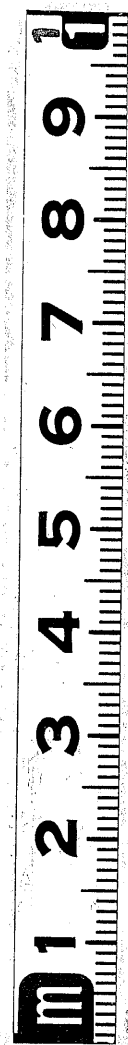


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A
COLLECTION
OF
P A P E R S
AND OTHER
T R A C T S,

Written occasionally on
Various Subjects.

To which is prefixed,
By Way of PREFACE,
AN

E S S A Y
On the NATURE of a
P U B L I C K S P I R I T.

By Sir WILLIAM KEITH, Bart.

L O N D O N:

Printed by and for J. MECHSELL at the King's
Arms, next the Leg-Tavern, in Fleet-street.
M D C C X L.



The



TO
HIS GRACE
THE
Duke of MONTAGU, &c.

MY LORD,



SOME Friends having prevail'd with me to publish the following Collection of Papers together, which have been written at different Times, and by Starts, purely for Amusement, to pass away the Hours that

vi DEDICATION.

a tedious Attendance on the fair, but empty Promises of great Men in Power, had rendered tiresome to the Mind. On reviewing the whole, I continued some Time in Suspence, whether such a Miscellany could properly and decently be address'd to a Person of your Grace's high Rank, and at last was determined by the following Motives.

That I had long observed your Grace took Delight in distinguishing Virtue and Humanity in every Object that came in your Way, how Mean soever it was cloathed, or might be otherwise circumstanced.

That your Grace constantly form'd your Judgment, both of Men and Things, from Realities,
and

DEDICATION. vii

and an upright Intention, without Regard to the Pomp, and often the Partiality of outward Appearances.

That an universal Benevolence to Mankind, and the particular Happiness and Prosperity of your own Country, held the first Place in your Thoughts, and employ'd the greatest Share of your Attention on all publick Occasions.

These, my Lord, I own were the Motives that induced me with great Submission to think, that your Grace would not be offended at my laying these few Exercises of a plain, honest, and undisguised Heart at your Feet; but rather that you would condescend to indulge me with this Opportunity of expressing, in the best Manner

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viii DEDICATION.

I am able, that dutiful and profound Respect with which I am,

My Lord,

Your Grace's humbly devoted,

and most Obedient Servant,

W. KEITH.

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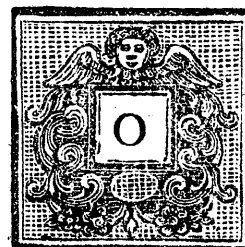


A N
E S S A Y,

By Way of PREFACE,

On the NATURE of a

PUBLICK SPIRIT.



IF all the Arts that Men
use in order to gain each
other's Confidence and
Esteem, none seems to be
more prevalent and success-
ful, than that of Flattery, whereby a
Man is easily persuaded to believe, that
the World conceives the same good
Opinion

Opinion of his Conduct and Merit, as he himself does, when perhaps it is so far otherways, that those very Persons, who impose on him, entertain but contemptible Ideas of that Vanity and Self-Conceit, they take so much Pains to sooth, only for their own Ends, which is readily perceived by every one but him, who, thus fond of Applause, is frequently made the Dupe both of Knaves and Fools.

For this Purpose it is a common Practice in publick Company to adorn the Character of the Man we would praise and extol, with the Epithet of a *publick Spirit*, in order to raise in People's Minds the amiable Idea of a noble Generosity, and universal Benevolence, which exclude all Thought or Suspicion of partial and self-interested Views. It may therefore be worth while to examine more particularly wherein the true Character of a *publick Spirit* consists, and how it is properly

properly to be apply'd to Men of different Ranks and Professions.

In general, a *publick Spirit* is a certain Principle in the Mind, flowing from the Condition of human Nature, which altho' it admits of many Degrees, and may be variously improved, according to a Man's Education, Capacity, and Profession, yet the Seed of it must be born with him, and cannot be artificially acquired; for wherever it exists, it must and will appear in some Shape or other, without Regard to the Poverty, or other mean Circumstances of the Party possessing it, and as we cannot justly exclude any one of the Species from exercising that Portion of *publick Spirit* wherewith kind Nature has indued him, so we may form the truest Judgment, both of ourselves and others, by observing to what Degree, and in what Manner this most valuable Principle is express'd in the different Actions and Conduct of human Life.

By

By the Term *publick Spirit* we are more particularly to understand, that generous, but natural Affection of the Soul, which first inclines Man to Society, and then forcibly leads him to prefer the publick Good and Happiness of that Society, to every private Advantage, or particular Enjoyment of his own, which is not perfectly consistent with the Peace, good Order, and Prosperity of the whole Community. And wherever it appears, that a Man of any Capacity, Degree, or Profession, from the highest to the lowest, acts contraryways, by seeking in any one Instance his own Pleasure and Advantage, at the Loss, or preferable to the common Good of that Society to which he belongs, we may conclude he has no just Title to that noble Principle of a *publick Spirit*, which constantly maintains such a Force and Dignity, as to reign superior over all the other Affections of the Mind; still acting boldly, without the least Apprehension

hension or Fear of any kind of Danger, even of Death itself.

The meanest Plowman or Labourer can exert his Proportion of this great and original Principle, by an exact and careful Obedience to the Laws of his Country, ever expressing a chearful Readiness, on all proper Occasions, to venture his Life, and whatever is most dear to him, in the publick Service.

The industrious Merchant has likewise many Opportunities of displaying his Share of *publick Spirit*, by giving the Preference to such Branches of Commerce as he knows to be most advantageous to the publick Good; and not only avoiding, but disdaining to be concern'd in any Transactions which may be hurtful to it, let the Profit in View be ever so considerable.

It will become learned Men of all Professions to maintain a great Share of this Principle,

Principle, by inculcating the Nature and absolute Necessity of it into others, whereby such as are not so prone by Nature to pursue it, will perhaps be influenc'd by their good Instructions, and the Shame or Remorse attending the contrary Practice, to make choice of it.

To execute the great and noble Purposes of a true *publick Spirit*, is the most honourable Part of the Soldier's Character, which often very eminently distinguishes itself in the Conduct of those who carry the chief military Command, and whose Province it is to shine conspicuously in the Exercise of this Virtue; because there cannot be any other just Foundation or Excuse for raising and keeping up a military Force, in a free Country, but the necessary Preservation of publick Right and Liberty, from the Dangers of a foreign Invasion, or from an immediate Insurrection and Rebellion at Home.

All

All the Knowledge and good Parts that can be supposed in a Legislator, must be enliven'd and directed by a *publick Spirit*, or they will otherways become pernicious to the State, and ever productive of Discord, and all Sort of Mischief.

The Magistrate again has no other Rule to walk by, being the legal Guardian and Protector of the publick Interest, and of all those who act in Conformity to it, so that there is no Office or Character in human Society, but what is affected by this Principle; and supports a Reputation proportionable to that Share of *publick Spirit*, wherewith it is exercised and maintained.

But above all, and in a more eminent Degree, the Fruits of a *publick Spirit* are to be seen and felt in the Conduct of a First Minister, who is intrusted with the
chief

chief Direction of Affairs, both civil and military; and on the Uniformity of whose Practice, in every Branch of this sublime Virtue, the Peace, Honour, Happiness, and Prosperity of the whole Society principally depend. For, as a good Prime Minister will justly merit, and certainly receive a great Share of the Honour due to wise and successful Measures, that have been projected, and duly executed, to the apparent Advantage and Reputation of the Commonwealth; so a bad one, whose Measures have been ill concerted, and the Consequences of them unfortunate, cannot possibly escape the Dislike, and perhaps Censure, of those whose Thoughts and Actions are chiefly govern'd by a true *publick Spirit*, which has no Respect to Persons, in Cases where the Publick has either suffered a real Loss, or is in imminent Danger of doing so, by the unhappy Effects of weak or bad Counsels.

When

When the *publick Spirit* of a Man in great Authority exerts itself for the good of Mankind, and the particular Honour and Happiness of that Society who confide in his Virtue, it is impossible to form a more amiable Character; nor can the most lofty and justifiable Ambition desire a happier Situation to bring its greatest Schemes to Perfection. Any Prince, who had the good Fortune to employ such a Minister, would truly reign in the Affections of his People; which is certainly the most eligible Foundation, whereon a wise, successful, and happy Administration could be raised. It may easily be imagin'd, that a Man's Right or Pretension to Preferment with such a Minister, would not be computed and measured according to his Wealth, or to the Bulk and Extent of that arbitrary Influence which is too commonly exercised by the Rich and Great, over the Poor and Ignorant; but rather by that Proportion

xx *An ESSAY on*

portion of *publick Spirit*, which daily appear'd in every Part of his Conduct, thereby qualifying him to be intrusted with some Share of the common Interest, which will ever be dearer to a Man of such a Behaviour, than any private Concern whatever, relating either to himself or his nearest Friends. These would be the only Means of Access to the Favour of a good Prince, served by such a Minister; from which it will be easier to conceive than express the Figure a State would make under such an Administration of Government. Nevertheless, it must be own'd that History affords very few Originals of this beautiful Picture, on which therefore we do not chuse at this Time any farther to enlarge: But with respect to that Kind of *publick Spirit*, which ought to animate every Freeman in a limited, mix'd Government, where the People's Representatives have a Share in the Legislature, it will be found chiefly to consist in the careful Pursuit of a strictly

PUBLICK SPIRIT. xxi

ly virtuous and independent Conduct, to prevent the too frequent, but unhappy and pernicious Influence of Money and Preferments, which, from the covetous and partial Views of bad Ministers, may be continually applied to the Corruption of Men's Morals, by rendering them negligent, or less anxious for the Preservation of that just and equal Ballance of Power settled by the legal Form of the Constitution, on which the Rights of the Crown, and the Liberties of the People mutually depend; Rights that will always be the great Concern and Care of a true *publick Spirit*, whose Ambition ever points to an impartial and justifiable Conduct, that can bear the nicest Scrutiny and Inspection; from which the virtuous Author not only enjoys unspeakable Pleasure in his own Mind, but is likewise sure to receive the honourable Applause of by far the best and most valuable Part of his Fellow Citizens, who would chearfully undergo any Sort of Fatigue, and look
on

xxii *An* E S S A Y *on*

on reasonable Taxes no otherwise than as voluntary Contributions, to support an Administration of Government, that delighted in the Distribution of Justice, and in carrying on all Manner of Business with a brave, generous, and *publick Spirit*.

But on the other Hand, there is always such an Antipathy between the Nature of a *publick Spirit*, and all those covetous, selfish, and low Inclinations, which lead Men into corrupt and mean Practices, that they are not compatible with each other in the same Breast; so that where the last prevails, there is but small Hope of preserving a competent Share of the other among the Generality of a free People, until, by a shining Example at Court, and in Families of the first Rank and Fortune, a virtuous Conduct is not only esteemed, but rewarded, and the contrary punish'd with Neglect and Contempt. To recommend which, it evidently appears

was

P U B L I C K S P I R I T. xxiii

was the plain, honest Design of the following Papers, call'd *The Citizen*, that come now to be re-publish'd together, under the Favour and Protection of those who are Lovers of Virtue, and desire to promote the happy Effects of a true *publick Spirit*; for notwithstanding that the *Citizen's* cool and impartial Way of reasoning may at this Time be unfashionable, when the impetuous Flame of Party Zeal which runs through the Kingdom has almost every where usurp'd the Name and Place of a *publick Spirit*; yet it is presumed, there will always be some of every Degree amongst us, who, on Reflection, may draw very satisfactory and profitable Inferences from such an open fair Way of Reasoning, that probably will have some Influence on the Conduct of future Times, when perhaps the very Names of those formidable Parties and Factions, with their principal Leaders, who now make so much Noise, will be lost in Oblivion; and when every Branch of the Constitution will be restored

xxiv *An* E S S A Y, &c.

restored to its just Ballance, on which the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, the Liberties of the People, and the Happiness of the whole Nation will ever truly depend.



T H E



Numb. I.

The C I T I Z E N.

O R,

The WEEKLY CONVERSATION of a Society of *London Merchants* on *Trade*, and other *Publick Affairs*.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1739.



I WAS born and bred a plain CITIZEN of LONDON; and after having served half the Time of my Apprenticeship with an eminent *Turky* Merchant, I went abroad in my Master's Service to *Smyrna*, where I staid above three Years; and returning through *Italy* and *France*, I spent some Time on the most polite Parts of Education. By that means I qualified myself to be admitted into the best Company, and to support my Share of Conversation with a decent Esteem. My Fortune was moderate, yet sufficient to keep me from being a Slave to Business; so that my Application that way was voluntary, and not

B

not an Act of Necessity; for I had a natural Aversion to all kind of Restraint, and could by no means relish the Custom of meeting regularly at Daily or Weekly Clubs, to smoke and drink away the Time, which I imagin'd might be employ'd to more useful and diverting Purposes: What Portion of Time therefore I had to spare from a necessary Attendance on Business, I wanted to employ on such profitable Subjects as regarded the public Interest of my Country, without any manner of Attachment to *particular Persons*, or *Party Views*; for tho' I adored Truth, and readily acknowledg'd her Power on all Occasions, yet I greatly revered Humanity, or that kindly Disposition in Nature which inclines us to make the same Allowances to other People, which we never fail to claim as a Right to ourselves.

Under these Circumstances, and in this Frame of Mind, I formed to myself the Idea of an independent single Life, that should be animated with an universal Benevolence to Mankind, and the strongest Affection imaginable to the public Good of my own Country. But as I conceived these two Principles could not be cultivated any other way, than by a frequent and free Communication of Sentiments in a proper Society for Improvement, I apply'd myself for some time to find out a few Men of different Characters and Professions, yet naturally endued with the same impartial Way of Thinking.

The first Person I address'd myself to on this Subject was Mr. *Goodfellow*, a *Spanish* Merchant, who having had much Experience in a Variety of Business, and honourably maintain'd a fair Character under adverse as well as good Fortune, was sensibly touch'd with the Spirit of my Design, and cheerfully contributed his Assistance for carrying it into Execution.

The

The next Friend we apply'd to was Mr. *Lane* an East Country Merchant, whose large Dealings to *Russia*, *Sweden*, and *Denmark*, had given him a thorough Knowledge of the State of those Countries, and of the Connexion in Trade between them and *Great Britain*; and we three soon agreed to introduce a few more, viz. Mr. *West*, a *Barbadoes* Merchant; *Timothy Bond*, a *Virginia* Factor; and *Jonathan Asgood*, a noted Trader to *New England*; to these we added Mr. *Clinch* an Attorney, a knowing, merry, and facetious Companion.

We first met all together on the 4th Day of last *November* to dine at *Pontack's*, where we settled a few general Rules, without incroaching on the Inclinations and free Choice of any Member to do as he pleas'd. But as our Scheme was intended to improve the Understanding, by a free Inter-course of Thoughts in Conversation on all manner of useful Subjects, as well as that of Commerce, we judg'd it necessary to invite some Gentlemen of higher and more noted Characters to visit us frequently; and for this Purpose we deputed two of our Number to wait on my Lord *Worby*, and on Mr. *Freeborn* and Mr. *Weldon*, both Members of the House of Commons, to acquaint them with the Nature of our Design; which they all three so well approv'd, as to promise they would attend our Meetings as often as more important Business would permit. In like manner we sent two more of our Brethren to invite Dr. *Mildman* and Mr. Counsellor *Pleadwell*, to join themselves to our Society, which they cheerfully consented to; and from this Accession of Strength we conceived many singular Aids and Advantages would flow to the Company, whose Members were altogether above the Power of any partial Influence, their Society

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being firmly united, and wholly animated by a generous and publick Spirit.

We had no particular Days or appointed Time and Place to meet at, otherwise than by consulting the Company each Opportunity, when and where it would be most convenient for them to meet next; so that we propos'd in Parliament-Time to convene at *Westminster, Covent-Garden, or about the Temple*; but most frequently near the *Royal Exchange*. And as our Conversation was to be chiefly turn'd on *National Trade*, or on such other Things as affected and related to the public Interest of *Great Britain*, we recommended it to one another to read the Foreign News carefully, in order to observe on all material Transactions abroad, and the different Interests of the *European Nations* compared with our own; which would enable us to discourse on many Things that perhaps might become the Subject of Parliamentary Consideration, or at least be under the Care of the Administration, whose apparent Measures from time to time we agreed to judge of with a decent Freedom, without touching on *Personal, or any other* indiscreet Reflections. And that our Conversation might be render'd useful to our Fellow Citizens, it was agreed to publish the same in a Paper to come out every *Friday Morning*, which should contain the Company's Observations on *Trade*, and on all the material *News from Abroad*, which either immediately or consequentially affected the public Interest of *Great Britain*, to be filled up, as Occasion offer'd, with a pertinent Account of such *Improvements* as were daily made in some useful Parts of *Science*, or with such *Epistolary Correspondence* as treated of *Virtuous and Moral Subjects*, tending to improve the *Mind*, and engage the *Passions* on the Side of *Justice, Integrity, and Humanity*, from the *habitual Practice*

of

The CITIZEN. 5

of which Virtues we can only hope to *support and preserve Society*.

Crown-Tavern behind the *Royal-Exchange*,
February 7, 1738-9.

IT was propos'd in a full Meeting by Mr. *Good-fellow*, Chairman for the Day, That the Society should freely give their Opinions concerning the present State of the *British Commerce with Spain*, and whether, in Case of any future Rupture with that Crown, the *French* could supply the *Spaniards* with the same Variety of Commodities, and at as easy a Rate, as they now had them from *Britain*.

Hereupon it was observed, that the Trade with the *Spanish Nation* was of such a Nature as could not be absolutely restricted and confined to any one Kingdom or State, it being at this present Time the principal Fountain and Source from whence other Nations are supply'd with Bullion, which is the necessary Medium of all Commerce, and with which every one must therefore some how be serv'd in a certain Proportion, which they have an equitable Right to insist on, agreeable to their Situation, and other Circumstances that are essential to the Being of their Commonwealth; so that, as it was not to be supposed, that *Britain* in any Event could possibly be totally excluded from that Trade, so neither was it to be expected, that the *British State* would ever attempt totally to deprive any other trading Nation of the Privilege of enjoying such a Share of that Trade, as from the Circumstance of Things, it could naturally and equitably claim: For that the just Balance of Power amongst the *European Nations* might as effectually be broken and destroy'd, by an unjust

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and

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and partial Monopoly of the Medium of Commerce, as by any particular State engrossing to itself too large an Extent of Dominion, and other Branches of Power. But with respect to the Question proposed, Whether *France* could with the same Ease supply *Spain* and the *West-Indies*, as *Britain* has hitherto done, it was generally agreed it could not, in case any effectual Means could be used, to prevent the *French* from being furnish'd with so great a Share of *British* and *Irish* Wool and Yarn as they now were; which was therefore look'd on to be an Affair of much greater Importance towards rendering the *British* Trade absolutely necessary to *Spain*, than any Article of Commerce that can be negotiated with that Crown; and with respect to the illicit Trade, which no doubt is in some Degree carried on by all the *European* Nations, who navigate their Ships to the *West-Indies*, it is wholly owing to the indiscreet Conduct and weak Management of the *Spanish* Government, who unquestionably might raise a double, nay treble Advantage from the *European* Trade, beyond what they do at present, by laying aside their violent and tyrannical Prohibitions, and in Place thereof, only imposing such an Indulto or Duty, as every trading Nation would be willing, and could well afford to pay; for to be sure it is the Interest of *Spain*, that their Subjects in *America* should be plentifully supply'd with every Thing they want at the cheapest Rate, which an open Trade would infallibly procure; and if by that Means the public Revenue in *Spain* must at the same time be prodigiously increas'd, what more could any wise and prudent Government desire?

But whether we suppose a Trade with the *Spanish West-Indies* to be open, or altogether shut up, it is a most unjust Pretension for *Spain* to claim any sort of Right to examine and search the *British* Ships,

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Ships, and to stop their Navigation in those Seas, where we actually possess so large an Extent of indisputable Dominion; for could any thing of this kind be suffer'd, or even tacitly conceded to, on the same Principles, the King of *France* might claim a Right of searching our Ships in the *British* Channel, as we likewise might pretend to stop and examine the *French* Ships, and all others passing that way, under Colour of looking for contraband Goods, and consequently seize such as had any of those Commodities on board, which either Nation deem'd to be contraband, without any Regard to the Place from whence they came, and whither they were bound. Besides, the whole Course of *Great Britain's* Trade to her own Colonies, as well as the quiet Enjoyment of the Profits she daily receives from these Plantations, depended on maintaining the undoubted Right her Subjects have to that Navigation; which therefore ought to be considered as a Point of much greater Importance, than any Computation of the Losses sustain'd by the *Spanish* Depredations, or the Want of any Cedula and Permission for the annual Ship: The notorious and scandalous Mismanagement whereof, has been the true Cause of all those late Contests between *Great Britain* and *Spain* with respect to Trade.

It was observed on the News from *Vienna*, that notwithstanding the Intimacy which seem'd to be establish'd between the *Imperial* and *French* Courts, there was but very little Prospect as yet of any sudden Peace between the Emperor and the *Turk*; and that the Negotiations lately set on Foot to procure a Loan of Money for the Emperor, independant on *France*, advanced but slowly.

Mr. Lane was pleas'd to inform the Society, that several late Articles in the public News from *Petersburgh* and *Constantinople*, did not at all correspond

respond with the Merchants Advices from those Parts; which gave no Expectation of any sudden Breach likely to happen between the *Porte* and the *Sophy of Persia*; on the contrary, the Court of *Russia* at this Juncture seem'd heartily dispos'd to enter into any reasonable Terms of Peace with the *Turk*; and hereupon it was the unanimous Opinion of the Company, that it would always be the true Interest of the Maritime Powers to keep the *Turk* in profound Peace with all his *European* Neighbours.

The Operations of the *French* Ministry of late seem'd to be carried on in most Courts of *Europe* with such Secrecy and Art, that it was difficult to penetrate into the Bottom of their Designs; however, it was the Company's Opinion, that from the Zeal which *France* had all along shewn to secure the Prince of *Saltsbach's* quiet Succession to the Duchies of *Juliers* and *Bergues*, together with the proposed Marriages of the two eldest Princesses of *France* with the Houses of *Bavaria* and *Saxony*, it might well be apprehended, that *France* had no sincere Intentions to favour the *Pragmatick Sanction*; wherefore *Prussia* and the *Maritime Powers* cannot be too much on their Guard from being soothed into any Measures which may hereafter prove fatal to the Protestant Interest, by suffering *France* to get into her Hands an Over-Balance of Power.

The Negotiations between the Courts of *Great Britain* and *Madrid*, being at this Time under the Consideration of Parliament, none of the Company inclined to enter into any particular Explanation about them. But in general it was believed, that *France* behind the Curtain interested herself very much in the Management of those Affairs, and that the Accomplishment of the Queen of *Spain's* Views in *Italy* would have a considerable Influence

Influence at this Juncture on the Conduct of *Spain*.

It was observed that the Republick of the *Seven United Provinces* seem'd to labour under Difficulties how to accommodate herself to the various political Views of several great Powers, and to favour her Commerce by keeping an exact Neutrality with them all: But as her greatest Policy consisted in waiting for, and making the best Use of Events as they happened, it was uncertain how suddenly she might be engag'd to act a very different Part from what she seem'd to do at present; for that whatever Turn the Emperor's Affairs should happen to take, it must sensibly affect the Interests of that Republick.

Mr. *West* inform'd the Society, that the Merchants at Home, as well as the Planters Abroad, sensibly felt the Damage that had been sustained by the late Hurricanes in the *West-Indies*, which might serve to put us in mind, that unless we can speedily procure some additional Strength, and other Helps that are wanting in that Part of the *British* Dominions, we must inevitably expect to lose every other Branch of the *Sugar Trade*, excepting what appertains to the *Home Consumption*, which tho' it be a great Conveniency, and produces a considerable Revenue, to the *Crown*, yet it brings no solid Wealth home to the *Nation*, that being chiefly acquired by profitable Returns on our Exports.

This Day's Conversation ended with an Observation, that in all the particular Accounts which had been sent from *Bath* and *Bristol*, of the Reception which their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of *Wales* had met with in those Parts, altho' the People every where express'd a personal and very affectionate Esteem for their Royal Guests, yet in Return, so extremely modest

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and obliging were the Expressions and Conduct of their *Royal Highnesses*, that it universally inspired Sentiments of Loyalty and Duty throughout the whole Country, to his *Majesty's Royal Person, Family, and Government*; which naturally excited unfeigned and sincere Wishes for a speedy and happy Re-establishment of perfect Unanimity and Concord amongst all the illustrious Branches of the *Royal House*.



N^o 2. FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1739.

Horn-Tavern, Palace-Yard, Westminster, Feb. 14.



Y^e Lord *Worthy* having honour'd the Company with a Visit after the House broke up, his Lordship desir'd the Gentlemen would give their Opinions concerning the *Right* which *Great Britain* had to the Lands and Countries she at this Time possess'd in *America*; for that in some of our Treaties with the Crown of *Spain*, there seem'd to be a few doubtful Expressions, which the *Spanish* Ministers endeavour'd to explain, as if some favourable Concessions had been made on the Part of *Spain*, by permitting us to enjoy our present Possessions in *America*, on a Supposition that all that Part of the World did, from a pretended Right of being the first Discoverers, belong to them, thereby excluding all other Nations from the Privilege of holding Lands there, otherwise than by Stealth or Permission from that Crown.

Hereupon it was observed to be universally known by what mere Accident and Chance it fell out, that the Court of *Castile* had employ'd *Christopher*

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stopher Columbus, a *Genoese* by Birth, on a Project of discovering Lands to the Westward; and therefore it could not be conceiv'd how this first Discovery only of a few Islands, could transfer any Sort of Right to *All* the Lands of *America*, or indeed to any more than such as from time to time were occasionally discover'd and conquer'd, or otherwise legally possess'd, by the particular Power and Authority of the Crown of *Spain*; so that the Pretensions of *Spain* then, or at any time since, to an absolute and universal Dominion over *America*, were altogether chimerical, and had no real Foundation in the Nature of Things, and consequently could not be conceded to or allow'd as the Basis and Ground-work of any Treaty between the Crown of *Spain* and other Sovereign States, and more especially with the King of *Britain*, whose Royal Ancestor *Henry* the VIIth, King of *England*, in the Year 1495, not only gave full Powers to one of his own Subjects, *Sebastian Cabot* by Name, to make Discoveries Westward, but also the said *Cabot* actually proceeded on a Voyage for that Purpose, and in the Month of *June*, 1496, had the good Fortune to fall in with the Harbour of *St. John* in *Newfoundland*, and from thence sail'd along the East Coast of *America*, from 56 Degrees of North Latitude to the Shoar of *Florida*, and used the Formality to take Possession thereof in the Name of the King of *England*, at a Time when *Columbus*, and the first Adventurers from *Spain*, had neither enquir'd after, seen, or touch'd on that Part of the *American* Continent, which has ever since been justly claimed, and is now, with the free Consent of the *Natives*, peaceably settled and possess'd by the *English* Nation.

This being agreed to be a fair and undeniable State of the Case, it was conceived, that no Words or Expressions in any of our Treaties with *Spain*, which

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which might be construed to import such a Concession as above-mention'd, could be pertinently apply'd to the *English*, as they were not only the Discoverers, but the first Christian Professors of their own *American* Plantations; and therefore that such Words or Expressions could be of no Use towards clearing up and further ascertaining any of the *British* Rights there. But indeed with respect to the *Spanish* Settlement at *St. Augustin* on the Coast of *Florida*, which is not only in Point of Time posterior to the above original and undoubted Rights of the Crown of *England*, but likewise to the actual Possession in consequence of that Right, which was taken by Queen *Elizabeth's* Authority in the Year 1584, by settling a large Colony in the Centre of that Continent call'd *Virginia*, whose Bounds were then understood to extend Southward to *Florida*, Northward to Cape *Breton*, and Westward to the *South Sea*; it was allow'd, that such Expressions in a Treaty between *Britain* and *Spain* might possibly be interpreted in favour of preserving to *Spain* the quiet Possession of their said Settlement at *St. Augustin*; so that by Virtue of such Words in our Treaties with that Crown, the *Spaniards* might probably be justified in their insisting to have a *reasonable Boundary* fix'd to preserve their People at *St. Augustin* from any Insults or Encroachments of the *English* now seated in their Neighbourhood in *South Carolina*, to the Southward of *Georgia*: And the Company judg'd it to be very reasonable, that, in a proper way, something might be done to quiet the *Spaniards* in their Possession of *St. Augustin*, and all to the Southward of that Continent; but still with a due Regard to preserve in ire the Rights of the *British* Subjects, who are actually at this Time settled upon, and possess'd of the River *S. Juan*, and to all the Northward thereof.

It

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It was further said, that if a fair Enquiry was to be made of the Titles by which *England*, *Spain*, *France*, or any other *European* Nation holds the Lands which they respectively at this Time possess in *America*, there are but two Kinds of Title that can be justifiably maintain'd, viz. either *Conquest* in a *lawful War*, or *Purchase* by the *free Consent* of the *Natives* and *original Proprietors*. And as to the Legality of that cruel War, wherein the *Spaniards* conquer'd the Empires of *Mexico* and *Peru*, and on which alone their present Title to the Dominion of those Countries is founded, the Company apprehended it would be no easy Task to reconcile many Particulars in that Story with the unchangeable Principles of Justice, Equity and Honour; so that whatever Flaws or Imperfections may possibly be found in other Nations Titles to their *American* Settlements, *Spain* ought in all Reason and Conscience to be silent on that Head, and rest contented with quietly enjoying what she already possesses; for it seems to be too late in Time to endeavour to pass upon the World such a Title as an *imaginary Gift* from the *Bishop of Rome*; or at least she cannot expect, that such a Pretension will bear Weight in any Treaty she can propose to make with a *Sovereign* and *Independent Protestant Power*.

With respect to the Nature of that Title which *Great Britain* claims to her Plantations in *America*, it was observed, that besides her indisputable Pretension to the *first Discovery* and *Possession* of those Lands before they had been *seen* or *touch'd* by any other Christian People, as above set forth, it can evidently be made appear, from the particular History of each of the *British* Colonies, and from the innumerable *Treaties* and *Contracts* which now subsist between the *English Governments* and the *native Indians*, that the several Grants

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Grants from the Crown of *England* have been every where strengthen'd and confirm'd by a fair Purchase from, and with the free Consent and Good-will of, the original and rightful Proprietors: A Title, which in the Opinion of all unprejudic'd and reasonable Men, must be esteem'd vastly preferable to that of such a Conquest as the Spaniards claim over a harmless and inoffensive Multitude of poor ignorant Heathens. To condescend, therefore, and submit, that the indubitable and clear Right which the Crown of *Britain* has to the *English* American Settlements should be called into Dispute by any Authority or Pre-
 tension from the Crown of *Spain*, seems to be quite out of the Question, and altogether as unjustifiable, as if *Spain*, by Virtue of some ancient Deed of Gift from one of the Popes, was to claim the Kingdom of *Ireland*, the Dominion of *Wales*, or any other Part of the *British* Isles; than which nothing could be more silly and ridiculous. But as this grand Affair, wherein both the Interest and Honour of the *British* State were so immediately concern'd, lay at this Time under the wise Consideration and Judgment of a *British* King and Parliament, the Company seem'd to be thoroughly satisfy'd and assur'd, that the safest and most honourable Measures would infallibly be taken to secure our Lawful Possessions, as well as Rights and Properties in *America*, agreeable to the Honour and Dignity of the *British* Crown, and the Welfare and Prosperity of the whole Nation.

N^o 3.*The* CITIZEN. 15N^o 3. FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23. 1739.

The South-west Boundary of the Province of Carolina, on the Coast of Florida, particularly described and ascertained.



THE late Convention between the Plenipotentiaries of *Great Britain* and *Spain*, having been published since the last Meeting of this Society, it gave rise to a Freedom of Conversation on that Subject; wherein it was observed, That as it did not appear that any material, or valuable Concessions had been made on either Side, we might be well assured, there was no essential Point as yet given up, so that no Time was elapsed to prevent *Great Britain* from insisting, with the Advice and Assistance of her Parliament, on such Things, with respect to the Freedom of her Navigation, and the Boundaries of the Province of *Carolina* towards the South-west, as shall be adjudged to be agreeable to her unquestionable Rights, supported by the Law of Nations, and the most impartial Construction that could be put on the several Treaties subsisting between the two Crowns.

As to the Freedom of Navigation, whereby the *British* Ships in the *American* Seas are supposed to be free from being searched or interrupted by the Authority of the Crown of *Spain*, or of any other foreign Power whatever: It had been already spoke to, and fully considered at the first Meeting of this Society (See Numb. 1.) and doubtless it would ever be esteemed a Point of such Importance to this Nation, that it could not in the least Article be departed from, much less given up, on any Pretence

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Pretence that could possibly arise or be suggested; in which Light the Company believed it would always be understood by every *honest* and *true* *Briton*.

But with respect to the *Limits* of *Carolina* on the Coast of *Florida*, which in our last (Numb. 2.) was said to extend to the *Southward* of *Georgia*, it may be of Use to enter into a more particular Account of that Matter, and in Consequence of the original Right which *Great Britain* had acquired by *Sebastian Cabot's* first Discovery in the Year 1496, to explain the South-west Boundary of the Province of *Carolina*, which is very particularly described by a royal Charter or Grant from King *Charles II.* in the 17th Year of his Reign, reciting a former Grant from the said King *Charles* in the 15th Year of his Reign to the same Lords Proprietors, wherein we find these Words, *viz.*

Whereas by our Letters Patents bearing Date the four and twentieth Day of *March*, in the 15th Year of our Reign, We were graciously pleased to grant unto, *Sc. Sc. Sc.* all that Province, Territory, or Tract of Ground called *Carolina*, situate, lying, and being within our Dominions of *America*, extending from the *North End* of the Island called *Luke Island*, which lieth in the Southern *Virginia* Seas, and within *six and thirty Degrees* of the *Northern Latitude*, and to the *West* as far as the *South Seas*, and so respectively as far as the River *Matthias*, which bordereth upon the Coast of *Florida*, and within *one, and thirty Degrees* of the *Northern Latitude*, and so *West*, in a *direct Line*, as far as the *South Seas*: Now know ye, that at the humble Request of the said Grantees, in the aforesaid Letters Patents named, and as a further Mark of our especial Favour towards them, We are graciously pleased to enlarge our said Grant unto

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unto them, according to the Bounds and Limits hereafter specified; and in Favour to the pious and noble Purpose of the said, *Sc. Sc. Sc.* their Heirs and Assigns, We do give and grant all that Province, Territory, and Tract of Ground, situate, lying, and being within our Dominions of *America* aforesaid, extending *North* and *Westward* as far as the *North End* of *Cunituck River*, or *Gullet*, upon a freight *Westerly* Line to *Wyonoke Creek*, which lies within or about the Degree of *Thirty-six and Thirty Minutes* of *Northern Latitude*, and so *West*, in a *direct Line*, as far as the *South Seas*, and *South* and *Westward* as far as the Degree of *Twenty-nine* inclusive of *Northern Latitude*, and so *West*, in a *direct Line*, as far as the *South Seas*.

And, as a further Proof that the Lands of *Carolina*, bounded as in the before-recited Grant, were taken out of, and dismembred from what was before that Time understood to be the *English* Dominion on that Continent, we find in the latter Part of the said royal Grant the following Words, *viz.*

And our further Pleasure is, and by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, We do grant unto the said, *Sc. Sc. Sc.* their Heirs and Assigns, and to the Tenants and Inhabitants of the said Province or Territory, both present and to come, and to every of them, That the said Province or Territory, and the Tenants and Inhabitants thereof, shall not from henceforth be held or reputed any *Member* or *Part* of any Colony whatsoever in *America* or elsewhere, now transported or made, or hereafter to be transported or made, nor shall be depending on, or subject to their Government in any thing; but be absolutely separated and divided from the same, *Sc.*

From

From the express Words of these very strong and distinct Clauses in the above recited Charter, it was inferred by the Company, that the intended Plenipotentiaries on the Behalf of Great Britain, who are to meet in order to settle Matters with those of Spain, would find themselves peremptorily tied down and obliged to insist, that the justifiable Boundary of Carolina to the Southward, is the Twenty-ninth Degree of Northern Latitude inclusive, or to the Beginning of the Twenty-eighth Degree; whereas Georgia extends only to the most Southerly Branch of the River Altamaha, which does not reach beyond the thirtieth Degree of North Latitude: So that as Carolina, by a posterior Grant from the Crown of Great Britain, was dismembered from, and taken out of the antient Dominion of Virginia; in like manner, since these Lands have, by a Purchase with publick Money, fallen into the Hands of the Crown, and were at the same time confirmed by Act of Parliament to his present Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, Georgia, by a late royal Grant of the same kind has been taken out of, and separated from the provincial Government of Carolina.

Mr. West observed, that the Matters now in Dispute between Great Britain and Spain, did not seem to be of so intricate a Nature, but that if both Parties were sincerely disposed, they might be soon adjusted; and therefore he thought it would be very extraordinary, if under the frivolous Pretence of bestowing a great deal of Time on such a Negotiation, the Spaniards should take upon them to go on with their Captures in the West-Indies, and daily to interrupt the Course of the Trade of Great Britain with her own Plantations; to prevent which, he doubted not, it would be thought reasonable to expect, as a positive Preliminary, that Spain should, in the Interim,

rim, desist from pursuing the Course of her Depredations on the British Subjects, and that every such Act of Violence, during the Continuance of the intended Negotiation, ought to be understood and treated as an actual Declaration of War, but the Company being generally of Opinion, that the Wisdom of a British Parliament would certainly interpose effectually to prevent any future Injuries of that Kind, all further Argument on the Subject at this Time was suspended.

Nº 4. FRIDAY, MARCH 2. 1739.

March 1.
THIS Day's Conversation was opened with reading the following Letter, directed To the Citizen.

Gentlemen,

OUR late Explanation of Great Britain's Right to her American Plantations, and your particular Description of Carolina, proving that the South-west Boundary extends to the Beginning of the 28th Degree of Northern Latitude, has been very acceptable to many, and to myself in particular, who am interested by a late Purchase of a considerable Tract of Land in that Province, on the North Side of the River, opposite to the Town of Savannah in Georgia.

As is was the Countenance given by the Crown to the Settlement of Georgia, and the repeated Sums of Money, which have been granted by Parliament to support it, that encouraged me and others to take up Lands, and make Purchases

chases in that Part of the Country, unto which we conceived that such an increasing and well-supported Settlement as that of *Georgia*, would be a safe Barrier and Protection from either a *Spanish* or *Indian* Enemy; it cannot but give us the utmost Concern, to be alarmed with Apprehensions, that any Part of *Carolina* to the Southward of *Georgia*, is in Danger of being yielded and given up to *Spain*! An Event which, in all Probability, must be attended with the following Consequences, viz.

1. As soon as *Spain*, by any Concession from *Britain*, has obtained the Possession of any Lands on the North Side of the River *St. Juan*, it will necessarily oblige the adjacent *Indian* Nations, (at this Time in League with, and under the Protection of the *English*) to relinquish that Interest, and to depend on the *Spaniards*, or the *French*, both for Trade and Protection.

2. The valuable Provinces of *Carolina* and *Georgia*, which are truly Frontiers between the *French* and *Spanish* Settlements, and all the rest of the *English* Colonies on that Continent, would be thereby continually exposed, and greatly weakened by the Loss of the *Indian* Trade, and such a dispeopling of those Countries as must certainly ensue.

3. To give up a Right, of which this Nation has been possessed above One hundred and fifty Years, and to relinquish all the Improvements that have been made to the Southward of *Port Royal*, and in the Precinct of *Georgia*, at a very large Expence of publick Money appropriated by Parliament for that Purpose, will not only reflect Dishonour on the State, but prove very detrimental to our Trade in general, and may possibly leave behind it the Sting of a lasting Reproach on the *British* Name.

These,

These, Gentlemen, are our melancholy Apprehensions at this Time; of which your genuine and impartial Sentiments will highly oblige many honest well-meaning Persons, besides him, who is,

Your hearty Well-wisher,
and most humble Servant,
AMERICUS.

The Company having maturely considered the Particulars represented in the foregoing Letter, they were unanimously of Opinion, that, without the Consent of Parliament, it was not practicable, or at least safe, for any Minister and Plenipotentiary to consent that any Part of *Carolina* on the North Side of *St. Juan's* River should be yielded and given up to *Spain*, by any Negotiation or Treaty that could be concluded between the two Crowns; for that the same having been purchased from the Lords Proprietors by the King, and confirmed to his Majesty, his Heirs, and Successors, by Act of Parliament, it could not be alienated, and given away to Foreigners, by any lesser Authority than that whereby it is now held: And as long as the whole Province of *Carolina* (of which *Georgia* is but a small Part) continues to be thus secured under the Authority of Parliament, there was no Room to think that the Inhabitants could possibly lose any of their Possessions to the Northward of the River *St. Juan*: Nor, indeed, that any Part of *Carolina*, within the Twenty-ninth Degree of Latitude, and to the Northward, could warrantably be made the Subject of any Negotiation or Treaty, since no Right to the same could be legally transferred from the present Possessors, but by an Act of Parliament to be made for that Purpose, which, it was thought, could hardly be obtained at this critical Juncture, when the whole Nation

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Nation was intent on having a suitable Reparation made to her Honour, for the Injuries she had suffered of late Years from *Spain*. And that therefore, as well for these Reasons, as from the Wisdom and Resolution of the Gentlemen in the Administration, it was to be hoped, that the Apprehensions of our Correspondent would be found groundless.



