Report, are joined to this Sum of 786,000 *l.* that can be directly charged to this Account.

For who is it that does not perceive a very wide Difference between *Secret Services*, and the other two Articles of *Special*

[a] The Enquiry was appointed for ten Years; but upon examining this Account of *Secret Service* in the Report, it appears to include eleven.

Service,

Service, and the *Reimburſement of Expences*. It is perhaps but too probable, that ſome Part of the Money under theſe two Heads have been really applied that way. Yet from the Nature of the Thing, very great Sums muſt have been iſſued under theſe Titles, to Purpoſes very different from thoſe which ought to have given ſo much Alarm to the Publick.—As it is for this Reaſon out of our Power to make a juſt Compariſon in this Way, I think it can be ſtated in no manner more correſpondent with the Truth, than as it has been ſtated here, and if ſo, the Propoſition is ſufficiently proved, *that the Charge of Government upon this Head was greater formerly than it is now*.—However, after having thrown this out for the impartial Conſideration of the Publick, I will, for the ſake of Argument, and to prevent all Poſſibility of Cavil, admit both theſe Articles to be added to the Head of *Secret Service*, by which it will be augmented, though not fairly to 1,264,250 *l.* 15 *s.* 10 *d.*

But after this Conceſſion I will venture to ſay, as to the other three Articles, *viz.* that to the Sollicitor of the Treaſury, that of the Allowance of 3000 *l. per Ann.* to each of the Secretaries of State, and that of the Money iſſued to Authors and Printers, it is impoſſible, with any Candour, to bring them into the Charge of the *Secret Service*, and for the following Reaſons:

Becauſe as to the *firſt* Sum to the Sollicitor, it is given always upon Account, *viz.* for Crown Proſecutions, and other neceſſary, obvious, and warrantable Occaſions of Government, of which the Committee themſelves were ſo well aware, that they have themſelves deducted that Sum from the grand Total.

As to the *Second*, which regards the Secretaries of State, this is in effect the Appointment of an Office, and ſtands juſtly exceptionable in this Compariſon, the rather, becauſe it was made a diſtinct Article from that of Secret Service in all Times, and is particularly ſo in the State of the Revenue at the Revolution, by which this Parallel is made, being not included in the annual Sum of 89,968 *l.* 8 *s.* 2 *d.* $\frac{3}{4}$ to which the Secret Service then amounted.

With regard to the *Third*, it is rather a Matter to be laughed at than conſidered ſeriouſly.--In the Nature of the thing, it is by no means a Secret Service: And in its Conſequences, eſpecially conſidering the Authors and their Productions, no Man will ſay, that it affected the Publick in the Way, which can only give the People any Right to concern themſelves about the Diſpoſition of the Civil Liſt.--It would be extremely hard, if the Crown might not not be allowed the ſame Privilege of the Pen, which is allowed to any private Man, and certainly no Miniſter can be cenſured, if by Permiſſion of the Prince, and even by the

the Assistance of his private Purse, he makes use of the same Liberty of the Press to defend the Measures of his Government, which the Subject, with Impunity, employs whenever he thinks proper, (and of late, with outrageous Licence,) to censure and confound it.

As the Sums issued therefore upon these three Articles cannot be added by any just Pretence; after making Concessions, with the utmost Latitude, against our own Argument, the Account will stand in this Manner:

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Total of Money issued for Secret Service in eleven Years, from 1731 to 1741, inclusive - - - - - - -	1,264,250	15	10
Total of Monies issued under the Head of Secret Service for a like Term before the Revolution - -	989,652	10	06¼
Balance upon eleven Years	274,598	5	3¾
Annual Charges of Secret Service, at a Medium of eleven Years from 1731 to 1741 - - - -	114,931	16	10¾
Annual Charge before the Revolution -	89,968	8	2¾
Annual Balance	24,963	8	8

Which annual Sum of *Twenty-four thousand nine hundred and sixty-three Pounds eight Shillings and eight Pence*, is the whole Encrease of the Expence of the Civil List upon this Head, after a Term little short of threescore Years, made up in a way of Accounting, the most partial and most favourable to those, who wish a false and dangerous Opinion to prevail, which even upon this State cannot prevail hereafter with any *reasonable Man*.

For every such Man will consider this Matter as it ought only to be considered, that is, upon the Foot of *an Influence acquired by the Crown over the Independency of the Subject, in proportion to the Sums applied in secret Gratuities to the Members of the Legislature, more now than in former Times*; and every such Man will form a Judgment to himself, and create an equitable Balance, not only upon the Quantum of the Money applied in Secret Service, but will take into his Aid some farther Considerations, *viz. whether* that Part of Secret Service, which is necessary to all Government, (because as the Committee confess in the Report, *No Form of Government can subsist without a Power of*

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employing Publick Money for Services which are from their Nature secret, and ought always to remain so,) must not unavoidably be, from the Circumstances of Time, greater than it was formerly; and again, *whether* the same Degree of Influence can be acquired in these Times by the same Sums.

Now these Things being thus candidly considered, it will appear, that our Engagements with Foreign Powers, the Difficulties of the Age we live in, and the Distractions of *Europe* have been infinitely greater since the Revolution than they were before; that our Secret Service in Foreign Courts must have therefore been greatly more expensive than it was at that Period; and the Prices of Intelligence undoubtedly much higher than formerly they were; for Things of this Nature go always on encreasing, and the Value of Money is become greatly less in every Part of *Europe*.

Add to this, that the late Enquiry was confined to a Time of Peace, and a Time of very intricate Negociation (the Prudence or Imprudence of which is not under our Consideration in this Question) during which, Expences of this kind have no established Provision, as they have in time of War; they have then an extraordinary Allowance of 10,000 *l. per Annum*, besides a Deduction of Two and a half *per Cent.* out of the Pay of all the Foreign Forces in the Service of *Great Britain*, of which we have already had Occasion to make some mention in another Place: And this (as appears by the famous Report of the Commissioners for stating the public Accounts, at the latter End of the Queen's Reign, 1712) amounted in the same Term of eleven Years, to 393,366 *l.* 9 *s.* 7 *d.* over and above the Expences of the Civil Government under the same Head, which could not fail in some measure to be lessened by it.

Upon the whole, leaving it to every Man of Candour to determine how far the two Articles of Money issued to Special Service, and to reimburse Expences, may be allowed to have their Place in this Account, and submitting to every Man of Sense and Candour the Difference of the Times, the Deduction of 100,000 *l.* out of the *Civil List* for the Prince of *Wales*, the Circumstances of all our Foreign Affairs, and one thing more, which is hardly decent to be touch'd upon, but by way of Supposition, that if there be Corruption at home, its Wages must be much higher than they were heretofore, it is impossible to deny, but that the Property of the Crown, or in other Words, the *Civil List*, is, not only not really increased, but that it can by no means operate upon the Constitution in any Degree equal to what it might have done formerly, and therefore that the Power of the Crown is not in this Respect augmented

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in proportion to the Power of the People, but in fact diminished greatly.

We should in the next place examine this Point, upon the Footing of *the Crown Influence from additional Employments*. But this will receive a sufficient Answer under the next Head; with which it is so much connected, that it will be most proper to blend them both in one common Consideration.

We therefore proceed to the third and last Point, *viz.* the Encrease of the Power of the Crown, *by positive Laws in favour of the Prerogative*. But here I conceive it beyond the Industry of *Faction* itself to discover any one Circumstance in which Prerogative has been extended.--On the other hand, it is most happy and most notorious, that Prerogative is within the last Century reduced to such a Point, that no rational Man can deny, but that we have gone even farther than, in the Opinion of the most eminent Writers upon Government, is necessary to the Preservation of the Constitution of any Country: To this end, according to that famous Maxim laid down by *Machiavel*, *Government must be frequently brought back to its first Principles*; but from the Period of the Restoration, we have not only constantly been employed in paring away those Luxuriancies of Power in the Crown, which had been insensibly growing from the Conquest, or at least from the Reign of King *John*, till they had in a manner over-shaded all the Liberties of the People; but we have actually taken away many of the most important Branches, to which the Crown had been entitled from the very Beginning of our Constitution: Of which it cannot be improper upon this Occasion to enumerate a few.

First then, the Crown, from the Accession of *William* I. by the Establishment of the feodal Tenures was undoubtedly entitled to such a Degree of Influence, as went incomparably farther in every Respect, and in every Light in which it can possibly be considered, to create an universal Dependence in every other Branch of the Legislature, than any other Circumstance of human Invention, and much less any later Charges in the Constitution, were they as real as they are imaginary, could possibly do: The greatest Part of the whole Kingdom, (besides what was yet more immediately belonging to the Crown as its Domain,) was held *in capite* of the King; and by Virtue of this Tenure, the Crown enjoyed the following Prerogatives; 1. *The Profits of the whole Estate of every Family (as well of the Lords as of the Commons) during the Minority of every Heir.* 2. *The Right to dispose of the Profits of such Estates to whom it pleased.* 3. *The Guardianship of every such Heir, and the Power of*

of delegating that Trust to any other Person. 4. *The Right to dispose of the Heir or Heiress of any such Family, during the Minority, in Marriage.* 5. *A Title to one Year's Profit of the Estate, in Cases where there was no Minority, before Possession could be taken by the next Heir.*—These, with many more of a like Nature, were some of the Crown Prerogatives, which existed legally in the Constitution of this Country from the Beginning of this Government, till about eighty Years ago, and if they are well weighed, it is impossible not to see what prodigious Means of Influence they afforded to the Crown. What *Revenue*, what *Employments*, what *Civil List* could furnish out Matter of such extensive Obligation? What noble Family in the one House of Parliament, or what Man of great Estate in the other, but might be either tempted or necessitated to court its Favour? What Struggles would the Virtue even of a *Broad-bottom Patriot* undergo, contending with the Offer of the *Wardship* of a Duke of *Bedford*, or the *Custodium* of a *Pelham* Estate, during a Minority of fifteen or sixteen Years? In what Man is the *Amor Patriæ* so constant, passionate, and fond, that he could coldly look upon the Charms of a beautiful young Woman kindly tendered to his Arms by a first Minister, with the Titles and Inheritance of a Duke of *Marlborough?* Again, what would be the Consequence of an Education wholly directed by Tutors and Guardians appointed by the Crown, upon all the Men of Property in the Kingdom? what the Effect of Gratitude upon the Minds of Gentlemen, in whose behalf the Crown should wave some Parts of this Prerogative?—in favour of whom the Crown should remit its Title to the Profits of the Minor's Estate? or leave it in Trust to be improved by the nearest Relation for the Heir? or decline to take the Relief, or one Year's Profit, to which, even in Cases of no Minority, it was entitled? From hence, it may be worth considering whether that is quite a constitutional Principle, which has been laid down with so much Confidence of late, and in so vast Latitude, *that the Crown ought to have no Degree of Influence upon the Legislature*; the Fact certainly was the direct contrary:—Our Ancestors intended the Power of their Kings to be *real*, and they knew that without some Degree of Influence that Power would be but *in Name*;—their Idea was to balance the *Popular* by the *Regal:* not, as it has manifestly been of late, to put all the Weights into the *Popular Scale:* To the People they gave the *sole Power of granting Money*, and a *Title to Resistance in Cases of extraordinary and violent Extremity*; a nominal Power could not ballance these great Privileges; they therefore gave the Crown a great Revenue, the *sole Management of the publick Money, the*

