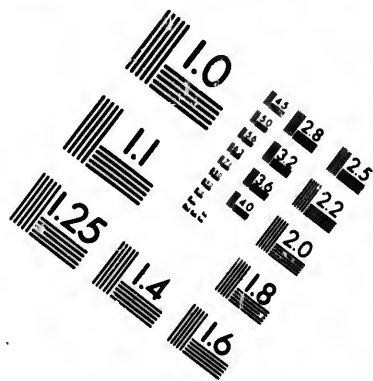
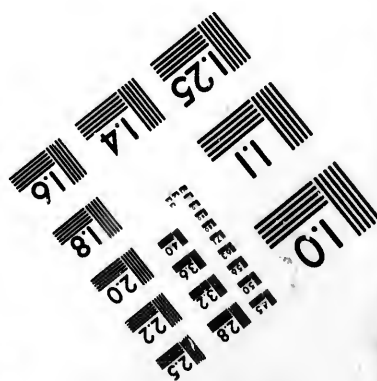
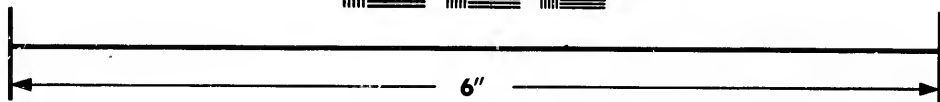




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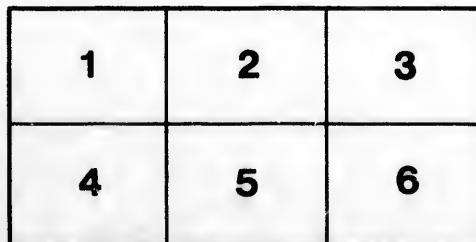
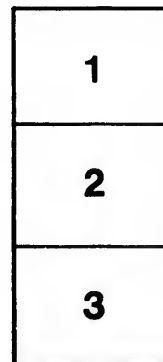
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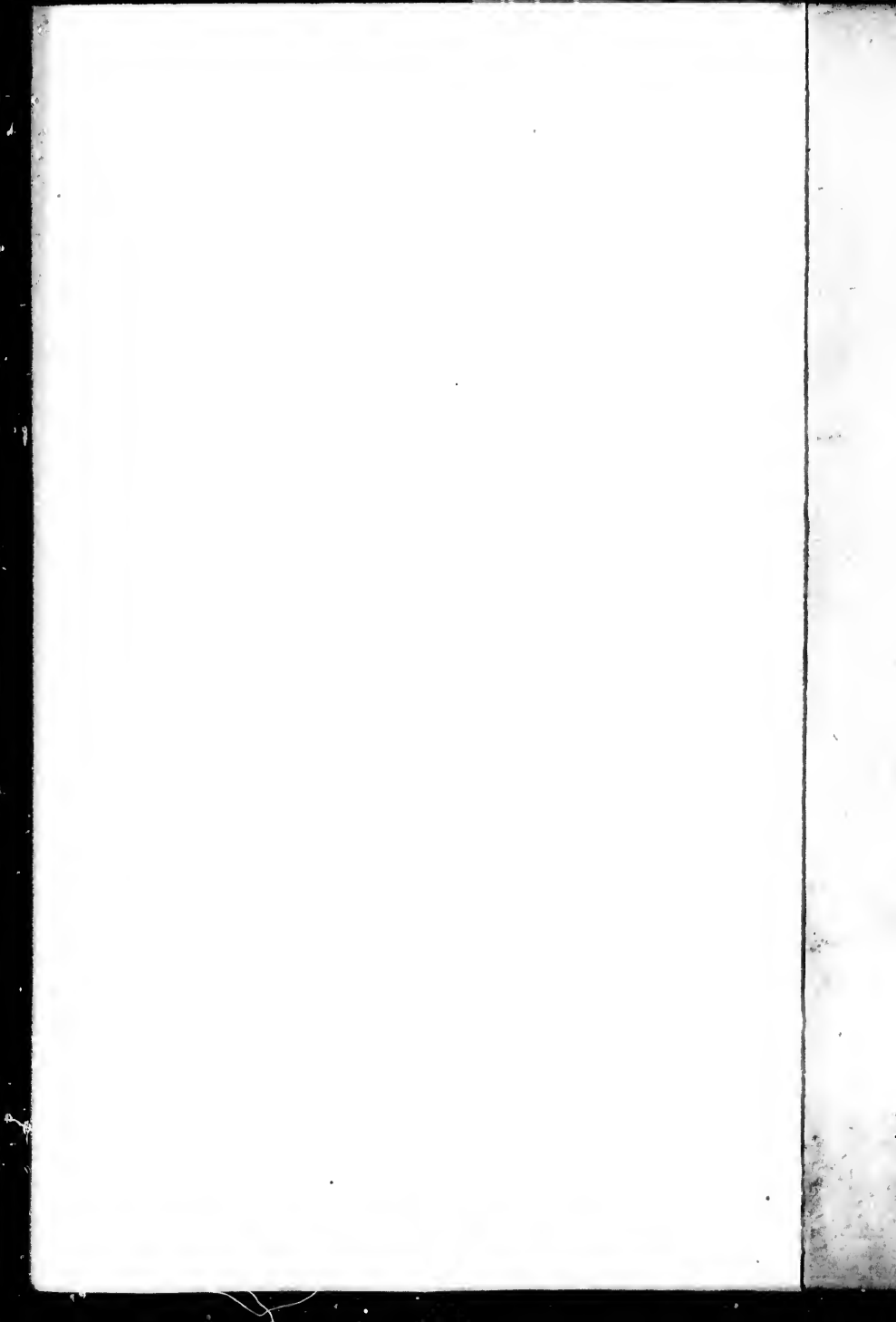
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THE
ÆQUIPOISE,
OR THE
CONSTITUTION
BALANCED.