N^o 5. FRIDAY, MARCH 9, 1739.

Observations on our Sugar Trade.

M R. West, from the Chair, recommended it to the Company, to take into their Consideration the present State of the *British Sugar Trade*, and to give their Sentiments freely on the most proper Means that could be used to prevent it from being entirely lost.

Mr. A good spoke first; and when he had fully explained the *Intercourse in Trade*, and consequently the *Connection of Interest* which must of Necessity subsist between the *British Sugar Colonies*, and those on the *Continent of America*, he mentioned, with Regret, how unaccountably the Sugar Planters, and their Agents here, had been made Dupes of, by their Application to Parliament a few Years ago, to prohibit all sort of Correspondence between the *Continent* and the *Foreign Plantations in the West-Indies*; he appealed to the Opinions of such of those Gentlemen as were present, whether they had found, from Experience, that the Law then obtained in their Favour, had answered the Ends they were unwarily led

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led in to expect from it, and if they had not some Grounds, by this time to apprehend, that they had been artfully put on that Scent, in order to divert them from thinking of some other natural and more effectual Means to relieve them from those Burdens and Hardships, which they had but too just Reason to complain of, although not as yet in the least removed.

Mr. West acknowledg'd that the *Sugar Colonies* had received no manner of Advantage or Relief from the Act mentioned, which was now found by Experience to be of such Nature, as that it could not be executed; and therefore he so far agreed with Mr. A good, that some Regulation of a different Kind was still wanting to answer the Purposes intended by that Act; and in truth, that was the Reason that induced him to move the Company seriously to examine the Matter.

It was agreed that the *Sugars* brought from the *French Colonies* were generally not of so good a Quality as those made by the *English*; but then the *French* did more than compensate that Difference, by the Lowness of the Price for which they could afford to sell their Sugars in the *European Market*, and this was conceived chiefly to proceed from two Causes, viz.

1. That the Lands made use of by the *French*, not being so much worn out, as *Barbadoes* and the *Leeward Islands*, they were able to raise a larger Proportion of middling Sugar with fewer Hands, and at a much less Expence, than the *English* did theirs.

2. That the *French* had Liberty to carry their Sugar directly to Market, without being obliged to stop in any Part of *France*, and to make use of a double Navigation, which the *English*, at a very great Expence both of Money and Time, were obliged to perform.

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As to the *first*, it was conceived there was no other Remedy, but that the *British* State should be watchful to lay hold of the first good Opportunity to extend its Possession of *Sugar Islands* in the *West Indies*, either by settling some other rich and uninhabited Islands, or otherwise obtaining, by Treaty or Conquest, some convenient Addition of Soil for carrying on the Planting of Sugar-Canes to Advantage.

But for the *second*, it was of the last Importance to the very Being of that Trade; and yet such Difficulties occurred as gave but little Hopes of succeeding in any Attempt that could be made to redress it: For, as a large Revenue to the *Crown* was raised on the Home Consumption of Sugars in *Great Britain*, we were apt to be so jealous of the least Diminution of that Fund, that the national Profit, which can only arise from a large Exportation of that Commodity to Foreign Countries, was not so much regarded, as, perhaps, it ought to be; and this was more to be regretted, because, if Gentlemen concern'd in the Conduct and Management of those Affairs would but take the Trouble to examine into the true State of the Case, it would be an easy Matter to find proper Means for improving such an useful Branch of national Trade, without lessening that Branch of the publick Revenue which arose from the Home Consumption of Sugar; and it was the Opinion of all the Company, that unless something of that kind was speedily thought on and executed, the *French* would infallibly cut us out of that valuable Part of our Commerce with the *European* Nations.

It was observed by some Members, That the Sugars produced in the Island of *Jamaica* were, from the Richness of Soil, of a better Kind, and yielded more to the Refiner and Manufacturer than those of the other Islands, and that nevertheless
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great Quantities of good Land in *Jamaica* still continued to lie waste and uncultivated; for which two Reasons were given, *viz.*

1. Some of the most opulent Planters were permitted to hold large Tracks of Land in *Jamaica*, which, from the Discouragements they met with in the Sugar Trade, were not half cultivated.

2. From the very low Price which, of late, Sugar has been sold for in *England*, there was no Encouragement for new Hands to go over to *Jamaica*, or, indeed, any where else to follow that Business.

But, if our Sugar Planters, under a proper Regulation, were permitted to ship their Sugars directly for the best Market, without being obliged to load them first in *Britain*, it was believed that most of the Obstructions which that Trade now laboured under, would evanish; and the Company did not foresee any reasonable Objection that could be made to the granting of such a Privilege; for although they supposed that some of the *West-India* Factors in *London* might be induced, from self-interested Views, to oppose it with all their Strength, yet the Method they commonly used with the Planters in their Accounts of Sale, made their Partiality so obvious, that it was not imagin'd they could possibly prevail in frustrating a Regulation which so evidently tended to the Publick Interest and Benefit of *Great Britain*; for as there would then be a much larger Exportation of Sugars to Foreign Parts, to the Nation's Profit, so there could not be such a Glut of that Commodity at Home; which of Consequence would raise the Price, and thereby render the Duty more supportable to the Owner: Moreover, it would likewise enable the Planter Abroad more easily to afford those considerable Profits commonly charged in his Factors Accounts: So that on a fair and im-
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partial Examination of every Circumstance, whether with regard to *Publick* or *Private Interest*, it was hoped the *Parliament* might be induced to consider it as an Affair of very great Importance to the Trade of this Nation.



N^o 6. FRIDAY, MARCH 16, 1739.

To the Author of THE CITIZEN.

Sir,



WILL not take upon me to question the Validity of that Intelligence, which Mr. Lane has been pleased to communicate to your Society, from *Constantinople*, and *Petersburgh*; yet you must give me leave to be sorry, if it should prove so true, as you seem to believe it: Since I have some Reasons, (and submit them, if you please, to your Reflection) for disapproving the Opinion of your Company, — *That it will always be the Interest of the Maritime Powers to keep the Turk in profound Peace, with his Neighbours of Christendom.*

On the contrary, (with Reserve of that Defence I would pay to so numerous, and well-chosen an Assembly) I had strongly persuaded myself, that the very *Reverse* of this Maxim, was most useful, and fit for *Great Britain*. — And, in particular, that to mediate a Peace between the *Ottoman Empire* and *Russia*, is the most probable of impolitick Expedients for *disturbing our Peace*, in these Kingdoms.

It is not from a Love of Contradiction, but with a View to moderate the ill Effects of Political Errors,

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Errors, among a People accustomed to receive and propagate them, that I oppose my own Thoughts against those of a *Body* of Gentlemen. But *Truth* pays no Homage to *Number*: If it did, what a blessed Constitution were *Theirs*, whose Liege-Lord is Majority!

Let us first consider *Russia* with Regard to Herself; and, next, with Respect to *Great Britain*.

Her natural Advantages, for extending her Power, are superior to Those of other Empires in *Europe*.

Her Extent, in mere Measure of Land, is beyond all Proportion the Largest: Even equalling *All* the other Dominions of *Europe* conjointly.

Her Situation is, both naturally and politically, the safest — Naturally, because much less approachable, by an Army of adequate Enemies: And politically, because neighbour'd within reachable Distance, by no Power that is a Match for Her own.

Her Government is *unlimited Monarchy*. As her Resolutions are therefore more bold, Their Execution is less slow and incumber'd.

Her People are abstemious and hardy; and Despisers of Death, beyond Those of any Nation — I think I may say, either antient, or modern.

Her Armies are recruitable, to a Degree beyond Measure or End; for she assumes into that Service dependent Nations, of inexhaustible *Tartary*; as good natural Soldiers as any in the World, and soon made fit to incorporate among the national Troops, by the Discipline that is taught them in *Russia*.

The Revenues of this Monarchy are infinite, and improveable to an Extent beyond reckoning — because the People, having been accustomed, from Time immemorial, to Monopolies in the

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Crown, of the most considerable Branches of Produce, submit, without Murmuring, to Impositions, which could not be attempted in any of the other Dominions of *Europe*, without hazarding a Subversion of Government.

As to the Growth of her Empire *by Sea*, she has within Herself All the several Materials which are collected, for the Service of other States, from remote, and sometimes hostile Dominions—She has *Pitch, Tar, Oak, Firr, Hemp, fine Iron, Salt-petre*: (All the Stores and Supporters of War) Self-dependent, and incredibly plentiful.

She has vast, deep, inland Rivers, which extend Navigation from One End of her Empire to the Other. She has inaccessible Harbours, and Docks of the boldest and noblest Invention, for securing and exercising her Fleets; which, from the Aids in the foregoing Article, she can build at the most moderate Expences.

Add, that in case of a Maritime War, She has little or no Foreign Commerce, whereby to suffer Depredation or Captures; while the Nations depending on Trade, would be in Danger of a Stop in their Vitals. For, having no Call but *Arms* for her Mariners, she would cover the Sea with her *Capers*; and these she would propose to maintain, without Charge to herself, from the Plunder of Others.—The natural Consequence of this, (with Regard to a trafficking Enemy) would, in a War of Continuance, be a general Stagnation of Trade, and Decay of their best Manufactures.—Hence Discontents would infallibly follow: Then Insurrections, and open Rebellion. *Excises* too,—and *Customs*,—the Funds for Support of Resistance, would fail, by the Ruin of Trade, in such a predatory War as I speak of; where the Enemy is (by Land) too remote, and too strong to be dealt with; and (by Sea) too wide-spread, and unbo-

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died, to be opposed either with Fleets, or with Squadrons; only snatching up our Mercantile Runners; while (on his own Part) pursuing no Trade, he would be sure to afford no Reprisals.

But, though from natural Obstacles, (such as Deserts, frozen Seas, or impracticable Forests, and Mountains, intervening) it would be a Difficulty hardly surmountable, for Any warlike and powerful Nation of *Europe*, and for *England* especially—to invade the Dominions of *Russia*, The *Russians*, on the other Hand, would be sure to find *England* more open.—And, because our Defence, in our *Fleets*, may be objected as a sufficient Security against an Attempt of that Nature, it may be of Use just to touch a slight Hint, that relates but to one dangerous Entrance, of many, on a Side that may possibly deserve to be guarded, hereafter, with a Care, that seems hitherto to have been either unthought-of, or neglected.

Almost opposite to the *Sound*, there are Havens (in *Scotland*) which Nature seems to have formed for Reception, and Security of *Fleets*.—One, in particular, (I do not think it proper to name it) is the finest, perhaps, in the Island.—It is beyond all Denial the *safest*; that is,—most capable of being strongly defended, were it to be fortified, either by Ourselves—or an Enemy. For, it is scarce more than Pistol-shot over at its Entrance;—betwixt Rocks that are (almost) naturally impregnable; yet expands itself, within, to an Extent, and with a full Depth of Water, that are hardly any where else to be met with; and has a Bottom the cleanest in the World, and most proper for Anchorage.

Suppose it were practicable for an Enemy (and why should it not, since 'tis open?) to take Possession of so inviting a Haven, with a Body of ten or twelve Thousand well-armed, and well-disciplined

plined Soldiers.—Let us weigh a few of the terrible Consequences.

They might secure themselves against Any superior Attempts from the Sea.—Else how are our own Ships laid up, with the Safety we conclude them possessed of, in our Harbours of *Portsmouth*, *Chatham*, and *Plymouth*? Neither of which, except the last, can compare, as to natural Strength, with the Haven I am in this Place considering.

They might, perhaps not unreasonably, expect, upon Declarations they could not fail to be furnished with (adapted with the customary Artifice to the suppos'd Disaffection they would promise themselves a Support from) to be joined by no contemptible Body of *Natives*: Many more, to imagine the least, than could be wanted for *Guides*—to say nothing of *Auxiliaries*.

I don't know what may be thought by our sanguine Presumers in Politicks, but I should be apt to conclude, both from Reason, and the Examples in History, that when a powerful Army was landed at one End of an Island,—so secur'd against Attempts from without, and so strengthened by Malecontents from within,—nothing human, in the probable Course of Successes, could prevent them from marching on, at their Will, to the other.

And, to shew that there is nothing Chimerical in a Supposition that the *Russians* (were not the manifest Forecast of our Ministers a Resource to be always rely'd on) might, if made *Enemies*, by the Fate of some future Event, take Advantage of the open Condition wherein the present Renown of our Arms, and the Weakness of Faction among us, very safely permit such a Haven to lie,—let it be remember'd how customary it has been, as well for the great Ships, as the Gallies, of that formidable Nation, to take on board ten, fifteen, or
twenty

twenty Thousand of her Soldiers; and navigate the *Baltick*, from one End to the other, under the rational and unexceptionable Pretence of exercising both her Land and Sea Forces.

In one of these Summer *Reviews*, what (but God, and the Spirit he so visibly breathes on our Councils) could hinder their passing either through the *Belts*, or the *Sound*; and, crossing suddenly to the Port we have our Eye on, seize, and fortify it, impregnably, almost as soon as a *Courier* could bring us News of the Purpose they came with?—what Sea Strength have we, station'd along the whole Eastern Coast of the Island?—And as to our more prompt *Standing Army*, very dreadful, no Doubt, it must be confess'd, and will be found!—but no Man who is a Judge of our Military Establishment, who considers the Length of the March, the Division, and Distance, of the Troops, with the Danger of leaving (at such a Conjunction) the Places wherein their Stay might be necessary, will imagine it possible, that any Body of those Forces could be soon enough ready, for looking such an Enemy in the Face as we speak of.

And, now, that we may bring home these Reflections to the Matter immediately before us,—since such were our Danger from *Russia*, in case of a Quarrel, will it not be worth while to obviate all Prospects that may bring it upon us?

While the Seat of that Empire continues in the North, it is certain its Views will be *Northwardly*: In which Case, so many vigilant Councils as have purposely been establish'd for enlarging their national Interest, cannot long be kept blind to their Loss in the Balance of Trade, while they permit themselves to lie under the Necessity of purchasing their expensive Consumption, (for Example, of *Tobacco*, and *Sugar*) from *England*.

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If, under Influence of some new Light of Reflection, they should mediate to settle Colonies of *their own* in America; and That too more near, and more fatal to *ours*, than we could think it our Interest to suffer;—we must either submit, and by acquiescing in the Growth of *their* Colonies, lose a Profit that is the Support of our own; or, we must oppose their new Settlements in their Infancy, and by Effect of that Step, draw on, as an unavoidable Consequence, the Resentment and Hostility of their Mother Country in *Europe*.

See here, a very obvious, and, sooner or later, a certain Foundation for that political Pique, which may teach *Russia* to think it her Interest to weaken our present Capacity of restraining the Growth of her Empire.

What is then to be done, for Prevention of this probable Evil?—There is one (and perhaps *but one*) generous Method of doing it: And it is, by receding from the Mistake you have approv'd in our Politicks—and, in Place of promoting pacific Dispositions betwixt *Russia* and *Turkey*, use the utmost of our Skill and our Power to inflame and push forward Hostilities; till the *Russians*, if possible, might restore the *Greek Empire* to *Christianity*; and seat themselves at *Constantinople* instead of at *Petersburgh*.

Such a Change in the Seat of their Power would necessitate a Change in their Prospects.—New Advantages would lie open to their Ambition, from easier Conquests to be made, and Improvements in their Trade, to be look'd for toward the warmer and more generous Climates on the Banks of the *Black Sea*, and the *Caspian*. And when once *Constantinople* were become the Capital City of the *Russian* Dominions, they would consider *Petersburgh*, and its chilly Dependencies in the *Baltick*, but as a Back-Door, toward a Part of the World,

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World, against which if they secur'd but their Frontier, it would be all that their Distance could fort with.

And thus, by our seasonably contributing to an Increase of her Strength in the Way she pursues it at present, we remove our own Danger for ever—Nay, we open to ourselves, and our Posterity, new and noble Enlargements of Commerce, in Countries where while the *Turk* holds Possession, we can have Room but for very narrow Advantages.

On the contrary, if under delusive, feeble Prospects of *Peace*, we should, by preventing an Expulsion of *Mahometan* Insults, from *Europe*, hold the Center of *Russian* Dominion too near us, it will, in the Nature of Things, be impossible to evade such a clashing of Interests, as must give Birth to never-ending Disputes, and involve us in numberless Dangers.

I would have been fuller, and plainer, upon many of the foregoing Particulars,—but had Regard to the Length of your Paper.—I hope the Gentlemen of your Club will indulge me their Pardon; since, if I had the Misfortune to differ, in this single Instance, from what they have been pleased to declare as their Opinion, I have offer'd, at least, some of the Reasons, whereby I am misled in my Judgment. I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

BRITOPHILUS.

The nervous and strong Manner in which our worthy Correspondent *Britophilus* has been pleased to offer his Objections to the Sentiments of this Society, with respect to Peace and War between the *Russian* and *Ottoman* Empires, having been considered with due Attention by all the Company; they gratefully acknowledge the Favour done them, by setting a Matter of that Importance, in so clear a Light: And, on a Supposition that these Eastern Climates

would, in a short Time, have the same Effect on the *Russians*, as they have had on the *Turks* and other warlike Nations, who have lived under their Influence, by rendering the People indolent, luxurious, and slothful, the Company do entirely coincide with *Britophilus's* Sentiments: But if otherwise, as they apprehend, the vigilant and enterprising Spirit, which of late has appeared in the Government of *Russia*, should, on such an Event, exert itself in the Improvement of rich Manufactures and other Branches of Trade, which those fruitful Climates would readily afford, they doubt very much whether the maritime Powers, and *Britain* especially, would find any real Interest or Advantage in the supposed Extention of the *Russian* Dominions: Which, with great Deference, they submit to the Consideration of our judicious Correspondent.



N^o 7. FRIDAY, MARCH 23, 1739.

On the Importance of the British Plantations, and the Practice of impressing Seamen.



T was observed by Mr. *Asgood*, that above one half of the Shipping, which generally lay between *London-bridge* and *Black-wall*, except the *Colliers* and *Coasting Vessels*, were *American-built*, and employed in the Trade to and from the *British Plantations*, which was an ocular Demonstration of the Importance of the *American* Plantations to *Britain*, and of the vast Increase of Shipping and Seamen they continually produced.

This led the Company into some useful Reflections

tions on several Things tending to the Service and Improvement of the royal Navy; which was to be considered as the great Bulwark and principal Security of the *British* State, either as a Protection to its Commerce, or as the only solid Defence that could be depended on, against the Attacks of a foreign Enemy in any Case whatsoever; and although it was agreed to be absolutely necessary on every Occasion, that the Navy, at any Rate, should be completely mann'd with good Seamen, yet the Custom of issuing *arbitrary Warrants* to impress Men for the Sea Service, was thought not only to be inconsistent with our Laws, but altogether unnecessary, and a great Discouragement for able Seamen to enter into the publick Service; for, besides the Oppression of hurrying a poor Man, at a Minute's Warning, away from his Wife and Children, who have nothing else but his Labour to subsist on from Day to Day, the Method lately used, of impressing Men in the Spring, and dismissing them again towards the Beginning of Winter, when they have little or no Opportunity to be employed in the Merchant-service, but must lie four or five Months on Expence at home, is so intolerable a Grievance, that it cannot fail to sowre the Minds of the sea-faring People, and give them an Aversion to a Service wherein they are treated with so much Cruelty and Neglect.

To avoid this unjustifiable Severity on the poor Sailors, and the Clamour which it must of Necessity create, it was believed that every good Subject who put a just Value on Liberty, and sincerely wished his Country's Welfare, would be over-joyed to see a good Scheme executed for enregistering our Seamen, allowing each Man, when there was no Occasion for them, so much *per Ann.* on Condition that he voluntarily came in, if at home, to offer his Service to the Publick: And, if a Sum of

fifty

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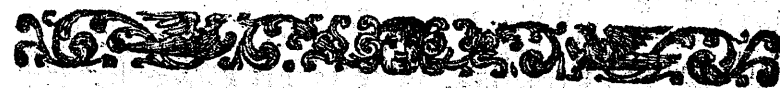
fifty or a hundred Thousand Pounds *per Ann.* was so employed, it is certain we should have no Occasion to make use of any Impressment, nor would there be Want of good Seamen to fit out a Fleet for any Service in a very short Time.

An Expence of this Sort, which seems to be essential to the continual Safety and Being of the Government, can by no Means be term'd needless or extravagant; on the contrary, it will be justly found more useful and necessary than many larger Sums, which are daily applied to Things of much less Moment to the Honour and Interest of the Nation: And moreover, all the Arguments that can be made use of on the behalf of supporting a sufficient Establishment of Land-Forces in *Great Britain*, will every one of them conclude, with much greater Force, in Favour of an ample Provision to encourage the Seamen, and to keep them at home from entering into foreign Service, as too many have done of late: For, whether we regard the Honour and Dignity of the State, the Peace and Quiet of the Realm, or the continual Safety of the King's sacred Person and Government from all Dangers either at home or abroad; it is on the Condition of the Navy, and the Hearts, as well as the Hands of our Seamen, that we are chiefly to depend.

It was further observed, that under a Constitution like that of *Great Britain*, where the raising of Money for publick Uses wholly depended on the voluntary free Gift of the People themselves, it would be of great Moment to the Government, always to preserve the Love and Affections of the Generality of the Commons, by carefully providing for the Nourishment and Ease of all such as were constantly employed, either in the enriching, or defending and protecting the Commonwealth; for although *Civil Power* is more the

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the Production of *Art* than *Nature*, yet those Means of governing a free People will ever be most *successful*, which seem to be most *natural*, or where such Artifice, as is absolutely necessary to be used, is least *perceived* and *felt* by the Generality, whose Sentiments, when they come to be *united* and *distinctly* known, ought to carry great Weight in the Councils of the State.



Nº 8. FRIDAY, MARCH 30, 1739.

Why some Artificers in France excel those of the same Kind in Great Britain.



*M*R. *Weldone* took Notice of the vast Progress, which, only within these last forty or fifty Years, had been made by the *French Nation*, in their *foreign Commerce*, as well as in many curious Manufactures, such as Embroideries, Silks, Tapestry, and all Manner of Toys, wherein they seem'd to excel both in respect to the Quality and Cheapness of those Sort of Commodities, notwithstanding that the Artificers of other Countries, and especially in *Great Britain*, were known to be equally good, if not better than those of *France*; besides, the Liberty of the Subject in *Britain*, and the natural Freedom of the Government, seem'd to be better calculated for the Encouragement of Tradesmen, than the arbitrary Power vested in the Crown of *France*.

To this Mr. *Freeborn* replied, That, according to his Apprehension of the Matter, the Improvement of some Manufactures did not so much depend on the Liberty of the Subject, and the free Constitution of the Government, as on the particular

cular Encouragement given by the Liberality and Bounty of the Crown, enforced by the Practice of the Court, in promoting the Use of them ; and, to confirm this Opinion, he observed, That the great Improvements, which had been made in the *French* Manufactures above-mentioned, were wholly owing to the wise Bounty and great Liberality of their Monarch *Lewis XIV.*, who not only wore the Manufactures of *France* himself, but obliged every one that came to Court to follow his Example, and gave such Force to his Edicts for that Purpose, as effectually answered the proposed End: Moreover, this enterprizing Prince, notwithstanding his expensive Wars, and the bad State of his Finances, most prudently erected many Academies and Schools, at a very great Expence, for the cultivating and improving the different Genii, which appeared amongst his Subjects, and particularly one for Sculpture, and all manner of Drawing, where young People, without any Expence to themselves, or their Friends, were taught to *design*, and, consequently, to *apply that Faculty of the Imagination* to embellish and set off those Manufactures and Branches of Art, in which it was intended they should be educated and brought up; whereas our Artificers in *Britain*, although equally good, if not more perfect, with regard to the Exactness of any manual Operation, than the *French*, yet not having been instructed when young, in the Art of Designing, whereby they could only acquire that Elegancy of Taste in those Sort of Things, wherein the *French* excel; it follows, that a sensible Difference must appear, when the Manufactures of both Nations, which depend on that Kind of Knowledge, come to be compared.

My Lord *Worthy* observed, That in a *French* Book, called the *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, there were

were many remarkable Instances of the Encouragement given by *Lewis XIV.* to the Manufactures of *France*; and that the Persons successfully employed during that Reign in promoting Trade, had obtained from the said Prince many singular Privileges, and some of them had even been made Noble, by receiving Honours which descended to their Posterity; so that the Effects of such a Spirit for encouraging Trade, as then commenc'd, and has ever since been carefully nourished by every succeeding Administration in the *French* Government, were now but too evident, and most sensibly felt by *Great Britain*, and every other trading Nation in *Europe*. And if *such Things* could be done for Trade by an arbitrary Prince, for the most part engaged in expensive Wars, both abroad and at home, and thereby greatly encumbered in his Revenues, what might not be effected by a generous publick-spirited Prince on the *British* Throne, where the loyal and dutiful Affections of a *free People* induced them annually to provide for every publick Expence, besides granting, during the King's Life, a very ample and certain Revenue, for defraying the Charge, and supporting the Dignity of the Crown.

Mr. Counsellor *Pleadwell* said, There were such material and essential Differences between the Nature of our Government, and that of *France*, that it was not always in the King of *Great Britain's* Power to do the same Things in Government here, which might easily be performed without Opposition and Grumbling in *France*; but withal he acknowledged that, with respect to the Encouragement of our *British* Manufactures, he believed there were Things that might have been done, which had been hitherto neglected, because, perhaps, they had not been considered, or so fully represented to the King, as they ought to

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to have been; for, could a King of *Great Britain* but once apprehend the natural Consequence of freely bestowing a competent Share of his Money, as well as his Care, on the Encouragement of the Trade of the Nation, he would soon reap such Advantages by engrossing the Affections, and winning the Hearts of his People, as could not, by any other Means, be so readily and easily obtained. Likewise, the same Policy which may be supposed to induce a wise Prince on the Throne of *France* to encourage Trade, and increase the Riches of his Subjects, viz. That he might thereby have a greater Share of Treasure at his Command, would also, on much more noble and humane Principles, inspire a King of *Great Britain* to pursue every Measure that he possibly could, for protecting the Trade of his Dominions, and increasing the Wealth of his Subjects, viz. in order to receive and enjoy, by the voluntary free Gift of a grateful People, what Proportion of Revenue he could reasonably demand or expect; for it would be quite unnatural to suppose, that any sober *Briton* could grudge the Expence of a Prince, who most generously applied a Part of his own particular Revenue, to the Maintenance of the Honour, and the Advancement of the publick Good of the Nation.

Dr. *Mildman* made an Apology for offering his Sentiments on this Subject, and said, That in his Youth, when he employed a good Share of Time in reading History, he was sensibly moved with the extraordinary Humanity, and apparent Generosity of some arbitrary Princes, as these were Qualities which he did not expect to flow from the Nature and Condition of that Kind of Government; but when, on better Reflection, he had observed, that such a Conduct in arbitrary Princes, was generally the Effect of Art, more than Nature, he hugg'd the

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the Pleasure of finding himself the Subject of a free State, where an equitable, justly-proportioned, and universal Benevolence, to the whole Community, was the only natural, and most engaging Principle in a Monarch, to establish that Confidence which is absolutely necessary to render a King and his People happy in each other.




N^o 9. FRIDAY, APRIL 6, 1739.

On the Exportation of Sugars directly from the Plantations.

To the Author of The CITIZEN.

S I R,

 Belong to a Club of *West-India* Merchants in this City, where your Paper Numb. 5. on the *Sugar* Trade, being read, and fully considered, our Company differed widely in Opinion from the Sentiments of your Society on that Subject; and imagining that it would be of use at this Time to have *Britain's true Interest* in that Affair more minutely explained, and rightly understood, I was desir'd to acquaint you, by Letter, of the following Particulars, which are submitted to your further Consideration.

Although we agree with you, that the Privilege of shipping Sugars directly from the Plantations to a foreign Market, would probably raise the Price that Commodity in *Britain*, and, perhaps, otherwise bring some trifling Advantages to the original Owner or Planter abroad; yet instead of its being of any Advantage to the national and publick's Inter-

Interest of *Great Britain*, we conceive quite otherwise, and that it would be attended with very pernicious and fatal Consequences, both to the Trade and Navigation of this Island: For,

1. It is but a very small and inconsiderable Part of *Great Britain's* Profit by the Plantation Trade, which can arise from any little Increase you may suppose will happen in the Value of the Product brought from *America* to the *European* Market, especially if it be compared with the Multitude of Articles which depend on the Shipping employed in that Trade, and on the Returns that must of Necessity be continually made from *Britain*; all which Profits on the Shipping that are to go directly from *America* to any foreign Port, will be entirely lost to the *British* Nation, and transferred to Foreigners,

2. Such a Privilege must inevitably lessen the Quantity of *British* Manufactures, and other Goods now exported from *Great Britain* to the Plantations, and, it is to be feared, will give unavoidable Opportunities to return a Variety of Merchandize to the *British* Plantations, from those Parts to which the Sugars are carried, notwithstanding any Prohibition that already is, or hereafter can be made.

3. This Privilege will greatly encourage the Planters abroad to provide Ships of their own, in order to transport their Sugars to the foreign Market themselves, which, of course, will be consign'd to Foreigners, and, in all Probability, cultivate a Correspondence which may in time prove fatal to the Interest, and even dangerous to the just Authority and Power of the *British* State; likewise the Refitting of all the Ships that use that Trade, with Rigging, and such other Things as they immediately want, together with Provisions and Necessaries for the Voyage, must be done and pur-

purchased abroad, where Foreigners will reap those Profits which formerly belonged to the Artificers and Tradesmen of *Great Britain*.

These, Sir, are but a few of the Consequences that, we apprehend, must follow on granting the Privilege of exporting Sugars directly from the Plantations, which may, perhaps, bring some little Benefit to the *Sugar Planter* abroad, but at the Expence of a very considerable and certain Loss to the publick Interest and Trade of this Nation at home.

I am further instructed to acquaint you, That some of our Gentlemen, who deal chiefly in *Consignments* from the Sugar Colonies, think themselves injured, by your charging them with exhibiting partial and exorbitant Articles in their Accounts of Sale; whereas, on a fair Enquiry into every Part of their Management, it will evidently appear in their Favour, That no Factors in *Great Britain*, for any other Branch of the Product of the Plantations, exact so small Profits as they do, whether on the Sale of the Planters Effects, or by way of Commission on the Returns that are made; insomuch, that there is not one single Instance to be found of a Complaint of that Nature from any of their Correspondents abroad; wherefore they cannot but hope and expect, from that impartial Spirit wherewith your Society at first set out, that this Matter will be re-considered by them, and put into a fair and true Light: Which will be very acceptable to many who greatly approve the original Design of your Paper, and wish Success to your laudable Undertaking.

I am, SIR,

Your very Humble Servant, A. B.

After a considerable Time was spent in reasoning on every Particular contained in the above Letter,
Mr.

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Mr. *West*, from the Chair, spoke so fully in Justification of the Sugar Factors, that all the Company, to a Man, were perfectly convinced, that neither Fraud nor Extortion could be, with any Colour of Truth, charged on that Body of Men, who had most justly acquired the Esteem of their Correspondents in the Plantations, by many Acts of true Generosity, as well as by the Care and Integrity which daily appeared in the Management of all their Affairs in *England*.

And, as to the Reasons offered against allowing Sugars to be exported directly from the Plantations to a Foreign Market, they appeared to have such Weight, as to carry the Majority of the Company present into a quite different way of thinking on that Subject, from what had been expressed in THE CITIZEN, Numb. 5. For, on mature Consideration, it could not be denied but that the Profits to *Great Britain*, in repairing, fitting out, and victualling, so great a Number of Ships every Voyage, as were now used in the Plantation Trade, were very considerable, and that it would be great Pity to give Foreigners the Opportunity of running away with these Profits, to our very great Detriment and Loss; and moreover, it would be very imprudent, by such a Privilege, to tempt the Subject in the Plantations to lodge his Effects in a Foreign Land, where, of course, the greatest Part of his Money would centre; and, if it did not remain there, would, in all Probability, be returned in a very disadvantageous Manner, to the publick Interest of his Mother Country, however beneficial it might be to himself.

Since then this seemed to be the Opinion of the Society present, the Question naturally followed, What else could be safely done for the Encouragement of the Sugar Colonies? It being acknowledged that they were in a declining Condition, and in great want of Assistance. Some

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Some Members proposed, That the Governors might receive Instructions to use their utmost Endeavours, in their respective Governments in the *West-Indies*, to frame and pass such Laws as would effectually restrain Luxury, and correct the expensive and extravagant Way of living amongst the Sugar Planters.

Others again thought it reasonable, that all Duties on that Commodity, in the Place of its Growth, should not only be discontinued, but that the People in the Sugar Islands should be eased of the great Charge of maintaining their Governors, whose Appointments, if from *Great Britain* only, would render them less dependent on the Planters abroad, and, consequently, might produce a more just and equal Administration of Government there.

Mr. *Asgood* did not object to any thing proposed, but said there was yet one Article to be obtained for the Relief of the Sugar Colonies, which, at the same time, would be of singular Advantage to the national Interest of *Great Britain*; and that was, To take off one Half of the present Duty on Rum from the Plantations, which would effectually discourage the Use of *French Brandy* amongst us, and save a considerable Sum in ready Cash, annually paid to the *French*, for that pernicious Commodity.

All the Company agreed in Opinion with Mr. *Asgood*, and conceived his Proposal to be a Matter of so great Moment to the publick Interest of these Kingdoms, that, perhaps, it might be thought worthy of the Consideration of a *British* Parliament, whether, in order to obtain such a Condescension from the Crown, they would not think it advisable to pledge the publick Faith to make good any Deficiency in the Revenue of Excise, which should happen to arise on such an Abatement.

ment of the Duty on Rum, which at this time was *Four Shillings per Gallon*; whereas that on *French Brandy* was *no more than five Shillings*, notwithstanding that the one is the Product of the Labour of our own Subjects, sent home in Exchange for *British Manufactures*, &c. and the other a *superfluous Commodity*, in a manner forced upon us, to carry off our *Ready Money*, and increase the destructive Balance of Trade between *Great Britain* and *France*.

Mr. Goodfellow observed, that there was not any other practicable Method to discourage and prevent a large Importation of Brandy from *France*, but by *lowering the Duty on Rum*; which, if it was to be sold in *Britain* for one third less than it now is, would be universally preferred both to Arrack and Brandy; and therefore he judged it would not only be the most effectual, but also the easiest, and most natural Encouragement, that could possibly be given, at this time, to the Sugar Plantations.



N^o 10. FRIDAY, APRIL 13, 1739.

On the clandestine Exportation of Wool and Yarn from Great Britain and Ireland.



Merchant from *Cork* being introduced to the Society by Mr. Goodfellow, the Company fell into a Conversation on the very bad Consequences which must attend the growing Evil of continually exporting from *Ireland* large Quantities of *Wool* and *Yarn* to *France*, *Holland*, and *Flanders*, where the *Woollen Manufactures* of all Kinds, were of late improved

improved and enlarged to such a Degree, as to equal in Goodness to those of *England*, and could be afforded cheaper in all the Foreign Markets.

It was well vouched, by several Members, who had made particular Enquiry into Facts, that none of those Foreign Manufacturies could have been brought to this Perfection, without a continual Supply of *Wool* and *Yarn* from *England* and *Ireland*, one third Part of such *Wool* being absolutely necessary to work up the Foreign *Wool* into a merchantable Commodity; so that if by any Regulation to be made here, this pernicious Exportation of *Wool* and *Yarn* could effectually be prevented, no Sort of Cloth, Worsted Stuffs, or Stockings, could be made abroad, equal in Quality to the like Manufactures in *Great Britain*, which then, as formerly, would be in continual Demand in every foreign Market, at any Price which could reasonably be put on them.

This seemed to be a Circumstance, and natural Advantage, of so very great Importance to the Trade and publick Interest of this Kingdom, that it required an Application and narrow Inspection, preferable to all other Branches of our Commerce; and therefore the Company thought fit to indulge themselves by a further Enquiry into the First Beginning of this Evil, as well as into the most probable Means that could be used for redressing the same.

Hereupon the Gentleman from *Cork* was pleased to inform the Company, that the Practice of *Running and Exporting Wool from Ireland* had only commenced in the Reign of King *William III*, from the Time that the Parliament of *England* had thought fit to pass a Law for prohibiting the Exportation of coarse *Woollen Cloth* and *Stockings* from *Ireland*, which, at that Time, were in so great Demand abroad, as to furnish Employment for

for all the poor People in *Ireland*, by working up their superfluous Wool at home, into such a Species of coarse Goods as did very little, or not at all, interfere with the Manufactures in *England*: So that, he believed, it was a Misrepresentation at that Time of the true State of the Case, that had occasioned the passing of a Law in *England*, which, by its effectually destroying the said profitable and inoffensive Manufactory of coarse Woollens in *Ireland*, had not only forced the People of that Country into a Practice of Exporting their Wool, but also had invited Foreign Nations, by excluding them from the *Irish* Market, and giving them an Opportunity of continually receiving large Quantities of Wool from thence, to set up Manufactures of their own, which, otherwise, they could never have thought on, but which were now come to such a Height, that he believed it was impracticable to suppress them; for that as long as these Foreign Manufactures could be any way supplied with *Irish* Wool, it would be of little Signification, even to accomplish a total Prohibition of any Export of that Commodity from *Great Britain*; wherefore, upon the whole, it was his Opinion, that whatever Law was proposed for the Rectification of this Grievance, if it did not extend to *Ireland*, and produce the same Effect there, as was intended it should have in *Great Britain*, it would only serve to raise the Price of *Irish* Wool abroad, and consequently increase the Encouragement already given by the aforesaid Act of King *William*, for the clandestine Exportation of that Commodity. This ingenuous and plain Account of the Matter, gave some Members Occasion to observe, that when any particular and necessary Restrictions on Trade, for the publick Advantage, were to be enforced by the Severity of Penal Laws, it would be both just and reasonable, at the same time,

time, to contrive that the Parties so to be restrain'd should have the Privilege of enjoying every other Advantage consistent with the same publick Interest, that could possibly be thought on. As the Subjects in *Ireland* therefore had been long restrained by Law from exporting any complete Manufactory of their Wool from that Kingdom, which afforded a very great Temptation to many *Irish* Gentlemen of Fortune, whose Estates depended on the Increase and Improvement of their *Sheep-Walks*, to find a profitable Vent for a Commodity on which their Rents chiefly depended, it would be highly *reasonable*, and indeed *necessary*, to give them all possible Encouragement for bringing their Wool and Yarn to *Britain*; and it was conceived this might not only be done, by taking off all sort of Duty, or other Incumbrance, that yet remained on the Importation of *Irish* Wool and Yarn into any Part of *Great Britain*, but even by the Publick's being at some Expence in granting a small Bounty on such Importation from *Ireland*; for which a Fund might be raised, by imposing a moderate Duty on such of our finest Woollen Manufactures in *Britain*, as were consumed at home, which would neither affect the labouring Poor, nor the Foreign Market.

The Advantages that must accrue to the Wool-Growers in *Ireland*, by a Regulation of this kind, would render a narrow and particular Inspection into the Quantity of Wool raised in that Kingdom more easy and practicable; for, unless every Pound Weight of *Irish* Wool can be exactly traced and accounted for, from the Sheep's Back to the Manufacturer of Cloth and Stockings, or to its Importation into *Great Britain*, it will be in vain to expect that the mere Terror of any Penal Laws can effectually prevent its Exportation to Foreign Parts, where, at this present Time, it will

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fetch more than double the Price it yields in *Ireland*.

It was further observed, That at first, and until the People of *Ireland* were inured to the constant Practice of transporting all the Wool they could spare to *Great Britain* only, it would be convenient to send over Men of Integrity and Character from *England*, to execute some of the principal Offices of the Revenue on those Parts of the *Irish* Coast, where, of late, there had been the greatest Opportunities of Running and Exporting Wool, contrary to Law; for it was not to be supposed that even Men of Interest and Estate in that Country would so readily divest themselves of all kind of Partiality and Self-Interest, as punctually to execute the Severity of Penal Laws on their Relations, Neighbours, and Countrymen, in the case of a new Regulation in an Affair of that Nature and Importance, which affects not only the present Prosperity, but the future Welfare and Preservation of the *British* State.