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Disposition of all Employments, in fine, *the Means of General Obligation to the Subject*; again, to ballance the Title of Resistance in the People, they armed the Crown with *Powers of Confiscation, and even some degree of Influence in the Trials* of those, who should rashly or unjustly take up Arms against it; these Prerogatives became at length abused, and have therefore been wisely and justly in many important Instances curtail'd, (while all the former Privileges of the People yet remain with very great Additions.) Among the rest this great one, arising from the feodal Tenures, was totally abolished in the Year 1661. By which one Act, the Spirit of this Constitution received so great an Alteration, that few are even yet sensible of all the Consequences, that either have happened, or will unavoidably result from it, in favour of the popular Interest in this Country.

The next great Encrease of Privilege to the People, was from the Act of *Habeas Corpus*, which was passed in 1673-4; a Law of inestimable Security to the Liberty of the Subject.

By the Revolution in 1688, the whole Government was purged at once, of all Excrescencies of Prerogative, that had been growing from its first Institution: By the very Act of the Expulsion of King *James* II. and his Line, confirmed, as it afterwards was, by Law, the People acquired a right, which had never been allowed in the Constitution of this Country. In the famous Charter of King *John*, the Barons never went so far, it was there decreed that in Cases of the last Necessity, the Publick might distress the Crown, by all Manner of Means, *viz.* by the Seizure and Sequestration of its Castles, Lands, and Possessions till the publick Grievances should be redressed: *distringent & gravabunt nos modis omnibus quibus poterunt, scilicet per captionem castrorum, terrarum, possessionem, donec fuerint emendatum*, &c. But there was a strict Exception to the Persons of the *King*, the *Queen*, and the Issue of the Royal Family, *salvâ Personâ nostrâ, & Reginæ nostræ, & Liberorum nostrorum*; there was an express Condition to save the Rights of the Succession; the Crown was not to forfeit for its exorbitant Proceedings, the People were to return to their Allegiance again, so soon as these Exorbitances were redressed, *cum fuerit emendatum intendent nobis sicut prius fecerunt*. This Principle of an *indefeasible Hereditary Right* (for it was no less) destroyed the Effect of all the strong Provisions of *Resistance* perscribed at the same time; the Law was severely worded, but void of a sufficient Penalty to enforce it; a temporary Suspension of the Regal Authority was the only Penalty: The Crown soon found how to avail itself of this Defect; their Attempts upon the People were offensive, the Resistance of the People defensive only; this was contending

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upon very unequal Terms;—the Crown had never much to fear; but whenever Publick Liberty was invaded the People run the Risk of losing all;—the Crown, if unsuccessful, suffered nothing but a Disappointment, and had nothing to do but to quit the Prosecution of its Views for that Time. It was then restored again to what it was before, with the same Means of renewing the Attempt upon the first favourable Opportunity. The People it is true, have formerly gone further, and were under the Necessity to do it, but when they did it, they acted not upon the Principles of the Law of *England*; they were obliged to haveRecourse to that grand Principle of the Law of Nations, [a] *Datâ facultate datur jus facultatem tuendi.* Yet this was but lamely understood by the Bulk of a People, ever tender of their Laws, and, like the Bulk of every other People, little able to reason upon higher Principles; from hence the Crown derived so great an Advantage that for the greater Part of the last Century our Liberties were brought into continual Hazard; it was the Revolution alone, and the Principles established then, that could have possibly preserved us. The Doctrine of *Hereditary Right* in this extravagant Extent was taken away; some positive Cases were enacted by Law where the Crown shall forfeit. This has given a Blow to Prerogative, which it can never recover.

And so far had we dwindled from the Virtue and Spirit of our Forefathers, that even that Provision of *Resistance*, which had been formerly made to ballance this Prerogative of *indefeasible Hereditary Right*, (insufficient as we have shewn it to have been,) was actually wholly given up at the Restoration, by the Oath prescribed to be taken in the * *Act for well Governing and Regulating of Corporations*; which was in these Words: *I* A.B. *do declare and believe that it is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King, and that I do abhor that traitorous Position, of taking Arms, by his Authority, against his Person, or against those that are commissioned by him. So help me God.*—It was further disclaimed in the Preamble to the Act of Attainder *Anno* 12 *Car.* II. cap. 30. in the following Words,—*And be it hereby declared, that by the Undoubted and Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, neither the Peers of this Realm, nor the Commons, nor both together, in Parliament, or out of Parliament, nor the People collectively, nor representatively, nor any other Persons whatsoever, ever had, have, hath,*

[a] *Grotius de Jure Belli ac Pacis*, lib. II.

* Anno 13 *Car.* II Stat. 2. Cap. 1.

or

or ought ho have any coersive Power over the Persons of the Kings of this Realm.

It was again disclaimed, in the Preambles of different Acts relating to the Militia, about the same time, in these Words, *That both, or either of the Houses of Parliament, can, or may, lawfully raise or levy any War, Offensive or Defensive, against his Majesty, his Heirs, or lawful Successors.*

How far this Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*, without any Reserve, struck at the Liberties of the People, is manifest enough; but how far the very Act of the Revolution has given the Limitation to its Extravagance, we have already observed; and as to the Oath before mentioned, it was directly abrogated by the Act of the 1st of *William* and *Mary*, cap. 8.

Again, by two Acts, the one, *An Act for Safety and Preservation of his Majesty's Person and Government*, Anno 13 *Car.* II. cap. 1.—And another, *For preventing Abuses in Printing*, &c. Anno 13 and 14 *Car.* II. cap. 33. the Liberty of the Press was totally restrained. These Laws were suffered to expire.

By an Act against Tumults and Disorders, *Anno* 13 *Car.* II. cap. 5. the Subject had been, in effect, deprived of that Right of Petitioning either the Crown or Parliament; for it was enacted—*That, from and after the first of* August 1661, *no Person or Persons whatsoever, shall solicit, labour, or procure the* GETTING OF HANDS, *or* OTHER CONSENT *of any Persons above the Number of* TWENTY OR MORE, *to any Petition, Complaint, Remonstrance, Declaration, or other Address to the King, or both or either Houses of Parliament, for Alterations of Matters established by Law, in Church or State, or accompanied, at any one time, with above the Number of* TEN PERSONS. *And that no Person or Persons exceeding* TEN, *as aforesaid, shall present any publick or private Grievance or Complaint, to any Member or Members of Parliament after his Election*, &c. *under Penalty of* 100l. *in Money, and Imprisonment for three Months, without Bail or Mainprize.*

This was virtually repealed by the Act, declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, *Anno* 1 *William* and *Mary*, Sess. 2. cap. 2. wherein it was Enacted, *That it is the Right of the Subject to petition, and all Commitments and Prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.*

By this Act the Constitution was farther restored in very many, and improved in other Instances as follow.

1. It was enacted, *That the pretended Power of suspending Laws, or the Execution of Laws by regal Authority, without Consent of Parliament, is illegal.*

2. *That the Commiſſion for erecting the late Court of Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, and all other Commiſſioners and Courts of the like Nature are illegal and pernicious.*

3. *That levying Money for, or to the Uſe of the Crown by Pretence of Prerogative, without Grant of Parliament, for longer time, or in other Manner, than the ſame is, or ſhall be granted, is illegal and pernicious.*

4. *That the raiſing or keeping a Standing Army within the Kingdom (in Time of Peace) unleſs it be with Conſent of Parliament, is againſt Law.*

5. *That the Subjects, which are* Proteſtants, *may have Arms for their Defence, ſuitable to their Conditions, and as allowed by Law.*

6. *That Elections of Members of Parliament ought to be free.*

7. *That the Freedom of Speech and Debates, or Proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or queſtioned in any Court or Place out of Parliament.*

8. *That exceſſive Bail ought not to be required, nor exceſſive Fines impoſed, nor cruel and unuſal Puniſhments inflicted.*

9. *That Juries ought to be duly impannelled and returned, and Juries, which paſs upon Men in Trials for High Treaſon, ought to be Freeholders.*

10. *That all Grants and Promiſes of Fines and Forfeitures of particular Perſons, before Conviction, are illegal and void.*

11. *That for Redreſs of all Grievances, and for the amending, ſtrengthening and preſerving of the Laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently.*

12. *That all Diſpenſations paſſed by* non obſtante *to Acts of Parliament, except in Caſes provided for by Law, ſhall be void.*

13. *That every Perſon or Perſons, that is, are, or ſhall be reconciled to the Church of* Rome, *or ſhall marry a* Papiſt, *ſhall be excluded, and be for ever incapable to inherit, poſſeſs, or enjoy the Crown and Government of this Realm, and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereunto belonging, or any Part of the ſame, or to have, uſe, or exerciſe any legal Power, Authority or Juriſdiction within the ſame, and in all and every ſuch Caſe or Caſes, the People of theſe Realms, ſhall be, and are hereby abſolved of their Allegiance, and the Crown ſhall deſcend to the next* Proteſtant *Heir.*

This was followed by another Law, *cap.* 10. which took away the Revenue ariſing from *Hearth-Money*, with all the Powers attendant on that Collection; which, as it was juſtly expreſſed in the Words of the Preamble, *was in itſelf not only a great Oppreſſion to the poorer Sort, but a Badge of Slavery upon the*

the whole People, exposing every Man's House to be entered into and searched, at Pleasure, by Persons unknown to him.

