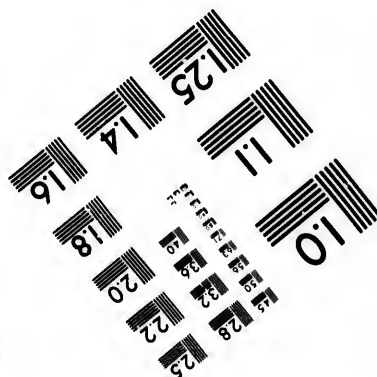
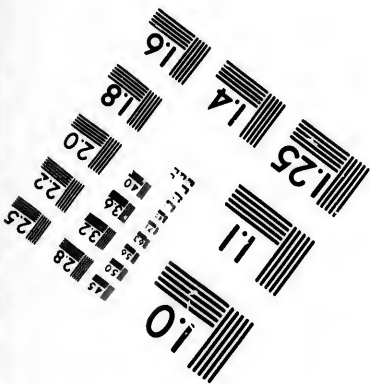
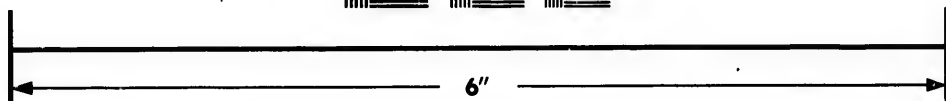
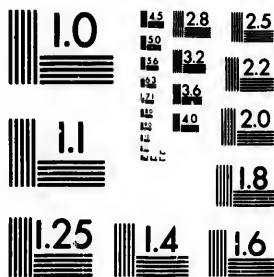


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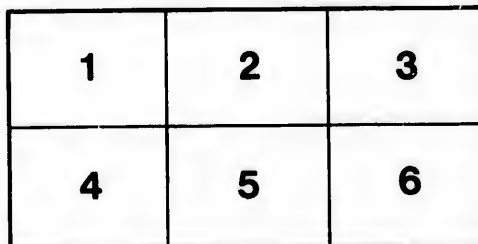