In short, it was unanimously agreed, that the Grounds and Reasons for putting an effectual Stop to the pernicious Exportation of Wool and Yarn, were so obvious, and flagrant, that any Severity would be eligible, rather than that the whole Nation should incur the Danger of suffering it to be carried on in so frequent and open a Manner as it had been of late Years: Wherefore it was hoped, that if once the Legislature had begun, in earnest, to give their serious Attention to it, they would continue to proceed, from Year to Year, in rectifying every Oversight or Mistake which might possibly appear in reducing their Orders to Practice, until this grievous Sore was perfectly healed, by preserving to ourselves those singular Aids and Advantages to our Commerce, wherewith Providence had been pleased to bless these Islands in a particular

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cular Species and Production of Wool, to be found no where else in *Europe*.



Nº II. FRIDAY, APRIL 20. 1739.

Why the Gaols in England are more crowded with Debtors, than those of any other Country.



T was this Day proposed, by a Gentleman of Character in the Society, to take into Consideration, *Why the Gaols in England were more crowded with Debtors, than those of any other Country in Europe?* And to give their Opinions, How an Evil, that both affected the publick Interest, and was a great Dishonour to the Nation, might be effectually remedied and prevented for the future?

Hereupon the Gentlemen of the Law were pleased to observe, that this Misfortune could not justly be attributed either to the Nature of the Laws, which were calculated chiefly in favour of the Subjects Liberty, nor to the injurious Passions and Partiality of those who were intrusted with the Execution of them; for that our Judges in *Westminster-hall* not only held their Offices for Life, but were, perhaps, more conspicuous for their *Impartiality* and *great Humanity*, than any other Set of Men of that Rank in the World; besides, our Constitution was still further guarded, by *Appeals to a House of Peers*, whose Judgments in all Matters of Civil Right, were never at any time known to be suspected or found fault with.

But, although the Company very readily agreed with these Gentlemen's Opinion, both with respect

to the Laws, and the unblemish'd Characters of those honourable Persons who were appointed to execute them; yet it was said, that a Multitude of greater Abuses had of late Years crept in amongst the Practitioners of the Law, than could be charged on any other Profession in the Kingdom; and for one Person that was forced into Gaol, and kept there by the Inhumanity of his Creditor, there were at least *twenty* so served by the most cruel and abominable Practices of by far the greatest Part of Attornies, to whom it is indifferent whether the Debtor is ever able to pay or not, as long as the Client or Creditor has wherewithal to answer the exorbitant Expence which these Practitioners artfully and industriously accumulate in the Course of their arbitrary Proceedings; whereby the poor, ignorant, and unthinking Client, is often himself brought to Want and Misery.

Some Instances were given of remarkable Cases that had happened of this Kind, and of the most villainous Practices of some of those commonly called *Country Attornies*, in forging and falsifying both Deeds of Conveyance, and the last Wills of infirm and dying Persons, to the utter Destruction of whole Families, and many innocent Orphans.

Mr *Clinch* very modestly observed, that although, from the Imperfection and Depravity of human Nature, great Abuses were daily committed in all Kind of Professions, and that he truly believed many of his Brethren might justly be accused of ill Practices, yet he hoped there were not so great a Number of them guilty, as had been alleged; at least, he was persuaded this Company would not approve of any Measure that must indiscriminately involve into the same Condemnation, a whole Body of Men, whose Profession, when duly executed, was of the utmost Service to prevent the Distress complained of, by assisting the honest

honest poor Man, and relieving him from the Oppression of his inhuman and hard-hearted Creditor.

The Company so far agreed with Mr *Clinch's* Sentiments, and spoke so handsomely of several Gentlemen, whom they knew to be Men of great Honour and Worth in that Profession, that all of them declared, they only wished some Means could be discovered to restrain the too frequent Use of evil and bad Practices among the lower Rank of Attornies, which, they conceived, would rather dignify, than dishonour or hurt a Profession, which, from the Nature and Design of its Institution, was calculated more to *serve and relieve*, than to *oppress* Mankind.

In order to rectify the Abuse complained of, it was thought it would be very expedient, that such an Alteration should be made of the Fees commonly charged in an Attorney's Bill, as that the whole Expence of any Suit at Law might bear a Proportion to the Sum or Value of the Debt sued for; since, as Matters now stood, if a Suit was commenced for *any* Value above forty Shillings, it was in the Attorney's Power to run his Client to as great an Expence, as if the Demand had been for 20,000 *l.* or upwards; which gave the Practitioners of needy and low Characters too great an Opportunity of playing Tricks, to the Discredit of the Profession; besides, it was but just and equitable, that the Expence should bear a Proportion to the Value of the Debt in Suit.

Mr *Clinch* desired Leave to observe to the Company, that although all the Articles of Expence in any Suit at Law, were usually charged in the Attorney's Bill, yet none of them properly belonged to him, except the Three Shillings and Four-pence for each Attendance, and the Drawing of Declarations, Pleas, &c. which were but Trifles,

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compared with much larger Sums commonly advanced by the Attorney out of his own Pocket, to the Prothonotaries, Filazers, and other Officers, besides Counsellors; so that if the Regulation proposed did not proportionably affect those other Officers, as well as the Attorney, it could never answer the End.

Mr Counsellor *Pleadwell* confirmed what Mr *Clinch* said, and acknowledg'd, that, in his Opinion, there was just Occasion for some new Regulation in the Expence of the Law, and likewise in some Part of the Practice, which seemed to him to be very oppressive; such as when a Man had formed a malicious Intent to hurt his Neighbour, who was indebted to him in several Sums of Money, some by Articles of Account, or Book Debts, and others by Bonds or Notes, which, perhaps, had been bought up at a Discount, with a Malice prepenſe, all which Debts the Plaintiff orders to be sued by so many separate and distinct Actions, with Design to put the poor Defendant to an extravagant and needless Expence, from which, as the Law stood, he could no way be relieved: It was therefore his Opinion, that in such a Circumſtance the Plaintiff ought to be allowed his Costs only for one Suit; and so to stand the whole Charge of the other Actions himself. The Counsellor likewise observed, that as the Office of an Attorney was of late very much depreciated by the mean Acts of many ignorant and low Practitioners, he judged it might be of very great Service to oblige every practising Attorney, at a small Charge, to take out a Licence from the Court to which he belonged, once every Year, which would give all Persons who had any just Cause to complain, an Opportunity of putting in a Caveat against his obtaining another Licence until the Matter of Complaint was fairly heard and

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and determined by the Court; and this, he said, would be so far from hurting Men of Character, that it would rather advance their Reputation, by ridding the Society of such a Part of the Brotherhood, as were truly a Disgrace to the whole Profession.

That *Britain*, which ought to be the Seat of Liberty, should be the Reproach of her Neighbours, for having her Gaols cramm'd with miserable and unfortunate Debtors, whose Liberty might bring an Advantage to the Commonwealth, and greatly ease the annual Charge of the Poor, was adjudged to be a Subject truly deserving the Attention of the Legislature; and, as such, it was most cordially recommended to the Members of Parliament then present.



Nº 12. FRIDAY, APRIL 27, 1739.

On the Nature of CHARITY, &c.



DOCTOR *Mildman* observed, that the Society had hitherto entertained themselves very agreeably on various Branches of Trade, which, he said, were very suitable to the Season, when such kind of Subjects became the Object of publick Business: But now, that People were beginning to think of some Recess, by retiring into the Country, he was of Opinion, that if the Gentlemen pleased to diversify their Entertainment, by discoursing on Moral and Scientifical Subjects, it would not only be agreeable to themselves, but likewise acceptable to their fellow Citizens.

The Company acquiescing in the Doctor's Sentiments,

timents, Mr. *Weldone* proposed to talk on the State of our publick Charities, which, he said, were, perhaps, more considerable in proportion than those of any other Country in the World; and yet he was apprehensive, that when the particular Manner of erecting and endowing the publick Charities in *Great Britain*, together with the Management of them, came to be compared with the just Definition of *Charity*, and that Compassion which arises from a just Contemplation on the Condition of human Nature, we should find but very few; either of our publick or private Charities, answer the genuine true Etymology and Meaning of the Thing itself, which he understood to be the noble and generous Disposition of an humble Mind, that contemn'd Luxury, and inspired the Party with an irresistible Inclination to apply the Superfluity of Fortune towards the Relief of virtuous and innocent People in Distress; wherefore he could never persuade himself that the sumptuous Donations of an over-grown rich Man, at his Death, for pretended charitable Uses, who had acted the Part of a penurious, haughty, proud Miser, in Life, could justly bear the Name of *Charity*, which was an *habitual Exercise* of the Soul, that could only be nourished and made perfect by a continual Reflection on the Course of its own Actions, and therefore could never exist in a Miser's Breast; neither was it to be found in those, whom an Excess of peevish Vanity and Self-Conceit had influenced, to act a singular and capricious Part, in the Disposal of that worldly Estate at the Hour of Death, which they had not the Virtue to use in a rational Manner while living.

My Lord *Worthy* said, that he looked on *Charity* to be the highest Degree of Happiness and Perfection attainable in this Life, as it not only heightened, but purified those Enjoyments, where-

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of it made a great Part in the Composition, by rendering every Recollection and Remembrance of them grateful to the Mind: That it sublimated the Essence of every other Virtue, and bore so near a Resemblance to our Ideas of Divine Perfection, as that it might justly be deemed the real Stamp of the Maker's Image on the Soul of Man: So that he entirely concurred with Mr *Weldone's* Sentiments, that this incomparable Virtue was altogether incompatible with any Excess of Pride, Vanity, and Self-Conceit, or with those low and vicious Appetites that are to be found in the Miser's Heart, and commonly direct his Conduct.

His Lordship further observed, that Charity was not to be computed from the Magnitude of the Gift, but only from the Intention of the Giver, and the present Circumstances of the Party to be relieved by it; which was elegantly represented to us in the Emblem of the *Widow's Mite*. Moreover, he said, that inward Pleasure and Satisfaction which were the constant Effects of true Charity, became proportionably stronger, as the Action was conducted with more or less *Secrecy*, to avoid the painful Opportunity of receiving, perhaps, too great a Share of Acknowledgment from our Fellow-Creatures in Misery and Distress; for that all Acts of pure Charity never failed to carry their own Reward along with them, by assimilating the Condition of the Soul at that Time to its Conceptions of the Deity, whom it thereby intently desires to imitate and obey.

Mr *Freeborn* greatly approved all that had been said on Charity: Yet, nevertheless, he conceived that the Principle here described was applicable only to the private Charities of Individuals, in the Course of their Lives; which, from a continued Series of thinking and acting after that Manner, would, doubtless, be filled with a greater

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Share of Felicity and Content, than they could possibly enjoy without such a Conduct; but he said *Publick Charities* were to be considered in a different Light, as not only having a larger View to Posterity, but likewise as tending greatly to the Improvement of Society, by lessening the Number of the Poor, and making a profitable Use of their Labour to the publick Advantage, which, as it was the principal End of all publick Charities, wherefoever any large Donations had been made by Will, or were otherwise granted by particular Persons for that Use, which either through the casual Imperfection of the Deed of Gift, or the Weakness of the Donor's Mind at the Time, did not appear to answer those laudable Purposes, he judged it to be a Duty incumbent on the Publick to take Cognizance of them, and to rectify the Disposition and Management of those Sort of Charities in such a Manner as to prevent all Kinds of Fraud, and render them truly useful to the Commonwealth, without any Respect of Persons; for otherwise it might happen, (as he apprehended, in some Particulars, it was now the Case in *Great Britain*) that many of our publick Charities, much contrary to the Intention of the Founders, were become rather *Nuisances* than *Benefits* to the publick Interest of the Nation.

The whole Company approved the Justness of the Distinction which Mr *Freeborn* had made between *private* and *publick* Charity: But they chose to refer the Prosecution of so extensive and useful a Subject to another Opportunity.

N^o 13.N^o 13. FRIDAY, MAY 4, 1739.

On Levies for the Poor, and Publick Charity-Schools.

M R. *Freeborn* moved, that the Company might proceed to take under their Consideration, the *Nature of publick Charity*; which, besides the Difference already observed in the last *Citizen*, Numb. 12, is yet further distinguishable from *private Charity*, as the one points to a particular and single Object immediately in View; whereas the other extends to the unhappy State and miserable Condition of great Numbers of People, who either now are, or may hereafter be, in want of such Relief as is intended to be given them, without having any Idea of, or perhaps ever knowing the Objects themselves: And this Sort of Charity may be divided into as great a Variety of Branches, as there are Kinds of Misery, and unavoidable Misfortunes to which Mankind are liable: But, as it is intended here only to consider the *Nature* of such publick Charities as are at this time established in *Great Britain*, or which seem, at least, to be most agreeable to the Humour of the *English* Nation, he proposed to range them under the following Heads, viz.

1. Parochial Charities, or the Levies appropriated by Law for the Maintenance of the Poor in every Parish.

2. Publick Schools for the Maintenance, Cloathing, and Education of poor Children of both Sexes.

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3. Infirmaries for the Cure of the Sick and Maimed.

4. Hospitals for Persons disordered in their Senses.

5. Hospitals for Incureables.

6. Hospitals for Bastards and Foundlings.

With respect to the *Parish Levies* for the Maintenance of the Poor in *England*, Mr *Lane* said, he had been informed that they were so considerable as to raise *communibus Annis* above 600,000*l.* Sterling, and yet the Charities supported by it were very little felt or perceived, which gave Ground to suspect there was great Occasion for examining into the Yearly Management of that Fund, and to make some Alteration in the Application of it, as well as to have the Accounts of so large a Sum annually collected for the Relief of the Poor duly audited.

Mr *Goodfellow* proposed, as an Improvement of that Charity, to have a Work-house erected in each County, with a proper Stock of Materials for employing not only the Poor, but every other Person in the way, that was out of Business, and willing to work for reasonable Wages; which, if executed under a careful discreet Management, would greatly improve the Stock so employ'd, and likewise the Price of Labour throughout the whole Kingdom might be thereby reduced, to the Advancement of our most profitable Manufactures, and the great Benefit of the Nation.

Mr *Weldone* observed, that the very same Scheme of a Work-house for each County in *England*, had been formerly proposed by that excellent Patriot and great Man Sir *William Temple*, in one of his Essays, with this further View, that not only the Poor, and such as voluntarily hired themselves for Wages, should be so employ'd; but that in place of transporting Convicts, they might rather be confined for a certain Number of Years,

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Years, to serve the Publick in such a Work-house: And he was of Opinion, that if the legal Punishment for all petty Thefts, and other smaller Crimes, were thus converted, it would soon have a very extraordinary good Effect, both by lessening the Number of those Criminals, and at the same Time bringing in a certain Profit to the State.

Mr *Freeborn* urged, that the Laws in being against Vagrants could not, in many Places, be put in Force, for want of a proper Work-house to send them to; and, as to the Objection, that this Sort of Punishment for Criminals, borders too near upon Slavery, to which the Freedom of an *English* Government, and the Nature of the Constitution has an utter Aversion; he could not but think that the Punishment here proposed was milder, and more favourable to the guilty Persons, than that of being transported to the Plantations, and there publicly sold as Slaves to the highest Bidder, for a certain Number of Years. For, although he acknowledged it would be a little shocking to see a free-born Subject become a Slave to his Fellow Citizen, yet it was very rational and consistent to suppose, that the Subject of a free State, by the Repetition of Guilt, might forfeit his Liberty, and the Profit of his Labour to the Publick, for such a Time as was proportionable to the Nature of his Crimes.

The Company then proceeded to consider of the second Head proposed, viz. The publick Schools for the Maintenance, Cloathing, and Education of poor Children, which, Mr *West* observed, were now become so numerous in and about the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, that on great Festivals, and other publick Occasions, they made a very glorious Appearance, to the Honour of Christianity, and that charitable publick Spirit, which was natural to the *English*, above all other Nations: He likewise

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likewise said he had reason to believe, that in many of those publick Schools, true Care was taken of the Childrens Instruction and Advancement in Knowledge; because, by Orders from his Correspondents in the *West-Indies*, he had sent over several of those Charity Boys, to do the Duty of Clerks and Book-Keepers to Merchants and Planters there, who greatly approved of them.

On this Occasion my Lord *Worthy* was pleased to say, that where a particular Genius and Aptness evidently appeared in any of the Boys at those Schools for Literature and Knowledge, he very much applauded its being encouraged and improved to the highest Pitch; but he conceived, that as the Number amongst such a Crowd of poor Children deserving of that Encouragement, would be but few in Proportion, his Lordship thought it was ill judged to attempt the forcing of a learned Education upon the whole and greatest Part of them, who, in his Opinion, ought to be trained up to Husbandry, and other Kinds of hard Labour, by binding them out to Farmers, and proper Masters of that Sort: And, as for the Girls, he likewise thought, that after instructing them in the Practice of Morality, as enforced by the Principles of the Christian Religion, they ought not to be employed in any thing but such kind of Work as fitted them for Husbandry, and all manner of Household Service; for he said, to breed up so great a Number of Parish Children in Idleness, and with a vain Ambition of being put on a Level with other Children, who had been carefully educated at their Parents Expence, would certainly be attended with various ill Consequences, besides that of disappointing the Publick of the Labour of so many Hands.

Dr *Mildman* begg'd Leave to second what that noble Lord had said, and further added, that both
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Reading and Experience daily proved, the ill Judgment of forcing Nature in the Education of Youth; for, as by a mean and low Treatment, we run the Risque of crushing the natural Spirit and Vivacity of a Child well born, and of good Blood, so by elevating beyond Measure, and careffing an Infant of a base and low Extraction, it would of course, when grown up, be thereby disqualified for that Labour and Business for which Nature had fitted and designed it, and so become either a Nuisance to, or an uselefs Burthen on the Commonwealth.

Upon the whole, it was the Company's Opinion, that many just and useful Regulations might be made in the Manner of educating those Children brought up at our publick Charity Schools, which finished this Day's Conversation on that Subject.



N^o 14. FRIDAY, MAY 11, 1739.

On Infirmaries, and Hospitals for Mad People.



Y Lord *Worthy*, from the Chair, was pleased to open this Day's Conversation with some Remarks on *the Design of those Hospitals commonly called Infirmaries*, for curing the Sick and Wounded amongst the labouring Poor, who had no Ability to bear the Expence of procuring Relief to themselves, which seemed to be a Charity of as great Use, as any yet named: His Lordship greatly applauded the humane and generous Disposition of all those worthy Persons, who, without the Help of Law, or any publick Foundation for the Encouragement of so charitable a Work, had voluntarily entered

entered into an annual Subscription for supporting it in a decent and handsome Manner; he considered such a continual Assistance ready at hand, to provide for the innumerable Accidents and Misfortunes that must daily happen amongst the Poor of this populous City, as well as among the Multitude of Labourers and other Workmen constantly employed in a great Variety of hazardous and toilsome Business, not only to deserve the Name of *true Charity*, but even all Assistance and Encouragement that could reasonably be proposed from the Publick, which was truly concerned in the Success attending it; and he could not but have a particular Esteem for the Characters of those benevolent Gentlemen in the Professions of Physick and Chirurgery, who endeavoured to promote this laudable Undertaking by their punctual Attendance on these Infirmaryes.

Dr *Mildman* said, he looked upon it to be the indispensable Duty of a Physician or Surgeon, cheerfully and readily to contribute his Aid to the Relief of any poor indigent Person that wanted it, but much more so, to assist and encourage their Fellow-Citizens in proceeding to carry on such an universal and well-projected Charity, as that of the *Infirmaryes*; but, as all human Attempts of that Nature were liable to many Imperfections, and unavoidable Obstructions, proceeding chiefly from the innate Conceit and Vanity of Mankind, he was very apprehensive of its Consequences in this Particular now under Consideration; for, as the Government of such a voluntary and charitable Society, depended very much on the Humanity and Prudence, as well as the Skill and Care of the Practitioners concerned in Physick and Chirurgery, who, from the Nature of the Thing, must have the principal Direction and Management of it, he wished that these Gentlemen, neglecting any casual

ual Difference of Opinion, or particular Distinctions that might happen to arise and be claimed amongst them, would be pleased to consider themselves as jointly engaged in the same voluntary Footing, in a Service to which they were unquestionably bound, both by the Duties of Religion and Nature: that their Practice in those Hospitals is not (as some young, unthinking People may possibly apprehend it) to *try Experiments*, at the Risque of a poor indigent Patient's Life, and future Comfort, in order to improve their Art, and advance their Knowledge in the Profession, but to perform their Office in carefully endeavouring to *preserve the Life or Limb of a poor Object*, with the same Caution and Circumspection as if related to a Person of Rank and Estate, from whom, perhaps, they might expect a suitable Return: For, unless Things can be so ordered as to make a conscientious Impartiality the unaffected governing Principle of all the Proceedings in an Infirmary, it can never answer the pious and charitable Design of the generous Contributors for the Support of it, but rather in time will become a Nuisance, and, consequently, a Disgrace to the Founders; wherefore he hoped that the Men of Rank and Authority, who had, by their great Example promoted those useful Charities, would condescend sometimes, by their awful Presence, to inspect and controul the Conduct and Management of the acting Members, and all who were employed under them in that Service: For, let an Affair of that Nature be ever so well projected at first, if an honest and due Care was not continually had of the Execution, it was to be feared that too great a Share of the Money so piously and worthily intended, might, perhaps, be employed on *superfluous Buildings, Ornaments, and empty Shews*, which, although they very well became an Hospital

pital erected by the State at the publick Charge, yet did not, by any Means, correspond with the *humble Intention* of a voluntary free Gift from private Hands, purely for the Relief of *as many* poor afflicted Objects as could possibly be served.

The Doctor's Sentiments on this Head were so satisfactory to the whole Company, that they were unanimously of Opinion in Charities of that Kind, nothing more could be expected but very plain and warm Conveniencies for the Sick, whose Wants chiefly consisted in Medicines, Attendance, and a simple low Diet; wherefore that Infirmary would most certainly obtain, and truly deserve the best Character, where there happened to be the *greatest Number* of sick and disabled Persons, well taken Care of, and restored to Health at the least Charge and Expence.

Then the Company proceeded to consider of the fourth Head proposed, *viz.* Hospitals for Persons, *disordered in their Senses*; and this gave Opportunity to speak of the excellent Foundation of *Bethlem Hospital* in *Moorfields*, and of the great Care that was taken of Patients who came under that Tuition: But it was observed by some Members, that the Difficulty of introducing proper Objects into that Hospital, had occasioned the too frequent Practice of setting up many *private Mad-houses* in and about *London*, wherein great Abuses were daily committed by ill-designing Persons, imposing frequently on their nearest Relations, and conveying them, by Stealth, into such Houses, for the Sake of enjoying their Estates, on various Pretences; and it was likewise affirmed, that, generally speaking, the Treatment which the poor unhappy Creatures met with in such private Mad-houses was very barbarous, having none but *Pretenders to the Knowledge of Physick*, and

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Quacks, to take Care of their Health, notwithstanding the Extravagancy of the Expence.

Mr Counsellor *Pleadwell* said, he had been consulted in some Cases of that Nature, which appeared to him so very enormous, that he thought such Things ought not to be permitted or overlooked in any civilized Country; for that no Person should be inticed or forcibly carried from his own Dwelling, in order to be confined and treated as a *Madman*, before the Matter was enquired into, and carefully examined by some proper Judges appointed for that Purpose, who, according to the Nature and Circumstance of the Case, as it appeared to them, should have the Power of sending the Party to some publick Charity, where they ought to be received without Hesitation, and no Distinctions allowed in the Hospital, excepting only the permitting of People of Fashion, at their own particular Expence, to order, with the Physician's Consent, such Extraordinaries for accomodating their Relations and Friends, as they thought fit.

Dr *Mildman* observed, that there was no kind of Affliction incident to human Nature, which could more strongly move Compassion, than that of a *disordered Brain*; because there was not any thing in Nature that could give so lively a Representation of the Infinity of minute Accidents on which the Preservation of that little Stock of Reason we so much valued ourselves upon, depended: He said he believed it was impossible for any discrete, sober Person, to walk through, and survey an Hospital of that sort, without being touched with the melancholy Reflection, how accidental a Jog, or misplacing of any one of the many Million of Atoms, and imperceptible minute Parts in the Animal Frame of his Body, would unavoidably put himself into the same Condition wherein he then

then saw those poor unhappy Mortals, who, perhaps, had never, knowingly, done or committed any thing to bring such a deplorable Misfortune upon them; wherefore, he thought, it was indubitable, that, of all Kinds of Misery, Mankind would think themselves obliged, in the first place, to compassionate and take care of delirious and mad People.

The Company perfectly agreed with the Doctor's Sentiment; but conceived the Object of such Compassion and Charity to be of that Nature, as required the Application and Direction of the State, rather than of private Men.



N^o 15. FRIDAY, MAY 18, 1739.

On Hospitals for INCURABLES, and New-born INFANTS, which concludes the Subject of Publick Charity.

HAVING been proposed, in the fifth Place, to consider the Nature of an Hospital for Incurables; Mr Weldone said he did not comprehend how that could properly come under the Notion and Circumstances of Charity; for if any poor, sick, and disabled Person, who had no Estate, nor Friends in a Condition to take care of him, was once received into a publick Hospital, he conceived that it was not intended he should be discharged from thence before he was cured, any otherwise than by Death; since he could not suppose it at all consistent with the Idea of Charity, to take a poor miserable Creature into an Hospital, in order to try Experiments upon him, and, when they could not succeed in a short

short time, or, perhaps, judged him to be incurable, then to turn him out: He was therefore of Opinion that an Hospital for Incurables was out of the Question, because the Poor in that Condition being already otherwise provided for, Charity had nothing to do with the Opulent and Rich, whom Providence had enabled to take care of themselves in what manner they pleased,

To this Mr Freeborn replied, that on Supposition there actually was no Hospital provided for Incurables, and rightly adapted for that Service, the above Reasoning might take place; but if, as he apprehended it, an Hospital of that Kind was established purely to give Ease to, and relieve the other Hospitals, by taking from them such poor Objects as they had found by Experience could not be cured: In that Case, he conceived such an Hospital would not only be of great Service, but might be understood very justly to correspond with our Ideas of true Charity. Moreover, it was his Opinion, that such an Hospital was necessary, both in order to afford more Room and a greater Conveniency for such as were curable, and likewise to rid them of those Stenchies, and noxious Smells, which were commonly found to adhere about the Bodies of incurable Persons; to which Sentiment the Company unanimously agreed, and then proceeded to take under Consideration the sixth and last Head proposed, viz. An Hospital for BASTARDS and FOUNDLINGS.

My Lord *Worthy*, on this Occasion, was pleased to say, that there was not any thing he had met with on travelling abroad in his Youth, which filled his Mind with more humane Ideas, than the *Hostel des Enfants Trouvé*, or *The Hospital for Foundlings at Paris*; it being a Charity of such a Nature, as, in spite of the Prejudices conceived in Dislike of the arbitrary Power of that Government,

ment, forced you, in a manner, to extol that particular Instance of great Humanity, Christian Charity, and universal Benevolence to Mankind, which made his Lordship, on Reflection, often wonder how so many Ages could have passed under the Freedom of an *English* Government, without establishing some ample Provision of that Kind, which, he conceived, would have a more happy Effect, both on the private and publick Good of Society, and at the same time give more true Pleasure and Contentment, to every virtuous and religious Mind, than any other publick Charity whatsoever.

Mr Counsellor *Pleadwell* observed, that although it was a happy thing for any Society to be possessed of a Body of good Laws, that some one or other of them might readily be applied to every Case which could happen to disturb the Peace of the Community, yet the wisest Princes commonly chole, by gentle Arts and Contrivances, to sooth the People under their Care out of habitual and common Offences, rather than to be continually exercising the utmost Severity of *Penal Laws*: That although Fornication was undoubtedly a Crime of an injurious Nature, and contrary to the known Precepts of Religion, yet he believ'd it was vain to expect that it ever could be entirely suppressed under any Form of Government that the Wit of Man could invent; wherefore the most prudent Measures which, in such a Case, could be taken, was, to prevent the Consequences of Fornication from deviating into a Crime of the highest and most shocking Nature, viz. the frequent Murders committed on Infants, both *before* and *after* Birth, merely for the sake of hiding the unhappy Parent from a Publick Shame. As an Hospital therefore to receive *Foundlings* would, probably, in a great Measure, if not altogether, prevent the Commission of so many horrid Murders on harmless

less Infants, and, consequently, the too frequent and unhappy End of the miserable Parents; it seem'd to be a Charity truly deserving the Countenance of the greatest Men, and the Care of the whole State.

Mr *Weldone* said he had heard, That the Bishops and Clergy of the *Church of England* appeared very much averse to the Encouragment of such an Hospital, as thinking it would be understood to be some sort of legal Connivance at the abominable Sin of Fornication, so severely prohibited and condemned by the Holy Scriptures, as well as by the Ordinances and Doctrines of all orthodox Christian Churches.

To this Dr *Mildman* replied, that it was by no means a fair and consequential way of reasoning, to infer that, because an unhappy Girl had been wickedly drawn in to prostitute her Chastity, therefore no Regard was to be had to, or Care taken to preserve the Child of which she happened to be impregnated, and that she ought rather to be exposed to a violent Temptation of murdering the Infant, in order to conceal her Guilt, than that the Publick, by making a reasonable Provision for saving an innocent Babe's Life, should run the Risque of being injuriously suspected, by some particular Men, of *conniving at the Sin of Fornication*: The Doctor professed himself to have a dutiful Regard to the *Church of England*, as by Law established, and a very great Veneration for all the Ranks of her Clergy; but, nevertheless, he humbly begg'd Leave to differ in Opinion with such of them as thought fit to reason after that Manner; for he could not see how those, who, out of a mere *charitable Disposition* only, took care to preserve the Life of a Child born in Fornication, could possibly thereby be charged with conniving at Sin; neither, as he humbly presumed,

sumed, in the Nature of Things, could the Infant, in the Sight of God or Man, be judg'd liable to Punishment, for a Transgression committed by the Parents at the Time it was begotten; wherefore he should make no Hesitation to declare his Sentiments, that it was a Duty incumbent on the Legislature and supreme Government of every State, to make a reasonable Provision for the Nourishment and Preservation of Bastard and Foundling Infants, without suffering Enquiry to be made after the Parents, who did not think fit to discover themselves.

Mr *Freeborn* added, to what had been already said, that besides the Preservation of Children born in Fornication, such an Hospital would be of infinite Service for nourishing and taking care of the Children born in Wedlock of poor indigent Parents, who had neither Ability nor Conveniency to bring them up at home, for want of which the Lives of many Infants were lost, or, at least, if they did survive the Hardships they must go through under such Circumstances, it so impaired their Constitutions, and often brought such Lame-ness, and other Weaknesses on their Bodies, as rendered them helpless to themselves, useless to their Friends, and, consequently, a Burthen to the Publick.

My Lord *Worthy* greatly approved the Reasoning of the two Members who spoke last, which his Lordship said was unanswerable, and included all that was needful to be urged in favour of the Charity proposed: Which the Company hoped would soon appear in so clear a Light to every Branch of the Legislature, as to obtain their Authority and Assistance for making so great and useful an Addition to the publick Charities of this Kingdom.



Nº 16. FRIDAY, MAY 25, 1739.

On the Decay of the D R A M A, &c.



T was proposed, for this Day's Entertainment, to consider of the most probable Reasons that could be assigned for the sensible Decay which has happened within these last fifty Years, both in the Composition and Representation of *Dramatick Performances* in this Island; for it was observed that there was more Money now expended on those sort of Entertainments, than formerly; and yet the antient Spirit of Authors, as well as Actors, seemed to be quite lost.

Some said, that the virtuous and noble Strain which formerly shone on the *English* Stage, must have been greatly discouraged by the prevailing Taste of late for foreign Musick, and other uncommon Diversions, such as *Italian* Operas, Ridottos, and Masquerades; all which had a natural Tendency to enervate the Mind, and unbend those Springs of Thought and Action, which served to inspire Mankind with the Love of Virtue, and the Contempt of Vice.

Mr *Freeborn* acknowledged, that, with respect to the Generality of People who constantly attended on such Entertainments, and gave in to the soft Delights which they commonly afforded, it not only *was*, but *must be* the Case; yet he was of Opinion, that it could not be a sufficient Reason why there should be a total Defection of Genius for *Dramatick Poetry*, without which we certainly could not expect any Elegancy or Improvement amongst the Actors on the Stage, but
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the Reverse: For, he said, although it was the Intention of the Drama, to influence and amend the Manners of the Age, yet he had observed, that amongst the Antients, and even down to the present Time, those Manners had always affected it, so as the poetical Spirit of that kind most commonly breathed with Ease, or was depressed, according to the natural Freedom, Cheerfulness, and Unanimity, which then prevailed in the Society; for that Envy, Malice, or Flattery, being equally inconsistent with the impartial Justice of a Dramatick Piece, it was sometimes neither prudent nor safe for the Poet to indulge his Genius; or, if he did, Applause could not be expected from a general Corruption both of Judgment and Taste, which insensibly led many ingenious and well-inclined Youth, in quest of Fortune, to prostitute the natural Virtue and Simplicity of their Thoughts, to the Arts of *Flattery* or *Party Intrigues*.

Mr *Weldone* said, we needed not go farther to be convinced of the Truth of the foregoing Reflection, than to read over the *Advertisements* in the Daily News-Papers, of the Multitude of Books and Pamphlets that were continually published, much more to the Reproach, than the Honour of the *British* Nation; for nothing could be so inconsistent with a natural Genius, or the Character of true Learning, than either that fulsome Panegyrick, or virulent malicious Strain of satirical Wit, whereof our most modern Books, and other Performances, were chiefly composed; and on which our greatest Poets, and most remarkable Writers seem'd principally to value themselves.

Dr *Mildman*, on the Occasion, told the Company, that in his younger Days, when he had a strong Ambition, where-ever he came, to visit all the Men in *Europe*, famed for their Skill in any parti-

particular Branch of Science and Knowledge, he had constantly observed, that the most *learned* were always the most *humane*, *communicative*, and *affable*; and that it was only *Pedants*, and *mere Pretenders to Literature*, who affected to shine either in Panegyrick or Satire: And, to every judicious impartial Observer, he said, true Learning would ever appear in a modest Dress, attended by Compassion, Good-nature, and Benevolence to Mankind; which were Qualities that equally shunned the unjust Exercise of Power, and the Rage of Faction or Discontent: That, he believed, modern, as well as antient History, would sufficiently prove what he asserted; wherefore, considering the Shocks and Convulsions, which the State of *Britain* had undergone within this last Century, and the innumerable Disquiets they had left in the Minds of the People, on which so many different Opinions and Parties had been unhappily formed, it was rather to be wondered, that there should be any Remainder of good Taste, Generosity, or true Learning left among us, than that the former Elegancy of Dramatick Poetry was decayed or lost.

My Lord *Worthy* own'd there was too much Truth in the Doctor's Observations on the many Inconveniencies and Disadvantages, which our unhappy Divisions had introduced of late into this Kingdom; but his Lordship thought it was of little use to complain, unless at the same time some wholesome Remedy was proposed, whereby we might hope to give the Minds of People a more favourable Turn, towards the quiet and peaceable Enjoyment of that Liberty and Improvement, for which our Laws, and the Frame of the Constitution, were so excellently well contrived and adapted; but, with respect to our Dramatick Performances, now under the Company's Consideration,

ration, his Lordship thought it truly necessary, that the Stage should always be under some proper Check, for examining and approving every Piece of that Kind, before it may be represented in publick, in order only to prevent that any thing immoral or indecent should appear upon the Stage, contrary to the Nature and Design of the Drama, and tending to debauch the Minds, or corrupt the Manners of the Audience; but as to any other Views of restraining the just Liberty of the Poet, from representing to the Life the Enormity of a particular Vice under any probable Character, only because silly People, in the Impertinency of their Imagination, might apply it to the Character of some Great Man in Power, he thought it was extremely ill-judged, and that nothing could more effectually contribute to fix the Application which, by such a Prohibition, or Restraint, they very weakly, and to no Purpose, endeavoured to prevent; his Lordship therefore was of Opinion, that the Comptrollers of the Stage ought not only to be Men of Learning and Knowledge, but likewise of some Rank and establish'd Characters, who really took the Pains of doing that Duty themselves, without trusting so necessary a Care to Underlings, and Men of low Condition and Capacity, whom we could not suppose to be qualified for executing the Office with that Elegancy of Judgment, and Generosity of Spirit, which was truly requisite; and as his Lordship did not know any one thing which could give a more complete Idea of the reigning Virtues and Manners of a People, than their Theatrical Representations, he thought an assiduous and proper Application of that Sort, would not only do great Honour to the Crown, but likewise to every Branch of the Administration; so as in a short time to produce an extraordinary good Effect both on publick and private

private Life, to the Happiness and Glory of the whole Nation: But, on the other Hand, if merely under the Pretence of so eminent a Service to the Publick, our most elegant and best Pieces of Dramatick Poetry were to be stifled or suppressed, and nothing permitted to come on the Stage but fulsome Panegyrick, immoral and obscene Wit, or the abject, silly Drollery of ridiculous Farce, we should but in vain struggle with, and attempt to escape the unavoidable Consequences, which, sooner or later, must follow the constant Repetition of even these *seeming Trifles*, amongst a People born to Freedom and fond of Liberty.



N^o 17. FRIDAY, JUNE 1, 1739.

To the CITIZEN.

S I R,



AM the Representative of an Ancient and Noble Family among the Peers of this Realm, born to such a Fortune as ought, in all Reason, to satisfy any Man: I have no Inclination to Extravagancy, neither have I liv'd beyond the Dignity of my Rank; and yet, in seven Years time, I find my Debts are increased above 20,000 l. I own I had so great a Dependance on the Fidelity of my principal Steward, who has been an old Servant in the Family, that, perhaps, I have too often avoided the Fatigue of calling him regularly to an Account; and when I did, the other Day, I could not discover any Error or Deceit, although I was greatly surprized with the State of the Ballance.

As it always gives me more Pleasure to hear that Money is paid where due, than to receive it myself,

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having a natural Aversion to be in Debt, my present Circumstances give me great Inquietude, and deprive me of usual Rest; for I find myself all of a sudden seized with such a jealous Anxiety, that I know not who to trust, nor of whom to ask Advice; but, having conceived an Opinion of the Candor and good Intention of your Society, I resolved to lay my Case before them, thinking that their Sentiments might, probably, be of use to others, as well as to,

SIR, Your, &c.

The Company, with great Deference and Respect, ordered their Sentiments on the Subject, contained in the above Letter, to be published in the following Manner.

1. That Persons who attend upon, and are intrusted with the Education of young Noblemen, especially those who are born to great and opulent Fortunes, ought, above all other Things, to give them just Notions of the real and most valuable Use of Riches, by explaining to their young Minds, how small a Proportion of Wealth is requisite to supply all our reasonable and necessary Wants, and that an Excess of Luxury, or the keeping of too great a Number of Equipages and Servants, more than what either the Rank of the Person, or Conveniency require, are but *idle* and *hurtful* Amusements, which only serve to multiply Cares, that very often interrupt and sowre our most rational and sprightly Enjoyments, which disclaim to be incumbered with trifling and low Objects in the Course of Life.

2. The noble Youth is to be further instructed, that the highest Taste of Pleasure, and the only permanent Satisfaction that can be attained, is that of *serving Mankind* in general, and his *Country* in particular, by all the Acts which a noble and generous

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rous Beneficence can inspire; and, because Wealth and Riches are the necessary Means by which he is enabled, with more Ease, to accomplish those great Ends; it is *that* alone which lays him under an indispensable Obligation of saving his Money by a just and decent Oeconomy in all his Affairs, whereby it is not meant that he should grudge, at any time, to lay out what is needful to support the Dignity of his Rank, and to render very thing easy about himself; but only that all his Expence should freely issue from a *previous* Judgment of the Justice, Necessity, or Reasonableness of the Occasion, without restraining any Inclination but what Wisdom, and Discretion informed him, was unbecoming his Quality, or the Character of a Man of good Understanding.

3. When a Nobleman, with such Dispositions of Mind, comes into the Possession and Government of his Estate, and finds himself obliged to employ many Servants in a Variety of Business, it will be prudent to distinguish such as are to act in the Nature of *Stewards for the Receipt of Rent*, or who are to be employed in the *laying out of Money*, and purchasing of Necessaries for the Use of the Family, by such ample Appointments or Wages as may sufficiently encourage an honest Integrity, without permitting them to receive *Poundage of Tradesmen*, or any Sort of *Perquisite* for giving Dispatch in doing their Duty; a Practice of which Nature, ought never to be pardoned, but instantly punished by a Dismissal from the Service; for it is intolerable that a Nobleman's Honour should be reflected on, and his Character suffer with the Generality of People, by the mean and scandalous underhand Practices of Servants, who are commanded and greatly encouraged to act in a quite different Manner: Besides, where such Things are permitted and over-looked, there must be a very considerable *Loss of Interest* sustained.

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4. In order to perfect the Management of a large Estate, a Person of good Capacity and Credit must be constantly employed in keeping a regular Account of all that comes in, as well as of the Expence going out, in so clear and distinct a Manner, that the Lord and Master, by casting his Eye at any time on the general Balance, might exactly know the Situation of his Affairs, from which he was to form his future Conduct with respect to Frugality or Expence; for we do not suppose him to be in the least tainted with that sordid and low Rich of saving purely for the Sake of amassing a Heap of useless Wealth, but rather that his Savings have no other Aim than the putting of himself in a better Capacity to proceed in doing more virtuous, great and charitable Deeds, truly worthy of his Character, and whereby he daily acquired a greater Proportion of Happiness and Content.