In the same Sessions of Parliament (*cap.* 27) one very great and considerable Part of this Kingdom was entirely redeemed from a Jurisdiction utterly inconsistent with the Freedom of a *British* Subject, the Court of the President and Council of the Marches *Wales*, which had been established in 34 and 35 of *Henry* VIII. and under which that Province had been governed till this Act passed, was totally abolished, and the People of that Country allowed to enjoy the common Benefit of the *English Law and Liberty*; *the Proceedings and Decrees of that Court, having been* (as it is recited in the Preamble) *an intolerable Burden to the Subject within the said Principality, contrary to the great Charter, the known Laws of the Land, and the Birth-right of the Subject*; *and the Means to introduce an arbitrary Power and Government.*

In the 2d of *William* and *Mary*, *cap.* 7. a very unconstitutional Prerogative, (for so it was in effect, though not directly exerted under the Name of the Crown,) was repealed; and it was enacted, *That whereas the Election of Members to serve in Parliament ought to be free, and whereas the Wardens of the* Cinque Ports *pretended to, and claimed as of Right, a Power of nominating and recommending to each of the* Cinque Ports, *the two ancient Towns, and their respective Members, one Person whom they ought to elect, to serve as a Baron or Member of Parliament for such Port,* &c. *all such Nomination or Recommendation shall be void.*

In the same Year (*cap.* 8.) the Judgment of *Quo Warranto* against the City of *London*, was reversed—its Liberties regranted, and made a Corporation.

By an Act in 1694, the 5th of *William* and *Mary*, cap. 7. *for Granting to their Majesties certain Rates and Duties, upon* Salt, Beer, Ale, *and* other Liquors, *for the raising of One Million towards carrying on the War with* France. This Clause was obtained, *Provided always, and be it enacted,* &c. *That no Member of the House of Commons shall, at any time, be concerned directly or indirectly, or any other in Trust for him, in the* Farming, Collecting, *or* Managing *any of the Sums of* Money, Duties, *or* other Aids granted *to their Majesties by this Act, or* that hereafter shall be granted by any other Acts of Parliament; *except the Commissioners of the Treasury, Customs, and Excise, not exceeding the present Number in each Office, and the Commissioners of the Land-Tax.*——But the Customs and Excise were afterwards excluded, as we shall presently come to shew, and continue so to be.

Again, by another Act the same Session, *cap.* 20. *for Granting several Rates and Duties upon Tonnage of Ships and Vessels, and upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, to raise one Million five hundred thousand Pounds,* &c. It was provided farther—*That no* Officer *or* Person *whatsoever concerned in any manner with the* Collection *or* Management *of the* Excise, *shall, by Word, Message, or Writing, or in any other manner, endeavour* to influence any Voter in Elections, *under Penalty of* 100 l. *and of Incapacity of holding any Office or Place of Trust under the Crown.*

In the 7th of *William* III. cap. 3. that famous Law was passed, which put the Lives, as well as Liberties of the Subject, upon so happy a Foundation, that no People upon the known Earth, can boast of such Security. I mean, the *Act for Regulating Trials in Cases of Treason and Misprision of Treason*; which contained the following Clauses.

1. *That the Persons accused should be entitled first to have a Copy of the Indictment five Days before the Trial.*

2. *To make their Defence by Council and Witnesses upon Oath, the Council to be chosen by themselves, and to have free Access to the Prisoner at all reasonable Hours.*

3. *Not to be indicted, tried, or attainted but by the Oath of two Witnesses, and one Witness to one Act of Treason, and another to another, not to be deemed two Witnesses.*

4. *Persons outlawed, upon their Return to stand Trial, to have the Benefit of this Act.*

5. *No Person to be indicted or prosecuted, unless within three Years of the Offence.*

6. *Persons tried, to have Copies of the* Pannel *two Days before Trial.*

7. *Such Persons to have Process of the Court where they shall be tried, to compel their Witnesses to appear for them at their Trials.*

8. *No Evidence to be admitted, or given of any Overt Act, not expressly laid in this Indictment, against any Person or Persons whatsoever.*

And whereas the Commons are to be tried by a Jury of Twelve, who must all agree in one Verdict to condemn any Man, and the Lords had till then lain under two great Disadvantages, *first* that one Major Vote was sufficient to condemn a Peer in Cases of this Nature; and *secondly*, that the Crown had the Power of nominating a select Number; appointing and excepting what Peers it pleased to sit in Judgment, it was then enacted, *that their Trials should be made for the future by the whole Body of the Peerage; and that every Peer should be duly summoned at least twenty Days before, and to appear and vote at such Trial.*

In the same Year, *Sess.* 1. *cap.* 4. the Act was passed *For preventing Charge and Expence in Elections of Members to serve in Parliament*, providing *that Candidates after the Teste of the Writ, or after any Seat in Parliament should become vacant for any Country, City, Borough*, &c. *giving or promising any Present or Reward for being elected, to any Person having Right of Vote, shall be incapable to serve in Parliament for any such Place as aforesaid.*

This was soon after followed by another Act of the same Sessions, *For preventing false and double Returns, cap.* 7. containing the following Clauses, 1. *That in Case of false and double Returns, the Party aggrieved may sue in any Court of* Westminster *against any Officers or Persons, and every one of them, and recover double Damages, and full Costs of Suit.* 2. *Whosoever shall make, or give any Contract, Security, Promise, Bond, Gift or Reward, to procure a false or double Return, shall forfeit* 300 *l.* 3. *The Clerk of the Crown to make Entry of all Returns within six Days after their Receipt, under Penalty of* 500 *l. and Forfeiture of his Office.* 4. *All Returns contrary to the last Determination of the House of Commons, to be void, and to be deemed false, and this Act to continue seven Years.*

By the Act in the 11th and 12th of *William, For granting an Aid to his Majesty out of the forfeited Estates, &c.* it was enacted, *That no Member of Parliament shall after the* 24*th of* June 1700, *be a* Commissioner *or* Farmer *of the* Excise, *or a* Commissioner *of* Appeals, *or* Controller *or* Auditor *of the said* Duty.

In the same Year, *cap.* 7. an Act was passed *For preventing irregular Proceedings of Sheriffs and other Officers, in making Returns of Members*, provided, *That the Returns shall be made to the Clerk of the Crown, within fourteen Days after the Election,* &c. *under Penalty of* 500 *l.*

In the same Sessions, *cap.* 12. an Act passed *to punish the Governors of Plantations, in this Kingdom, for Crimes committed by them in the Plantations*, by which the most remote Subjects of the *British* Empire obtained the Protection of the *English* Laws against Oppressions, which were before that Time without a Remedy.

The next Addition of Privilege and Security to the People, and Diminution of Prerogative, was obtained by the *Act for the farther Limitation of the Crown*, &c. *Anno* 12 *William* III. Sess. 1. cap. 2. which was then settled upon the House of *Hanover*; in this it was provided farther,

1. *That whosoever shall hereafter come to the Possession of this Crown shall join in Communion with the Church of* England, *as by Law established.* (The Act of 1 *William* and *Mary*, *Sess.* 2. *cap.*

cap. 2. before-mentioned had provided against the Admission of any *Papist*, it was now, for the absolute Security of the Religion of this Country, provided, that no Dissenter from that Religion, of any Denomination whatsoever, should be King of *England*.)

2. *That in case the Crown and Imperial Dignity of this Realm shall hereafter come to any Person not being a Native of this Kingdom, this Nation be not obliged to engage in any War for the Defence of any Dominions or Territories, which do not belong to the Crown of* England, *without Consent of Parliament.*

3. *That after the said Limitation shall take Effect as aforesaid, no Persons born out of the Kingdoms of* England, Scotland, *or* Ireland, *or the Dominions thereunto belonging (although he be naturalized or made a Denizen, except such as are born of* English *Parents) shall be capable to be of the Privy Council, or a Member of either House of Parliament, or to enjoy any Office or Place of Profit or Trust either Civil or Military, or to have any Grant of Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, from the Crown to himself, or to any other or others in Trust for him.*

4. *That after the said Limitation shall take Effect as aforesaid, Judges-Commissioners shall be made* quamdiu se bene gesserint, *and their Salaries ascertained and established; but that upon Address of both Houses of Parliament, it may be be lawful to remove them.*

5. *That no* Pardon *under the Great Seal of* England *be pleadable to an* Impeachment *by the* Commons *in Parliament.*

6. *That all Laws and Statutes of this Realm, for securing the established Religion, and the Rights and Liberties of the People, be ratified and confirmed.*

Another Improvement of our Constitution was made immediately after in that Act, *for preventing any Inconvenience, that may happen by Privilege of Parliament, Anno* 12 *Gul.* III. *cap.* 3. by which it was enacted, 1. *That Actions may be commenced against either Peer or Member of Parliament in the Interval of Parliament.* 2. *That after Prorogation the Court may give Judgment.* 3. *That Persons may have Process against Peer or Member of Parliament after the Dissolution of Parliament, and may exhibit any Bill or Complaint against any Peer or Member of Parliament, and sequester the Parties Estate.* 4. *Plaintiffs, who are prevented from Prosecution by any Privilege of Parliament, not to be barred by any Statute of Limitation.*

The next Act of the same Nature was for adding a farther Term to that formerly mentioned of 7 *Will.* III. *cap.* 7. *for preventing false and double Returns of Members to serve in Parliament*

ment for ſeven Years, which was then continued for eleven Years longer.