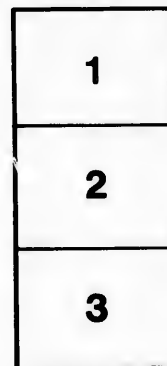
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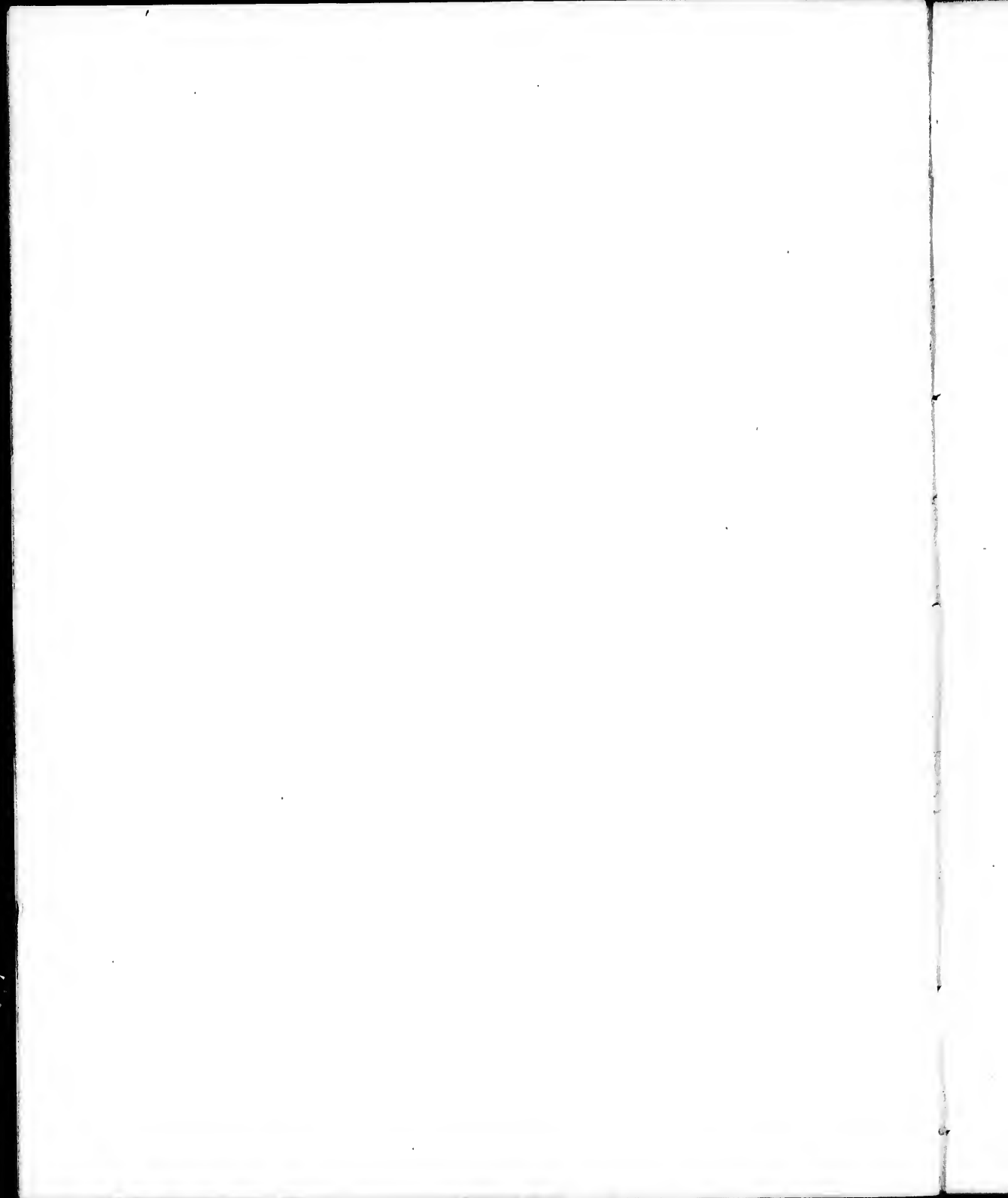
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O N T H E  
M E A S U R E S  
O F T H E  
P R E S E N T A D M I N I S T R A T I O N .