NUMBER I.

To be continued Occasionally.

L O N D O N :

Printed for G. WOODFALL, at the *King's*
Arms, Charing-Cross.

(Price Six-pence.)

T H E

ÆQUIPOISE, &c.

IN all free Governments, the People, upon every Change in the Administration, generally separate into three Parties.

The first, and most numerous, is that of the giddy Multitude, prone to Mutability, and so fond of Novelty, that they always indulge phantastick Hopes, of great Advantages to arise from every successive Alteration in the Ministry; inconsiderately presuming, that a Reformation must naturally ensue a Revolution.

The second, though of less Weight in Numbers, is of greater Importance in Quality, from the superior Rank and Abilities of the Partizans. It consists of the Friends and Adherents to the last Administration, with the seceding Ministry at their Head. They endeavour to avail themselves of the blind

Impetuosity of the former Party, who are susceptible of any Impression, and eager to embrace the last born Offspring of Delusion. Therefore, by industriously creating groundless Distrusts, disseminating unjust Suspicions, and fomenting unnatural Jealousies, they labour to instigate the unstable Populace, to join in the Clamour of Opposition.

The third Party, though of most Estimation, too often has the least Influence. It is formed of such, who are prudently conducted by the even and steady Guidance of *unbiased* Judgment. Who have Fortitude to exert their own Reason, and Integrity to pursue its Direction. It is the Duty of these, to keep the *Ballance* even, between the two former.

This Office, the Author of the *ÆQUIPOISE* presumes to exercise; and will open it, by a candid Examination of the Paper called the *CONSTITUTION*. In the Course of this Disquisition, the Public will judge of his Impartiality. If an Eagerness in Favour of his own Opinion, should lead him into an Error, he will gladly attend to the Documents of Correction; if an indiscreet Warmth, in Opposition to seeming Injustice, should hurry him into an Appearance of Rudeness, he will patiently submit to the Severity of Reproof; and he will feel no other Pain, than that of having deserved it.

“ The

The CONSTITUTION, is wrote with much *affected* Moderation, *pretended* Impartiality, and *professed* Politeness; but in reality, is penned with a great deal of elaborate Artifice, and disguised Acrimony.

It is preceeded by an *Address* to a *great Man*, and in the first Page surprizes the Reader with an Assertion, that—" Jealousies
 " even of *Prejudice* and *Partiality* will de-
 " serve our Attention, and our most *unjusti-*
 " *fiable* Apprehensions for Liberty, will al-
 " ways demand Respect and Reverence from
 " the Patrons of our political Freedom."

This is indeed a pleasant Way of obviating all Objections. For if we are to reverence such *unjustifiable* Apprehensions, who shall dare to dispute with this self erected Idol of blind Adoration? But so far from demanding Respect and Reverence from the Patrons of political Freedom, they merit their Contempt and Indignation; for by raising *false* Alarms, they frequently occasion *real* Invasions of Liberty; and afford a Pretence of exerting illicit Authority, to repel unjust Opposition.

The Writer, addressing himself to the great Man, proceeds thus—" You, Sir,
 " have excluded some Men most eminently
 " capable of serving their Country. You
 " have introduced others into the Adminis-
 " tration, *new to Business*, nor yet distinguished
 " by, or *believed* to have any superior Abilities.