The laſt that we ſhall mention of this Great and Happy Reign, is of the ſame Year, 11 and 12 *Will.* III. *cap.* 10. *A. D.* 1700, entitled *An Act for granting an Aid to his Majeſty, for defraying the Expences of his Navy, Guards and Garriſons*, &c. in which it was provided, *That after the Diſſolution of that Parliament, no Member of the Houſe of Commons ſhould be a* Commiſſioner *of the* Cuſtoms, *or capable of holding* any Office *in that* Branch *of the* Revenue, *nor any Perſon concerned therein ſhould directly or indirectly* influence any Election, *under Penalty of being incapacitated to hold any Office or Place of Truſt under the Crown.*

We now come to the Reign of Queen *Anne*, during which the Prerogative ſtill declined, and the Liberties of the People were augmented and farther ſecured, for by *An Act for the better Support of her Majeſty's Houſhold, and of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, Anno* 1 *Annæ, Stat.* 1. *cap.* 7. it was decreed, that for preſerving the Revenues of the Crown, *all Grants of Manors, Lands*, &c. *made by the Crown for more than thirty-one Years or three Lives, or all Tenements for more than fifty Years, ſhould be void*, by which the Crown was for ever deprived of that great Means of Influence, and of burdening the Publick Revenues by Gratifications to their Favourites.

Anno 2 and 3 *Annæ, cap.* 18. it was enacted, *that any Action or Suit ſhall and may be commenced and proſecuted in any of her Majeſty's Courts of* Weſtminſter, *againſt any Officer of the Revenue, or any other Place of Publick Truſt, no ſuch Action to be impeached or ſtayed or delayed on Pretence of Privilege of Parliament, either with Reſpect to a Peer or Member of the Houſe of Commons*, and this was manifeſtly a great additional Security to the Subject againſt Power and Oppreſſion.

In the Year 1704, 4 *Annæ cap.* 8. *An Act* paſſed *for the better Security of her Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and of the Succeſſion to the Crown of* England *in the* Proteſtant *Line:* By which the Nation acquired the following Advantages.

1. *That the Parliament ſhall not be diſſolved by the Death of any King or Queen of* England, *but that it ſhall continue ſix Months after; that it ſhall immediately convene, meet, and ſit, whether adjourned or prorogued, and in caſe there ſhould be no Parliament in being, then the laſt preceding Parliament ſhall immediately convene, and ſit, and be a Parliament, to continue, as aforeſaid, to all Intents and Purpoſes.*——A Proviſo which, if rightly conſidered, muſt appear to be infinitely wiſe, and may, in future Times, prove of the laſt Importance, to bring the Conſtitution back again,

again, if it ſhould ever be interrupted or unhinged in any Arbitrary Reign hereafter.

2. *The Privy Council, the Great Officers, and all Offices, Civil or Military, ſhall continue likewiſe for ſix Months.*

3. *The Privy Council, immediately after the Deceaſe of the King or Queen, to proclaim the next* Proteſtant Succeſſor, *under Penalty of High-Treaſon.*—The Benefit of which three Clauſes moſt manifeſtly appeared upon the Death of the late Queen *Anne.*

It may be expected of me to take Notice in this Place, that by this Act two Clauſes in the Act of the 12th and 13th of *William* III. cap. 2. the firſt, *Concerning the ſigning of Privy Counſellors to all Acts of State*; and the ſecond, *Containing a general Excluſion of all Offices and Places of Profit, and all Perſons holding Penſions from the Crown, from ſitting in the Houſe of Commons* were repealed; becauſe upon this Repeal the Malecontents have taken their only plauſible Handle, to inſinuate, that our Conſtitution has been impaired.—But this will admit of a very eaſy Anſwer—for, in Fact, this never was the Conſtitution; theſe two Proviſions were only made *in futuro*, had never actually taken Place, were repealed long before they were to be in Force, *viz.* in four Years after they were firſt made, and at a Period of Time, when that Government and Family they were intended to reſtrain, had no Power or Influence, in this Country, to procure their Repeal, and near ten Years before their Acceſſion to the Throne.——Nay farther, as to the ſecond Clauſe concerning Penſions, it has actually been reſtored ſince that Acceſſion, as we ſhall ſhew in its due Place.

4. *It was enacted by this Law, that from and after the Diſſolution, or ſooner Determination of that Parliament, no Perſon who ſhall have, in his own Name, or in the Name of any Perſon or Perſons in Truſt for him, or for his Benefit,* any new Office, *or* Place of Profit whatſoever *under the Crown, which, at any Time hereafter, ſhall be created or erected, nor any* Commiſſioner *or* Sub Commiſſioner *of* Prizes, *and* Secretary *or* Receiver *of the* Prizes, *any* Comptroller *of the Accounts of the* Army, *any* Commiſſioner *of* Tranſports, *any* Commiſſioner *of the* Sick *and* Wounded, *any* Agent *for* any Regiment, *nor any* Commiſſioner *for* Wine Licences, *nor any* Governor, *or* Deputy Governor *of any of the* Plantations, *nor any* Commiſſioners *of the* Navy *employed in any of the* Out-Ports, *nor any Perſon having any* Penſion *from the Crown* during Pleaſure, *ſhall be elected, ſit, or vote, as a Member of the Houſe of Commons.*

5. *No* Office to be ſplit into Commiſſion *farther than already done before the firſt Day of the Seſſions of Parliament* 1705.

6. *All*

6. *All Members of Parliament accepting any Place of Profit under the Crown, during the Time of their being Members, their Elections to become immediately void, but capable of being re-elected, if the People ſhould think proper to choſe them again under that Circumſtance.* —This Clauſe was enacted in the Place of that which we have already obſerved to have been repealed by this Act, whereby *Perſons holding any Employments were totally excluded.*—This Proviſion being thought much more conſiſtent with the Liberty of the Subject, both *Elected* and *Electors.*—And, in the Opinion of that Time, as great a Security as could be deſired by any People, ſince it put it out of the Power of the Repreſentatives to deceive their Conſtituents, and left it to their own Option, whether they would confide their Intereſts again in the Hands of the *ſame* Perſon, after that Change of his Condition.

7. *A Penalty of* 500l. *to be recovered by any Perſon who ſhall ſue any Member who ſhall ſit contrary to this Act, and the Election of ſuch Member to be void.*

Greatly as the Prerogative and Influence of the Crown was reduced by this Law, it is much to be queſtioned, whether its Benefits exceeded that which I ſhall next mention; *Viz. The Act of the 7th of* Anne, *cap.* 21. *for Improving the Union of the two Kingdoms.*—For by this Act, 1ſt, *That ineſtimable Law of Treaſons before mentioned, was extended to that Part of* Great Britain *called* Scotland. 2dly, *It was enacted, That after the Death of the Perſon called the* Pretender, *when any Perſon ſhall be indicted for High Treaſon, or Miſpriſion of Treaſon, a Liſt of the Witneſſes that ſhall be produced on the Trial for proving the ſaid Indictment, and of the Jury, mentioning the Names, Profeſſions, and Places of Abode of the ſaid Witneſſes and Jurors, ſhall be alſo given at the ſame Time that the Copy of the Indictment is delivered to the Party indicted, and that Copies of all the Indictments for the Offences aforeſaid, with ſuch Liſts, ſhall be delivered to the Party indicted, ten Days before the Trial, and in Preſence of two or more credible Witneſſes. And* 3dly, *That after the Deceaſe of the ſaid* Pretender, *and at the End of the Term of three Years, (after the Succeſſion of the Houſe of* Hanover *to the Throne) no Attainder for Treaſon ſhall extend to the diſinheriting of any Heir, nor to the Prejudice of the Right or Title of any Perſon or Perſons, other than the Right or Title of the Offender or Offenders, during his, her or their natural Lives only, and that it ſhall and may be lawful to every Perſon or Perſons, to whom the Right or Intereſt of any Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, after the Death of any ſuch Offender or Offenders ſhould or might have appertained, if no ſuch Attainder had been, to enter into the ſame:* Which noble Proviſion for the Lives and Property of the Subject,

ject, taken in all its Consequences, is not to be found in any other Government upon Earth.

In 1710, 9 *Annæ, cap.* 5. the *Act* was passed *for securing the Freedom of Parliaments, and the further qualifying the Members to sit in the House of Commons, appointing a Qualification of* 600 l. per Annum *for Counties, and* 300 l. *a Year for Cities and Boroughs.* A Provision wholly new in the Constitution of this Country.

In the same Session, *cap.* 10. it was enacted, *That no* Post-master *or* Post-master General, *or his or their* Deputy *or* Deputies, *or any Person employed by or under him or them, in the* receiving, collecting *or* managing *the* Revenue *of the* Post Office, *should in any Manner whatsoever persuade or dissuade any Voter for Members to serve in Parliament, under the Penalty of* 100 l. *and of Disqualification, Disability, and Incapacity of ever bearing, or executing any Office or Place of Trust whatsoever under the Crown.*

In the 10th *Annæ, cap.* 23. an Act was passed *for the more effectual preventing fraudulent Conveyances, in order to multiply Votes for electing Knights of the Shire to serve in Parliament, providing against this Evil by an Oath, and inflicting the Penalty of Perjury upon the Person, either suborning or taking that Oath falsely.*

In the 12th of the same Reign, *cap.* 5. there was an Act of the same Nature, *for the better regulating the Elections in* Scotland.

And in the same Session, *Stat.* 1. *cap.* 15. *the Act concerning double Returns,* (first made, *Anno* 7 and 8. *Gul.* III. *cap.* 4. for seven Years, then continued as we have observed for eleven Years more, in the 12 *William, cap.* 5.) *was made perpetual.*

In the First of *George* I. 1714. cap. 4. *It was enacted, That no Person shall be hereafter naturalized, unless in the Bill exhibited for that Purpose, there be a Clause or particular Words inserted to declare, That such Person shall not thereby be enabled to be of the Privy Council, or a Member of either House of Parliament, or to take any Office or Place of Trust, either Civil or Military, or to have any Grant of Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments from the Crown to himself, or any other Person in Trust for him, and that no Bill of Naturalization shall be hereafter received, unless such Clause or Words be first inserted or contained therein.*

In the first of the same Reign 1715. *Sect.* 2. *cap.* 56. a farther Act was made, *to disable any Person from being chose a Member of sitting or voting in the House of Commons, who has any Pension for any Number of Years from the Crown, and the Penalty of* 20 l. *for every Day that such Member shall presume to sit or vote*

in

in that House: By which Act, the one of the two Clauses before mentioned in the Act of the 12th and 13th of *William*, which was repealed by the 4th of *Anne*, cap. 8. was again restored.

