

122-16



0272

A N  
ENQUIRY  
INTO  
SOME THINGS  
That concern  
*SCOTLAND,*  
CONTAINING

Some REMARKS upon a *certain*  
Book, lately published by a *cer-*  
*tain* Author, who *certainly* is not  
a true Friend to his Country.



EDINBURGH,  
Printed in the Year MDCCLXXXIV.



A N  
E N Q U I R Y  
Into SOME THINGS that concern  
SCOTLAND, &c.

**I**T is, no Doubt, a Part of the Constitution of *Great Britain*, that the Duration of Parliaments should not be long. Formerly, it was reckoned a very valuable Security of the Liberty of the Subject, that they should only be triennial; and at a critical Juncture it was judged proper, perhaps for very good Reasons, to lengthen the Endurance of Parliaments to seven Years; tho some  
A 2 were

[ 4 ]

were of Opinion, that it was no small Stretch, for a triennial Parliament to add more Time to their own Endurance, than, as the Law stood when that Parliament was called, it could have subsisted. However, that was done, and perhaps we should not have so great Reason to complain, if, since that Time, no more had happened that threatned the Liberty of the Subject. But I own I was surpris'd when a Pamphlet fell into my Hands, entituled, *Some Considerations for continuing the present Parliament.*

I could hardly bring my self to think, that this Paper was written for the Service of a certain Gentleman, for several Reasons. *First*, I thought he might possibly come to think the present Parliament had lived long enough already. *2<sup>dly</sup>*. I thought the Piece was wrote with so very little Spirit, that it could not be a Performance for his Service; for one would think he had very able Pens at Work for Jobbs of that Kind: And yet I must own, that if the Piece was meant as a Joke, it was but very poorly executed. *3<sup>dly</sup>*. I cannot conceive that any Body will give it as a Reason for continuing a Parliament, That, during the Currency thereof, many salutary Laws have been enacted. This being no  
more

[ 5 ]

more than what the Nation had Reason to expect of this, as they do of every Parliament, when it is called. And some People are malicious enough to say, That the most Part of these same salutary Laws were enacted pretty much against a certain Gentleman's Mind, tho' it was not proper publickly to discover so much. To the Nation therefore, who always, and with great Justice, expected this present Parliament would so behave, and who also think one of the greatest Securities of their Liberties, is the Frequency of calling Parliaments, this Argument must go for Nothing; especially since the Electors have it always in their Power to rechoose such Members as have uniformly maintained the Cause of their Country in Parliament, not only by concurring to enact wholesome Laws, but by opposing the enacting of others, which have been attempted, and were thought not salutary, but directly otherwise.

If any Thing could perswade one that this little Piece was the Production of any *hired* Writer's Labour, it is the Preface, joined with a Sort of Promise, That the Excise Scheme (tho' a good one) shall not be again attempted; and the Conclusion. Now, no Man (so far as I know) who maintains  
the

[ 6 ]

the Country Cause, has so much as once insinuated, that the Excise Scheme has *any Good in it*; or that it is either *reasonable* or *expedient* to *continue the present Parliament*. And our Author fairly owns, towards the Conclusion, that the calling of another may possibly affect a certain Gentleman; and that we may be engaged in a War which threatens us, and which may make the calling of a new Parliament inconvenient, while we are divided much at Home; and that this may bring us to the State we were in in King *William's* Time, whose Misfortunes, our Author says, were owing to the peevish Disposition of the House of Commons. If these are not his Words, they are to the same Purpose.

As to this Gentleman, since our Author admits him to be the ablest and most experienced Statesman that ever existed, he can be in no Hazard. His great Services, no Doubt, his Ability and Experience *in Foreign Affairs especially*, will recommend him *as justly* to the good Graces of a future, as it *should* do to the present Parliament. And as to the War; since it is, with our Author, an undoubted Maxim in Politicks, That the worst Peace is preferable to the best War, 'tis easy to settle that Point, and to make our Peace *worse* than

[ 7 ]

than it is (if it is not now *bad enough*) rather than to embark in a new War; the Event of which being doubtful, cannot even be said to be *the best War*; by which, 'tis thought, the Author means, *eventually the best War*. This therefore removes that Difficulty (for I do not care to dispute Principles needlessly :) Let us choose the *worst Peace*, (which no Power in Opposition to us will ever scruple to give us) and then we avoid *both the worst and the best War*, and finally, *all Sorts of War*. And if there is a Prince whose Interests it may be ours to defend, in the Opinion of foolish Pretenders to Skill, such a Prince may be safely destroyed; for, if the Peace we may make to avoid a War, is not bad enough, when we come to be threatned with a War more dangerous, we may still make our Peace *abundantly bad*, by submitting to the Conqueror's Pleasure. So that 'tis plain we have it always in our Power to remove this Difficulty in our present State, Of a War's threatning us. And this again pretty much removes the last Difficulty, mentioned *only* in the Preface; for if there is to be no War, there will be probably no Need of complaining of the peevish Disposition of the House of Commons, for the *common Subsidies only* will be

[ 8 ]

be wanted, the *common peaceable* Subsidies; and *these* were never denied the glorious Monarch whom the Preface mentions.

AND as to the Promise, That the Excise-Scheme shall never be revived. No Doubt, if we shall support the Person who still avers his Scheme was good, and who told us, that the Dislike of the Nation only prevail'd with him, *at that Time*, to drop it, but that *a Time* might be found when it would be thought agreeable, *to wit*, a new Parliament of his Creatures, *we may most certainly rely upon this Promise*, and that it never will be attempted more.

AND since the Author mentions King *William*, I must add, That King *William* was a wise and political Prince, and never made it an Argument, either to dissolve a present Parliament, or to prolong it, That his House of Commons were not in good Temper: Nor did he ever put a Fundamental Law of the Kingdom in the Balance with a real or imaginary Hazard which threatned any Person employed by him. If the one could not have subsisted without destroying the other, I may venture to say, That he would have maintain'd the Law, and found a new Minister.

It

[ 9 ]

It happens, that sometimes a Project of this Kind is tried (no Matter by what Instrument) to find out the general Sense of the Nation, and then, if the Thing either relishes, or no great Aversion is shewn to it, more Power and Argument is bestow'd to enforce it. And, much about the Time this notable Piece appeared, a Whisper went about, and next it came to be publickly talk'd, that it *might not be unreasonable* to continue the present Parliament. But the very Title of the Paper, and talking of the Thing, was so shocking, and so little Advantage has been got by trying the Inclinations of the Nation upon this Point, that 'tis hoped nothing will be attempted of that Sort: Of which we have the greater Reason to be assured, that this *little* Piece has been disown'd by a certain Party, tho I have very good Ground to affirm, that (poor as it is) it had so far Countenance, that it came to Post-houses and Coffee-houses frank'd, which every Body will admit is not the Case; (and without the Violation of express Orders, which no Servant about the General Post-Office will venture upon) cannot happen to any Paper writ upon the Country Side.