We

We will not be so rash in our Negatives, as the Author is bold in his Affirmatives. Yet certainly the one, would at least have as much Title to Credit with the Reader, as the other ; where they are equally unsupported by Arguments. But we owe too much Respect to the Public, to solicit their Assent without offering Reasons to their Judgment.

We will not presume to say, that none but the present Ministry, are capable of serving their Country, or *believed* to have any superior abilities. We hope that our learned and ingenious Nation, affords *more* Men of distinguished Talents, than the few who compose the small Body of the Administration. But we will ask the Writer whether the noble DUKÉ who presides at the *Treasury*—Who has been Viceroy of a neighbouring Kingdom, and who filled his Station with Honour—Whether HE is *new* to Business, and *believed* to have no superior Abilities? We will ask him, whether the noble EARL who is at the Head of the *Navy*, who from a long Course of Experience and Application, has gained a perfect Knowledge of the Nature of our Constitution, and the Interest of the Kingdom, of which he has given frequent and signal Testimonies in the *Senate of Great Britain*—Whether HE is *new* to Business, and *believed* to have no superior Abilities. We will ask him, whether a *worthy* COMMONER, who has given public Marks of Genius and political Know-

Knowledge, and who has the Honour to have had a principal Share in penning that accurate Reply, in the Memorials relating to the Contests about *Nova-Scotia*—Whether HE is *new* to Business, and *believed* to have no superior Abilities? We could continue our Queries to many other Members in the present Administration, but we will not tire the Reader's Attention, nor do further Violence to the Author's Recollection.

Perhaps he would insinuate that they are *new* to Business, because they are young in Office. But as the great Ministers of State, are neither immortal in their civil or political Capacities, it will unfortunately happen, that Veterans must be succeeded by Novices. And such a Succession, so far from being injurious, has generally proved advantageous to the Public.

Experience demonstrates, that the Conduct of Statesmen is most commendable, and most beneficial to the Community, while they totter in the Infancy of Power. As they grow up to Maturity, Time, which increases their Knowledge, adds to their Presumption, enlarges their Influence, and at Length confirms them in the Plenitude of Authority. It is then, that Confidence banishes Caution, Arrogance disdains Admonition, and Ambition triumphs over Integrity.

We will readily allow that being recent in Office, they may be Strangers to the *Forms* of Business, which they of the nicest Modesty need

need not *be ashamed to learn from their Clerks*: But we will be bold to say, that they may be more competent Masters of *Essentials*, than their Predecessors, who were skilled in all the *Minutiae* of their Employments.

But if we only consider the present Ministry, as Members of the *legislative Body*, surely it would be paying an ill Compliment to our *Representatives*, to suppose them *new* to *political* Business. It were merely nugatory, to advance further Arguments, in Contraversion of such self-confuted Affeверations.

In the 9th Page, the Writer observes; that,
 “ while our present Calamities were advancing
 “ upon us—Mr. P—— continued in a Sta-
 “ tion that gave him an Influence over the
 “ Conduct of the Minister. His Advice
 “ might have animated his Disapprobation,
 “ awed him to Measures more honourable
 “ and advantageous to the Nation.”

These Reflections are natural—But the succeeding Sentence, which insinuates that Mr. P—— chose rather to possess himself in the *Complacency* of his Employment is highly ungenerous. Will the Author presume to say that HE was *Complacent* in his Employment, who is known to have advised, spoken *, and voted against Measures which he apprehended to be dishonourable and disadvantageous to the
 Nation,

* Only to mention one Instance—Mr. P—— strenuously opposed the two Brothers in the Debate relating to the Trade of the *African* Company.

Nation, even while he enjoyed a Post the most lucrative under the Government.

It is evident that he was not frugal of his Advice, nor backward to testify his Disapprobation. But he was conscious that nothing but Despair of Amendment, would countenance the Violence of Opposition, and justify an Attempt to work the Expulsion of the Ministry. He therefore endeavoured rather to procure a Reformation as a friendly Monitor, than occasion a Revolution as a virulent Opposer.

He had stronger Hopes of Success from amicable Expedients, as he received repeated Assurances of a Change in the System of Affairs, from a noble Person, who, in Justice to his own high Character, might reasonably be expected to adhere to his Word, and to be incapable of debasing his Dignity, by temporizing Evasions.

