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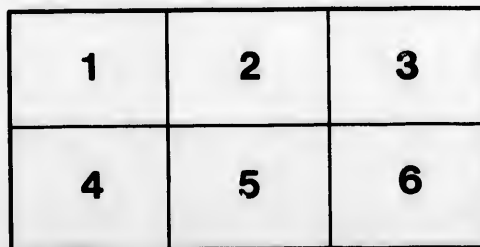
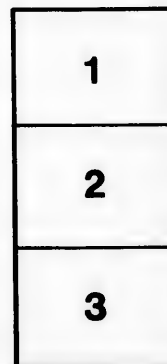
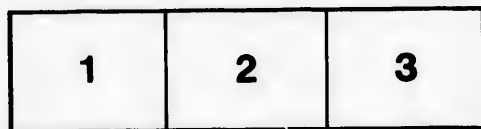
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T H E
POLITICAL BALANCE.
IN WHICH THE
PRINCIPLES and CONDUCT
Of the TWO PARTIES are weighed.

———Ducas æquato examine lances
Suffinet et fata imponit diversa duorum.

VIRGIL. *Æn.* Lib. 12.

———For proof look up,
And read thy lot in yon celestial sign,
Where thou art weigh'd, and shewn how light, how weak.
MILTON, *Par. Lost*, B. 4.



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T H E

POLITICAL BALANCE.

ALTHOUGH it might perhaps be injudicious to enforce in Great Britain that Grecian law, which inflicted punishment on those who were so indifferent to the interests of their country as to take no part in her divisions; it is however of the very essence of a free Government, that the citizens of it should be awake and attentive to the situation of the state; and that they should examine the conduct, compare the characters, and if possible penetrate the designs of the several parties of which it is composed.

This employment of their thoughts is a manly and an useful one; it is to liberty what consciousness is to the mind, the act in which she most sensibly perceives her own existence and powers.

It has that utility in the political, which the elastic power of the air has in the natural system; if it be constantly exercised, it preserves the whole mass untainted, and most effectually prevents or checks the weak, or corrupt tendencies of the several parts.

If ever this attention was particularly required, it is now. The state is divided into two parties,

the professed purposes of the several chiefs of these are as contrary as their principles and characters. It is the interest and the duty of those who take any part in the affairs of the public, to observe them with an impartial and judicious eye; that they may determine to which side they will incline; that the fluctuation of Government may at length be stopped; that the confidence of the public may have some firm ground whereon to stand; and that the plans of that administration, which appears best to deserve support, may be neither impeded by the clamours of an angry opposition, nor embarrassed by the desultory support of capricious friends.

The two parties are to be considered with respect to their *principles of Government*, to their *system of foreign policy*, and to their *domestic administration*. The characters of the leaders of them, so far as they influence their plans, must be marked; the tenor of their conduct must be recollected. These are the grounds of that *comparison* which we should draw; on these the judgment of the public will be formed: these are the purposes of this pamphlet.

I am not ignorant that I shall tread on the very ground which Horace has described,

*Per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.* L. 2. Od. 1.

Where so much must be said of persons, and of transactions so very recent, it will not be possible to avoid the imputation of flattery and satyr.

If there are any commendations in these papers, they shall however be such as the public may confirm,

firm, and the persons on whom they are bestowed may not blush to receive; for I shall remember the advice of an elegant writer * ; *Je voudrois (says he) qu'on defendit aux faiseurs de panegyriques de jamais employer le mot de heros, de grand, de merite; qu'on louat par les choses, et point par les Epitetes.* If my subject leads me to the less pleasing office of censure, I shall endeavour to do it in temperate and decent terms. The licentiousness of abuse which the example of the North Briton encouraged and provoked, is happily grown again offensive to moderate men; happily, because it added poison to the wounds which each party gave and received, and contributed more to weaken private esteem and public respect, than can be wished by any who know how necessary both these are to the peace and strength of every state.

It is proposed to begin this *comparison* from the time at which the two parties assumed their present form. This will comprehend the transactions of the summer of 1763, and the following winter: for their behaviour, during this period, each party is answerable as a party; and though the period is but short, there have occurred in the course of it sufficient opportunities for both of them to discover their sentiments upon the three great objects of *our enquiry*; and we may, from a view of their *conduct*, form a well-grounded judgment of their *principles*, respecting the *constitution of our country*, its *foreign interests*, and *internal Government*.

It is necessary, however, to state the situation in which they were at the beginning of this period, as well as the means by which they had been brought into that situation.

* Lettres du Buffi Rabutin.

At the accession of the present K——, there had appeared in the nation so firm a reliance on the principles and virtues of the Sovereign, that he found neither danger nor difficulty from the secession of the Chiefs of that party, which had formerly appeared superior to the whole power of the Crown; Chiefs, who to the experience of half a century in the *routine* of business, had added that power in elections, which, though they owed it to the influence of the Crown, they boasted they could direct to their own purposes.

But this whole political cobweb was burst at once by the vigour of the Prince: and he had no sooner given the ensigns of business to *a new Minister*, than the two Houses seconded his wishes, and gave to the Earl of Bute an extensive and zealous support.

But it is certain that a very different scene presented itself at the time this pamphlet begins its review. The frequent transitions of the ministerial power had the necessary consequence of weakening the strength of the Government, and that reputation for firmness which is one of its surest supports.

It was at the close of the Session of 1763, that the care of the public business in the House of Commons devolved upon Mr. Grenville; and from that time he seems to have stood in the House of Commons at the head of one of the two parties which it is proposed to compare.

But notwithstanding the character of this Minister for constitutional knowledge and unblemished integrity; and notwithstanding the reputation he had acquired to himself, and the facilities which he had given to government, while he had been entrusted with the conduct of the K——'s business,

he

he could not immediately expect an extensive support.

His administration was liable to two objections, which being contradictory could not both be true ; but had however much weight in the minds of those who formed them.

The retiring Minister (said the partizans of the late *Secretary*) shall not find it easier to exercise his power under the sanction of another name, than he did to retain it in his own ; nor will the vigour of the opposition be so much abated by this pretence of change, as excited by the insult which it offers to their understandings.

We were attached, said another knot of men, by the bands of friendship and gratitude to the person of the Earl, into whose councils we could enter, and of whose favour we were assured ; a new Minister rises on the ruin of our protector, who will not pursue his measures, who cannot promote his friends ; can it be prudent to range ourselves on the side of one, to whom we are not bound by the ties of gratitude, scarcely by those of hope ?

Even the more sober and disinterested part of the nation made some pause ; the minds of honest men do not form, lightly and suddenly, with different men and upon different plans, connexions of a delicate and important nature : nor could they be assured (and this uncertainty retained many) that this system would be more lasting than those which they had seen successively formed and dissolved.

On the other hand, this new frame had now in the course of four months begun to knit, and to gain strength ; when a new plan almost dislocated

it; and if it had been pursued in the extent which was demanded by the opposition, there would not I think have remained even to the *Crown* the power of altering the administration; at least during the lives of the confederated chiefs.

When this plan was found dangerous and impracticable, and the government resettled upon its former bottom; it was foreseen that this event must give to the Minister a much greater and more avowed influence: it was believed that he now received from many quarters stronger and more explicit assurances of confidence and support. He was remarkable for that resolution, which is a qualification so necessary to success. His having undertaken the support of Government at the time he did, shewed that he knew enough of the nature of party to despise the clamours of it if he did not deserve them; and his parliamentary character left no room to suspect he would give any cause of just reproach: many therefore were inclined to adhere to a Minister of whose constancy they were assured, in whose principles and measures they could safely confide, and who held out a plan of constitutional policy as the only bond of that union which he wished to form.

A great degree of odium was thrown upon the *opposition* by the high terms which they had demanded; what these were I do not pretend to know; but the public believed that two of them were, 1st, The surrender of all the forts of Government; and 2d, An absolute proscription of all their opponents; and they thought that terms more humiliating to the Crown could not have been asked, had ~~the~~ *the* Secretary appeared at the head of hired sailors and a deluded populace, not in Cheapside, but at St. James's gates.

Reverence

Reverence for a young and amiable Prince, who so well merited the love and respect of his people, and who had submitted without effect to make a very unusual advance, awakened the sober and thinking part of the nation in his defence; and it was the sentiment of almost all the kingdom which a noble Duke expressed, when he said, *He wished to guard the Crown though but in the office of a petty constable, rather than see it exposed to so insolent an attack.*

The gross personal abuse and false accusations which the North Briton had so illiberally scattered, gave offence to all men of moderation. The avowed and continued design of awakening the mutual jealousies of two haughty people; of sowing discord between the Southern and Northern parts of Great Britain; and of rendering vain the labours of the wisest English Counsellors who had planned and perfected the *Union*, by cutting every bond of affection and amity between the united nations, inspired every good Englishman with horror.

An open and premeditated insult upon the King, exercising in the highest Court of Parliament the highest functions of his office, and the impious attempt of alienating from Parliament the affections and the respects of their constituents, excited a general indignation.

The *opposition* had the odium of having encouraged to these outrages the blind Tool of their resentment and ambition; and the additional disgrace of having shewn, by their treaty in August, either that they knew themselves the falsehood of the abuse which they had encouraged; or that they would not hesitate to unite themselves to the ob-

ject of it, if he would open for them the door to power.

In proportion to this odium and indignation against the *opposition*, the good wishes of men were conciliated towards a Minister, who had zeal enough to stand forward in the public service, in support of the just rights of the Crown and the Constitution, against these desperate attacks; and they founded warm hopes of his success upon that resolution which had not failed him, though he must have foreseen that to the other circumstances of political difficulty would be added all that embarrassment which could be given by those aristocrats, who having deserted and insulted the Crown, attributed it to him, that they had not been able to do it with success.

Mr. Grenville did not fail to profit by these favourable sentiments: he confirmed and increased them, by compleating his system upon principles directly contrary to those which had guided the now discarded faction.

Ever since our country has been divided into parties, it has been too common to rest on one of them alone, the weight of Government. That which had now for more than forty years been near the throne, had taken much pains to represent this as the only effectual method of giving to Government security and ease: they had pursued with great steadiness the famous advice of *ruling by division*. I do not mean to insinuate that the respectable persons whom I have in my thoughts were ever instructed in the pernicious arts of that Florentine Secretary by whom it was recommended: the practice of it, which he advises, requires a comprehensive view of the situation of the state, of
the

the interests, manners, prejudices and passions of the people ; it calls sometimes for much refinement, always for a consistent plan. They excused themselves therefore from so laborious a task : they saw that it would serve their purpose as well, if they could make their Sovereign believe that his subjects were divided.