B

AND

AND indeed it is absolutely necessary for some People, by such Orders, to maintain their Cause, and to keep People in Ignorance of the true State of Matters in Dispute. This was a Principle of the *Romish* Clergy before the Reformation, and tho we are now (at least by far the greatest Part of us) profess'd Protestants, yet as abominable as that Principle was in Matters Religious, *some Politicians* in our Days, think it proper to keep every Body in absolute Ignorance of the State of the Dispute, and of the Nation.

BUT the same Reason that condemn'd this Principle in Religion, makes it highly reasonable in Matters that concern our Liberty and Property, (the other Branch of our Interest secured by the Reformation, as confirmed by the happy Revolution) that every Man should know what is passing, and should be furnish'd with proper Answers to the Cant of a certain Set of Men, diffus'd with great Industry, and instill'd into the Minds of People, some of whom one may suspect of being unwary enough to be seduced.

I must beg Leave to produce one great Instance of this. When the late Excise-Scheme came to be talkt of, the Advantages of it were so highly proclaim'd by the Under-

Under-managers of a certain Gentleman in this Country, that what by Reason of our too great Obsequiousness to a Man in Power, or Want of proper Information of the Nature of the Scheme, and the invincible Objections that lay against it, (of which great Pains were even then taken to keep us in absolute Ignorance) it past as the current Opinion, That there was no Harm in the Thing, and some applauded it, and approved of it. But now, when the *worthy* Scheme is publish'd, when we have heard the Arguments for and against it, and when we have seen the most bitter Invective against it, *to wit, the Bill itself*, in Print, I may safely venture to say, there is not one Man of a Thousand who has the Confidence to adventure to say one Word in Defence of it.

HAD the Bill past into a Law, we should in this, as in other Things, have been *wise behind the Hand*, a Charge we too often have Reason to make against ourselves, a Thing we blame ourselves often for with great Reason.

THE Approach therefore of a new Parliament calls upon every Man, especially such as have any Voice in Elections, to avoid falling into this *wretched Mistake*. Let us therefore examine, while it is Time,

[ 12 ]

what Part we are to act in this, and the Question comes to this, Whether we should resolve to support those who concur'd to promote this dangerous Scheme, ruining both to our Trade and Liberties, (which is now the prevailing Opinion, as Truth will always prevail over Falshood at last) or if we should not rather cordially join against every Man who thus concur'd, if they give not sufficient Marks and Proofs of their Repentance.

If we will trust to those who have so manifestly deluded us formerly, what Opinion can we have of ourselves? And what Opinion can others entertain of us? Upon Reflection, we shall certainly, (if we are not deprived of Reason) be very angry with ourselves, and beget an ill Opinion of us in others. In private Life he must be deem'd a *Fool* or rather an *Idiot*, who, having trusted his Affairs to one, and having discovered that he has acted dishonestly, places any Confidence in his Deceiver, one Moment longer than he is strictly bound: And if those who have Votes in Elections shall give any Faith to those who have so strangely behaved, they will be yet more blameable, in as much as they give up not only their own Interest into the same dangerous Hands, but, under a Trust committed to them by the Laws of the Land,

ruin

( 13 )

ruin the Interest of those, (and they are many) who have not Qualifications to vote at Elections, and who, to a Man, tremble at the Thoughts of continuing their valuable Rights in the Hands of Men who have shew'd how little, how very little Regard, they have for them.

I shall always be very careful not to impeach the Proceedings of Parliament; but one may, with a legal and *British* Freedom, talk of and against Acts, which need a yearly Authority to continue them, in order to obtain Relief in a proper Time and Way. Let us remember therefore to whom we owe some Misfortunes, of which we are apt enough to complain, and with great Reason. To whom do we owe the Malt-Tax? This inestimable Blessing is reported to be purely owing to the same Gentleman, and to a certain Set of our own Countrymen, who have shewn a most obsequious Compliance to his Measures, tho' tending ever so clearly to the Misery of this Country. We all know the Complaints of the Scarcity of Money, let us look to the Causes of it. Has this happen'd by the Fault of the Country? Have we been less industrious either in Agriculture or Manufactures since that Time? It cannot be said. *Twenty Thousand Pounds certain*, to be paid by that  
Tax,

[ 14 ]

Tax, is a great Sum; and, when join'd with our other Taxes, which amount to *Sixty Thousand more, at least*, greatly swells the Sum, of which our Part of the Nation is yearly drain'd. This may account for our Scarcity of Money. The Addition of Twenty Thousand Pounds yearly of Taxes, to a poor Nation, is ruining. And if the Excise-Scheme had taken Place, we may most reasonably conclude, Thirty Thousand Pounds more (as long as we had it, and that could not have been long) must have been paid; this must have brought our final Misery quickly upon us, and we at least owe no Thanks to them who club'd their Interest to saddle us with it.

'Tis true, our Grain has sold cheap for these last three Years, and no doubt the Want of Exportation of that Commodity, and the low Prices of our Cattle, has added to our Scarcity of Money. But then we are to consider, that we cannot propose to have always Plenty, and that our Neighbours will always want to be supply'd out of it; and here lies the Misfortune, cheap Years, and the constant Drain of Taxes, (which might have been avoided) have brought us to the Brink of Ruin, which nothing but the Calamities of our Neighbours can possibly (and only

[ 15 ]

ly for a while) suspend. For tho it may be true, that Grain may perhaps sell better this Year than for the last three Years, which may give us some Relief, to what do we owe this? Not to the wise Conduct, nor to the Foresight of a certain Gentleman and his Creatures, but to Fatality, to the Calamities of other Nations, and to a Seat of War in the greatest Granary of *Europe*. We must be a happy People indeed, if we put our Welfare more upon the Misfortunes of others, than the Wisdom of those who have the Power in their Hands. The Cup of our Iniquity, may be supposed to be near as full as that of our Neighbours; we know not how soon, in Providence, we may have the Punishment of Sterility, and other providential Strokes laid upon us, and we ought to be thankful they are not already inflicted. But it would be monstrous to rejoice at one accidental Advantage which we may reap by the Calamities of other Nations, and to build any lasting Hope upon these, especially in the present Argument, when this Gentleman and his Abettors, have no Share in bringing us that accidental Advantage. Yet I ask Pardon, for possibly they may have had a greater Hand in bringing *Europe* into these calamitous



mitous Circumstances, than they are willing to own.