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Methinks a Civil Test might be contrived, and prove very convenient, to distinguish those that own the Revolution: Principles, from such as Tooth and Nail oppose them.

MOLESWORTH.

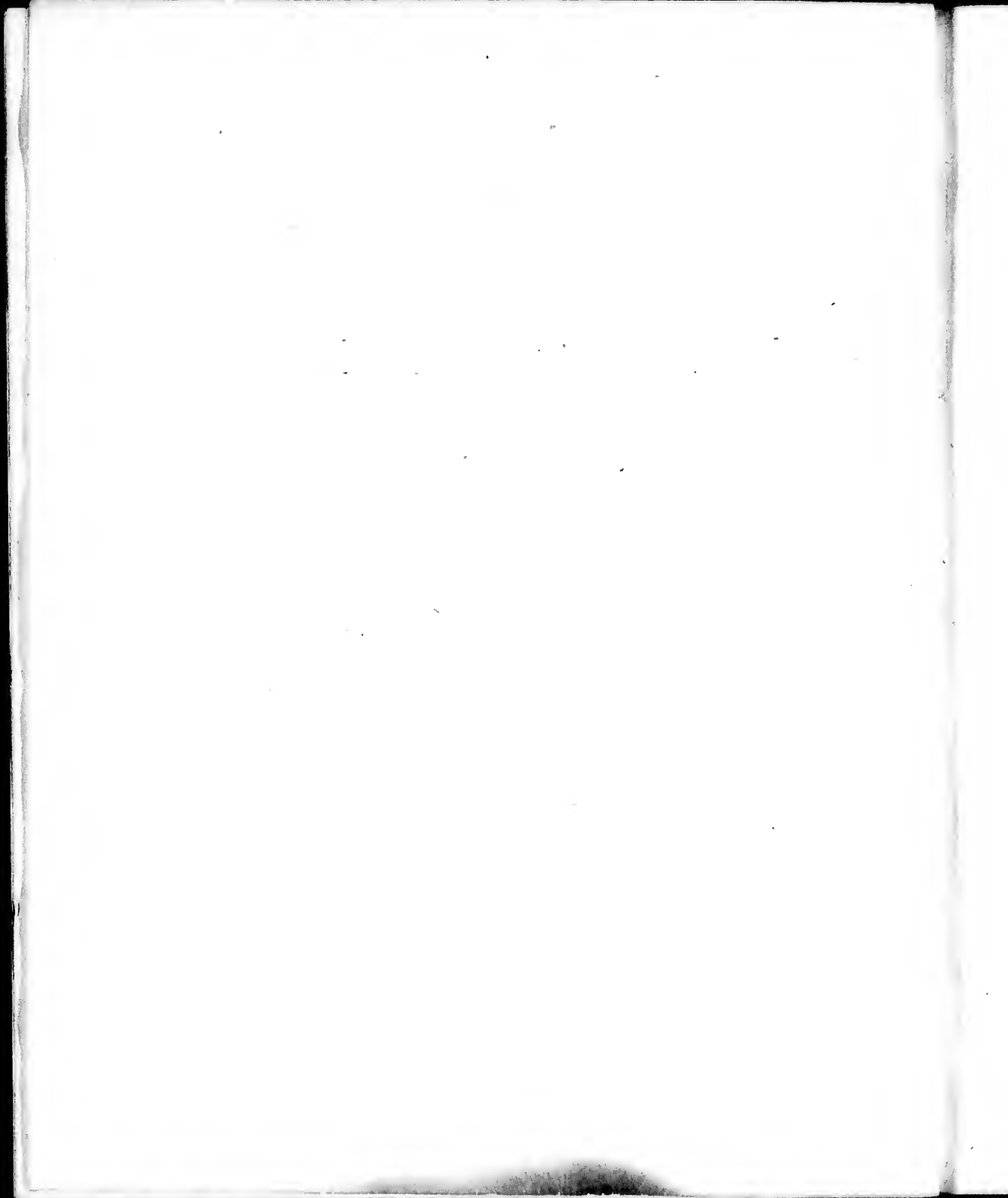
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S E R I O U S  
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O N T H E  
M E A S U R E S  
O F T H E  
P R E S E N T A D M I N I S T R A T I O N .

 H E N E V E R any one presumes, in conversation, to find fault with the present administration, I have observ'd that the answer is always given, which was first thrown out, in his own justification, by one of the leaders of the party in the House of Commons, " that this " is an opposition not to measures, but to men ;" and this answer is supported by a challenge, to produce any instance of mal-administration, since the accession of the present m——. The very



very short time, during which he has enjoy'd a plenitude of power, makes it, I own, rather difficult to shew the fallacy of this reasoning; but as I think myself enabled, from a close survey of his proceedings, fairly to engage, upon this point, with those who defend him, I shall endeavour coolly, and without any violence of party, to examine the truth of the fact; confining myself, at present, to consider the administration in this light only, how far they have, in their measures, adopted Revolution principles, or, to what degree, they have exerted the spirit of **TORYISM**.

The Motto, which I have prefix'd to these sheets, is taken from a composition that deserves, at this time, to be particularly studied by every Englishman; it is the preface to the translation of Hottoman's Franco-Gallia, containing Mr. Moleworth's profession of his political faith, or, in other words, the definition of a true **WHIG**. It was written in the year 1711, at a time, and under circumstances, perhaps not very different from the present, and breathes such sentiments of liberty and patriotism, as will make it, at all times, acceptable to every true lover of this **CONSTITUTION**. One of the great outlines of the present administration, and which has been carried to a degree unknown since the reign of Charles the second, is an open and declared profession of increasing the power of the Crown, by creating influence and dependencies upon it, in both Houses of  
Parlia-