They therefore represented Great Britain as being separated into two parties ; the one acting with violence upon destructive principles, professed enemies to the Protestant Succession, and the House of Hanover, without abilities or moderation, and only to be governed with a rod of iron. The other, and this was their own, devoted to the Crown and respected by the people, honest, capable, and though extremely disinterested, willing however to accept all the lucrative posts of Government for the glory of the Crown, and the good of the public. This was certainly a great improvement upon the Florentine maxim ; retained all its advantages without its labours, its dangers, or its cruelties ; and instead of exciting fellow citizens to mutual jealousy and mutual slaughter, it effectually excluded the whole party which they called *Tories*, and yet left the gentlemen excluded in full possession of their talents, and at liberty to employ them in the public service ; useful as country magistrates, contributing to the internal peace and strength of the kingdom, esteemed by their friends, and respected by their dependents ; and only, by something like an innocent fiction not uncommon in law, substituted, as to the possession of favours, employments and honours, the person of *John a Nokes, a Whig*, in the place of *Thom a Styles, a Tory*.

But those who falsely, because exclusively, called themselves the Whig party were now grown so

numerous, that this bill of exclusion was not thought sufficiently exclusive by those who stiled themselves the Chiefs of it; they took therefore another method to lessen the number of candidates. They represented the science of Government as being so abstruse, that nothing but the experience of a life could make adepts in it. The only exception to this rule which they admitted, was in the case of alliance either by blood or marriage with the families of *the Chiefs*, for then these philosophers held, that there was no room to doubt of their qualification. Ridiculous as this appears, it is less so than the fact, that these persons having been able long to confine all power, except in some very few instances, within the narrow circle of their own cabal, honestly believed that it could be executed by no other hands. Mr. Grenville, on the contrary, seems to have thought that a more extensive system was more just, more conducive to the public service, and more agreeable to the wishes of the nation. He applied himself therefore to cement with cordiality that union of the most respectable part of the Whigs, with the country gentlemen which had been so wisely and honestly formed; and he shewed himself superior to jealousy and resentment, by retaining in their departments all those who were capable and willing to serve the Crown, without enquiring to what hand they had owed their advancement.

The Duke of Bedford had brought a great accession of strength and reputation to the administration, by uniting to it himself and his friends; he was placed with great propriety at the head of the King's councils. The administration was completed, by placing in the vacant boards a number of unconnected, and independent noblemen; care had been taken that in these appointments, Court intrigue and election jobs should have no share;

the whole tenor of the Minister's conduct declared, that though he held it unconstitutional and dangerous to the Crown, to treat with any party as such, yet that there was nothing *proscriptive* in his plan, but that he would accept and reward the single and separate service of all honest men; and the public, who had been accustomed to see one faction discarded only to give place to another, beheld with pleasure an administration formed upon a more enlarged and constitutional principle, and resting upon a broader basis.

From this view of the administration, we must now turn to that of the *Opposition*. The only ground of advantage on which opposers can stand, is that of public virtue and oeconomy; these colours alone can give them the air of patriots; but this eminence, so useful in the political combat, was already seized by their adversaries: It was the Minister who was become the advocate for a plan of *English Policy*, and who had declared that he thought the continental connections, which the *Opposition* favoured, were too expensive for the wealth, and contrary to the interest of the nation. Nor indeed would this post have been tenable by, had it been left open to them; they were themselves the persons through whose means all the expence of the German war had been incurred, and through whose hands it had passed: of their chiefs, *one* had lavished, *another* had supplied the treasure. They had not as yet been able to take in the House one public subject of difference with the Ministry; and were the single instance of a party, who had not even a cover for the interested motives of their opposition.

The late Secretary, the founder of all their popularity, and naturally their leader, was of a tem-

per so capricious and uncommunicative, that he was ill fitted for a *chef de parti*, even if he would submit to the fatigue which accompanies that character, and for which he was disqualified, both by weak health and disposition.

Many were even of opinion that the abilities of that gentleman were declining with his constitution; perhaps it may be true, that as the eloquence he had chosen was of the most vehement kind, the brilliancy of it may have passed with the warmth of youth: certain it is, that there were many features of his character, resembling that of Pompey, as drawn by Lucan, lib 1.

Nec coiere pares, alter ———

————— *famæque petitor*

Multa dare in vulgus, totus popularibus auris.

Impelli ———

————— *multumque pricri*

Credere fortunæ, stat magni nominis umbra.

The second Commoner in rank, though he was displeased with the Ministry, could not be classed in the party opposing; he had been disposed to unite with administration, and to adopt their measures: that he was not now in their councils, proceeded from a dispute which, however interesting he had thought it to his own reputation and influence, had no relation to public measures; they could never therefore be assured that he would not in some unhappy hour desert that party to which he was united, neither by principle nor esteem.

There was indeed another set of men, who by their numbers formed the strength of the opposition, and who, from their vehemence, would have been formidable, if they had had among them any *Chief*.

of

of weight and abilities : These were the followers of his Grace's fortunes.

There had long been practised in this country, two modes of securing the success of the Minister's measures ; one by gaining to his party, those whose abilities he feared ; another, the collecting such a number of *determined* friends, as to be able to despise the utmost eloquence of the opposers. His Grace had pursued this latter plan ; all he had required of those who composed his party, was, that their ears (like those of the mariners of Ulysses) should be so closely stopped, as to receive no impression from the soothing strains of any syren opposition.

It is not a little surprizing that a Minister of lively parts, with a good share of school learning, capable of judging of *composition*, and of writing himself with propriety and elegance, should not have chosen friends for qualifications resembling his own ; but certain it is, that strong professions, family connections, frequent attendance, and above all *Borough merit*, had generally determined him in his recommendation of Senators in former Parliaments.

The extent of the eloquence of the greater part of these did not exceed the pronouncing with a loud voice, *Ay*, or *No* ; few could utter a continued sentence ; and if any could acquit themselves, of three or four united, it was necessary that these sentences should involve no consequence or conclusion ; to that stretch of ability their understandings had not been able to arrive. The reader sees that I speak still of his friends in former Parliaments ; even in this, his Grace found that abilities did not always accompany a seat, and that there were other

qualifications to be attended to besides an estate of 300 l. a year. There were not, and this was an irreparable disadvantage to his party, many names upon the list of it, who were equal to a speech in debate; it was foreseen that the borrowing Generals for a day of action, must give room of reasonable jealousy to his friends, and bring them into contempt. If either the Chief of Hayes or of Ad-derbury was entrusted with the conduct of his forces, he must sacrifice to their wills all his own views and purposes; and he could not even then be assured that the contempt which he knew they bore him, would not break out in the midst of their alliance; nor was it then known that he would be able to employ in his service, as afterwards he was, (how much to his popularity and their advantage, is not here in question) the Generals of *Minden* and *Rochefort*.

To all these disadvantages is to be added the want of that common principle, which is the only secure bond of union. The several parts of the opposition differed as much from each other as from administration; from such a chaos therefore of discordant atoms, and undirected too by any governing mind, it required no great depth of philosophy to foresee, that no regular or well ordered system could arise.

But to pass from the review of the forces, to that of the operations of the *Opposition*: they thought they had points of such *Parliamentary* and popular weight, as would more than outbalance these disadvantages. They had determined to try their forces upon the point of *Privilege*; which they asserted had been violated in the case of Mr. Wilkes, and they hoped to raise even this into a popular cause. They were assured that many of it's friends would detach

detach themselves from Government upon the question of *Cyder*.

They did not doubt they could form a parliamentary party upon the subject of *the Warrants* issued by the Secretaries of State.

The Government of *the Colonies*, and *the Regulations* to be given to them, was in itself a subject so extensive and complicated, that they did not doubt it would be easy to form objections to any plan which the Minister should propose; and they placed great dependence for this upon a gentleman, who, always acute and eloquent at discovering and developing the faults of any subject, had given, as he said, more than ordinary attention to this.

Or if all these should fail them, there remained *the Taxes*; which, always odious and unpopular, would become doubly so at the end of a war, in which they themselves had exhausted and mortgaged the most known resources of the State.

Upon some or all of these points they doubted not they should be able to raise a popular cry; of which they had so lately experienced the success, that they thought it irresistible; and the same means and motives were still in their hands. These are so exactly described by Montesquieu, who was in England, and drew from the life, that I will transcribe his words.—

Ceux qui s'opposeroient le plus vivement à la puissance executrice ne pouvant avouer les motifs intéressés de leur opposition, ils augmenteroient les terreurs du peuple; qui ne scauroit jamais au juste s'il seroit en danger ou non; seroit inquiet sur sa situation; et croiroit

croiroit etre en danger dans les moments mesmes les plus sures.

The first ground of debate which the *Opposition* took, was in support of the opinion given in the Court of Common Pleas, that Mr. Wilkes was entitled to *Privilege* for his seditious libel. In this they were unfortunate. It was not necessary to trace privilege up to its source to prove the falsehood of this doctrine; that such a number of men should have exemption in criminal cases, must, in itself, be a greater evil than any it could prevent; and must be a grievance more heavy in proportion as the State was more free. For if freedom be the power of doing every thing which the law does not forbid, a privilege against the restraint of law inflicts a badge of slavery and all its consequences upon all those to whom it is not extended, and destroys at once our so much boasted constitution. These consequences were so sensibly felt, that the party were soon forced to relinquish all hopes of making this a *popular cause*; and to trust to that favour within the House, which is generally given to those who pretend to defend its privileges.

Great pains were taken by the Chiefs (though not till after they had felt that the adopting Mr. Wilkes would raise general indignation) to disclaim all connexion with that unfortunate man; and to try their strength, if possible, upon some collateral question. This seems to have been their motive for opposing, for some time, the proceeding in the common forms, which the most conversant in business proved to be essential. But it would have been too indecent and invidious to have made it a question, whether they should first attend to a *Breach of Privilege* complained of by the Crown, or

to one complained of by Mr. Wilkes; when in the latter, that gentleman alone was concerned, in the former, the honour and the safety of every part of the legislature were interested. After this every method of procrastination was used, which their imagination could suggest, and the very unfortunate wound of Mr. Wilkes could promote. They found, indeed, every day, greater reason to avoid the contest: The whole strength of the lawyers, who, from the nature of the subject, must lead in the debate, was known to be against an opinion which subverted every purpose, maxim, and precedent of law.