BUT one may say, How could the Malt-Tax be avoided? Why should we charge this to the Account of this Gentleman, and some of our Countrymen? I answer, this Tax was first laid on in the 1713. and it is known, that, for many Years, it was not exacted, from a Consciousness of our Inability to pay it. It will not be alledged, that *our Circumstances so far altered, that it became reasonable to levy it;* and I will venture to say, that it was still, as much as formerly, in that Gentleman's Power, if he had had a Mind, to have continued this Peice of Lenity; nay, had our own Countrymen stuck together in a Question that concerned our Country so much, he *must* have done it. 'Tis true, a certain great Man of this Country aver'd; that this Blow could no longer be parried, but as he would take it exceedingly ill, should any Man alledge his and another greater Man's Power was not then the same as it was before, perhaps it may be, (nay certainly it is) true, that his Influence in leading on his Troops, to lay a Tax upon certain Persons differing from us in Points of Faith, and others who were living at least tranquilly under our present happy

Government

Government, was one great Cause to provoking our Neighbours in *England* to retaliate that Tax, by giving us another, which we were less able to bear than they; and which, as it was laid upon some People who differed only in Matters of Conscience, was, (if what a late Author says, in his Summary of Page 79, is true) *to force an Uniformity in Opinion, which is cruel and absurd.* But this is a Point in which I beg to be excused from giving my Opinion; however, this is certain, that one Measure thus gave Rise to another, and we know whom to thank, both for the Cause and the Effect. Every Body, except our obsequious Countrymen, may complain, that, by and for their Conduct; another Tax which we are not able to bear was laid upon *us*; and as it will always be injudicious in our Countrymen, to join in laying a Tax upon the *English*, which they dislike, we, of this Part of the Nation, have most just Reason to complain of our Countrymen who supported such a Measure as has brought a threatned Vengeance upon us, and which, if not removed in Time, will prove the Ruin of this poor Country.

C

GREAT

[ 18 ]

GREAT Pains are taken indeed by some (and some Hints there are to that Purpose in a Book lately published) to prove, that we are rather greater Gainers than Losers by the Malt-Tax, because forsooth some of the Surplusage of that Tax, is apply'd towards the Encouragement and Increase of our Manufactures; and tho it may be true, that the right Distribution of that Surplus, will probably be admitted by every Body to have been very advantagious to this Part of the united Kingdom; yet the Argument has been carried vastly too far upon this Point; for it will not follow, because the best is made of a bad Bargain, and that we receive, for so valuable Uses, a Part of *our own*, over and above what has contributed really to ruin us, by draining our Country of Money, therefore we are no Losers by the Malt-Tax. Especially, if we consider, that if the smallest Attention had been taken to our Interest, another Fund, to which we are undisputably and legally intitled, might have been applied the same Way, to the greater Advantage of the Nation, and this other is so far from being improved, that it is vastly impaired by the Conduct of (I will not say this same) Man who must have the Honour of all the Good supposed to be done in the Nation,

[ 19 ]

Nation, by applying far less than we had a Claim to, for the Improvement of our Manufactories, as shall be fully demonstrated, which is no doubt vastly meritorious.

FOR my own Part, I am no Critick, nor do I pretend to be a Judge of the Subject of this Book. But, as I had lately occasion to overhear a Conversation of some Gentlemen upon it, I shall take the Liberty to relate it with as great Exactness as I am able.

ONE of them, whose Name I think was *Will*, pulled the Book out of his Pocket, and said to the other Two, Have you seen this fine Performance? *Tom*, one of the others, looking at it, said, Well, what have you to object to it? I have heard a very good Character of it, and I do not doubt but it deserves it. Pray said *Will*, Have you considered it, *Jack*? (the Name of the Third.) No, said *Jack*, but since we do not happen to have a great deal of Business, let us spend an Hour in looking into it. — With all my Heart said *Will*, do you read the Dedication. *Jack* took the Book and read it, and delivered, in my Hearing, his Opinion concerning it nearly in the following Terms.

C 2

I

[ 20 ]

' I think the Dedication of this Book  
 ' a most ingenious Peice. It may be di-  
 ' vided into two Heads; the First con-  
 ' cerns the proper Share of Praise, or  
 ' whatever else one may call it, due by *an*  
 ' *Author* to a Patron. The Second con-  
 ' tains certain Facts asserted.—As to the  
 ' First, I conceive that it would be hard to  
 ' rob *the Author* of the undoubted Right  
 ' he has of saying, what he pleases to mag-  
 ' nify his *Patron*. No Body can blame *the*  
 ' *Author's* Judgment in talking to his  
 ' Patron, as the only Person whose Prote-  
 ' ction, to *Scotland*, can signify any Thing;  
 ' that is but a trifling Peice of Compliment:  
 ' But I think every Body may dispute with  
 ' *the Author*, the Liberty he takes to ask  
 ' this Favour *in his Country's Name*, and  
 ' to doubt if *the Author* was vested with a  
 ' Commission to personate his Country, in  
 ' making that most humble, tho' no doubt  
 ' necessary, Request. But, as this is no more  
 ' than a Figure in Oratory; it may be par-  
 ' doned, however much it is diminutive of  
 ' the Country in all Respects.—But  
 ' then as to the Facts, continued he, I  
 ' am most humbly of Opinion, that no  
 ' Man who knows any thing how this na-  
 ' tional Affair has been managed, (as *the*  
 ' *Author* pretends he does) can possibly be  
 ' igno-

[ 21 ]

' ignorant, that, both here and elsewhere,  
 ' it has been managed by *others than the*  
 ' *Author's* Patron; and that, (perhaps for that  
 ' Reason) it was pretty much neglected by  
 ' him. But as in this one may be mistaken,  
 ' no doubt it may be cleared by the Jour-  
 ' nal of the Trustees, of whose Number  
 ' the Patron is one, how carefully he at-  
 ' tended every Meeting in *Scotland*; how  
 ' faithfully he corresponded with them in  
 ' *England*; and with what Assiduity he  
 ' has concur'd in obtaining his Majesty's  
 ' Approbation of the several Reports made  
 ' by the Trustees to him, and to have the  
 ' Fund from Year to Year enlarged for ex-  
 ' tending our Manufactures; tho' said *Jack*,  
 ' it has been reported, by Folks who pre-  
 ' tend to know a good deal of that Histo-  
 ' ry, that he treated the Matter all along  
 ' with great Scorn and Contempt. And,  
 ' HERE *Tom* interrupted him. ' Truly  
 ' *Jack*, I had a better Opinion of your  
 ' Judgment; you are talking very gravely  
 ' upon a Dedication, as if, at any Time, *any*  
 ' *Author* pretended to vouch for one Fact  
 ' within the Corners of it. So far I agree  
 ' with your Informer, that the Patron has a  
 ' very small Share of what the Dedication  
 ' gives him, *that is, directly*; but then e-  
 ' very Body must admit, that as he has been  
 ' the

[ 22 ]

the great Conductor of all our Affairs, therefore all is owing to him; and, to be sure, he could have crushed the whole Project in the Bud by opposing it, so, in Effect and materially, all that the Author says is true.