Parliament. In the year 1711, when the **TORIES** were endeavouring to overturn the **WHIG** administration, that had reduced the power of France so low, and were projecting the infamous treaty of Utrecht, Burnet says, " They, finding the House of Lords could not be brought to favour their designs, resolv'd to make an experiment that none of our Princes had ventured upon in former times; a resolution was taken of making twelve Peers at once." What has been the conduct of the present m—— under similar circumstances? Has he not advis'd the creation of sixteen new Peerages, not indeed at once, that would have been too explicit a declaration of his motives, but all in the space of two years; and not content with this, he has likewise advis'd the giving pensions to a great number of that house, under the denomination indeed of Lords of the bed-chamber; but as the number of those Lords has been increas'd in the present reign, from twelve to twenty-two, the fact is, that, by whatever name they are call'd, the K—— has so many more servants, in his pay, in that house, and the m—— has the rod of deprivation hanging over their heads, which has lately fallen most heavily against those, who have presum'd to exercise their freedom of voting against what he recommended. But, in the other house, and where it is more material, this measure has been carried much farther; we are inform'd from history, that, from the time of the Revolution, it has been the characteristic mark of those who oppos'd any increase of power

in the Crown, to contrive by laws, and every other method, to prevent the influence of the Crown in that house. Several acts of parliament have been pass'd, to limit the number of officers, who receiv'd their places from the Crown, to have seats in the House of Commons, and one particularly during the WHIG administration of Queen Anne, which declares, that no person possess'd of an office created after such a period, should be capable of a seat in that house : and this was afterwards enforced by another of the first of George I. which was propos'd by Mr. Stanhope, Secretary of State, that restrained persons having pensions during pleasure, from sitting in the House of Commons. These laws were pass'd to be a restraint on the Crown ; they are now in force, and mean to provide for the liberty of the people, by preventing the Crown from creating a dependence upon it, in its Representatives : but, like other human institutions, they have been evaded ; when a minister shall presume to advise, in the teeth of these acts of parliament, the creation of such a number of grooms of the Bedchamber, clerks of the Green-cloth, and other officers of the Household, each with a salary of 500 l. per Annum, as to be double the number of those of his late M—— ; and when some Gentlemen have been remov'd from these employments *with pensions*, to make room for members of the House of Commons, that the law might be only

only evaded, not openly violated ; and when we see Gentlemen of the first fortunes, and who have, through the two last reigns, prided themselves in their independency, eagerly and meanly thrusting themselves into this pitiful pension ; I say, when we consider these things, Where is the security of laws, or upon what principles of the CONSTITUTION can these measures be defended ?

Bishop Burnet, in his Conclusion, says, “ But men who  
 “ have no principles cannot be steady : *now* the greater part of  
 “ the capital gentry seem to return again to a love of tyranny,  
 “ and they seem to be even uneasy with a Court, when it will  
 “ not be as much a Court as they would have it. This is a  
 “ folly of so particular a nature, that really it wants a name.  
 “ It is natural for poor men, who have little to lose, and  
 “ much to hope for, to become the instruments of slavery ;  
 “ but it is an extravagance peculiar to our age, to see rich  
 “ men grow as it were in love with slavery, and arbitrary  
 “ power.”

I would not be suppos'd to insinuate that those country Gentlemen, who are now courting these little dependencies, have any *serious intentions* of advancing the power of the Crown, or introducing

troduding meafures to the detriment and danger of our liberties. Heaven forbid I fhould lay fo heavy a charge at their door ! I know there are many of them men, as yet, of free and upright principles. But they will give me leave to obferve, that in this CONSTITUTION, founded on the wideft bafis of political and civil liberty, perhaps the only way of fapping its foundation, is to corrupt by degrees thofe pillars which fupport it ; and it is not the meafure of a weak politician, to endeavour to compafs his ends, by means, which, at firft, appear fair and well intention'd. The reason, I underftand, the m—— gives for purfuing this meafure, is, “ the union of parties ; the larger the “ fource of bounty in the Crown, the more general will be its “ dues.” This may be plaufible reasoning ; but the fact is, and of this I confeß myfelf jealous, that by thefe penfions the Crown *has* increas'd its influence in the Houfe of Commons ; and, with regard to the act of Queen Anne, if a lift of new created places fhould, as was done the beginning of the late reign, be order'd to be laid upon the table of the Houfe of Commons, I cannot fee but that thefe of the fupernumerary officers of the Houfehold muft be of the number ; otherwife the Crown may, on any future emergency, create as many as fhall *then* be found neceffary to anfwer the purpofes of the m——.