The judgment of the Earl of Hardwicke against this extension of privilege, had been declared, and had the greater weight, because he was warmly inclined to that party which was disposed to support it. His principles and maxims were those of his son, who, actuated by motives of opinion and honour, was expected to exert on this important question, in defence of common law, and common freedom, more than even his usual ability.

An able and upright *Judge*, educated in the broadest principles of liberty, and who, during his whole life, had stood the avowed and honoured defender of the people's rights against any encroachment of the prerogative, had, with his dying breath, lamented that encrease of licentiousness which he foresaw would flow from so pernicious a doctrine.

When he found himself near his death, he called to him his respectable friend, to whom he had long been united by a similarity of years and studies; whose learning he respected, and whose heart he esteemed: I quit, (said the venerable magistrate)

without regret, a scene of so much approaching licence and confusion; but I feel for the friends whom I leave involved in it; the maxims now adopted lead to the most fatal anarchy, and I lament your fortune, which now calls you and all honest men to *contend* for the great objects which I hoped had been firmly established, the freedom and the constitution of Great Britain.

These sentiments (for I do not pretend to repeat his words) from such a character united independent thinking men in opposition to that illegal claim of *Privilege*, which had forced from him this expression of his patriot fears.

At length, when every source of delay was exhausted; and when Mr. Wilkes, after having abused the humanity, had insulted, by his letter, the understanding of the House, it was found necessary to bring on the question. Of the arguments used within doors, I do not pretend to be informed; and it might not be proper to repeat them; but I remember what was said without doors to be the sentiments of those on whom the public was most disposed to rely.

It was said that they who considered the question most fully, proved that privilege could not extend to crimes either, 1. by the Common law, or, 2. by the law of Parliament, or, 3. by the nature and spirit of our constitution.

The Common law knows no such thing as privilege of Parliament; and the manner in which it bars even a common civil suit, is not by any operation of law, but by the external authority of the House, which seizes the persons of those concerned in such prosecution.

The law and usage of Parliament disclaim it; the words of Mr. Prynne, and other learned and zealous friends to liberty, might here be quoted, did not declarations of the whole Parliament supersede the necessity of any private authorities. As warm and as able assertors of the privileges of Parliament as this country ever saw, heated too by a gross infringement of them, and determined to venture every thing to secure them from future violation, the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of 1641, expressly disclaim it.

The practice from that time to this has shewn, and the case of Mr. Ward is a proof within our memory, that members of Parliament have no privilege in criminal cases.

Against this was set the authority of Lord Coke and Holt; but Lord Coke's opinion was grounded on a case which he had never read, and which being examined, proved nothing to his purpose; and L. C. J. Holt never said it. It not being just to believe, upon the faith of an anonymous, unauthorized Bookseller, (who printed the patch work, called 12 Modern) that a judge of the wisdom, learning, and moderation of Holt should, in a case in which no opinion on this subject was called for, give one *obiter* on a point of so deep and important a nature. An opinion so contradictory to the whole stream and spirit of the law, that even the ignorant Bookseller added a Q. to it expressive of his doubts, and which the silence of the two known reporters concur in obliging us to reject.

It is not less contrary to the spirit of all law and of the constitution. The very nature of a privilege is founded in the sacrifice of a private benefit

to a public good; but if privilege extends to crimes, the public good is sacrificed to a private benefit. It contradicts the very nature of Government, which must be subverted by a permission granted to about 15,000 persons to commit crimes; and of Law, the protection of which should extend to the least, while the greatest should not be exempted from its power.

The subject has been so exhausted, and indeed the opinion then contended for by the *Opposition*, is now so universally exploded and disclaimed, that even this short mention of it may be thought unnecessary.

But in the warmth of the dispute which then prevailed, it will easily be believed, that the party which had reason, law and practice on their side, did not omit to evince their principles with force and eloquence. There was no strength to oppose them, but in the oratory of the late Secretary; the subject was not susceptible of it; it required arguments from law and fact; he had not been able to collect them: the *Auxiliary* in whom they had placed so much confidence did not charge at all, and sacrificed to his conviction all the labours of himself and two clerks during the course of the summer; and the eloquence of which he had so often proved the force upon his friends during the preceding part of the winter.

They were left without an answer; this privilege was disclaimed; and the liberty of the people, and the balance of power in the state, delivered from the pernicious effects of such an Aristocratick tyranny. For with these sentiments of the friends of the constitution without doors, the resolutions of the House of Commons agreed, on the
24th

24th of November 1763, it was resolved, *That privilege of Parliament does not extend to the case of writing and publishing seditious libels, nor ought to be allowed to obstruct the ordinary course of the laws, in the speedy and effectual prosecution of so heinous and dangerous an offence.*

The next ground of opposition which was taken, was the tax on cyder. A clamour against this bill had been raised and propagated with much art and industry, and with much success in opposition to the late Minister. It was hoped that the same artifices might direct it against the present, though he had not been a party to the imposition, and though there was scarcely one of the numerous majority, who had voted it, against whom this clamour could not have been directed with equal justice. It was passed in that Session, before the opening of which the business of Government had been removed into other hands. What his own opinion may be of this tax, I do not pretend to be informed, but many people remember that when he gave his assent to the imposing it, he gave it with this reason annexed, because the money was necessary, and no other method of raising it proposed. But whatever his private opinions had been, he was now in a situation which would not have permitted him to have been governed by them. Money had been raised for the public service, and this tax appropriated upon the faith of Parliament, as a security for the creditors of the public. For these creditors he must have considered himself as trustee, and he could not consent to the abolition of this tax without defrauding individuals, and loosening the public faith. But whatever was in his power he offered to them at once, with that open candour which always accompanies

companies found judgment and upright intentions ; and these offers were such as effectually redressed any grievances which had been now found to attend the execution of the law.

But though these offers were the utmost which could be made, and fully effectual to the relieving the grievances complained of, it did not suit the purposes of many of those, who appeared so eager for the repeal, to accept them. For this party was composed of persons differing very widely in their opinions and purposes. A part, and that by much the most respectable, was sent by constituents, who thought themselves aggrieved ; it was natural for these to grasp at every alleviation within their reach. The ferment in their counties had been wrought so high, that they were forced to partake of its heat, and if they forgot that their character of representatives should ever be subordinate to that of general legislators, their motives, if not laudable, were, however, to be excused ; their zeal was honest, and their behaviour temperate. At the head of this party stood Sir Richard Bamfylde, and Mr. Velters Cornwall. A few stragglers from the Cocoa-tree, formed another division ; some of these gentlemen, who thought that in the *coalition* of their party, their merit and abilities had not been sufficiently attended to, were determined by the common arts of a busy and turbulent opposition, to wrest from the Minister some consideration for their merit. The last class was composed of true *Opposition-men*, who, besides their fixed principles of opposing whatever proceeded from the Treasury, had on this subject these additional motives. It would have greatly added to the distress, which they did not doubt he would feel in raising the supplies, if they

they could have thrown on him the additional weight of providing interest and security for more than two millions. To this hope, they were willing to sacrifice their own avowed principles, and were not ashamed to declare themselves against a measure, because it imposed a partial excise, while they declared, that the safety of the state required a general one. Perhaps too they hoped (for these politicians are not so profound, but that their depths may be easily fathomed) that some of the gentlemen with whom they now united might repay the compliment, and give them their assistance in return. At least, to have carried any question against the Minister, no matter of what kind, or by what means, would have given gratification to their spleen, and an appearance of strength to their party. The debate therefore came on, many of the same topics, which had been taken the former session were repeated, and re-answered; a chief of the opposition, the second in rank, though perhaps the first in eloquence, would not desert his own opinion, though he had changed his side. He answered their arguments with his usual spirit and abilities, treated with ridicule and contempt the vague declamation of the cyder orators, and shewed, that no man was made subject to the excise laws, but by his own option; and except by departing from the character of a private man, he became one of those public venders of liquor, who must under every Government be made liable to the inspection of its officers. The Minister stood firm on the ground he had chosen, and after he had given the reasons, which prevented his consenting to the repeal of the bill, undertook to offer for the relief of the cyder counties, such provisions, as the obstinacy or the ill-temper of their pretended friends had prevented them from asking. With these sentiments those of the House

of

of Commons concurred, for I find by the Votes of the 10th of February, 1764, that the question being put, *That leave be given to bring in a bill for repealing so much of an act made in the last Session of Parliament, as lays an additional duty on Cyder and Perry,*

It passed in the Negative.

And that afterwards *the time of payment of that duty was enlarged, and the composition lowered*: and thus the designs of the opposition were defeated, and they received the mortification of having sacrificed in vain their opinions and principles to their resentment.

Having been repulsed in these attacks, the opposition were obliged now to unmask their grand battery, on which they founded their last hopes, and which pride and resentment had prevailed on a veteran engineer to direct, though it was plain that every piece he should fire from thence, would carry, point blank against his own conduct and character.

The point I mean, is that of General Warrants. Against these Mr. Pitt determined to declaim, though he was thereby obliged to another of those self contradictions, which though (like the sudden turns of those who dance on the rope) they much astonish the audience, are not, it is probable, very pleasant in the execution, nor without danger of disgrace to the performer.

They prepared for this assault, with all that vivacity which usually accompanies the assailants, and they exerted it in such instances, as might have been expected from their characters. They applied to

the hopes and fears of every one whom they imagined capable of being influenced by his interests; they denounced the most severe excommunication against those, who did not now appear as their friends; they were assured, they boasted, of a majority, but those must never expect to be admitted into the number, who did not now contribute to form it. They had orators, they said (and they named them) who would pour irresistible conviction into the minds of the most obstinate opposers. The younger and more gay were secured by flattery and ridicule.

In the interval, care and fear sat upon every busy face of opposition; those who could arrive at any communication with the closet of Newcastle-house, had lists in their hands; and those who were not admitted to so extensive a confidence, had, however, their secrets to whisper, and their returns to make of single votes, and their conjectures to impart. The time passed in these preparations.

On the day itself, they did not intermit their diligence, they were marshalled by the Earl, in whose presence they were to fight. Their Adjutant-general, ran as usual, from rank to rank; good tables, and good company were provided in the adjacent chambers; in those chambers their speakers spoke, for of their debates in the house, nothing is here said. The deeper reasoners amongst them, asserted, that Parliaments might interpose in weightier matters, and they quoted, to prove it, the examples of Pym and Hamden; that this was a weighty matter, was universally agreed; they concluded therefore, that it was of the wisdom of Parliament to interpose in this.