JACK reply'd, Verily Tom, we cannot be said to owe much to the Patron, if all that he has done to serve us in this Affair comes to this, that he has not opposed it: But I own, continued he, I cannot suffer such Impudence in Authors.— If the Merit of a Management was to be given to one, not directly concern'd in a Share of it, how easy was it for him to have put this Book under his Majesty's Countenance and Protection. That, I confess, had been both just and reasonable, it being most true, that the whole of the Management has not only been carried on under his royal Countenance and Protection, but that he has graciously condescended to take the Trouble to look into it, and to honour it from Time to Time with his royal Approbation.— Tom observ'd, what you have now said, Jack, may be true. But then you are to consider, that that would not have served the present Turn; you see, don't you, a devilish Spirit of Opposition, even among the King's firmest Friends, arising

[ 23 ]

sing against the Patron? It was therefore necessary, at this Time, to father upon him all the Advantages we reap by that Management. Don't you see, that this was a most popular Way to do Service at this Time to the Patron, to whom most certainly all Scotland is greatly indebted? and, to tell Truth, he stands too much in Need of it.

WELL, Let me see the Book again, said Jack.

THIS is true Patriotism, without Alloy, to make a People rich and happy by their own Labour; to make a Country flourish by the Encouragement of Industry and fair Dealing; and, by the Suppression of Vice and Idleness, to make a Nation free and independent. O! mighty well, said Jack. to be sure it is this Gentleman's Aim to do all these good Things; and, above all, to make us free and independent! But, what a Pox! is not every Body, who knows his Conduct, able to tell with what Care he has endeavoured to bring this about; by what Means we have been managed below, and with what Contempt treated somewhere by him, as a poor wretched Pack, whom it was not worth while to manage, but in the *littlest Way*? And all this is very political, tending to shew his own

[ 24 ]

own Weight, and that no Body needs to trouble their Heads about *Scotland*; he can answer for that. It is his Province, and, employ whom he will, he can shew that his single Interest and Power can overbalance all the Attempts of others combined against him. From all which I pretend to infer, that no such Thing is intended, as to make us either *free or independent*, but rather *very poor and dependent*; and I will maintain, that such wretched Stuff could drop from no Man who is not resolved to *wear Livery*; and that it is unparallel'd Assurance to put such Misrepresentations, for Truths, upon the Publick.

BESIDES, *continued he, with great Warmth*, Every Body must see the Author's Meaning, when he is pleas'd to distinguish his Patron with the Character of a *true Patriot*. These whom the Nation has *justly* honoured with that Character, are consequently *false Patriots, or Traitors* to their Country. Now, let any Man, with the least Grain of Attention, hear this without being shock'd! Have not some of the Noble Lords of this Country suffered in very material Concerns, for asserting their Country's Cause? Have not these been distinguish-

[ 25 ]

ed for their *inviolable Attachment* to our happy Constitution, at Times which have been call'd, by all true Lovers of it, the worst of Times? Did not some of them, and some of our neighbouring Country then suffer, as they now have done, for having the noble Courage to oppose Schemes subversive of our Rights and Liberties? Was not one particular Peer of our Country, whose constant Love to the Protestant Succession was then, and now is well known, and whose great Services since that Time, to it and his Country, are indisputable, and beyond Recompence, turned out of his Seat in Parliament, with several others, by the Assistance of this Patron, at a Time when it was the Interest of the Protestant Succession, - and consequently of the whole Nation, to bring as many of its true Friends as possible into the House of Lords? Is he, and so many others of our Peers, who have at this Time, and formerly, distinguished themselves, in all Stations of Life, in the Service of their King and Country, to pass for Traitors to their Country, because they are bold enough to oppose the dangerous Measures set on Foot to enslave a free People? No, it cannot be. Do these true Patriots seek to carry their Elections by Bribe-

D

ry

[ 26 ]

Sry and Corruption? *Have they, at any Time, set up an Office, to make Offers of Money, Places, Pensions, Preferments, and (where these could not do) have they used Threats to corrupt or intimidate People of Figure, either Peers, or Commoners, to give their Interest against their poor Country?* No, it will not be said.

To this, Tom, who, like an honest Man, seem'd to have a great Affection for the Author, told Jack, 'He was sorry to see him so peevish, admonished him to be calm, told him, he did not care a Button what was said against the Dedication, the Substance of which was very true, but for the Book itself, said he, 'tis admirable.

WELL then, let's read on, said Jack. *The Liberty or Servitude of a Nation appears as much from their Writings as from any other Part of their Conduct in Life: Under arbitrary Government, Writings are stuf'd with Panegyrick and fulsom Flattery: Every Man in great Power is a great and a good Man, at least as long as his Power remains with him: And the worst and weakest Princes are dubb'd with the Characters of the best and greatest so long as they live. And it is only in the Age of a Titus or a Trajan (says our Author) and not till*

[ 27 ]

*till then, the true Characters of former Tyrants come out: Then the Spirit of Liberty revives, and Truth is allowed to walk abroad in Day-light, during the short Season of such a Sun-shine. Of this he gives Tacitus as an Example, who, nevertheless, from the Impression Tyrants make upon the Minds of Men, on many Occasions, seems to be under a Kind of Awe and Dread of going too far, so terrible is uncontrollable Power in the Hands of the best of Princes.*

HERE Jack shut the Book, and observed, I am humbly of Opinion, that the Author has been very unguarded in some of these Expressions; he should have considered, that, a few Pages before, he had dedicated the Fruit of his Labours to a Man in great Power, perhaps for that single Reason; and it lay quite out of his Way to say, That every such Man is a great and a good Man, as long as his Power remains with him; that seems to insinuate, the Case may alter when the Power ceases. But to proceed, said Jack,

I agree, that the Writings of a Nation, or of a Man, do really discover their Notions of Liberty and Servitude; and the Question is, If the Author has writ most in the Way to promote Liberty or Servitude.

[ 28 ]

' Servitude. For my own Part, I shall  
 ' not take upon me to deny, that this  
 ' Gentleman has constantly asserted the  
 ' Cause of Liberty, *as he now does*, with-  
 ' out the least Degree of Self-interested-  
 ' ness. And tho one may have the Misfor-  
 ' tune to hear some People, who pretend to  
 ' be fired with a Zeal for their Country's  
 ' Cause, exclaiming, *That poor Party Dis-*  
 ' *putes have ever been a certain Person's*  
 ' *chief Aim, when, to the Country, it was not*  
 ' *a Matter of great Consequence who should*  
 ' *prevail; but that they never once found*  
 ' *him in the right Side when the true Inte-*  
 ' *rest of the Country was at Stake: And tho*  
 ' *they will affirm, that the same Person was*  
 ' *so far from opposing the Ministry, which*  
 ' *in the Queen's Time preached up Passive*  
 ' *Obedience and Non-resistance, and, it was*  
 ' *thought, had a Mind to bring in the*  
 ' *Pretender, that, say they, he concurr'd*  
 ' *with them in carrying through their E-*  
 ' *lections, and to exclude every Whigg, and*  
 ' *to bring Tories into their Places, to serve*  
 ' *in Parliament.* Yet this is all to very  
 ' little Purpose at this Time, I own, and  
 ' what no Body, as Matters stand, will  
 ' give any great Credit to.