But when inexcusable Violations of Promise, sufficiently evinced him of his Instability, then he justly concluded that further Confidence would be a Reproach to his Patriot Character: Then he thought it his Duty to exert the indignant Spirit of Opposition to procure the Removal of a M—r from so great a Share in political Concerns, who was found unfaithful to his political Engagements.

This Explanation founded on Circumstances notorious to every one who pays Attention to public Transactions, sufficiently apologizes for

a Conduct, which needs no other Vindication, than that of being fairly represented. And this Explanation, is happily corroborated by the succeeding Observation of the Author himself — Which conveys an involuntary Reproof, on his own precipitate injurious Insinuation.

After having drawn the Portrait of the last Minister with a severe, let others determine, with how faithful a Pencil, he drops the Digression, and again addresses himself to the great Personage in the following Words.

“ Such was the Minister, whom till last
 “ Year you thought it Patriotism to support.
 “ That you declined joining with him in the
 “ late Revolution of our Politicks, is univer-
 “ sally approved. Besides all other, your
 “ own private Reasons, you had the Ex-
 “ perience of a Gentleman who had made an
 “ unsuccessful Trial of his G—’s Firmness to
 “ his Engagements.” Here we are told from
 the Writer’s own Mouth, that the great Man
 is not the only one who has experienced the
 Fragility of reiterated Assurances.

In the subsequent Page, he says to this Gentleman, “ You might have been indebted
 “ for an Example of Temper and Modera-
 “ tion. In a wise and honest Conviction of
 “ the pernicious Effects of Faction and Op-
 “ position, he declined accepting from his
 “ Majesty’s Grace and Pleasure, that very
 “ Power, of which, *permit me to think*, you
 “ have

“ have violently taken Possession, by Methods
 “ wholly *unknown to our Constitution.*”

Who can this modest self-denying Gentleman be? What? Resist His Majesty's Pleasure! Decline accepting that Power which His Majesty graciously offered! And suffer it to be seized by Methods wholly *unknown to our Constitution.* What? Leave supplicating R—ty in Distress! * Suffer his *Closet to be stormed, and his sacred Person violated by one factious Family!*—Excessive Moderation! Unkind Desertion! Ungenerous Pertinacity!

But the Gentleman it seems was apprehensive of the Effects of Faction and Opposition. Indeed! And how did his Refusal to comply with His Majesty's Pleasure, remove those Apprehensions? Could he humbly suppose, *himself alone* to be the hated Object of Opposition? Might he not reasonably conclude that the Power enjoyed under the free Grant of the Royal Favour, was more likely to prove a peaceable Tenure, than *that*, usurped by Methods wholly *unknown to our Constitution?* Could he suppose that *such* Power, so violently wrested, could be quietly maintained?

Perhaps the cautious Gentleman thought he could acquire Honour with more Security, by *heading* Opposition, than by combating against it. Perhaps the Satisfaction of perplexing a Rival, was, in his Estimation, preferable to that of serving his Country.

B 2

Perhaps,

Perhaps, he rather chose to shake *three* Kingdoms by the Rage of Faction, than hold a short-lived Pre-eminence in *one*.

It would have been kind in the Writer, to have explained by what Methods *unknown to our Constitution*, the S—y has taken Possession of Power. Has he stolen the S—s? Did he come in a rebellious Manner and demand them with Force and Arms? Indeed the Writer modestly says, *permit me to think*, you have violently taken Possession, &c.—To be sure, no Man can hinder him from thinking; but in Justice to his own Character it would have been prudent in him to have suppressed his Thoughts, till he could bring Reasons to support them. We never heard of any Violence used by the S—y in obtaining the S—s. Indeed, if we believe his Enemies, His M—y did not part with them with that Alacrity, nor beg and pray of him to accept them, in the very condescending Manner in which he pressed the Gentleman, whose Temper and Moderation the Writer so highly extolls.

We are apt to think that this Gentleman is no Stranger to us, by the Pains which are taken to place him in a favourable Light, and to shade his Motives with false Colouring, by making him decline Power from an honest Conviction of the pernicious Effects of Faction and Opposition, while it is evident that he is strenuously grasping at it, by the Exertion of all their baneful Influence.

If this Gentleman should be one of those * *eminent Men capable of serving their Country*, whom the S—y is said to have excluded. Then, who can blame the S—y ? His own Knowledge of Mankind, strengthened by past Experience, must deter him from a Connection with one, who, whatever his Abilities may be, has given no very inviting Proofs of his Integrity.

At the Time of Sir *Robert Walpole's* Resignation, when he was succeeded by his Rival Mr. *Stanhope*, a Pamphlet was published, called the *Defection considered*, from whence I beg Leave to quote the following Sentence.