The livelier took another topic, they declaimed with eagerness against General Warrants, against the insolence of office, and the tyranny of Secretaries of state; they proved with much eloquence, that a man might have a very good opinion of the judgment of that officer, and yet not be willing to submit to his perusal every private paper in his study, without some good reason assigned; and that it was possible to have a real respect for the Crown without thinking one of his Majesty's messengers an agreeable visitor at two o'clock in the morning.

What they did not prove, was, that it was just to throw a particular imputation on a Secretary of state for having complied with the precedents of his office, and the advice of his law clerks; or that it was constitutional to make use of a Vote of Parliament, upon a subject not of its jurisdiction, to influence the judgment of a Court below in causes of private justice. But their friends were persuaded that they could not have spoken with so much life and eloquence without proving something, and they redoubled their applause; messages passed every half hour to his Grace, the faggots were ready in Albemarle-street; and the brooms prepared with which they designed the next morning to sweep the Palace of St. James's.

The behaviour of the Minister on this occasion was as different from theirs, as his sentiments on the subject of debate. He seems to have known that his own strength, and the weakness of his opponents must appear upon any of those subjects where he could oppose deep knowledge and sound reasoning to the useless flashes of a lively imagination. He had fixed his foot on constitutional ground,

ground, of which he knew the bottom, and he appeared determined not to quit it. In fact, though the purpose of the attack was the subversion of his system, there was scarcely any body who was less interested in the event of it. He had no personal interest to defend in the legality of the Warrant. If it was voted illegal, less blame must in all reason accrue to the person who had last issued it, and who was less practised in the forms of business, than to those *vieux routiers*, who having had so many occasions of information, had used it to their own purposes, and given it sanction by their own example.

It was in his power, if he would have descended to the operations of what is called policy, even to have derived from this motion a condemnation of his opposer, and an accession to his own power.

If he had acquiesced in the motion, he would have acquired the reputation of moderation, and prevented the possibility of a defeat; the candour of the public would have covered his friends; and the House would have not refused to pass a very severe and high censure upon those who had issued like Warrants, not of a doubtful, but of a known illegal nature.

Every body has seen those of Mr. Pitt *. In them not only the names of the persons to be apprehended

* Here is one of them. " These are in his Majesty's name, to authorize and require You, taking a constable to your assistance, to make strict and diligent search for Peter Child and his wife Jane, — Sidebotham and his wife, and — Dickenso, a woman lodging in their house in Essex-street in the Strand, and them hav-

prehended are omitted, but they do not even specify the crime, *the cause of apprehension*. This omission, as having been, and capable of being abused to the most arbitrary purposes, had been declared by the Petition of Rights to be contrary to law *. The nation therefore would have seconded the heaviest censure which could have been imposed upon those, who while they covered their opposition to Government, by pretences of zeal for the liberties of the people, had shewn themselves thus capable of using their own power in a manner directly contrary to the most sacred and acknowledged claims of their freedom.

But however provoked, and as many may think, authorized by the example of his opponents, he did not suffer motives of personal danger or advantage to enter into a question which concerned the constitution of Great Britain.

To the artifices of his enemies he opposed plain and convincing reasons, their menaces he treated

ing found, to bring in safe custody before me, to be examined concerning the premises, and further dealt with according to law. In the due, &c. Given at Whitehall, December 17th, 1760, in the first year of his Majesty's reign."

* Petition of Right. "And whereas also by the statute called the great Charter of the liberties of England, it is declared and enacted, That no Freeman may be taken or imprisoned, &c. but — or by the law of the land; nevertheless, against the tenure of the statute, and other the good laws and statutes of your realm to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned, *without any cause shewed*, They (the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled) do therefore humbly pray your most excellent Majesty, That no Freeman, in any such manner as is before-mentioned, be imprisoned or detained. All which they most humbly pray of your most excellent Majesty, as their *Rights and Liberties*."

with

with contempt, and his friends were encouraged by his resolution to abide the contest; if the event of it should be unprosperous, he could not fall with more reputation than in defence of one of the great Land-marks of the State, the preserving separate and inviolable the great powers of which the constitution is composed.

The permanent liberty of every State depends upon the division of the three great Powers, the Executive, the Legislative, and Judicial; their concurrence in any one hand forms that unlimited despotism which prevails in the East.

The Legislative joined to the Executive, produces the absolute monarchies of France and Spain.

It is equally fatal to liberty if the Judicial is united to the Legislative: this union forms the arbitrary aristocratic Italian republics. Laws ought to be formed without any respect of particular persons; but if the Power which forms the laws applies them too, the Judge becomes an oppressor, for he makes laws with respect to persons. These powers are with great wisdom, and with a skilful hand, distributed in our constitution in such a manner, as to produce the greatest possible degree of freedom; those of judicature and legislation are therefore divided, without which even the appearance of liberty would cease. The whole Legislature is not, much less is the House of Commons entrusted with the Judicial Power. The motion tended evidently to make that House exert a power it neither has nor can possess, as long as we possess our liberties.

The former Votes, moved or supported by Pym or Hamden, were not to the present point; the

the names of these patriots will ever be dear, and their examples patterns to posterity, because their knowledge of the constitution was equal to their love of it; but the imitable part of their conduct is their care, that the powers of the constitution should be kept distinct; every variation in that balance of powers which our ancestors have so wisely established, is a deviation from that plan of liberty which they pursued through so many perils.

Had it been constitutional, it was unwise to hasten to a decision, which on either side was full of danger. There must be in every complex Government certain points which it is for the interest of liberty to leave undecided: the present point it is peculiarly proper to leave under this constitutional uncertainty. Were it decided in general, that the step in question is illegal, the Government would be deprived of a power, necessary not only to check seditions, to detect conspiracies, to prevent or to repress rebellions, but in a thousand instances too of more common, but not less real danger; necessary to secure spies, to stop the exportation of our manufactures, and to prevent the communication of our strength, provisions and armaments to foreigners. A determination on the other side would be as fatal to individuals, as the former would be to the public; it would expose the secret papers of every family to the wanton inspection of every arbitrary Minister; it would break one great barrier of liberty, and let in that flood of evils, which are so easily imagined, and were so warmly described; it is to prevent these evils, it is to preserve our liberties from every possibility of hazard, that this decision is opposed. At present, whoever exerts this power, exerts it at his peril; if he employs it on an occasion which did not call for it, he is amenable to justice, and
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while he knows that the jealous eye of Parliament overlooks his actions, the most daring Minister will be careful not to put it forth but on such emergencies as will justify him ; and our ancestors were so sensible of this, that these warrants have been issued in every reign most favourable to freedom, and by the Ministers who have laboured most to establish it among us.

The reason is, that there lies an easy and constitutional remedy at hand. If the Warrants are illegal, let the persons issuing them be condemned by the laws of their country ; or if the persons deserve a parliamentary censure for having wantonly exercised the power entrusted to them, even then the Warrants, those necessary instruments of Government, should remain inviolable ; nor can you decide on them without shaking perhaps the state to its foundation. But still less does this matter call for your Vote if the occasion demanded them ; if the vindication of the honour of the Crown and the privileges of Parliament, the preservation of the peace of the kingdom, and the punishment of an impious attempt to alienate from Parliament the affections of the people, forced them from the hands of Government. A stronger and a deeper reason *ad hominem* is still behind : the legality of the Warrant is yet *sub judice*. Do not give room to suppose you think it legal, by opposing to it a Vote of the House of Commons, which will be unnecessary if it is only an affirmation of the law, and which no Judge, consistently with his oath, can take notice of, if it is contrary to it.

Delay at least your censure, leave the accused to what they have a right to, the unbiassed sentiments of a jury : do not prostitute a Vote of Parliament,

to influence the judgment of a Court of Justice, and to serve the purposes of faction; if by that the Warrant should be determined illegal, your interposition will be needless; if it is legal, and you think the case such, as to make it safe and prudent to interpose; if you think the liberty of the subject will receive from it more defence than hazard, walk in the constitutional path, proceed as Legislators by a bill, that is your peculiar province, and you will thereby secure the respect and support of your constituents.

In such wishes as these were the sentiments of the thinking part without doors, addressed to the patriots within, and they are so justly grounded, that one wonders what could be opposed to their force. But it was not on argument that the opposition depended; they had found it more easy to collect Votes than Reasons; they thought it would serve the purposes of their faction, that the verdicts of the inferior Courts should be such as they wished them; and if they could, by any means, draw them to that purpose, they would not have scrupled to prostitute to it the dignity of Parliament, to break one great barrier of liberty, and to confound the powers of the constitution; they persisted therefore in their attack. But though the arguments against this motion had no weight in Albemarle-street, they had much on the more judicious part of the House. For if after this representation of the sentiments of men without doors, we view what passed within, we find in the Votes, that on the 17th of February 1764, a debate arising in the House upon the question, *That a general Warrant, &c. is not warranted by Law*, it was resolved, That the said debate be adjourned to that day four months; and thus the temper and steadiness of the Ministers, and the factious impetuosity of the opposers, met
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with the fortune which each of them deserved; and these last were defeated, after having shewn, during the moment they flattered themselves with success, that they knew as little how to bear a victory as to obtain one.

The friends of Administration determined to pursue their advantage, and to take from the Opposition that appearance of zeal for liberty, on which they had grounded their hopes of popular reputation.

An old member, who, with a large body of country gentlemen, had been against the resolution moved for, because the mode was unconstitutional; proposed to answer the same purpose by the regular method of a bill, formed in the very words of the Resolution: and the Administration, though they declared they saw more danger than necessity even in this step, were willing to acquiesce in it, if it might calm the fears and heats of the real and pretended friends of freedom.

But the very faction which had clamoured so loudly for an irregular *resolution*, rejected the constitutional remedy; and have since, with equal consistence, objected it to the Ministry, that they did not force through the House a bill which they disapproved, against the resistance of those who, three days before, had claimed it as the only security of English liberty. This was the last effort of the Opposition, unable to restrain any longer their followers, upon a plan so evidently factious, they were no longer able to impede the motions of Government; and we are now at length at liberty to observe the conduct of the Minister, with respect to the important effects of foreign politics, of colonization, and of finance.