' I also agree, continued *Jack*, that, in  
 ' arbitrary Governments, Writings are stuff  
 ' with fulsom Flattery; and that every  
 ' Man

[ 29 ]

' Man in Power is a great and a good  
 ' Man, and so forth. This is most certain-  
 ' ly true. And tho it is to be feared, that,  
 ' even in Governments not arbitrary, Writ-  
 ' ings are not always impartial, and free  
 ' from the Imputation of Flattery, and that  
 ' no Body can possibly suspect our Author  
 ' of falling into any such truckling Vice,  
 ' altho it must be confest, that his Patron  
 ' is a Man in great Power, far be it from  
 ' me to detract from what is his due. But,  
 ' without Offence, I may venture to affirm,  
 ' That there may be truly great and good  
 ' Men, to whom, at this Moment, our  
 ' Country may be said to owe more than  
 ' to him; and to whom she may also ad-  
 ' dress her self for Assistance, and that for  
 ' a very good Reason, that they have ap-  
 ' peared much in her Defence. *Jack* was  
 ' so bold as to add, And this is what I  
 ' think I am able to prove. We live not,  
 ' thank GOD, under an arbitrary Prince,  
 ' but sometimes others, even our Fellow-  
 ' Subjects, desire to be arbitrary; and  
 ' this, of the two Evils, perhaps is the  
 ' greatest; and, in my Opinion, it would  
 ' be unlucky if that should be our Case.  
 ' But so much may be said for those whom  
 ' I maintain to be Patriots, That they are  
 ' not in Power, and yet, which is remar-  
 ' kable, they are talkt of with great Re-  
 ' spect,

[ 30 ]

'spect, even by every Body; their Ene-  
 'mies cannot calumniate them with one  
 'Attempt made contrary to their fixt Prin-  
 'ciples: They have been, some of them at  
 'least, Men in high Stations, and when they  
 'left them, or have been turned out of  
 'them, even the Weight of Power, and  
 'of the most vile Misrepresentations care-  
 'fully dispersed, has not prevailed so far  
 'as to be able to touch them in Point of  
 'Character; and consequently, *a fortiori*,  
 'they are, and must be great and good  
 'Men; Men who love their Country, and  
 'have its Interest so much at Heart, that  
 'they cheerfully suffer for it.

HERE *Will* interrupted *Jack*, and said,  
 'I am very much of your Opinion; and, as  
 'I have lookt over some Things in the  
 'Book, I shall beg Leave only to add,  
 'That I cannot fully agree with the Au-  
 'thor, for having clearly surrendred this  
 'poor Country into his Patron's Hands,  
 'nor for his imagining, that he has there-  
 'by got Authority enough to dispose of all  
 'Matters, however material to it; nor to  
 'what he avowedly declares, *viz.* That  
 'it is extremely improper for us to deal in  
 'the Woollen Manufactures; nor to what  
 'he plainly affirms, that, *So many Hands*  
 '*as are employed in Woollen, who might*  
 '*be employed in Linen, just so much does*  
 '*the Country lose by their Labour.* 'I

[ 31 ]

'I am, continued *Will*, indeed at some  
 'Loss to comprehend the Meaning of his  
 'Argument upon this Head. If he ima-  
 'gines the *English* either are, or can have  
 'Reason to be jealous of our dealing in  
 'the Woollen Manufactory, he certainly  
 'is vastly mistaken, and knows but little  
 'of their and our Situation as to that  
 'Point.

'BUT, I own, I can scarce think the Au-  
 'thor is consistent with himself upon this  
 'Subject. He admits, that it ought to  
 'be *our chief Care to advance, by proper*  
 '*Encouragements, the Manufacture of those*  
 '*Goods which sell in England with Profit,*  
 '*to increase their Quantity, and to improve*  
 '*them in their Quality and Goodness, which*  
 '*will advance their Price: Or, which is*  
 '*the same Thing, to promote the Manufac-*  
 '*ture of those Goods now made at Home*  
 '*(which we have from England in great*  
 '*Quantities) if they may be made cheaper*  
 '*here than they can be bought in England:*  
 '*For so much as the Quantities of these are*  
 '*increased, so far are our Demands from*  
 '*England diminished.* Now, if these  
 'Things are *the same*, that is, *equally be-*  
 'neficial to us, is it not greatly absurd to  
 'pretend, that it is not our Interest to ex-  
 'tend our Woollen Manufactory, that  
 'our Demands from *England* may be di-  
 'minish-



[ 32 ]

'minished? I always thought, that the true  
 'Sign of a thriving Trade, is, when Export  
 'exceeds Import; and surely, the farther  
 'the former exceeds the latter, the Trade  
 'must be the brisker, and more beneficial.  
 'And if that is so, the more we can im-  
 'prove our Woollen Manufactures, the  
 'less Demand we shall make to supply us  
 'with what of these we shall want; and  
 'consequently, the more beneficial shall  
 'our Linen and Woollen Trade turn to  
 'us.

'I shall, *said he*, not differ from the  
 'Author in what he says, *That probably,*  
 '*by the Increase of Linen Trade, our Peo-*  
 '*ple shall increase*; but, if his Project is  
 'followed out, to give up with the Wool-  
 'len Manufactory; and if his Principle,  
 '*That as our People shall increase, our*  
 '*Demand upon England for them shall al-*  
 '*so increase*, is true, as indeed it would be,  
 '(according to his Scheme) then what  
 'shall we be the better for the Increase of  
 'our Linen Trade? What greater Balance  
 'shall we have by it then, than we have  
 'now? Precisely no greater; and conse-  
 'quently, when we shall have driven the  
 'Linen Trade to the greatest Height, we  
 'shall remain, according to the Author's  
 'Scheme, just as poor, by that most valu-  
 'able Branch, then, as we are now, when  
 'our

[ 33 ]

'our Demands are so ruinously high for  
 'Woollen Manufacture to be purchased  
 'by us.

'But, in the next Place, all this Ar-  
 'gument of the Author's is quite in vain.  
 'It is mere Nonsense, by Dint of Argu-  
 'ment, to endeavour to persuade our  
 'Dealers in Woollen Manufacture, That  
 'they lose by it, and therefore should  
 'give it up. If that were, or had been  
 'the Case, they would have given it up  
 'for their own Sakes; but when every  
 'Body sees and knows, that there are  
 'great Dealers among us in that Manu-  
 'factory, and to great Advantage to them-  
 'selves, and consequently to the Nati-  
 'on; and when every Body, who has  
 'heard them talk upon the Subject of  
 'the Author's Performance, must have  
 'noticed with what Indignation they  
 'express their Disdain at the whole of  
 'his Argument upon this Head, it  
 'must persuade all unbiassed Men, that  
 'this Part of his Performance is vastly  
 'partial, and can have no good Mean-  
 'ing.

'Further, *continued he*, as the Author  
 'owns that we have succeeded in some Part  
 'of the Woollen Manufacture, what is it  
 'that renders it impracticable to us to ex-  
 'tend

[ 34 ]

tend it, more than it was to the *Silesians* and *Saxons*? He admits, *they formerly took great Quantities of Woollen Goods from England*; but now, says he, *they have Manufactories of Woollen in several Places of their own, which lessens their Demand for Woollen Goods from England, whereby the Balance of Trade with them is now against us*; he means *England*.