In the second of the present King 1728-9, *the Bill for the more effectual preventing Bribery and Corruption in the Election of Members to serve in Parliament was passed into a Law.*

And in the *first* Sessions of this *present* Parliament, an Act was passed *for the farther Limitation of Placemen in the House of Commons*, of which we have already had Occasion to speak, by which, *after the Expiration or sooner Determination of this present Parliament, among others are excluded the* seven Commissioners *of the* Revenue *in* Ireland, *the* seven Commissioners *of the* Victualling Office, *the* Clerk *of the* Pells, *and* all the Deputies, Inferior Officers *and* Clerks *of these* Commissions, *and of the* Treasury, Exchequer, Pells, Admiralty, Secretaries of State, *and* Paymaster of the Forces, (two or three only excepted,) *together with the* major Part of the Establishment of *Minorca* and *Gibraltar.*—This is that Act, for which the present Administration, instead of Thanks, have been repaid with the vilest Reproaches of the *Faction*, and the most cruel Abuse of their ungrateful Country.

In the same Session passed that Clause in the Bill *for Mutiny and Desertion, for taking the Power of* billetting of Soldiers *in the City and Liberty of* Westminster, *out of the Hands of the* High Constable *of that City, and placing it with effectual Provisions in the Hands of the petty Constables, by which a very great Abuse and Means of Fraud and Influence were taken away.*

We now come in order of time to the *last Session* of this *Parliament, when the* Pot-Act, *(which was, in effect, an arbitrary Tax, at the Will and under the Direction of the Excise,) was repealed.*

And lastly an Act was passed *for the further Security of the Freedom of Election in that Part of* Great Britain *called* Scotland.—The four last Acts here mentioned have been gained since the Removal of the late Minister, and in little more than the Space of one Year; yet are the People taught to believe, that they have gained nothing.——*Quos Deus vult perdere dementat.*

The Reader will pardon this long Deduction of popular Laws, which I have here inserted; such a Review can never be tedious to any Man, who sincerely loves his Country; and I am certain that the Recapitulation of those extraordinary Amendments of our Constitution, here presented to their View will greatly contribute to the Peace and Quiet of many honest Men, who in the Passion and Hurry of these Times, have too incon-

inconſiderately ſuffered themſelves to be impoſed upon by a groundleſs Clamour ; without either giving themſelves time, or Opportunity to conſider ſeriouſly how unjuſt it is.

For whoever will take the Pains to look back upon the Condition of our former Government, and will reflect as he ought to do upon theſe Laws, and Acquiſitions (and many more there are, all tending in ſome Degree to the ſame Improvement) and any Man, who will weigh what we have already explained as to the Power of the Crown in its *Civil Liſt*, in its *Employments*, or in its *Prerogative*, if he really means nothing but to preſerve this Conſtitution, muſt confeſs that the Liberty and Property of this Nation, never ſtood in any Period of Time, upon ſo ſtrong a Baſis, repaired in every Breach that Time had made, fortified with additional Pillars of prodigious Security, and every Day encreaſing in Solidity by the Effect of Laws, which from the Courſe of Time and Nature muſt take Place in a few Years.

From theſe Reflections it does really appear, that Men betray their Ignorance in the moſt groſs Manner, when they talk in that unmeaning Cant, of the Neceſſity of bringing back our Conſtitution to its firſt Principles, ſo much the Faſhion in theſe Times ; for I may defy the ableſt Man in *England* fairly to give the Inſtance of any Period in this Government, where the *Power* of the *Crown* ſtood upon *lower*, or the *Liberty* of the *Subject* upon *higher* Ground than it does at this Day.

Men cannot deny, that *Prerogative* was *reduced*, and the *Conſtitution reſtored* by the *Revolution* ; they will not venture to do this, becauſe the Falſhood would be too glaring, but they have taught the People to think, that all theſe Amendments of the Letter of our Conſtitution (if I may ſo expreſs it) are rendered ineffectual by the Increaſe of Influence in the Crown, from *additional Revenues*, and *additional Employments*, ſince that Time. The Fact is totally the Reverſe, as we have ſeen.— Half the Guards and Proviſions for the Liberty of the Subject have been acquired long ſince that Period ; every Reign, and almoſt every Parliament have made Additions to the Privileges of the People ; inſomuch that the People would be manifeſt Loſers, were they to exchange their Conſtitution for what it was at any one Inſtant of Time, previous even to the laſt Seſſion of Parliament : And this would be more or leſs the Caſe, were they to go back from Year to Year, from this preſent Year 1743, to 1066 the Æra of the Conqueſt.

This Revenue of the Crown, which they magnify ſo much, is demonſtrated to be leſs capable in all Conſiderations to anſwer corrupt Purpoſes, than it was formerly ; and we have already,

ready, as it ſhould ſeem, all the Laws, that the Wiſdom of Man can invent, to leſſen its Operation in that way,—If theſe Laws are not effectual, there is too much Reaſon to fear that the Remedy is beyond the Power of Law, and that the Evil muſt ariſe from the Ambition, which is incident to the Nature of all popular Governments, and to the Opulence of this Country, which Circumſtances, coveted by all Nations, and deſirable as they juſtly are upon the whole, were never free from the Inconveniencies of this kind ; have conſtantly debauched the Morals of every People ; and introduced Corruption, in ſome degree, wherever they exiſted.

Thoſe Employments ſaid to be ſo much encreaſed ſince the Revolution, are actually cut off from their Influence upon the Conſtitution, as far as written Laws can do it, in innumerable Inſtances.——Since the 5th of *William* and *Mary*, 1694, no new Employment in the Revenue can be held by any Member of the Houſe of Commons ; ſince the 4th of *Anne*, 1705, no new Employment whatſoever, excepting in the *Navy* or the *Army*. Some with very good Intentions wiſh theſe military Offices to be excluded too. But this Opinion is full of Danger, for whoſever lives to ſee them *totally* excepted likewiſe, can rationally expect nothing but a military Government.——We have therefore gained a Guard againſt any Encreaſe of this Evil in future, very near as far as it can be prudently deſired.———The *Cuſtoms*, *Exciſe*, *Poſt-Office*, and a Multitude of other Civil Officers, which exiſted long before the Revolution, (and not, as it is falſely conceived,) of later Inſtitution, have been alſo weeded out of Parliament.

It is therefore an abominable Impoſition upon Mankind to inſinuate this Doctrine, neither are the Means of Influence equal, nor do the Laws permit it to be exerted, though the Means did actually exiſt.

If any thing more or better can be deviſed to render our Conſtitution yet more pure, that Man would be very diſhoneſt, who would not endeavour to attain it, — but every Quack Receipt is not a Remedy. The Cure muſt be chiefly looked for in the Virtue of the People, and much Help it might receive from thoſe, who bellow loudeſt againſt Corruption, if they would refuſe to pay its Wages at their own Elections ; the Woman once vitiated by one Man, will become an eaſy Proſtitute to any other ; and the Countryman corrupted by the Bribe of a *Patriot*, will undoubtedly make no Scruple afterwards to ſell his Vote to any *Miniſterial Hireling*.

What I have ſaid upon thoſe Heads, is not intended to deter any honeſt and well conſidered Attempts for any farther Amend-

Amendments in our Conſtitution, if they can be made; but it is intended and ought juſtly to have its Effect ſo far as to convince the Publick, that they are deceived, that their Condition is (whatever Imperfections ſtill remain) in fact infinitely more ſecure than it ever was ſince we have been a Nation; and that therefore the Impatience expreſſed by ſuch Numbers is extravagant, and muſt appear altogether unaccountable to every thinking Man.—Nor is it for this Reaſon eaſy for any Man, the beſt intentioned to the People, to comply with the Humour of theſe Times, becauſe it is impoſſible to know what they would be at, what would content them, or what would be the Limits they would preſcribe to their Demands.--Nor can *this be known*, nor can *they be truſted*, ſo long as they found their Opinions upon falſe Facts, and Doctrines ſo erronous, as ſo evidently theſe appear to be. I mean not to juſtify any Faults, that have been, or may be committed in the Conduct of our Affairs; but I mean to moderate that Paſſion, which miſguides them in their Reaſonings upon it, which hurries them into ſuch Expectations and Reſentments, as muſt deſtroy the very Bleſſing they enjoy by graſping after more than it is their real Intereſt to have: It muſt be carried in Remembrance, *that our Conſtitution is a Monarchy, and though limited, yet that the Crown muſt be permitted a conſiderable Share of Power, without which our Government, whatever we may afterwards think fit to call it, will become of another Species, a Species which certainly we are not fitted for, which, as in former Times, we ſhould ſuffer all the Evils of Confuſion in attempting to procure; and which, when procured, we never ſhould be able to maintain.*