—“ A brave Man, if driven to Extremity, “ would rather employ one, who had been “ an open Enemy, than a *treacherous Friend*; “ who has convinced the World, that there “ is no *Tie* capable to hold him ; but that he “ is ready to sacrifice every Thing to his *In-terest, Ambition, or Revenge.*” As the Passions of Mankind are, in all Ages the same, and will in all Ages produce the same Effects, probably there may be one among us to whom this Description may be adapted ; if there is, let the Application fall on the Character known to deserve it.—But to return to our Author.

In the 13th Page, he asks—“ Is it possible to behold without Astonishment that “ first Demand of Power, which offered “ Violence

" Violence to the Constitution through all its
 " Parts; to the Majesty of our Sovereign, the
 " Dignity of our Nobles, and the Freedom of
 " our Representatives? Can we behold with-
 " out Indignation one whole Family extend-
 " ing itself through all the great Offices of
 " State, and presiding over every Branch of
 " the Administration."

How? are all the Members of the Admini-
 stration related to the S——y? Surely it must
 be by Adoption then. For certainly very
 few of them stand in a Degree of Kindred to
 him by Consanguinity of Blood. The noble
Duke who presides at the T———y,—is he
 related to him? The C——r of the Exchequer
 —is he related to him? The Presidents at the
 Pay-Office—are they related to him? —
 Let the Public, to whom the Writer has ap-
 pealed, determine, whether he deserves the
 Character of a *faithful* and *impartial* Histo-
 rian, or—we are indebted to him for the live-
 ly Contrast—That of a *turbulent, seditious*
 Libeller.

But how has the S———y offered Vio-
 lence to the Constitution in all its Parts?
 What? Because he has prevailed on his So-
 vereign, to afford him the Assistance of Men,
 of whose Zeal in their Country's Cause he is
 assured, and on whose friendly Attachment
 to him, and to each other, he can securely de-
 pend.

If this is all, surely the Nation is beholden to his, call it if you please, Partiality. We shall not now have Misconduct shifted from one to another, and while two or three share a Load of Guilt which has almost crushed a flourishing Nation, yet each of them affect to appear innocent. The Success of political Operations, depends, in a great Measure, on a free unreserved Intercourse among the several Members of the Administration, and the proper Exertion of their *joint* Influence; and how can we expect the Kingdom to prosper while each of them, with *shameful Apology*, confesses himself a Stranger to the Negotiations of the rest?

But the different Branches of the Administration, will *now* co-operate with amicable, and we may hope, with happy Concert. They will confer together with open and friendly Participation, and will only conceal their Councils, from their Enemies. Our Statesmen now, will not run different Ways *blind-folded*, and jostle together, like NAT. LEE's Gods, in the *Dark*, till they overset the Nation, by falling foul of each other.

These unjust and unbecoming Reflections, are the more unpardonable in the Author, as he seems to be thoroughly sensible of the Regard due to Decency and good Manners. For towards the Close of his Address, he very properly, I will own politely, says *—"The
" Writer

* Vide CONSTITUTION, Page 25.

“ Writer of this Paper will be more ashamed
 “ of any personal Rudeness, if it should escape
 “ his Attention, than you can be offended at
 “ it. He readily acknowledges your Charac-
 “ ter above being treated with Petulance or
 “ Levity, he disclaims all Attempts to Wit,
 “ and surely our present national Circum-
 “ stances are ill suited to Pleasantry.”

How then shall we account for the forego-
 ing insulting Expressions, and for the subse-
 quent indecent Sallies, where he ironically in-
 timates that the S—y’s very Name conveys
 a Right of Claim to Honours and Employ-
 ments. And then makes an idle Allusion to
 what he calls a pleasant Miracle in *Rabelais*,
 who describes *Pantagruel* sheltering his Army
 from the Rain with only *half his Tongue* ;
 which this judicious and *well-bred* Writer
 calls an emblematic Image of Eloquence ?—
 Is there no Petulance, no Levity, no ill-suited
 Pleasantry, here ? Is this all solid Reason,
candid Argument, and courtly Complaisance ?
 Or is it not rather a shameful Instance, that
 Man’s Conduct ill corresponds with his Pro-
 fessions ?