HAD these same *Silesians* and *Saxons* the Happiness of our Author's Advice, would they alter their Way? surely not; for then the Balance of Trade would probably, nay certainly, be against them; and that is what no wise People will submit to. Now it is to be observed, that (all this notwithstanding) the *English* deal on with them; and it is absurd to imagine they would not also do so with us, although our Woollen Manufacture should rise to a much greater Figure than now it does.

BESIDES, since one Use of the Author's Book is, to shew, that by the Application of the Money allotted for the Encouragement of Manufactures, the Linen Branch has been in so few Years very considerably improv'd, there is all the Reason in the World to believe, that if

the

[ 35 ]

the Manufacturers of Wooll had had the same Encouragement, so as to hire proper Servants, for doing well, what they can at present do but imperfectly; in short, had the same Attention been bestowed upon this Branch, that has been upon the Linen, there was the same Reason to have hoped for great Advances in it too: For, under all the Disadvantages with which we have had to grapple, I will venture to affirm, as a Certainty, what is well known to Hundreds, that it is quite a Mistake to aver, as the Author does, That our Woollen Manufactures are *Fifteen per Cent.* dearer than these of the same Quality, of Broad Cloaths, from *England*. Were that true, it is self-evident, that Dealers in this Branch of Woollen must be utterly undone, and there had been, long ere now, no Occasion for the Author's Argument; they must, long ago, have given up Shop: But the direct contrary is well known, and that our Broad Cloaths, to the Value of ten or fifteen Shillings *Sterling*, and upwards, are purchased as cheap as they can be brought from *England*. And as to the Want of People to follow both Linen and Woollen Manufactures, there is little in the Objection. Many of our

People

[ 36 ]

' People, as the Author says, are forced  
 ' to go Abroad; and if, instead of one  
 ' Manufactory, we had two going well  
 ' on, it must keep them yet more at Home:  
 ' Besides, if the Increase of one Branch will  
 ' multiply our People, the Increase of two  
 ' must necessarily do it still more. And  
 ' then, as it is true, that the *English*  
 ' Manufactories are overstocked, if we  
 ' were encouraged in the Woollen Branch,  
 ' we might expect that some of them  
 ' would find it convenient to settle among  
 ' us, which, at once, would remove al-  
 ' most all the Difficulties the Author suf-  
 ' fers up against our prosecuting this Branch  
 ' of Business. So that one may reasonably  
 ' conclude, said *Will*, that this Nation is  
 ' but very little beholden to the Author  
 ' for this Part of his Performance.

' But, to carry this Matter yet further,  
 ' we are to consider, that Wooll is the  
 ' Product of this Country, and consequent-  
 ' ly our natural Staple, and much more so,  
 ' as yet, than Lint, the Bulk of which,  
 ' for Linen of the better Sort, is import-  
 ' ed from abroad, as all the Lintseed al-  
 ' most we sow is, and perhaps always must  
 ' be. Now, if it seems noways absurd, to  
 ' say, we ought to cultivate a Species of  
 ' Manufacture, the Materials of which it  
 ' is

[ 37 ]

' is as yet necessary for us to import, to  
 ' which I readily agree, it must appear ex-  
 ' tremely absurd, to affirm, that we should,  
 ' in order to that, absolutely neglect to  
 ' manufacture our own Growth and Pro-  
 ' duct, which the Wooll is: Especially,  
 ' since, according even to the Author's Plan,  
 ' all the Advantage he proposes by raising  
 ' the Linen Manufactory, is, the better  
 ' to enable us to purchase Woollen Goods,  
 ' which every Body must allow to be ab-  
 ' surd, if we can help it.

' But the great Objection, which pro-  
 ' bably has never occurred to the Author,  
 ' against this whole Scheme, is, That it is  
 ' much more the Interest of *England*, that  
 ' we should deal in Woollen Manufactures,  
 ' than that we should not: For, as we  
 ' have great Quantities of Wooll produced  
 ' at Home, should we not manufacture it,  
 ' what can we do with it? One of two;  
 ' either throw it away, or export it.

' It would, added *Will*, be too absurd  
 ' to propose the destroying our Wooll.  
 ' Too much, in many Counties, depends  
 ' upon that Commodity, to imagine that  
 ' that can be done. We must therefore ex-  
 ' port it. And against this the Law is  
 ' directly conceived, for no other Reason,  
 ' but to bring a Necessity upon us to manu-  
 ' facture

[ 38 ]

' facture it; which is a flat Contradiction  
 ' to the Author's Scheme; and every un-  
 ' biassed Person will easily prefer the Wis-  
 ' dom of the Legislature to his. The ma-  
 ' ny Acts of Parliament made against Ex-  
 ' portation of Wooll, are so many repeated  
 ' Arguments of the Falshood of his whole  
 ' Reasoning upon this Point.

' But, it may be said, we may carry it  
 ' to *England*. I answer, the *English* have  
 ' Plenty of Wooll of our Quality them-  
 ' selves, and to spare. Nay, it is well  
 ' known, that they export but too much  
 ' of their own Wooll; so it will not quit  
 ' Cost to carry it thither. We must there-  
 ' fore, to prosecute our Author's Scheme,  
 ' export it to *France*, or *Holland*. Now,  
 ' it is certain, that the Woollen Manu-  
 ' factories in these two Nations, are infi-  
 ' nitely hurtful to the *British* Manufactory  
 ' of all Sorts of Woollen. They are like-  
 ' ly to ruin us in this Branch of our Trade,  
 ' in *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, and the *Le-*  
 ' *want* and *Baltick*; and, without the Affi-  
 ' stance of our Wooll, they must, of Ne-  
 ' cessity, give up the Woollen Trade:  
 ' They are, by no Means, Wooll Countries  
 ' of themselves; that is notoriously known:  
 ' And therefore, as the Matter stands with  
 ' them, and as it must for ever stand, they  
 ' must

[ 39 ]

' must be supplied with Wooll from us.  
 ' Now, whether it is more for the Advan-  
 ' tage of the *English*, that we should ma-  
 ' nufacture our own Wooll, or that we  
 ' should export it clandestinely to *Holland*  
 ' and *France*, to be manufactured there, is  
 ' obvious to the meanest Capacity: For,  
 ' if the Riches of a Trading People de-  
 ' pends upon the Increase of their Manu-  
 ' factories, which, as it raises their Trade,  
 ' consequently increases their People, it is  
 ' easy to determine, that we must be infi-  
 ' nitely benefited by manufacturing our  
 ' Wooll at Home. And I will venture to  
 ' affirm, that if, for the Space of three  
 ' Years, we should forbear to export our  
 ' Wooll to them, and manufacture it our-  
 ' selves, they must be obliged to purchase  
 ' from us, before the End of these three  
 ' Years, all coarse Sort of Woollen Goods  
 ' necessary to clothe their Soldiers and  
 ' Commons, and be quite cut out of their  
 ' Broad Cloath Manufactory, which, but  
 ' for the Exportation of the better Sort of  
 ' Wooll from some Parts of *Britain* and  
 ' *Ireland*, they could by no Means carry on.  
 ' And what infinite Riches and Strength  
 ' this must add to *Britain*, is too plain to  
 ' need Illustration, and particularly to *Eng-*  
 ' *land*; for I will so far admit the Author's  
 ' Argu-

[ 40 ]

Argument, that they have got so much a Head of us in making of the Superfine Broad Cloaths, and many other Sorts of Woollen Goods, that we shall never be able to outstrip, or probably to equal them. But that says nothing as to the Manufacture of coarse Wooll, which is chiefly our Product, and, for the Reasons already given, greatly the whole Island's Interest, that we, rather than the *Dutch* and *French*, should manufacture it.