5. Besides such an Accomptant as above, to keep all the Transactions of the Estate in a complete and regular Form on one Set of Books, it will be convenient, and very useful to have another Servant, properly qualified, to receive and pay the Cash according to the written Orders issued upon him from time to time, because these *two*, in their different Employments, will always be Checks on each other, and often prevent Mistakes, which otherwise might casually happen in the Hands of one Person; and, that there might be no Possibility of carrying on Fraud or Deceit, at least for any considerable time, both these Accounts ought to be examined and duly audited, once every six or twelve Months, at farthest, wherein it is proposed that the Nobleman should be assisted by some of his Friends, who are Men of Business, and intelligent in Matters of that kind, which would take up but a very inconsiderable Portion of Time for the easy Management of so great a Concern.

Thus

Thus the Company are of Opinion, that a Man of the greatest Quality and Estate, might have all his Household Affairs wisely and prudently conducted without any manner of Fatigue to himself, and be thereby at full Liberty to employ his whole Time between the Service of the Publick, and other rational, as well as delightful Enjoyments of Life, free from those Anxieties and Disappointments, which inevitably proceed from a negligent and bad Oeconomy, to the utter Ruin and Destruction of many noble Families, whose Representatives are either reduced to Want, or to the mean and slavish Dependence on a deceitful Court, which seldom fails, in a short Time, to extinguish that Greatness of Soul, together with the remaining Seeds of Virtue, derived from the Blood of their memorable, and most illustrious Ancestors.

Several Members took Occasion to acquaint the Company, that as they were obliged to pass the greatest Part of the Summer Season in the Country, they could not attend the Meetings of this Society before the Beginning of next Winter: But that, in place of publishing their Sentiments by way of Dialogue, as hitherto, if the Company thought fit to order it for the future to be done by a Clerk, or Secretary, whose Business would only be to put into *The Citizen* all such *Letters, Essays*, and other Papers, as any of the Members of this Society, or their Correspondents, thought proper to transmit to him from time to time, they would use their best Endeavour to furnish sufficient Matter for carrying on, with a decent Freedom, the Society's first laudable and original Design; which in their Judgment, might be as effectually answered in this Shape, if not more agreeably to some, than by continuing the Conversation: And, this Motion being unanimously approved, Mr *Ralph Trueman*, Bookseller and Stationer

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Stationer, was named and appointed the Society's Secretary for that Purpose, with full Power and Authority to contract and agree with any Printer he best approved of, for causing to be printed and published, on whatever Day of the Week he found to be most convenient, the Weekly News-Paper called *The Citizen*, containing all such Letters and Papers as should come to his Hand from the Members of this Society, and their Correspondents.

And then the Meeting was adjourned for this Season.



N^o 18. FRIDAY, JUNE 8, 1739.



ONE of the best Rules that can be given for securing an easy, smooth Passage through all the Varities of human Life, is that of restraining ourselves from the Liberty of censuring, or maliciously reflecting on the Conduct and Character of other People, before we have taken the Pains impartially to examine within our own Breasts, whether there is not to be found there some Similitude of the same Imperfections and Failings which we are so fond of discovering, and so apt to condemn, in them; for, as the only reasonable and justifiable Pride that Man can claim, arises wholly from the Justness or Truth of the Comparison which by Reflection he is capable of making between himself and others of his own Species, if he be but as careful that every thing relative to that Comparison is put into the adverse Scale, as he is sure to do in his own, it will probably inspire him with such upright and moderate Sentiments, as will give greater Weight to his Judgment, and render the Inferences naturally

naturally arising from it, more satisfactory to his Mind.

This Rule is so obvious, and may be so pertinently applied to the smallest, as well as to the most important Concerns in Life, that we humbly conceive it may be of singular Use to such of the Fair Sex as will condescend to consider and reflect on what is truly essential to their Happiness and Contentment, whether in a single or a married State; for what else but the Oversight and entire Neglect of this Caution, could lead any Woman of Virtue and Honour into the too frequent Error of forming to herself a Multitude of tormenting Thoughts, about the Weakness of Judgment, the want of Prudence in Conduct, the Irregularities of Passion, and the Effects of Intemperance, which she too anxiously, perhaps, imagines to have discovered in a Husband, or a Friend; seeking all Opportunities to complain amongst her Acquaintance, and thereby affixing an indelible Reproach on the Characters of those sacred Relations, whose Failings, if real, it is no less her Interest, than her Duty, to soften and conceal from the World?

If the Ladies would be pleased to consider that every Complaint of that Nature, which escapes from them in Conversation, cuts with a double Edge, and inflames so strongly, as to reflect with a much greater Force upon themselves, they would certainly chuse to be silent on these Subjects, and avoid the Uneasiness which must necessarily flow from such a heedless, unwary Conduct, to imbitter all their future Enjoyments; would they but take Time to reflect on the great Application and Pains which even the wisest and best Men must undergo, to conquer their most natural Appetites and Infirmities, and likewise consider the absolute Necessity we are under in this Life patiently to bear with one another's Failings, those Sort of Reflections would,

in place of Resentment, certainly move Compassion in a generous Mind, and instruct us to make use of the gentlest Means, in order to influence the future Conduct of our Friend, and reclaim him from such Habits as we conceived to be hurtful to his Health, or injurious to his Honour: Such kind of Balsam could scarcely fail of having so powerful an Effect, as to awaken the Guilty, charm the Innocent, and endear every tender Look and Expression from the suffering Party. Thus the Soul, by frequent Reviews of its own Faults and Imperfections, when compared with those of a Bosom Friend, would convert the Remembrance of former Pain into Pleasure, so that all Obstructions to future Happiness and Contentment, between such intimate Relations, would be entirely removed.

As *Clarinda* and *Emilia* were one Day comparing between themselves the *Comforts* they enjoyed, and the *Disagreements* which had happened to them, in a married State; the first exclaimed, outrageously against her Husband for spending so much of his Time abroad, leaving her at home, to pass the dull Hours away by herself, amidst the Noise of Children and unruly Servants; she could by no means brook the Custom of retiring after Meals to leave the Gentlemen merry over a Bottle, while she must either sit moping in a Closet, or be continually plagued with the troublesome Affairs of the Family; she was, for her Part, determined either to prevent her Husband from keeping so much Company, and enjoying his Pleasures a-part, or she should be obliged to find some Means of agreeably diverting herself, whether it pleased him or not: She owned he always treated her with great Civility, and never refused her any thing she asked for; on the contrary, he was ever making her little Presents, with many Expressions of Tenderness, which made her to

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doatingly fond of his Company, that she could no longer bear being robbed of it at any rate; wherefore she now resolved to affront every body that came to deprive her of that Satisfaction, and would not suffer her House to be any more pestered with a Parcel of idle drunken Fellows, who regarded nothing but their Dogs and their Horses, being wholly Strangers to polite Conversation, or such other Entertainments as Women of Virtue and good Sense could share in.

Emilia was of a softer Mould, and said, altho' no Woman could have had less of a Husband's Company than she, during the first twelve Months of their Marriage, because Business not only carried him daily abroad, but his agreeable Wit, and good Humour, made him a constant Prey to all the best Company in Town, yet she thank'd her Stars, she had found Means to affect the natural Generosity of his Temper, by seeming blind to his little Failings, and cheerfully complaisant to all his Desires, that they now lived in the most perfect Harmony, and were scarce one Moment asunder, but when Business absolutely required his Attendance; for if he had not the Opportunity of bringing agreeable Company home to entertain her, he was sure to carry her abroad, and to contrive some pleasing Variety in every Scene of Diversion for Amusement, that preserved a Flow of Spirits, and enabled her with great Ease, to support the Fatigue of her Household Affairs, which were always kept in the neatest Order imaginable, chiefly because it pleased his Eye, and afforded him continual Occasion to express his Satisfaction with her Conduct by a thousand little tender obliging Compliments, that easily and naturally flow from the Sincerity of a faithful Friend, and the Heart of a fond Lover. *Emilia* at the same time acknowledg'd, that after twelve Months Anxiety and Pain in her own Mind, she

she had been irresistably led into this Conduct, from observing, on some Occasions, with what gentle Humanity and Discretion he ever avoided to take Notice of, much less aggravate any little Irregularity of her Passions, and other Failings, chusing always, at such Times, by the most endearing Expressions, to convince her, that she was every way perfectly agreeable to him, and sole Mistress of his Esteem; so that unless a Woman, in plain Contradiction to the Consciousness of her own Mind, and the Nature of Things, can be so excessively vain and silly, as really to believe she possesses all Perfection, without any Blemish or Fault whatever, it will be impossible for her to resist making the same Compliances, and acting the same Part which *Emilia* did, and on which she most justly values herself, to one of the best of Men, and, perhaps, the most deserving of Husbands.



N^o 19. FRIDAY, JUNE 15, 1739.

To THE CITIZEN.

S I R,

HAVING been your constant Reader ever since your Paper appeared, I am extremely pleased to find you begin to vary the Subject of it; for, however useful your Discourses on *Trade* may be, they certainly are not so universally beneficial, as those of *Morality*, in which all Ranks and Conditions of Men are concerned, from the Prince to the Peasant. Since the *Spectator*, I do not know any thing that has been written of that kind worth perusing: Our Papers are now all

turned

turned on *Politicks*, so that you have the ample Field of Morality, Wit, and Humour entirely open; and, if you pursue your Paper with the same generous Intention you seem'd to set out with, I doubt not but in a little Time it will be universally read and admired.

But my Design in troubling you with this, is to beg the Favour of you to give me your Sentiments on a Subject that has often employed my Thoughts. There is nothing more frequent than to hear one Gentleman extol another of his Acquaintance in the following Terms.—*It is true, Mr such a one is not a Person endued with Wit or Learning, but then he is a Man of strict Honour.* Now, Sir, I have, on Enquiry, found, that several of these Gentlemen of *strict Honour* have been guilty of many things that any Man who had the least Share either of Morality or common Humanity, would have blush'd to own: The only Actions that entitled them to this glorious Character, were, that they religiously kept all their Appointments for Drinking and Debauchery, and most exactly discharged all their Debts at Play. I therefore earnestly intreat you would, in one of your Papers, give us the Definition of a *Man of Honour*, that these Gentlemen may no longer usurp a Character they so little deserve. If you comply with my Request, I dare say you will oblige many of your Readers, and in a very particular Manner,

Your most Humble Servant,

LEONORA.

It is *Honour* that inspires a natural and strong Inclination to the constant Practice of strictly performing all the relative and moral Obligations amongst Men, in Despite of every Appetite, Passion, or Interest, that stand in the Way; and, let a Man be ever so nice in executing a thousand Things which he

he knows to be his Duty in Point of Honour; yet if, with a premeditate Design, he says any thing in Conversation, or otherwise commits a wilful Act, to the apparent Injury and Prejudice of another, who had not given him any just Cause of Offence, he can have no Pretence to the Character of a *Man of Honour*, which is of so delicate a Nature, as will admit of no Excuse to palliate the least Deviation from the Rectitude and Austerity of its Rules: Wherefore a *Man's Honour* is justly compared to a *Woman's Chastity*, which, once lost, can never be regained.

Philemon, whose agreeable Person, charming Tongue, and easy Address, bespoke in him all the virtuous and elegant Sentiments wherewith a human Soul could be inspired, had gained so ample a Share of his Friend *Polyander's* Esteem, that it is impossible to imagine how the most sacred Friendship could beget a greater Confidence than had subsisted for many Years between them: They were both happily married, and enjoyed all the Comfort of that State, undisturbed by any of those Cares and Uneasinesses which too frequently attend it: For the Women, in their different Ways, were not only engaging, and completely agreeable; but every Action, and every Look, demonstrably expressed the fondest Desire imaginable to please the Husband, which, of course, produced a continual Correspondence and Intimacy between the Families, that had no other Bounds but what the strict Rules of *Virtue* and *Honour* prescribed.

Under these delightful and happy Circumstances, as *Philemon* was one Day walking in *Polyander's* Garden, about two Hours before the time of Dinner, he saw *Endimia*, his Friend's Wife, sitting carelessly by herself in a cool Grotto, with a Book in her Hand, where, by the Sun's Influence, and the excessive Heat of the Day, she had dropped asleep:

asleep: He stood gazing for some time on Beauties which he thought he had never observed in her before, until his very Soul was hurried into such Raptures as are often felt in a Dream, which drives every other thing from our Thoughts, but the Object present in the Imagination: Advancing softly, he gently placed himself on the opposite Bench, and began to express the Ecstasy of his Passion by a thousand little murmuring Sighs, and other vocal Complaints, which at last awakened the fair *Endimia* from her Slumber. She, with an unaffected Smile, naturally flowing from Virtue and Innocence, ask'd him how long he had been there? and where he had left his Friend *Polyander*? To which the stupified *Philemon* made no other Answer, than by falling down on his Knees before the Fair, and crying out, '*Endimia*, I am lost, undone for ever; it is you alone can save me from Perdition! think, O think, what I have not Power or Strength to utter,' and immediately fainted away: The poor innocent Lady, with equal Surprise and Concern, flew to his Assistance, by endeavouring to raise him from the Ground, and beseeching him to say what he ail'd, or what Misfortune had befallen him? But as such harmless Expressions of her soft Good-Nature and Compassion only served to heighten the Fury of his extravagant Flame, which by this time had extinguished every Spark of virtuous Modesty, he clung to her Bosom, and, in a Flood of Tears, made use of all the delicate Turns of Rhetorick that the most tender Passion could inspire.

Endimia, prodigiously shock'd with such a monstrous and surprising Attempt on her Honour, was on the Point of crying out for Assistance; but recollecting, with great Presence of Mind, the fatal Consequences which might ensue, on *Polyander's* Discovery of *Philemon's* Perfidy, she resolved

solved to act another Part, and try whether the awful Sentiments of a virtuous Mind could not effectually protect her, by making the Villain ashamed of his inglorious Passion: 'Is this, said she, *Philemon*, the Fruits of your boasted Honour, and the grateful Returns you propose to make to that most sacred and generous Friendship where, with my dear and faithful *Polyander* has honour'd you so long. Is this the End of all your disguised Arts to erect such a Confidence in his Breast, as might enable you to throw an eternal Reproach on his Name, and finish the Ruin of his Family? Are these, do you think, Sentiments that are consistent with common Humanity, much less with the avowed Principles of Honour, and a Profession of the most elevated Friendship? For shame, *Philemon*, recollect your wandering Thoughts, and rather charge this unhappy Turn of your Brain to the Fumes of Wine, or to any Disorder you please; but do not presume to think it can proceed from Reason or common Sense. What has ever the virtuous *Polyander* done to deserve such cruel Usage from any Man alive? And, pray inform me, Sir, what Part it is of my Conduct which could tempt you to form such monstrous Ideas in your Mind? And if this be not sufficient to extinguish for ever, not only all Thought of any future Attempt of this Kind, but even the hateful Remembrance of what has here passed, know, that as sure as Fate, the united Force of *Polyander's* Virtue and Courage shall vindicate his Honour.'

Having thus said, she gracefully quitted the Grotto, keeping a slow Pace through the Garden, until she reach'd her own Appartment, as if nothing at all had happened to discompose her, leaving the guilty *Philemon* to ruminate on his vicious Folly, and to chuse whether, by a thorough Repentance

pentance and Change of Conduct, he was to rely on her Prudence in concealing what had passed between them, or otherwise risque encountering that Vengeance, which he might assuredly expect from *Polyander's* just Resentment. He thought it necessary, however, to proceed with Caution in an Affair of this Consequence; and joining the Company at Dinner, where all the innocent Freedom in Conversation passed as usual, the deceitful *Philemon* continued still to fill every Breast with Ideas of his strict Honour and Virtue, that of the beautifully innocent, yet silent *Endimion*, only excepted.



Nº 20. FRIDAY, JUNE 22, 1739.



HE young *Theander*, who by reading and Study had made a considerable Improvement of his natural Disposition for Learning and Knowledge, went down into the Country to spend some Time with his Guardian and Friend *Amyntor*, before he entered on his Travels abroad into foreign Parts: The old Gentleman had seen a great deal of the World, and having conceived a just Esteem for *Theander's* good Sense, as well as Tendernefs for his Person, he artfully led the Youth into an open, frank, and easy Way of discoursing on a Variety of practical Subjects. As they frequently walked in a spacious Garden, well furnished with Grottos and shady Groves, adapted to a Conversation of that kind, *Amyntor* asked his Ward, if he had ever accustomed himself to apply such moral and political Reflections as occurred to him in reading, to his own, and other People's Conduct, in the common and daily Occurrences of Life; for, said he, the chief

chief End of a young Gentleman's travelling abroad, is not so much to study Antiquity, or pry into the Depths of Science, as to enlarge the Circle of his Ideas relating to Men and Things; and to correct his Judgment by that Variety of Experience, which he daily meets with in the Change of Company, and travelling through so many different Countries. *Theander* modestly replied, that his Tutor at the University had taught him to make Remarks in the Course of his reading, and to set them orderly down in a Common-place Book; but as he had hitherto kept very little Company, and therefore was not much accusom'd to judge in the Affairs of the World, he was apprehensive, that his Observations would relish more of a School Education, than of a Knowledge flowing from Experience; wherefore he should be highly obliged to *Amyntor*, if he would take the Trouble to give him some proper Directions how he might more effectually apply that Knowledge which was acquired from Books to Conversation, and the common Transactions of Life.

As *Amyntor* was greatly pleased with this Invitation from the young Gentleman, to excuse and soften the Freedom which he would have Occasion to make use of, he proceeded to entertain him with an Account of the Method which he himself had practiced in his Youth, in travelling through foreign Countries.

My Father, said *Amyntor*, having been bred in the Army, was not a Man of any great Depth in Letters, so that he had no Relish for Study; but was so sensible of this Defect in his Education, that he had taken true Pains to prevent it in mine, by putting me, when a Boy, under the Tuition of a Man of great Learning, who took the Trouble of directing all my Studies, and carefully examining into the Improvement which I made from time to time,

time, until I had quite finished my Course at the University. And having by those Means made all the Progress in Literature, which the natural Slowness of my Genius would admit of, I was sent abroad to travel, without the Pomp or Assistance of any Governor, that being an Expence which did not then suit with the Situation of our Family Affairs. Besides, my Father, who was a Man of an open and generous Spirit, used to say, that he thought no young Gentleman ought to be sent out of his own Country, until he had acquired a Competency of Knowledge at home; and made such a Conquest over youthful Passions and Prejudices, as that he could conduct himself abroad, without the Help, or rather Incumbrance of a pedantick Governor, to encrease his Expence; and, perhaps, interrupt the free and natural Course of those Improvements which were to be looked for amongst Strangers: Calling me therefore into his Chamber, that Morning I was to set out for *Dover*, he gave me a Letter of Credit on *Paris*, and another on *Amsterdam*, for two handsome Sums of Money, which he said was all he could afford to bestow on finishing that Part of my Education; wherefore he left it wholly to my own Management and Discretion to travel wherever I pleased, and to stay as long in any one Place as I thought fit; but insisted on it, that I was not to expect any more Supply from him, but to come home as soon as the Credit he then gave me was exhausted. This one Condition so peremptorily imposed by a Father, whom I both honour'd and feared, gave me Occasion, before all other Things, to establish to myself certain Rules of *Oeconomy*, whereby I might not only spin out the Time of my Stay abroad, but likewise reap as much Improvement in my Travels, as could possibly be acquired on so slender a Bottom; and first, to save Expence, and to conceal my Character on the Road, or to what

what Country I belong'd, I resolv'd to travel from Place to Place without any Servant, which often afforded me the Diversion of passing transiently for a *Physician*, a *Philosopher*, or a *Merchant*, as best suited the Company I accidentally met with; by which Means I saved my Money, and frequently met with Adventures, that were not a little entertaining. But the Moment I arriv'd at any considerable Town, where I propos'd to stay, and make myself known, I hired proper Servants, who belong'd to, or were well acquainted in the Place, judging none other could be so useful to me, and so dismiss'd them when I left it: Thus I varied my Equipage, and suited my Expence wherever I chose to reside for any time, according to the Quality and Degree of the Company I propos'd for the most Part to converse with. At *Paris*, where I staid fifteen Months, to finish my Exercises as an Extern in the Academy, notwithstanding I had Liveries for a Coachman and two Footmen; yet I used a Chariot of Remise only two Days in the Week, when I chose to visit People of the best Fashion and Rank, and had Occasion to go to the *Opera*, or some other public Diversion; but I constantly kept only one Servant, to do the Office of *Valet de Chambre* and Footman, and to give ordinary Attendance: By which Conduct I made a tolerable decent Figure at a small Expence, and at the same time rid myself of a good deal of needless Trouble and Care. But when I came to the *Hague*, where I staid some Months; it being a little narrow Place crowded with great and good Company, I had not the Opportunity of concealing myself so much as for one Day; and therefore was always oblig'd to keep up my little Equipage of a Chariot and two Footmen, which enabled me with a better Grace to attend the Assembly every Night, and to cultivate an Acquaintance with all the Foreign

reign Ministers who return'd my Visits, and gave me many valuable Opportunities of being generally instructed in the State of publick Affairs; so that my whole Time was usefully and agreeably employed in either conversing with Men of Business and Character, or on attending such public Diversions, as gave me the best Opportunity of enjoying the most elegant and fashionable Company of both Sexes. By these Means I became acceptable every where amongst my Betters abroad, and enjoyed the Satisfaction, when I return'd to *Britain*, of being caress'd by my Friends, and respectfully treated by every Person of Distinction, whom I had the Honour to converse with.

People in Disguise, where they have no Occasion to discover themselves, may use many little Artifices to save Expence, so that they do not trifle away too much Time; but as soon as ever they reassume their true Characters, it is absolutely necessary for every Gentleman to appear in that which best becomes his Rank, without affecting either to exceed or come short of what properly belongs to him; for let a Man's Quality or Parts be ever so distinguishable, he will surely find himself greatly mistaken, who attempts to dictate unto, or lead Mankind even in Trifles; a Weakness altogether inconsistent with a Solidity of Judgment, which aims at no more than a decent, clean, and modest Appearance in publick. And however People happen to be distinguished abroad, as most certainly they ought every where to be, by their Dress, Equipage and Retinue; yet every Man of good Understanding will always proportion these Things to the Rank of his Birth rather than to the Condition of his Fortune, which can add no kind of Merit, but what is derived from the noble or virtuous, and rational Conduct of the Possessor.

The great Variety of Things that occur every Moment

ment to a *Traveller*, and of which he is unavoidably led to make some Judgment or other in his own Mind, is the Fountain out of which he is to draw the greatest and most valuable Part of his Improvement in visiting foreign Countries; for no *Mirror* can so justly and powerfully represent us to ourselves, as a careful Observation both of the Perfections and Failings of others, which being impartially compared with our own, will produce a most excellent Effect on the Understanding, and prevent our being deceived or imposed on; wherefore I shall now sum up the best Direction I can suggest to you for your Conduct abroad in a very few Words.

Be careful and diligent, above all other Things, to apply every Judgment that obtrudes itself on your Mind, both to your own, and other People's Capacities and Circumstances, but use great Caution in explaining or communicating your Sentiments to any one, remembering always how rare a thing it is to find a true Friend.

As you are never to dally with *Time*, by suffering it to pass indolently without being employed in some useful Thought, or manly Exercise; so do not rashly engage in, or undertake more, than you can well perform; but be sure to give every Thing its due Preference, and always finish what you are about, if possible, before you enter on new Matter; especially such Things as appear to be essential to your main Business, or to that Character you mean to sustain with Reputation; for it will do you more Honour, as well as give you a great deal more Satisfaction to be thoroughly Master of a few useful Parts of *Knowledge*, than only to be superficially acquainted with a great many trifling Curiosities, which can give you but little true Merit with Men of Solidity and good

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Judgment, on whose Opinion a permanent and lasting *Character* can only be well founded.

Let the Spirit of *Reason*, which inspires Humanity, and ought to govern the *Passions*, direct all your Pleasures, and avoid as much as possible trifling away Time, or spending it on *Amusements*, which may be had at a less Expence, and to equal Satisfaction afterwards in another Place.

Have always the Image of the *Gentleman*, or the *Man of Honour* impress'd on your Mind, whereby every Thought and Action will be influenc'd to the Love of *Virtue*, and consequently to the *Honour* and *Reputation* of your Country.

Nº 21. FRIDAY, JUNE 29, 1739.



N the most flourishing Time of the *Roman* Commonwealth, and before the Minds of the People came to be debauched with Luxury and Idleness, every Man's Rank, Profession, or Calling, was readily to be known and distinguish'd by his Dress; so that to appear out of Character was deem'd a very great Piece of Deceit, and an Imposition on the Publick, which always carried a Mark of Reproach or Infamy along with it; for the Distinctions then used in Apparel were intended to signify the different Dispositions of Mens *Genii*, and to denote what kind of Service to the State they were best qualified to execute and perform, or at least to distinguish the Point of a Man's Ambition in whatever Character he assumed, and endeavour'd to maintain, which seems to be the most natural Reason for that peculiar Variety in Dress, that in one Shape or other takes place in every

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every Society, and from which we are apt to judge of the reigning Principle in the Mind, that influences and governs a Man's Actions. But so unaccountable and surprising are the studied Improvements which the People of Quality, and Gentry of *Great Britain* have made of late Years, on the Simplicity of the ancient Manners and Customs of their Ancestors, that we are not only at a Loss now to distinguish one Man's Character or Profession from another by his Dress, but even to know the same Person at Noon, from the different Form of his Appearance in the Morning. Nay, we are often so egregiously deceived, as to mistake the Peer for his Footman, and the *Valet de Chambre* for my Lord; the Counsellor at Law for a Major of Dragoons, and the Field Officer for a Comedian or Dancing Master; so that instead of the honest old Fashion of endeavouring always to appear what one really is, or would be taken for, it is now become one of the politest Arts to dress in the lowest Characters in Life, and to show what one truly is not, nor ever ought to be; for which no other Account can be given, but the sordid Itch that prevails of following low Pleasures, and deceiving the meanest Part of Mankind, by laying aside all that Decency of Manners, which distinguishes the Gentleman from the Clown, and puts a just and needful Restraint on every disorderly Appetite and Irregularity of Passion.

By the Universality of this truly ridiculous, but pernicious Custom, our Youth are corrupted in their very Infancy, so as never to know that there is any material Difference between a genteel or decent, and the most vulgar Behaviour. The common People are insensibly taught to despise any Distinction of Rank, and to put themselves on an Equality with the Gentry on every Occasion, so that when these now living, who retain the Re-

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membrance of more orderly Times, are gone, what other can be expected, but that the Generality of the People will become so corrupted, as to be ripe for any Confusion that may happen to the Ruin and Destruction of the whole State.

That the Reformers of every Age are apt to complain of the Wickedness of the Times they live in, and to imagine them to be worse than those that preceded is very certain; and altho' it is allow'd by the wisest Men, that the natural Depravity of Mankind has always been, and ever will be much the same; yet we know it to be otherways with respect to the Manners of a People, or the Liberty which one Age and Country takes beyond another, openly to profess and practice many Kinds of Indecencies without Controul, which is not so much to be charged on the Want of good Laws, as on the Neglect of the executive Power in Government, and the bad Example of great Men. For when Irreligion is become a fashionable Sort of Wit in all Companies, and the open, bare-faced Practice of Immorality, a polite Taste with the Men of Rank, it is unavoidable but that the same Ideas and Relish of Life will be gradually diffused among the Commons, and consequently tend to a lawless and universal Contempt of the Civil Power, whose proper Care it is, by a good Example as well as a punctual Execution of the Laws, to correct the Manners of the whole People under its Jurisdiction, and to prevent any indecent or shameless Profession of Vice, by the like Means which have been successfully used in the Times of some of their most reputable and wise Predecessors; for altho' Legislators and Governors cannot, in the Nature of Things, be answerable for Mens secret Vices, yet they will ever be accountable for the open Profession, not only of Immorality, but even of Indecency amongst the People they rule over, who in

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the Corruption of Manners, do but follow the Example of their Superiors, which under a virtuous and good Administration of Government would have as powerful an Influence to the contrary Effect, as is frequently to be observed both from ancient and modern History.

To appear in the Fashion has no other Idea annexed to it, than a voluntary Choice of dressing after the Manner of the Court; thereby imitating the Practice and Behaviour of our Superiors, who, when they become so negligently weak and profligate, as wantonly to lead the People by their Example into indecent Fopperies, it introduces such an idle luxurious Taste, as commonly deviates into Vice; for the Transition is natural and quick, from an affected Appearance of Folly to the Thing itself; wherefore it would greatly become that Wisdom, Virtue, and Grandeur, which are the essential Qualities of a Court, to form the Example of an easy, genteel Dress, and to discountenance all such uncouth Fashions, or Manners, amongst the Gentry, as had the least Tendency to debauch the Minds of the People, by rendering a decent Modesty unfashionable, and by promoting that extravagant, silly Taste of despising our own Manufactures, and falling into an immoderate Use of the richest Commodities that can be brought from Foreign Countries, to the utter Discouragement of a trading, industrious People, and the Disadvantage of the Nation.

The Force of Example is so great in the Affairs of human Life, that it catches like Infection from Parents to Children, Masters to Servants; and generally from the highest to all the intermediate and lowest Ranks of the People; nay, even whole States are observed to imitate the Dress, Customs, and Manners of their more opulent and powerful Neighbours, without consulting either Reason,

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Conveniency, or Interest. So that the Mischiefs frequently attending on bad Customs, cannot be rectified by any lesser Authority than the Force of good Laws, together with the Example of the great and leading Men of the State, whose Neglect therefore in Things of that Kind, is much less excusable than a blind Imitation in those of an inferior Rank, whose Habits are rather the Effect of Mechanism, or mere Animal Motion, than such Acts of Judgment as may justly be expected from Governors, and those in high Authority, whose proper Business it is to direct and preserve Order in the Community, by all such Ways and Methods as are consistent with just and perfect Notions of that Liberty and Property, which every one has a Right to enjoy and possess.

There is for the most Part such a Connection between the outward Actions of the Body, and the inward Thoughts of the Mind, that the most secret Passions of the Soul may be frequently discovered without the Help of Words; and therefore it is of great Importance for young People of both Sexes to acquire an easy, unaffected Manner of Address, which, if it be adorned with a modest Symmetry of Apparel, will have an irresistible Effect, by pre-engaging the good Opinion and Esteem of the World in their Favour, an Advantage which is seldom or never attain'd by Slovens, Rakes, or vain-glorious Pretenders to a superior Degree of Knowledge and Merit; but is oftner the Lot of those, whose native Modesty does not permit them to hope for, or expect it.

Our first Motions to Love or Contempt, and to the Approbation or Dislike of others, much oftner proceed from the Impressions that are made at Sight, by the Disposition of their Features and Dress, than from any Knowledge we can possibly have of their Understandings. In order therefore

to acquire that just Proportion of Esteem in the World, which every good and wise Man naturally desires, we are, on Reflection, led to make use of the same Means, which we ourselves judge others ought to do, in order to merit our Esteem and Regard; and this single Consideration is sufficient to demonstrate both the Propriety and Necessity of appearing always in a decent, becoming Dress, as it adds considerably to the Amiables of the Person, and thereby raises agreeable Ideas of the Perfections we hope to discover in the Mind; for such is the Condition of our compound, but naturally independent and free Beings, that the Generality of Mankind are more easily to be gain'd, and successfully govern'd, by Appearances that raise Hope, than by Realities which create Fear, and often give great Pain.



N^o 22. FRIDAY, JULY 6. 1739.

TO THE CITIZEN.

SIR,



INCE you were so obliging to take Notice of my last, by giving us a just Definition of *Honour*, illustrated with a very moving Example, it encourages me further to intreat you would favour the Publick with some rational Account of *Love* and *Friendship*, wherein they differ, and which in your Opinion, is the most noble and valuable Principle in a human Mind; your Compliance with this Request cannot fail to encrease the Number of your female Readers, and will oblige none more, than, Sir,

Your humble Servant,
LEONORA.

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The Ideas which are conceived, or rather the Impressions which are made on the *Soul* by *Love* and *Friendship*, will always be proportionably stronger or weaker, according to the Nature, and Perfection of the *Objects*, or *Motives* from which they arise and take their Birth; for so immense is that Variety of Desires and Affections, which daily appear in human Nature, that it seems to be morally impossible to find two Persons who exactly think in all Things alike; and yet it is that *Similitude*, or at least, the Appearance and fond Imagination of it, which raises those delightful Principles of *Love* and *Friendship* in the *Soul*, but which require two Ingredients in the Composition to make them durable and permanent, viz. *First*, *Virtue* and *Innocence*; 2^{dly}. *Uniformity*, or rather an *Identity* of *Affections*; and the nearer that the Parties can be supposed to approach these Circumstances, the stronger, more violent and lasting, will doubtless be their *Passion* for each other's *Happiness*: Which most natural and necessary Consequence of *Friendship*, becomes likewise the solid Foundation, and true Symptom of a *virtuous* and *inextinguishable Love*, that in reality, is no other than a superlative Degree of *Friendship*, continually nourished and improved between the two Sexes, by a Multitude of endearing *Tendernesses* form'd by Nature for that Purpose; which, although they often inflame Youth with many extravagant Flights that commonly bear the Name of *Love*, yet these neither proceed from, nor have any Connection with the *pure* and *sacred Friendship*, which is the *Parent* of that *Passion*, as may evidently appear from the *Prudence* and *Modesty* that continually guard it, which by concealing the *Flame* from vulgar Eyes, and keeping it within the Bounds that *Wisdom* prescribes, not only render it less flashy, and constant, but adds a certain Delicacy

tacy to the *Enjoyment*; more easily to be imagin'd and felt; than express'd.

The comely, rich, and sprightly *Altamont*, in the Vigour of Youth, and while his *Parents* were still living, became in Love with a beautiful young *Lady* in his Neighbourhood, of fine Accomplishments, but indued with a slender Fortune; although she was the only Child her *Parents* had left behind them. His natural *Fire* and *Vivacity* was in such continual Motion, that the Extravagancy of his *Flame* had no Bounds, so that his *Friends* were soon alarm'd, and took all the Pains imaginable to divert him from what they look'd on to be a very unequal and improper *Match* for a Man of his *Birth* and *Fortune*. But the fair *Calista*, whom Nature had form'd susceptible of all the *Delicacies* of the most tender *Passion*, had already conceiv'd in her fond *Imagination*, that *Altamont* was possess'd of every *Perfection* that could be found in, or ascribed to the most accomplish'd *Lover*; so that their mutual *Flames* burnt with equal Desire of accomplishing their most ardent *Wishes*; accordingly, without Delay, they join'd themselves together in *Marriage*, regardless of every thing else but an immediate Satisfaction of the most violent *Passion* of *Love* that ever was known.

Altamont, who delighted in Hunting and all manner of Sport, took very little Notice of his *Dogs* and *Horses* for some Weeks after he was married; but then returning to his former Diversion, he used to get up three or four times a Week by Break of Day, and follow his Sport till Sunset, leaving the lonesome *Calista* to dine by herself, and pass the tedious Hours without any Company. They continued in this Way for some Months, until it sensibly cool'd that Heat of *Passion*, and Excess of *Fondness* which in the Beginning used to employ their whole Time; so that they

they now lived as most *Husbands* and *Wives* commonly do, dragging their *Chain* about with them. This being observed by *Leander*, one of *Altamont's* intimate Companions, who for some time had entertain'd a secret *Passion* in his Bosom for the fair *Calista*, he took Occasion one Morning to feign himself sick, pretending he was suddenly seized with a violent *Cholick*, so that he could not get out of Bed. *Altamont*, moved with his Friend's Indisposition, which, however, he believed would carry itself off in a few Hours, ordered great Care to be taken of him, and then took Horse to go a hunting as usual. Thus *Leander*, finding himself blessed with the favourable Opportunity he had long hoped for, made use of every *Artifice* which the most exquisite *Ingenuity* could invent, to gain *Calista's* Confidence, first by counterfeiting a delicate and bashful *Modesty* in her Presence, which intirely removed from her innocent Mind, any the least Suspicion of his *Design*, and then artfully regretting the unhappy and melancholy Effect of his Friend *Altamont's* Taste for Hunting, which obliged so loving and tender a Wife as *Calista*, to pass whole Days by herself, he continued to expatiate on the Nature of that *Friendship* on which *Love* was founded; that, in his Opinion, could by no means admit of such cold *Indifference*, or rather *Neglect*, until by those and the like sly and soft *Insinuations*, he truly affected her already disturbed and doubtful Heart, to think of *Altamont* in the manner he wished for, and at last gain'd his Point, by making an intire *Breach* and *Separation* between them.

But how much more wisely and happily was the same *Passion* of *Love* conducted between young *Polydore* and the charming *Silena*! who after an elegant and virtuous Correspondence for above three Years, which gave many instructive, as well

as delightful *Occasions* of searching into the inmost *Recesses* of each other's *Souls*, form'd so pure and lasting a *Friendship* as no *Fortune* could affect, nor any thing but *Death* put an End to: Their *Passions* and *Inclinations*, to all Appearance, were equally the same; for each was continually employed in finding out all the innocent agreeable *Ways* that could possibly be thought on, of pleasing the other, and they never knew what it was to differ in *Opinion* about any thing, was it ever so trifling: Their only *Ambition* was to make one another as happy as either of their *Capacities* or *Circumstances* could reach or accomplish, so as that neither of them could enjoy any of the *Comforts* or *Pleasures* of *Life*, without being assured that the other, some how, participated and shared in the *Satisfaction* obtain'd. Under these most delightful and happy *Circumstances*, they married by the free Consent of all their *Relations*, and have continued many Years a singular *Pattern* and *Ornament* to the married *State*, and a bright *Example* of the *Purity*, *Duration*, and irresistible *Force* of *Love*, when it is engrafted on a truly virtuous and perfect *Friendship*.

From these *Examples*, together with what has been above explain'd, it is hoped our fair Correspondent *Leonora*, may draw some useful *Inferences*, to satisfy herself and others, on this delicate *Subject*, wherein the *Contentment* and *Happiness* of her whole *Sex* are so deeply concerned, and which the *Citizen*, with great Chearfulness, will endeavour on all *Occasions* to promote, to the utmost of his Power.



N^o 23. FRIDAY, JULY 13, 1739.



PUBLICK *Diversions* and *Entertainments* may be considered as the *Dress* and *Ornaments* of a *Society* or *Kingdom*, whereby it may be peculiarly distinguish'd from other *Nations* in its *Liberty*, publick *Virtue*, *Politeness*, and *Humanity*; *Qualities* which irresistibly attract the awful *Respect* and *Esteem* of *Mankind*, and, consequently, give a certain *Preference* of *Rank* to any *Country* which has a just *Title* to the *Possession* and constant *Practice* of them.

The *Greeks* and *Romans* excell'd in the great *Order* that was preserved, and the strict *Justice* distributed amongst the *People*, on all *Occasions* of that *Nature*: Even the greatest *Men* of the *State* did not refuse, or disdain to appear at their publick *Shews*, and there to act the Part of *Judges*, by giving the *Prize* of *Merit*, to whom it appear'd to be due. *Honour*, in those *Days*, had a much greater *Share* in the *Government* of *Mens Passions*, than *Interest*, which made *Valour* and true *Courage* the reigning *Principle* amongst the *Body* of the *People*; and distinguish'd the manly *Spirit* of their *Youth*, by a *Contempt* of every thing which had the least *Appearance* of *Effeminacy*. Every *Species* of *Virtue* practis'd amongst them, gave such a *Proportion* of *Complacency* to the *Mind*, as always carried along with it its own *Reward*, and all manner of *Vice*, as well as *Fear*, was more effectually discouraged, by the contemptible *Reproach* that never fail'd to attend it, than by any formal *Punishment* that could be inflicted; for

such was the Force of a great Example with those antient Heroes, that it far exceeded any other Power amongst them, and not only inspired an universal Contempt of every mean low thing, but even of Death itself. And although that noble Courage, and undaunted Spirit is not so generally to be met with now, in any Country, as it was amongst the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*; yet some Seeds of it still remain almost every where, which distinguish the Man of Honour and Courage from the Sycophant and the Coward; the Freeman from the Slave, and a rational Liberty from Tyranny and Oppression; so that by observing the Quality, Dress, and Behaviours of People, when they make their Appearance at any publick Show and Entertainment, Strangers naturally form their Sentiments of the Genius of a Nation, the Politeness or Rusticity of their Manners, and also of the Nature and Elegancy of their Government. This makes it an indispensable Duty on the Magistrates and Governors of every State, to give due Attention to the Regulation and good Order of all publick Diversions, and to give a Pattern, by their Example, at such Entertainments, which might insensibly draw others into a voluntary Imitation of a decent Appearance, both in Dress and Manners.