Thefe

These are very serious arguments, not founded on party, or arising from the particular situation, or country, of the m—— : they are drawn from well-known facts, and will, I hope, be allow'd to be objections against measures, and not against men. These facts did not exist before the present accession ; and whatever objections of corruption were made to a former administration, in the late reign, to this, carried on to the same extent in the present, may be super-added, this new mode of creating influence.

Perhaps I may be call'd upon, for an expression, that has dropt from my pen in the last paragraph, " carried on to the " same extent," I will mention but one fact to support it. At the beginning of this Parliament, two persons were recommended to the m——, whose want of property, and expectations in their profession, might perhaps make them useful to him as a Member of Parliament ; he, having no personal or family interest in any borough, where he could introduce them, did advise, though, at the same time, preaching aloud the strictest œconomy, and making it the test of his righteous administration, that he did not prostitute the public money for these purposes, I say he did agree to increase the salary of an office 500 l. per annum ; if

he might be permitted to name the representatives of a certain borough. The bargain was made; the salary of the office was increas'd; the representatives nam'd were elected; and the whole done in so open and avow'd a manner, that the person, who receives the increas'd salary, makes no scruple to declare it in public conversation; whilst the two independent representatives talk loudly of the upright intentions of their master, and mention, by way of proof, that no money was, at the general election, advanc'd, out of the treasury, for ministerial purposes.

To these observations let me add, the late measure of making inquiry into the tenure of every place of 50 l. per annum and upwards, and cruelly displacing every person that had the least, most remote, connection with the Duke of Newcastle. This step has, in particular instances, been attended with so many aggravating circumstances of hardship, that I wonder any man, who makes it his boast, *ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes*, can have suffer'd himself to be guilty of so low and mean a proceeding. But this proves, that every consideration must give way to the first great object; it is necessary, that every office should be held at the pleasure of the present administration; and this engine has been exercis'd, to obtain parliamentary influence, with such force, that, when it had been resolv'd to remove a commissioner in  
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an office, and application was made, at the levee, by a Member of Parliament, with assurances, that the person to be sacrific'd was his near relation, and that he himself had never been refractory, the answer was, " I am sorry I did not know this sooner, " but thought he had been connected with \* \* \* and \* \* \* " who are my enemies, and voted in the minority ; but he shall " have an equivalent ;" and this promise has been, in some degree, fulfill'd. I leave to an impartial reader to consider, whether any thing, urg'd against Lord Danby for influencing the House of Commons, was stronger than this fact.

But it may be asked, " Where is the danger of these measures? His M——, born a Briton, and tender of British liberty, will scorn to take advantage of any increase of power, " and to do any thing that may, in the least, infringe the CONSTITUTION: his m——, a man in private life of exemplary goodness, has no other view, than to render his master's " time, as easy, amusing, and quiet as possible : the gentlemen " who accept these offices, have been always suspicious of the " power of the Crown, and can't be supposed, for the paltry " bribe of a nominal 500l. per annum, to have been convinc'd " of the falsity of principles which they have so obstinately adher'd to, and so loudly echoed for so many years." I answer, that



that I have most sincerely the highest esteem for the goodness of his M———'s heart, and do not believe *he* will be brought to do any act, that we shall have reason to complain of: I am pleas'd he was born an Englishman, *because* it is an answer to those country gentlemen, who, having no other fault to find with the late reigns, were continually grumbling against Hanover, and Hanoverian measures; as to any other reason, the great gratitude, which this nation owes to King William, a Dutchman, and the reigns of the two late most excellent Monarchs, during which we enjoy'd a liberty that no country ever knew before, especially when compar'd with those of their two English predecessors, Charles II. and James II. will convince us, that it is not *necessary* for the happiness of this country, that the Prince should be born a native of it: I have greater confidence in his M———'s paternal love for his people, than to place my satisfaction totally on so slight a foundation.