Sitting down therefore with Minds grateful and ſenſible of the very great Advantages we now enjoy beyond what our Forefathers ever knew, let us ſtill entertain all reaſonable Views of further Benefit, but without Prejudice or Paſſion; let us correct the Faults, or even amend the Defects of Government, in all Caſes where they are real, and not imaginary, where the Circumſtance of Time will ſuffer it, when we have the Power to do it, and when no worſe Inconveniences would follow from it.--But let us not meaſure theſe Faults or Defects by the Clamours of a *Faction*; let us conſider, that the Eye of Oppoſition magnifies every Mite of Power, as much as the Eye of Power diminiſhes every Object of popular Complaint. Let us therefore, when we enter upon this Work, engage in it with Moderation, and with a candid and wiſe Reflection, that nothing human can be perfect, that Men will have their Faults as long as they are Men; that we muſt in Government, as well as in other Things, take the Evil with the Good; and that that Nation is happy

upon

upon the whole, where the latter far exceeds the former; this we may ſafely pronounce of the State in which we live, [a] *Vitia erunt donec homines, ſed neque hæc continua, & meliorum itterventu penſantur:* — In this State of things, in ſuch a critical Situation of Affairs abroad, in ſuch a Ferment of the People, as we have lately ſeen at home, there can be no Wonder, that Men of Senſe ſhould deſire time to conſider ſeriouſly what farther Alterations may be made with Safety; we may certainly reſt at preſent without any immediate Fear for Liberty, if not, it is difficult to comprehend how our Anceſtors, who fell ſo ſhort of us, as we have ſhewn in this reſpect, preſerved their own, or delivered any down to us. — From the Sketch, that has been offered of the laſt *Place-Bill*, we ſee that we ſhall obtain in five Years, and perhaps much ſooner, a great additional Security. If there be Truth in the Suggeſtions of the *Faction*, that every Member of Parliament poſſeſſed of an Employment, is byaſſed by it, and would act differently if he had it not, however falſely they have repreſented that Bill, it will make a mighty Difference in our future Parliaments. Though this ſhort Period may be thought long, by the Members of a *Faction*, to wait for a Turn of Affairs, that may bring them into Office, it cannot be thought long, by any honeſt and diſintereſted Man, to wait for the Benefit of this Conſtitutional Alteration—Such a Man will conſider, that *Exceſs* in Regulations of this kind, brings equal Danger on the one hand, as *Imperfection* might in Time produce upon the other.—Such a Man would be unwilling to act precipitately in a Matter of this Moment, would proceed by Degrees, would deſire to experience the Effect of every one Law of this Nature, before he ventured to promote another—Such a Man will attach himſelf neither to the *Regal* nor to the *Popular Power*.—He will fix his Attention ſolely to maintain the true Ballance of this Government.—He will be neither moved by Diſappointments from the Crown, nor by Abuſes from the People.——He will act reſolutely with *either*, when they are *right*.— He will oppoſe *both* vigorouſly, in their Turns, when they are *wrong*. — His ſole View in Power, or out of Power, will be the Good of his Country.— His Study will be, to ſupport the Crown, without flattering the Prince.— And he will conſider more the real Service of the People, than their giddy Approbation.—He will neither be fettered by general Maxims, nor tied to any *Utopian* Syſtem, but will be governed by Times and Circumſtances, of which he will endeavour faithfully to make the beſt Advantage for the Publick.—Such a Man is a

[a] *Tacit. Hiſt. Lib. 4.*

true Patriot, whoſe Fate it will ſometimes be, to appear in the vulgar Apprehenſion unſteady, when he is moſt conſtant, and inconſiſtent when he is moſt conſiſtent. This muſt often be the Caſe in thoſe Countries, where Characters are won or loſt by *Party* rather than by *Principle:* And ſuch is undoubtedly the Caſe of this Country in which we live.

It is now time to think of drawing towards a Concluſion of this Paper, which has ſwelled to a greater Size than is common in Works of this kind, but which the Nature of the Thing, and the great Field of Matter I have been obliged to travel thro', have rendered unavoidable. Many Suggeſtions and fallacious Reaſonings have been paſſed upon the Publick in theſe confuſed Times, of which even yet I have taken no Notice.—But I have obſerved upon thoſe of moſt Importance, and it would be not only endleſs, but abſurd, to attempt an Anſwer to many of theſe Points, upon which the ſimple Part of the People have been lately entertained.—Perhaps I have rather gone too far in this Attempt already in ſome Reſpects; for it is very obvious, that the greater Part of the Arguments employed by the *Faction* againſt whom I write, are of a Nature, which renders them of all others the moſt unanſwerable,—they have the Property which a great Author aſcribes to Nonſenſe, — *Nonſenſe*, ſays he, *ſtands upon its own Baſis, like a Rock of Adamant,—there is no Place about it weaker than another,—the Major and the Minor are of equal Strength, — its Queſtions admit of no Reply, and its Aſſertions are not to be invalidated; if it affirms any thing, you cannot lay hold of it; or if it denies, you cannot confute it:——In a Word, there are greater Intricacies in an elaborate and well-written Piece of Nonſenſe, than in the moſt profound Tract of School Divinity.*—Such are the Productions of the *Faction* of this Time; and the ſame Author obſerves, that of this Nature have always been the Productions of the ſame Men; nor can we form by any more unerring Rule our firſt Suſpicions of the Nature of any *Faction* in this Country; a *Jacobite Faction*, or a *Tory Party* (which, as we have fully ſhewn before, is by unavoidable Fatality always led by *Jacobites*, whether they know it or not) eternally hath, doth, will, and muſt fight in Entrenchments of this kind.

But the preſent *Faction*, from hence at firſt naturally ſuſpected, has at length been fully detected, by all their Endeavours to preſerve *France*, to ſacrifice the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and to poiſon the Principles of the People to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and to the Family now upon the Throne, by the Arts uſed to inflame the People, which have been the ſame that were ever uſed by the ſame *Faction*, and by the Tendency of every Point with which they

they goad the People on to Discontent and Dissatisfaction; which Points incontrovertibly appear, when viewed in a true Light, to consist in these three Heads; 1. *The Destruction of the* Whigs, *and the Elevation of the* Tories; 2. *The Expulsion of the present Royal Family*; 3. *The Change of the Constitution of this Kingdom.* As this is undeniably evinced by the *Deduction* of their *Conduct*, and the *Examination* of their *Principles*, and the *Evidence* of the *Facts* contained in the preceding Pages, every Man of Honesty will think me warranted in this Undertaking to maintain, and every Man of Sense will know, that I have sufficiently maintained, that Proposition, which I laid down in the Beginning of these Papers, as my principal Point to prove, *viz. That the Opposition of this Time is not an* Opposition, *but a* Faction; *and that of the most dangerous kind to this Nation.*

And now the Heads of the *Faction* for their last Resource will seek to shelter, and will throw themselves among that general Herd, whom they for a while have led, but they will find no Protection there, they are singled out; the Rest will see whom we have marked, will separate, and retire from the Society of those, with whom they can associate themselves no longer, without the utmost Danger.

We make no Doubt, that they will labour to revive the false Opinion, that the Principles of their *Faction* are not to be apprehended; it is the constant publick Topic of Discourse with *Jacobites*, that there is not a *Jacobite* in *England.* But they have opened themselves too far, their Views have been too glaring, they have unmasked too soon, and it avails nothing for a Man to deny *the Name*, while he pursues *the Thing*; it will be hard to convince a rational Being, that a Party, driving at this furious Rate, as we have seen, in such a Road, can have any other View; were it for Preferment and Employments only, it is a villainous Pursuit, when followed by these Means, and without enquiring who are the Men, how many, that are actuated by the *first*, or that concur on Account of the *second* View, it is fully sufficient for the Publick, that the Conduct of the *Faction* manifestly leads to this fatal End.

But at the same Time that we say this justly of the general Tendency of the present Opposition, it would be highly unjust to make no Distinction, or to charge the Bulk of those Individuals, of which this *Faction* has been hitherto composed, with the *same Principles.*—We do it not;—we are very sensible that different Motives of Discontent, and even of mistaken Honesty, have certainly drawn in many well-meaning Men to associate with them. Yet I must freely say thus much even of these, and of all who are concerned with them, that though they may

 escape

eſcape the Depth of Cenſure, which is due to thoſe by whom they are thus pitifully led, they are not wholly free from Blame, in tampering with Government, without taking any Pains to inform themſelves; and ſome of them are undoubtedly guilty of a Crime, not ſo eaſily excuſed, *viz.* that of reſigning their Judgments to other Men (as it is too much the Caſe of all Parties) with a View, one Time or other, to promote or advance their private Intereſts by it. The Corruption is equal, to abandon the Will to the *Proſpect* of Advantage, as to the *Poſſeſſion* of it; and it is conſequently as wicked to oppoſe for the *Expectation* (though more popularly wicked) as to ſupport Government for the *preſent Profit* of Employments. — God and themſelves only know how many of the *Faction* are culpable in this.—But let them weigh it well, and whether the Danger to the Publick is not equal in both Caſes.—Others there are, who, from want of Courage to ſtand againſt unjuſt Calumny, are dragged along, againſt their Wills, by the Fury of their Party, — of theſe no better can be ſaid, than that they are Cowards, and do not deſerve the Name of Men. — There is yet another Claſs, whoſe Intereſt in their Counties and their Boroughs, compel them to flatter the heated Imaginations, corrupt Principles, or fluctuating Humours of thoſe they repreſent; but this, if duly conſidered, is as great Corruption as the reſt, and the Bottom of it is nothing better than unwarrantable Vanity, or a Preference of their own private Intereſt to that of the Commonwealth.—And there is yet a fourth Set of Men, who by their Pride and Reſentments to the Crown, or to the Adminiſtration, for that want of Deference and Reſpect, which cannot be extended to all who deſerve it, and is often expected by thoſe who deſerve it not, are driven into this Extravagance.—Though this is indeed that Evil to which generous Spirits are the moſt expoſed, yet no conſiderate Man can think, that this, or any Motive in the World, can be a ſufficient Excuſe for any one to concur in the Deſtruction of his Country.

If the Bulk of thoſe who now aſſociate with this *Faction* reflect carefully upon theſe Things, and if all under theſe different Circumſtances, edify as they ought to do by theſe Reflections, I may venture to affirm, that it will, in a ſhort Time, make that Figure, which it is the Wiſh of every honeſt Man to ſee it make. Leaving therefore theſe Gentlemen to their own Reflections, I ſhall now ſum up what I have chiefly endeavoured to inculcate in the preceding Pages, in a few Conſiderations, which I ſubmit to the general Maſs of Men.