But this is smooth Urbanity, to what follows ;
 when alluding to the Head of the N—y, he
 observes,—“ If when Experience and Know-
 “ ledge in Profession have failed in the Desti-
 “ nation of our Fleets, and the Choice of their
 “ Commanders ; if a total Inexperience, and
 “ an IGNORANCE that can hardly be sup-
 “ posed

“ posed to know the Points of the Compass ;
 “ if they can succeed, let the Winds and
 “ Waves be our Pilots.”—As to the Mode
 of Expression in this Sentence, it is too gross to
 dwell upon : Let the Author take Shame to
 himself! As to the Matter it contains, Proofs
 drawn from past Experience, carry stronger
 Conviction, than all the Force of Arguments ;
 therefore, the Conduct of the Duke of *B—d*
 and the Earl of *W——ea*, will spare me
 the Trouble of an Answer.

In the 21st Page, he forgets himself, and
 inconsiderately proceeds thus,—“ Surely, Sir,
 “ however popular some Months ago the
 “ Resolution of sending the *Hessians* away,
 “ you cannot in earnest think it expedient at
 “ present when we must necessarily send so
 “ large a Body of our national Troops to
 “ *America.*”—No! Why not? Where is
 the Danger? I appeal to the Author’s own
 incontestible Authority to prove that there
 can be no Danger : For in the 11th Page,
 after having portrayed the last Minister, he
 says—“ This Minister has left you a Fleet su-
 “ perior to that of your Enemies, *and an Army*
 “ *sufficient to repel and engage an ignominious*
 “ *Invasion at Home, yet send our Colonies a*
 “ *vigorous and effectual Supply.*”—If this be
 true, as we are ready to believe it is, where-
 fore is it inexpedient to send the *Hessians*
 away, when we are provided with such a
 Defence at Home, and at the same Time
 C furnished

furnished with such Supplies for our Colonies? This palpable Inconsistence, proves how unavoidably Men contradict themselves, when their Language flows from their Pens, instead of their Hearts.

In the next Page, he asks—"What is there in the Abilities of Mr. *P*— to promise which another Gentleman could not have executed?" For my own Part, I cannot find the Purport of this invidious Comparison, nor can I conceive to what End it serves, unless it is to betray a *Secret* concerning that same *Gentleman*, which his Prudence inclines him to conceal, but which his Resentment forces him to discover. This Indiscretion only convinces us that great Men when they are agitated by Passion, will expose their Imbecility.

I now come to the Recapitulation, where he finishes his Address, to the great Personage, whom he declares he should be ashamed to offend with Rudeness, in the following polite and inoffensive Terms.—"That it be-
 " speaks an over-weaning of Vanity, rather
 " than a Consciousness of Abilities, to refuse
 " an honourable, and, as it seems to many, a
 " necessary Assistance: That there is a
 " Wildness of Spirit in Ambition, fond of
 " Projects hazardous, and vast, and above all
 " human Power to execute: That we have
 " Reason to fear your Success in such Projects,
 " if possible, would be almost as formidable

" to

“ to the Constitution of your Country, as the
 “ Conquests of the public Enemy, since it
 “ matters not by whom we are enslaved.

Here we are afraid the disappointed Gentleman whose *honourable and necessary Assistance has been refused*, discovers himself again. For surely nothing but the Rage of Disappointment, could dictate such absurd, extravagant, and irritated Suggestions. But by what magic Virtue does the Writer presume to determine that the S——y's Projects are hazardous, and above all human Power to execute? —When but two Pages before he says,—“ This Address cannot be supposed
 “ to mean either Blame or Reproach, Sir, to
 “ your Administration, since nothing has been
 “ done in it, *nothing even attempted*.” —
 If nothing has been *even attempted*, how then can this sagacious and amazing Gentleman pretend to assert, that his Projects are above all human Power to execute, when it is impossible for him to know what Projects he intends to pursue? That there is a Wildness of Spirit in Ambition, we will readily allow, and perhaps we might be justified in affirming, that no great Patriot, no eminent Genius in any Character of Life, ever signalized himself without an Infusion of this Spirit. As to the Possibility of his enslaving his Country, by his *unattemptable* Projects, it seems too ludicrous an Insinuation to require an Answer. And till the Writer demonstrates that the S——y

is, or is ever likely to be in those tempting Circumstances, which invited the Usurpation of *Oliver Cromwell*, and other Invaders of Liberty, one would be inclined to conclude, that he only meant to be pleasant; if the serious Air of succeeding Repetitions, did not destroy this favourable Construction.