As to the views of the m———, I own they are kind, and shew the warm extent of his friendship, but I wish he does not in that, merge duties of a more extensive nature, and whilst he is calculating the ease and amusement of one, endanger the misery of millions, for whom that one is made and appointed.

With

With regard to the country gentlemen, I protest, I believe, they have no bad intention; they do not know, that, by accepting these pensions, they are acting against the spirit of an act of Parliament; they see no measures adopted, but what they have been taught from their infancy to consider as CONSTITUTIONAL; and they have been too long out of the secrets of government, and too little conversant in its ways, to know, that, when a man has, by the means of free, honest, upright, independent country gentlemen, erected the superstructure of his own power, he may, at pleasure, kick down the foundation, and substitute any rubbish that he shall find ready to his hand, and more fit for his purpose, in their *place*.

Thus much for this *measure* of administration in the creation of so many supernumerary pensioners: I shall now consider their behaviour in another point, I mean the very great intended increase of the army.

Mr. Moleworth says, " A WHIG is against the raising or " keeping up a standing army in time of peace." This must be understood with some limitation; the present exorbitant power of France, in the number of her troops, makes a military defence of this kingdom absolutely necessary: but it is the duty of

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a CONSTITUTIONAL m——, to propose the maintaining no more, than what may be adequate to this necessity. At the conclusion of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, \* “ that infamous “ peace, when the glory and interests of this country were sacrific’d to the ambition and power of France,” at least, when that nation, not baffled in every corner of the globe by an unsuccessful war, meant only to take breath, in order to renew the attack with greater vigour; the whole force demanded by the m——, for the defence of this island, Ireland, Gibraltar, Minorca, the West-Indies, and that vast tract of frontier in America, which, by the unclusiveness of the article relating to it, was left expos’d to the insidious, and soon repeated, attempts of our enemy; I say, at that time, the army, propos’d by the WHIG m——s, was only forty-nine regiments, besides the guards: what, now is our situation compar’d with the present circumstances of France, and what force is intended, by the m——, to be kept up? France, is by the war reduc’d, both in strength and reputation, to a very low ebb; the conduct of our commanders, and the spirit of our sailors and soldiers, have rais’d a name to this country, that our enemy will not soon forget; our possessions, *by the renunciations of the peace*, are not

\* The language of the present Administration.

materially increas'd, except in North-America; and there, the m—— have really had great merit as negotiators, in securing so large and complete a territory, that the French are entirely extirpated, and we have no other boundaries to our colonies, than uninhabited wilds and endless forests—This is our situation. What is the number of standing forces intended to be propos'd? The whole of our present army for half a year, and then, *to be reduc'd to eighty-five regiments of foot*, exclusive of the guards; and this amazing increase is to be made, notwithstanding that we now have the addition of a militia of 30,000 men, upon whose spirit and resolution, the same m—— have had great reliance throughout the war, and in the most dangerous part of it, have thought them alone, almost sufficient for the internal defence of this kingdom.—Upon this (I hope, fair) state of the case, What can the m—— intend by so large a force? Security against the French? No; their strength is broke, *we have a lasting peace*, they fear our reputation: What then? Is it to make an ill use of their power, and sacrifice the liberty of this country, to a standing army? I abhor the thought; his M—— would never suffer it, the m—— dares not advise it, the officers of the army would refuse to concur in it: what then remains, except that by the increase of Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, Lieutenant Colonel and Major Commandants, with all the other terms

terms of command, that have been exhausted during the late war; the m——— may create such an additional dependency upon the Crown in the members of the two Houses of Parliament, that the measures of government may be conducted with greater ease, and no *peevish opposition* think it worth their while to arise, to disturb the quiet of the S———, or endanger the security of his m———. Add to this, what has been lately said, “ That there is to be no Commander in Chief.” Such an officer interferes too much in the disposal of commissions, the K—— is to command himself, he is to give away commissions, and the m——— *is to advise him.*