Those of foreign policy will take up the less space, because, though they are a subject of the *comparison* here intended, they did not ever become one of debate during the period which we are considering. It is not necessary to repeat what has been so often repeated, that Mr. Pitt, who had adopted the German war, had pursued it with that eagerness which generally attends a new convert. He had been accused of having embraced this measure contrary to his opinion, and only to pay court to the Elector of Hanover; he thought that he could not more effectually prove his sincerity than by carrying it to an excess, which even the most German Ministers had never yet proposed; and he had thought he could cover the contradiction of his conduct, by giving a new motive as the ground of it; he declared therefore that it was upon mature deliberation that he had chosen to fight France in Germany, where she was the strongest, rather than in America, where she was necessarily the weaker. The opinions of the present Ministers were known to be directly contrary to these, it had been declared, that one of the principal benefits to be derived from the peace was, that we were now able to disentangle ourselves from that labyrinth of German subsidies, in which the strength and interests of Great Britain had been lost.

Mr. Pitt applied to the peace the same maxims by which he had conducted the war; he wished again to embark us upon the boundless ocean of continental treaties, guarantees and subsidies, tho' in a period of time which has been called *the age of treaties and guarantees*, from the great number concluded in it, scarcely one of that number had ever served; on occasion, the purpose for which it had been designed. He declared publicly, that he saw no method of giving permanence to the peace, but that
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of forming a *solid mass of continental power*, capable of being opposed to the parties of the *Family Compact*. It was not difficult to foresee to whom he would have given the command of this confederate force; the subsidy which would have accompanied it; and that it would have been as little employed for the British interest as all those which we had so generously paid.

One can scarcely quote Montesquieu too frequently; it cannot at least be improper to see the opinion, which so impartial and judicious an observer had formed of this system of conduct, which was pursued while he resided in England. “ Cette nation (says he in one of his chapters upon the Government and Manners of the English, Liv. 19. chap. 27.) toujours échauffé, pourroit plus aisément être conduite par ses passions que par la raison, qui ne produit jamais de grands effets sur l’esprit des hommes; et il seroit facile à ceux qui le gouverneroient de lui faire faire des entreprises contre ses véritables intérêts.”

By way of comment upon this passage, we may observe, that Englishmen are so easily heated by the combat, as to lose at once all consideration of the proportional part they ought to take in a war; and soon change the character of auxiliaries for that of principals, at least in point of expence; and that the powers with whom we are in alliance are so assured of this, that they always depend upon being able to use our forces as their own; and apply them without scruple to the purposes of their resentment or ambition, *habent enim subjectos tanquam suos, viles ut alienos*.

The late Secretary had much impetuosity in his temper; this entered into his politics; he seems to have

have thought, that to be busy was of the essence of that science; and one should not have been surprized, had he continued to direct our councils, if we had contributed by our guineas to the election of a Piast for King of Poland, or been forming an alliance offensive and defensive with Count Brannitski. But I am more inclined to approve the temperate conduct of the present Ministers; and I congratulate my countrymen, that we have seen one election of a King of the Romans, to which the King of England contributed nothing but his vote; because we have already received from thence a greater return than had been made for the very substantial assistance given on a former occasion, I mean the thanks of the Court of Vienna; and because, when that Court shall put the Electorate again under the ban of the Empire, our resentment will not be increased to indignation, by recollecting that we have given the power they are using to our disgrace.

The withdrawing wholly from the affairs of the continent, the trusting to our wooden walls, &c. are designs inconsistent with our true interests, and impossible in the execution; but it is equally inconsistent with our interests to connect them, and to sacrifice them to alliances, not only with the greater powers on the continent, from whom they may receive support, but with sovereigns so diminutive as to make it ridiculous to expect any.

Much indeed has been said by the *late Secretary* upon the expedience of foreign alliances, and the forming a balance of power, and much reproach thrown on those whom he accuses of neglecting this great object; but if we examine his conduct, we shall find this one of those specious declarations, which, however easily they flow from
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his warm imagination, are totally unsupported by fact. It would be going too far out of the way to enter into the particulars, but whoever will view the state of our alliances at the time he left the seals, and after he had exhausted our treasury to purchase them, will see that France, Spain, and Vienna, were in actual hostilities; Holland soothed and irritated by turns, was held but by a thread; that our friendship with Denmark has since that time been improved; that we paid 670,000 l. to Prussia for the assistance of some 4000 dragoons during *part of one campaign*; and that we had actually no one ally in Europe but *Count la Lippe*; for I do not call Hesse, whose towns we garrisoned, whose army we paid, even whose damages we reimburse, by the name of an ally; and he will be inclined to approve the more wise and frugal conduct of the present Government, which seems to think that no friendships can be bought which are contrary to the interests, and that few need be bought which are consistent with the interests of the parties who form them. These too are the sentiments of Montesquieu. Liv. 13. chap. 17. "Les grand princes non contents d'acheter les troupes des plus petits, cherchent de tous cotés a payer des alliances, c'est à dire presque toujours a perdre leur argent."

In fact, England is deeply indebted to the Ministers who have seized this happy opportunity of withdrawing her from amidst the collision of the German interests, to which her own impetuosity had so long made her the dupe; of leaving them to find, by their own weight, that equal poise, to which their immediate interests will always direct them; and of placing our country once more in that state, to which her situation, the nature of her power, her reputation, her safety, so strongly invite her; that of observing with temper the several variations

variations of the political scales, the regulating sometimes the balance, and the giving to the lighter side the proper increase of weight, not with the eagerness and violence of principals and parties, but with the dignity of arbitrators.

The next object of the cure of administration, and of our consideration, is one of the most important which ever engaged the attention of any state ; I mean the regulations given to the colonies.

The establishing, securing and extending our possessions in America was the great cause, and should have been made the great object of the war, as it was made that of the peace. By the treaty of Paris this important point was secured, and an extent given to our dominions in that part of the world, which we could scarcely even have hoped for : That these acquisitions might be improved to the purposes of trade, riches and power, it was necessary that wise regulations should direct them.

It was necessary, that whosoever formed these should revert, and therefore it is necessary, that whosoever would understand them, should attend to the great general principles of colonization ; from whence all particular regulations must be drawn. These I shall endeavour to state as concisely as it is possible.

Colonies have, at different times, and by different nations, been planted for reasons and with intentions very different. Where the genius of the people was military, and their purpose conquest, colonies, sent to discharge part of a people growing too numerous, became garrisons endowed with particular grants for their maintenance, intended to secure the frontiers, or the dependence of a conquered

quered country : but they continued parts of the military establishment, subject to the commands, defended by the protection, often supported at the charge of the mother country.

Where the genius was commercial, colonies are the channel of extending their commerce, the staples of their merchandize, the exchanges wherein the mother country barter her manufactures against the raw materials, which the colonists are not in a situation to improve. The colonies of this latter kind have ever required and received a larger share of the protection and assistance of the mother country.

In both cases they retained the privileges, enjoyed the protection, and repaid the duty of subjects : it would indeed be difficult to conceive, that a large share of care, protection and expence afforded to subjects, from particular reasons, the reasons of distance and weakness, should diminish the force of their obligation, gratitude and allegiance to the Government which protects them.

Upon these principles the colonies of Great Britain are to be governed ; it was wise and just, and necessary to revert to these principles at a time when they were become so extensive as to require new regulations. The foundation of all proceedings with respect to them, is the same with that of the proceedings with respect to every other part of the British dominions ; it is this, to give them all the encouragement which is consistent with the common interest, the trade, and the dominion of the nation. To judge of this common interest, it is necessary to consider the particular situation of each country.

The state of the colonies is, that of a few inhabitants scattered over an extensive tract of fertile country : they are necessarily therefore and naturally disposed rather to cultivate lands which return profuse crops, for little labour, than to apply themselves to manufactures : great encouragement is therefore to be given to this disposition ; and they are to be protected and assisted in raising those first materials, which are the grounds of manufactures.

The state of Great Britain is the reverse of this : our strength is our shipping, our riches the labour of our people, carried by art to the greatest point of perfection ; it is therefore more eligible for us to receive raw materials, and export manufactures. And this is so essential to our commerce and power, upon which the safety of the whole (even of the colonies) depends, that Great Britain would have a right to secure this by the most effectual means, even if the particular interest of some colonies were to be checked by them : a right established upon the same principles upon which filial duty is established, as a just return for production and support ; and upon which the good of any part of a state is made to submit to the advantage of the whole.

The sentiments of Montesquieu upon this subject are very full to the point, and they are the more decisive, because he had not, in forming them, any partial bias ; he judged as a citizen of the world, upon the great principles of duty resulting from relation ; and of expedience resulting from common interest. Le désavantage des colonies qui perdent la liberté du commerce, est visiblement compensé par la protection de la métropole, qui
les

les defend par ses armes, ou les maintient par ses loix.

I have quoted his words, and it is a new reason for approving the bill in question, to remark, that it is formed and conducted upon the very principles which are chosen and applied to Great Britain, by that able and impartial statesman †.

But in the present situation, this interchange is for our mutual benefit; the extent of territory in the colonies, its variety, fertility and virgin state, give us the prospect of succeeding ages of industrious and successful cultivation in them, before the land will be in the highest state of culture; and before its inhabitants will be so much increased in number, as to interfere with each other, or to oblige them to turn their thoughts, or even wishes to manufactures. These artificial productions never become the object to which the inhabitants direct their labour, till the earth begins to refuse to her crowded sons that profusion of easier fruits, which

† Si cette nation envoyoit au loin des colonies, elle le feroit plus pour étendre son commerce que sa domination. Liv. 19. chap. 27.

L'objet de ces colonies est de faire le commerce à de meilleures conditions qu'on ne le fait avec les peuples voisins, avec lesquels tous les avantages sont reciproques. Liv. 21. chap. 17.

La liberté du commerce n'est pas une faculté accordée aux négocians de faire ce qu'ils veulent; ce seroit bien plutôt sa servitude. Ce qui gêne le commerçant, ne gêne pas pour cela le commerce.

Les vaisseaux de ses colonies (Angleterre) qui commercent en Europe doivent mouiller en Angleterre. Elle gêne le négociant, mais c'est en faveur du commerce. Liv. 20. chap. 12.

with a liberal hand she pours forth to rising colonies.

In speaking of manufactures, I speak not of those simple ones which serve to afford merely a warm covering, and the common necessities of social life; these follow immediately the production of the materials for them; I speak only of those more refined ones, which become the subjects of commerce; these are the effects of the last stage of policy, they mark the highest point of concentrated industry in society; and are far removed from new colonies, where land is cheap, fertile and boundless.