1. Whether the Avowal of Principles, and the Purſuit of a Conduct directly tending to ſerve, ſave, and aggrandize, and

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to divert the Attention of the People from the Danger of their Eternal and Implacable Enemy the *French*, obſtructing all Means for the Support, and giving up the Balance, of Power, under Pretences either of Inability, Inutility, on any Plea whatever, labouring to deſtroy the Faith of our Treaties, and contending for the Deſertion of our Allies, ſuggeſting an abſurd, infamous and evidently diſproved Propoſition, that we fight only for the Service of a Foreign Territory, endeavouring to prejudice the People againſt the *Whigs*, and to poiſon the whole Affections of the Nation to their *preſent Prince*, and to the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, was not the direct Conduct, in all its Parts, of a *Jacobite Faction*, under the deluſive Title of a *Tory Party*, in the Reigns of King *William* and Queen *Anne?*

2. Let them conſider, to what Point they were hurried by that *Faction*. Whether it did not end in the Preſervation of *France*, whom nothing elſe could have then ſaved, and in the Confuſion of their own Country, which nothing leſs than the Providence of God could have afterwards preſerved? Whether the Fruits of the Blood of 200,000 Men, and of 70 Millions of Money ſpent in that late long War, were not caſt away by this Conduct of that *Faction?* Whether the Reſtoration of *France*, has not created 30 *Millions* of unneceſſary Expence ſince that Time, a Rebellion which coſt *a Million* in the next Reign, the Neceſſity of double the Army in Times of Peace, that we ſhould otherwiſe have had Occaſion to maintain, and the vaſt Expences we muſt now incur anew, to reduce within due Bounds the exorbitant Power of the Houſe of *Bourbon?*

3. Whether there be any other Way to learn the Principles of Men, than by comparing their former with their preſent Conduct, or to judge of the future Effects of their preſent, but by the paſt Conſequences of their former Coduct? Whether the very individual Methods are not now purſued by the preſent Oppoſition, that were purſued by the *Jacobite Faction* of that Time? Whether therefore any Man who can reaſon at all, can conclude the preſent Oppoſition (whatever Pretences it may uſe, or whatever Title it may bear) to be any other than a direct and apparent Faction of the ſame Kind?

4. Whether the ſame Tree muſt not, by all the Laws of Nature, conſtantly produce the ſame Fruit; the like Cauſes, the like Effects; and then what muſt be the Fruit and the Effect of the Meaſures of the preſent Faction?

5. Let the *Tories* in particular (I ſpeak not to thoſe *Jacobites* who aſſume the Name, but to thoſe who are really no more than honeſt and well-meaning Men, and ſuch in general they are, who have inherited that Appellation becauſe their

Parents

Parents were ſuch, or becauſe of their Intereſts in their Corporations, or the Company they keep) let theſe, I ſay, conſider, whether they ever got any Thing by joining with a *Jacobite Faction*, but Miſery to their Country, and Shame to themſelves? Whether they were ever led by a *Jacobite Faction*, but that they became their Dupes? Whether they were ever engaged with a *Jacobite Faction*, but they were brought to repent, and forced to recant at laſt? Whether they ever knew their Men, or ſaw their Danger, till it was almoſt too late to repent, and uſeleſs to recant? Whether they have not ever been carried away by *Names* inſtead of *Things?* And whether the Cry about *Hanover* now, is not what the Cry about the *Church* was formerly, raiſed and fomented with as little Reaſon, and for the ſame vile Purpoſe? Whether they have not too much Honeſty to ſupport an Alliance with a *Jacobite Faction*, to its End and Iſſue? Let them reflect, whether by acting as they now do, they put it not out of the Power of their beſt intentioned Friends to aboliſh thoſe unhappy Party-Diſtinctions, which every well-meaning Man ſincerely wiſhes to deſtroy? and which he will ſincerely labour to deſtroy (whenever their Moderation can make it ſafe or poſſible) by a juſt and equal Advancement of Merit, where ever it is found in *Individuals* among them? But let them conſider fairly, how apt they have been on all Occaſions to aſſociate with, and to be guided by, Men of worſe Principles, and for this Reaſon, whether they can expect it, while they unite with theſe Men, and while they claim it *as a Party*, which is their preſent Caſe.

6. Let the few *Republicans*, and *Whigs*, whoſe Heat, Paſſions and Diſappointments have *ſteeled* them into the Temper of *Republicans*, conſider, whether a *Republican*, and ſuch a *Whig*, when in Alliance with a *Jacobite Faction*, is any thing elſe, or better, than the *Jackall* to the *Lyon*, with whom he is, for a Time, allowed the Honour to hunt, but with whom he will never be permitted to divide the Prey; Let them analyſe that Philter, they have taken to ſtimulate this unnatural Affection, and reflect that ſuch a Copulation can engender nothing but a Monſter.

Quale Portentum neque Militaris
Daunia in latis alit Eſculetis;
Nec Jubæ Tellus generat. ——————— Hor.

7. Let the honeſt *Whigs* conſider, how often their Firmneſs and good Senſe have ſaved their Country, and whether any thing but Union among themſelves can do it now? Whether particular Points, though moſt undeniably ſuited to the *Whig Principle*, ought to be purſued, nay may not even conſiſtently

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be for a Time oppoſed by *Whigs*, in a Conjuncture, when by a Chain of Circumſtances, that Purſuit would not be only vain in itſelf, but tend to deſtroy the *Whig Intereſt ?*—Whether the Support of *that* ought not to be the primary Conſideration ? And whether the gaining a few popular Laws (were this even certainly the Caſe) at the Expence of *that*, would be for the Benefit of this Country ? Whether the popular Laws we now have, or thoſe we might perhaps acquire, could be long preſerved after the Ruin of that Intereſt ? Whether therefore it is not below the Underſtanding of a *Whig*, to drop the *Subſtance* in this manner for the *Shadow ?* Whether for this Reaſon it is not more prudent to content ourſelves awhile with what we have already, and to wait a ſafer Opportunity to exert ourſelves for the farther Improvement of our Conſtitution ? Whether we ſhould not make a fooliſh Bargain for our Country, if while we were hunting after ſome ſeemingly convenient, but yet (after all) precarious Advantages at home, we ſhould ſuffer a Foreign Power inſenſibly to become our Maſter ? Or while we were too paſſionately engaged in puſhing for the farther Advancement of our Liberty, we ſhould raſhly throw our Government into the Hands of a Family, who muſt in all Probability deſtroy it, or gradually wreſt out of that Line, which is demonſtrably moſt likely to preſerve it ?—Whether therefore it is not our Buſineſs, in our preſent Situation, to ſettle and conſolidate our Government, which has been not a little ſhaken in the Tempeſt of the late Times, than (before that is done) to run any new Riſque, in attempting to be *better* than *well*.

8. Let the Publick conſider fairly, whether every one of thoſe Points, upon which they have been of late ſo furiouſly inflamed, are not wilfully and wickedly miſrepreſented, and already proved, by the Event, to be notoriouſly falſe in every Inſtance ? —As to the Refuſal of the *Heſſians* to march,--the Inability of the *Hanoverians* to act,—the Acceſſion of the *Dutch*—the Infidelity of the King of *Sardinia*,—the unjuſt Reflections on the King, as not intending to aſſiſt in his Electoral Capacity,--the Vote of the King of *Pruſſia*,—the Impoſſibility of ſaving the Queen of *Hungary*, and of reſiſting *France* ;—let them reflect, to what we ſhould have been reduced, if we had followed the Advice of the *Faction*, and then reſolve, whether they can follow them any longer, without Ignominy to themſelves, and Deſtruction to their Country ?

9. Let the Popular Intereſt conſider, as to all their Popular Purſuits, what was their Original View in Oppoſition ? with what they would have been contented, and for what they would have willingly compounded a little Time ago ? And if their Expectations

pectations are to grow with their Succeſs, how they can ever be contended? Whether they have not got the End? and if they have, whether it is not Folly to purſue the Means? Whether if the Power of the Crown, and of the Lords, were greatly leſs, the Commons could be long without engroſſing all? Let them examine, whether it is not their Nature, and that of every People, to riſe in their Demands for Power, as they encreaſe in it? Whether, if they had as much more, as ſome very honeſtly, though very inconſiderately, contend for, they could curb this Nature in themſelves? and whether if they had ſo much and could not curb it, the whole Legiſlature could prevent their having all? Whether their having all would be truly for their Advantage? Whether in any one Period of our Government they had half ſo much? And finally (if they can be impartial and reaſon fairly) whether it is not evident, that their preſent Views and Diſcontents are not, in ſome meaſure, owing to what they have already? Whether thoſe Gentlemen, who quitted the late Oppoſition, at the Time they did it, inſtead of deſerting, have not ſaved their Country? Whether they have not acted the Part of a tender Phyſician to a ſick Patient? Whether, if they have deceived the People, (as it is call'd) they have not done it, becauſe there was no other way to bring them to do that which was neceſſary for their Health? And whether the *People* are not as unjuſt to theſe Men, after what has been done by their Means, as the *Patient* would be, who after he was cured of a dangerous Diſeaſe, ſhould quarrel with his Phyſician, for having given him too good an Opinion of his Medicine, during the Time of his Diſtemper, or abuſe him for deſiſting afterwards to preſcribe the farther Uſe of it for his daily Food.

10. Let them then conſider how they can anſwer, either to God or to their Country, that wicked and cruel Treatment they have given to thoſe true Patriots, who have ſtood their Ground, with equal Steadineſs, againſt the late Miniſter, and the preſent tempeſtuous *Faction*; and how they can ever make theſe Men amends, for the Inſults they have received, for the Loſs of their Intereſts in their Reſpective Countries, and the Foundation they have laid of the future Difficulties they muſt infallibly hereafter undergo, by the Revival of a *Faction*, which, when once raiſed, will never fail to proſecute and infeſt all honeſt Men? Or what Retaliation is it in their Power to give to thoſe, who by popular Credulity, Folly, Paſſion and Intemperance, have endured that Load of Infamy and Malice, which has been caſt upon them with ſuch unparallelled Injuſtice, and which a worthy Man would have ſooner ſubmit-

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ted to Death, than have ſuffered an Hour, if the Safety of his Country and every Thing, that was near, dear and valuable to it, had not depended upon this Sacrifice?