What confirms me in the truth of my suspicions upon this point, is, a very late unprecedented *measure*, the removal of the Lords Lieutenants of counties. Formerly, before the institution of a militia, these were not thought objects worthy a m———’s resentment, and noblemen of the first rank and greatest merit, though they had voted against a m———’s measures, were not *therefore* removed: but now this office has receiv’d a degree of influence, by the power of appointment of the militia officers, (and this power has been exerted with great spirit in *Yorkshire, Middlesex, and Suffolk*) now it is thought a prudent step, to substitute

stitute Lieutenants, more under command, and who will lend a more obedient ear to the voice of the m——.

*These facts*, corroborated by the avow'd and scandalous proceedings of the administration, in removing from their places, every one, who presum'd to differ from them in opinion upon the peace, and who were not able to subscribe *a very strong approbation* of the preliminaries, I confess open to me, a very alarming prospect. The goodness of his present M——'s heart, prevents this prospect from being brought very near; but it is an observation too trite to be mention'd, if it was not for the truth of it, that it is in good times only, and in the reigns of well-meaning Princes, that laws and regulations should be made in restraint of the prerogative.

Should the present fashion of increasing the officers of the army, and adding to the household officers of the Crown upon every accession, go on without interruption, what advantage might a bad Prince make of such a House of Commons? When gentlemen, whose fortune and rank in life intitle them to be Lieutenants of counties, and Knights of the shire, cannot think themselves debas'd by the acceptance of a nominal 500l. per an-

num, and which introduces them no farther than the anti-chamber ; pofterity will not be surpris'd to fee men, of desperate fortunes, brib'd by fuch a morsel, and eager to obtain it, by executing the commands of an ambitious m——, under an arbitrary, and ill-defigning Monarch.

What then is the remedy for this impending evil ? It is, to reduce the army to the number of regiments kept up before the war ; the addition of the militia, is more than fufficient to anfwer any argument that may be pretended to be drawn from the increafe of territory ;——to enquire ftrictly into the additional number of offices in the houfhould and elfewhere ;——to enforce the execution of that law, that excludes fuch penfioners from the Houfe of Commons, and to propofe a new one, that may tie up the hands of the m——, more ftrictly, in this particular.

Thefe propofitions will be a civil teft of revolution principles : I am fure his prefent M—— will wifh fo glorious an example to be fet in his reign ; and I think a m——, who pretends to ftand only upon the rectitude of his meafures, cannot decently, and confiftently oppofe them ; if he does not, but on the other hand,  
like

like a true patriot, approves and encourages them, I hope he will have the assistance of every honest man, to continue him in the administration : *If he should oppose* such regulations, we shall then have evident proofs of his intentions ; it will be an avow'd declaration, that he means to rule over the subjects of this country, by increasing the power of the Crown, in the two Houses of Parliament ; it will be the strongest evidence of his contempt for the principles of the Revolution, and that he designs to carry into execution that plan which was so fatal to his predecessors, Laud and Strafford.

I shall conclude with an extract from that excellent treatise, from whence I have taken my Motto.

“ The chief motive which induces me to send abroad this  
“ small treatise, is a sincere desire of instructing the only pos-  
“ sessors of true liberty in the world, what right and title they  
“ have to that liberty, of what a great value it is, what mi-  
“ sery follows the loss of it, how easily, *if care be taken in*  
“ *time*, it may be preserv'd : And if this either opens the eyes,  
“ or confirms the honourable resolutions of any of my worthy  
“ countrymen, I have gain'd a glorious end, and done that in  
my



“ my study, which I should have promoted any other way,  
“ had I been called to it.——I hope to die with the comfort  
“ of believing, that Old England *will continue to be* a free  
“ country, and know itself to be such; that my friends, rela-  
“ tions, and children, with their posterity, will inherit their  
“ share of this inestimable blessing, and that I have contributed  
“ my part to it.”

*Feb. 14, 1763.*

F I N I S.