Upon the same principle of pursuing the interest of the colonies subordinate to, and united with the interest of the whole, stands that other proposition which is so liable to be perverted; the maintaining the dominion of Great Britain, and securing to her the dependence of her colonies. However strong these colonies now appear; and how vigorous soever the shoots may seem which they are making; their present imperfect state, their extent, their situation, exposes them to attacks from many quarters; they can be safe only under the wing of Great Britain: it is necessary they should be subject to her, that she may be able to defend them: Their dependence therefore is necessary to their safety.

The means of retaining that dependence, the most effectual, and the least oppressive, are therefore to be sought; and they will be found to be the very measures, which appeared necessary before, from considerations of common interest, and of relative situation, viz. the providing that

the colonies should send to Great Britain their raw materials, and export manufactures from her only.

This was the means which had been chosen as the most efficient, at the time when this affair came first into contemplation : the famous act passed in the 12th of Charles II. enacted therefore, That all goods shipped from the Plantations (there was an exception to this in the case of salt) should be brought to a Plantation, or to Great Britain : and the 15th of the same King enacted, That the colonies should receive all manufactures either from, or through Great Britain.

But these acts had frequently been broken, both by shipping goods from the Plantations to foreign parts, and by importing thither goods from the other countries of Europe.

It was become necessary therefore to enforce the observance of these first laws, both upon the reasons, which were the first grounds of passing them, and which have been already given ; and upon others peculiar to this conjuncture. The great extent of territory, and the security given by the peace to that part of the British dominions, will naturally encourage a large encrease of emigrants to them, and give still more room for their rapid population.

This will encrease the demands for manufactures, and consequently encreases the importance of fixing in Great Britain the market from whence they are to be supplied.

This is equally necessary from a view of our situation, compared with that of other powers. One of the most fertile sources of naval power, is

the carrying trade; it was this from which the Dutch derived their wealth, their freedom, their existence in the earlier ages of their state; and they have ever been so sensible of its importance, that by an exact and constant attention to the means of reducing the number of men, and the nature of their victualing, they are able to perform it at a much cheaper rate than ourselves. To prevent the evil consequences from this dangerous rivalry, the great act of navigation was formed; which, though it has often been attributed to particular and personal motives, proceeded from, and was directed by maxims of the deepest and wisest policy: by this act it was thought expedient for the general good, that that increase of expence should be laid upon the whole trade of Great Britain, which arose from the encreased price of carrying in English, above that of carrying in Dutch bottoms, in consideration of the more material general interest, which required that the maritime power of the Dutch should be restrained, and our own augmented.

On the same principles the regulations were made, which oblige our colonies to come to no other market but our own: from the same circumstances it is still necessary to enforce them. The Dutch are still able to carry cheaper than ourselves; and to undersell therefore even our own manufactures in our own provinces; for the colonies are such, and put under restrictions on no other principles than those on which all the other parts of our dominions, even Great Britain itself, is restrained from enjoying a lucrative advantage at the expence of our maritime power.

Another reason is to be drawn from the happy situation of the colonists. They are, by the successes
of

of the war, and by the peace, freed from all those terrors of a foreign enemy which so lately agitated them; their efforts during the war, the sense of their security, confidence in their own power, the mistaken opinion that independence is freedom, all these and other motives may concur in exciting a restless spirit, which will become more dangerous in proportion as the people who feel it become more powerful: it is expedient therefore, it is even necessary to lay the restraint now, while it can be made binding; and while the loose texture of that empire may yet be moulded into that form which is best calculated for the common good.

The situation of Great Britain furnished another, and most cogent motive. Intoxicated with success and glory, she had exerted an unnatural power beyond her real strength. The force now recoiled, and men at length began to see that nothing could give her peace at home and weight abroad, but a steady and exact attention to the improvement of her revenue.

So large a tract of continent, where the fertility of every soil and of every climate is to be found, naturally and justly drew the attention of Government; there must be found the first materials of numberless manufactures, and there must arise a large demand for manufactures themselves. It is reasonable and just that the great principle of the general good should now be reverted to; and that such a proportion of imposition should be laid on them, as the distresses of this country, the duty and ability of that, and the common good of both shall direct. This would be reasonable and just, were the imposts there raised to be appropriated (as in the case of former imposts they had been) to the service of the Government in Great Britain;

as just and reasonable, as that the Eastern and Western extremities should contribute to the expence of a fortified garrison at Portsmouth, while that expence is thought necessary for the common safety.

If to this we add the consideration of the expence of the blood and treasure of Great Britain, by which the extent and the security of the colonies have been purchased ; and observe that the duties imposed by that act are appropriated to the defence and protection of those who pay them ; it will appear that the *Right* and the *Necessity* of taxing, has been tempered in this instance with that tenderness towards the colonists, which may most effectually reconcile them to the taxation.

For these three great purposes, *To secure the dominion, regulate the commerce, and improve the revenue of the British empire*, was the bill framed, and being directed to the common interest, as the end, pursues it by uniting those three objects, as the means ; and becomes at once a *Bill of Police, Commerce, and Revenue*.

To the first of these objects are directed the restrictions upon the navigation to and of the colonies ; which appear to be laid upon the same principles on which the restrictions are laid on the trade of England, to prevent the maritime power of the Dutch from rising on the ruins of that of Great Britain. But even from these restrictions are excepted salt, which is essential to their fisheries ; and by the last acts, rice, which is so important an object of their culture.

To the second, the promotion of *Commerce*, the whole purpose of this Bill, and of those on the like

like subjects, which were passed last Session, immediately tend. With this view the commodities of foreign colonies, mentioned in them, are charged with a duty so much greater than that imposed on the same articles raised in our colonies, as to give the greatest assistance to their cultivation of them. With this view the regulations, restraining the trade of the colonies with Europe, are formed; and with this view the duties on particular articles of importance to trade are reduced, or abolished, and the culture of others encouraged, by permissions of carriage, and by bounties.

With regard to those foreign goods which are charged with duties, though expedient for their own consumption, the duty paid by the colonies is not near so high, as that which the legislature has imposed on the consumption of the same articles at home.

The third object of the Bills, is *the Revenue*; this will be encreased by the duties to be collected in the colonies, as well as by those left here.

I have thought it sufficient, barely to mention these particulars, because the whole subject has been explained with so much precision and knowledge in the work entitled, *The Regulations late made concerning the Colonies, and Taxes imposed upon them considered*, that there is nothing left but to refer to it, those who wish to receive the most full and candid information on this subject.

I have only to add two remarks.

The first is, That in these Bills the most equal hand is held between our American and West-Indian colonies, that any monopoly in either is prevented,

prevented, and the cultivation, commerce and interests of both encouraged.

The other, That although I have for the sake of method, referred the several clauses of these Bills, to the distinct heads of *Police, Commerce, and Revenue*; yet they are drawn with so just and equal an attention to these great objects, that the regulations contained in them, respect all three; the *Restrictions* contribute to encrease our commerce and *Revenue*, as well as to bind our Colonies to the mother-country; the *Commercial Clauses* confirm the Power, and add to the *Revenue*, as well as to the Trade of Great Britain; and the laws which encrease the *Revenue*, cement too the Union of our colonies, and give advantages to the general Commerce.

By these wise, just and necessary Bills, the several members of the British dominions, however divided by distance or by climate, are bound together by the chains of commerce; united in rights, in duty, and in interests; and contribute, each in its proportion, by their riches, their labour, their arts, and their valour, to the commerce, the wealth, the liberty, and the happiness of the whole. By the care taken to conciliate and attemper the various claims of the different colonists, we may indulge ourselves in the pleasing prospect of the most cordial union between the mother-country and all her provinces, founded upon gratitude and duty, and cemented by mutual interest.

And on this deep and broad foundation, through a tract of ages, and through all the progressive steps of encreasing greatness, the whole structure of the British empire, vast as it is, may stand with security.

This

This system our country owes to the Administration ; — to the Opposition (for it is just to give to them, and to compare their merits) she owes, that although they had often threatened, they did not actually oppose it.

On the next and last subject of consideration, the finances, I cannot pretend that she is so deeply indebted to them : what they do deserve from her, on that account, it is not proper to express, till the conduct of the two parties, with respect to it, has been examined.

The image of a skeleton, crowned with laurels, which was the idea of a poetical orator, conveys a very just, as well as a very lively representation of the state of Great Britain at the end of the late glorious and exhausting war. The gentlemen of the faculty, to whose care she had been committed, had not left her till there was *no hopes* ; and had declared at their departure, she could not last two months. But by rest and care she had now begun to revive ; and these physicians began to think her again worthy their attendance ; but they were honest enough to own, that they meant to pursue the method of their former practice ; with the true obstinacy of a *Sangrado* having reduced her by bleeding to a deep atrophy, they proposed to cure her by still new bleedings ; and having taxed us to the utmost stretch of our abilities to pursue the war, to tax us still more heavily to maintain the peace.

Whether these politicians were in earnest ; or whether they clamoured for new taxes, merely because they thought the imposition of them would heat their friends, the mob, still more against the

Government, I do not pretend to know ; certain it is, that they not only supported every proposition for an encrease of expence, which they thought must necessarily call for new imposts ; but that they accused the Minister of finance of want of judgment and of courage, because he declared his intention of giving to the people some respite from taxations.

Happily for this country that gentleman's principles and designs were of a very different nature. What these were, we may judge with certainty, because he himself declared them in a very public conversation. He saw with regret, that even the conclusion of the peace could not immediately deliver us from the burthens of the war ; that a large and long arrear must sooner or later be discharged, which the unusual extent and expence of the war had incurred : but the present hour was a very unfavourable one for raising money to discharge it, both on account of the situation of the people, and the price of money. Some former taxes had been laid so unhappily, that the last of all, that on Cyder, though grounded on one of the most just and most acknowledged principles of policy, had met with much violent opposition. In fact, the industry and the commerce of Great Britain were already so heavily laden, that the design of imposing a fresh burthen, proceeded rather from obstinacy than wisdom in the designers, and required more submission in the subject than had been lately shewn. It was a point of prudence to give time for that encrease of commerce, which was to be expected from the peace ; because that would encrease the ability of the people to sustain the present, and to support, if they should become necessary, new burthens.

It was equally wise from the present price of money. The demands for this had in the last years of the war been so excessive, that they had raised the value of it to a very enormous height ; and after the conclusion of the peace it had been kept there by those who were not yet contented with the sudden fortunes they had acquired by the public distress.

All these were very desirous to deal with Government; and a lottery would have given to them a large douceur, and to the Minister that power of bestowing subscription and commissions, which is seldom thought unpleasant.