AND I am so much of this Opinion, said *Will*, That, were I to take upon me to suggest an Alteration in the Woollen Laws, I would propose, that the Nation should be once taxed with such a Sum as might be equal to the Value of all our Wooll for one Year; that this Tax should be appropriated for purchasing the Whole of it, and putting it in Warehouses, the most convenient for the Manufacturers; that this Tax should be replaced by the Sale of the Wooll to the Dealers in it, and, from Time to Time, the Deficiencies and Charge of Management provided for, and that then it should be declared to be Death, without the Benefit of Clergy to export, or to be aiding and assisting in the Exportation of Wooll. There are, no doubt, Difficul-

ties

[ 41 ]

ties in executing of this Scheme, but, it may be hoped, these might, for the national Good, be got the better of; but by this, or some other Method, effectually to stop the Exportation of Wooll, I should be glad to see a Plan laid down, that would even *force* the Woollen Manufacture in every Part of *Britain*, rather than to *discourage* it in any the least Corner; and, I am certain, it would be infinitely more the Island's Interest, to resolve to raise the Value of the Wooll not manufactured, by Way of a fresh yearly Tax, than not to manufacture it at Home, or to export it Abroad; and, in a Course of not a great many Years, we might justly propose to ourselves, to have the Happiness to see it all manufactured at Home, for *to be sure it is manufactured* when carried Abroad.

I shall finish, continued *Will*, my Luccubrations upon this Book, by observing that I am very well informed, that some Clothiers, having discovered a true Spirit of Liberty, framed an Advertisement to the following Purpose, which they offered both to the Publisher of the *Edinburgh* EVENING COURANT, and of the *CALEDONIAN MERCURY*, neither of which had the Spirit to print it. They told the Pre-

F senter,

fenter, they durst not. It is surprising,  
 when the Author has so distinctly proved,  
 that 'tis the peculiar Privilege of the Sub-  
 jects of free States, to Speak or Write  
 what they think, and to Publish what  
 they write, that our Printers are as  
 much intimidated, as much afraid to pub-  
 lish what they imagine may contradict  
 the Opinion of any Man in Power, as a  
 French Printer would be, or a Turkish  
 Printer, were printing fully in Fashion  
 with them. The Author proclaims the  
 Liberty of the Press; but, it is to be fear-  
 ed, Care has been taken by some Body,  
 to rob every Body else of this Privilege,  
 and to make it indeed peculiar; the pe-  
 culiar Privilege of the Author, and eve-  
 ry Subject who has Freedom to write,  
 and publish what may tend to hurt the  
 Nation. Will added, That he had a  
 Copy of this Advertisement, which he  
 read, and it was to the following Pur-  
 pose.

To the Publisher of the CALEDONIAN  
MERCURY.

SIR,

WHEREAS there is a Book lately pub-  
 lished at Edinburgh, Intituled, The  
 Interest of Scotland considered; wherein  
 the

the Author, in treating of the Woollen-  
 Manufactures in Scotland, has, either thro  
 Ignorance of the Subject, or some other  
 Cause best known to himself, advanced  
 many gross Mistakes, to the Discredit of  
 that valuable Branch among us. 'Tis  
 therefore thought proper to acquaint the  
 Publick, especially such as desire to en-  
 courage their own Manufactures, that,  
 with all possible Diligence, that Part of  
 his Book shall be fully answered, and his  
 Mistakes exposed. In the mean Time, we  
 must observe, That 'tis possible some other  
 View than the Interest of his Country has  
 moved the Author to contend so zealously  
 against the Increase of the Manufactory of  
 Cloath in Scotland, and hope no Country-  
 man will be biassed to its Prejudice, by  
 what he has advanced in his Book. You'll  
 please publish this in your next Paper,

Musselburgh,  
 Decemb. 1733. }

And oblige

Your Friends,

The CLOTHIERS.

Will, After reading this Advertisement,  
 concluded, That he humbly conceiv'd he  
 had now detected Two of the many Faults  
 con-

[ 44 ]

contain'd in this Book ; and that it was to be fear'd, that, for the Sake of those very erroneous Doctrines, the whole of it had, at this Time, truded into the World.

He was going on, when *Tom* (who appear'd to be very angry at what *Jack* and *Will* had advanced in this Conversation) in some Heat, said, he was sorry he must be gone, having an Appointment about Business of Importance upon his Hand, but that, if his Time had allow'd him, he could, with great Ease, have refuted every Thing both of them had objected to this Performance ; adding these Words, Gentlemen, I advise you to be more moderate in your Censures ; I think it great Madness, whatever is your Opinion, to speak against Men of Figure and Power. And then he left them.

HAVING given as faithful a Relation of this Conversation, as far as my Memory can serve me, I return to invite every Man who has a Vote or Interest in the next Election, to consider how nearly they must affect the Interest of his Country. — I hope, it is noways impossible to choose Men to represent us, who have the Honour, Dignity and Interest of the Crown, as well as the Rights, Interest and Liberty of the Subject, at Heart. — I own, I take the Interest of the Crown, and of the Subject

[ 45 ]

Subject, to be inseparable, and therefore we ought to be extremely suspicious of these designing Men, who do what they can to separate them. If the Frame of our Constitution is consulted in advising publick Measures, and enacting Laws, we can be under no Apprehension of receiving any Harm from them. But if any Body shall propose Things that enlarge the Crown's Power beyond its former Limits, more with Intention to perpetuate his own Power, than either to enlarge or secure his Master's, (which, it is certain, stands in Need neither of the one nor of the other) such Person may well be call'd the unlucky Instrument of raising a Jealousy, that our Liberties are in Hazard, and the wretched Tool of separating Interests, which ought to be kept inseparable ; and it would be very unlucky, if this should be our miserable State at present.

If a certain Gentleman's darling Scheme of Excise had been enacted, he had had as many Spies, as there would have been Excise-Men, upon the People of the Nation. It was indisputably in his Power, by giving proper Orders, to make two Men in any Burgh deal in the same Commodity at the Odds of 20 *per Cent.* to vex to Death a Burgher who opposed his Measures, and  
to

[ 46 ]

to give most unequal Advantages to a Favourite, and where this must have landed is obvious.