Before we proceed to consider the second Part, we will observe that a Vein of latent Malevolence runs through this whole *Address*. The Author attempts to give an invidious Cast to the most meritorious Qualities. The great Man's unrivalled Elocution, is an * *Altercation of somewhat, too civilly called Eloquence : His public Disinterestedness is a † boasted Contempt of Money*. Boasted! By whom? Indeed his Friends have extolled the noble Self-Denial; And every generous Mind will be zealous to commend, and publish, what deserves Applause. Surely it is still an Honour in *Britain*, to be eloquent and generous—And while Eloquence and Generosity are held in honourable Estimation, the Writer's Endeavour to depreciate those excelling Qualities, will be as unsuccessful, as it is unjust. If he has the least Share of *real* Modesty, he will *blush* at his own Weakness; if he has the least Spark of *real* Virtue, he will *weep* at his own Injustice.

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* Vide CONSTITUTION, Page 3.

† Vide CONSTITUTION, Page 5.

We come now to the second Part, where the Author tells us, that, " he would not " willingly call Despotism Government: " For that absolute Obedience is Slavery; " to compell that Obedience is Tyranny."— But it rather appears to us, that Obedience on one Side, and Dominion on the other, whether despotic or limited, comprehend all the Essentials of Government, though not of good Government. That our first Ideas of Government, as he says, suppose a System, may be disputed: And indeed if the Author's Reasoning is just, they cannot suppose a System; for our first Ideas of Government are of the despotic Kind: But to admit of it— Perhaps we should arrogate too much to ourselves, to insist that the Government at *Constantinople* is not systematical as well as our's. Indeed their System must be more fallible, which depends on the Will of a single Person. But though there is not originally any established covenanted System, yet, in the Course even of Despotism itself, an *implied* System arises, which is so well known to the governed, that, whenever that System is violated, Slaves as they are, they have the Spirit to destroy their Tyrants.

In the subsequent Pages the Author displays a Profusion of historical Learning. He tells us what Forms of Government most nearly resembled that of *Great-Britain*. He expatiates on the Usurpation of *Oliver Cromwell*,
and

and concludes that it was owing to some Defect in the Formation of our Constitution. He then proceeds with great Caution to point out where that Defect lies, in the following Terms—" Let me be permitted to say, that " there enters too much of the democratical " into our Form of Government." Indeed! If then there is too much of democratical in our Government, if the Prevalence of popular Power is to be dreaded, why will the Author add to its Influence, by appealing to the Passions of the Multitude in an inflamed Harangue, and endeavouring to mislead their giddy Apprehensions by malicious Intimations, and fallacious Reasonings?

I hope I shall be justified in using the foregoing warm Expressions, by quoting the following Sentence. " If then in any future " Period of our History an Orator should arise " in the H—— of C—— precipitate " and impetuous in his Ambition ; hold to " imagine, and desperate to act ; an Enemy " to the Administration, and not a Friend to " the Constitution ; if such an Orator should " arise, where is the Man who shall presume " to assure us, that our Liberties are not in " Danger?"——Upon what Foundation, can the Author, who himself confesses that nothing has been done, *nothing even attempted*, pretend to say, that the great Man is desperate to *act* ? As to his being an Enemy to the Administration, every one, who is a Lover
of

of his Country, must have been a Foe to the the last. But why not a Friend to the Constitution? Would it not have been candid to have suppressed these Reflections, till Facts might authorise the bold Insinuations? But perhaps these *libellous* Contrasts were adopted to delude the Judgment by the Beauty of Antithesis. Such a culpable Attempt to impose upon weak Understandings by Sound and Sophistry, is a deplorable Instance, that Envy and Animosity triumph over Sense and Honour.

But he pursues the Violence of Invective, and draws to a nearer and more personal Illustration. " If this Orator (says he) should
 " arise in a Period of national Distress, &c.
 " — The Subjects upon which he exerts his
 " fatal Eloquence are of all others most suited
 " to awaken and engage our Attention, to
 " impell, to irritate, to inflame Apprehensions
 " of exorbitant Power in the Crown; the
 " Abuses of Prerogative, &c.—Which even
 " in the confused unconnected Speeches of
 " *Cromwell* could infatuate our People to
 " believe and be enslaved."

Were not the Subject too serious, one might smile to hear a Man describing all the fatal Effects of Eloquence, and at the same Time employing all the Eloquence he is Master of, to *impell*, to *irritate*, to *inflame*. But to what Purpose is all his pompous Declamation? Why is *Oliver Cromwell* mentioned

so often ? I am sorry to understand the Reason ! Because I am shocked to find one of my own Species capable of aspersing Patriotism by the most odious and defamatory Endeavours. But their Absurdity is an Antidote against their Malignity. For where is the Analogy between those Days and the present Times ? Has our sacred Sovereign attempted to stretch the Prerogative ? Are his Subjects dissatisfied with his Government ? Is the S—y General of our Forces ? Certainly nothing but the Fury of Resentment could transport the Writer so far beyond the Limits of Reason and Humanity.