It may be objected, perhaps, that in a free Country, it will not be an easy Matter to force a Delicacy of Dress or Manners, especially amongst the Commons, who are exempt from no Privilege they please to make use of, except that of breaking the Laws in Force. But to this it may be answer'd, that we do not propose any coercive Power or Means should be used on such Occasions, other than a reputable Example from Persons of Rank and Figure, who by avoiding to be present at, or otherwise encouraging, publick Diversions, where any kind of Indecencies were allowed,

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it would more effectually introduce Order and good Manners, than could by any other Method possibly be done. For although the Prospect of Gain might, perhaps, tempt some Projectors to frame, and attempt to carry on publick Diversions of low Wit and Humour, no way fit to entertain Persons of Rank and good Taste, yet such paltry Entertainments could not be supported for any Continuance, if a considerable Part of the better sort of Company did not so far forget themselves, as too frequently to favour these kind of Shows with their Presence and Countenance; for as uncultivated Nature commonly has a Desire after that Pleasure or Thing from which it is formally prohibited, so when left to its own free Choice, without any manner of Constraint, it is apt to be ambitious of approaching to the Likeness of a superior Character, by an industrious Imitation of those who truly possess it; and therefore it is an impardonable Failing in People of Quality, to deviate from the Dignity of their Rank by such low Conduct, and so neglect the only probable Means whereby the Commons, in a free Country, can be led into a tolerable Decency of Manners.

A remarkable Instance of the Advantages flowing from a comely agreeable Behaviour at publick Diversions, may with great Satisfaction be observed, in the delightful Improvement that of late Years has been made in the Entertainment which all Sort of good Company meet with at *Vaux-hall Gardens*: That, from a publick Nuisance and Scandal to human Society, is now, by the Care of the Managers, and the frequent Resort of the Nobility and Gentry, become a more beautiful and singular Piece of the kind, than is to be found any where else in all *Europe*; for the agreeable Disposition of the Walks, and the surprising good Effect of the Lights, which present the whole Company every Moment to your View,

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View, together with the harmonious Sound of such a Variety of the most elegant Musick, is a most glorious original Scene of true Life, far exceeding any imaginary Representation that can be made on a Stage, of any Opera or Comedy whatever: But above all, the improving Example of that graceful easy Freedom and genteel Air, wherewith Persons of the first Rank and Quality condescend to mix and converse with their Inferiors, is so charming as to raise a smiling Chearfulness in every Countenance; and instils such a Share of Humanity in every Breast, as irresistibly influences the Manners and Behaviour of all present, so that the whole may be justly esteem'd a noble Diversion, and a virtuous Improvement to human Society, which for the Honour of the Nation, deserves to be promoted and encouraged before any other sort of publick Entertainments, at this Time to be met with in *Great Britain*.

A Neglect of decent good Manners, amongst the People of Rank and Condition, in any Country, never fails to introduce Libertinism, and often the shameless Practice of Immorality and Vice, which at last must end in Confusion, and, consequently, the Overthrow of a loose and disorderly Government; for when the Commons come to be generally taught, by the Example of the Great and Noble, to practice Corruption without blushing, or Fear of Punishment, the Son will copy from the Father, and the Servant from the Master, until the very Ideas of Virtue and common Honesty are quite lost. Thus every Man by Degrees, still placing his Happiness in the Possession of Riches and Power, will think that he has as good a Right as any other to raise himself and his Family, by cheating or over-reaching his ignorant and helpless Neighbour; and the unbounded Ambition of some, will no doubt lead them to grasp at Preferment,

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in order to plunder the Publick, and enrich themselves; for if once human Reason can be prevail'd with to slip over but one small Link of that indivisible Chain of Justice and Equity, which ought to lead and govern Mens Thoughts and Actions, it will be very uncertain where the Evil may stop: When by these Means the true Ends of Government in Society are frustrated, so that the poor and weak become the constant Prey of the rich and strong; the Majority will then probably think of exerting that Privilege, which Nature hath given them, to shake off the Oppression and Bondage they labour under, by chusing some other Form of Government suitable to their Inclinations at the Time; for so History informs us has been the Case in all Revolutions of Civil Government in the World, where there did not appear any just Pretence, either of Birth-right or Conquest; but merely an universal Dissatisfaction among the Body of the People, who complain'd of Oppression; and the Want of that equal Protection in the Enjoyment of their Rights and Properties, which the essential and reciprocal Obligations that always subsist between any Sovereign Power, and its Subjects, necessarily imply.



N^o 24. FRIDAY, JULY 20, 1739.

To THE CITIZEN.

S. A. R.

AMONGST the Subjects you have chosen to discourse on, for the Entertainment of the Publick, I perceive you have given a general Invitation to your Correspondents to assist you by communicating their Sentiments

Sentiments on any Part of Learning or Science, with a View, no doubt, to render your Paper still more useful to Mankind, which I understand to be your principal and generous Design. The Reason therefore of my giving you this Trouble, is, to make a little Enquiry of what real Service some of those *Litterati*, who assume the Title of Men of Science, are to their Fellow Creatures; for it is a very great Doubt with me, whether human Nature is so much indebted to many of the learned Professors of Divinity, Mathematicks, Physick, and Law, and to the laborious Searchers into Antiquity, by their Skill in Chronology, Medals, and Heraldry; as it most certainly is to others, whose Humanity have led them to study and promote the good Order of Society, and chiefly to employ their Time in procuring Ease and Happiness to Mankind, who have hitherto received but little Profit from such of those scientific Gentlemen, as have taken great Pains artificially to disguise the Truth; or vainly attempted, by poking in the dark, to discover such Secrets in Nature, as are beyond all human Capacity to reach.

When we say that such a one is a Man of Learning, it certainly ought to imply, that he really knows the Subject or Thing, which he professes himself to have learn'd; but to give him a just Title to Mankind's Esteem, it is still necessary, that it should appear he has by Study acquired a Knowledge, which renders him more useful to them, than he possibly could have been without it; for if this cannot be made out, all the fine Structure of Character, adorn'd with the Epithets of Learning and Science, will fall of course; and our learned Professor turn'd into a Jobber, or Dealer in Toys, fit only to amuse and surprize Women and Children.

It is inconceivable to think how any Man can be

so silly, as deliberately to cheat himself with an Imagination that he knows Things, which on the least Reflection he must not only be sensible, but even forced to own, are unknowable, and without the Reach of human Capacity. Surely, the best Advice that can be given to such a whimsical Philosopher, is to begin as some of the wiser Ancients did, with endeavouring to know himself, which is the true Fountain of all such Knowledge in Man, as is any way useful, and consequently commendable. But to play the Mountebank and Quack of Science, in a Pulpit or Rostrum, as some of our modern Professors do, it is a downright Affront to Men of any Wisdom or cool Thinking, and a gross Imposture on Fools.

By descending to Particulars, we shall still be more out of Conceit with the pompous Appellations of Learning and Science, with which some Men have had the Vanity to dignify themselves; for of what Service to true Religion, or to Mankind, has all the voluminous, confused Jargon of abstruse Speculation, wrote in Divinity, been, other than to serve the Ends of a few artful, ambitious, and cunning Men, who, by endeavouring to place the essential Points of Religion in some peculiar, speculative Notions, whereby to catch the poor and ignorant Majority of the People, have more effectually carried on their own self-interested and partial Schemes in the Government, both of Church and State; whilst the plain, simple Doctrines of Christianity, to hate no Man, but Love even your Enemies, avoiding filthy Lucre, and all Manner of Coverousness, fly in the Face of that Machinery of Ecclesiastical Pomp and Dominion over the Estates and Consciences of Men, where-with the World has been so much harass'd.

As to Mathematical Knowledge, when it is pursued only with a View of improving some Part or other

other of Mechanicks, it will be esteem'd a profitable, and very commendable Science; but then it is by no means just, that the speculative Professor in his Closet should arrogate to himself the whole Honour due to that Branch of Learning, when there are such a vast Number of elegant Artificers constantly employ'd in the Construction of a great Variety of curious Machines, without the Help of which the Professor's Knowledge would be of little or no Use.

The Philosopher again, who hugs himself in the Capacity which he thinks he has acquired of resolving every Part of Matter, and the outward Appearance of Things, into their first Principles and Ratios, is every now and then foil'd and mortified, not only by the ill Success of his own Experiments, but often by some new Demonstration of one or other of his Fraternity, that the Principles hitherto taught and received, are evidently erroneous and false.

But for the Physician, he has the least Pretence of any to a scientific Knowledge in his Profession, which seems to consist in the Pains he takes, and the great Toil he must undergo, in collecting into his Brain, and cramming his Memory with the experimental Practice of a thousand Years; for by far the greatest Part whereof, none of the Faculty ever yet attempted to offer any Sort of Reason, by way of explaining the Operation of their Medicines *a Priori*.

Some of the Lawyers indeed make a great Show, by taking on them to sit in the Judgment Seat of Monarchs, and to be the Vicegerents of supreme Justice; but when we have ventur'd in to view the Infinity of Maelles and Windings, which have been artificially cut out in the great Forest of that subtil Profession, for once that you meet with Truth and Justice in their simple and natural

Dress,

Dress, you will find them fifty Times disguised in a Variety of monstrous Shapes, in order to hoodwink the crazy, unthinking Passengers, and pick their Pockets.

As for the Chronologists, Medalists, &c. they likewise pretend to be faithful Dealers in Antiquity, and of great Use in the Judgment of true History; but some of them rather act the Part of Executioners, and Manglers of ancient History, by introducing their conjectural Criticisms, in Contradiction to the most material Facts, and the best vouched Relations of Things.

I would not however be understood, by any thing I have hitherto said, to lessen and undervalue those learned Professions, when they are judiciously exercised by great and good Men for the common Benefit of Mankind; for I honestly think, that a becoming Respect and Reverence will always be due to the Divine, who distinguishes himself by a pious Imitation of true Apostolick Humility; and who conscientiously labours in the Vineyard, for the spiritual Good of others, and not with any secular View of enriching and aggrandizing himself, or of imposing on the Weakness and Credulity of the Ignorant, in order to grasp at an immoderate Share of Power.

I am likewise of Opinion, that a Professor in the Mathematical or Philosophical Chair, would acquire much Honour, and deserve great Encouragement, who was industriously communicative of his Knowledge, in order to diffuse the Benefits arising from it, to the general Service of Mankind; but who despised the mean Affectation of concealing his Discoveries, with a View to enhance the Value of them, and to pass them on the World for the Productions of a supernatural and miraculous Genius.

Also one would be apt to express a very great Value

Value and Esteem for the Physician, who, far from pretending to any demonstrative Certainty in the Course of his Practice, was exceedingly careful in attending daily on his Patients, and watching every new Symptom that appeared, in order to apply in Time such Remedies, as either from his own Experience, or Books of Authority, he judged to be most proper and safe in the Case.

In fine, Men of all Professions, whose Pretensions to the Character of Learning and Knowledge do not set them above a modest Apprehension, or Fear of doing wrong; and a necessary Caution of injuring or misleading others, can never fail of being considered and respected, both as honourable and useful Members of the Commonwealth. And altho' I can foresee it is very probable, that some peevish Connoisseurs may be chagrined, and fretted at the Liberty which I have here taken in speaking out plain Truths; yet give me leave to assure you, Sir, that I have no other Meaning, than to contribute my little Mite towards carrying on the laudable Design of your weekly Paper, by pointing out and distinguishing the solid, instructive, and useful Parts of such Knowledge, as within the narrow Compass of human Capacity is attainable by Study; from the arrogant Presumption of those, who vainly attempt to pry into Secrets, which kind Nature has wisely hid from them; and likewise, to separate true Learning, from the superficial and trifling Pursuits of Men, who take more Delight in valuing themselves on a supposed Character, than on such Enquiries and Improvements as might be of real Use and Service to Mankind. I am,

S I R,

Your Humble Servant.

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N^o 25. FRIDAY, JULY 27, 1739.

On the Expediency of a War at this Time between Great Britain and Spain.



THE Circumstance of the Times gives rise to such a Variety of Opinions about Peace or War, that it may be very pertinent to imagine after what Manner a strong Genius, with an inborn Passion for the true Interest of his Country, would be apt to reason on the present Appearances of Things.

He could not avoid being moved with the universal Complaints amongst all Sort of trading People, proceeding from a sensible Decay of Business at home, and the Discouragement that is every where to be met with in the Markets abroad.

He would contemplate with Concern, on the Obstructions which, of late Years, the Trade of Britain had met with in the *American* Seas; and on the various Insults, which had been offered to her Subjects there, and were still daily repeated by the *Spaniards*, without the least Attempt made, on our Part, to resent those Injuries.

He would be apt to charge this Inactivity of the *British* State, on that great Load of publick Debts, which inevitably kept the People depressed under a continual Burthen of heavy Taxes; and on the Difficulties which thereby occurred, in raising of new Funds to supply the Exigencies of a War.

He would likewise take under his judicious and impartial Consideration, the Advantages of a profound Peace, and the Fruits which might be gathered

N^o 25.

ther'd from prudent and wise Negotiations; but to determine in so nice a Case with the greater Impartiality, we will suppose him to have laid down the following Principles, on which his Judgment might be more securely founded.

1. That *Britain* cannot any otherways maintain its Independency and Rank amongst the *European* Nations, than by a frequent and free Commerce to all Parts of the World, which therefore in all Events, and at all Hazards, must be secured and preserved, either by Treaties, or by Force of Arms.

2. That from the Situation of *Britain*, her Strength chiefly consists in her Naval Force, by which alone her Trade is both to be extended and protected every where.

3. That while *Britain* can reign Mistress of the Sea, superior in the Number of Ships, and Goodness of her Navy, to all the other maritime Powers, she has little to apprehend from abroad; because in such Circumstances she will be able to force her own Trade, and crush theirs, by such Means as they can no ways prevent.

4. That since the Encouragement of our Manufactures at home, and the Protection of our Trade abroad, would in all Probability secure the Affections, and unite the Hearts of *Britons*; there is no other political Measure can be proposed, which would so effectually prevent and defeat any Attempts that possibly may be made to invade the Island, and disturb the Peace of its Government.

4. That a Naval War therefore, if wisely conducted, and vigorously carried on, will probably terminate in the Advantage, but can never hurt the true Interest of the *British* State.

On these Maxims, and the Inferences which may be naturally drawn from them, our impartial Reasoner proceeds to consider the Purport and Tendency

Tendency of such Treaties, as he can imagine to be form'd between *Great Britain*, and some of her most powerful Neighbours. But in the Course of this Enquiry, having the Mortification to observe, that every Transaction of that kind during the last Century, has operated strongly to the Disadvantage of *Britain*, by draining her of her Treasure, and encouraging other Nations to become her Rivals in Trade; he judiciously prefers a powerful Armament by Sea, and looks on a *British* Admiral, at the Head of his Fleet, to be by far the best Ambassador and Plenipotentiary, that can be made use of in a Conjunction such as the present seems to be; for he finds such an universal Change in the Face of publick Affairs throughout all *Europe*, from what it was thirty Years ago: That the Political Views of every State seem to be inverted, and their former Schemes wholly abandon'd.

Great Britain, which then made so glorious a Figure at the Head of a grand and powerful Alliance, in Defence of the Liberties of *Europe*, without whose Protection no State thought itself secure, is now insulted by some, and despised by others, of those very Powers, who at that Time acknowledg'd themselves to have ow'd their Preservation to the Benignity of her Councils, and the Force of her Arms. Nay, even the most common Right of a free Navigation to and from her own Dominions in *America*, which has ever been own'd, and ascertain'd by all former Treaties, is now openly denied, and new Terms insisted on, which are not only prejudicial to her Interest, but inconsistent with her Honour; so that our impartial Reasoner finds it necessary to examine particularly, what in all Probability will be the Consequences at this Time, either of Peace or War.

By Peace, he apprehends we shall be led into a mean

mean Submission of suffering our Ships to be visited and searched on the high Seas, to the great Loss and Destruction of our trading Interest; whereas one Year's successful War at Sea, would put an effectual Stop to all future Claims of that Nature, and restore us to the rightful Possession of the Bays of *Campechy* and *Honduras*, and also to the commodious and valuable Port of *Darien*.

By Peace, he concludes, that our Rivals, the *French*, would not only be greatly encouraged in carrying on their new-projected Manufactures of the same kind with ours; but would likewise engross the *Assiento*, and other Branches of the *Spanish West-India* Trade to themselves: Whereas by a War it is to be hoped, that *Britain* might, in a very short Time, either oblige *Spain* to grant a proper Security for the Freedom of her Navigation, or obtain by Force the actual Possession of such Places in the *West-Indies*, as would effectually answer that End.

By Peace, he thinks the Kingdoms of *France* and *Spain* would be so much encouraged in their mutual Trade with each other, that they could not fail in a short Time to enlarge the Numbers of their Seamen, and to make so great an Addition to their Naval Force, as to become formidable even to *Great Britain*. Whereas, from a War, it may certainly be expected, considering the present Condition of the *British* Navy, that both *France* and *Spain* would be disabled from having it in their Power to form any considerable Fleet of capital Ships, for Years to come; nor would they have the Opportunity, as in Time of Peace, to increase the Number of their Seamen; and to over-reach us, as they now do, in many Branches of Commerce.

He is not apprehensive of any Danger from the Event of *France* uniting with *Spain*, in carrying on a Sea War against *Britain* alone; because he is well

well inform'd, that in *France*, at this present present Time, they have only 44 Ships of War capable of Service, and not quite 12000 Seamen on the Register. But he observes, with the utmost Concern, an universal Discontent throughout the whole Kingdom of *Great Britain*; and that Mens Passions are so over-heated with Resentment against the *Spaniards*, that it will be impracticable by Negotiation to obtain such a Peace, at this Juncture, as will restore Quiet and Unanimity in the Minds of the People, without which the Proceedings of any Administration can never be rendered easy and acceptable to them; wherefore our impartial Reasoner comes at last to be of Opinion, that a War is at this Time unavoidable, and that the principal Object of such a War ought to be the obtaining full and ample Satisfaction from *Spain*, in such a Manner, as cannot fail to please the Generality, and revive that Confidence in the Administration, which is absolutely requisite in a free Country, to preserve the publick Peace, and provide against all Accidents that may happen to endanger the Safety of the State, which will ever depend on such Measures as can best secure the Hearts and Affections of the People.

Thus, on a Supposition, that the publick Funds already in Being, without any Addition of new Taxes, are sufficient to maintain the whole *British* Navy in full Pay; and that our Fleets may be so disposed, as to guard the Coast, protect our Trade, and at the same time attack the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*, with such Success, as to obtain Possession of, and secure our Right to the Settlements of *Campechy*, *Honduras*, and the Gulf of *Darien*. Our impartial Reasoner concludes, that a vigorous Sea War, for these great and necessary Ends, would give universal Satisfaction to the People of *Great Britain*, do Honour to the King, and

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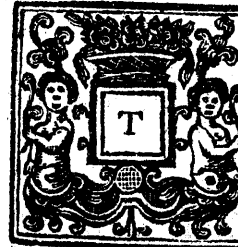
the Administration of his Majesty's Government, for the Time to come, both safe and easy, by destroying every where the principal Seeds of Faction and Discontent, which otherwise may grow up, to threaten and disturb the Quiet of his Majesty's happy Reign, over a dutiful and obedient, but free People.



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A
DISSERTATION
ON THE
LIBERTY of the SUBJECT
IN
GREAT BRITAIN.



THE Word *Liberty* is capable of conveying to the Mind as many different Ideas, as there are Things in Nature unto which it can be applied; wherefore, to avoid Uncertainty and Confusion, in reasoning on so universal and extensive a Principle, it is to be remembered, that the Liberty here treated of, is relative only to that Freedom and Power of Action, which Men can be supposed to enjoy, under some certain regular Form of Civil Government.

Nature has, in some Degree, implanted in every Man, a self-interested Desire of enjoying Pleasure,
G 2 Wealth,

Wealth, and Power: But we can have no Idea, or Conception of Civil Government, without implying an absolute Resignation, or rather Deprivation of all Liberty, to act and do Things, that are either inconsistent with the Safety and Prosperity of the whole Community, as a Body Politick, or which tend, in any Degree, to weaken and destroy it: And as the Safety and Prosperity of every Kingdom and Commonwealth, most evidently consists in a due Submission unto, and a strict Observance of the Laws enacted for that End, as well as a Connection and Dependence of the different Branches of the Constitution, with and upon each other; these must be carefully kept in View, as often as we attempt to make a true Judgment of the Subjects Liberty, which, under any Form of Government, may be called not only a Privilege, but a Right to do any Act consistent with the Law of God, which cannot be construed to infringe the known Law of the Land, or otherwise tend to the Hurt and Prejudice of the Society, as a Body Politick.

The Word *Subject* sufficiently denotes the Species of Liberty, which may be claimed under that Denomination; yet this must be distinguished from the additional, but legal Powers and Capacities, of such Subjects as happen to be invested with Offices, and intrusted with the Execution of particular Duties in the publick Administration of Government; which they do not exercise and perform as Acts of their own Will, but merely in Obedience to the legislative Power, which in its Nature is absolute, and can admit of no Limitation or Controul.

Man, who by Nature is born equal and free, before he has cultivated with Art the Faculties of his Mind, must doubtless feel an Aversion within himself, to see any of his Fellow Creatures invested with

with an absolute and unlimited Power over his Life and Property; and it is this uncorrected, rude Principle, which is so apt, among the Vulgar, to stir up Sedition, and often Rebellion, when concealed by the pretended Humility of ill-designing Men, under a false Notion of Liberty.

Antiquity affords innumerable Instances of this Kind, in the various Forms of Government used amongst the *Greeks* and *Romans*; in which Period of History, we cannot but observe, that, notwithstanding the boasted Freedom secured to any Society, by a popular Government, or Commonwealth, yet, when either imminent Danger from abroad, or the Growth of Faction at home, induced the State to chuse a Dictator, or transfer the legislative and arbitrary Power into a few Hands, it still deviated into an absolute Monarchy, from whose Luxury and Licentiousness, first Poverty, and then Slavery, always ensued.

To prevent such a fatal Catastrophe, the Authors, from Time to Time, of our present happy Constitution, in the Island of *Great Britain*, have shewed great Depth of Thought, and incomparable Skill, in forming that most beautiful Machine, which, in the Coalition of three different Estates and Conditions of Men, composes one united, arbitrary, and legislative Power, viz. The King, Lords, and Commons in Parliament.

It is a most remarkable, and happy Circumstance, in the Frame of this Government, that both the legislative and executive Power, being diffused into the Hands of many, of all Ranks, which, either by Election, or Appointment from Time to Time, is continually shifting and rowling amongst the People themselves, who, by this Means, are accusom'd both to govern, and to be governed in their Turns; seldom any Hatred or Animosity arises on that Account; for every one feels

the Conveniency of an orderly, mild, and decent Behaviour, while in Power, because what in that Respect is one Man's Lot to-day, may be another's to-morrow; so that Self Interest, equally with Duty, obliges them to do as they would be done by.

The Administration of civil Justice is here distinguishable from that of all other Countries, and influenced with an unparallelled Humanity; for even the guilty Wretch is not only secure from Torture, and every other Thing which can bear the least Resemblance of Slavery; but there is further a most admirable Provision made by the ancient Constitution of this Kingdom, to prevent the ill Effects, and terrible Consequences of those human Passions, Mistakes, and Prejudices, which appear so frequently elsewhere on the Bench of Justice.

In *England*, it is not so much as permitted to whisper Scandal, or attack any Man's Honesty and Reputation at Random; and let the Proofs be ever so strong, that a Crime has actually been committed, a Bill or Information must be first laid before an Inquest of creditable Men, called a *Grand Jury*, representing the County; who, upon their Oaths, must find, that there are just Grounds for a legal Prosecution, before the Party can be arraigned; nor has any Court of Justice Power to take Cognizance of, or give Judgment in any capital Matter, excepting such only as are, by Inquest of the Grand Jury, presented to the Court as true Bills: But to convict a Person of any Crime or Iniquity, which may affect either his Life, Liberty, or Estate, Proof thereof must be first made in open Court, to the unanimous Satisfaction of twelve indifferent Men, of unexceptionable Credit in the Neighbourhood where the Fact is alleged to have been committed, or where the Subject in

Question

Question lies, called a *Petty Jury*, who make Enquiry, upon their Oaths, of every particular Circumstance, and are obliged to return a distinct Verdict of the Matter into Court, before any Sentence can be pronounced, or Punishment inflicted.

It is from this singular Privilege, that the Liberty of the Subject in *England*, is to be distinguished from that of all other Nations; for without supposing so great a Number as twelve of our most indifferent Neighbours and Equals, to be partially influenced in their unanimous Judgment against us, it is not in the Power of any Man, not even the greatest in the Kingdom, to oppress one single Individual, by wrongfully affecting either his Life, Liberty, or Estate.

It may reasonably be supposed, that this honourable and important Service upon Juries, in order to dispense Justice between Man and Man, as well as to the Publick, and on which all Degrees and Conditions of Men, amongst the Commons, are continually employed in their Turns, begets a kind of Habit in the Minds of the whole People, of easily distinguishing between Right and Wrong, on every common Occasion; which of course must divert them from doing Things that they know will unavoidably expose them to the Indignation, Scorn, and Censure of their Neighbours and Acquaintance: And, if we add to this Consideration, the Honour it confers, as well as the Pleasure it must give to the Man, who, tho' otherwise in mean Circumstances, yet finds that an Integrity of Character and Reputation amongst his Neighbours, is capable of rendering him daily useful in carrying on the most important Business of the Commonwealth, viz. that of doing material Justice indifferently, between the Great and Small, Rich and Poor; it must leave such a Tincture of Worth and Virtue amongst the Generality of the People, as

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cannot

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cannot fail to appear in their most frequent Transactions and Affairs of Life : A Badge of Liberty, which tho' at present to be found no where out of *Great Britain*, yet is impressed with the true Image of that lovely Goddess we so much adore.

The next Thing which strikes our View in this Country of Liberty, is that artificial Spring, which unites the three great, but independant Powers, that compose the Legislative Body, viz. the King, absolute in his executive Capacity ; the Lords, final in their judicial ; and the Commons, unlimited in their Power of enriching and supporting the other two ; all three equally necessary to enact, and give the Laws a proper Sanction ; but likewise equally subject to them, when enacted, with the whole Body of the People under their Jurisdiction.

The Dangers and Evils which Mankind are preserved from, and the innumerable Advantages which they receive by civil Government, when collected together, are understood by the Term *Publick Good*, of any Society or Commonwealth ; which is of so different a Nature from the selfish Profit, or private Good, that Individuals may be supposed to hunt after, exclusive of the Publick, that they are most frequently inconsistent, and incompatible with each other ; insomuch, that he who thinks fit to demonstrate, by any Part of his Conduct, that he prefers his own private Advantage to the Publick, does thereby, as much as possible, render himself unworthy at least, I will not say incapable, of being a Member of the Legislature, or of being intrusted with any Share of the executive Power. For to be qualified to rule and govern in Society, implies not only a Disposition, but a strong Desire to execute and fulfil the just Ends of Government, without which there can be no Union amongst the Parts, whereby

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Discord, and, in Time, a Dissolution must follow.

Publick Good, therefore, being the only Principle which can effectually unite the three great and independant Parts of the Legislature in *Great Britain*, and seeing this publick Good is to be discovered, and ascertained by the Application and Judgment of above 700 Persons of different Ranks, and in different Capacities, who are all in their just Proportions equally interested as private Subjects therein, how great is the Security to the Body of the People, that the Voice and Sentiments of such a Legislature, will more certainly terminate in the Good of the Publick, than those of any lesser Number of private Men, who are not called by their Country to that Service ; and whose Opinions therefore, impartially speaking, cannot be supposed to carry an equal Weight along with them !

That human Judgment is weak and fallible, or that Mens Minds are continually liable to be corrupted in some Shape or other, whereby even such a Legislative Body, as is above described, may be mistaken or misled, is undeniable : But as that is an Argument which equally concludes against all Kinds and Forms of Government in Being, it cannot be admitted as an Objection to the particular Frame of the *British* Constitution, which we only say is, with respect to Liberty, preferable to any other hitherto invented and practised in the World ; because the free Enjoyment of the Subject's natural and acquired Rights, which we call Liberty, is secured to every Individual, on the same equal Terms and Conditions, without any Distinction or Partiality whatsoever.

Could Men be contented under such a Government, to act every one as became them, in their proper Sphere ; those who were truly qualified to fill the highest Stations, and found themselves in-

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vested with great Power, would disdain to pervert the equitable Intention of the Laws, by influencing the Passions, and debauching the Minds of the Legislators, to act on private Views, inconsistently with the Honour and Interest of their Country, which, on all Occasions, is to be discovered by a simple, but invariable Way of thinking, that obtrudes itself into every Breast, which is not already tainted with Prejudice or Vice.

An uniform, virtuous, and steady Administration, wants no secret Arts to support its lawful Authority, but will daily gain Esteem in the Hearts and Affections of the People; because it acts on first Principles, and such undeniable Maxims of true Policy, as exclude the very Idea of a Party; and there is nothing more obvious in History, than that wheresoever Parties have been introduced into the Management and Conduct of civil Government, it has polluted the Minds, and corrupted the Morals of the People, to such a Degree, as seldom or never failed to end in the total Subversion of the Constitution.

On the other hand, where any private Man in *Great Britain*, out of an unbiassed and sincere Concern for the publick Good, thinks he is able to support, with sufficient Evidence, a material and judicious Complaint, against the Conduct of any publick Officer; or if he has any reasonable Proposition to make, for some Alteration in, or Amendment of the Law, or of the very Frame and Constitution of the Government itself. There are so many Ways of Application to the Judgment of the Legislature, by any one or two of the Members which compose that numerous Body, that no Person or Persons, of what Rank and Degree soever, can be at a Loss, either by themselves or their Friends, to make their humble Address unto the Whole, or any Part of the supreme Power; that

that being the Birth-right of every Subject, as often as Occasion may require: But instead of this legal, safe, and just Way of Proceeding, to deliver and enforce our conceived Opinions of the publick Good, by publishing anonymous Libels, and seditious Pamphlets, stuffed only with satirical Wit, on the Characters of those particular Persons who happen to be in Power, and intrusted with the Administration, is a monstrous Abuse of the true Sense and Meaning of the Word *Liberty*, which always implies an open, fair, and justifiable Act.

It is not only the Right, but the Duty of a *British* Subject, to oblige every one, with whom he has any Dealing, to act upon the Square, and in Conformity to the Laws, which have no Respect of Persons: But clandestinely to ridicule the Legislators, and treat with Contempt those Persons who happen to be invested with the executive Power, is a Liberty which no reasonable Man can claim, nor any virtuous or guiltless Administration will bear.

The just, the brave, and free-born *Briton*, contentedly enjoys what he has, without the least Apprehension of being injured or insulted by his Neighbour, how great and powerful soever he may be: He pays a decent and dutiful Respect to his Superiors, according to their Rank, and treats his Equals in the same kindly Manner, he would chuse, in the like Circumstances, to be treated by them: He considers himself as a Child of the Commonwealth, and measures both his own, and other People's Merit, according to their Capacity and Diligence in serving and promoting the publick Good: He sympathizes with the honest, poor, industrious Man, but scorns to envy the Riches, and gawdy Indolence of the Great. In short, he thinks, he sees, and feels himself to be without arbitrary Restraint, and free to possess every Enjoyment in Life, which is consistent with the Peace, Safety, and Prosperity of his Country. Thus

Thus far having spoken of that Liberty, which, in *Great Britain*, is enjoyed by every Subject, without Distinction; we shall next proceed to consider the Nature of that adventitious Power or Liberty, conferred by Law, on those who happen to be intrusted with any Share of the legislative or executive Power.

Every just and upright Man, who accepts of, and is employed in any Office of publick Trust, will, from the Nature of the Thing, consider himself as under an absolute Restraint from using the Power conferred upon him, to any other Purpose, than that of securing and promoting the publick Good, as it is distinguished from selfish and private Gain: So whether a Man be born to that hereditary Honour, which gives him a Right to sit and vote in the upper House of Parliament, or that the Virtue and Humanity of his Conduct in private Life, has made it the People's Choice to confer that Privilege on him in the lower House; he is equally bound to act, in the Capacity of a Legislator, as a Father of his Country, with great Temper and Deliberation, without suffering Passion, Prejudice, Self-Interest, or any private Resentment to influence his Opinion and Judgment of those Things which concern the publick Good and Welfare of the Nation. If he does but remember to keep that great End in View, for which he was invested with such a singular Privilege and Power, he cannot err by deviating from what his Judgment informs him to be his bounden Duty, without committing a Rape on the Conviction of his own Mind, and thereby disqualifying himself from sustaining the Honour of so great a Character and Trust in the publick Service.

A Legislator is the highest, and most sublime Character, that human Nature can be clothed with; representing to us in Miniature, by the quiet and peaceable

peaceable Enjoyment of our Properties; and the Multitude of other Advantages, which flow from a well-governed Society; that impartial Beneficence and diffusive Bounty, which the great Author of Nature is daily and liberally bestowing, with an indifferent Hand, on all who are under his Inspection, from the smallest Insect, to the Prince on his Throne.

How amiable does this Character appear, when justly sustain'd; and how much adapted to draw the Affections, as well as Respect of Mankind! Yet, as Power, which implies a Liberty of acting as we will, not only loses its Acrimony, but shines with an agreeable Lustre, in the Breast of a just and good Man, so it becomes black and odious, when tinctured with a vicious Pride, and the Gall of Oppression: To avoid which, as much as the Situation of human Affairs will permit, the *British* Constitution has wisely lodged the legislative Power in many Hands, and guarded their Method of Proceeding with such elegant Forms, as that it is morally impossible, for such a Body to be blinded with Ignorance, or artificially imposed on: Their Votes and Proceedings are not only published from Day to Day by Authority, but they oblige themselves to act with so much Deliberation, and in so many different Capacities, that they cannot be surprized into any Measure or Resolution, without its having been first maturely weighed, by every Part and Member of their own Body, as well as known unto, and considered by those whom they represent. And although the Liberty and Power of any Member of a *British* Parliament, with respect to his Speaking in the House, and Voting as his own Judgment directs him, for the publick Good, may be said to be unlimited; yet the ill Consequence of his speaking or acting with Passion or Prejudice, or any other Weakness incident to human Nature, is sure to be prevented; and the

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Error timely corrected, by the Wisdom and Prudence of so great an Assembly, indued both with Learning and Experience.

The Variety of Knowledge to be found in such a Body of Men, whose liberal Education (it may be supposed) has improved their natural Talents for all Kinds of Business, to the highest Pitch, must render the Duty of the several Magistrates, appointed to put the Laws in Execution, both plain and easy to all concerned; for there is this material Difference between the Duty of a Legislator, and that of an executive Magistrate; that the one judges of the Matter before him, without any Limitation or Restraint on his Will, guided by the Light of his own Understanding and Apprehension; whereas the other is tied down, and confined to act only as he is directed by the Letter, and true Meaning of the written Law before him. Again, the first is accountable to God and his own Conscience, how far his Actions are equitable and just in themselves. But the second, being the mere Executor of the first's Judgment and Intention, he acts blindly in Obedience to him, and cannot therefore be accountable for any more than a punctual Execution of what has been already ordained and enacted by the other.

In the present Constitution of *Great Britain*, the King is not only to be considered as the first essential, independant, and constitutive third Part of the Legislature; but likewise as the sole Fountain of all executive Power in the State, and in whose Name only, Justice, in all its Parts, is to be administer'd.

Thus the King of *Great Britain*, in his legislative Capacity, is limited and restrained from acting without the Concurrence of both Houses of Parliament; and therefore a wise Prince will make use of that one Circumstance, in the Nature of his Office,

Office, to throw off, from his own Shoulders, the invidious Charge of contriving or framing the needful Severities inflicted by penal Laws, and every other Act of the legislative Body, which may tend to sour the Minds of the Vulgar, and render a Prince unpopular. For the King's bare Assent to those Acts, which have been deliberately composed by the concurring Sentiments of two distinct and independant Houses of Parliament, can never be construed to proceed from the particular Inclination of his arbitrary Will, but rather from the natural Goodness and Humanity of his Disposition, which will always lead him to have an entire Dependance on the Opinion and Judgment of his Parliament, as unquestionably they are, in their legislative Capacity, the best Judges of whatever relates to the publick Good.

All popular Assemblies, especially when they are invested with a great and independant Power, have a natural Aversion to be dictated to, and forcibly led into any Thing, but what first arises, or is proposed, amongst themselves. And the Prudence which is to be acquired from a little Observation and Experience, will often instruct a *British* King to conceal his Thoughts and Anxiety, about many Things relating to the publick Good, until these Things, by a political Conduct, are first moved in one or other of the Houses of Parliament, and come from thence to be asked of the Prince as a Favour.

With what Safety, Ease, and Contentment then does a King of *Great Britain* act in his legislative Capacity, when he is sure to receive the Honour and Applause due to him, for every good and wholesome Law that is passed, without being chargeable with the disagreeable Effects, and unacceptable Consequences of any bad one? And how much more eligible is such a Situation, to a vir-
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tuous and good Prince, than those irksome Cares, and painful Remorses, which surround the Throne of an absolute and unlimited Power.

But to view the *British* Monarch in his proper Grandeur, let us consider him as Guardian and sole Executor of the Laws and Ordinances of the Commonwealth; in which Capacity he is continually acting, without Limitation or Controul.

All Officers, both civil and military, of whatever Rank or Degree, derive their Authority, and receive their Commissions, either from the King himself, or from such as are deputed by his Majesty to appoint them; and although these Commissions generally run in the Stile of the King's Will and Pleasure, yet all of them referring to the Execution of some Part of the Law, it is virtually understood, that the King does not, nor cannot, will or command any thing contrary thereunto; which is a plain Direction to the Officer and executive Magistrate, to examine well, and have a Regard to the known Laws of the Land, in the Discharge of his Office and Duty, since, by acting contrary unto, or inconsistent with that, he must be understood to disobey the Will and Pleasure of the King, and thereby subject himself to the Penalty inflicted on such as act without Authority, and against Law. Thus we find, that the Will of the Prince, and the Execution of the Intent and Meaning of the Law, are, in a legal Sense, synonymous Expressions; than which nothing can give a more rational Idea, and a fuller Conception of the Power lodged with the King, and of the Safety and Security enjoyed at the same Time by the People.

When a King of *Great Britain* is truly a Lover of Virtue, and indued with a moderate Share of good natural Understanding, together with a prudent Command of his Passions, he will avoid the Trouble, as well as Danger, in all Cases of Difficulty,

culty, of relying too much on the single Advice of Ministers and Favourites: For although the Houses of Parliament, as Legislators, have no Right by the Constitution, to any Privilege of controuling the King, by interfering with his Conduct or Management of the executive Power; yet, when the Conjuncture is intricate, and the Opinions of his Ministers and Priy-Counsellors are divided, or when the publick Tranquillity happens to be threatened with an Invasion, Conspiracy, or other dangerous and doubtful Event, then it is highly commendable and safe for the Prince to throw himself into the Arms of his Parliament, by frankly asking their Advice, and chearfully following those Measures, which they shall think proper to recommend.

A King, who has the Heart formed, and a Resolution sufficient, to act after this Manner, would be the Darling of his People, and could never be suspected of being partially influenced, by secret or bad Counsel; because such frequent and open Declarations of his pure Intention to execute the Kingly Office, agreeably to the Sentiments of his Parliament, would both secure to him the cordial Affections of the People, and all other Things needful to support the Honour and Dignity of his Crown.

Such a Prince would have no Occasion to squander away Money upon Elections, or of influencing, in any Sort, the Members of Parliament to deviate from their own genuine Sense of the publick Good, and Interest of their Country: He would have nothing to ask or expect from any of them, that did not perfectly correspond with their Duty to the People whom they represent; in whole Ease, Prosperity, and Happiness, he would always place his greatest Pleasure and Satisfaction. There would be no Emulation between such a King, his Parliament, and his Ministers, but who should be most

most forward to propose, and diligent to carry into Execution, the proper Measures for extending Commerce, protecting of Trade, in all its useful Branches, and thereby enriching the whole Body, and strengthening the Sinews of the Commonwealth: For could the important Business of the State be but effectually and well done, it would produce such an universal Satisfaction and Contentment, as must infallibly destroy the remaining Seeds of Faction and Discord; Weeds that never thrive, but under the Losses and Misfortunes which are brought upon a People by Luxury and Indolence, or some reigning vicious Quality in their Governors.

The Riches and Prosperity of a Nation is the only Foundation on which a wise Prince will chuse to build his Power, and the Glory of his Reign; and it is from the Condition of the publick Treasure, and not his own private Estate, that he is to compute his Riches; for a King of *Great Britain*, who truly enjoys the Love and Affections of his People, has much less Occasion than any other Prince in the World, to hoard up a Stock of private Wealth; because his Family, in all Respects, become the publick Care; so that Self-Interest, joined to a respectful Gratitude, will ever oblige a House of Commons to provide handsomely for the Children, and every other needful Expence of the Royal Family. And if such a King, in the Course of his Conduct, evidently treats all his People with the Tenderness of a Parent, preferring their Good to every Thing which immediately relates to himself, his Children, or his Servants; it is but highly just, in Return for a Life of Care so spent, that not only Necessaries, and common Conveniences be provided for by the Publick; but even that all Kinds of Affluence, and a decent Grandeur, should appear about the Throne of so beneficent, so generous,

rous, and so good a Prince. And, indeed, a Neglect of this important Article cannot well be supposed, because it would reflect Dishonour upon the People's Representatives, and blush in the Face of every Man who had the Happiness to partake of, and feel the innumerable Blessings that would be continually flowing from so just and perfect an Administration of Government.