The general credit of Europe had been so much shaken by some manœuvres of our magnanimous ally, that had not the bank of England, with equal judgment and benevolence, given an immediate and large support, it was to be feared that the whole system of commercial faith, in which the fortunes and the fates of so many millions are involved, would have fallen at once. These honourable and successful efforts had however thrown much property out of our domestic circulation; the return of this would probably raise the public funds, and therefore it was prudent to wait for it.

The agitation of the stocks had been so violent, that though the war which had occasioned it was ended, they had not yet returned to their usual level.

A lottery in that juncture would have sunk the funds, because it would have encouraged that spirit of gaming, which, however advantageous to individuals, would have been a real mischief to the state. It was wise not to go to market for money, whilst

It was so evidently in the power of the seller to impose his own terms upon the Publick; a power which every hour of respite would diminish; it was prudent to try whether the property, which had been kept back in hopes of new loans, would not now be forced either into the stocks, which would be raised by them; or into trade, where it would enrich the State. It might be hoped too, that the violence of faction might, by degrees, subside; that all parties, sensible of the dangerous situation of the State, would, forgetting to what rash measures it owed its distresses, unite their endeavours to alleviate them; that the gentlemen in Opposition would suspend their contest for the skin of the bear, till it was grown richer, and more worthy their pursuit; and that at least they would not oppose those measures which tended to remedy the evils they had themselves occasioned.

It might be hoped, that the same spirit of moderation, which had united all parties at the close of the former war, and which had enabled Mr. Pelham to take the steps he did take for the advantage of the State, would, now the danger was so much greater, and the load more heavy, have revived; and have given to Administration all the assistance which good subjects owe to every plan directed to the public good. That of the minister of Finance was a prudent and effectual one: He knew the resources of this country; he saw that her credit and her riches would every day encrease, the price of money diminish, and that her income was capable of great improvements. In this situation he determined to raise no more at that time than was absolutely necessary for the support of Government, and the discharge of such part of her debt as could not be deferred; and to trust for the rest to those ameliorations in her finances, for which,

which, a time of peace would afford opportunities.

He discharged, therefore, a very heavy load of public debt; postponed the payment of another considerable part; provided resources for the improvement of the revenue; and maintained the most strict œconomy in the administration of the whole.

To the head of *Discharge of Debt* are to be referred, not only the Navy and Army debts, the Hessian dedommagements, &c. which amount to about 2,500,000 l. but that great reduction upon the German demands for *Extras*, which was as just as it was unprecedented.

The declarations of Mr. Grenville against continental connections, had never been so vehement as those of Mr. Pitt. It could not be expected, therefore, that he should shew the sincerity of them in exactly the same manner. The last of these gentlemen had begun in about three weeks after these strong declarations, to export, without reason, and without bounds, the men and money of Great Britain, to Germany. The first step which Mr. Grenville took on this subject, was to recal that German Commissariate, which had been opened to receive all the demands which those who had said they had lost, or who thought they had not gained enough in the service of the allies, were ready to make. He instituted a commission of only three gentlemen to descend into the detail of those demands, and by their means at the end of the last session the sums stood thus :

The whole which they had examined	
was said to be - - - - -	1,354,000
Of this they had allowed -	103,000
They postponed, till further	
proofs could be brought	263,000
	<hr/>
	366,000
	<hr/>
	988,000

And by this means, near another million sterling was already saved to the public.

The care of the Treasury, and the zeal and activity of the War Office, brought this year, to the benefit of the State, that large sum of army arrears upon the non-effective men, which had been so long and justly complained of; and 140,000*l.* was from thence applied to the service of the year.

But the most extensive supply of the year, was the gift of the King. The pity which he felt for the distresses of his subjects had been the great motive of his putting an end to a war, which so much augmented his own glory.

This true paternal tenderness led him to give this fresh and solid proof of his love for his people; and he bestowed at once 700,000*l.* for their relief; a sum which I believe exceeds the united generosity of all the Kings who ever sat before him on the English throne. Those who recollect the gratitude which was expressed, and the reputation acquired to Queen Anne, by a donation amounting to one seventh part of this sum, will justly expect that the nation should feel the truest affection, and give the firmest support to the measures of a sovereign, every act of whose benevolent mind is thus shewn

to be directed to the interests of his people; and who (for this assertion of an anonymous writer cannot be suspected of flattery) during the very short time of his reign, has given more extent to the dominion and commerce, laid the foundation of more improvements to the revenue, afforded more relief to the burthens, and granted more security to the liberties of his subjects, than can be paralleled in the annals of this or any other country.

The Minister seized the opportunity of the Bank contract to make the most advantageous terms for the public which had ever been agreed on; but such, however, as it was the interest of the Bank to consent to. By these means he raised 110,000*l.* and transferred 1,000,000 of Exchequer bills on them for two years, at 3 per cent. at the time that money was at more than 4 per cent. 800,000*l.* more he proposed to pay off, and to issue new bills for the like sum, which would be at no discount.

These steps, by which he postponed the payment of near two millions, were evidently wise, because for the advantage of the State; as advantageous as it would be for a mortgager to postpone the raising money to pay the mortgagee, to a time when the price of raising it would be lowered, and to lower at the same time the interest upon it, from 4 to 3 per cent.

But he did not content himself with postponing the payment of the public debts, without providing resources for the discharge of them, by improvements of the revenue.

To this purpose the Post-Office bill was directed, which restrained that privilege of franking, which had been abused so grossly, and so much to the diminution

minution of the revenue; a negotiation was entered into for the prevention of smuggling from the Isle of Man; but chiefly were directed the American bills, which lay the foundation of a stable and an encreasing resource, and which are so much to the reputation of the present, and will be the support of Government in succeeding ages.

But whatever might be the produce of these and the other plans of improvement, there was one resource which could not fail him, and on which he might safely depend, because it was much in his own power: This is the maintenance of strict œconomy in the administration of the revenue. The chiefs of the Opposition had, while they possessed the Government, scattered honours and pensions with so open a hand as to load the public revenue, and decrease the value of the favours, and the gratitude of the receivers. Whether it was that they did not think it possible to carry on the business of Government by any other method, I do not know; but it is certain they accused Mr. Grenville of the same profusion; and those writers of the party, who are paid by dinners and promises for filling the public papers with abusive falsehoods, had, from time to time, assured us, that the Earl of ———, and a certain Right Honourable Gentleman, and Lady ———, &c. &c. &c. had received pensions of 2, 3, and 4,000*l.* a year.

The Minister would not suffer the public ear to be so grossly abused; he declared therefore in the most public manner, that from the time he had been entrusted with the care of the revenue, only two pensions had been granted; one springing from the compassion of his royal Master, and confirmed by the feelings of every humane mind, to the afflicted family of Lady M——h; the other bestowed

on an old and esteemed servant of the state, and one who had served with great ability and honour for a great number of years, in one of the most active and confidential departments of government.

But though Mr. Grenville's plans were drawn from the first great principles of policy, and applied with judgment to the particular situation of this country, he could not expect they would be approved by the *Opposition*, or by those to whom they could communicate false information, or false opinions. Besides that they were so contradictory to their own conduct, as to convey a strong, though indirect satyr upon that bustle and violence which had characterized their Administration; Montesquieu has shewn us, that their dislike may be grounded on the narrowness of their understandings on the subject of Finance. I am not afraid to tire the reader (if I should have any) with quotations from that judicious and elegant author. Liv. 13. chap. 15. "On n'appelle plus parmi nous un grand
" Ministre celui qui est le sage dispensateur des re-
" venus publics; mais celui qui est homme d'in-
" dustrie et qui trouve ce qu'on appelle des ex-
" pediens."

He had immediately before described the Administration of such judges — "pour nous il est
" impossible que nous ayons jamais de regle dans
" nos Finances parceque nous scavons toujours,
" que nous ferons quelque chose, et jamais ce que
" nous ferons."

But these gentlemen, though they were too angry to approve, were too weak to attack him. This conduct received the approbation of all intelligent and impartial judges, and acquired the greater

honour to himself, and gave much reputation and strength to Government.

Upon the whole, for these papers have grown to so unexpected a bulk, that it is necessary to submit the whole subject of them to the reader's view at once, the time is come, at which every honest man should take his party.

The advantages gained by the war, and secured by the peace, require judgment and application for their improvement.

A firm, and yet a gentle hand, is necessary to hold in equal balance the prerogative of the Crown, and the liberty of the people; to check the encroachments of Aristocracy, and the turbulence of sedition, without repressing that spirit of freedom, which is one of the securest guards of our constitution. A well considered plan of foreign policy is necessary, which equally avoids a busy interference, and a timid unconcern, which may consult the dignity, by preserving the power of Great Britain, and which does not exert this power, or dispense her treasures, but in support of her real and immediate interest.

A wise and extensive spirit of Legislation is necessary, to derive from our Colonies the benefits which they are capable of yielding, without stretching, with too much force, the bands of dependance, which tie them to the mother-country. It is a crisis in which honesty and frugality will scarcely restore a state almost ruined by dissipation.

At this crisis there appear two parties, who oppose each other upon the interesting points of domestic

mestic Administration, of foreign policy, and constitutional principles. From a review of the conduct of each, with respect to them, it appears, that this is not, as the gentlemen in Opposition have asserted, merely a squabble about places. They have, indeed, a right to assert this with respect to themselves, because they have a right to give to the public their own motives of action; and it is probable that *they* should not think any *measures* worth a resignation or a contest, who have by turns opposed, adopted, and enlarged the most contradictory systems of politics: but they have no right to assert this of the present Administration, which stands upon a separate and constitutional bottom, and which rejects the plans of their opponents, because they think them too expensive for the strength, and contrary to the true interests and to the constitution of this kingdom.

It appears, that this is a contest not of Men only, but of Measures; not only who shall guide us, but whither we shall be led; the former question would be but of a local and trifling importance; in the latter, the commerce, the wealth, the liberties of our latest posterity are involved.

• It is put to the option of the nation, whether they will support an Administration, which abolishes the unjust and odious distinction of party names, and invites all honest men of every name to the service of their country; or give their voices to that faction, which having, while in power, excluded a large and reputable body of men from any share of Government; used the only moment in which they thought they were reinstated, to extend this proscription to almost every man now in the service of the state.

Whether they will contribute to the re-establishment of those who did and would confine the graces and offices of the Crown to the narrow circle of a junto, or give support to the broader system which is formed by a number of able and independent noblemen, and in which every man may find his place, whose talents may profit his country, and who wishes to employ them in her service.