11. Let the People conſider, (and they will conſider it, if they have any Remorſe in the Compoſition of their Souls) how they ought to bluſh at the baſe Encouragement they have given to the perſonal Abuſe of his Majeſty; who inſtead of liſtning to the inſidious Offers of *France*, as ſome other great Electors of the Empire have done, and inſtead of projecting any Advantage to his Foreign Dominions, which he might have greatly encreaſed out of the Spoil of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, if he would have baſely concurred to its Deſtruction; and which, (notwithſtanding all the impudent Aſſertions of the *Faction*,) there is no Proſpect of his being able to encreaſe any other way, hath put himſelf to a very great Expence, from the very Commencement of the preſent Confuſions of *Europe*, and expoſed thoſe Dominions to the utmoſt Hazard with no other View, but to maintain the Cauſe of Juſtice, the Balance of Power, and the Intereſt of *Great Britain*. Let them examine themſelves. Let them examine the Situation of his Countries, the Power, Views, Titles and Intereſts of all his Neighbours; and let them point out one ſingle Spot of Ground, that it is poſſible for him, in the Nature of Things, to acquire in addition to his Electoral Dominions, by the Iſſue of this Conteſt.—And let them afterwards reflect how ſcandalous beyond all Meaſure, it has been to convert that very Hazard, and the Difficulties into which he and his Electorate have been lately brought, by his Attachment to the ſole Intereſt of this Country, into the wicked Pretence, that his Tenderneſs to thoſe Dominions, which he ſo freely venturned, has been the Cauſe of the War, and the Motive of his generous Conduct. Let them examine themſelves, how ungratefully and wickedly they have concurred, upon Grounds ſo utterly falſe, to alienate the Affection of the Nation, from the Perſon and Family of a Prince, who has ſacrificed every private Intereſt to the Intereſts of *Great Britain*,—who has ſupported his Ally with that Steadineſs, Sincerity, and good Faith, which would have rendered a private Man an Ornament to the Society in which he lived,—who, in this Juſt, and Neceſſary Cauſe, has expoſed his Perſon to the Dangers of War, as much as the meaneſt private Soldier in his Armies,—and is now at the Head of his Troops, in a Foreign Country, animating the Courage of the *Britiſh* Nation, and reſtoring the Antient Glory of the Royal Race of *Plantagenets*, from which he is deſcended, the braveſt Line of Princes that ever ſat upon the Throne of any Nation.

12. Let them reflect upon their Ingratitude to Providence, and their more than *Jewish* Obstinacy, and Hardness of Heart, in the Insensibility shewn by so many upon the great Deliverance they have lately had, in their Escape from the imminent Dangers threatned to the Liberties of the whole World, and in the late miraculous Turn that has appeared in our Favour since the late Change of the Administration.

13. Let them consider, that if we improve these Advantages as we ought, we have now a Confederacy formed (with farther Prospects of additional Aid) consisting of above 300,000 of the best Troops in *Europe*; that we come fresh into the Quarrel; that *France*, by the entire Ruin of the Emperor, is left without Allies, reduced, by a Series of ill Success, and unfortunate Events, to the lowest Degree.—And that therefore, if we follow the Blow, we have the fairest Expectation, not only to get out of the Difficulties, which we had lately so much Reason to think would prove our Ruin, but to reduce that enormous Power within due Limits for a long Time to come, and that nothing but our own Impatience, and the delusive Practices of a *Jacobite Faction*, can hinder us now, from what they prevented once before by the same individual Arts, in a parallel Conjuncture.—In a word, let any Man lay his Hand upon his Heart, and say whether he thinks we are never to expect, or can always avoid a War with *France?* And when he has answered (for who can honestly or rationally answer otherwise) that the Growth and Ambition of that Power, her Breach of Treaties, our Rivalship in Trade, the natural Antipathy and Jealousies of the two Nations, must bring it unavoidably upon us in a short Time, though we should decline it for the present; let him then say, whether there can be any Sense left in the People of *England*, if they are not earnestly desirous to enter into it, and to push it with the utmost Vigour now? When we can do it with so manifest Advantage? When we stand in a Situation, in which we can hardly hope ever to find ourselves again? At which we could not flatter ourselves to arrive hereafter, even in three Campaigns, attended with the most miraculous Success?—And in fine, as to the Method of the War, whether any thing is more chimerical than the modern Fancy, of engaging with *France*, by our Maritime Force only? Whether the Trade of *England* would not suffer, during the Continuance of such a War, as much, if not more, than the Trade of *France?*—Whether *France* has not greater Resources without Trade, or during a Suspension of Trade, than *England?* Whether therefore any Distress that we might create to *France* by such a War, would be more than temporary, or could be sufficient to bring it to a

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ſafe or ſound Concluſion? Whether we can imagine effectually or durably to reduce her, or to ſecure ourſelves for any long Continuance againſt her Power, by any other means, than by diſmembring ſome of her ill-gotten Provinces, and preventing any farther Encreaſe of her Dominions upon the Continent? Whether this *can be* done otherwiſe, than by joining with *her Enemies* and *our Allies* in a *Land War?* And if this *cannot be* done otherwiſe (whatever may be the Expence or Inconvenience of ſuch an *Undertaking*) whether it is not Madneſs, or ſomething worſe, to oppoſe its being *undertaken*.

Should theſe Conſiderations have no Effect upon the Publick, we are a Nation doom'd and devoted to Deſtruction: Our Government will be overturned by falſe, captivating and deceitful Maxims; our Conſtitution overwhelmed and buried in the Ruins of *Faction*. What Fabrick the Enemies of this Country may rebuild, is neither yet known to themſelves or me; nor when this happy Form of Government, the venerable Work of ſo many Ages ſhall be no more: Will it be much worth the while of any Man among us to regard? Inſtead therefore of fomenting every Subject of Uneaſineſs, ungratefully repining at every Bleſſing and Advantage, which we ſo viſibly and abundantly enjoy, above all other Kingdoms of this habitable Earth, let us turn our Thoughts upon that immenſe Wealth, Power and Dominion, which is ſtill in the Train of Great Augmentation; upon that Conſtitutional Security, however wickedly miſrepreſented, which we ſtill, in a high degree, enjoy at home, and the Terror, which upon all juſt Occaſions, we are able to ſtrike through Foreign Nations. Inſtead of dwelling upon improbable and diſtant Dangers, which certainly never were ſo far removed from us, as at this very Time, let us reflect upon our uncommon, and almoſt unprecedented Happineſs. Inſtead of alarming our Minds, and heating our Imaginations with the Stories of Evils that have attended the Loſs of Liberty in other Countries, in which, during the Courſe of the late Oppoſition, we have been ſufficiently inſtructed, let us for a while apply ourſelves to a Study more neceſſary at this Time, that of tracing the true Cauſes, which have brought this Loſs of Liberty, and thoſe Evils which attend it, upon Every People, who once were, and are now no longer free. If we do this, we ſhall learn, that perfect Liberty and immenſe Riches, with its conſtant Attendants, Licentiouſneſs, Luxury, an unbounded Thirſt after Wealth, a Want of Morals, and an Impatience of all Government and Diſcipline, fomented by the *Factions* of private Men, for their own private Ambition, cloaked under publick Pretences, have ripened and brought to Maturity all theſe Miſ-

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chiefs in the World. Let us therefore, conſcious of our Proſperity, and ſenſible of the Dangers to which we naturally ſtand by that very Proſperity expoſed, fly the deluſive Arts of factious Men. who now endeavour to avail themſelves of theſe Circumſtances, and practiſe upon us in the Manner they have ever done in all former Ages: *Ut imperium evertant Libertatem præferunt, cum perverterent ipſam aggrediuntur. Ceterum Libertas et ſpecioſa nomina prætexuntur. Nec quiſquam alienum ſervitium, et dominationem ſibi concupivit, ut non eadem iſta vocabula uſurparet.* Tacit. Hiſt. Lib. 4.

F I N I S.

House of the Oireachtas

THE *UNIVERSAL HISTORY*, in Eight Volumes, Folio, being ſome Time paſt in the Preſs, and great Part of the Work printed off, and moſt of the Copper-Plates engraved, which may be ſeen at the Printer's hereof, we requeſt the Favour of thoſe who have ſubſcribed for it, to be expeditious in paying their firſt Subſcription of Four Guineas into the Bank of Meſſ. Swift and Company in Caſtle-ſtreet, or the Printer hereof, otherwiſe they will loſe the Benefit of Subſcribers, and other Perſons taken in their Room.

Several Noblemen and Gentlemen, who live in the Country, being deſirous to know the Deſign and Meaning of this great and uſeful Work, we ſhall give it in the Words of the Authors, viz.

" We begin with accounting, in the beſt Manner we can, for " the Name or Names which each Nation bears; then we pro- " ceed to a Deſcription of the Country, containing an Account " of its Situation, Extent, Climate, Diviſions, Fertility; of its " animal and vegetable Productions; of the natural and artificial " Curioſities it contains; of its Cities, Rivers, Mountains, Lakes, " and whatever elſe worthy of Notice is to be found in each " Province. Next we enquire into the Original and Antiquity " of the Inhabitants; conſider their Laws, Government, Reli- " gion, Cuſtoms, Inſtitutions, Language, Commerce, Learning, " Trade, Navigation; and alſo endeavour, as far as ſo intricate " a Subject will allow, to ſettle the Chronology of each Nation. " Laſtly, we deliver the Series and Hiſtory of their Kings, " which comprizes the Wars, Treaties, Revolutions, and all the " moſt remarkable Events of each Country. — Thus we may ſay, " without Vanity or Oſtentation, that no Hiſtory has hitherto " appeared in any Language, which can with more Juſtice chal- " lenge the Title of an *Univerſal Hiſtory* than the preſent, ſince " it comprizes not only the Hiſtory of all Nations and Countries, " but of all Religions and religious Ceremonies, of all Arts and " Sciences, of the Laws that have been any where obſerved, of " Trade and Navigation, and, in ſhort, of whatever has been " invented for the Uſe and Convenience of human Race."

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