The Influence, which is to be acquired over the Minds of Men, by the humane Conduct of a good Prince, and many repeated Acts of Tenderneis and Affection towards his People, will give a more grateful Relish to the Cares and Fatigues of Government, and are infinitely more to be relied on, than a military Force, or the Exercise of any Power, which, on Enquiry, will appear to be unnatural, and therefore must ever carry along with it the secret String of Oppression: For we may learn from History, as well as from the Nature of the Thing, that a People who are born under a free Government, and brought up from their Infancy with strong Notions of Liberty, can only be subdued, and kept in Order, by a just, mild, and affectionate Conduct in their Governors; so that it will be true Policy in a King of *Great Britain*, so to act in every Part of his Administration, as to triumph in the Hearts of his Subjects, and glory in receiving ten Times more Power, Riches, and Grandeur, from the benevolent free Choice and Gift of the People, than any of his Predecessors could ever obtain by their Claim to an arbitrary regal Power and Prerogative.

The Original of Power in Government has been so much controverted, and has produced such Convulsions to embroil the weak imperfect State of human Society, in most Ages of the World, that though we chuse to avoid entering into any particular Explanation on so delicate a Subject; yet we

we cannot but observe, both from sacred and profane History, that the ambitious Tyrant, or Enthusiast, never fails to derive his arbitrary despotick Power, from some divine Original, and supernatural Gift; as, on the other hand, the factious Leader of every successful Revolution in any State, is sure to attribute his Prosperity to the Influence of Heaven, and the particular Dispensation of Providence. Thus the supreme Being, and ever-beneficent Fountain of all Goodness, is frequently, and most impiously charged with being the Author of all the Wickedness, which is continually flowing from the depraved Wills, and most ungovernable Passions of ambitious Men: But the true Christian Hero, who judges of, and governs his own, as well as the Actions of other Men, by the unalterable Precepts, and plain Rules of moral Virtue, can make no other Use of civil Power in Government, than to promote the Good of Mankind in general, and the particular Happiness of that Society, over which he is placed. Such is the Prince who can reconcile the chearful Smiles of sweet Liberty, to the awful Countenance of her Sister Justice; and such a King, on the *British* Throne, can never be led, or persuaded, into any Measures of State, but what are truly conducive to the Safety and Interest of the Publick, and such as will not only correspond with the Sentiments of a free Representative in Parliament, but will likewise be agreeably received by the Generality of the People.

These are the Steps, by which a *British* King may, as it were, insensibly raise his Power, to such a Degree, as that his People, and their Representatives, neither could, nor would refuse him any Thing, which his generous and disinterested Ambition, guided by so much Humanity, could expect: Their mutual Desires to make each other

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happy, would elevate the Power and Dignity of the Commonwealth to the highest Pitch: The Friendship of such a State would be no less honoured and esteemed, than their Enmity would be feared and dreaded by all their Neighbours; even the remotest Nations would court the Alliance of a People, whose Aversion to all Kinds of Injustice was so remarkable, that their Judgment would be sufficient to settle, on the most equitable Foundations, the Rights of Mankind.

This seems to be the Country, and this the Form of that Government, of which Liberty makes her Choice: For tho' she abhors Wickedness, and takes the greatest Pleasure in doing all Kind of Good; yet she is virtuous out of the pure Inclination of her own Will, and has, in her very Nature, the utmost Aversion to all Sort of Compulsion; she is a Lady of the firmest Resolution and Courage; but yet of so soft a Mould, as always to be gained by Truth, when attended with a Sympathy of Affections. She may justly be considered as a watchful Guardian over the Rights and Properties of Mankind, the Meanest whereof she never will agree to part with, on any other Consideration but the publick Good of Society, and not even then, without the free Consent and Good Will of those to whom they properly belong, *viz.* either the Parties themselves, or such as they have voluntarily deputed to dispose of them for the publick Service.

To maintain and defend Liberty therefore in our Country, or to protect and advance the publick Good of the Society, unto which we belong, are convertible Terms, and mean the very same Thing; from whence it may, by a just and consequential Way of Reasoning, be demonstrated, that every Attempt to inroach upon, weaken, or destroy those Rights and Privileges, which essentially be-

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long to each of the three constitutive Parts of the Legislature in *Great Britain*, is an Attack upon the Rights and Liberties of the whole Body of the People; which, by the peculiar Frame of such a Government, depend on the Balance and Equilibrium, which is to be carefully preserved between these three powerful, but independent Branches of the Constitution. By all which, it is plainly to be understood, that he, who, by any Colour of Reasoning or Pretext whatsoever, does either attempt to take away, and render useless, any of the Rights of the Crown, and of the known Privileges appertaining to either House of Parliament; or who, on the other hand, ascribes unto, and endeavours to invest any of the said three independent Branches, with more Power than of Right belongs to it, is thereby guilty of sapping the very Foundations of the Government, and of subverting, as much as in him lies, the Rights and Liberties of the People of *Great Britain*.

What pure Loyalty then, inflamed with Gratitude and Affection, may not we suppose to flow from the Hearts of *Britons* towards a King, whose natural Goodness, and penetrating Judgment, would lead him to hold the Reins of Government, with such an equal and steady Hand, as neither himself to inroach on the Rights and Privileges, appertaining by Law and Custom to his Subjects, nor suffer any of them to break in upon his legal and just Authority in the State, which he was continually and impartially exercising, for the common Safety and Advantage of all his People.

A virtuous Conduct in all the Parts of a social Life, together with a distinguish'd Probity, and an approved Affection and Concern for the publick Good, would be the only Means of effectually recommending one's self to the Smiles and Favour of so worthy a Prince, whose Frowns or Neglect would

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would be felt and regarded as a severe, but just Punishment, on those who had incurred his Displeasure, by acting contrary unto, or inconsistent with the Honour and Interest of their Country: For the Voice of the People would generally approve and follow the apparent Inclination and Judgment of a Prince, whom they had, on all Occasions, observed to act, in his high Station, with great Justice and Equality of Mind, as well as Candour and Moderation.

So illustrious an Example of Virtue and Humanity from the Throne, could not fail to have a proportionable and due Influence on all Ranks and Conditions of Men, by encouraging some, and discouraging others, according to their Worth or Demerit. And it would be the necessary and unavoidable Consequence of such an Harmony in the Conduct of a *British* King and his Parliament, to make the People of this Island as happy at home, and glorious abroad, as their Situation, and the State of human Affairs will admit of.





AN
ESSAY
 ON THE
EDUCATION
 OF A
 Young BRITISH NOBLEMAN,
 after he leaves the Schools.

THE Civil Constitution of *Great Britain* is so admirably well adapted to the natural Rights and Liberties of Mankind, beyond that of any other Country, that the Education of its Youth, and especially the Nobility, seems to require a particular Turn of Thought and Application to qualify them for the Service of their Country.

As the Limitations wherewith the Monarchy of *Great Britain* is bounded by Law, render the kingly Office less burthensome, and consequently more

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more consistent with the Frame of an honest and beneficent Mind, so the great Share which the Gentry or Commons have in the legislative Power, begets such a near Relation and Correspondence betwixt the Nobility and them, as forcibly unites them in all the Exigencies of the Commonwealth; Wherefore to study the true Interest of the State, becomes equally the Duty of these two Ranks of Men. But as the Nobility (*cæteris paribus*) have an indubitable Right to be prefer'd to the higher Offices in the State, and to enjoy a greater Share of the King's Ear; it is particularly incumbent upon them, first impartially to enquire after, and then steadily to pursue, the most rational Means that can be proposed, for enabling them to execute such weighty Employments with Honour and Reputation. And if the following Thoughts can either be of Service to that End, or provoke an able Pen to compleat the useful Task, it is all that is hereby intended.

§ 1. Altho' a genteel Air is properly to be acquir'd from the very infant State, by the Example of Parents, the Care of Nurseries, and afterwards by the Amusement of Dancing; yet there is in human Nature so great a Propensity to follow Example, that Children for the most Part imitate what they see others do, without Judgment or Choice; by which Means they contract many awkward and vicious Habits, first in the Nursery, and then at the Schools, which they never can shake off until their Judgment is ripe enough to observe the Weakness and Folly of such Appearances in other People.

To obviate these natural Infirmities as much as possible, those who are conversant with, and employ'd about Children, ought always to remember, that a graceful Air and Deportment is the Gentleman-Usher to a good Understanding; and that

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when our most rational Thoughts come to be express'd in Words, they have an equal, if not a greater need of a decent and proper Dress than our Bodies; and any one who reflects ever so little on the strong Impressions which the bare Sight of others of his own Species irresistably makes upon his Mind, will want no other Argument to convince him of the true Value and Use of an affable and courteous Behaviour.

But the Difficulty of overcoming these first Prejudices still increases with the Nobility of the Child's Birth; for by the most pernicious and inhuman Practice imaginable, the noble Infant from the very Cradle is fondled, humour'd, and obsequiously obey'd by all about him; his Infirmities are not only conceal'd, but applauded; and the Flattery is so gross, that in those tender Years he can scarce avoid imagining himself to be of a superior Species to all below him; so that it is no Wonder he is by these cruel Means led to contemn the Persons, and consequently slight the Precepts, of those who are commonly appointed to instruct him.

The first Thing therefore which a young Nobleman ought to observe after he leaves the Schools, is the Necessity which obliges a Man of Sense, to distinguish those unhappily acquir'd Prejudices from rational Principles. And when we consider this undeniable Truth, that all Men are born equal, and do not naturally differ from each other, but by the accidental Frame of their corporeal Organs, which affects the Mind in some Manner unknown, we shall soon find that the different Opinions which we comparatively form of Men, proceed more from the mechanical Impressions which are made on the Organs of Sense, than from an abstracted judicious Act of the Understanding: So that whatever Proportion of natural or acquired

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Knowledge a Man may be endued with, it becomes more or less useful according to the Degree of Address wherewith the Party insensibly attracts the Attention and good Opinion of others. And since Mankind, as has been said, are born equal and free, they must for that very Reason have a natural Unwillingness tamely to admit of any Superiority amongst the Species; which nothing but the simple Necessity of supporting Society could have warrantably introduced. If therefore those who happen to be possessed of Power, or a Dignity of Rank above their Neighbours, do not carefully shew by the Humanity of all their Actions, that the Good of Mankind is their principal Ambition, and the true End for which that Dignity or Power has been confer'd upon them, they will in vain attempt to become great or popular in a free Country; since every other Means which they can possibly use for attaining those Ends, will, instead of endearing them to their Fellow-Creatures, render them odious to Mankind; who can never be supposed to be so stupid, as naturally to doat on one of their own Species, who makes it his Business to harass and plague them, instead of endeavouring to ingratiate himself by Acts of Courtesy and Benevolence. A graceful Deportment, therefore, and a due Proportion of Affability and Condescension in a *British* Nobleman, will introduce Knowledge, and all other Virtues of the Mind, to great Advantage; and become a wise Foundation, whereon to build his future Character and Happiness in Life.

§ 2. The next Thing to be pointed out to a young Nobleman of that Age, is some easy and natural Rule, whereby, without the Trouble of Study, or much Application, he may be enabled, by himself, to try the Virtue and Solidity of any Thought that occurs to him: And the Rule which I would propose, is no more, than always adhering

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to Truth; wherever she can be found, making her the principal Object of his Desires, the Governess of his Passions, and the sole Judge of all his Thoughts and Actions.

This Practice, when duly observed, will soon form in the Mind, the most natural and best System of all moral Virtue; it will forcibly create an Aversion to all kind of Falshood and Sophistry, and raise our Ideas of Honour to the highest Pitch; it will animate us, on every Occasion, to act that Part which is suitable to the Rank we hold amongst Men, and enable us to discern readily when others either exceed or come short in performing the Duties of Life.

As to complex and intricate Cases, where the Truth is only to be discover'd by great Industry, and hard Labour; the young Nobleman is either to suspend his Judgment for a Time, till he have more Leisure to enquire; or he must call for the Help of those, who have examin'd the Circumstances that want to be explain'd, in order to lay open the naked Truth, and give him such Reasons as are of Force to convince him; but he is by no Means to adventure on a positive Determination, without a previous Enquiry, wherein he cannot be too cautious of being misled by the bare Opinion of others, which is often built on Prejudices and unhappy Mistakes. Yet since true Knowledge can be attain'd but by very slow Degrees, a modest Youth will not be in Danger of pretending to what he is sensible he has not yet acquired. A Lover of Truth will still have a greater Abhorrence of such a silly Affectation; and the Man of Honour will find, that to aim at a sham Reputation, by imposing on any one, is inconsistent with his own Character, and just Way of Thinking. Wherefore we may conclude, that Truth, Virtue, and Honour are Words, which, when rightly understood, represent

represent the very same Ideas to the Mind, and as such, become an essential Part of a *British* Nobleman's Character.

§ 3. When a young Nobleman has thus form'd to himself a just Way of proceeding, whereby he endeavours as much as possible to guard every Passage through which Error may creep in, to impose upon his Judgment; the next Thing to be recommended to him, is to take a View of Mankind in a collective Body, by considering the unavoidable and natural Source of Society, which is no more than a necessary Machine, invented amongst Men, to protect every Man in that State, which of Right belongs to him; whereby a real Substance, tho' but an imaginary Personage, is erected, called a Body Politick, or Commonwealth; in the due Preservation whereof, every individual Member has an equal Right, and a proportioned Interest, which serves to animate and unite the Whole upon every just and necessary Occasion.

From this Fountain he must deduce the Original of all municipal Laws, the Nature of the Obligations they lay upon the Subject, and consequently of that Relation, which ever subsists between the Sovereign and the People; as also between them and the several Ranks of subordinate Magistrates; and other Dignities, which have been legally introduced into the Frame and Constitution of the Commonwealth.

From this Sort of Knowledge, the noble Youth will perfectly understand the Origin of his own Rank *a priori*; he will thence not only discover the strong Obligations that are by Birth laid upon him, to be active in his proper Sphere, but he will also perceive the Nature of his Duty; and what Mankind are rationally to expect from him. This is sufficient to inspire the Patriot with sublime Thoughts, while it circumscribes his Ambition

with Humanity, and the Love of his Country: And this therefore, before all other Studies, claims the Attention of our young *British* Nobility.

§ 4. When our young Nobleman has made himself acquainted with the Nature of Government in general, and the Constitution of *Great Britain* in particular, he must then look abroad into the Frame of other States; but more especially those which have any Intercourse and Trade with his own Country: And from this Enquiry will arise a Knowledge of a quite different Nature from the former, *viz.* the Political Interest of Nations or Commonwealths, with respect to each other.

As the Necessity of distributive Justice amongst Men gave the first Rise to Civil Government, it enters into the particular Frame of every Constitution in Being; so that the Laws of all Societies are founded on the same universal Principles of right Reason or Truth; but the Political Interests of States, with respect to each other, depend wholly on the right Use of their Power, either to persuade or force their Neighbours into the Measures, which they judge most fitting to be pursued for the general Good of Mankind; which in the Course of this Enquiry, are to be consider'd as one Body Politick, consisting of so many Members as there are particular independant States in the World; who by universal Consent, arising from Necessity, submit to have their common Interest, as a Society, judged of, and settled by Force amongst themselves, according to those Rules which have been by Prescription received, as the Law of Nature and Nations. Thus, when any particular Member or Members of this great Body of Mankind, by an exorbitant, and unjustifiable Desire of Power, presume to encroach upon, and oppress any of their Neighbours, it becomes the common Interest of all the rest, to assist the Party aggrieved,

aggrieved, until they can procure a general Peace, by bringing the Ballance of Power, as near as possible, to a just Equilibrium amongst the Whole. But as in Contests of this kind it often happens, that particular States are conquer'd, and the Constitution of their Society extinguish'd, before they can obtain such Assistance as might be reasonably expected; in such a pitiful Extremity, when the utmost Danger is impending from a superior Force, we are obliged to act with the greatest Valour and Presence of Mind, like desperate and brave Men, who are legally justified in whatever they can do for the Defence and Preservation of their own Lives. And hence arises the Difference which we often perceive in the Conduct of some Ministers from that of others, and even of the same Persons from themselves, at different Times, and under different Circumstances: For when the State is threaten'd by the Appearance of Force from without, it frequently happens, that Things must be done for the publick Safety, which, at another Time, and without so necessary a Cause, would justly be esteem'd hurtful to our own People, and consequently inconsistent with the Maxims of a free and good Government. And that such Things must be we gather from daily Experience, in the Debates and Resolutions of the most popular and best constituted Assemblies, who not only vary from themselves, but are obliged to maintain the Necessity of so doing, when the Cause both justifies and authorizes the Proceeding. However, tho' such Ministers seem thus to vary from themselves, or from each other, their Conduct may be still the same: For different Effects must necessarily flow from different Causes. When we are in perfect Peace and Friendship with the States about us, our Strength needs only be equal to theirs; but if any one or more of them attempt to break

the general Tranquillity, by endeavouring to disturb us, we must then form Alliances, and raise Troops sufficient to cope with them, and oblige them to Terms of Accommodation. Thus it may not always be our own Ministers that vary, but those of other Nations, whose Motions are to be watchfully observed, in order to secure our own Safety. It is not enough in such Circumstances, that we are good Moralists, and know what, in that respect, ought to be done; we must also know what can be done; that is, not only what is truly in our own Power, but likewise what Ability our neighbouring States are in, to contradict and oppose our just and equitable Purposes. Now this can only be acquired by a previous Examination into their Situation, Strength, and other Circumstances, which being judiciously compared with our own, produces that useful Knowledge of the political Interest of Nations, which is here recommended to our young *British* Nobleman, as the surest Guide to his Conduct, whether it be at the Council-table, in Parliament, or in the Field.

§ 5. It will, I suppose, be readily own'd, that a competent Knowledge in Geography and History is necessary to qualify our young Nobleman for rightly understanding the political Interest of Nations; and as the Foundation of that Enquiry is commonly first laid by travelling into foreign Countries, and conversing with Men of Letters, the noble Youth should be attended by an acceptable Companion in his Travels, to initiate him in those Sciences, and make them agreeable to him. A competent Knowledge in Geography is requisite to make him sensible of the Bounds and Extent of all the neighbouring Nations, and their Distance from us; their Strength compared with our own, and their Capacity, to do us Good or Harm; as also their different Interests with respect to ourselves

selves and to each other. And as for History, or the Knowledge of past Times, what is it else, but making the Wisdom of our great Fore-fathers our own? We are by Means of this Science shewn how they behaved in most Affairs of Life, and taught the various Consequences of their several Determinations, in every Case of Importance. We may, by the Advantage of this Science, copy all their brave Actions, and regulate our Lives suitable to the best and most shining Parts of their Characters. It is the Knowledge of the Transactions of past Ages, that opens our Minds, and enlarges our Views. What Breast does not glow, when we read the brave Actions of a great and generous Man in Defence of his Country? Or what Heart is so divested of Humanity, as to be able to resist the sudden Emotions of Pity, when he peruses the Story of a virtuous Man struggling with Misfortunes, oppress'd by Numbers, and ready to sink beneath a Load of Misery and Distress?

A general Notion of Arts and Sciences will also be convenient to give him proper Ideas of the Improvements which are daily making in Trade and Navigation, with other practical and useful Branches of Mechanicks. For altho' these Things are not to be consider'd as proper Objects of his Study, yet, as his natural Genius or Ambition for universal Knowledge will lead him to dip a little into them, they may be casually laid before him by way of Diversion, at leisure Hours; and it is odds, but these seeming Trifles may be of singular Use to the noble Youth on many particular Occasions in Life.

§ 6. Every Step that is made in the Progress of Knowledge, whether it proceed from Reading, Observation, or Experience, ought to be apply'd to the Affairs and Transactions of Life, by comparing it with our own, or other People's Characters and Circumstances; for this is, in Truth,

the only proper Use of all Kinds of Study, which, without it, becomes not only an useless, but a troublesome Sort of Pedantry, more calculated to interrupt and confound, than to serve and promote a true Genius. That Sort of Knowledge which is wrapt up in Self-conceit, and cannot be apply'd to promote Virtue and Industry, may be compared to a gaudy, ill-chosen Habit, which can neither protect us from the Summer's Heat, nor Winter's Cold. Plenty of Instances of this Kind are to be met with among the Men of rigid Study in learned Societies, who are apt to place a greater Value on a trifling Criticism in Language and Orthography, than upon a great and manly Thought; and have a higher Ambition to correct and explain an obscure, or perhaps an obscene Passage in *Plautus* or *Terence*, than to eradicate a Vice out of human Society. Such Men may become useful Drudges in the Affairs of Literature, but a great Genius can never satisfy himself with mere Speculation; he presses forward with Eagerness, until he has reduced his Enquiries into some useful Practice. The Good of Mankind, and not the selfish-conceited Name of a Philosopher, or a Critick, is the Spur to his Ambition. And these are the proper Notions of that Sort of Learning and Knowledge wherewith our young Nobleman ought to be inspired, and his Judgment formed accordingly.

§ 7. History, as well as daily Experience informs us, that most of the great Genii which have appeared in the World, have either been ruined, or at least their best Faculties frequently obscured and render'd useless, by an injudicious Estimate, and wrong Application of Money; so that there is not any thing of more Importance to a young Nobleman, than early to form to himself right Notions of its proper Use and Value.

Whatever

Whatever Design is formed by a Man of Spirit, be it small or great in any Station of Life, we shall find it cannot be carried on without a due Proportion of Money; so that if we have it not already in our Possession, we must necessarily pursue some honest Means to acquire it, before we can reasonably enter upon Business. But as our young Nobleman must be supposed to be born to an Inheritance, which puts him above Want, it will be sufficient if he can be taught not to squander that Provision away, which the virtuous Care of his Ancestors has made for him: To this End, let him observe, that the Man who has a Competency of Estate to live easy in the World, or (which is the same Thing) who can, by contracting his Desires, be satisfied with what he has, enjoys the true Serenity of an undisturb'd Life; and that, while others employ above half their Time in racking Anxiety, which Way to provide for the Enjoyment of the next Pleasure, or the necessary Expence of an ambitious or great Design, all his Affairs proceed gradually and securely, only by setting apart two or three Hours in a Week, to examine his daily Expence, and direct his future Conduct accordingly. Thus without Loss of Time, he practically learns to value Riches in Proportion to the good Things which they enable him to perform in Life, and looks upon the Money which is saved by a good Oeconomy, not as a dead and useless Stock, but as a prudent and necessary Provision, to be laid out as Occasion offers, in the Pursuit of wise, virtuous, and honourable Designs. His Generosity ought nevertheless to be temper'd with Discretion, and instead of forming to himself needless Occasions of Expence because he is rich, he will rather make Choice of a decent Frugality, as the necessary Means to support that just and noble Ambition, which is essential to his Birth and Character.

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The Variety of Misfortunes, and downright Misery, which young Men of Quality often bring upon themselves by bad Oeconomy, and a dissolute kind of Life, are powerful Examples to dissuade any considerate Youth from the like Courses; but a generous and beneficent Mind will view such tragical Events with great Concern, and instead of loading the miserable and unfortunate with Reproaches and satirical Reflections on their past Follies, will be apt to relieve them according to his Power, and allay their Misfortunes, by considering the common Weakness of human Nature, and the prodigious Risques which a young Nobleman must run, before he attains the Age of a ripe Judgment. He will, however, reflect with Pleasure on his own better Fortune and Circumstances in the World, and modestly attribute the greater Share of this happy Fate, more to the wise Direction of Providence, than to his own superior Understanding. And this leads to the next Thing to be proposed as a proper Exercise to a young Nobleman's Thoughts, viz.

§ 8. A constant Reflection on his own Capacity and Failings, from a judicious Observation of other Mens Abilities and Faults; by which is meant, that as often as he observes any thing in another Man, which either pleases or displeases him, before passing a Judgment, he is to examine carefully within himself, what he can find there which bears a Similitude to the Virtue, Improvement, or Defect, which he perceives in the other: And thus he will learn the Practice of that admirable Precept, *To pull the Beam out of his own Eye, before he attempts to take the Mote out of his Brother's.* From thence also he will naturally deduce that other first and greatest Rule in Life, viz. *To do to others that which in the like Circumstances he would wish they should do unto him.* The Pleasures

and Satisfaction which flow from such a Conduct, may be better conceiv'd than express'd, and the simple Knowledge thereby attain'd, is of more Use and true Worth, than any Degree of Letters which can possibly be acquir'd by Study, or the most rigid Dictates of the greatest Philosopher that ever the World produced.

§ 9. An habitual Practice in this Kind of Reflection, is that which inspires the noble Youth with the glorious Ambition of doing all the Good he can to his Fellow Creatures; this is a never-failing Touchstone, and this is the only universal, eternal, and unalterable Rule, whereby he is taught to put a just Estimate on Things: For when he has acquir'd Learning, Riches, Honours, high Preferment and Power, if his Mind be upright and unfillied with Passions and Prejudices, he will value those Things no otherwise than in Proportion to the Means whereby they enable him to be instrumental in promoting the Happiness of Mankind, but more especially that of the Society whereof he happens to be born a Member: He will consider every successful Step which he makes in the Pursuit of this last mention'd noble Duty, as an additional Honour, which his own Virtue confers upon himself and his Posterity, and which is therefore infinitely preferable to any other Title or Dignity of Rank, which is not evidently founded on the same Basis.

§ 10. Power, when it is supposed to be animated with universal Benevolence, and exercised in Acts of Humanity, is a most amiable Picture, but of which we vainly hope to find an Original in Life; for such Perfection can in no respect be justly apply'd to human Kind, who are by Nature equal, childish, weak, and yet independant on each other. However, it is to be hoped, that the noble Youth may be gradually led to observe, that his

his Power is solely derived from the free Consent and Suffrage of his Fellow Citizens; that it is their Safety and Prosperity only, whereon his Grandeur can be honourably and justly raised; and that all other Notions of human Power, by being inconsistent with the Nature of Things, become unjustifiable, and often fatal to those who forcibly endeavour to bring them into Practice. The truly generous and noble Patriot, will use the Power so devolved upon him, as a Shield to preserve the State from Danger; or rather as he would the Sword of Justice, freely put into his Hands, for its Support and Protection. He is not capable of receiving Pleasure from a Misapplication of that Strength, wherewith he happens to be intrusted for the equal Benefit of all; but will rather chuse to resign the unnatural Pomp and Fatigue of high Authority, when it ceases to be useful to his Country, and subservient to the Wants and Necessities of the People.

§ 11. Altho' we read of many antient Monarchs, and some of a more modern Date, who vainly placed their greatest Glory and Satisfaction in an absolute Power, we shall nevertheless find it to be the distinguishing Mark of a *British* Hero, to aim at no more Dominion than is consistent with the Fundamentals of the Constitution, and conducive to the general Welfare and Happiness of the People: For tho' Mankind, in a free State, may be wisely and powerfully assisted by Individuals on many Occasions, yet to support Liberty in every authoritative Act, the Consent of a Majority ought at least to be virtually implied, and a good Commander will justly think within himself, that he derives more Honour from a faithful Execution of what he knows to be the united Sentiments and Orders of the State, than by pursuing the Dictates of his own Will, even tho' they should happen to be crown'd with Success.

§ 12. The

§ 12. The last Thing to be recommended to our young Nobleman on so delicate a Subject, is, to consider the Equality and Frame of human Nature with all its Improvements, in that Light, which makes him fittest to rule, who is most sollicitous of doing Good to others, and least ambitious of the pompous Toil which attends the highest Stations; and, by such a Course of Thinking, it is to be hoped the noble Youth will ever be prepared to encounter all Accidents, and to conduct himself with Honour and Safety, through the various Stages of Life.

The Preceptors who are best qualified to instruct the Nobility and Gentry in a perfect Knowledge of the dead Languages, and the first Principles of Philosophy and Mathematicks, at the Schools and Universities, are by no means fit Persons to carry on and finish the Education proposed: For as the Judgment of our young Nobleman at this Age is already formed, he justly expects the Liberty to make his own Choice of every Improvement, which his Genius or Inclinations lead him to, and thereby reap to himself the Honour and Satisfaction of succeeding in it. His Imagination is crowded with Variety of Ideas, and his Mind employ'd on new Objects every Moment; so that the greatest Difficulty will be, to continue how insensibly, and by Degrees, to fix his Thoughts on such as are most worthy to adorn his future Life and Character.

It is no difficult Matter to conceive how unnatural it would be, to tease a Youth of this kind with dogmatical Precepts, grave Lectures, and stiff Rules, proceeding from an antiquated and affected Manner of Conversation and Behaviour; for such a Conduct would, in all Probability, go a great Way towards obstructing the main Design of a generous Education, and driving the Youth into
Extra-

Extravagancy or Debauch. You must therefore chuse a Companion for him in his Travels, who is of a proper Age to share with him in all his rational and discreet Pleasures; one whose Birth and Education makes his Company equal, as well as acceptable to Persons of Quality; whose outward Appearance is comely without Artifice, and his Address engaging without Affectation; who can judge thoroughly, reason clearly, and even drop his Argument decently, without seeming to know the Effect, which probably he may perceive it has upon his Adversary: Such a Tutor, or rather Companion, will ever be prepared, and still chuse to act that Part which is most acceptable to his Friend on all Occasions; he will charm his Understanding in private, grace his Retinue in publick, and at the same time carefully ease him of all the trifling Impertinencies which are requisite to a good and decent Oeconomy; so that the Experience thus attain'd in travelling thro' foreign Countries, must leave such an Impression on the Memory, as will unquestionably form an excellent Knowledge of Men and Things.

But before we send this noble Youth abroad amongst Strangers, it would be of singular Use, first to let him make a Progress through the most remarkable Parts of his own Country, where he could not miss of Opportunities to converse with learned and polite Men, especially such as are Men of Business, who have made the best Use of the Knowledge which they had formerly acquir'd in foreign Countries. So happy an Introduction to a manly Conversation amongst his own Countrymen would soon remove that Bashfulness in Company, which commonly hangs about young People just come from School, and which at first is a great Hindrance to their Improvement among Foreigners, as well as a Disadvantage to their out-

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ward Mien and Appearance in publick. The short Time which we will suppose might be spent on so small a Progress at home, would be doubly saved when the Youth came to travel abroad, where he would scarce find any thing in common Conversation, but what he had receiv'd some Taste of before, and was thereby made easy and familiar to him. As such an Appearance amongst Strangers, and Persons of the first Rank abroad, would be surprizingly acceptable to them, it would do much Honour to his Country, and could not fail to procure so just an Applause, as would encourage the noble Youth to proceed vigorously in the Pursuit of every Improvement that could any way contribute to establish a virtuous and perfect Character in Life.

Yet to qualify our young Nobility for holding, with Reputation, the first Offices of State, and becoming useful Members of the House of Lords, great Care must be taken to cultivate and improve that necessary Talent of clearly and easily expressing their Thoughts in publick: By which I do not mean to recommend to their Imitation either the prolix Oratory of the Antients, or the too particular and affected Stile of some Moderns; for tho' it is very proper that they should be acquainted with both, in order to shun their Imperfections and Faults, yet the natural Orator, which is by far the best, aims at no more than to express in the simplest and shortest Manner, those Ideas which he has regularly digested in his Mind, in order to explain or demonstrate some Truth of Importance. It is far below his Character to make use of pedantick Words, and scholastick Terms, or to amuse with tedious Digressions, and forced Similitudes; for these do but fatigue a judicious Auditory, and only serve to shew that we have been at much Pains to collect other People's Thoughts, without improving

improving our own. A young Nobleman, who has an Ambition to succeed in this Way, must carefully examine his own Genius, and accustom himself to judge impartially, both of his natural and acquired Parts; for by judiciously keeping at first within the Bounds of our own Depth, we shall by Practice insensibly attain the Faculty of launching out as far as the Circumstance of the Case will allow, or the natural Flux of a decent and well-govern'd Passion will prompt us. But if after all the Means that can possibly be used, a young Nobleman should not find himself naturally qualified for this Part of his Duty, the only Thing he can do to supply that Deficiency, is by a diligent Application and Attendance on publick Affairs, to distinguish his Judgment by supporting those of his own Rank in the House, who can best express the Thoughts which correspond with his Sentiments.

A young Nobleman who has been thus taught to make the best Improvement of his Knowledge and Understanding, will enter on the Stage of Life with great Advantages.

The Modesty of his Address, supported by a natural and easy Propriety of Expression, will inspire the Company about him with all the good Manners and Respect which is due to real Merit. The Man of true Learning will find agreeable Entertainment in his Conversation; the Pretender to Knowledge (if he has any Sense of Shame) will never dare to approach him with his Vanity; and when he does, he will be rebuked in so decent a Manner, as will discourage all future Attempts of that Kind. The ignorant, but good-natur'd and well-designing Man, will be gently encouraged and instructed with Humanity: The Buffoon will be pitied, and the Fop neglected. In short, the great Superiority of this Nobleman's Genius, and the Elegancy of his Manners, will so ravish the Esteem

Esteem and Affections of the People, that the Respect paid to him will flow more from the universal Opinion which Men have conceived of his Virtue, than from the Authority of his high Rank.

His Access will be easy, his Conversation affable and free, void of Deceit; his Friendships will be few, but sincere; an utter Stranger to Malice, or private Resentment; and vindictive against none, but such as are Enemies to the publick Good.

His Liberality will have no other Bounds but the Direction of a solid Judgment; and his daily Expence, govern'd by an exact Oeconomy, will be suitable to his Rank, and a Pattern to others.

All superfluous Pomp, Affectation, and Extravagance, must be disagreeable to him, because his Taste of Things will arise from a true Knowledge and Judgment of Nature.

He will compassionate the natural Weakness and Follies of Mankind, which first introduced the Necessity of Dominion; and will, therefore, exercise his Power for no other End, but to render Men as much as possible, good in themselves, just to their Neighbours, and faithful to the Publick.





OBSERVATIONS

On the OFFICE of an

AMBASSADOR.

IT is rare to find an Ambassador, who can readily distinguish on every proper Occasion, his publick from his private Character; for tho' a Man of Sense may soon acquire the Faculty of acting any uniform Part, yet to vary those Characters, so different in themselves, without Affectation, just in that Degree, which either the artful Conduct of a Statesman, or the Humour of Conversation may often require, is a delicate Part in the Ministerial Office, which is to be cultivated by Practice.

It is said of the Earl of *Stair*, when he was Ambassador at the Court of *France*, that altho' he went freely into all the extravagant Diversions and Pleasures of that gay Court, yet he still evaded the Traps that were laid for him; insomuch that the late Regent was pleased to say, he could never find that Minister at any Time out of his Character.

II.

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II. An Ambassador is not at liberty to resent an Injury done to his private Character, in any Degree; but every Affront or Indecency offered to his publick Character, must be strongly insisted on, till an adequate Satisfaction be made, agreeable to his Instructions, supported by the Law and Custom of Nations: And tho' a dissembled Passion may be artfully used on such an Occasion, yet he will then have the greatest Need of a cool Head. Wherefore we may conclude, that an Ambassador ought never to be transported with Passion.

III. It is from a true Knowledge of the Interest of that Court where the Ambassador resides, and the Foibles of its Administration, that he is to form the Means by which he can most effectually carry on his Master's Business; and if he finds himself confin'd, or perhaps disabled, by too particular Instructions, he must carefully dissemble his Incapacity, and lose no Time to inform his Principal of the true State of Affairs: For an honest Minister cannot prudently act, but when his own Judgment corresponds with his Master's Sentiments, especially if the Matter in hand nearly concerns the Interest of his Country, to which he ought always to think himself accountable for his Administration.

IV. He dissembles with great Judgment, who can represent other People's Interests in a Light which is pleasing to themselves, at the same time that he conceals his own; but to dissemble in Trifles, is far below the Dignity of an Ambassador, and not only debases his Character, but renders that Art useless to him in Things of greater Moment.

V. A good Intelligence is the Life of all publick Negotiations, but that is most to be depended on which is purchased by the Minister's Purse and Industry;

Industry; for if an Ambassador be too credulous, he will often be imposed on.

VI. We always make the truest Judgment of other People's Failings, when we compare them impartially with our own; and he who does not frequently practise, or cannot bear a cool Reflection on his own Faults, may be said to want the best Means of becoming an able Minister in publick Affairs, which are much more influenc'd by the Failings than the Perfections of human Nature.

VII. A proper Application of Money is many times useful, and often necessary; but to conceal the Channels through which it is convey'd, is a Secret of as much Importance to the Giver, as to the Receiver; and it is a nice Part of the ministerial Art, to execute Things of that Nature with a good Grace.

VIII. A covetous narrow Man is altogether unfit to be an Ambassador, who in every Action and Circumstance of Life, ought equally to advance the Interest, Wisdom, and Glory of his Prince. An Ambassador therefore who meanly discovers an Inclination to save Money, is much more to be blamed, than he who is extravagant; and supposing them otherwise to be Men of equal Capacities, the Prince and Nation to whom they belong, will profit more by the Services of the last than the first.

IX. An Ambassador ought never to affect any kind of Solitude and Retirement, for he should always be accessible, tho' in a particular stately Manner; and the less he appears to labour in Business, the more he will succeed in obtaining the Character of an elegant, courteous, and able Minister.

X. It is the Duty of an Ambassador to study and know Men thoroughly; but it is no Part of his Business to give Characters, neither must he enter too freely into particular Conversations; for it is

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from his general Conduct, and not from his private Opinions, that People should be left to guess at his Sentiments of Men; and the Nature and Dignity of his Office will sufficiently excuse him from any Explanations of that Sort.

XI. A State of Indolence or Inaction is inconsistent with the Office of an Ambassador, who by a continued Series of Combination, ought ever to be investigating the Changes which daily happen in State Affairs; and when he gives in to Luxury or Debauch, it is like opening the Gates of a Town that is closely besieged on all Sides; but he is an artful Minister, who can be most upon his Guard when it is least suspected.

XII. As a wise and prudent Ambassador can never bear a loss to justify his own Conduct in any Event, so he will never attribute wholly to himself the Success of his Negotiations; but rather chuse to place that Honour to the Wisdom and Judgment of his Prince, and the Conduct of his first Minister. For a faithful Discharge of Trust, by punctually executing their Commands, is all that any Ambassador ought to claim for his Share in the publick Business; and it is great Weakness to aim at, or accept of more.





A SHORT DISCOURSE

On the present State of the
COLONIES in AMERICA,
With Respect to the INTEREST of
GREAT BRITAIN.

Presented to the KING in the Month of
November, 1728; and referr'd by HIS
MAJESTY to the Consideration of the
Right Honourable the Lords Commis-
sioners for Trade, &c.

INTRODUCTION.

HAPPY are the People, whose Lot it is
to be governed by a Prince who does
not wholly depend on the Representa-
tions of others, but makes it a chief
Part of his Delight to inspect into the
Condition of his Subjects, according to their feve-
ral Ranks and Degrees; who from the Rectitude
of

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of his own Mind, distinguishes the true Merit of
his Servants, leaving the Liberties and Properties
of his People to be equally guarded, and justly de-
fended, by a punctual Execution of the Laws.

The unbounded Extent of Knowledge to be
daily acquired by the judicious Enquiry and Appli-
cation of such a Prince will soon abolish the Use of
Flattery, and the pernicious Effects of all design'd
Misrepresentations: The Paths of Virtue and Ho-
nour, with a strict Adherence to Truth, will be the
only Avenues of Access to the Sovereign's Esteem;
and the royal Favours in such a Reign will ever be
agreeably dispensed in Proportion to the useful
Conduct, and true Merit of the Party.

So great an Example from the Throne will
doubtless inspire every honest Breast with a better
Share of publick Spirit: Men's Thoughts will not
then be so intent on what they can get for themselves,
as on what they can do for their Country; and for
such Parts of the Prince's Prerogative and executive
Power, as necessarily must be intrusted with Mini-
sters, they will ever be thought an Advantage and
Security to a Nation, while the Conduct of the
Ministry principally shines in the Support of Li-
berty, which cannot fail to gain the Hearts and
Affections of a free People.

On a Provincial dependant Government.

WHEN either by Conquest or Increase of
People, foreign Provinces are possessed, and
Colonies planted abroad, it is convenient, and
often necessary, to substitute little dependant pro-
vincial Governments, whose People being infran-
chized, and made Partakers of the Liberties and
Privi-

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Privileges belonging to the original Mother State, are justly bound by its Laws, and become subservient to its Interests, as the true End of their Incorporation.

Every Act of a dependant Provincial Government therefore ought to terminate in the Advantage of the Mother State, unto whom it owes its Being, and by whom it is protected in all its valuable Privileges: Hence it follows, that all advantageous Projects, or commercial Gains in any Colony, which are truly prejudicial to, and inconsistent with the Interest of the Mother State, must be understood to be illegal, and the Practice of them unwarrantable, because they contradict the End for which the Colony had a Being, and are incompatible with the Terms on which the People claim both Privilege and Protection.

On a British Colony in America.