To the late Ministry they owe that profusion of the honours and pensions of the Crown, which diminishes their value, and encreases the number and rapacity of their claimants; the present have practised that reserve which becomes the dignity of the state, which is most favourable to our independence and riches, and which, encreasing the value of the favours, calls for an encrease of merit in the candidate, and raises them once more to become marks of honour.

It is in this crisis that Englishmen are to chuse whether they will prefer dissipation to œconomy; whether they will give their support to *the patriot*, who would load with an encrease of *military force* *fresh taxes*, and a *general excise*, a nation already weak from the wounds of an exhausting war; or to that Minister, who, with a more lenient hand, would lead us by the resources of a strict œconomy, and a gradual improvement of our revenues, to Safety, Wealth, and Power.

By the late Secretary and his party, we shall again be as deeply entangled in the perplexed interests of the Germanick body, as if we had not dear bought experience, that whoever ventures into that labyrinth is soon bewildered; they continue to dream
of

of *guarantees, subsidies, extras, quotas, and dedom-
magements*, as if we had not found too lately that
they never answered any purpose, except to those
who received them. From the present Govern-
ment, we may hope for the continuance of a plan of
policy, which is neither Austrian, Prussian, nor
even Hanoverian, but English.

They are now to declare, whether they wish to
be again governed by that party, who, having in-
sulted our liberties while they held their power,
have shewn, that they would, without scruple, sa-
crifice the strongest bulwarks of our state to regain
it; or will give support to Government in the hands
of those who have chose to risk their own reputa-
tion and power, rather than consent, though but by
their silence, to the infringement of the sacred bar-
riers of our Constitution.

Every thing has been now laid in the balance,
which seems capable of adding weight to either
scale, and I venture to affirm nothing which is not
founded in truth. The facts asserted are drawn
from public papers, and public conversation, the
only authentic and the only proper grounds on
which the judgment of the public can be formed.

They are indeed of such public notoriety, and
the consequences deducible from them are so obvi-
ous; the subjects of comparison are so important,
and the disgrace which the consideration of them
throws on *the Opposition*, is so glaring, that one
cannot help being surprized at first sight, that
that party is able still to keep up even the most
feeble echo of popular applause, and to divide with
Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Williams the favour of the
mob.

It may be worth the while to attend to the causes of this; and it will be no improper conclusion of these papers to enquire how it comes to pass, that considerations of so much importance have not yet had their full weight on the minds of the people.

And the first reason which occurs, will comprehend the motives of a very considerable, or at least a very loud corps of opposers, I mean Interest. Whenever the Ministry is against a man, that man will set himself against the Ministry. I mean to account upon this principle for the clamours of all those sub-contractors, proveditors, *sous commis*; in short, the whole suite of the war, who found their employment and their advantage in the public expence.

Add to these the whole cry of that party of the alley, who, during the variations which a war always occasions in the public funds, were ever turning the folly of others to their own profit.

It was to be expected that these should take the part they have taken; that they should endeavour to disappoint every scheme of finance, the oeconomy of which was a reproach on their friends, and disappointed their own interested views: but that they should have stood forth the champions of private interest against public good; have avowed that their Opposition to ways and means arose from their thinking them too advantageous for the State; have submitted to the odious task of endeavouring to persuade all men to profit by the distresses of the nation; that they should be capable of attempting to depreciate our advantages, to magnify our debt, to prevent any influx of money from foreigners, and even to lessen the reputation of our national credit: this conduct the Administration could

could hardly have expected from them, though, if they considered themselves only, it is what they might have wished.

But besides these, a peace necessarily takes from a great number of very honest and brave men, their immediate employment; and there are few in any station who do not rather murmur at a private misfortune than rejoice at a public advantage.

When the sum of eighteen millions, which was annually dispersed by the war, is reduced to about three, which is the peace establishment, all those who received part of the former, naturally wishing the continuance of it, will condemn an Administration, which is contriving, by every method possible, to reduce the public expence.

The sudden and considerable advantages of stock-jobbing had infused a spirit of gaming into those classes of men, from whom it naturally ought to be farthest removed, and to whose interest it is most opposite; some even of the middle ranks of our people had so long tasted the sweets of great present advantages, and had so much encreased their expences in expectation of the continuance of them, that they could not look without dislike on those who removed from them the possibility of these pleasing, though dangerous experiments, and reduced them to depend again for their success on industry and frugality.

This spirit of dissipation and hazard had, necessarily, from the length of, as well as from the frequent encouragements which it received from the war, spread more widely than might at first be perceived; all those who had imbibed it were naturally well-wishers to *the Opposition*, who had given

it rise and protection. They were indeed exactly in the situation and temper described by Lucan, lib. 1.

Non erat is populus quem pax tranquilla juvaret
 Quem sua libertas immotis paſceret armis ;
 Hinc uſura vorax, avidumque in tempore ſænus,
 Et concuſſa fides, et multis utile bellum.

But the ſupport which all theſe give to *the Oppoſition* will gradually decrease; men will by degrees return to their former, or to new employments; the ſenſe of preſent inconvenience will be leſs ſtrongly felt; the ſpirit of gaming will diminifh; and finding their happineſs in the reſumption of their former habits, they will no longer blame thoſe by whom they have been led to reſume them.

I have not indeed ſuch good hopes of thoſe who may juſtly be called ſtaunch *Oppoſition* men; I mean thoſe gentlemen who having monopolized and foreſtalled all the graces of the Crown, and excluded and proſcribed, as long as it was in their power, every man who was not of their own junto, bear with ſo little temper the reverse of their fortune; whoſe zeal for our conſtitution is exactly equal to their knowledge of it; who have learnt their principles of policy in Drawing-Rooms, and of liberty in the Antichambers of Miniſters; who are patriots, becauſe they were diſmiſſed from being placemen; who put on, for the hour of representation, the opinions of that character, with as little diſguiſe and propriety as a player does his Roman habit; and who having been the tools of Adminiſtration, are now become the mob of faction. Of their conviction, I own I deſpair; it requires ſomething more *ſubſtantial* than reaſons to influence their conduct. I do not even wiſh to ſee their converſion; the only method by which

which they can contribute to the reputation and strength of Government, is by continuing to oppose it.

But though these are desperate, there is a very large and respectable body of men, who, though much pains has been taken, and many accidental circumstances have concurred to mislead them, are, however, open to conviction; and to them principally these papers are addressed, I mean the middle ranks of men among us; those who are honest and disinterested, though sometimes mislead.

Many circumstances have contributed to deceive these men into the opinion which they have entertained of the late Secretary. The specious declarations of zeal for his country, with which he always accompanied his dissipation of her treasures in German-quarrels, amused them; and they were not immediately convinced of his duplicity, even when they saw him break off the negotiation, which he had so weakly managed, upon an interest merely German. Honest men could scarcely believe it possible, that while he was declaiming for liberty, he could be the supporter of the most oppressive taxes. The valour of as meritorious an army as ever fought for their country, had procured us the most honourable successes. He had always ascribed these to his own wisdom, and men were good-natured enough to ascribe to him the merit of the designs, without enquiring whether the most important conquests were not made upon plans of which he was utterly ignorant.

Time must be allowed for men to discard their old, and to adopt new opinions; to withdraw their esteem, even though they are convinced it is lightly grounded, from their former favourite,

and to give it to those who pursue a system of conduct, the very reverse of that which they had been accustomed to approve.

There is another, and much heavier load, to be removed, than mere opinion, though this is not a light one,

It has ever been observed, and of all countries, that the people in them naturally attribute all their misfortunes to Government for the time being; and certainly England is not an exception to this observation. The very great funded debt, contracted by the war, has laid severe taxes upon the people to discharge the interest; and the large unfunded debt, for which no provision had been made, has not only precluded the possibility of giving them any immediate relief, but made it necessary to impose on them new burthens: whilst the pressure of these is new, those who bear them will feel, and will express uneasiness; and the present Administration must submit to bear the odium of providing imposts for the discharge of debts which they had no share in contracting.

But this, which is an extensive cause of Opposition, will gradually decrease: however fashionable it may be to decry popular esteem, I never wish to see any man Minister in this country who can despise it. The acquisition of it is a just and sure basis of power, reconciles the subject to his burthens, makes him rejoice at the success of Government, and maintains the good temper and harmony of the whole system; it is so valuable that nothing is to be preferred to it, except what sometimes interferes with the attainment of, I mean the deserving it. But this can be only for a short time; the people of England have as much good humour,
and

and perhaps more solid sense than any other nation; they never have been long blind to their own interest; and without pretending to any great degree of political second sight, I will venture to assert they will not long be so now. I am encouraged to this by observing, that the character of the present Administration gains reputation, exactly in proportion to the time they have been in power, and to the occasions which have drawn forth their talents. It is known, that a very large and a very respectable body of men, whose education enables them to judge of the tendency of public measures, and whose interest most strongly leads them to adopt those which may be most beneficial to the State, are attached by the most honourable ties to the present Government, I mean the country gentlemen. The most opulent, and the most considerable body of merchants in the world, have steadily concurred in support of those, whom they see endeavouring to alleviate the burthens by which commerce is oppressed.

The minds of the independent men of all ranks are daily conciliated to a Minister, whose designs are so evidently directed to the public weal, and who, disdaining to stand on the bottom of faction, or of court intrigue, puts himself on the constitutional ground of public service; and therefore, however difficult it might be at first to pluck out the prepossessions which had taken root in the minds of many; now that time for consideration is given, and that men are at liberty to consider and weigh the political deserts of the two parties, it is certain that he who is found the lighter in the balance, must soon give place; in fact, he has done so, and the political retreat to which the late *Secretary* has confined himself, reminds me of the behaviour

of

of another person (who having been dismissed from a high station, had thrown himself into Opposition) before an approaching combat, to which he found himself unequal; and which I quote too the rather, because the last line seems applicable to the present subject, and to describe the removal of those shades of calumny, with which the partizans of Mr. Pitt have endeavoured, though in vain, to blacken the character of his opponent.

——— Look'd up, and knew
His mounted scale aloft; nor more: but fled
Murmuring, and with him fled the shades of
night.

In fact, such a system as that which is now pursued, must be approved wherever it is known; it must secure esteem and bellow reputation. The little arts of calumny and faction have tried to defame and to oppose, but in vain; those who submit to practise them, see their numbers daily diminish, recur by turns to party-clamour, and low intrigue, with equal disappointment; and behold with all the pangs of envy and of disappointed ambition, what every honest man must see with pleasure, the encreasing reputation of those whose Administration is directed by maxims of strict frugality and public justice, of English policy and of Constitutional Principles.

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