He proceeds to demonstrate the Danger of a preponderating Democracy, and tells us, “ That the *Roman Tribunes* established to “ preserve the Plebeians from the Oppression “ of the Senators soon assumed the whole “ Power of the Republic.” What does this prove ? What just Comparison can be made between the *Roman Tribunes*, and our Representatives ? The *Roman Tribunes* were by Law held to be *sacrosancti*, and had the Power of interposing in senatorial Debates, by the single Word *voto*. But Representatives, however respectable and august, derive no Authority from being esteemed *sacred* ; nor can one among them make his *Intercessio*, by uttering his lordly *voto*. The *Roman Tribunes*, at their first Institution were but *two* in Number. The *Plebeians* had a Desire to increase

increase them, which the Patricians at first opposed, but they soon discovered their Error, and by prudently permitting them to add to their Number, they diminished their Authority. But our Representatives consists of a happy Medium ; they are neither so numerous to swell into a popular Assembly, nor so few as to endanger the Concurrence of the whole Body, in a fatal Design on public Liberty.

Surely a more daring Insult was never offered to a H—— of C—— than to suppose *,
 “ that they may bring with them the Passions,
 “ Interests and Prejudices of their Consti-
 “ tuents ; and that Eloquence must have
 “ chosen its Party with very little Judgment,
 “ if it cannot influence the Passions of a Mul-
 “ titude.”—That they ought to bring the
Interests of their Constituents with them, is undeniable ; but to intimate that they may be loaded with their Passions and Prejudices, and influenced by Eloquence, like a Multitude, is surely the Extravagance of Licentiousness. Do the Advantages of Birth and Education, make no Difference between our Representatives, and the Populace ? Are *they* to be deluded by specious Harangues ; No ! There are too many Members of sound Judgment among them, to oppose the Prevalence of such Delusion. Eloquence must be enforced by Reason, to gain the Attention of a *British* Senate.

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The Author draws to a Conclusion by recommending *Diffidence*. I willingly join with him in the Recommendation. But *Diffidence* has its proper Bounds : Which the judicious, impartial, and unprejudiced alone can discern. I am sensible that *Professions* of Impartiality, will avail me little with the Publick. Their Judgment, not my Declarations, will determine my Character. With Regard to the great Personage, whom I have endeavoured to rescue from the foul Hands of Calumny and Defamation, I will not venture to say that he will remedy all our Evils, heal all our Sufferings, and restore the Nation to Honour and Prosperity. If his Morals and Abilities weighed against the Capacity and Integrity of his Predecessors, should be found to preponderate, yet I will not from thence alone, rashly conclude that his future Conduct will correspond with his present Character.

The best Dispositions have been corrupted by Power. *Jugurtha* a Volunteer under *Scipio* in *Numantia*, and *Jugartha*, King of *Numidia* was the same Man, under very different Characters. Therefore we ought not only to consider what Qualifications are necessary for the Exercise of Power, but examine also by what Means such Power was acquired, and the Method of Acquisition may direct us to judge of the Probability of any future Abuses of Authority.

If a Minister should glide smoothly into Office, assisted by powerful Connections, and supported by an extensive Influence over dependant B——ghs, however eminently qualified and well-disposed, he may appear at the Time of his Promotion, yet it is much to be feared, lest the Intoxication of Superiority should deprave his Nature; and the Security of offending, should tempt him to an Abuse of Power.

If on the contrary, instead of being promoted by the factious Cabal of great and powerful Partizans, he should be advanced at the unanimous Desire of a distressed People, solely influenced by their Confidence in his experienced Virtues—If, it should be publicly allowed, that the Hand which invested him with Authority, moved with Reluctance, then he may say with MARIUS *, *All my Hopes are in myself; my own good Conduct and Integrity must support me, for I can have no other Dependance.*

Therefore, as he cannot rely on partial Protection against Abuses of Power, we may reasonably expect that *his* Administration will be successful, which can only be sustained by Wisdom and Virtue: And to entertain any Distrust of *his* future Behaviour, would rather be an Indication of inexcusable Prejudice, than of justifiable Diffidence.

* *Mibi spes Omnes in Memet sitæ; quas necesse est et Virtute, et Innocentia tutari: Nam alia infirma sunt.* SALLUST.