WERE these Things rightly understood among the Inhabitants of the *British Colonies in America*, there would be less Occasion for such Instructions and strict Prohibitions as are daily sent from *England* to regulate their Conduct in many Points; the very Nature of the Thing would be sufficient to direct their Choice in cultivating such Parts of Industry and Commerce only, as would bring some Advantage to the Interest and Trade of *Great Britain*. They would soon find by Experience, that this was the solid and true Foundation whereon to build a real Interest in their Mother Country, and the certain Means of acquiring Riches without Envy.

On the other hand, where the Government of a Provincial Colony is well regulated, and all its Business

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Business and Commerce truly adapted to the proper End and Design of the first Settlement, such a Province, like a choice Branch springing from the main Root, ought to be carefully nourished, and its just Interests well guarded. No little partial Project, or Party Gain, should be suffered to affect it; but rather it ought to be considered, and weighed in the general Ballance of the whole State, as an useful and profitable Member, for such is the End of all Colonies; and if this Use cannot be made of them, it would be much better for the State to be without them.

On the Advantages arising to Britain from the Trade of the Colonies.

IT has ever been the Maxim of all polite Nations, to regulate their Government to the best Advantage of their trading Interest: wherefore it may be helpful to take a short View of the principal Benefits arising to *Great Britain* from the Trade of the Colonies.

1. The Colonies take off and consume above one sixth Part of the Woollen Manufactures exported from *Britain*, which is the chief Staple of *England*, and main Support of the landed Interest.

2. They take off and consume more than double that Value in Linen and Calicoes, which is either the Product of *Britain* and *Ireland*, or partly the profitable Returns made for that Product carried to foreign Countries.

3. The Luxury of the Colonies, which increases daily, consumes great Quantities of *English* manufactured Silk, Haberdashery, Household Furniture, and

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and Trinkets of all Sorts; also a very considerable Value in *East-India* Goods.

4. A great Revenue is raised to the Crown of *Britain* by Returns made in the Produce of the Plantations, especially in Tobacco, which at the same time helps *England* to bring nearer to a Balance their unprofitable Trade with *France*.

5. Those Colonies promote the Interest and Trade of *Britain*, by a vast Increase of Shipping and Seamen, which enables them to carry great Quantities of Fish to *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Leghorn*, &c. Furs, Logwood, and Rice to *Holland*, whereby they help *Great Britain* considerably in the Ballance of Trade with those Countries.

6. If reasonably encouraged, the Colonies are now in a Condition to furnish *Britain* with as much of the following Commodities as it can demand, viz. Masting for the Navy, and all Sorts of Timber, Hemp, Flax, Pitch, Tar, Oil, Rosin, Copper Oar, with Pig and Bar Iron, by Means whereof the Ballance of Trade to *Russia* and the *Baltick* may be very much reduced in Favour of *Great Britain*.

7. The Profits arising to all those Colonies by Trade is return'd in Bullion or other useful Effects to *Great Britain*, where the superfluous Cash, and other Riches acquired in *America* must center, which is not one of the least Securities that *Britain* has to keep the Colonies always in due Subjection.

8. The Colonies upon the Main are the Granaries of *America*, and a necessary Support to the Sugar Plantations in the *West-Indies*, which could not subsist without them.

By this short View of the Trade in general we may plainly understand, that those Colonies can be very beneficially employed both for *Great Britain* and themselves, without interfering with any of the staple Manufactures in *England*; and considering the

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the Bulk and End of their whole Traffick, it were Pity that any material Branch of it should be depress'd, on Account of private and particular Interests, which, in Comparison with these, cannot justly be esteem'd a national Concern; for if the Trade of the Colonies be regulated to the Advantage of *Britain*, there is nothing more certain, than that the Discouragement of any material Branch for the Sake of any Company, or private Interest, would be a Loss to the Nation. But in order to set this Point yet in a clearer Light, we will proceed to consider some of the most obvious Regulations on the *American* Trade, for rendering the Colonies truly serviceable to *Great Britain*.

Regulations on the Plantation Trade.

1. **T**HAT all the Product in the Colonies, for which the Manufacture and Trade of *Britain* has a constant Demand, be enumerated among the Goods which by Law must be first transported to *Britain*, before they can be carried to any other Market.

2. That every valuable Merchandize to be found in the *English* Colonies, and but rarely any where else, and for which there is a constant Demand in *Europe*, shall also be enumerated, in order to assist *Great Britain* in the Ballance of Trade with other Countries.

3. That all Kinds of Woollen Manufactures for which the Colonies have a Demand, shall continue to be brought from *Britain* only, and Linens from *Great Britain* and *Ireland*.

4. All other *European* Commodities to be carried to the Colonies, (Salt excepted) Entry thereof

to be first made in *Britain*, before they can be transported to any of the *English* Colonies.

5. The Colonies to be absolutely restrained in their several Governments from laying any Manner of Duties on Shipping or Trade from *Europe*, or upon *European* Goods transported from one Colony to another.

6. That the Acts of Parliament relating to the Trade and Government of the Colonies, be revised and collected into one distinct Body of Laws, for the Use of the Plantations, and such as Trade with them.

Supposing these Things to be done, it will evidently follow, that the more extensive the Trade of the Colonies is, the greater will be the Advantages accruing to *Great Britain* therefrom; and consequently, that the Enlargement of the Colonies, and the Increase of their People, would still be an Addition to the national Strength. All smaller Improvements therefore pretended unto, and set up by lesser Societies for private Gain in *Great Britain*, or elsewhere, although they might have a just Pretence to bring some Sort of a publick Benefit along with them, yet if they shall appear to be hurtful unto the much greater, and more national Concern of those useful trading Colonies, they ought in Justice to the Publick to be neglected in Favour of them; it being an unalterable Maxim, that a lesser publick Good must give place to a greater; and that it is of more Moment to maintain a greater, than a lesser Number of Subjects, well employed to the Advantage of any State.

On

On the Legislative Power.

FROM what has been said of the Nature of Colonies, and the Restriction that ought to be laid on their Trade, it is plain that none of the *English* Plantations in *America* can with any Reason or good Sense pretend to claim an absolute legislative Power within themselves; so that let their several Constitutions be founded on ancient Charters, Royal Patents, Custom by Prescription, or what other legal Authority you please; yet still they cannot be possessed of any rightful Capacity to contradict, or evade the true Intent and Force of any Act of Parliament, wherewith the Wisdom of *Great Britain* may think fit to affect them from Time to Time. In discoursing therefore on their legislative Powers, improperly so called, we are to consider them only as so many Incorporations at a Distance, invested with an Ability of making temporary By-Laws for themselves, agreeable to their respective Situations and Climates, but no ways interfering with the legal Prerogative of the Crown, or the true legislative Power of the Mother State.

If the Governors, and General Assemblies of the several Colonies, would be pleased to consider themselves in this Light, one would think it is impossible they could be so weak as to fancy, that they represented the King, Lords, and Commons of *Great Britain*, within their little Districts; and indeed their useless, or rather hurtful and inconsistent Constitution of a negative Council in all the King's Provincial Governments, has, it is believed, contributed to lead them into this Mistake; for as long as the King has reserved to himself in his Privy Council, the Consideration of, and a Negative upon, all their Laws, the Method of appointing a few of the richest, and proudest Men in

a small Colony, as an upper House, with a Negative on the Proceedings of the King's Lieutenant-Governor, and the People's Representatives, seems not only to cramp the natural Liberty of the Subject there, but also the King's just Power and Prerogative; for it often happens, that very reasonable and good Bills, sometimes proposed for the Benefit of the Crown, by the Wisdom of a good Governor, and at other times offer'd by the People's Representatives, in Behalf of their Constituents, have been lost, and the enacting of such made impracticable, by the Obstinacy of a Majority in the Council, only because such Bills did not square with their particular private Interest and Gain, or with the Views which they form to themselves, by assuming an imaginary Dignity and Rank, above all the rest of the King's Subjects in the Province: And as to the Security, which it is pretended either the Crown, or a Proprietary, may have by such a negative Council, it is in Fact quite otherwise; since that Caution would be much better secured, if this Council was only a Council of State to advise with the Governor, and be constant Witnesses of all publick Transactions; for it cannot be thought that an Officer, who is not only under Oaths and Bonds, but answerable by Law for his Misconduct, and removeable at Pleasure, would, in the Face of Witnesses so appointed, contradict a rational Advice, thereby subjecting himself to grievous Penalties and Losses. Neither is it to be supposed, that these Men, if they had only the Privilege of advising, would oppose such good Bills, or other reasonable Propositions, as they well knew they had no Power to reject; but while they find themselves possess'd of a peremptory Negative, without being in any Sort accountable for their Opinions, it is easy to imagine how such a Power may be used on many Occasions, to serve their private

vate Interest and Views in Trade, as well as to indulge the too natural Propensity which Mankind have, especially abroad, to rule over and oppress their poor Neighbours: Besides, an artful and corrupt Governor will find Means, by Preferments &c. so to influence a negative Council, that knowing themselves to be under no Bonds, or any other valuable Penalty, to answer the Party aggrieved by their Opinions, they may, without Risk, proceed in such a Manner, as to screen the Governor in many Things, which otherwise he would be personally, and singly bound to account for in a legal and just Way.

If then a Council of State, only to advise with the Governor, shall appear in all Emergencies and Cases that can be proposed to be equally useful, and not attended with the Inconsistencies, Obstructions, and Disadvantages of a negative Council, the one seems to be much preferable to the other, and more agreeable to that Liberty, and just Equality, which is established by the common Law among *Englishmen*; and consequently less productive of those Grievances and Complaints, which have been so frequent hitherto from the Plantations.

At first View it will appear natural enough for an *Englishman*, who has tasted the Sweetness of that Freedom, which may be enjoyed under the happy Constitution of a King, Lords, and Commons in *Great Britain*, to imagine that a third Part should be form'd in the little Governments of the Plantations, in Imitation of a House of Lords; but if we rightly consider it, that Part of the Constitution is already most properly, and fully supply'd, by the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council; besides, let us suppose, that instead of a House of Lords in *Britain*, the like Number of select Commoners were invested with a Power to sit apart,

and to put a Negative on the Proceedings of a House of Commons, consisting of three times the Number of Persons of equal Rank, representing all the Commons of *Great Britain* in Parliament; the Inconsistency and Unreasonableness of the Thing presently obtrudes itself on our Minds; and yet such is the very Case of the Negative which is now practised by the Councils in *America*.

On the Civil Jurisdiction.

NEXT to the legislative Power we shall proceed to consider the civil Jurisdiction in the Plantations, which by their own Acts is branched out into so many Forms, almost in every Colony, that it is scarce practicable to reduce them under such Heads in a short Discourse, as to make it intelligible to those who are unacquainted with the Affairs of *America*.

It is generally acknowledg'd in all the Plantations, that the Subject is intitled by Birth-right to the Benefit of the common Law of *England*; but then as the common Law has been altered from Time to Time, and restricted by Statutes, it is a Question in many of the *American* Courts of Judicature, whether any of the *English* Statutes, which do not particularly mention the Plantations, can be of Force there, until they be brought over by some Act of Assembly in that Colony, where they are pleaded: And this creates such Confusion, that according to the Art and Influence of the Lawyers and Attornies before Judges, who by their Education are for the most Part but indifferently qualified for that Service, they sometimes allow the Force of particular Statutes, and at other times reject the whole, especially if the Bench is inclinable

inclinable to be parrial, which too frequently happens in those new and unsettled Countries. And as Mens Liberties and Properties in any Country chiefly depend on an impartial and equal Administration of Justice, this is one of the most material Grievances which the Subjects in *America* have just Cause to complain of; but while for the Want of Schools and other proper Instruction in the Principles of moral Virtue, their People are not so well qualified even to serve upon Juries, and much less to act upon a Bench of Judicature, it seems impracticable to provide a Remedy, until a sufficient Revenue be found out amongst them to support the Charge of sending Judges from *England* to take their Circuits by Turns in the several Colonies on the Main, which, if it be thought worthy of Consideration, will appear neither to be improper nor impracticable; and until something of that Nature can be done, all other Attempts to rectify their Courts of Law will be fruitless.

Courts of Chancery, which are known to be necessary in many Cases, to correct the Severity of Common Law, seem to subsist there on a most precarious Foot; for it does not appear that there is a proper and legal Authority to hold such a Court in any of the Colonies; nevertheless, by Custom, every where some kind of Chancery is to be found in one Form or other; so that when a rich Man designs to contest any thing in Dispute with his poor Neighbour, if he can contrive to bring him into Chancery, he is sure the Matter will rarely, or never be brought to Issue, which on many Occasions proves an intolerable Oppression; wherefore it is hoped, that so high a Jurisdiction, issuing immediately from the Crown, will in due Time be put on a more regular and certain Establishment in the Plantations.

On the Military Strength.

A MILITIA in an arbitrary and tyrannical Government may possibly be of some Service to the governing Power ; but we learn from Experience, that in a free Country it is of little Use. The People in the Plantations are so few in Proportion to the Lands they possess, that Servants being scarce, and Slaves so excessively dear, the Men are generally under a Necessity to work hard themselves, in order to provide the common Necessaries of Life for their Families ; so that they cannot spare a Day's Time without great Loss to their Interest ; wherefore a Militia there would become more burthensome to the poor People, than it can be in any Part of *Europe*. Besides, it may be question'd how far it would consist with good Policy, to accustom all the able Men in the Colonies to be well exercised in Arms ; it seems at present to be more adviseable, to keep up a small regular Force in each Province, which on Occasion might be readily augmented ; so that in Case of a War, or Rebellion, the whole of the regular Troops on the Continent, might without Loss of Time be united or distributed at Pleasure ; and if, as has been said before, a suitable Revenue abroad can be raised for the Defence and Support of the Plantations, it would be no difficult Matter, both to form and execute a proper Scheme for that Purpose.

On Taxes.

LAND is so plenty, and to be had so very cheap in *America*, that there is no such Thing as Tenants to be found in that Country ; for every Man

Man is a Landlord in Fee of what he possesses, and only pays a small Quit, or Ground Rent to the Lord of the Soil ; and this makes it impracticable to find an Assembly of such Freeholders in any of the Colonies, who will consent to lay any Tax upon Lands ; nor indeed is it to be expected, they should voluntarily agree to raise any Revenue among themselves, except what is absolutely necessary for erecting and supporting Court Houses, Bridges, Highways, and other needful Expences of their Civil Government, which is commonly levied upon Stock, an Excise on foreign Liquors retailed, or a small Poll Tax. And the Publick there is generally in Debt, because they are extremely jealous of Attempts upon their Liberties ; and apprehensive, that if at any Time their publick Treasury was rich, it might prove too great a Temptation for an artful Governor, perhaps in Concert with their own Representatives, to divide the Spoil amongst them.

On their Independency.

IT must be allowed that a Share of personal Interest or Self-Love influences in some Degree every Man's Affections, and gives a natural Impulse to all our Actions ; and although this is most perceptible in Trade or Commercial Affairs, yet there is not any other Transaction in Life that passes without it. And as it is with Men in this Case, so we find it has ever been with all States or Bodies Politick, as long as they continue independant one upon another. The Wisdom of the Crown of *Britain* therefore, by keeping its Colonies in such a Situation is very much to be applauded ; for while they continue so, it is morally impossible

impossible that any dangerous Union can be form'd among them, because their Interests in Trade, and all Manner of Business, being intirely separated by their Independancy on each other, every Advantage that is lost or neglected by one Colony, is immediately picked up by another; and the Emulation that continually subsists between them in all Manner of Intercourse and Traffick, is ever productive of Envy, Jealousies, and Cares, how to gain upon each other's Conduct in Government or Trade, every one thereby endeavouring to magnify their Pretensions to the Favour of the Crown, by becoming more useful than their Neighbours to the Interest of *Great Britain*.

On the Management of Plantation Affairs.

BUT to render the Colonies still more considerable to *Britain*, and the Management of their Affairs much more easy to the King and his Ministers at home, it would be convenient to appoint particular Officers in *England*, only for the Dispatch of Business belonging to the Plantations; for often Persons who come from *America* on purpose either to complain, or to support their own just Rights, are at a Loss how, or where to apply: This Uncertainty does not only fatigue the Ministers, but frequently terminates in the Destruction of the Party, by his being referr'd from Office to Office, until both his Money and Patience be quite worn out. Such Things in Time may cool People's Affections, and give them too mean an Opinion of the Justice of their Mother Country, which ought carefully to be prevented; for where there is Liberty, the Inhabitants will certainly expect Right,

Right, and still have an Eye towards obtaining it one Way or other.

It may be considered therefore how far it would be serviceable to put all the Crown's Civil Officers in the Plantations of what kind soever, under the Direction of the Board of Trade, from whom they might receive their several Deputations or Appointments; and to whom they ought to be accountable, both for their Receipts and Management: And if a particular Secretary was appointed for the Plantation Affairs only, or if the first Lord Commissioner of that Board was permitted to have daily Access to the King, in order to receive his Majesty's Commands in all Business relating to the Plantations, the Subject's Application would then be reduced into so narrow a Compass, and the Board of Trade would always be so perfectly acquainted with the King's Pleasure, that great Dispatch might be given, even to those distant Matters, without taking up too much of the Minister's Time, and interfering with other (perhaps more important) Business. The People of the Colonies would be pleased to find themselves thus equally regarded, without giving one any undue Preference to another; and all the Rents, Customs, Revenues, and other Profits in any Manner arising from the Plantations, would then center in one Place, where another proper Member of the same Board might be appointed Treasurer of that particular Revenue, to answer all such Orders as should be issued from Time to Time for the Plantation Service. And as the Revenues from *America* would in all Probability be increasing daily, it may reasonably be expected, that the Expence of paying the Board of Trade, and other Officers wholly employ'd in Plantation Affairs, which is now born by the Civil List, would then more properly arise, and be discharged out of the *American* Fund; and the Overplus

plus remaining would in Time become a most useful Stock, for purchasing of Proprietary Lands, erecting Forts, and extending the present Settlements as far as the great Lakes, or may be applied to such other Uses as his Majesty shall think proper for that Purpose.

Conclusion.

WHEN we do but cast an Eye on the vast Tract of Land, and immense Riches which the *Spanish* Nation have in little more than one Century very odly acquired in *America*; inso-much, that the simple Privilege of trading with them, on very high Terms, is become a Prize worth contending for among the greatest Powers in *Europe*. Surely we must on due Reflection acknowledge, that the Preservation and Enlargement of the *English* Settlements in those Parts, is of the last Consequence to the Trade, Interest, and Strength of *Great Britain*. And moreover, considering how that the last Resort of Justice in the Plantations is solely lodged in the King's sacred Person, with the Advisement of his Majesty's Privy Council, exclusive of *Westminster-Hall*, or any other Judicature. The Brightening of this Jewel in the Crown, may not perhaps be thought unworthy the Care of the present happy Reign, to which the Improvement, and future Security of so large a Part of the *British* Dominions, the Advancement of Trade, and universally supporting the glorious Cause of Liberty, seem to be reserved by the peculiar Hand of Providence.

To



To the Right Honourable the LORDS
COMMISSIONERS for TRADE and
PLANTATIONS.

*The Report of the Honourable WILLIAM
KEITH, Esq; Governor of the Province
of Pensilvania in NORTH AMERICA.*

RIGHT HONOURABLE,



N obedience to your Lordships commands, signify'd to me, by your Letter dated at *Whitehall* the 19th of *March* 1717-18, which I receiv'd the 20th of *October* following, I have made what Inquiry I could, relating to the Progress which the *French* Nation have made, in finding out, and securing a Passage from their Settlement on *St. Lawrence* River, or *Canada*, to that on * *Meckasippi*: and as I have my Information chiefly from the *Indian* Traders, I shall not pretend to vouch any Thing from my own Knowledge, but simply lay the Whole before your Lordships, in the plainest Manner that it could be Collected from their verbal Relations.

* *Missippa.*

Yet,

Yet, First, I would entreat your Lordships will please to observe, that from an Article in the Treaty of *Reswick*, between the *British* and *French* Crowns, by which, all Lands on any Rivers in America, the Mouths or Outlets whereof were then in Possession of either Nation, are conceded to that Nation, as high as the first Sources of those Rivers; the *French* by virtue of the *Sieur de la Salle's* Expedition and Discoveries, do now Claim all the Lands to the North and Westward of the *British* Colonies, from *Canada* along the Lakes, unto the Mouth of the River *Mechassippi*. But as it is hard to imagine that such a Concession was ever intended by the foresaid Article; because it is not only inconsistent with the ancient Grant from the Crown to the Proprietors of *Carolina*, but also with the Security of all his Majesty's Colonies on this Continent of *America*; I only submit it to your Lordships View, and shall proceed to the Narrative, as follows.

From the Time that the *French* first discover'd the River *Mechassippi*, they have with great Care endeavour'd, and, at length, have actually settled a Communication between *Canada* and the Southern Countries on the said River.

First, they Sail in Canoes from *Mount Real* about three Leagues, to the Fall of *St. Louis*, where they have a Portage or carrying Place by Land, about half a League; then they reembark and Row up the Stream, about 60 Leagues to *Fort Frontenac*, on the North side, at the Beginning of the Lake *Ontario*. In this Fort is a small Garrison, consisting of one or two Companies in the King's Pay. From thence they proceed on the Lake *Ontario*, generally repu-

The French endeavours to keep a Communication between *Canada* and *Mississippi*.

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ted to be about 80 Leagues in length, to these dreadful Falls of *Niagara*, which oblige them to Land: (the Portage is about three Leagues): After which they re-imbark, and go up the Strait, about six Leagues into Lake *Erie*, reputed to be 130 Leagues in Length. And from this Lake they have three different Routes to the River *Mechassippi*.

The first, and shortest Passage, by Water, is to go up the River *Miamis*, or *Ouamis*, (that enters the Lake *Erie*, on the South-West) about 150 Leagues; then they come to a carrying Place of about three Leagues, where is the highest Land; and from hence the Waters divide their Descent, between *Mechassippi* and that Lake. Here they embark on a small shallow River, call'd *La Riviere de Portage*, down which they row 40 Leagues to the River *Wabash*, or *Onabache*; and on that River, as the Traders reckon, 120 Leagues to the River *Ohio*, into which the other falls; then 80 Leagues, down *Ohio* to *Mechassippi*, and thence 350 Leagues to the Bay of *Mexico*. Some call both these Rivers by the same Name, and generally *Wabash*, but they ought to be distinguish'd, because the Head of the *Ohio* comes more Easterly towards *Virginia* or *Carolina*, and among diverse other large Streams, it receives the River *Peregrini* on the South side, not far from the Mouth of *Wabash*; which River *Peregrini* is said to rise from the Mountains of *Virginia* or *Carolina*.

The other two Passages are both prick'd down in *Hennepin's* Map, and, according to the Accounts given, are thus:

From the North-East of Lake *Erie*, they Sail 8 Leagues to a Fort, on the Lake *St. Claire*, call'd *Pont Chartrian*, where there is a Settlement of the *French*; and often 400 Traders meet here. Here is a Garrison of about 30 *French*, and a vast Concourse

Concourse of Traders, sometimes not less than 1000, besides *Indians*, this being a common place of Rendezvous. At or near this Place, are the *Outawas* settled.

From the Lake *Huron*, they pass by the Strait *Missilimakina*, 4 Leagues, being two in Breadth, and of a great Depth, to the Lake *Illinois*; thence 150 Leagues on the Lake to Fort *Miami*, situated on the Mouth of the River *Chigagou*: this Fort is not regularly garrison'd. From hence came those *Indians* of the same Name, viz. *Miami's*, who are settled on the foremention'd River that runs into *Erie*.

Up the River *Chigagou* they sail but three Leagues to a Portage of a quarter of a League; then they enter a small Lake of about a Mile, and have another very small Portage, and again another, of two Miles to the River *Illinois*; thence down the same, 130 Leagues to *Meckasippi*.

The third is, from *Missilimakina* on the Lake *Illinois* to the Lake *Des Puans*, 90 Leagues thence to the River *Puans*, 80 Leagues up the same to a Portage about 4 Miles over to the River *Ouisconsin*, and thence 40 Leagues to *Meckasippi*.

From the Mouth of *Ouisconsin* to the Mouth of the River *Illinois*, is reputed 150 Leagues on *Meckasippi*, and from thence to the Mouth of *Ohio*, 70 Leagues: So that, from the Mouth of *Ouisconsin* to the Bay is about 500 Leagues.

These Distances are, as the Traders reckon them; but they appear generally to be much over-done, which may be owing to those People's Coasting along the Shores of the Lakes, and taking in all the Windings of the Rivers.

They have another much shorter Passage, from *Mount Real* to Lake *Huron*, by the *French* River on the North of *St. Lawrence*; which answers the two latter Routes; but as it abounds with Falls, and

and not answering Trade so well, is not so much us'd. They have also, by this River a much shorter Passage to the upper Lake or *Lac Supérieur*. But of all the Passages, that by *Ouabache* is the shortest and easiest.

Having, above, given your Lordships the most full and perfect Account, that I could possibly discover, of the several Routes which the *French* take from *St. Lawrence* to *Meckasippi*, I shall in the next Place, proceed to lay before you, the State of the several *Indian* Nations, with respect both to the *English* and *French*, according to the best Information I could get from the same Persons.

It has ever been the Policy of the *French* in those Parts, in Time of War, as well as Peace, to use their utmost Endeavours by all manner of Means, to bring over any Sort, or all Kinds of *Indians* into their Interest: But as it is in vain to persuade an *Indian* to think otherwise, than that those are his best Friends, who can help him to the best Bargain, the *Iroquese*, or five Nations, have hitherto been preserv'd by the *Dutch* and *English* at *New York*, chiefly on Account of finding better Markets there, than with the *French*. Nevertheless, by the Artifices of their Jesuit Missionaries, they daily continue to debauch them from the *English* Interest; insomuch that, of the whole Number of *Iroquese* now remaining, which does not exceed 2000 fighting Men, the *French* have drawn over 700 to inhabit among them, viz. 400 seated at the Fall of *St. Louis*, on the South side of *St. Lawrence*, and 300 on the North side.

The rest of them are planted chiefly along the Lake *Ontario*, at some distance from it. I am told, there are no *Indians* in the *French* Interest on this Side of *St. Lawrence*, nearer than the *Miamis*, or *Twoittois*, as the *Iroquese* call them: They are, in

in Number about 2000, settled chiefly on the fore-mention'd River *Miamis*, flowing into the Lake *Erie*, and on or near the Branches of the River *Onabache*.

The Gaining of this one Nation, would be of great Importance, to the *English* Interest; and, as I am inform'd, it might be easily done at this Time, if any Offer were made of Trading with them, and of Building a Fort upon Lake *Erie*, where the *French* as yet have no Settlements; tho', probably, they will soon go about to have one, upon the Account of those People, as well as to render their Passage thro' that Lake more easy and safe.

The *Ilionis* are about 3000 Men, on or near the River of that Name. The *Missilimakinaes* or *Ontawaes* were formerly 3000, but now are scarce 500. The *Nokes* 100. The *Fellesavains* 200. The *Sakes* 200. The *Puans* 600. All these join'd the *French* against the *Iroquese* in the last War; and all of them, except the *Miamis*, are seated about, or near the Lake *Ilionis*, (which is now commonly call'd by them *Mechegan*) and on the River that run into it, and on the Lake *Puans*, and the River *Ilinois*.

There are also diverse other Nations between *Mechegan* and *Mechissippi*, as the *Renards* or *Foxes*, *Massekotins*, *Kikapous*; but these being farther off, did not join the *French* against the *Iroquese*.

Upon *Mechissippi*, and the Branches of it, there are many great Nations, especially to the West, as the *Missouris*, *Ozages*, *Akansias*, who are different from those of *Acanfa* on the East, with many more, not less, as is affirm'd, than 60000 Men; with all whom, it is said, the *French* have Peace, and some Alliance.

On the other Hand, all the *English*, to the Northward of *Carolina*, have not 1500 Men in their

their Interest, except the *Iroquese*. In *New England* and *Connecticut*, they were very few. In *New York*, only the River *Indians*, besides the *Iroquese*, in *Jersey* and *Pensylvania*, their own, or Home *Indians*, call'd *Delawares*, are exceedingly decreas'd; and, being in Subjection to the *Iroquese*, take their Rules from them. In *Maryland* and *Virginia*, there are few, excepting those towards the South West, whom Colonel *Spotswood*, with great Industry, has lately gain'd by Treaties and Hostages.

Those of *Carolina*, and the Nations lately in Friendship with them, have been very numerous; but the *Iroquese*, whether prompted by the *French*, or by what other Motive is unknown; have, of late Years, made great Inroads upon them, and cannot as yet, by any Endeavours of the *English*, be diverted from it. But of those Nations to the Southward, and of their Strength and Interest, the best Accounts will naturally come from *Virginia* and *Carolina*.

I come now, in Obedience to the last Part of your Lordships Commands, on this Subject, humbly to offer my Sentiments of the Methods which may be taken, in order to prevent the Inconveniencies, unto which his Majesty's Plantations, on the Continent of *America*, and the Trade of *Great Britain*, may be subjected by such a Communication between the *French* Settlements.

Tho' it may be justly said, that we exceed the *French* in the improv'd Value of our Settlements, upon this Continent; yet from the above Account it is plain, that we come far short of the Industry which they use in Cultivating a necessary Correspondence and Friendship with the Natives, without which our farther Progress to the Westward will soon be circumscrib'd; and we shall be under daily Apprehensions of losing what we already

already possess. But since this Friendship and Correspondence is, by Experience, no otherwise to be acquir'd than by Trade, it will necessarily follow that this Trade ought to be encourag'd and extended, with the utmost Care and Diligence. And that this may be done to the publick Advantage, as well as to that of Particulars, it will be proper to consider the Nature of this Trade, with respect to *Great Britain*, to the Colonies where it must be carry'd on, and to the *French* who are our Rivals in it.

The Trade itself, consists in the Exchange of a very few simple Commodities, *viz.* they take from us the Woollen Manufactures * of *Britain*, Gun-powder, Shot, Fire-Arms, and Trinkets; for which, we receive in Barter, Furs and Skins, and this being almost a total Exchange of *British* Produce or Manufacture, thro' the Hands, and by the Navigation and Labour of *British* Subjects in those Colonies, suppose it only for an equal Quantity, in value of Goods, which are either wanted at Home, or may be justly placed to *Great Britain's* Credit, upon the Ballance of a Trade with Foreign Countries, it will unavoidably follow, that *Britain* must gain in Proportion to the Magnitude or Extent of the Trade in general; and therefore we may conclude, that it ought not only to be Encouraged, but Establish'd upon an equal Foot, throughout all these Colonies, as they are inhabited by *British* Subjects, carrying on a *British* Interest, without any Distinction made, or Regard had to their particular Settlements or Societies, as separate Governments.

With Respect to the Colonies, this Trade will enrich Particulars in Proportion to the Quantity they Deal in, and the Profit it brings, which of late

* To *Britain* in general. † To the Colonies in Particular.

Years, has been so considerable, that it has tempted the trading Interest of some Colonies, to pursue that Gain, with an unreasonable Desire of crushing their Neighbours: But this Practice is by all Means to be discourag'd from *Great Britain*, as highly destructive to the Publick Interest, both with respect to Trade, and the Advancement, as well as Security of the *British* Dominion on this Continent.

Lastly, If this Trade could be carry'd on, with a Publick Spirit, and just Regard to a National Interest, as appears to be absolutely necessary, for maintaining what we have already got, the *French*, who cannot furnish these Commodities, compar'd with us, either in Quantity or Value, could have no hopes of diverting the *Indians* from Trading with us, and consequently depending firmly upon us. We should not, then, have the Traders of *New York* jealous of, and uneasy at the Profits gain'd by the Traders of *Virginia*; nor these again of the Improvements which may possibly be made in *Carolina*: But every Colony would find a solid and certain Advantage, by an Union among them, according to their Situation, Power, and Ability to advance their trading Settlements, Westward, upon the Lakes and adjacent Rivers; where those vast Nations of *Indians* would soon perceive, by our united Interest, Power, and Traffick, that we were far preferable to our Rivals the *French*, and every way much fitter to be chosen for their Friends and Allies. And in order to carry on this great Design, I humbly conceive it will be proper, that a complete Body of Instructions be carefully compos'd, to be sent to all the Governors on this Continent; where amongst other things, it may be directed, *viz.*

I. That, in order to prevent the *Indians* being impos'd upon, and abus'd by loose and over covetous

tous Persons, trading promiscuously amongst them, which was the chief unhappy Cause of the late destructive War in *South Carolina*; the Governor shall use his utmost Endeavours, with the Advice of the Council and Assembly, to put the *Indian* Trade, carry'd on by the Inhabitants, under such wholesome and just Regulations, as that the Traders may not have it in their Power to Cheat and Impose upon the *Indians* in any Sort, without being made accountable for it, under high Penalties. Provided always, that no Restriction shall be made to Prohibit or Interrupt any of his Majesty's Subjects, in other of his Colonies, from Trading as freely with any Foreign *Indians*, as the Inhabitants of that Colony can or may do themselves. And in case they shall discover any Abuse to have been committed upon any *Indian* whatsoever, by any Person or Persons, Inhabitants in, or belonging unto any other of his Majesty's Colonies, complaint shall be forthwith made to the Governor of that Colony, whereunto the Offender belongs, and he shall cause Restitution to be made, and Justice to be done, according to the Nature of the Offence.

II. That all possible Encouragement be given towards carrying on a fair Trade with the *Indian* Nations, so that it may be extended as far Westward upon the Lakes and Rivers behind the great Mountains, as the Situation and Ability of the Colony will permit: And when any proper Place shall be discover'd for the Building of a Fort, and Settling a Garrison, in order to Protect the Trade, a Report thereof shall be made to your Lordships, with the Circumstances and Reasons for so doing.

III. That the Governor shall, with all his Industry and Might, endeavour to make Treaties and Alliances of strict Friendship with as many *Indian* Nations as he possibly can: Always taking special

Care

Care to stipulate and secure Peace, not only between them and the Colonies under his Direction, but also between them and all the *English* Colonies, and likewise with all the *Indians* under any League of Friendship with any of the said Colonies. And that this may be the more effectually done, his Majesty may please to direct and order, in a more especial manner, by publick Proclamation, or otherwise, as shall seem meet, that all Persons travelling from the Settlements of any of his Majesty's Colonies, into the Woods, in order to discover and trade with any *Indian* Nation, or Nations whatsoever; if such Person shall happen accidentally to meet or encounter with any of his Majesty's Subjects, travelling from any other Colonies or Settlements upon the same design of Trade or Discovery, then, and in that Case, such Persons shall be obliged, and are strictly commanded, under the highest pain of his Royal Displeasure, to treat one another with civil Humanity and kindly Assistance, without giving one the other, upon either Part, the least Interruption or Hindrance in their said respective Designs of friendly Intercourse and Traffick with the *Indians*; but, on the contrary, by their open and free Behaviour, as well as Discourse, to convince the *Indians*, as much as in them lies, that all the *English* Subjects upon this Continent, howsoever distinguish'd into Governments, yet are but one People, under one King, who has commanded them, his Subjects, to take all Opportunities, to shew his Love and Affection to all the *Indian* Nations; and that which soever of them will make any League of Friendship, with any one of his Governments in these Parts, are thereby entitled to his Majesty's Protection, and to the Friendship, as well as Assistance of all other Governments, and of the *Indian* Nations in Alliance with any of them.

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I. That,

IV. That, if any *Indian* Nation, in League of Friendship with any of his Majesty's Colonies, shall, in Breach thereof, presume to make War upon, Plunder, or in any other sort molest any other *Indian* Nation, who at the same time shall be in Friendship with, and under the Protection of any other of his Majesty's Colonies; then that Colony, unto which such offensive *Indians* are bound by Treaty, shall use their utmost Endeavours, by Threatnings as well as Promises, to oblige the said *Indians* to make reasonable Satisfaction for their Breach of Faith, to the Contentment of the Party aggriev'd: And in case of meeting with any Difficulty in bringing such *Indians* to Reason, the Governor shall represent the same to his Majesty forthwith, in order to receive farther Direction therein.

V. To the end that all the Governors of his Majesty's Plantations on the Continent, be each of them, for their better Direction, particularly acquainted with the State of every other Government relating to the *Indians*, let every one be order'd, upon his making any Alliance or Treaty with any *Indian* Nation whatsoever, immediately to communicate the Nature, Import, and Date of such Treaty unto all his Fellow-Governors upon the Continent.

Such a Correspondence and Harmony being once establish'd, the Trade might be easily secur'd and protected, by erecting four small Forts, viz. the first upon Lake *Erie*, near to the above-nam'd *Indians* the *Miamis*: the second on the Lake *Ontario*, near to the *Iroquese*: the third on the Head or highest Fountain of *Potowmack* River, which divides the Colonies of *Virginia* and *Maryland*; and the fourth towards the Head of *Susquehanna* River, which runs thro' *Pennsylvania* into the Bay of *Chesapeake*.

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The two first of these Forts would not only secure all the *Indians* on this side *Carolina* to *Canada*, which are settled to the Eastward of the Lakes, but also open a Trade with the above-mention'd great and numerous Nations to the Westward, whose Communication by Water would render the Traffick easy. And because the Distance between the *English* Settlements in these Colonies, and the Lakes, is too great, without the Refreshment as well as Security of a middle Stage or resting Place, the other two Forts would effectually answer that end to all the Traders belonging to any of the Colonies Northward of *Carolina*.

I humbly conceive, that each Fort will require a Company, or Garrison of 50 Men in the King's Pay to be under the Direction and Command of the Governors, his Majesty's Commanders in chief, in the respective Colonies, viz. that upon Lake *Erie*, to be under *Virginia*; that upon Lake *Ontario* under *New York*; that upon *Potowmack* under *Maryland*; and that upon *Susquehanna* under *Pennsylvania*.

To conclude, I cannot foresee any thing which would interrupt the Execution of this Scheme, but the Emulation in Trade, that is kept up among the *English* Colonies. For which reason, it seems necessary, that some Method be projected, whereby each Colony shall be obliged to bear its proportionable Share, of the Expence which the Crown of *Great Britain* will be at, in building Forts westward among the *Indians*, and subsisting Garrisons. For, if this were done at the publick Charge, equally for the Protection of all, none would have any Pretence to be distinguish'd particularly in their Claim to this Trade. And if *Great Britain* do not imitate the *French*, in making their Correspondence with the *Indians*, a national Concern, whereby the Government and

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Maintenance of all Forts and Garrisons shall remain in the Hands of the Crown, the Success is very much to be doubted, from the variety of interruptions, which we may continually expect to meet with from amongst ourselves, as well as from the *French*, who have but one Interest principally in view, and steadily pursue it with great Application.

But, from the little Knowledge and Experience which I have of the *English American Colonies*, I do not expect that this Project, however just in itself, will generally please; wherefore I shall not presume to insist farther, or to put any other value upon it, than that I have, according to my Duty, without Prejudice or Partiality, faithfully endeavour'd to obey your Lordships Commands: And it is with great Submission, that I beg leave to subscribe myself,

Right Honourable,

Your Lordships most Humble

Feb. 16, 1718-19. And most Obedient Servant.

W. KENT II.

P. S. Lest it should at any time, be represented to your Lordships, that, in Imitation of the *French*, a Society may be incorporated, and a Company erected for carrying on the Trade upon this Continent, with the *Indians*; I must beg leave to observe, that such a Privilege or Immunity would certainly become a very heavy burden upon, and a great Discouragement to the Planting, as well as Trading Interest of every one, and of all these Colonies, who, from the Taste they have of *English Liberty*, are naturally averse to all Monopolies, and will hardly ever be restrain'd by the Maxims or Ex-

amples

amples of a *French Government*. Besides, any Restriction upon the Inhabitants of these Colonies, wou'd altogether destroy the Intent and Design of the above Scheme, which is founded upon reasoning after this Manner, *viz.*

That under a good Regulation of Government, the relative Advantages which subsist between any State and its Colonies abroad, are reciprocal. For,

As the State has, unquestionably, a Right, and most certainly ought to regulate the Trade of its Colonies for publick Advantage; so the Colonies have at least an equal, if not a preferable Claim to the Subsistence and smaller Profits which arise from that Trade, to those who must be employ'd in carrying it on.

That, where any publick Interest will be most effectually carry'd on, by the united Strength of many adjacent Colonies, such an Union ought carefully to be established with Equality among them; and every Thing tending to weaken or obstruct this Union, is to be consider'd as prejudicial to the Publick.

That the *Indian Nations*, upon this Continent are not to be gain'd otherwise than by Trade; and this Trade cannot be manag'd to any Purpose, without the mutual Assistance and Concurrence of all the *English Colonies*. But, from the different Constitutions, and particular Interests of those Colonies, such a Regulation is not to be obtain'd without the Authority of *Great Britain*. Wherefore the above Scheme, in Obedience to your Lordships Commands, is humbly offer'd by,

Right Honourable, &c.



A
DISCOURSE
ON THE
Medium of Commerce.

Wherein the Use and Necessity of a certain Proportion of Paper Currency, to Carry on and Dispatch Business between *Great Britain*, and some of her Plantations in *America*, is particularly explain'd.