LET us therefore beware of supporting this Gentleman's Creatures; let us rather shew Spirit enough to make a clean House of them.—Let us consider, that *England* is our Barrier as to Liberty, as well as Property; and let us therefore join with our Neighbours in *England*, in preserving to us what is equally valuable, our *Liberty*, and consequently our *Property*.

LET us not notice the childish Objections, 'That all this Pother has been raised by Persons disaffected, and by instilling false Notions into the Minds of Men, that nothing less than a general Excise was aimed at; that all this Contention is only raised by some who want to be in Power, and who will be sure to use it worse than a certain Man has.

FOR nothing can be more false, than that the Opposition is owing to Disaffection. It is proper indeed for a certain Man, to maintain his Power, to make Use of this Argument; but to us, who know the gross Falshood of the Objection, it must make us extremely jealous of a Man who will not stick at using Reproaches of this Sort to secure his Power. It is well known

[ 47 ]

known, that Jacobitism was at the lowest Ebb, when this most pernicious Scheme was broach'd; and, I am sure, that no Body who wishes well to our Constitution, will think much is owing to any Man who has revived it, were the Objection true. But it is remarkable, that, in this Question, all Party Names are quite sunk; Whig and Tory, Protestant and Papist, all Sects join to oppose that ruining Measure; all felt their Liberty affected, and in Hazard, and therefore the common Cry is, Liberty and Property, and no Excise. And I must be pardoned for thinking, that such an Union of Sentiments must be produced by some Thing *that is most substantially every Body's Interest*; and therefore I own, I cannot but be astonished, that any Man should have the Impudence to insinuate, that Disaffection, (unless it is Disaffection to Measures directly contrary to His Majesty's Interest and that of the Nation) enters at all into the present Question. And this is so far true to a Demonstration, that the far greater Number of those who opposed the Excise-Scheme, are noted for their firm Adherence to the Interest of the Protestant Succession in His Majesty's most august House. Since that is the Case, which



[ 48 ]  
 which Side is it that infills false Notions  
 into the Minds of Men?

It is quite foreign to the Purpose, whether the Aim was to establish a general Excise or not. To us it is sufficient, that the Scheme was projected broad enough to extinguish the least Spark of Liberty; but, after all, little that was worth excising remain'd to be excised, after Tobacco and Wine; and if once our Liberty was gone, any Gentleman in Power might have excised the Air and Water if he had pleased.

THAT all this Contention is about Power, may, in one Sense, be true. A Man that has great Power, 'tis likely, will struggle hard, extremely hard, before he parts with it. If this Argument is fairly treated, does it not strike with greater Force against one in Power, than one out of it? *Love of Power*, no doubt, is a bewitching Thing; but will not a Man in great Power feel the bewitching Effects of it, as well as those who are out of it? It is therefore a strange Imposition upon the Reason of Mankind, to charge this all upon the Assertors of our Liberty and Property, as if it was a Thing impossible, for a Man in Power to contend hard for keeping it. Let us therefore coolly judge, whether it  
 be

[ 49 ]  
 be more eligible for us to support the Power of that Man, who has been employ'd to destroy us, or of those who have employ'd what Power they have, (and alas! it is but too small) to protect and defend ourselves, and our Liberties and Properties.

AND indeed it is Power, the Power of a certain Man, that we have the greatest Reason to dread. We have been told, that all his Power, and all (not his indeed, but all) Money, will be employed to support and model a Parliament for his Service. It has been said, (it is hoped without Foundation) by some of his Dependents, that all Opposition is vain, for that if he shall be able by *any Means* to carry but a Plurality of One in the House of Commons of the next Parliament, and if Petitions shall be presented against those who have the undoubted Merits of the Elections with them, Care shall be taken to garble the House so, as to yield him a sufficient Plurality to carry thro' whatever he shall project. No Man will take upon him to affirm, that what has been by them said, is true; but if it is, then it is hard indeed that *the Nation's Money* should be employ'd to ruin the Nation, to corrupt Voters and Electors, and to corrupt the Elected;  
 and

[ 50 ]

and if now even Shame itself is quite laid aside, and the most monstrous Corruption is talk'd of, as a Mean to maintain a certain Gentleman in Power, we ought at least to be sorry for it. —

In *Scotland*, every Body who has Ears in his Head, has been told, with how little Discretion Corruption has been attempted. Offers of Places, Pensions, Preferments, and Money, have been made without Reserve; and where these could not do, Threats have been used, to carry on the same corrupt Project. One should not easily be persuaded of the Truth of such Things; but if they are true, is it possible that we can bear them? Shall we suffer Corruption and Bribery, the Bane of every free People, to walk Abroad at Noon-day, without signifying our Abhorrence of such detestable Practices? And how can we testify it so properly, as by an honest Opposition to the Creatures of such Men?

WHILE we are thus endeavoured to be ruined at Home, we are far from being in a good State Abroad. We see a War impending and threatenng us; and it seems hard to conceive, how the Money, that should have been applied for sinking our Debt, has been employed: Because now,  
at

[ 51 ]

at a Distance of twenty Years from the Peace of *Utrecht*, tho we have had the same Load of Taxes, our Debt continues great. Nay, even what should have been applied to sink this Debt, has been avowedly otherwise applied for the Service of this current Year. We see the Emperor almost worried in *Italy*; *Spanish* Troops joining the *French* and *Sardinian* Forces in that Country. It has, at other Times (upon less Occasions perhaps) been thought expedient to ask the Advice of Parliament. But all a certain Gentleman's Attention seems to be fixt only upon carrying his Point at Home, *by any Means*. Possibly it is dangerous to allow so many Persons to meet and consider, with Deliberation, the State of the Nation. So many Men, who, *no Doubt, are resolved to ruin themselves and the Nation*, to gratify their Spleen and Revenge against one Man; whose great Care, now and formerly, has prevented the least Hazard from Abroad, and preserved, *till now*, our Tranquillity at Home.

WHAT is to be said, upon this critical Juncture, I profess I do not know. To enter upon a War, is very expensive, to a Nation greatly burdened with Debt. To prefer a Peace, that may ruin what we have  
yet

[ 52 ]

yet remaining, is as little eligible. We are, at least, to consider who has brought us into this miserable Dilemma; who has had the Management of our Publick Money, which ought to have been applied towards the Payment of our great National Debt; and then to deliberate, if it is proper for us to support a certain Gentleman, and his other Creatures, great and small: And sure, if we are not at all Times, *even when forwarned*, resolved *to be wise behind the Hand*, it will be no hard Matter for us to determine our Choice; to retrieve, if possible, what has been lost, and to secure what is left, and is in the utmost Danger.

*GOD save the King and Country,  
and may his Eyes be upon the  
Faithful of the Land.*

---

F I N I S

---