As the Riches and Power of every State depend on the Industry of the People, and the Extension or Com-
pals of their foreign Trade by a continual Exchange of all Kinds of Commodities, it is demonstrable, from every one's Experience, that Business of that Nature cannot be carried on, without a due Proportion of some Medium, to be universally received

ceived amongst Mankind, as the certain Measure and permanent Value of every perishable Commodity they have Occasion to deal in, whereby each Individual is enabled to preserve from Decay, and increase his own particular Share of Property and Wealth.

For this Purpose, all the civilized Nations in the World have agreed to put an Estimate on such Goods as they have Occasion to exchange in Trade, equal to some Portion of Silver or Gold of a certain determin'd Fineness, which is called the Value of the Commodity; because it is thereby render'd capable of being every Moment compared with all other Commodities of any Species or Denomination, when their Values in like Manner come to be reduced to the same Standard of Gold and Silver; so that as we barter and exchange one Sort of Goods for another, we compleat the Bargain according to their respective Values in Money; and when there happens to be any Difference, the Balance is paid to the Owner of the greatest Concern in Cash, which in a trading Country makes it absolutely necessary, that every Dealer be constantly provided with such a Proportion of Cash, as is requisite to transact, and finish his Affairs continually in a fluctuating uncertain Market, where the Merchant's Profit depends on a judicious and nimble Exchange of perishable Goods, which frequently he cannot dispose of without the Help of ready Money to accommodate the Wants of other People, and force that Exchange which is necessary to preserve and meliorate the Condition of his Estate; the End of all Trade.

It is however to be observed, that although the intrinsic Worth of Gold and Silver is not variable in itself, yet the Value of every kind of Commodity rises and falls in Proportion to the Plenty or Scarcity of that necessary Medium of Commerce;

so that when a Country really has not within itself sufficient Quantity of Silver and Gold to circulate Trade; or when the Money happens to be locked up, and engrossed into a few Hands, the Generality of the trading People in either Case must be cramp'd in their Dealing, and forced to carry on Business under many great Disadvantages to the publick Loss; which unhappy Circumstance has, on some Occasions, obliged the Government of an industrious State to supply the Want of Bullion in Specie with an artificial Credit, by substituting Bills or Notes bearing the Value of Money, which were to be gradually sunk by some publick Fund established for that Purpose; in which Case the State becomes accountable to every Man who has parted with his Effects in Exchange for Paper, that has no Value but what publick Authority has stamp'd upon it; and where such a nominal Currency of Paper is well regulated, to the equal Advantage of all Sort of trading People, and kept within such Bounds, as that it may be in continual Demand, by not exceeding the same, which is barely requisite to circulate the Trade of the Country, it certainly contributes to the Dispatch of Business, and is of great Service, by preventing Monopolies, and all Manner of Engrossing, to the Detriment of Trade in general, which under a wise Government ought always to be kept open and free, without Respect to particular Persons or Companies, who will ever be apt to force their own Interest, without Regard to the Publick, and to be always framing Schemes for that Purpose, which cannot easily be avoided, as Experience in many Places has given sufficient Proof. And wherever we find such a Paper Currency, as is here spoken of, establish'd in any Country by Law, the Credit of it is to be supported and maintain'd by no other

other Means, than what every Goldsmith or Banker is obliged, and ought to use, to pass his Cash Notes for ready Money; viz. a careful Management of his Affairs, by not launching out into a larger Credit than the Compass of his Dealing absolutely requires; and withal, to observe such an exact Punctuality, as naturally, and of Course, would raise the Reputation of his Credit amongst those who have had Occasion to make use of it.

From this View of a Paper Credit in general, we shall proceed to enquire into the Nature and Condition of the several Kinds of Paper Bills, which at this Time are made current in many of the *British* Colonies in *America*, by the Laws of their respective Governments. In order to discover the Advantage or Loss wherewith such Laws and Regulations in the Colonies may possibly affect the Interest and Trade of *Great Britain* from time to time; for although the particular Constitution of each Colony is truly an independant State in itself, with respect to all the rest, yet it is not so with regard to *Great Britain*, and therefore cannot be invested with any Power to enact Laws, that are any way hurtful to the Trade and Interest of the *British* State; for it is always to be supposed, that whatever Advantage in any kind of Commerce is to be acquired by the *British* Subjects in the Colonies of *America*, it must, or ought to be in such Commodities, and carried on by such Ways and Means only, as evidently tend to the Interest and Profit of *Great Britain*, and no otherwise. When therefore we happen to reason on any Part of the *American* Trade, it is not so much to be considered, whether the particular Merchant, and trading Subject in *Great Britain*, or he in *America*, is the greatest Gainer, as which of them, at the long Run, and in the Course of their Business,

ness, truly bring the greatest Profit home to *Great Britain*, either by adding to the publick Wealth of the Nation, or augmenting its Strength, and rendering it less dependant than it was before on the foreign Trade of other Countries, by keeping the Ballance every where, as much as is possible, in the Favour of *Great Britain*, whom we ought to regard as an impartial Mother to all her Children, by protecting and encouraging of them in a due Proportion to the Helps and Assistances, which they actually contribute towards the supporting and enriching of her State; for her fundamental Laws and Regulations of Government, make no other Distinctions amongst them.

When Gentlemen therefore who are distinguish'd by the Title of *London*, *Bristol*, or *Liverpool* Merchants, come to make their Complaint against any Branch of the *American* Trade, it will not be sufficient barely to assert, that the resident Trader in *America* gets more than they do, nor ought their Application to be regarded, unless they can prove, that the Course of the Trade they complain of is really hurtful to the publick Interest of *Britain*, and ought therefore to be totally suppress'd: As for Example, if a Company of *Hamburg* Merchants, who are great Dealers in Linen Cloth from *Germany*, were to complain to Parliament that their Trade laboured under some Decay on Account of the large Quantities of Linen, which perhaps some Merchants residing at the Time in *America*, had of late Years imported into the Plantations, from *Scotland* and *Ireland*, would it not be from the Purpose to have any Regard to such a Complaint, unless at the same time they could make incontestible Proof, that it would be more beneficial to *Great Britain*, to have her own Subjects in *America* supply'd with Linens from *Germany*,

Germany, and other foreign Countries, than from *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

An Infinity of other Examples might be given of the like Nature, but the Course of Dealing in many Cases is so intricate, that one must go through a great Variety of Exchanges in Trade, before you can come at the true Ballance with respect to *Great Britain*, which is the only Criterion by which we can make a solid Judgment in all Matters of that Kind; for if the Nation at last is evidently a Gainer by any Branch of Trade, whether in *Europe* or *America*, it is of very little Signification which of her Subjects are to be beneficially employ'd therein; so that the Distinctions which some People have accustom'd themselves to make, between *British* Merchants residing in *Europe*, and others in *America*, is without any just Foundation,

On a Supposition then, that the Trade every where carried on to and from the *British* Colonies in *America*, is regulated by proper Laws to the Advantage of *Great Britain*, it will follow that such Things as are absolutely necessary to give Dispatch, and quicken that Trade, must likewise tend to the Interest of *Britain*; and as that is truly the only justifiable Design and Use of a Paper Currency in some of the Colonies, it may be worth while to examine more particularly into the Nature of the Plantation Trade, whereby those Provinces will be readily distinguish'd, whose Circumstances in Trade wants the Assistance of a Paper Currency to circulate Business, and enable them to make proper Returns to *Great Britain*, for the large Quantities of valuable Goods they annually receive from thence.

The ingenious Author of a little Book publish'd in *Holland* under the Title of the Memoirs of the famous *John de Wit*, makes great Encomiums on the

the good Policy of *Great Britain*, in multiplying and extending her Settlements on the Continent of *America*, which he judiciously prognosticates will always secure a Vent to her staple Manufactures amongst her own Subjects; when perhaps, by the Industry of other Nations, she may hereafter be cut out of many Branches of the *European* and *Asiatick* Trades, which she now quietly enjoys: An Observation sufficiently verified at this Time, by the yearly Increase on the Custom-house Books of our Exports from *Great Britain* to *America*; and which it can never be in the Power of any foreign State to prevent, or diminish, by any Means whatever; wherefore in all Judgments to be made of the Trade between *Great Britain* and her Plantations, this certainly must be the principal Object in view. And as the most natural and effectual Way to increase those Exports, will be to encourage the *British* Subjects in the Plantations with every thing that can be contrived to assist them in making proper and suitable Returns to *Britain*, for the Goods they continually receive from thence, we are now to consider how that is most commodiously to be done, and to point out some of those Helps which the Situation and Circumstances of the respective Colonies seem to require.

As the *British* Colonies on the North Continent of *America* lie contiguous one to another from *Florida* to *Cape Breton*, which includes from the 28th to the 47th Degree of Northern Latitude, they are productive of a great Variety of Soils, by being subject to many Degrees of Heat and Cold, in the Difference of their Climates, of which the hottest and richest are commonly sickly; and the cold, but poorer, more healthy to the *European* People, which is the Reason why the last are most populous, although the others are most profitable to the Inhabitants; for we find there are more white

white People inhabiting the Provinces of *New England*, *Connecticut*, and *Rhode Island*, than in all the other Provinces together; and yet those Countries have no Product for Export, but Horses, Cattle, and Timber, besides a few Furs and Deer Skins, which they purchase of the Natives; so that in order to provide many Necessaries for themselves, as well as to make Returns for the large Quantity of Woollens, Linens, and other valuable Goods from *Britain*, which they annually consume, they are obliged to manufacture many Things; such as Clap-boards, Hoops, Shingles, framed Timber for Building, which they send to the *Sugar Islands* in the *West Indies*, in Exchange for Sugar, Rum, and Molasses; but their Returns to *Britain* chiefly consist in building great Numbers of Ships of all Sizes, which they send to *Portugal*, *Spain*, and *Italy* loaded with Fish, and from thence get a Freight to *Britain*, where they dispose of their Shipping to a good Account, by which Means they are enabled to pay for the Goods they receive from thence. Thus the Course of their Trade being involved with a double and triple Exchange, passing through various Markets before the improved Value comes to center in *Great Britain*; and having no Bullion of their own Growth, they are forced to substitute a needful Proportion of a nominal Paper Currency in the place of Cash, which serves for a Medium to circulate the Bulk of their Commerce, that otherwise would stagnate, and become less profitable to them; wherefore a competent Share of such a Currency amongst these People seems to be absolutely necessary, and especially if the Quantity to be made current at any one Time is to be restrain'd to a certain limited Sum; because there will then be no risque of its falling considerably in Value, or otherwise doing any manner of Prejudice to the Merchant,

Merchant, but on the contrary; for Experience demonstrates, that it quickens all manner of Trade in these Countries, by dispatching Business in less than half the Time it would otherwise require, and effectually prevents Monopolies.

The next three adjacent Provinces of *New York*, *New Jersey*, and *Pennsylvania*, being something richer of Soil, and warmer than those to the Northward, they have much the same Product in every thing but Fish; in place of which they raise very large Quantities of Wheat, and all Sort of Grain, which they manufacture into Flower and Bread, and send it in their own Shipping to all Parts of the *West Indies*, from whence they bring such Necessaries as they want from thence, and return the Overplus in Bills of Exchange or Cash to *Britain*; but they likewise having no Product of their own, wherewithal to make immediate Returns for the large Quantity of *British* Goods they annually consume, are under the Necessity of substituting a needful Proportion of Paper Currency, to give Dispatch to their Affairs, which amongst them has this further Advantage, that it obliges all Ships coming from any Part to their Market, to buy up their Grain, or manufactured Provisions, in order to load with Country Produce, because they cannot convert the Paper, which they receive in the Market for Cash, to such Advantage any other way; so that all Kinds of Gold and Silver there, becomes a mere Commodity, like other Merchandize, for Returns to *Britain*, and is rarely or never wanted as a Medium in the Course of Dealing. Nevertheless great Care ought to be taken, that none of these Provinces be permitted to strike above a certain determin'd Sum of Paper Money, which, as it gradually sinks, may be renewed, but never increased on any Pretence whatever; and it is thought, that the most just Regulation of that Matter,

Matter, would be to make the Quantity of such Paper Money in each Province, bear a Proportion to the gross Bulk and Value of its *European* Trade or Imports from *Great Britain*.

As to the Provinces of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, which are, or ought to be wholly employ'd in planting Tobacco, that can be carried no where but to *Great Britain* directly, they have not the least Occasion for Paper Money, which amongst them would be very hurtful to the *British* Merchant, who neither wants nor desires any other Return for his Goods than Tobacco; and it would be highly unreasonable, that the Tobacco Planter should have it in his Power to apply the Growth of his Plantation to other Uses, while he paid his *British* Creditor only with Paper, which ought no where to be allow'd, excepting in those Countries that do not produce any Commodities for the *British* Market, and where a Multiplication of Exchanges are to be made in different Places, before any Returns can be made to *Britain*.

The Province of *Carolina* seems to be in the same Situation with the Tobacco Colonies, because of its large Product in Rice, Pitch, Tar, Rosin, and *Indian* Trade; all which are valuable and proper Returns directly to *Britain*; but it having laboured for a considerable Time under a careless and bad Oeconomy, the publick Credit there is so much involved, by the excessive Sums which they have unwarily struck in Paper Money from Time to Time, that it is the Opinion of the Judicious, they cannot possibly get clear of the Incumbrance any other Way, than by calling in their old Bills to be exchanged for new ones, issued on such a Foundation, as that the Whole may be sunk in a certain Number of Years, after which they ought not to be permitted to go into any more Projects of that Nature.

It

It may be taken for granted, that every intelligent Merchant in *Great Britain*, who chuses to trade to any of the Colonies in *America*, is well apprized before-hand of the Nature of that Trade, and of the Value of the Goods which he expects in return of his *European* Effects; and as there is little or no Credit given in those Colonies where there is no Product for an immediate Return to *Britain*, the only Thing to be desired, is a ready Market and Dispatch, which in some of these Countries cannot be had without a sufficient Quantity of some Sort of Medium to promote an Exchange of Things, and make Trade circulate: The Clamour therefore that is made for suppressing altogether the Paper Currency every where in *America*, has no just Foundation, since such a Prohibition would greatly hurt all manner of Trade there, and oppress the Generality of the People, without serving any Turn, but the partial Views of a very few rich Men, who aim at engrossing the Market there to themselves, and grinding the Face of the Poor, which must always be the Case in Trade, where the Generality are shut out from Dealing, for want of Money to circulate Business, or something that equally answers the same End.

But on the other hand, the Abuses which have been committed through Ignorance or Design, in most of the Colonies where Paper Money has been used, ought to be look'd into, and rectified for the future, that it may be no longer in their Power to strike more than what is barely necessary to circulate the Trade of the Province where it is made current, otherwise it must infallibly lose its nominal Value, as we see it has done, both in *New England* and *Carolina*, to the great Discredit and Loss of their provincial Trade, which, from the Nature of the Thing, must always affect the Interest of those who deal with them, whether in

Europe

Europe or *America*; for on which ever Side a real Loss happens among trading People, if we suppose it to continue for any Time, it will affect both, and at length destroy that Commerce; wherefore it is a judicious Regulation, and not a total Suppression of Paper Money, which at this time is wanted in some of the *British* Plantations, and which would be of real Service to the Interest and Trade of *Great Britain*, by promoting Industry, and giving Dispatch to all manner of Business carried on between her *British* and *American* Subjects.

But in order to demonstrate the absolute Necessity there is in the above-mention'd Colonies for a due Proportion of some Sort of Medium or Currency to transact Business with the Inhabitants, let us particularly consider their Manner of Dealing.

The mercantile People are of two Sorts, *viz.* the Store-keepers or Importers directly from *Europe*, who are wholesale Dealers, and commonly advance 30 *per Cent.* on the prime Cost of their Goods, which for the most Part they sell to the others, who are called Shop-keepers or Retailers, who again advance 25 *per Cent.* on what they pay at the Store, where any Trifle, or small Parcel is not to be purchased; so that whatever is wanted of that Kind must be bought of the Shop-keeper at the long Price.

The wholesale Dealer and Store-keeper has it principally in view to purchase large Quantities of Country Produce to load his Ship, and send her to the *West-Indies*, where he disposes of his Cargo for Bills of Exchange, and *Spanish* Gold or Silver. Again, the Planter, or Farmer, wants to make Sale of his whole Crop manufactured into Bread and Flower; and after providing himself with such Necessaries as he has Occasion for, proposes to convert the Overplus into Money, or good Security bearing

bearing Interest. But from the gross Bulk and Condition of the respective Commodities, neither of these Dealers can be served, and much less can the Shop-keeper carry on his Business, unless there be some Sort of Medium or Currency in the Country, to answer the Uses of Money, which renders a Proportion of Paper Currency absolutely necessary, as will more evidently appear from the following remarkable Instance.

The laborious, and most industrious Inhabitants of the small Province of *Pennsylvania*, whose voluntary, but elegant Improvements in so short a Time, without any manner of Assistance from the Publick, has no Precedent or Example; had successfully carried on all their Affairs without the Use of Paper Money, until the Year 1722, when, by the late Increase of their Shipping and foreign Trade, the City of *Philadelphia* labour'd under great Discouragement for want of a Currency; in-somuch, that above two hundred Houses stood empty, and many of the labouring, but poorer Sort of Inhabitants, were daily leaving the Place, and transporting themselves and Families elsewhere; the Shop-keepers had no Money to go to Market, and the Farmer, or Planter's Crop was then reduced to the lowest Value; so that all the *European* Goods imported, as well as the Bread and Flower, or Country Produce, were bought up and engrossed at a low Price, by a Cabal of only four or five rich Men, who retail'd them again on Credit at what Rate they pleased, taking Advantage of the People's Necessities and Circumstances; by which Means they soon got the whole Country into their Debt, exacting Bonds of every Body at 8 *per Cent.* which was then the legal Interest.

This made such an universal Clamour all over the Province, that when the Assembly met, the latter End of the same Year, they hastened to pre-
pare

pare a Bill for establishing a Paper Currency; but instead of following the same Method which had been hitherto used in the neighbouring Colonies, by taxing the People, in order to raise an annual Fund for sinking the Paper, they invented a much more commodious and expedient Way; for first they judiciously considered, what was the Sum that would be barely necessary to circulate their Trade, which they computed to be 45,000 *l.* current Money of *America*, or Proclamation Value; then they erected a publick Office, which was to be govern'd by four Persons, called the Commissioners of the Loan-Office; and when the Paper Bills of different, but very small Denominations, the largest not exceeding twenty Shillings, were finish'd, and brought into the Office, these Commissioners were impower'd to lend out the whole Sum, but not above two hundred Pounds, nor under twenty, to any one Person, and that on Land Security in Fee Simple, of double the Value of the Sum lent, together with Bond and Judgment on the Borrower's whole personal Estate, condition'd, that the twelfth Part of the Sum so lent should be annually paid into that Office, together with 5 *per Cent.* Interest of what remain'd, until the whole was repaid. A Committee of the Assembly was appointed to inspect the Loan-Office Accounts every six Weeks, and once a Year in their Presence to see that one twelfth Part of the Paper Bills so struck were actually burnt and destroy'd; so that in twelve Years the Whole might be effectually extinguished; and it was found that the 5 *per Cent. per Annum* gain'd by the Province, would be sufficient to defray the Expence of Government, without laying any Tax on the People.

It is inconceivable to think what a prodigious good Effect immediately ensued on all the Affairs of that Province; the Shipping from the West of
England

England, Scotland, and Ireland, which just before used to be detain'd five, six, and sometimes nine Months in the Country, before they could get in the Debts due to them and load, were now dispatch'd in a Month or six Weeks at farthest. The poor middling People who had any Lands or Houses to pledge, borrow'd from the Loan-Office, and paid off their usurious Creditors; and to render them more easy for the future, as well as to bring Things nearer to a Par, lawful Interest was at this Time reduced from eight to six *per Cent.* by which means the Town was soon filled with People, and Business all over the Province increased at a great rate. The few rich Men, who had before this given over all Trade, except that of Usury, and Sharping on the Necessities of the Poor, having now their Coffers filled with Paper Bills instead of Gold, and Bonds bearing extravagant Interest, were obliged to build Ships, and launch out again into Trade, in order to convert their Paper Riches into solid Wealth; and for some Years, while that Province continued to have only a moderate Sum in Paper Money on foot, it kept an Equality with *Spanish* Silver and Gold, or did not fall above five *per Cent.* for as Lands there generally rise in their Value, and are in continual Demand, the Security was unquestionably as good, if not better, than any that is given in *Europe* for Paper; and this most useful Scheme was not attended with any other ungrateful Consequence, but the Removal of a Governor, who, contrary to the Sentiments and private Interest of a few rich Men in that Place, had passed it into a Law, for the general Benefit of the Country, which justly gain'd him the Love and Esteem for the whole People. An Example, which it is presumed will verify all that has been above advanced in favour of a well-regulated Paper Currency in some of the *British* Colonies in *America*.

S O M E



S O M E
Useful Observations
ON THE
CONSEQUENCES
Of the Present
WAR with *SPAIN*.

TH E late, tho' long wish'd for, Declaration of War against *Spain*, has infused such an universal Satisfaction into the People's Minds, throughout all Parts of the Kingdom; that they seem quite to have forgot their former Complaints of the Administration of publick Affairs, and are every where disposed, with uncommon Zeal, to bear chearfully whatever appears to be necessary for effectually obtaining a just Reparation of the Injuries we have receiv'd from the *Spaniards*, and for absolutely securing, for the future, the Freedom of the *British* Nation, in the Seas of *America*; without which, our Plantations abroad can no longer subsist; and it is evident to every Dealer, that both our Manufactures and Trade at home, are greatly encouraged and supported by the Aid we continually receive from that Quarter.

Thus inflamed by a generous and publick Spirit, it is not easy to express the Joy which appeared in every Countenance on the Publication of that unanimous and glorious Resolution of both Houses of Parlia-

Parliament; "Humbly beseeching his Majesty, "never to admit of any Treaty of Peace with the "Crown of *Spain*, unless the Acknowledgment of "our natural and indubitable Right to navigate "in the *American* Seas, to and from any Part of "his Majesty's Dominions, without being seized, "searched, or stopped under any Pretence whatsoever, shall have been first obtain'd as a Preliminary thereto."

As this Act of the representative Body of the *British* Nation, seems perfectly to correspond with the Hearts and Minds of the whole People, it affords a most happy Opportunity to extinguish all manner of Divisions amongst them, and to root out the very Seeds of Faction and Discontent, since it leaves room for no Sort of Demand, or Expectation; but that we are, on no Consideration whatever, to put up the Sword, until a Security be obtained and effectually guarded, which every one knows, and must confess, is absolutely and essentially necessary to the very Being of the *British* State.

To talk therefore of the Intrigues of *France*, and the Ability which that great Nation can be supposed to be in, to disturb and annoy us with their pretended Invasions, and what not, can be to no manner of Purpose, but to alarm weak Minds, and enfeeble that Unanimity, which in all Cases of Extremity, must be understood to be the Bulwark and Safeguard of *Britain*. A Defence, that we may truly rely on, because it will always strengthen as the publick Danger encreases; and can receive no Hurt, but from the obstinate Pursuit of partial and weak Councils, in Opposition to the universal Sense and Feeling of a generous and free People. A People, who through the whole Course of History, from the earliest Times, have been famous for their Regard to the equal Rights of Mankind in Community, and for their Abhorrence of every thing, that has the least Tendency to Tyranny

ranny and Oppression; who voluntarily may be led into any Measures, that evidently tend to the Prosperity and Safety of the Common-wealth; but who will run any Lengths, and risque all that is dear to them, rather than tamely submit to be drove into Things, which they generally understand to be a Reflection upon the Honour, as well as of fatal Consequence to the true Interest and Preservation of the State.

What else but this amiable publick Spirit, diffused amongst the Body of the People, could have wrought such a Change in their Minds and Dispositions, as has happen'd within these last six Months? So that from a Division in the Representative, which was carried only by the small Majority of 28 Votes, out of near 500, follow'd by an immediate Secession of the Minority from Business, we now see the very same Persons unanimous in their Opinions and publick Resolutions, for the Honour of the *British* Crown, and for pursuing those Measures, which are adjudged to be absolutely necessary to preserve the Freedom of our Commerce and Navigation.

This is such an agreeable and pleasing Event in the Eyes of all those who truly have the Honour and Interest of their Country at Heart, that it softens the Passions, and is capable of charming even the fourest Tempers into Harmony. Happy indeed for this Nation, if it has but the Influence to direct our Councils into such Channels, as will preserve and strengthen an Unanimity, so fortunately begun, to the Astonishment and Confusion of all the open and secret Enemies of our present happy Establishment, whether foreign or domestick.

With an honest Intent therefore to promote so glorious an Harmony, and to divert People's Minds from the Recollection or Remembrance of past Animosities and factious Complaints, we shall

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here proceed to lay before the Publick the true State of the present Controversy between *Great Britain* and *Spain*; and to point out some of the Advantages, which it is to be hoped both Nations will acquire, by some happy Consequences, which may very possibly attend the Issue of the present War.

Every *European* Nation, who have hitherto sent Colonies abroad, and settled them on any Islands, or other Lands in *America*, has always used the Precaution to prohibit, by Law, all Foreigners from trading with such Settlements, on the Penalty of confiscating the Ships and Effects on board, of all such Foreigners as shall be found carrying on an illicit Trade; which Regulation always supposes, that the Mother Country in *Europe* is careful to supply their Subjects in *America* with such Cloathing, Provisions, and other Necessaries, as their Situation and Circumstances absolutely require. Nevertheless, it is notoriously known, that the Kingdom of *Old Spain* neither is, nor can put itself in a Condition to supply with Necessaries the immense Dominions it claims a Right to, and actually possesses in *America*; so that it having been all along impracticable for *Spain* to accommodate so large a Number of People in *America*, without the Help of other trading Nations, whose Colonies in that Neighbourhood likewise increasing, yielded continual Opportunities of a clandestine Correspondence in Trade with the Subjects of *New Spain*, whose Wants and Necessities greatly encouraged the same; it therefore, in the Nature of Things, became impossible totally to prevent such an illicit Trade, of which it is granted, the *English* probably had a very considerable Share; yet under the same Risques and Disadvantages with their trading Neighbours of *France* and *Holland*, who in like Manner have always carried on the same contraband Trade with *New Spain*, in Exchange for their Bullion, which

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WAR with SPAIN.

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at this Moment is the current Coin all over *America*; and without which, all manner of Traffick in those Parts must inevitably stagnate and cease.

This having been the true State of the Case in *America* for above a Century, and yet no open Breach having happen'd on that Account, till now, between *Great Britain* and *Spain*; but, on the contrary, many particular Privileges of an open and allow'd Commerce in the *West Indies*, have mutually been settled by solemn Treaties between the two Crowns; it may be expected here, that we should make some Attempt to guess at the Reasons of so sudden a Turn as has happen'd of late in the Conduct of the *Spanish* Government, whose natural Interest most certainly it is, to be always in Friendship with *Britain*, preferable to any other Nation in the World. But as this would lead us, perhaps, to an ungrateful Enquiry into some Parts of the *South-Sea* Company's Conduct, and likewise suggest many Suspicions of some hidden Schemes, and political Intrigues of our present pacifick Neighbours and Allies, the *French*, we chuse to avoid it, and so proceed to reason only on the present Event of a War's being actually declared between the two Nations; and on what are most likely to be the Consequences of it, with respect to the Interest of both Kingdoms.

The chief End, and only justifiable Design of declaring War against a neighbouring Nation, is to obtain a reasonable Satisfaction for Injuries that have actually been received; and to secure ourselves, in Time to come, in the quiet Possession of those natural Rights and Enjoyments, to which we have an unquestionable Title, by an uninterrupted Custom, and the Law of Nations; and without which, perhaps, we cannot possibly use that Freedom of Commerce among our own People, which is the common Right of Mankind.

But when such a War unavoidably happens be-

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tween two independant Kingdoms, whose Situation and particular Interests in Commerce, and other Circumstances naturally lead them always to be Friends, it ought to be carried on with such Vigour on the injured Side, as to have the View of putting it out of the other's Power, for the future, to make a Breach of the like Nature, so evidently tending to the Prejudice of both. This being the only feazable Means of effectually preventing, in Time to come, the ill Consequences of all such Intrigues and political Artifices, as may be contrived by other Powers, who are our Rivals in Trade, again to renew the Breach between the two Kingdoms, whose Interests naturally lead them to be eternal Friends.

If then we may be allow'd to view the present War with *Spain* in this Light, it will follow, that in order hereafter to secure a lasting and perpetual Peace with that Crown, it will be absolutely necessary for *Britain* to make an entire Conquest of some convenient Island and Port in the *West-Indies*, which may serve as a Key to the Navigation of those Seas, and a secure Protection to the extensive and important Trade she is obliged to carry on in those Parts. And that such a Conquest being once made, it is to be fortified in the strongest Manner, and never to be parted with on any Consideration whatever; but carefully nourished, and considered as an essential Part of the *British* State, on which her whole Trade will depend: And supposing, for Example, that the Island of *Cuba* was pitch'd on for this Purpose, let us examine what, in all Probability, would be the Consequence to the Interests of both the Kingdoms now at War.

It is proper here to explain, that the Island of *Cuba* contains a Tract of Land very little less than *England*, capable of great Improvements; because, ever since the Conquest of the two great Empires of *Peru* and *Mexico*, the *Spaniards* have entirely neglected

neglected their Island Settlements, using them only as Sea Ports, to relieve and protect the Galleons, as they return to *Europe* with the Treasure that is annually brought from the Continent; and is so happily situated in the Center of the Gulph of *Mexico*, opposite to the Mouth of *Florida*, through which all heavy Ships of Burthen must pass in their Way to *Europe*, and no otherways; that in short, it is an absolute Key to that Navigation, and as it happens to be furnished with an excellent Haven, and most commodious Port, call'd the *Havannah*, which is extremely well fortified by Nature, and capable of containing a whole Fleet of the largest Ships, secure from bad Weather, as well as from an Enemy; it is of all others by far the most valuable Place, that any Nation who is under the Necessity of trading to those Seas can be possess'd of; because it not only protects their own, but easily commands the Navigation of all other trading Nations, who must necessarily pass that Way, in their return Home.

Now *Britain* being possess'd of this Island of *Cuba*, as is here supposed, and consequently of that impregnable and important Haven, call'd the *Havannah*, she must, in the first Place, become sole Mistress of the Sugar Trade in the *West-Indies*; which no Way interferes with the Affairs of *Spain*.

2dly, *Britain*, by that Conquest, would effectually secure her own Navigation, and, in Case of a Rupture with any other *European* Nation, having Possessions in the *West-Indies*, she must also infallibly command theirs.

3dly, On Supposition, that in such a Case, *Spain* would desire (as in all Probability she must) to cultivate a strong and perpetual Friendship with *Britain*, in order to protect her Subjects in *America*, from Insults, and her Treasure from the Rapine-or Stealth of other Nations; how securely

might she proceed in all her Affairs, without the least Apprehension of being molested or interrupted? Nay, even she might, if she thought fit, command her Riches to be brought home in *British* Bottoms, at her own Price, and with Convoy, or in what Manner she pleased to direct; so that no Embezzlement could happen, but through the Default of her own Officers and Servants.

4thly, In such Circumstances it would evidently be the political Interest of *Britain*, to stipulate with the Crown of *Spain*, That the *British* Subjects, in the *West-Indies*, should not be permitted to open any Mines of Gold or Silver, or otherways interfere in those particular Branches of *West-India* Product, which are now usually brought from the *Spanish* Settlements.

5thly, As from the natural Product and Trade of *Britain*, she is able to furnish the *Spanish West-Indies* with *Negroes*, and all Kind of dry Goods, Provisions, or other Commodities, they have now any Demand for, at a much cheaper Rate than they can be purchas'd elsewhere; it would be an easy Matter for those two Nations, thus united in Interests together, so to settle the Prices and Rules of the Market every where, as would give mutual Benefit, and great Contentment to their respective Subjects, independent of all others.

6thly, It having been the political Conduct of *Spain*, for these 150 Years, to discourage their Island Settlements every where in *America*, which at this Time are but awkwardly maintain'd, at a very great Expence to that Crown, without any Manner of Profit coming in from them, such a Scheme as is here proposed, would admit of many Improvements which might afterwards be agreed on between the two Crowns, to the immense Profit and Advantage of both Nations; for in such a Situation of Things, by which an indissoluble Union would for ever be establish'd between the two States;

States; it would always be the political Interest of *Britain*, to encrease and secure the Dominions of *Spain* in *Europe*, as well as the *Indies*. That by the Strength of her Alliance, *Britain* might always be in a Condition to cope with any other foreign Power, that should attempt to invade or disturb the Quiet of her Government; and as every intelligent Person must know, that *Spain* has not at this Time so much as the Prospect of ever being in a Condition to make a tolerable Figure in the *European* Trade, so that her Circumstances absolutely require the Friendship and Assistance of some considerable Maritime Power, to make a suitable Provision for maintaining and supporting her valuable Dominions in *America*: The Inference is plain, that *Britain* alone is the State by whose continual Friendship and Alliance the Crown of *Spain* may reasonably propose to hold the first Rank amongst the *European* Kingdoms, and to bid Defiance to all future Attempts, that could be formed against her just Interests every where.

It may possibly be objected, that if these Things had been practicable, some Attempt or other of this Nature would probably have been made during the late War, in the Reign of Queen *Anne*, while *Charles* the 3d, the present *Emperor*, was, by the Arms of *Britain*, made titular King of *Spain*; and consequently lay under the highest Obligations, both of Interest and Gratitude, to favour such a Design; to which it may be answer'd, that although some such Scheme might very probably have been under Consideration at that Time, yet it is well known, that *Britain* was so fetter'd by some of her most powerful Allies, in the Conduct of the War, that it was in vain for her to expect they would ever consent to her making any Conquest in the *West-Indies*, which had a Tendency to interfere with their particular Interests in Trade. But now when she happens to be

be solely engaged in a vigorous and most just War with the Crown of *Spain*, and no Way tied up by any Alliance whatever, from successfully pursuing her own Interest, it is impossible to expect a more favourable Opportunity of effectually securing the Freedom of Commerce and Navigation in the *West-Indies* to her Subjects for all Futurity, which, by the above Resolution, seems to be the unanimous Sense of the whole Legislature in Parliament.

But to view this Matter in another Light, and on Supposition that *Spain* happens to be indiscreetly advised to join with *France* on this Occasion, in order to attack *Britain* with all the Force these two rich and powerful Nations can possibly bring together; let us enquire what, in all Probability, would be the Consequences of such a War.

It cannot be denied, but that by the Vigilance and Care of the *British* Government, we have at this Time the most numerous and powerful Navy on Foot, that ever was known in the Island, which may still be augmented at Pleasure, so that the Enemy must expect, our first Care will be to destroy all their Ships of War, wherever they can be met with, and by that Means wholly disable them from sending any considerable Embarkations or Reinforcements to their Settlements in *America*, which will be the principal Seat of the War.

2dly, When we have possess'd ourselves of the Island of *Cuba*, and the Enemy should still remain obstinate and resolute to risque all their Interest in the *Indies*, rather than accept of what we shall judge to be reasonable Terms, we shall find no great Difficulty in raising a Rebellion, both in the Kingdom of *Peru* and *Mexico*, by setting that numerous Body of People at Liberty from the intolerable Oppressions they suffer under the *Spanish* Yoke; in which Case it may perhaps be too late to make up Matters with them on such advantageous

Conditions

Conditions for *Spain*, as before such an Event might easily have been done.

3dly, However impracticable this may appear to those who have not taken true Pains to enquire into the present State of *America*, yet others who know, and can make it appear, that the *British* Settlements on that Continent, can, in a very short Time, furnish at least 2000 Sail of Ships; and 50, or, if needful, 100,000 Men, capable of being very soon disciplin'd into a Body of as good and useful Troops, for that Service, as any in the World, will make no Hesitation to venture themselves, and all that's dear to them, on the great Probability, nay, even Certainty, of executing this Scheme with Success.

4thly, Since then it is evident that *Britain* can command a sufficient Land-Force abroad, with convenient Shipping to transport them any where in *America*, while protected by a powerful Fleet at Sea, what has she to fear in the mean Time at home? where but the least Attempt to invade this Island would have no other Effect, than to spirit up and unite the People as one Man, to destroy any Number of Foreigners that you can suppose to be landed with Intent to enslave them; besides, the Impracticability of landing any considerable Number of Land-Forces here, while we reign Mistress of the Sea, is notorious, and therefore any such Supposition may be treated as idle and frivolous.

5thly, As Money is every where known to be the Sinews of War; and that neither *France* nor *Spain* can draw a sufficient Quantity of it to carry on their Arms, from any other Fountain but the *Spanish West-Indies*, how can they possibly expect to be supply'd, when, in all human Probability, it will not be in their Power to bring home one Piece of Eight from thence, during the whole Course of this War? Whereas the *English*, both from Conquests in *America*, and a continual Traffick, protected by

by their Ships of War, will doubtless flow with Plenty of that necessary Commodity.

A long Experience has at last taught Mankind, that the only sure Way for any State to add to its Strength and Power, is the Encouragement and Protection of Trade; by which Means only, as is daily to be observed, the *European* Nations, in Proportion to their Industry, insensibly draw the Wealth of the *West-Indies* home, to be divided amongst them: And being they cannot, from any other Fountain, find wherewithal to support a great or ambitious Design, it will be of the utmost Consequence, that a proper Care be taken, not to have that Treasure partially monopolized, and unequally distributed; at least, that too great a Share may not fall into the Hands of such as are continually employing all their Art to divide and oppress their Neighbours.

We readily acknowledge, that to a trading People, desirous of nothing so much as rational Liberty, and that natural Freedom which is undoubtedly the Birth-right of Mankind, Peace is most certainly a much more eligible Situation than War; and in the Case before us, it is but too notorious to all the World, what unaccountable Concessions *Britain* very humbly condescended to make, rather than break with their old Friend, and natural Ally, the Crown of *Spain*; so that it can never be justly said, that the present War was of our seeking; but on the contrary, it seems to have been forc'd upon us by the wise Hand of Providence. How happy therefore would it be to ourselves? how fortunate to others? and how glorious to the *Æra* of his Majesty's happy Reign, that *Britain* should now grasp at the Opportunity of procuring to herself the most effectual Means that ever could be found, to ascertain a lasting Security for the Trade of her own Dominions, and thereby have it in her Power

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once more to settle the Ballance of *Europe* on the most equitable and sure Foundation.

It is at present the Hope of every wise and good Man in *Britain*, that we are no longer to be deceiv'd or misled by the weak empty Projects of pacifick Negotiations, or with the little mean Attempts of plundering this or that Place abroad, only to frighten our Enemies into a temporary lame Peace, which can only serve to give them sufficient Time to strengthen themselves by Sea, and put it out of our Power hereafter to do ourselves Justice; for such a Conduct would, in all Probability, not only bring a lasting Reproach on the *British* Name, but certain Destruction on the Authors of it; Events which every honest impartial *Briton* heartily wishes may never happen to his Country, or to any of his Fellow Subjects; and to prevent which, he cannot avoid desiring, with all his Soul, to see some bold and weighty Attempt made on this happy and long wish'd-for Occasion of reconciling all Differences amongst us; to which we are confidently persuaded, that the above great and noble Resolution of the legislative Body will highly contribute; and while we continue to be thus united in Opinions, as well as Interests, what can we fear? For every Thing which *Spain*, or her Allies, can possibly undertake with any View to stop or divert the Course of the *British* Arms, in so just a Cause, will, it is hoped, as it certainly ought, add fresh Vigour to our Councils, as it unquestionably will Spirits and Resolution to the Body of the People; and if a timely and proper Use is but made of that great Strength, both of Men and Ships, which we have on the Continent of *America*, it is morally impossible we can fail of the desired Success.

It is however some little Disadvantage to us, at this critical Juncture, that there are so few among our governing People who have any distinct Knowledge of the Situation and Strength of

of

of our Colonies in *America*; from which they might form a much truer Judgment of the State of Things, than they really seem to have; for when Men only listen to, perhaps, very contradictory Relations, and continue poking in the Dark on a Subject of such Importance, wherein they have so large an Interest at Stake, it is no great Wonder to find them wavering, and inclinable to be irresolute; but even in that Case, surely there are some intelligent Men of Character for Veracity, who may be rely'd on, and whose Assistance ought to be made use of to clear up Matters to the Bottom, in order to rub off that Fearfulness and Inactivity, which stands so much in the Way of our Proceeding with Alacrity and Vigour; for we are already so far engag'd, that there is not the least Room for any Kind of Retreat, but what must be attended with Ignominy and Disgrace; besides the Danger, and almost Certainty, of introducing a fresh and irresistible Flood of Rancour and Discontent amongst the People; wherefore, considering all Things, we may, on this great and solemn Occasion, certainly hope that a dutiful Regard to the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, the Interest of our Country, and the just Esteem of our Fellow Citizens; to which we may add, the natural and strong Concern that every Man has for Self-Preservation, will most certainly prevail over all other Motives and Considerations, to inspire our Councils with an active Resolution to carry on the present War with Honour and Applause; that all former Disputes, Animosities or Complaints, may for ever be buried in Oblivion, and his sacred Majesty's auspicious Reign render'd as conspicuous for Concord and Unanimity amongst his Subjects, as it can be for the Glory to be acquired by his Arms.

F I N I S.